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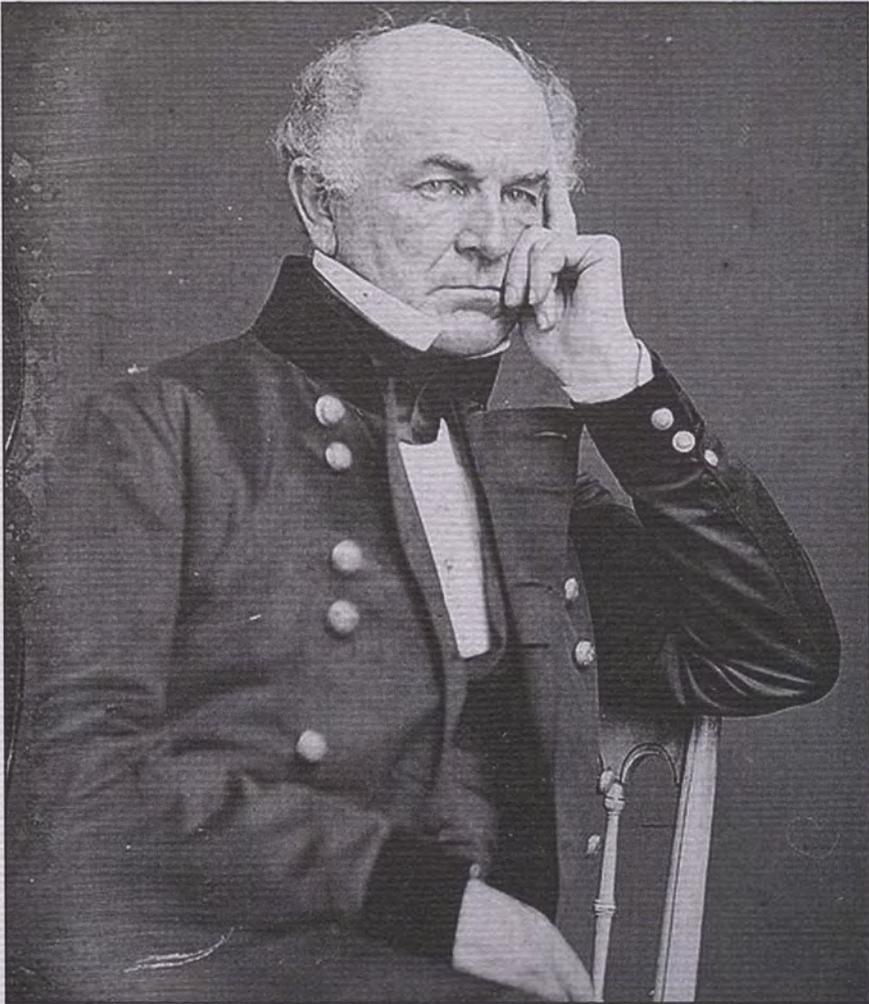
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New Systems, Established Traditions: Governor James Grant's Indian Diplomacy and the Evolution of British Colonial Policy, 1760-1771

by James L. Hill

James Grant, the first governor of the British province of East Florida, arrived at St. Augustine in 1763 with a determination to prioritize Indian diplomacy. He desperately wanted to avoid violence between settlers and the neighboring Creek Indians, as he feared that internecine warfare on the frontier would scare potential immigrants from moving to the colony. The governor sought peaceful relations, not as a humanitarian aim, but as a means of advancing his goal of developing East Florida. To this end, Grant devised what he called a "new system" for the management of Indian affairs. This "new system," actually relied on traditions of gift exchange and reciprocity long used by Southeastern Indians, which Grant familiarized himself with while serving in the Anglo-Cherokee War of 1759-1761. Grant only spent a brief amount of time with the Cherokees, but gained valuable knowledge of their

James L. Hill is a Ph.D. candidate at the College of William & Mary. His dissertation explores Creek and Seminole diplomacy in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and the efforts of both native groups to protect their sovereignty through integration into an international diplomatic community. The author would like to thank Brett Rushforth, Denise Bossy, J. Michael Francis, Daniel L. Schafer, Kathryn E. Holland Braund, Alex Finley, and two anonymous reviewers for their comments, critiques, support, and/or suggestions. Much of the correspondence examined here has been transcribed and published online. See "The Indian Frontier in British East Florida; Letters to Governor James Grant from British Soldiers and Indian Traders," *Florida History Online*, <http://www.unf.edu/floridahistoryonline/Projects/Grant/index.html> (accessed June 23, 2014).

diplomatic discourse and customs. From this experience, Grant acquired a basic understanding of indigenous diplomatic networks in the Southeast.

In his subsequent role as Governor of East Florida, Grant's Cherokee experiences allowed him to work within Creek systems of diplomacy and maintain peace between East Florida's Native and European residents. While the diplomatic customs Grant relied upon actually drew upon long-established Native traditions, Grant's opinions and methods represented a departure within British colonial administration. At a basic level, they mirrored a shift in American Indian policy throughout British North America, one which attempted to limit conflict between colonists and Native peoples through mediation and physical separation of the two. However, the government of British East Florida not only participated in this policy shift, it also conducted a colonial experiment, one which attempted to forestall colonial-Native conflict before it could even start by attempting to engage, understand, and employ Native diplomatic practices.

The development of James Grant's Indian policy began with his experiences in the Anglo-Cherokee War of 1759-1761. A military man from a prominent Scottish family, Grant spent his entire career in Europe prior to his promotion to major and appointment to North American service in 1757. His first line of duty brought him to Fort Loudoun, in south-central Pennsylvania, with the force General John Forbes was preparing for an assault on Fort Duquesne (present-day Pittsburgh). There, he had his first experience with North American Indians when he was tasked with appeasing a number of disgruntled Cherokees who had gathered around the fort demanding goods. These Cherokees had traveled north to fight alongside Forbes, at his request, but had seen no action, as Forbes was not yet prepared to move on the fort. In the meantime, Forbes had refused to give them the goods they had been promised. He wanted the Cherokees there in Pennsylvania, ready to fight at a moment's notice, but he only wished to compensate them for time served in the field. This caused serious problems for the Cherokees. In Cherokee culture, reciprocity served as the foundation of any diplomatic relationship. As long as Cherokees were to aid Britain by forming war parties, they expected British leaders to provide for them in return. Commanders such as Forbes considered their demands to be insolent. They viewed the Cherokees as subordinates, not equals, and treated them as such.

As one scholar states, "Cherokees interpreted British penury as a clear demonstration of Britain's disdain for them, which it was."¹

Compounding the matter was that fact that the Cherokees' service alongside Forbes incurred a material hardship for them and their families. Every day a Cherokee man spent at war was a day he could not hunt for the skins and furs which were his and his family's primary means of acquiring European trade goods. Cherokee warriors expected that they would be compensated for the time they could have spent hunting. To them, "presents" were necessities which made up for the loss of hunting opportunities.²

Grant sympathized with the Cherokees' plight. After some friendly talks, Grant acceded to their demands and gave them the presents being kept in the fort. He prevented a conflagration, but failed to convince the Cherokees to remain with Forbes's expedition. They went home relatively satisfied, and Grant had discovered that he enjoyed both the company of the Cherokees and the game of diplomacy. Unfortunately, the less patient members of the Cherokee party had not waited around for the gregarious major. They instead took out their frustrations on the western

1 For Grant's service in the Ohio Valley in 1758, see Gregory Evans Dowd, *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 49-50; John Oliphant, *Peace and War on the Anglo-Cherokee Frontier, 1756-63* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave, 2001), 59-60; Paul D. Nelson, *General James Grant: Scottish Soldier and Royal Governor of East Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 19-22. For the importance of gifts to Cherokees, see Tyler Boulware, *Deconstructing the Cherokee Nation: Town, Region, and Nation among Eighteenth-Century Cherokees* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011), 98-100; Dowd, "Insidious Friends': Gift-Giving and the Cherokee-British Alliance in the Seven Years' War," in *Contact Points: North American Frontiers, 1750-1830*, ed. Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 116, 135-139. Dowd in particular argues that the British looked at Cherokee demands for gifts as mercenary, rejecting the Cherokee view that they were the fulfillment of British obligations in a partnership of equals. Although Joseph M. Hall focuses on Spanish-Creek relations in a different era, his analysis on the meanings of gifts in Native cultures is instructive here. If reciprocal exchange of goods, food, or services served as the foundation of an alliance; a one-sided exchange signified a hierarchical relationship. If one party gave without receiving anything in return, they were essentially offering the other party tribute. The Cherokees likely interpreted Forbes's withholding of gifts as an attempt to force them into a subordinate role in the alliance, with the general's arrogant behavior not helping matters. See Joseph M. Hall, Jr., *Zamumo's Gifts: Indian-European Exchange in the Colonial Southeast* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 7-10, 62-63.

2 Boulware, *Deconstructing the Cherokee Nation*, 99; David H. Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival, 1740-62* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 129.

settlements of Virginia, pillaging farms and stealing horses to make up for Forbes's inability to hold up his end of their bargain. This was not the first time such incidents had occurred, and angry Virginians had retaliated. Western Virginia experienced a number of skirmishes throughout the remainder of Forbes's campaign. These developments would go on to have major implications for Grant, the Cherokees, and the British colonial establishment.³

Shortly after the Cherokee negotiations, Grant led an overzealous and failed attempt to assault Fort Duquesne which resulted in him being taken prisoner by the French. After being held for over a year, he was finally released in an exchange in late 1759. During Grant's imprisonment, Anglo-Cherokee relations had deteriorated badly. In 1757, Virginia officials delivered a shipment of presents intended for a Lower Cherokee party to the wrong location, and were uncertain as to where they had gone. The party took the error as an intentional slight and responded by pillaging the countryside. In Pennsylvania, an Overhill party under Attakullakulla became impatient with the lack of activity and tried to return home. General Forbes accused Attakullakulla of insubordination and desertion, refused to provide his party with gifts, and confiscated what supplies the army had given them.

Yet, the crucial developments occurred in South Carolina, whose governor, William Henry Lyttelton, failed to differentiate hostile and friendly Cherokee factions. In mid-1759, disgruntled Overhills from the town of Settico attacked North Carolina settlements, and Lyttelton responded by imposing an embargo upon the whole. When tensions escalated, he took two Cherokee peace delegations hostage, raised a provincial militia regiment and began to march toward the Lower Towns with the prisoners in tow. Under compulsion, the hostages signed a peace treaty but those who were released repudiated it and rendered it meaningless. Matters turned grave when the remaining hostages began to succumb to a smallpox epidemic that ravaged the garrison at Fort Prince George, where they were being held. Most Cherokees blamed the British for their deaths, and a tense standoff at the fort escalated into a bloodbath.⁴

3 Boulware, *Deconstructing the Cherokee Nation*, 100-103; Corkran, *Cherokee Frontier*, 149-162; Oliphant, *Peace and War*, 59-60.

4 The Fort Loudoun mentioned here is different than that mentioned earlier in the essay, and was situated among the Overhill Cherokees in what is now eastern Tennessee. The freed hostages signed the treaty as a condition of their release. Paul Demere to William Henry Lyttelton, Fort Loudoun [Overhills],

The incident at Fort Prince George led Lyttelton and Britain's Commander-in-Chief in North America, Jeffery Amherst, to prepare an offensive against the Cherokee towns. This is where Grant enters the picture. Amherst placed Colonel Archibald Montgomery in charge of an expeditionary force and made Grant second-in-command, temporarily promoting the latter to Lieutenant Colonel. In May 1760 he sent Montgomery, Grant, and a regiment of British regulars, to be joined by Carolina Provincial forces, against the Lower and Middle Cherokee Towns, which lay between South Carolina and the Overhills. Neither Montgomery nor Grant had much enthusiasm for this war. Both sympathized with the Cherokees, and were frustrated by South Carolina's reluctance to provide wagons, provisions, and other supplies for the campaign. They followed Amherst's orders to the minimum extent possible, burning much of the Lower Towns, but leaving their crops standing, and making little effort to actually engage the Cherokees in battle. Despite their show of force, Montgomery and his regiment failed to obtain the Cherokees' surrender and were greatly weakened during the one occasion in which they did confront Cherokee warriors, a costly standoff near the Lower Cherokee town of Echoe. The army returned to Charles Town at the end of July 1760. Fatigued by the campaign, Montgomery decided to take leave of his command. In his request for a furlough, Montgomery recommended the appointment of Grant in his stead. Grant obtained command of the regiment and a permanent promotion to Lieutenant Colonel.⁵

July 10, 1759, in W. Stitt Robinson, ed., *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789*, Vol. XIV, *North and South Carolina Treaties, 1756-1775* (hereafter *NSCT*) (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 2003), 105-106; "Conference of Governor Lyttelton and Council with Cherokee Leaders..." Charles Town, October 18-20, 22, 1759, *NSCT*, 109-116; Lyttelton to the Board of Trade, Charles Town, October 23, 1759, *NSCT*, 116-117; [Journal of the Lyttelton Expedition], November 11 - December 9, 1759, James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers (hereafter *JGP*), Reel 30, Frames 321-324, Microfilm, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; John Stuart to [Grant], Fort Loudoun [Overhills], May 2, 1760, *JGP*, Reel 31, Frames 18-19; "Treaty of Peace and Friendship with the Cherokees," Fort Prince George, December 26, 1759, *NSCT*, 120-123; Boulware, *Deconstructing the Cherokee Nation*, 103, 106-108, 112-119; Corkran, *Cherokee Frontier*, 115-124, 160-161, 181-190, 194-195; Oliphant, *Peace and War*, 57-61, 69-71, 105-112.

⁵ The restraint showed by Montgomery and Grant should not obscure the violence of their campaign. They caused widespread destruction and forced the entire Lower Cherokee population to flee their homes and seek refuge among neighboring peoples. For the Montgomery campaign, see [Journal of the Montgomery Campaign], April 4 - June 26, 1760, *JGP*, Reel 31, Frames

After a brief trip to New York to confer with Amherst, Grant returned to Charles Town in January 1761 and began to plan his offensive. Grant's opinion of Americans had never been very high, and worsened with his service in South Carolina. Grant wrote to Amherst, placing blame on Lyttelton and the colonists for the outbreak of hostilities. In Grant's view, the Cherokees had been bullied and pushed into open warfare by the Virginians, Carolinians, and Lyttelton's government. Showing sympathy for the Cherokees, Grant claimed that "if both Parties were heard, I fancy the Indians have been the worst used." He believed that the key acts of treachery had been the kidnapping of the Cherokee peace delegations in 1759, and the subsequent murdering of many of those prisoners. Not only had these actions provoked war, they also made any resolution of the conflict difficult to achieve, as they eroded any trust the Cherokees had in British officials. To illustrate his point, Grant described an incident from the previous summer. Unbeknownst to the army, a party of peace-minded headmen had decided to come down and treat with Montgomery. However, rumors circulated that the British forces were to deceive them and take them captive, much as they had at Charles Town. Grant argued that Lyttelton and the provincial militia's behavior had severely impeded chances for peace, as "[t]he Treatment their Hostages had met with [referencing the slaughter of the Cherokee prisoners at Fort Prince George] induced them to believe this Report the more readily, & so an End was put to our making Peace."⁶

Grant harbored a great ambivalence about the 1761 campaign. Despite acknowledging the legitimacy of the Cherokees' grievances, Grant felt that the war had progressed too far for the British to negotiate a peace without military victory. Britain needed to emerge from this conflict having demonstrated its strength and capabilities. In Grant's eyes, the protection of British imperial power was just as important as providing justice to the Cherokees.

138-160; John R. Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier: A Study of Indian Relations, War, Trade, and Land Problems in the Southern Wilderness, 1754-1775* (Reprint, New York: Gordian Press, 1966), 87-88, 101-124; Boulware, *Deconstructing the Cherokee Nation*, 119-121; Corkran, *Cherokee Frontier*, 198-199, 207-215; Nelson, *Governor James Grant*, 25-28; Oliphant, *Peace and War*, ch. 4. For Grant's appointment, see Jeffery Amherst to Grant, New York, December 15, 1760, *JGP*, Reel 31, Frames 107-114, 167; Corkran, *Cherokee Frontier*, 245; Nelson, *Governor James Grant*, 28-29.

6 Grant to Amherst, Charles Town, January 17, 1761, *JGP*, Reel 32, Frames 374-379 ("if both Parties..." and "[t]he Treatment..."); Corkran, *Cherokee Frontier*, 245-246; Nelson, *Governor James Grant*, 31.

He argued that "tho Peace may be desirable, we are not to appear anxious to bring it about, & as things have gone so far, the Indians must be corrected & should in some Measure, be in our Power, before Terms are thought of."⁷

Grant decided to move ahead with his campaign, and adjusted his tactics to suit Amherst's calls for aggression. By July 1761, Grant had pushed through the Middle Towns, this time annihilating crops as well as buildings. However, he thereafter halted his campaign and returned to Fort Prince George, claiming (truthfully) that his forces were fatigued. While the retreat gave his troops some much needed rest, it also gave Attakullakulla and other Overhill leaders the time they needed to assemble a peace proposal. Grant received the leaders hospitably and respectfully, smoking and dining with them while refraining from making threats. They came to an agreement that peace would come without further punitive measures: the executions Lyttelton had demanded would not take place, nor would the British demand any of their territory. Lacking authority to make terms, Grant turned to the South Carolina Assembly and Lt. Governor William Bull.⁸

South Carolina maintained that it had the sole right of adjudicating British-Cherokee relations and Amherst had upheld this prerogative in his instructions to Grant, stating that "[t]he Legislature of the Province of South Carolina, [is] to Settle the Articles and Conclude the Peace." South Carolina's leadership sought punitive terms, particularly ones which would grant the province additional

7 Grant to William Bull, Camp at Moncks Corner, March 23, 1761, *JGP*, Reel 32, Frames 391 ("tho Peace...").

8 Oliphant argues that "had [Grant] been allowed, he would have [sought peace] without fighting." While this reflects many of Grant's actions and statements, particularly his stalling in the Middle Towns during the 1761 campaign, it is also at dissonance with his statement in the previous paragraph, as well as his eventual decision to burn the Middle Towns. Regardless, Oliphant is correct in stating that the connection between his sympathy for the Cherokees and his behavior during the campaign is "inescapable" when consulting the documentary evidence. [Journal of the Grant Campaign], June 7, 1761 – July 9, 1761, in Randolph Boehm, ed., *Records of the British Colonial Office, Class 5*, "Part 3: The French and Indian War, 1754-1763" (Franklin, MD: University Publications of America, 1981), Reel 6, Frames 799-815, Microfilm, Earl Gregg Swem Library, The College of William & Mary, Williamsburg, VA; "Proposal by Lieutenant Colonel James Grant to Little Carpenter of Twelve Articles of Peace," September 17, 1761, Charles Town, *NSCT*, 164-165; Boulware, *Deconstructing the Cherokee Nation*, 125-126; Corkran, *Cherokee Frontier*, 245-259; Nelson, *Governor James Grant*, 32-38; Oliphant, *Peace and War*, 115 ("inescapable"), 140 ("had [Grant] been allowed..."), ch. 5. William Bull served as acting governor throughout the war, as Lyttelton left to assume a post as governor of Jamaica. See Oliphant, *Peace and War*, 112, 115.

lands from among the Lower Cherokee hunting grounds. Grant tried to work around this problem by requesting that Bull, the Council, and the Assembly draw up preliminary articles of peace prior to his march into Cherokee territory. In his letters to Amherst, he insisted that he was not meddling with the negotiations, but rather working to coordinate the efforts of South Carolina and the Cherokees. In actuality, his intention was to control the flow of information and alter the terms to the Cherokees' (specifically, Attakullkulla's) liking. Tellingly, he argued that "Articles Signed in an Indian Town House will probably be more lasting than if they were settled at Charles Town." At once, he was making an observation about Cherokee political culture and devising a strategy to help the Cherokees gain leverage in the negotiations. Indeed, Cherokees would more readily accept a peace which they had the opportunity to deliberate and form a consensus upon in their home communities. By discussing the documents at home, Cherokee leaders could also draft a peace more to their liking, whereas in the halls of the colonial assembly, they would surely face pressure from hostile provincial leaders to sign a disadvantageous treaty.⁹

Grant's strategy played out as intended. He received the terms drawn up by Bull and the Assembly in October 1761. Enraged but not surprised, Grant found that the South Carolinians had added a number of provisions to the treaty, including demands for extensive land cessions. The additions confirmed Grant's suspicions regarding Carolinian land hunger, and reinforced his low opinion of the colony's political authorities. Grant compelled the assembly to rescind the changes, threatening to abandon the colony to its own defenses.¹⁰

9 Amherst to Grant, New York, December 21, 1760, *JGP*, Reel 31, Frames 118-121; [Grant] to [Amherst], Camp at Moncks Corner, March 30, 1761, *JGP*, Reel 32, Frames 393-395 ("Articles Signed..."); Nelson, *Governor James Grant*, 38-39; Oliphant, *Peace and War*, 146-149.

10 "Heads of Articles of Peace, to be insisted upon with the Cherokees" [South Carolina's original peace proposal], April 14, 1761, *JGP*, Reel 32, Frames 184-185; "Continued Discussion of the Cherokee Articles of Peace," Charles Town, September 23, 1761, *NSCT*, 169-171; Bull to the Board of Trade, Charles Town, September 23, 1761, *NSCT*, 171-172; "Copy of the Terms of Peace to be Granted to the Cherokees" [amended peace proposal], ca. October-November 1761, *JGP*, Reel 32, Frames 423-424; "Governor Bull and Council to Strike Out Article Five of the Cherokee Treaty," Charles Town, November 13, 1761, *NSCT*, 173-174; "Approval by the South Carolina Council of the Cherokee Treaty," Charles Town, December 16, 1761, *NSCT*, 174-176; "Approval by the South Carolina Council of the Amendment...", Charles Town, December 17, 1761, *NSCT*, 176-177; Alden, *John Stuart*, 127-129; Oliphant, *Peace and War*, 147-149, 172-183.

For the colonists, the ratification and signing of a paper treaty would end the treaty-making process. However, the Cherokees were much less concerned with the document itself than they were with the rituals surrounding it. The Council tried to rush the Cherokees through the ratification process, but Attakullakulla refused to let the Carolinians dispense with the ceremonies. "Before we say any thing," he stated, "we desire to smoak with the beloved men [members of the Council] as a token of our sincerity to make every thing straight." Kittagusta, the brother of Overhill leader Oconastota, produced a decorative calumet, a long pipe with "two strings of white wampum" attached. The Cherokees, the Governor, and his Council then took turns smoking.¹¹ Attakullakulla continued, stating that he wished to "wip[e] away" the bloodshed that had sullied the "path," or ties of friendship, between the two peoples. Following this statement, he produced strings of wampum from each of the Overhill towns and an eagle tail feather, both items which symbolized the clearing of this blood. After stating that the sentiments of the Lower towns were the same as those of the Overhills, he then turned to Kittagusta, who presented an eagle wing, a "rattle box," and a pipe from his town. The symbolic items punctuated every major point in the negotiations and for Cherokees served as material reminders of the sentiments of each community.

11 "Ratification of the Cherokee Treaty," Charles Town, December 18, 1761, *NSCT*, 177-178 ("The Several..."), 178 ("Before we say..."; "Two strings of white wampum"; "to bring hither"); 177-181; Corkran, *Cherokee Frontier*, 267-268 ("To the [Carolinians]..."); The smoking of the calumet was an act which symbolized the peaceful intentions of two peoples, and was practiced by many Native peoples (and their European allies) across the continent by the late eighteenth century. See Donald J. Blakeslee, "The Origin and Spread of the Calumet Ceremony," *American Antiquity* 46, no. 4 (October, 1981): 759-768. For uses of wampum among Native peoples in general, see George S. Snyderman, "The Functions of Wampum," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 98, no. 6 (December 1954): 469-494; Wilbur R. Jacobs, "Wampum: The Protocol of Indian Diplomacy," *William and Mary Quarterly* 6, no. 1 (October 1949): 596-604. For a discussion of various Native peace rituals and how they compared with those of Europeans, see John T. Juricek, *Colonial Georgia and the Creeks: Anglo-Indian Diplomacy on the Southern Frontier, 1733-1763* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010), 6-7; Nancy Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness: Becoming Red and White in Eighteenth-Century North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), ch. 3. For Cherokee rituals in particular, see Henry Timberlake, *The Memoirs of Lt. Henry Timberlake: The Story of a Soldier, Adventurer, and Emissary to the Cherokees, 1760-1765* (1765; repr., Cherokee, NC: Museum of the Cherokee Indian Press, 2007), 17-21, 41-42. For a young Attakullakulla's visit to London in 1730, see Leonard J. Sadosky, *Revolutionary Negotiations: Indians, Empires, and Diplomats in the Founding of America* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 24-27; Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness*, 36-37, 40-41.

To South Carolina officials, they evoked nothing. They did not offer gifts in kind and there is no indication that they responded to these gestures. The colonists must have thought these rituals rather useless and time-consuming, but they were what made the peace real and tangible to Cherokees.¹²

Grant must have been paying close attention to this ceremony, for he would anticipate similar rituals in his first meeting with the Creeks. Indeed, evidence indicates that the colonel had already grasped the symbolic importance of gifts. Kittagusta noted that he had "received from Colonel Grant a present of a large white flag...and as a token of our thanks the Nation have sent the greatest present they can, namely an eagle's tail." In contrast to South Carolina officials, Grant had given the Overhills a symbolic gift, and received one from them in return. His experiences with the Cherokees proved vital in light of his next career move. Grant departed Charles Town later that month and moved between various North American posts before finally returning to London in 1763. Seeking a future in politics, Grant requested that the Crown appoint him as governor of the new British province of West Florida. The Crown refused him that appointment, but gave him a consolation prize: the governorship of East Florida.¹³ Grant readily accepted the position and began to plan the development of the new territory.¹⁴

Flush with diplomatic and military success, he brought to this project some grandiose conclusions drawn from his experiences among the Cherokees. Grant's vanity led him to anoint himself a master of American Indian diplomacy, christening what he called a "new System" of Native-colonial relations. To be certain, he had displayed a proficiency in treating with the Cherokees that most of his peers lacked. However, this "new system" was not so new at all. Though it was a departure from the views of

12 "Ratification of the Cherokee Treaty," Charles Town, December 18, 1761, *NSCT*, 178 (wip[e] away"), 179 ("I have always..."; "rattle box"), 177-181; "Cherokee Treaty of Peace and Friendship," Charles Town, December 18, 1761, *NSCT*, 181-183.

13 As a result of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), of which the Anglo-Cherokee War was a part, Spain had ceded its claim to the Floridas to Great Britain. British administrators then divided the region into two colonies at the Apalachicola River.

14 "Ratification of the Cherokee Treaty," Charles Town, December 18, 1761, *NSCT*, 180; Charles L. Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943), 8-9, 14; Nelson, *Governor James Grant*, 4, 8-9, 41-45; Daniel L. Schafer, *St. Augustine's British Years, 1763-1784* (St. Augustine: The St. Augustine Historical Society, 2001), 16-19.

some of his contemporaries, at its root it involved nothing more than reciprocating Native rituals and negotiating in good faith. Its novelty lay in committing British colonial governments to a fastidious observation of Native diplomatic protocol.¹⁵

Grant also believed that his successful negotiations with one group of Indians conferred expertise on all of Native America. Beyond diplomatic rituals, Grant probably learned very little about Cherokee society, as his interactions with them were limited to settling matters of war and peace. It stands to reason that he knew even less about other Native peoples, with whom he had never interacted. However, this probably did not matter overmuch when it came to his diplomatic agenda. Grant had immersed himself in Cherokee diplomacy, and the rituals employed by the Cherokees and Creeks appear to have been very similar. As already established, Grant was quite successful among the Cherokees. The second part of this essay will consider the evidence from his administration of East Florida, revealing that he had learned a great deal from his work with the Cherokees, and that this knowledge was applicable in his negotiations with the Lower Creeks.¹⁶

Creek diplomacy was so important to Grant because it was vital to his plans for the economic development of East Florida. Immediately, Grant identified the establishment of plantations along the St. Johns River as his priority. He considered the St. Johns to be the most logical focal point for settlement, as it constituted the largest and most easily accessible river system in the province, lay near the provincial capital of St. Augustine, and purportedly contained the most fertile land in the colony. Yet, Grant feared that planters might hesitate to move to the province "if they are under the least apprehension of being molested

15 In particular, Grant's claim regarding his policy was as follows: "This is a new System, no such thing has ever been attempted that I know of." Grant to the Earl of Shelburne, October 31, 1767, St. Augustine, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 334-335.

16 The apparent similarities between Cherokee and Creek diplomatic customs may be a reflection of the nature of diplomacy. As their function is to craft a mutually comprehensible dialogue between two peoples, diplomatic rituals should not have differed greatly between peoples who had been neighbors for centuries. The Creeks appear to have been less fastidious about observing the calumet ritual than the Cherokees, but they did practice it at the First Picolata Congress. See Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness*, 66-67; George Stiggins, *Creek Indian History* (1845; repr., Birmingham, AL: Birmingham Public Library Press, 1989), 55-56; J. Leitch Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 17, 22-23, 25, 34-35.

by an Indian Enemy.”¹⁷ Various Creek towns populated much of northern and central Florida, their hunting parties traveled throughout the region, and they frequently visited colonial towns and posts to trade. As European literature generally portrayed Native peoples, including the Creeks, as unpredictable and often hostile neighbors, Grant anticipated that many planters might fear for the security of their families and property.¹⁸

In writing to British Secretary of State Henry S. Conway in 1766, Grant proposed a means of ensuring that violence and warfare did not disrupt his colonial experiment. Drawing upon his experiences in the Anglo-Cherokee War, Grant argued that secure borders would result from good diplomacy rather than aggression. However, time had not mellowed his view of American colonists, and he believed that the vast majority of them would wreck imperial diplomacy if allowed to do so. Grant lamented that “His Majesty’s Subjects were the first Aggressors, [and] that is too often the case.” Recounting the buildup to war, Grant once again laid the blame on colonial land hunger and Lyttelton’s lust for glory. He implied that the same process would repeat itself in East Florida, indeed, throughout British North America, without careful administration. Accusing roguish “Traders and Woodsmen” of provoking the vast majority of British-Native disputes, Grant argued that the frontier colonists were “the most profligate of the human race.” Such words made clear the governor’s intent to control what he considered the more reckless elements of colonial societies. The violence plaguing the Virginia and Carolina piedmont had persuaded Grant of the need to restrain his own colonists for the sake of border security.¹⁹

For East Florida colonization to succeed, Grant felt that he needed to differentiate his Indian policy from that of the Carolinians and Virginians.²⁰ They insisted upon employing a

17 Grant to Henry S. Conway, St. Augustine, August 21, 1766, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 299-300.

18 Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 8-9, 14; Nelson, *Governor James Grant*, 4, 8-9, 44-45; Schafer, *St. Augustine’s British Years*, 16-19.

19 Grant, “State of Indian Affairs in the Southern Provinces of America from 1758 to 1766,” *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 300-302 (“His Majesty’s...”; “Traders and Woodsmen...”; “the most profligate...”); Alden, *John Stuart*, 124-125; Nelson, *Governor James Grant*, 31-38.

20 Georgia, not mentioned by Grant, serves as a counterpoint to South Carolina and Virginia during this period. Governor Henry Ellis’s administration avoided the incompetence and arrogance which characterized the governments of these two colonies. In fact, Georgia’s relations with the Creeks were the inverse of South Carolina’s with the Cherokees. Ellis inherited a Georgia-Creek relationship beset with conflict over land rights and territorial sovereignty, issues

more cooperative, peaceable method of dealing with the Creeks in East Florida. In fact, he thought that the unique situation of the Creeks rendered such a policy imperative. For years, the Creeks had bordered Spanish Florida, French Louisiana, and British Carolina and Georgia. All of those colonies had competed with one another for an alliance with the various Creek towns, and had provided the Creeks with large outlays of gifts in order to win their support. In Grant's view, this had made the Creeks "Proud, insolent & overbearing," as he believed the Creeks had come to expect such favors from Europeans.²¹

Again, Grant showed that his sympathy for Native peoples had limits. Though he favored peaceful relations with the Creeks, Grant insisted that British officials should control and shape this relationship. As British forces had expelled both the French and Spanish from the Southeast after the Seven Years' War, Grant and other British officials proclaimed the empire's hegemony in the region. Grant believed that Lower Creeks eventually would have to accept this new order of things, but did not think it best to thrust it upon them. Grant expected clashes between Indians and British officials and colonists to occur every now and then, and felt that he and other regional governors would have to forebear such events for a time. If British officials were to act with a heavy hand, Grant thought that the Lower Creeks in Florida would grow resentful and respond with violence, provoking a destructive and costly war. He calculated his vision of peace to promote settlement and encourage colonial growth. Friendship with Native peoples was only to occur with their acceptance of British supremacy. Grant abhorred "Traders and Woodsmen" for their duplicity and violence, but their cardinal sin was jeopardizing Britain's broader imperial project. Frontier conflicts cost lives and money which could be used to

which he settled (for the time being) through diplomacy. When Lyttelton's tenure began, relations between South Carolina and the Cherokees were as strong as any between the British and a Native people, yet his governorship ended with the two engaged in bitter warfare. For more on Ellis and Georgia-Creek relations, see Steven C. Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 258-263; Juricek, *Colonial Georgia and the Creeks*, 206-207, 213-214, 216-217, 262. As a counterpoint, David Corkran is critical of accepting Ellis's administration as "marking the favorable turning point in Creek-English relations." See Corkran, *The Creek Frontier, 1540-1783* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 187-192, 205-207, 211-213, 217-223.

21 Grant, "State of Indian Affairs," *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 300-302 ("Proud, insolent & overbearing,"); Hahn, *Invention of the Creek Nation*, 118-123; Nelson, *Governor James Grant*, 55.

further colonial growth and protect the empire from its European enemies. Although a degree of humanist sentiment ran through his calls for peaceful British-Native relations, at heart Grant was a pragmatic imperialist.²²

Grant's ideas reflected a general trend among British colonial administrators towards greater regulation of colonial-Native interactions. The Proclamation Line of 1763 represented Whitehall's policy of attempting to restrain colonial encroachments on Indian lands. It roughly corresponded to the arc of the Appalachian Mountains and forbid Anglo-American colonization beyond its limits (notably, the line did not apply to Florida or the southern portions of Georgia). In addition, Britain's Superintendent of Indian Affairs, John Stuart, collaborated with the Board of Trade to devise what they called the "Plan of 1764." The plan proposed granting the superintendent power to enforce a series of trade regulations throughout the Southern colonies. Among other things, Stuart's new restrictions would force traders to reside within Indian towns and called for the appointment of a series of agents to reside among Indian peoples and supervise trader behavior. The regulations would also prevent traders from selling "Spirituos Liquors" to Indians. Although the Plan of 1764 was never passed into law by Parliament, Stuart attempted to adopt many aspects of it into his administration. Like Grant, imperial administrators based their policies upon a desire to limit frontier violence and preserve their control over their own colonists. Providing fewer occasions for dispute meant less time and money spent sorting out conflicts. Concern for the well-being of Indians, if present at all, was a secondary aim.²³

22 Grant to Henry S. Conway, St. Augustine, August 21, 1766, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 299-300; Grant, "State of Indian Affairs," *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 300-302.

23 Stuart's attempts to implement the plan largely failed. The Superintendent's office carried very little power to enforce compliance and it received insufficient funding relative to its duties. The best coverage of these efforts is Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 111-112, 189-192. Also see Board of Trade, "Plan of 1764," July 10, 1764, *JGP*, Reel 7, Frames 89-101 ("Spirituos Liquors"); John Stuart to Board of Trade, Pensacola, December 1, 1764, in Clarence E. Carter, "Observations of Superintendent John Stuart and Governor James Grant of East Florida on the Proposed Plan of 1764 for Future Management of Indian Affairs," *American Historical Review* 20, vol. 4 (July 1915): 817-827; Alden, *John Stuart*, 210-214, 241-262; Colin G. Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 92-96, 109-111; J. Russell Snapp, *John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 54, 57-67; Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles*, 45-48, 105-108.

While such regulatory measures matched Grant's proposals, his "new system" of Indian relations extended beyond attempts to control the movement and behavior of colonists. A hallmark of Grant's policy, one which ran counter to imperial desires to cut expenditures, was frequent and generous gift-giving. As Grant learned among the Cherokees, Southeastern Indians punctuated peace talks with the distribution of gifts. Headmen gave and received items of symbolic and material value as a demonstration of their pacific intentions and commitment to a friendship based upon reciprocity. Leaders held onto certain prestige items as symbols of their power and importance. In the mid-eighteenth century, these goods constituted things such as gorgets, medallions, fine coats, and jackets. Other items, such as hunting guns, farming tools, and cheap European cloth, went to the members of a leader's clan or community. Creek society and politics operated upon the principle of redistribution. Headmen would secure needed or desired items for their towns, and then redistribute such goods to their people. In exchange, he would earn the respect of his townspeople, and the right to serve as a leader. If the luxury goods symbolically represented a chief's power and diplomatic skill, then these more common goods formed the material basis for his authority.²⁴

Grant also recognized the power of public displays in Southeastern Indian societies. In a letter to the Earl of Shelburne, then Secretary of State, he explained his esteem for congresses, which were public meetings between Native leaders and colonial officials. Insisting on the performance of all talks and gift-giving at public meetings, Grant claimed that "the Idea of a Congress keeps every Individual in order." One benefit of public talks related to the fact that decision-making among the Creeks, Cherokees, and other Southeastern Indians was usually consensus-based. If one were to negotiate a treaty with but a handful of leaders, without consulting

24 For Grant's emphasis on gift-giving, see Grant, "State of Indian Affairs," *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 300-302; Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 21; Nelson, *Governor James Grant*, 45, 55-56; Schafer, *British St. Augustine*, 17. For the importance of gifts to the Creeks, see Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 27, 73, 142; Hahn, *Invention of the Creek Nation*, 14-21; Hall, *Zamumo's Gifts*, 7-10; Juricek, *Colonial Georgia and the Creeks*, 6-7. Although it covers Franco-Native relations, Khalil Saadani's article on gift exchange and diplomacy in colonial Louisiana offers a detailed explanation of the linkages between the two. Dowd does the same in discussing the importance of gifts to Cherokees. See Dowd, "Insidious Friends," 116, 135-139; Saadani, "Gift Exchange between the French and Native Americans in Louisiana," trans. Joanne Burnett, in *French Colonial Louisiana and the Atlantic World*, ed. Bradley G. Bond (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005), 43-64.

the nation at large, one ran the risk of having the rest of the population reject the agreement. At the very least, members of the nation would have to authorize delegates to negotiate an agreement for them, and then approve the treaty upon the delegates' return. Securing an agreement with the public consensus of a Native people helped avoid unpleasant surprises later. In addition, Grant hoped to form personal bonds between himself and the Lower Creek headmen which would, through the distribution of gifts, create obligations among Native leaders to provide something in return. If he could form such ties with all of the prominent Creek headmen, he felt he could obtain their cooperation in settling boundaries and keeping peace on the frontier.²⁵

Grant followed these rituals assiduously, embracing the distribution of gifts in ways that his contemporaries, such as his former commander, Jeffery Amherst, did not. As the military governor of the territory conquered from France in the Seven Years' War, Amherst harbored the same imperial pride and martial bearing as Grant. However, Amherst saw gift-giving as an unnecessary expense, believing that Britain, by virtue of its victory in the Seven Years' War, no longer needed to court Indian allies. In his mind, gifts were not the fulfillment of British obligations to their Indian allies. Rather, they were "the charity of the gentry to the beggar," largesse granted Indians by condescending British elites. That the Native peoples of the Ohio Valley "demanded gifts as their due" was, to Amherst, a sign of their ingratitude. The general believed that they needed to be shown their place in the imperial hierarchy, to behave as grateful dependents of His Majesty. Amherst intended to awe them with Britain's military might and compel them into submissive obedience. Instead, Amherst sparked a conflict now known as Pontiac's Rebellion, in which the Native peoples of the Ohio Valley united in an attempt to expel the British from the region. Only after a year of costly warfare did British forces restore peace, and a negotiated one at that. In the 1760s, Indian nations in the trans-Appalachian West, including the Creeks, maintained considerable strength and independence. Unlike Amherst, Grant understood that he could not dictate terms to nations as powerful

25 Benjamin Hawkins, *A Sketch of the Creek Country in 1798 and 1799*, in H. Thomas Foster, II, *The Collected Works of Benjamin Hawkins* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 71-72; Grant to Shelburne, St. Augustine, April 19, 1767, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 321-322 ("the Idea..."); Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 27, 73, 142; Hahn, *Invention of the Creek Nation*, 46, 137, 155-156; Juricek, *Colonial Georgia and the Creeks*, 6-7; Nelson, *Governor James Grant*, 45, 55-56.

as the Creeks and that he had to form compromises with them. If he were to have peace in East Florida, he would not only have to control his own settlers, but also work to mollify the Creeks.²⁶

The extent to which Grant truly understood the role of gifts in Creek societies is difficult to determine, for he did not comment extensively on their social organization and customs. However, it is clear that Grant did not view gifting as akin to bribery. British colonial discourse is replete with complaints about the supposedly avaricious nature of various Native peoples. As one scholar has noted, the term “mercenary” seems to have been their word of choice. During the Seven Years’ War, George Washington groaned that the Cherokees were “mercenary; every service of theirs must be purchased.” During the American Revolution, British Indian agent Alexander Cameron called the Choctaws “the most Mercenary of all Indians that ever I was Acquainted with.” John Stuart regarded the Creeks as a “mercenary People.” In contrast, not once did Grant complain about gift-giving. When he had to defend his generosity to his superiors, he argued that he gave the Creeks “what I think necessary,” and that he feared being “drawn into the Difficulty of breaking my Word, and speaking with two Tongues to the Indians” if government cutbacks were to force him to withhold gifts he had already promised. Everything in Grant’s writings suggests that he comprehended, respected, and embraced the meanings implicit in gift-giving, particularly the good faith and trust it signified between two parties.²⁷

The weight which Grant placed on gifting is evident in his preparations for his departure to East Florida. While attempting to raise investments and interest in his new colony, Grant also exerted

26 Fred Anderson, *The Crucible of War: The Seven Years’ War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), chs. 47-48, 54, 56; Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 72 (“the charity...”; “demanded gifts...”), 72-78; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Regions, 1580-1815* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: University Press, 2011), 256-268.

27 Regarding the use of the term “mercenary,” see Dowd, “Insidious Friends,” 135-137; Washington quoted in Dowd, “Insidious Friends,” 137; Alexander Cameron to Henry Clinton, Pensacola, July 18, 1780, Sir Guy Carleton Papers (hereafter *GCP*), Reel 10, Doc. No. 2919, Microfilm, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA (“the most Mercenary”); Stuart to William Howe, “General Report on the Indians,” February 4, 1778, *GCP*, Reel 5, Doc. No. 925 (“mercenary People.”); Grant to William Knox, St. Augustine, July 13, 1768, *JGP*, Reel 2, Frames 128-130 (“what I think necessary”). Grant’s choice of the phrase “speaking with two Tongues” is curious, and perhaps reflects how deeply he had immersed himself in Indian diplomacy: it was a phrase used repeatedly by both Europeans and Indians in treaty councils and congresses.

himself in amassing a large store of Indian presents. Unfortunately, Grant's papers do not contain many indications of what types of gifts he accumulated or distributed. The records that do exist signify that he had a firm understanding of what sort of goods the Creeks desired. Records of the proceedings of his Indian congresses show that he gave out medals to chiefs, and made a display of such events. An undated "List of Indian Presents for the Government of East Florida" indicates that he obtained large quantities of items such as blankets, saddles, guns, and cloth. Grant knew what he was doing. These were all things that the Creeks valued and used in their everyday lives. The amount of time Grant spent obtaining stockpiles of goods also serves as an indicator of his regard for gift-giving. The governor spent over a year in London acquiring supplies and drumming up support for his new colony. He took so much time in preparing for his departure that Crown officials grew concerned and ordered him to set sail as soon as possible. The governor finally left for East Florida in May 1764, arriving at St. Augustine in August.²⁸

Upon reaching East Florida, Grant hastened to arrange a meeting with the leaders of the Lower Creek towns on the Suwannee, Flint, Apalachicola, and Chattahoochee Rivers, but extended invitations to other communities as well. He contacted John Stuart and asked him to inform both the Upper and Lower Creeks that he intended to receive them at a congress at St. Augustine. Grant also requested that Stuart, as soon as he found it possible, report to St. Augustine to aid him in the business of meeting with the Indians. Grant had already begun the process of contacting planters residing in Georgia and South Carolina, hoping to entice them to purchase land and move to East Florida. He eagerly anticipated the arrival of these planters, and wanted to settle affairs with the Lower Creeks so that the new colonists could begin setting up plantations immediately.²⁹

28 "List of Indian Presents for the Government of East Florida," c. 1764-1770, *JGP*, Reel 19, Frames 292-293; "Proceedings of the First Picolata Congress," November 15-20, 1765, *GFT*, 461-462; Schafer, *St. Augustine's British Years*, 16-21.

29 It is not entirely clear why Grant told Stuart "to send your Talk for a meeting here [St. Augustine] to the whole [Creek Nation]." He may have wanted to ensure that the Upper Creeks could not dispute the land cessions he planned to negotiate at the congress. Grant to Thomas Gage, St. Augustine, August 31, 1764, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 269-270; Grant to John Stuart, St. Augustine, September 14, 1764, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 81-82 ("to send.."); Mowat, *East Florida*, 20-21.

Unfortunately for Grant, he experienced difficulties in arranging his much-desired congress. Personal and professional affairs kept John Stuart tied up in Pensacola and Charles Town for over a year. Stuart's absence prevented Grant from gaining any traction in negotiations with the Creeks, as Crown officials had obligated him to coordinate all moves in Indian policy with Stuart. The delays irritated Grant, who continually pressed Stuart as to when he should expect the superintendent at St. Augustine. Stuart did manage to spread word of Grant's proposed congress to the Creek headmen in June 1765 while meeting with both the Upper and Lower Creeks at Pensacola. Most of the prominent Lower Creek leaders and even a few Upper Creeks promised to attend. Grant sent runners out to the leaders reminding them of the meeting in order to ensure their arrival, but logistical difficulties abounded. The Creeks agreed to journey to meet Grant in the autumn, but refused to go as far as St. Augustine. Citing inadequate pasturage for their horses at the provincial capital, they instead chose to meet at Ft. Picolata, west of St. Augustine, on the eastern bank of the St. Johns River. Grant agreed to their change of venue request and began preparing "Presents, Rum and Provisions" for the congress, which he loaded onboard a schooner and ferried downriver to Picolata. Expecting to hold the congress in either September or October 1765, Grant experienced delays due to the time it took to move the goods and in waiting for the Creek leaders to make it out to Picolata. Understanding the importance of having as many Creek leaders as possible present at this meeting, Grant chose to endure such impediments. The headmen and warriors only began assembling along the St. Johns River in late October; not until mid-November did enough of them arrive to begin the conference.³⁰

With the advent of the Picolata Congress, Grant finally had the opportunity to place his Indian policy into execution. The congress

30 For Stuart's invitation and delays, see Stuart to Grant, Pensacola, October 12 and 30, 1764, *JGP*, Reel 6, Frames 225-227, 232-234; Stuart to Grant, Mobile, March 31 and June 1 and 7, 1765, *JGP*, Reel 8, Frames 144-145, 232-233, 242-244; Stuart to Grant, Charles Town, July 22, 1765, *JGP*, Reel 13, Frames 7-9. For Grant's preparations for the conference, see Grant to Stuart, St. Augustine, October 17, 1764 and August 10, 1765, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 92-93, 173-174 ("Presents, Rum, and Provisions"); Grant to Gage, St. Augustine, April 4, 1765, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 280-281; Grant to James Pampellone, St. Augustine, August 24, 1765, Reel 1, Frames 185-186; Grant and Stuart to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, St. Augustine, December 12, 1765, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 287-288. For Grant's negotiating the time and place of the congress with Lower Creek leaders, see Grant to the Headmen and Warriors of the Lower Creek Nation, St. Augustine, August 19, 1765, *JGP*, Reel 9, Frames 67-68.

began with a number of the Creeks performing a ceremonial song and dance, and then shaking hands with both Grant and Stuart. The attendees made an elaborate show of paying their respects to the governor and superintendent. For their part, Stuart and Grant respectfully attended to Creek rituals, joining them in the smoking of a calumet decorated with eagle feathers. As hosts, Stuart and Grant began by speaking to the headmen and warriors, reciting the recent history of the relations between the British and Creek peoples. They spoke of the long-held ties between the "Great King" of Great Britain and the Creeks, referencing British-Creek contacts dating back to the 1670s. In the king's name, Grant assured the Creeks that the Crown had no desire to seize their hunting grounds. At three different points during his speech, Grant presented a string of beads, the first coming at the beginning of his talk. The presentation of beads represented another gesture in accord with Southeastern Indian customs. It symbolized the peaceful intentions of the British officials, much in the way that their willingness to smoke the calumet did. Grant claimed to "know, and love the red People," and pointed to his involvement in helping the Cherokees preserve their lands following the Anglo-Cherokee War. Explicitly linking that experience with his current role as Governor of East Florida, Grant assured the Creek headmen that, "If I acted in that Manner with the Cherokees with whom I had been so long at War, You may be sure I will do Nothing to the Prejudice of Your People."³¹

Grant portrayed his demands for land as not only minimal, but beneficial. The governor insisted that all he wanted was a "certain District of Country" for ranching and planting. He argued that the cession of the lands along the Florida sea coast and St. Johns River would not harm any of the Creeks, as their hunting grounds and towns laid much further west. Grant even claimed that the clearing of land and establishment of plantations would drive off game from the St. Johns River basin and towards the Creek settlements, making it easier for them to hunt. Grant also held out the enticement of increased trade, particularly to the Creeks living on the Florida peninsula. With British towns and trading posts closer to their villages, the governor argued that they could more easily obtain clothing, guns, gunpowder, musket balls, and

31 "Proceedings of the First Picolata Congress," November 15-20, 1765, *GFT*, 454 ("know, and love..."; "If I acted..."); John Bartram, "Remarks on the Congress Held in a Pavilion," St. Augustine, November 15-20, 1765, *GFT*, 462-463; Grant and Stuart to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, St. Augustine, December 12, 1765, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 287-288.

other European manufactures. Grant then closed his talk with a statement of brotherhood and camaraderie. He claimed that the joint British-Creek presence signified their collaboration, for it meant that "the Peninsula of Florida was conquered by the white and Red People jointly together."³² Never forgetting his observance of ritual, Grant continued with displays of beads throughout the talk, making the second presentation after the mention of trade, marking the connection between exchange and peaceful relations, and the third presentation at the very end of his speech.³³

Grant's usage of beads deserves further comment for it represents one of his most innovative practices. His actions reveal that his adoption of Native diplomatic protocol was more than a simple parroting of ritual gestures. Grant understood the meaning behind the beads. By presenting them at the end of important points in his speech, he was imbuing these beads with meaning. As they served to represent and communicate specific agreements, promises, or statements that Grant made, each string of beads told a story. Grant's gesture was understood and appreciated by the Creek leaders. The next day of the congress, an Okmulgee leader named Tallechea, to whom most of the other Creek attendees deferred, approached both Grant and Stuart. Tallechea expressed his pleasure at the governor's understanding of Creek custom. He claimed that when he had first begun dealing with the British they scarcely understood his people. But at this point in the relationship, Tallechea claimed that the British officials "talked to them in their own Way by giving them Beads and tobacco to put them in mind of what is Said." Using a common Creek metaphor for peaceable interaction and trade, he then asserted that "the Path [was] Straight" between the two peoples.³⁴

32 What Grant seems to be implying is that British and Creek settlers were engaging in simultaneous expansion into the Florida peninsula, and is probably a reference to decades of British-Creek cooperation against Spanish Florida and its Native allies. His usage of the term "Red People" refers only to the Creeks, and disregards other Native peoples who had lived in Florida for many centuries prior.

33 "Proceedings of the First Picolata Congress," November 15-20, 1765, *GFT*, 455-457.

34 *Ibid.* Grant seems to have been the first British official in the southern colonies, if not all of North America, to utilize beads in this particular manner. John Stuart appears to have copied the practice directly from Grant. He never used it prior to the First Picolata Congress, but employed it thereafter at conferences with the Upper and Lower Creeks in 1767, the Cherokees in 1768, and again with the Upper Creeks in 1771. From there the practice spread, as it also shows up in a speech that the Continental Congress sent to various Indian nations in 1775. Acknowledgements go to one of the *FHQ*'s anonymous readers for this

The good feelings between Grant and Tallechea soon dissipated. Tallechea demanded that the colonists neither settle nor construct a fort further west or south than Picolata. This proposed line upset Grant. At a congress held in Augusta two years prior, Tallechea had offered Great Britain *all* of the land east of the St. Johns River. The deal was not finalized then because Stuart and the governors present felt that Grant should be present to conduct any negotiations relative to his colony. Vexing Grant further, Tallechea adopted a stern, forceful tone, insisting that no colonists should ever cross the boundary, and that the British should not blame any Creeks who killed trespassing whites or their cattle. Another headman, who the British called Captain Aleck, echoed Tallechea's sentiments, repeating his request that no colonists settle beyond Picolata. The Lower Creeks had suffered at the hands of encroaching colonists from Georgia, and wanted no repeat of that experience with East Florida.³⁵

While accommodating Creek customs and rituals, Grant did not intend to bend to their will. He considered Tallechea and Aleck's boundary proposal insufficient, as it further limited the narrow strip of seacoast in which the British could settle. Not finding their boundary proposals or their demeanor satisfactory, Grant refused to dine with any of the leaders that evening. Tallechea and Aleck recognized Grant's irritation, for Tallechea approached Grant and Stuart afterwards and agreed to accept the governor's terms. Both headmen came to the third day of talks in a more tranquil mood, apologizing for their conduct from the day before. Aleck deferred to Tallechea on the boundary matter, and the latter admitted conceding to Grant's demands at the public talks. Having made his dealings with the governor known to his fellow headmen, Tallechea claimed the matter settled and hoped for continued peaceful relations between the Creeks and the colonists. Pleased at this turn

information. See "Superintendent Stuart's Trade Conference with Lower and Upper Creeks at Augusta," May 28 - June 6, 1767, *GT*, 29-36; "Superintendent Stuart's Journal of the Proceedings at the Cherokee Treaty of Hard Labor [South Carolina]," October 8 - 21, 1768, *NSCT*, 272-281; "Proceedings of the Second Picolata Congress with the Upper Creeks," October 29-31, 1771, *GFT*, 387-401; "Continental Congress to the Indian Nations about the Conflict with the British," [Philadelphia], July 13, 1775, *NSCT*, 369-373.

35 For the Picolata Congress, see "Proceedings of the First Picolata Congress," November 15-20, 1765, *GFT*, 458-460. For the Augusta Congress of 1763, see Juricek, Introduction to Chapter VII, *GT*, 296; "Minutes of the Southern Congress at Augusta, Georgia," October 1 - November 7, 1763, in *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. 11, 184-185, 189-190, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr> (accessed April 25, 2010).

of events, Grant concluded the negotiations. The next day, Grant's scribes drew up the treaty and his translators read it aloud to the Creeks. All parties signed the treaty in the presence of one another, the document itself making the act binding under British custom, and the public nature of the event doing so for the Creeks.³⁶

Grant had confirmed the right to establish settlements and posts throughout a long strip of land bounded on the north by the St. Marys River, on the west by the edge of the St. Johns River basin, and on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, in addition to the entirety of the sea coast east of the Apalachicola River. The area along the western flank of the St. Johns was the vital component of this deal. Grant anticipated that this region would serve as the economic backbone of East Florida and that within a decade's time it would be littered with plantations. After the conference, Grant revealed that this was the reason he grew frustrated with Tallechea: "[The Creeks] at first offered to draw the Line from Santa Seevilla upon the Altamaha, to Picolata, and from thence along the Path coming to this place [St. Augustine], there was not room for a single good Plantation, and if they had persisted there must have been a total stop put to the settling of the Province for a time."³⁷

Having settled the matter to his liking, Grant proceeded to fulfill his obligations to the Creek headmen by distributing presents. Grant and Stuart chose to present medals to the chiefs immediately following the treaty signing. Recognizing the prominent role they took in the negotiations, Grant awarded "great medals" to Tallechea and Aleck, along with another chief named Estimé. The great medal represented the highest honor the British bestowed upon Indian leaders. For its recipients, it signified that British officials recognized them as the most powerful and influential leaders among their people, and marked them as holding the confidence of British officials. "Small medals" existed as well for chiefs and warriors of lesser prestige. Grant and Stuart bestowed four of these small medals to Lower Creek leaders Sempeyoffé, Weoffké, Latchigé, and Chayhagé.³⁸

36 "Proceedings of the First Picolata Congress," November 15-20, 1765, *GFT*, 460-461.

37 Despite the Lower Creeks ceding the territory to East Florida, British administrators placed the land between the Altamaha and the St. Marys under Georgia's jurisdiction. Grant to Knox, St. Augustine, December 9, 1765, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 203-205.

38 The medals made for great tools of political manipulation, for the British could refuse medals to chiefs who did not cooperate with their demands and use them to reward compliant headmen. Indians' self-determination also played a role

After bestowing the medals, Grant and Stuart spent the next two days distributing a vast array of gifts. No accounts of the congress describe in detail what presents Grant gave out, who he gave them to, or how many he gave away. John Bartram, a naturalist who attended and recorded the proceedings of the conference, mentioned that Grant gave out guns, kettles, hoes, blankets, and linens.³⁹ As every leader present at the conference would have received a supply of gifts, the list of signatories to the treaty likely indicates to whom the presents were given. As for the quantity of goods handed out, Grant wrote that he "loaded [the headmen and warriors] with Presents and Rum, gave them every thing they asked, [and] sent a quantity of Ammunition to their Nation which they did not apply for." His reported expenses for the congress only amounted to £380, but Grant does not seem to have factored the cost of the presents he had purchased in London into this total. With the establishment of good relations and the settlement of the boundary such pressing goals, Grant likely considered the expense a bargain.⁴⁰

Grant had hoped to meet with every significant Lower Creek leader at Picolata, but one holdout prevented him from achieving this goal. The Cowkeeper (also known as Ahaye) mysteriously absented himself from the congress, but chose to pay a personal call to Grant some weeks later. In the last week of December 1765, Cowkeeper arrived at St. Augustine with over sixty attendants and

in deciding who received such honors. Creeks and other Southeastern Indians selected their own leaders based upon who would best serve their interests, and would abandon those who made unpopular decisions. Rather than trying to create their own hand-picked leaders, colonial officials used the medals to influence men who already possessed authority in their communities. The practice seems to have derived from French diplomatic rituals, which in turn appear to have evolved from the Southeastern Indian institution of nominating a "protector chief," or "*fanne micco*," from another people or tribe to advance one's interest within that society. Stuart's predecessor, Edmund Atkin, seems to have been the first among the British to employ the practice. For the French and Native practices from which the medal ceremonies evolved, see Patricia Galloway, "The Chief Who is Your Father': Choctaw and French Views of the Diplomatic Relation," in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, ed. Gregory A. Waselkov, Peter H Wood, and M. Thomas Hatley, rev. ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 345-370. For a synopsis of the evolution of the ceremony, see Juricek, *Colonial Georgia and the Creeks*, 247-248. For British usage of medals, see Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 142; Corkran, *Creek Frontier*, 248-251; Snapp, *John Stuart*, 63-64, 84-85, 88-89. For the use of medals during the Picolata Congress, see "Proceedings of the First Picolata Congress," November 15-20, 1765, *GFT*, 461-462.

39 Bartram, "Remarks," *GFT*, 463.

40 Grant to Knox, St. Augustine, December 9, 1765 and January 12, 1766, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 203-205, 217-219.

asked to meet with the governor. Every bit as savvy and charming as the governor, Cowkeeper deeply impressed Grant, who referred to the headman as "one of the most intelligent Indians I have met with." He did not pressure Grant over the boundary. Instead, he listened to the governor's explanation of the Picolata Treaty and agreed to the land cession without dispute. Cowkeeper excused himself for missing the Picolata Congress by claiming that his family had been ill. His delayed arrival may have been an attempt to secure an audience alone with the governor in order to receive special attention and favor from him. Cowkeeper's placatory demeanor no doubt aided him in this pursuit, and the entire incident showed him to be a shrewd and able negotiator.⁴¹

Cowkeeper stayed at St. Augustine for eight days, during which time Grant provided for him and all his attendants. Grant proved especially eager to secure his affections, determining that "his Friendship is of Consequence." As Cowkeeper's town, Alachua, lay only seventy miles west of St. Augustine, Grant felt that his influence would prove crucial in securing the peace of his colony. If Cowkeeper could keep his townsmen in check, Grant reasoned that settlers would have few occasions to fight with their Indian neighbors. The governor went to great lengths to please the headman. He dined with Cowkeeper for over a week, made him a great medal chief, gave him a supply of gifts, and sent his retinue home with loads of provisions. By Grant's account, both he and the Cowkeeper left their meeting on extremely good terms.⁴²

In the ensuing years, the governor did not deviate from his placatory Indian policy. Cowkeeper paid Grant another impromptu visit in the middle of 1766, and the governor gave him another festive reception. Grant dined with him and his family and again sent them home with a large supply of gifts.⁴³ Around this same

41 Grant to James Wright, St. Augustine, December 26, 1765, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 211-212; Grant to Knox, St. Augustine, January 12, 1766, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 217-219; Grant to the Lords of Trade, St. Augustine, January 13, 1766, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frame 289 ("one of the most intelligent..").

42 Grant to James Wright, St. Augustine, December 26, 1765, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 211-212; Grant to Knox, St. Augustine, January 12, 1766, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 217-219; Grant to the Lords of Trade, St. Augustine, January 13, 1766, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 289 ("his Friendship is of Consequence").

43 In this case Grant gave details as to what he gave the Alachuas: "two Kegs of [Gun] Powder, & Ball in proportion, two Kegs of Rum, a Barrel of Flour, two hundred weight of Rice, Paint, Tobacco, Pipes, Shirts & other Trifles, Rings, [and] Earings." Grant gave generously to the Creeks, even when they made unannounced and unplanned visits, which Cowkeeper did frequently. Grant to Stuart, St. Augustine, October 4, 1766, *JGP*, Reel 2, Frames 8-9.

time, he decided to hold another Picolata Congress. In fact, Grant had begun planning for this second congress immediately after the first one, and prepared a list of goods he thought he might need. Grant believed that "such a Step was necessary to keep up a good Understanding" with the Lower Creeks.⁴⁴ He thought that by continually rewarding the Creeks for "good behavior" towards the colonists, he could condition them to keep the peace with his province. Grant saw the event as an opportunity to fully establish trust and goodwill between himself and the Creeks. As Grant observed, "the Indians can with great ease stop the Settlement of this Province," by scaring off existing and prospective settlers. Grant knew that his military force remained quite weak. In the event of an attack, he recognized that "we can do no harm to those same Indians," and that "the Floridas would cease to have an existence" in the event of full-scale warfare with the Creeks. Therefore, Grant committed himself to the practice of holding congresses and distributing gifts on a regular basis. By doing so, he thought he could maintain peace between the two peoples and continue with the business of setting up plantations throughout the province.⁴⁵

The Second Picolata Congress began on November 21, 1767 with around eighty Lower Creek representatives in attendance, fewer than the First Picolata Congress.⁴⁶ Aside from a small delegation from the town of Coosa, no Upper Creeks were present on this occasion. Nor was John Stuart, who was preoccupied with more pressing issues and generally left Grant to his own devices

44 The actual list does not appear in Grant's papers, but in only a letter to his financial agent, William Knox, in which he mentions that he enclosed the list with his letter. Grant to Knox, St. Augustine, December 28, 1765, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frame 217.

45 *Ibid.*; Grant to Gage, St. Augustine, November 15, 1766, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frame 305; Grant to Stuart, St. Augustine, December 15, 1766, *JGP*, Reel 2, Frame 17-19 ("the Indians can..."; "we can do no harm"); Grant to Shelburne, St. Augustine, April 19, 1767, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 321-322.

46 The reduction in Creek attendance was probably due to the long distance between Picolata and most of the Lower Creek towns and the fact that, unlike the first congress, Grant had no serious boundary issues to settle. Also, a skirmish broke out between a number of Creeks and East Floridians just before this conference (discussed later in this paper). Fear of reprimand from Grant may have prevented some of the headmen from attending. One of the headmen in attendance, the Pumpkin King, suggested as much, when he bragged that he had not been scared off by rumors that the governor would punish him, even though many others decided to return home for this reason. See "Proceedings of the Second Picolata Congress," *GFT*, 473-474; Grant to Shelburne, St. Augustine, December 10, 1767, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 336-337; Grant to Knox, St. Augustine, December 18, 1767, *JGP*, Reel 2, Frames 87-88.

after the First Picolata Congress. The meeting began as the first congress did, with the Lower Creeks performing their rituals and ceremonies and smoking the calumet with Governor Grant. Grant opened the speaking portion of the conference by once again assuring the headmen and warriors of his and the King's continued friendship with them. The governor also reiterated the proceedings of the First Picolata Congress, while insisting that he and the East Florida settlers remained satisfied with the boundary established there. While talking, Grant punctuated his speeches with occasional displays of beads, as he did previously. He emphasized his good treatment and provisioning of all the Creeks who had come to St. Augustine in between the two congresses. While expressing disappointment at the low turnout, Grant nonetheless promised to maintain a steady deerskin trade and continued provisioning all the Lower Creeks who came to his province.⁴⁷

Grant did have one issue of consequence he wanted to discuss with the Lower Creeks involving recent developments on the St. Marys River. The river was a borderland, where many British colonists had established houses and farms, and many Creek hunters roamed in search of deer. In late October 1767, just before the congress, some of the tensions on the Georgia frontier had managed to spill over into East Florida. A few Creeks in this region, detached from any tribal authority, made their living as horse rustlers, attacking both colonists and Indians for the purpose of stealing their horses. Some of the colonists gave chase to the horse rustling party and seized a few of the offenders. Those settlers then stripped their Creek prisoners of their clothing, tied them to trees, and whipped them in retribution for the theft. Upon their release,

47 "Proceedings of the Second Picolata Congress," *GFT*, 471-472. After the First Picolata Congress, Stuart spent the next few years overwhelmed with matters relating to the regulation of the Indian trade, disputes between Georgia and the Lower Creeks, and various diplomatic issues associated with the Choctaw-Creek War that broke out in 1765. Stuart spent these years traveling between Charles Town, Augusta, and Pensacola, never returning to St. Augustine during Grant's administration. The relatively tranquil colony was a low priority for the Superintendent. See Stuart to Grant, Charles Town, June 30, 1766, *JGP*, Reel 10, Frame 274; Snapp, *John Stuart*, 68-107. For more on the Choctaw-Creek War and Indian affairs in West Florida, see Alden, *John Stuart*, 225-227, ch. 9; Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 56-57, 112-114, 117-118; Juricek, Introduction to Chapter V and VIII, *GFT*, 287, 361-370; Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles*, 45-48, 105-107. Regarding Georgia, see Alden, *John Stuart*, ch. 8; Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 144-146; Corkran, *Creek Frontier*, 262-265, 276-287; Juricek, Introduction to Chapters I and II, *GFT*, 1-7, 123-131; Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles*, 45-48, 107-110.

the offenders chose to take revenge. They fled to a distance, waited for the colonists to pass by, and then fired upon them. Having killed two colonists and wounded another, the Creeks then attacked the settlers' property, burning their houses.⁴⁸

Grant responded to the St. Marys incident in a patient and politic manner. The governor recognized that the Creek assailants were "vagabond Indians," not attached to any particular town or headman. Therefore, he did not blame any of the Creek headmen at Picolata for the actions of this particular band.⁴⁹ Grant assured the headmen in attendance that he held no ill will towards them, and would not do so whenever "rogue" Indians were involved in frontier strife. Again, he cited his experience with the Cherokees to convince the Creeks of his good intentions. He told them of an incident where an unnamed military officer had imprisoned some Cherokees under the pretense of inviting them to a dinner. Grant claimed that he forced the officer to free them, despite the fact that Britain was at war with the Cherokees. The governor portrayed this event as a demonstration of his honest and fair intentions towards Indians. He emphasized that action as vital to building trust with the Cherokees, and insisted he would operate upon the same principle with the Creeks.⁵⁰

As the St. Marys attack frightened and enraged many of the colonists, Grant had to pursue some kind of justice against the murderers. He feared these settlers would take vengeance into their own hands, provoking a larger conflict between colonists and Creeks. He tried to resolve the issue by pressuring the headmen to find and seize the two murderers, and to execute them in the

48 Grant to Knox, St. Augustine, October 30, 1767, *JGP*, Reel 2, Frames 67-69; Grant to Shelburne, St. Augustine, October 31, 1767, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 334-335.

49 As Grant put it in a letter to the Earl of Shelburne, "Murthers [murders] are committed in the Streets of London and Paris, and must be expected at times in the American Woods, as the Indian Inhabitants have no coercive power to keep them in order." See Grant to Shelburne, St. Augustine, December 10, 1767, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 336-337.

50 The Cherokee incident is undoubtedly a reference to the actions of Ensign George Milne, who commanded at Fort Prince-George immediately prior to the Montgomery campaign in 1760. Milne had invited a Cherokee delegation headed by a Lower Towns leader named Tistoe to peace talks over dinner, and then kidnapped him. When Grant found out about the incident, he arrested Milne and freed the hostages. For the Creek talks, see Grant to Shelburne, St. Augustine, October 31, 1767, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 334-335; "Proceedings of the Second Picolata Congress," November 21-3, 1767, *GFT*, 472-473. For the Fort Prince George incident, see Corkran, *Cherokee Frontier*, 205-206, 211; Oliphant, *Peace and War*, 87.

presence of some of the white settlers.⁵¹ His announcement ended the first day's session, and the Creeks and their interpreters drank to excess on the next day and could not hold the meeting. Finally, the Pumpkin King of Ousseechee addressed Grant's demand on the congress's third day. The Pumpkin King affirmed his disapproval of the murders and promised Grant that he would have the assailants punished. Pleased at the Pumpkin King's response, the governor re-read the treaty from the First Picolata Congress, and then adjourned the meeting. Over the course of the next four days, Grant distributed vast stores of presents and rum to the Creeks. The attendees celebrated and held festivities for those four days, then gathered their gifts and returned to their towns.⁵²

The St. Marys affair proved to be the only Creek-related issue Grant could not solve during his tenure. It continued to cause him difficulty for the next four years, as he could not manage to apprehend the murderers. After the congress, Grant felt optimistic about the prospect of settling the affair. He boasted to the Earl of Shelburne that, although the cost of the congress ran high, "money could not be better applied [sic], as it certainly prevented an Indian War."⁵³ He figured that the headmen would soon bring about the execution of the murderers, which he would reward with another congress and another disbursement of presents. Unfortunately for Grant, things did not play out so smoothly. In April 1768, the governor received a letter from an interpreter residing in the Creek town of Chehaw, Stephen Forrester. Forrester informed Grant the Lower Creek headmen claimed to have settled

51 At the first Picolata congress, Grant and Creek leaders set up a system of reciprocal justice, which both sides were to follow in case any murders occurred on the frontier. If a group of Creeks were to kill any number of whites, the Creek headmen were to execute an equal number from the murdering party. A group of whites, presumably relatives or associates of the murdered party, were to witness this execution as well. Likewise, if white settlers killed a number of Creeks, Grant agreed to execute an equal number from the guilty party in the presence of a Creek delegation. "Treaty of Picolata," November 15-[20], 1765, *GFT*, 464-465.

52 The Creeks observed their traditional dances and games all the while. Grant commented in a letter to William Knox that "they danced the Eagle Tail Dance, played Ball & were vastly pleased." Grant to Shelburne, St. Augustine, October 31, 1767, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 334-335; "Proceedings of the Second Picolata Congress," November 21-23, 1767, *GFT*, 473-474 ("rogue"); Roupell to Stuart, St. Augustine, December 10, 1767, *GFT*, 475-476; Grant to Knox, St. Augustine, December 18, 1767, *JGP*, Reel 2, Frames 87-88.

53 Grant's expense statement listed the cost of the congress as at around £361. Grant to Shelburne, St. Augustine, December 10, 1767 and January 6, 1768, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 336-337, 340-341.

the affair, but upon investigation found their arrangement far from satisfactory. The headmen only offered one death as satisfaction for the murders, not two. Moreover, the dead man was not even one of the murderers, but their uncle. Fearful for their lives, the murderers killed their uncle and claimed that he had put them up to the assault at St. Marys. In so doing, they hoped that all parties involved would accept the uncle's death in place of theirs.⁵⁴

Both the guilty party and the headmen tried to pass this off as acceptable retribution for the murdered colonists. Tallechea served as the Lower Creek spokesman in the affair, and came to St. Augustine to deliver a talk to Grant in June 1768. The headman hoped to convince the governor of his good faith and peaceful intentions by presenting Grant with a white eagle wing, a Creek symbol of peace, at the beginning of his talk. He then explained the killing of the murderers' uncle and begged Grant to accept this as sufficient satisfaction for the murders. Grant scoffed at this notion, as the man put to death had not even been one of the actual murderers. He even offered to pardon one of the offenders if the headmen should put the other to death, but insisted that one member of the guilty party had to die for the crime. The point was one of clashing cultural norms. For a Briton such as Grant, guilt was an individual burden, and only the guilty could justly suffer for his or her crimes. Creeks saw justice as a kin-based affair, where one's kin group held collective responsibility for each member's actions. In the case of murder, the death of any member of the offending kin group could cover

54 Because most Creek leaders did not possess the kind of coercive authority requisite to enact such punishments, any attempt to forcibly apprehend and execute the murderers would have been risky. Punishment for violent crimes was either a matter of vengeance taken out by the victims and their relatives, or else handled internally by the offenders' kin group. It is possible that the murderers were related to a powerful leader who had protected them from being executed. For evidence regarding the murders, see Grant to Pierce Sinnott, St. Augustine, February 23, 1768, *JGP*, Reel 2, Frame 108; Stephen Forrester to Grant, Chehaw, April 30, 1768, *JGP*, Reel 15, Frames 224-225. For a discussion of Creek political structure, particularly the autonomy of towns and clans, and the operation of the concept of blood vengeance, see Robbie Ethridge, *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 94-96, 109-110, 228-232; Hahn, *Invention of the Creek Nation*, 21-23, 214; Piker, *Okfuskee: A Creek Town in Colonial America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 1, 15-16, 40-42; Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 21, 91-97. Saunt's work speaks of the affair involving Grant, and offers its own analysis of the incident.

for the crime. The disconnect either showed the limits of Grant's understanding of Southeastern Indian societies, or the point at which of his forbearance of their customs gave way. In either case, Grant thought the British method of justice superior, and was determined to have the Creeks observe its dictates. The governor saw the incident as a matter of principle, for he thought it wrong that the Creeks would have the murder of an "innocent" man pass for punishment of the guilty party. Grant seemed determined to force the Creeks to execute one of the actual murderers, and refused to accept any other arrangement.⁵⁵

When some colonists killed a Creek the following year, Grant saw it as an opportunity to demonstrate to the headman the "proper" way in which to prosecute a murder case. On the St. Johns River, a few colonists killed a Creek hunter due to their fear that he had come to steal their cattle or horses. Grant feared that the victim's family would take vengeance upon the colonists at-large and provoke a frontier conflict. Moreover, Grant had not forgotten how the Virginians and Carolinians had behaved towards the Cherokees. He wanted to send a clear message to his own people that violence and vigilantism would not reign in his province. The governor acted immediately on the issue, sending a talk to the Lower Creek headmen and warriors. The governor vowed that he would investigate and secure punishment for the crime. Within days, Grant had two suspects seized and thrown into jail. Grant then met with the father of the victim, a warrior named Nipké from the town of Ousseechee. He gave Nipké food, drink, and tobacco, and comforted him over his murdered son, pledging to obtain justice.

55 For Creeks, the death of a man from the murderers' family would satisfy as punishment. Their system allowed for ascribing guilt for a crime to an offender's entire clan or community, rather than to the offender himself. The clan or community would carry a "blood debt," whereby it had to surrender a life to make up for the life of the murdered party. The circumstances under which the clan or community paid the blood debt mattered less than a reciprocation of loss of life; the murderers' killing of their uncle, as it cost the life of a community member, satisfied the blood debt. See "Tallechea Delivers Lower Creek Proposal on Satisfaction, which Governor Grant Rejects," *GFT*, 476-477; Grant to Stuart, St. Augustine, June 30, 1768, *JGP*, Reel 2, Frame 125; Duane Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change: Constitutional Governments among the Cherokee, the Choctaw, the Chickasaw, and the Creek* (Stanford, CA.: University Press, 1992), 33-34. The execution of a (somewhat) innocent man in place of the guilty party also holds some parallels to the execution of Acorn Whistler in 1754, as described in Joshua Piker, *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013.)

Soon thereafter, one of the prisoners confessed to the crime, after his cellmate informed the governor of the man's guilt.⁵⁶

Nervous over a potential border war, Grant was eager to demonstrate an example of swift judicial action to the Creek headmen. After the murderer was tried for his crime, convicted, and sentenced to death, Grant arranged to have him executed within a matter of days. He fired off a letter to the leaders of Alachua and Little Savannah, informing them that he would soon hang the accused party. In this same talk, Grant brought up the St. Marys murder, and explicitly connected the two cases. Grant believed that his expeditious handling of the St. Johns affair would oblige the headmen to act with similar speed on the St. Marys case. He voiced his expectations when he told the headmen, "I am the last man who would protect or pardon a White Rogue, and I expect to find the same readiness from my Red Brothers in giving up their Rogues." Within ten days of sending this message, Grant reported the successful hanging of the murderer in Nipké's presence. In total, only four weeks passed between Grant receiving news of the incident and the execution of the murderer.⁵⁷

Grant hoped that his speedy resolution of the St. Johns affair would procure satisfaction for the St. Marys murders. Yet, Grant received no news concerning the incident in the weeks and months that followed, and the two murderers remained alive and free. By August 1769, Grant grew frustrated with the situation and wrote an angry letter to the Lower Creeks. Grant reminded Lower Creek leaders of all of the positive things he had done for them in the five years he had governed East Florida. He mentioned how he continually fed and provisioned them, how he treated them with respect, and made efforts to have their horses returned when colonists stole them. Grant also reminded them of his swift execution of the St. Johns murderer and chided them for not doing the same with the St. Marys murderers. The governor warned

56 Grant to the Lower Creek Headmen and Warriors, St. Augustine, December 19, 1768, *JGP*, Reel 2, Frame 154; Grant to James Wright, St. Augustine, December 19, 1768, *JGP*, Reel 2, Frames 154-155; Grant to Knox, St. Augustine, December 21, 1768 and January 14, 1769, *JGP*, Reel 2, Frames 158-159, 168-170; Grant to Stuart, St. Augustine, December 22, 1768, *JGP*, Reel 2, Frames 159-160.

57 Grant to the Headmen and Warriors of Alachua and Little Savannah, St. Augustine, January 5, 1769, *JGP*, Reel 2, Frames 167-168 ("I am the last man ..."); Grant to Christopher D'Oyly, St. Augustine, January 14, 1769, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 381-382; Grant to the Earl of Hillsborough, St. Augustine, January 14, 1769, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 382-383; Grant to Knox, St. Augustine, January 14, 1769, *JGP*, Reel 2, Frames 168-170.

them that if they did not show better faith in punishing offenders, he would refrain from giving them presents or provisions in the future. Grant followed through on his promise in mid-1770, when some of the Creeks began calling for another Picolata Congress. He refused, citing the fact that the St. Marys murderers still remained at large. Grant finally left the province to return to Great Britain in May 1771, with the issue unresolved.⁵⁸

The St. Marys affair demonstrated the restricted nature of Creek political authority, as well as the limits of Grant's tolerance of Creek customs. To Grant, the headmen seemed intransigent and unwilling to cooperate in punishing the murderers. In actuality, the headmen lacked the power to seize or punish the culprits on their own. Grant acknowledged this fact, but never seemed to truly comprehend it. The governor noted the lack of "coercive authority" among the Creek towns, and called the culprits "vagabonds," unattached to any town or headman. Despite this, Grant stubbornly maintained that the headmen should execute the murderers. He stuck to the idea that they would employ force if he pressured them enough. Grant seemed to think that Indian leaders had the ability to seize more power if they chose to do so. While his experience with the Cherokees gave him cursory knowledge of Indian diplomacy, it did not make him the expert he often pretended to be. The knowledge he gained among the Overhills proved sufficient to maintain peace with the Creeks. Grant certainly avoided committing some of the *faux pas* of his more aggressive and culturally-insensitive counterparts. Yet, Grant did not fully understand Creek society and this occasionally left him incapable of relating to the Creek headmen, as his handling of the St. Marys affair shows.

While Grant did not possess a perfect understanding of Creek culture, his knowledge proved sufficient to maintain a negotiated peace with the Lower Creek towns. During the Anglo-Cherokee War, Grant learned of systems of gift exchange and diplomatic discourse among Southeastern Indians. Upon his appointment as governor of East Florida, Grant engaged his Lower Creek neighbors in a tactful manner, making sure to observe their customs and rituals. Grant had difficulty during the St. Marys affair, when the issue at hand required a deeper familiarity with Creek societies than

58 Grant to the Headmen and Warriors of the Lower Creek Nation, St. Augustine, September 8, 1769, *JGP*, Reel 2, Frames 208-209; Grant to Hillsborough, St. Augustine, July 10, 1770, *JGP*, Reel 1, Frames 409-410.

he possessed. Even so, his handling of Creek diplomacy proved successful. Throughout his tenure, the southeastern Anglo-Creek frontier remained relatively quiet, as only two murders occurred in his nearly seven years as governor. The province stayed mostly peaceful due the work of both Grant and Lower Creek headmen to prevent warfare, a task facilitated by Grant's respectful observance of ritual and custom, and his willingness to treat Creek leaders with respect. In an era where imperial policy was in flux, Grant's policies represented a direction in which British colonial administration (or even an independent American republic) could have gone. If Anglo-Americans had restrained their land hunger, treated Native leaders more judiciously, and paid greater respect to their customs, perhaps this "new system" could have helped to create a very different future.

“Wishing that Right May Prevail”: Ethan Allen Hitchcock and the Florida War

by C. S. Monaco

On a spring evening in 1841, Major Ethan A. Hitchcock (1798-1870), mindful of the rare privilege of spending a night alone in a “small neat house” overlooking Tampa bay, rather than encamped in the East Florida wilderness, opened a trunk containing his flute and some sheet music and proceeded to play a few pieces. Pausing for a moment, he put his instrument down and walked over to an open window where he “sat in the light of the moon.” As the air blew gently, Hitchcock was overcome by a rush of feeling. “I could have wept,” he confided to his diary, “but for no immediate cause, not even the definite memory of one—but I felt in the midst of an eternity passing on forever & forever.” Such an epiphany was not uncommon for this deeply philosophical and influential officer; worldly strife and “the contemplation of Nations at War” often became inconsequential and even “pitiable” by comparison.¹ Hitchcock’s probing intellect was acutely manifested in his diary entries, spanning fifty years of army life. This valuable resource has mostly gone unnoticed in regard to the Second Seminole War (1835-1842), or “the Florida war” as it was known, but is nevertheless rife with significant historical details as well as more commonplace impressions.

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1 Ethan Allen Hitchcock, April 3, 1841, Diary #19, Ethan Allen Hitchcock Diaries, 69-70, Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Indeed, among a cohort of diarists who documented their first-hand experiences during this conflict, Hitchcock, best known for his commentaries on the state of the western tribes, does not typically rise to the scholarly front ranks.² Hitchcock may have been praised for his humanitarianism and unimpeachable character by such personalities as anthropologist John R. Swanton—who also ranked Hitchcock’s observations of Native people as comparable to those of naturalist John Bartram and Indian agent Benjamin Hawkins—but few Second Seminole War historians have followed suit.³ Moreover, among those who mention Hitchcock *ad hominem* remarks are commonplace. In a recent chapter on the Florida war, military historian Samuel J. Watson cites Hitchcock’s supposed “vanity” and “lack of respect for senior officers and the chain of command.”⁴ More significantly, John K. Mahon, in his seminal *History of the Second Seminole War* (1967), still regarded as the principal scholarly treatment of this seven-year, multi-million dollar conflict, treats Hitchcock’s written commentary with an element of suspicion.⁵ In reference to the latter’s allegation of fraud on the part of the Indian agents who conducted the treaties of Payne’s Landing and Fort Gibson, accords that established the framework for Seminole removal to the west and thus set the stage for the costliest Indian war in U.S. history,

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- 2 Ethan Allen Hitchcock, *A Traveler in Indian Country: The Journal of Ethan Allen Hitchcock*, ed. Grant Foreman (1930; reprint, Tulsa: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996). Second Seminole War diarists include: Jacob R. Motte, *Journey into Wilderness; An Army Surgeon’s Account of Life in Camp and Field during the Creek and Seminole Wars, 1836-1838*, ed. James F. Sunderman (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1953); Henry Prince, *Amidst a Storm of Bullets: The Diary of Henry Prince*, ed. Frank Laumer (Tampa, FL: University of Tampa Press, 1998); John Bemrose, *Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War*, ed. John K. Mahon (Tampa, FL: University of Tampa Press, 2001); M. M. Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns* (Charleston, SC: Burges & Honour, 1836); “Macomb’s Mission to the Seminoles: John T. Sprague’s Journal, Kept During April and May 1839,” ed. Frank F. White, Jr., *Florida Historical Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (October 1956): 130-193; and Matthew T. Percy, “Andrew Atkinson Humphreys’ Seminole War Field Journal,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 85, no. 2 (Fall 2006): 197-230.
 - 3 John R. Swanton, “Forward to the First Edition” in *A Traveler in Indian Country*, 7-8.
 - 4 Samuel J. Watson, *Peacekeepers and Conquerors: The Army Officer Corp on the American Frontier, 1821 to 1846* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2013), 517, n.46.
 - 5 John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842*, rev. edition (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1985). Most historians have bypassed Hitchcock’s original diaries in favor of the edited, *Fifty Years in Camp and Field: Diary of Major-General Ethan Allen Hitchcock, U.S.A.*, ed. W. A. Croffut (New York: Putnam’s Sons, 1909). While this work contains valuable material, it is certainly no substitute for the actual manuscripts. I will, nonetheless, cite from both sources whenever appropriate.

Mahon admits that “there is no reason . . . to suspect Hitchcock of perpetuating a fictitious [claim],” but then adds, rather inexplicably, that such a scenario was “not impossible.”⁶ Curiously, the fact that most army officers in Florida also believed that the treaties were “begot in fraud and brought forth in the blackest villainy,” to quote a Hitchcock contemporary, does not elicit much attention.⁷ Mahon’s account of the treaties remains highly ambiguous; ultimately, he states, all that remains is the white man’s version of events versus the Indian’s. Doubt is also cast on Hitchcock’s veracity while serving as special assistant to Secretary of War John Bell in Washington, D.C. (1841). Yet Hitchcock’s daily journal indicates that General Walker K. Armistead’s replacement by Colonel William J. Worth as commanding officer in Florida was indeed put in motion by Hitchcock himself.⁸ In addition, John and Mary Lou Missal, in their recent history of the war, follow what has become an established critical trend. Without mentioning Hitchcock’s high regard within the War Department or his familial relationship with Secretary Bell (Bell’s sister-in-law was married to Hitchcock’s brother) the authors suggest that his claim of choosing Armistead’s successor was merely empty boasting.⁹ It is my contention that a careful examination of the documentary record will show that such skepticism is misplaced. The original Hitchcock diaries (held at the Gilcrease Museum,

6 Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 78; see also, Mahon, “Two Seminole Treaties: Payne’s Landing, 1832, and Ft. Gibson, 1833,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (July 1962): 1-21. The total costs of the war vary widely. The 30-40 million dollar range is taken from Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 326. Prominent military historian Francis Paul Prucha sidesteps charges of fraud by deferring to Mahon’s treatment; see Prucha, *American Indian Treaties: The History of a Political Anomaly* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 176.

7 Quoted in Reynold M. Wik, “Captain Nathaniel Wyche Hunter and the Florida Indian Campaigns, 1837-1841,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 39, no. 1 (July 1960): 74; for Mahon’s notice of the prevalence of this attitude among officers, see Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 77; see also, William B. Skelton, *An American Profession of Arms: The Army Officer Corps, 1784-1861* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992), 323-324.

8 Hitchcock, May 15 and 16, 1841, Diary #20, 66, 68.

9 John and Mary Lou Missal, *The Seminole Wars: America’s Longest Indian Conflict* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 192. For additional mention of Hitchcock’s friendship with Bell, apart from the diaries, see Ronald N. Satz, *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), 160, 172-173, n.24. Bell married Jane Erwin, a prominent socialite and sister of Ann Erwin; see, “General Ethan Allen Hitchcock: Some Account of a Missouri Author Somewhat Neglected But Whose Writings Will Live When More Popular Writers Are Forgotten,” *Missouri Historical Review* 2, no.3 (April 1908): 174; “Descendants of Andrew Erwin,” <<http://www.wikitree.com/genealogy/Erwin-Descendants-146>> (accessed October 27, 2013).

Tulsa, Oklahoma) contain a wealth of additional information and context not available in the highly abridged and redacted version by W. A. Croffut (1909), a source that the above mentioned authors have drawn upon. Not only does a more precise impression of this individual arise after scrutiny of the unedited journals but a new understanding of crucial phases of the war, such as the Seminoles' sincere desire to end hostilities early in the campaign, emerges as well. The diaries further demonstrate that Hitchcock was one of the leading moralists of the day and conceived of Native people as "part of the great human family" who were worthy of the same rights and privileges as whites—a rare stance indeed.¹⁰ His actions throughout the Florida campaign, such as favoring mediation over combat, were all informed by this core human rights conviction. Despite his liberal nature, Hitchcock escaped marginalization in the army. His judgment was actively sought in Washington, D.C. and his appointments in the War Department under two secretaries of war further established his bona fides as the Florida war's most skillful moral advocate and peace strategist.¹¹

Hitchcock's candid observations crossed between battlefield and home front rather seamlessly and thus serve as a useful platform on which to examine broader issues such as the origin and ethics of the war, the prevalence of fraud and deception, and the ill-treatment of the southeastern tribes during the Jackson era and other manifestations of settler colonialism.¹² In doing so I am

10 Hitchcock, *Fifty Years in Camp and Field*, 165.

11 Although the Whig Party sought to position itself as ethically superior to "the moral malaria of Jacksonism," [Waddy Thompson, "House of Representatives, Debate on the President's Message," December 30, 1839, *Daily National Intelligencer*, January 8, 1840] and exploited discouraging news from the Florida campaign for partisan political effect, the party never advanced a human rights agenda regarding Native Americans and muted its anti-war stance when William Henry Harrison and John Tyler served as presidents; see, C. S. Monaco, "Red Devil or Tragic Hero? Osceola as Settler-Colonial Icon," *American Indian Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (forthcoming, 2015). For reference to the Whig presumption of moral superiority over Democrats, see Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 32-42; for Whig "moral imperialism" see, Michael F. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party: Jacksonian Politics and the Onset of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 83, 187-188, 257; see also, George McKenna, *The Puritan Origins of American Patriotism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 104-117.

12 For a recent application of the concept of settler colonialism to the Second Seminole War, see C. S. Monaco, "Alachua Settlers and the Second Seminole War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 91, no. 1 (Summer 2012): 1-32; for a concise summation of this field, see Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

reminded of Barbara Tuchman's dictum that studies of historical figures not only make for compelling reading but serve as a prism through which broader issues can be understood, thereby encompassing "the universal in the particular."¹³ Such scholarship, as others have noted, can also help address historiographical fissures and neglect.¹⁴ Finally, while this essay is not solely intended as a critique of Mahon's *Second Seminole War*, that study's limitations, portions of which were written more than fifty years ago, become increasingly obvious to anyone who engages anew with this significant conflict.¹⁵

Biographical Details

Ethan Allen Hitchcock served in noteworthy capacities during the Second Seminole War, the Mexican-American War, and the Civil War—retiring in 1867 with the rank of major general. As his first and middle names suggests, Hitchcock was a descendant of the Revolutionary hero, General Ethan Allen. As Allen's grandson, as well as the son of a leading Vermont jurist, Hitchcock was among the early nineteenth-century's privileged ranks. Born and raised in Vergennes, Vermont, the teenaged Hitchcock, endowed with a precocious intellect, was described by an adult contemporary as "well bred," conversant in Latin, and "extremely correct in his moral habits."¹⁶ The youth had no difficulty entering the United States Military Academy at West Point at the age of sixteen. After graduation and a lieutenancy (1817), Hitchcock served for a time under Lieutenant Colonel Zachary Taylor as adjutant of the Eighth Infantry and was also employed in recruitment. To Hitchcock's satisfaction, he was eventually ordered to return to the Academy, the first of two tours of duty at his alma mater. His initial faculty appointment (1824-1827) was as an instructor of Infantry Tactics and, after promotion to captain, Hitchcock followed Major William J. Worth as commandant of the corps of cadets (1829-1833) and

13 Barbara W. Tuchman, "Biography as a Prism of History," in *Practicing History: Selected Essays* (New York: Random House, 1981), 81.

14 David Lambert and Alan Lester, "Imperial Spaces, Imperial Subjects," in *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Career in the Long Nineteenth-Century*, ed. Lambert and Lester (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 20.

15 Mahon's "Two Seminole Treaties," was published in 1962 and later incorporated into his book.

16 George P. Peters to the Honorable Secretary of War, September 1814, in Hitchcock, *Fifty Years in Camp and Field*, 40.

also continued teaching.¹⁷ The new commandant was cerebral by nature and in addition to his grasp of military tactics and strategy he studied challenging philosophical texts. Much later, he authored a variety of books on a full range of esoteric subjects, from Swedenborg to the ancient alchemists. According to a recent scholar, Hitchcock was an important “Hermetic” thinker who had close ties with Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Edgar Allen Poe (Hitchcock’s former West Point pupil) and “whose significance in American literary and religious scholarship has yet to be fully assessed.” Some believe that his insistence on interpreting alchemical works symbolically rather than literally presaged modern analytical psychiatry.¹⁸ Be that as it may, the more mundane rules and obligations of military life also captured Hitchcock’s full attention; at the Academy this practical side often included duty as a firm disciplinarian. This last obligation set the stage for a heated clash between Hitchcock and President Andrew Jackson. In response to Jackson’s interference in West Point’s internal disciplinary regimen—the president repeatedly reinstated his own wayward appointees who had been dismissed due to a variety of infractions—and after Hitchcock’s meeting with Jackson at the White House failed to deter future meddling, the thirty-five-year-old captain joined with the Academy’s renowned superintendent, Colonel Sylvanus Thayer (aka “the Father of West Point”) and both resigned in protest.¹⁹

This matter certainly alienated Hitchcock from presidential favor; in fact, his promotion to major was countermanded by “Old

17 George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y.*, 3rd ed., vol. 1 (Boston/New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1891), 169.

18 Arthur Verslius, *The Esoteric Origins of the American Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 64-71; see also, Candace Barrington, “Grieving American Civil War Dead: General Hitchcock’s hermetic interpretation of Chaucer’s *Book of the Duchess*,” *European Journal of English Studies* 15, no. 2 (August 2011): 143-156. For Hitchcock’s stature vis-à-vis alchemy and analytical psychiatry, especially Carl Jung, see Walter Pagel, review of *Ethan Allen Hitchcock: Soldier—Humanitarian—Scholar. Discoverer of the “True Subject” of the Hermetic Art*, by I. Bernard Cohen, in *Isis* 43 (December 1952): 374-375.

19 This action was timed so as not to attract public attention; see, Hitchcock, *Fifty Years in Camp and Field*, 64-68; “West Point” *Spectator* (New York), April 22, 1833; see also, Robert P. Wettemann, Jr., *Privilege vs. Equality: Civil Military Relations in the Jacksonian Era, 1815-1845* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2009), 57. As commandant of cadets, a position that Thayer created, Hitchcock was responsible for the cadet’s military training and discipline. Hitchcock’s former students included many future Union and Confederate leaders: Robert E. Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, Montgomery C. Meigs and Jefferson Davis.

Hickory" not long afterward.²⁰ Even so, Hitchcock's principled stand with Thayer and his ability to speak truth to power actually put him in good stead with senior officers, many of whom were anti-Jackson Whigs. Major General Alexander Macomb, army commanding general (1828-1841), assigned Hitchcock to recruiting duty in Boston and shortly thereafter suggested that he accept the position of governor of Liberia. This African colony was intended as a haven for former slaves and was under the control of the American Colonization Society, a prestigious organization then headed by James Madison.²¹ Hitchcock declined the position, despite much flattery and praise, a year's leave of absence from the army, and a position where he could have exercised near monarchical authority.

Following his Academy departure, Captain Hitchcock served for several years in the Wisconsin Territory under his former mentor Zachary Taylor. In addition to his regular duties he was also appointed Indian agent to the Sauk and Fox Indians and played an integral role in treaty negotiations. A few years later, he documented cases of rampant fraud and abuse on the part of lawyers and government officials in their dealings with the nearby Winnebago tribe, scandalous findings that found their way to Congress and drew national outrage in the process.²² In January 1836, while Hitchcock was on leave visiting his brother—an affluent planter in Mobile, Alabama, and a state Supreme Court justice—details concerning Dade's Massacre (December 28, 1835) reached Hitchcock and he promptly volunteered his services to General Edmund P. Gaines who was then mounting a retaliatory expedition against the Seminoles. Amid news of the annihilation of Dade's command, an event that was crucial in rallying volunteers from the southern states and uniting them against the Seminoles, newspapers such as the *Mobile Mercantile Advertiser* urged a merciless response

20 Hitchcock, *Fifty Years in Camp and Field*, 69, n1.

21 *Ibid.*, 68-70. For Madison's leadership see, Allen Yarema, *The American Colonization Society: An Avenue to Freedom?* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2006), 28-30.

22 E. A. Hitchcock to T. Hartley Crawford [Commissioner of Indian Affairs], November 6 and 8, 1838, December 3, 1838 and February 6, 1839, in *Execution of Treaty with the Winnebagoes: Letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting the information required by a resolution of the House of Representatives of the 19th instant, in relation to the execution of the treaty of 1st November, 1837, with the Winnebago Indians* (Washington, DC: Thomas Allen, 1839), 7-9, 11, 13, 58; "Fraud Upon the Indians," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, June 21, 1839; "The Winnebago Half-Breeds," *Wisconsin Enquirer* (Madison), August 31, 1839.

and included genocide as an option: "The Seminole Indians must be either exterminated totally, or . . . driven out beyond the boundaries of civilized life."²³ Hundreds of volunteers heeded such impassioned rhetoric and joined with the regular troops assembled in New Orleans. After these men left for Florida onboard a fleet of steamboats and reached the port of Tampa on February 9, 1836, Gaines appointed Hitchcock his acting inspector general.²⁴

Florida Arrival

On February 13 Hitchcock helped organize four hundred regular army troops, seven hundred Louisiana volunteers and about eighty "friendly Indians" and proceeded to march into the interior toward the direction of Fort King (present-day Ocala)—the closest fort to the Seminole reservation.²⁵ By this time Gaines was aware that General Winfield Scott had been ordered to Florida by Jackson and the War Department in order to assume command, although Scott's exact location was unknown. Both generals heartily disliked each other.²⁶ While Gaines did not relish meeting up with his long-time rival in the Florida backwoods, the humiliating loss of Dade's command lured him into the remote interior where he hoped to deliver a crushing strike against the recalcitrant Seminoles.

The army followed a trail that linked Fort Brooke (Tampa) with Fort King for seven days—stopping to burn several small, abandoned Seminole villages along the way. On February 20, Hitchcock's detachment encountered the spot where Dade's men had perished one month earlier. Eight officers and ninety-eight enlisted men were found precisely where they had fallen in battle. "We buried them all," Hitchcock wrote, "[and] honored with funeral rights [*sic*] the bodies of Major Dade & his command." At his suggestion, one of Dade's cannons was placed vertically over the

23 Quoted in Canter Brown, Jr., "Persifor F. Smith, the Louisiana Volunteers, and Florida's Second Seminole War," *Louisiana History* 34, no. 4 (Autumn 1993): 396.

24 Hitchcock, February 1836, Diary #7, 12. For reference to steamboat transport see, Capt. A. E. Hitchcock (Ft. Drane) to Francis S. Lyon (Washington City), March 11, 1836, "Proceedings of the Military Court Of Inquiry, in the Case of Major General Scott and Major General Gaines," in *Public Documents Printed by Order of the Senate of the United States, Second Session of the Twenty-Fourth Congress*, vol. 3 (Washington, D.C., 1837), 376.

25 Hitchcock, February 1836, Diary #7, 13-16.

26 Edward M. Coffman, *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784-1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 67-68; Skelton, *American Profession of Arms*, 200; Allen Peskin, *Winfield Scott and the Profession of Arms* (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 2003), 76-79, 91-96, 120-122.

graves of the officers.²⁷ A few days later the army reached Fort King, a simple frontier outpost enclosed by log pickets. Rumors abounded that the post had been overrun and decimated by Seminoles; Hitchcock was thus relieved to see that the men, though isolated, were able to defend the fort.²⁸ Despite dwindling rations, Gaines impetuously departed the garrison and marched southwest toward the site of the previous Battle of the Withlacoochee (December 31), an ignominious confrontation that lasted one day and resulted in the retreat of U.S. forces. Like the Dade incident, this engagement garnered national controversy and disenchantment with the military command and so Gaines was intent to restore honor. The army reached the Withlacoochee River after a two day march and was immediately fired upon by Seminoles. Gaines briefly withdrew and then returned to a different location on the river where his men once again encountered enemy fire. This time the Seminoles fielded a much larger force—numerically Gaines' equal—leading his detachment to take a defensive position behind a large but hastily erected pine-log breastwork.²⁹ The details of the second battle at the Withlacoochee (also known as the Battle of Camp Izard) need not be repeated here. What is of particular note, however, is the peace initiative that stemmed from this engagement, a heretofore undervalued episode that, according to Hitchcock, clearly demonstrated the desire of Indigenous leaders to end the war within the first few months of hostilities.³⁰

Despite its minimal presence in the historiography, the Seminole peace overture actually drew the intensive scrutiny of the military court that was later convened in Frederick, Maryland, to examine the actions of both Gaines and Scott during the campaign.³¹ Jurists discussed possible motivations, noting that some of those questioned remained skeptical as to Seminole intent (assuming a feint or ruse), while others thought the offer legitimate, especially given the length of the negotiations and the fact that the Indians remained non-combative and even allowed troops to fish for badly

27 Hitchcock, February 1836, Diary #7, 16-19.

28 Among various rumors, it was also believed for a time that the town of Tallahassee had been captured; see "Indian Hostilities," *Spectator* (New York), February 8, 1836; see also, Brown, "Persifer F. Smith," 396.

29 Hitchcock, February 1836, Diary #7, 20-24.

30 Mahon devotes a single paragraph to this incident and downplays its significance; Mahon, *History of the Seminole War*, 149.

31 "Proceedings of the Military Court Of Inquiry," 52-53, 146-147, 306, 379-380, 389-390, 520-521, 529-530, 532-533, 557-558.

needed food.³² Gaines was in no position to force the Seminoles to plead for a ceasefire; the army's situation was in fact exceedingly bleak, at least before a relief force consisting of 600 men and headed by General Duncan Clinch unexpectedly arrived during the parley and disrupted talks.³³ The army had suffered casualties (five killed and forty-six wounded), was surrounded on three sides, and penned down both day and night during an eight day siege. Men were also running out of ammunition and were left without rations, forcing many to subsist on horses and dogs as well as plant roots. Yet as far as Mahon interpreted the scene, the Seminoles ("like others of their race") were simply ill-equipped to carry on an extended siege and were more than willing to retire and fight another day.³⁴

Hitchcock, on the other hand, conceded that the Seminole initiative that arose during the evening of March 5 was most likely conceived after Indian scouts had discovered that substantial reinforcements, under the command of Clinch, were headed their way.³⁵ Even so, throughout the next day's talks, which included such notables as Osceola, Jumper, Alligator and other war leaders, along with their black interpreters, it was obvious that Seminoles had gone to great lengths to parley. Gaines, recognizing a unique opportunity, stayed in the background and appointed Hitchcock to lead deliberations. Initially, Hitchcock delivered a stern message from his superior, informing the Indians that a large army would soon be aimed at them. But in his journal Hitchcock confessed that he "soothed them a little" by interjecting a note of empathy. Not only did he concede that "They had suffered great wrong," but noted, adhering to the language of honor-bound societies, that if that was the case then they had surely "taken satisfaction." Without explicitly stating the damages the Seminoles had inflicted upon the Florida Territory—the killing of settlers, the annihilation of the interior settlements and the east coast sugar plantations, as well as the appropriation of thousands of cattle and other livestock (damages estimated at over \$8 million)—it was obvious that the magnitude of these losses had certainly served to expiate past

32 Ibid., 53, 557-558.

33 Rembert W. Patrick placed this force at 450 infantry and 150 cavalry; see, Patrick, *Aristocrat in Uniform: General Duncan L. Clinch* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1963), 123.

34 Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 149. The Missals attribute this peace initiative to the black leader John Caesar rather than to the Seminole war leaders themselves; see Missal and Missal, *Seminole Wars*, 108.

35 Hitchcock, February 1836, *Diary* #7, 34.

wrongs.³⁶ Osceola, impressed by Hitchcock, said that he was indeed "satisfied." Authoritarian posturing was put aside (a rare stance for the army), diplomacy reigned, and no mention was made of removal to the west.³⁷ After a private conference that lasted several hours, Osceola and the others returned and spoke freely of their loss of men and stated "that blood enough had been shed—and they wished to put a stop to it." They claimed as many as thirty fatalities during the battle.³⁸ Before any binding agreement could be made, however, further consultations with their paramount leader, Micanopy, were required. Hitchcock similarly declared that neither he nor Gaines could authorize a peace treaty; that would be done by another commander who was arriving from "their great Father the President." He gave assurances that Gaines would stop fighting as long as the Seminoles withdrew to the south side of the river, remained nonviolent, and agreed to attend a future "grand Council." Each of the war leaders gave their consent. At this point, Clinch's advance guard arrived and they began to fire on the Seminoles, all of whom reportedly managed to flee unharmed.³⁹

The reaction of Gaines' second-in-command, Lieutenant Colonel David Twiggs, was unequivocal: "If it had not been for this unfortunate circumstance, everything would have been accomplished in the way of peace."⁴⁰ Despite the interruption, the Seminoles kept their word and maintained a ceasefire for three weeks. In no other battle during the Florida war were hostilities ended in such a manner, and certainly not when the Indians held such a major advantage. Be that as it may, Gaines transferred command to Clinch on March 9 while still at the newly named Camp IZARD and resolved to leave the prosecution of the war entirely to Scott. Hitchcock accompanied Gaines to Fort Drane,

36 For the amount of damages, see "Speech of Mr. Levy of Florida, in the House of Representatives, June 12, 1842," *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat* (St. Augustine), August 1, 1842; see also, Monaco, "Alachua Settlers," 1-32.

37 Hitchcock did not mention this aspect of dealing with the Seminoles, presumably out of political considerations, in his broadly circulated letter regarding the Gaines campaign; see E. A. Hitchcock to Francis S. Lyon, *National Intelligencer*, April 4, 1836.

38 Despite this claim, Hitchcock assumed this figure "was not to be depended upon"; see Hitchcock, March 1836, Diary #7, 45. "Jumper" appears to have been the leader at this time; see, Henry Prince, diary entry, March 6, 1836, in *Amidst a Storm of Bullets*, 25; James W. Covington, *The Seminoles of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 86.

39 Hitchcock, February 1836, Diary #7, 39-43.

40 "Testimony of Captain Thistle," January 18, 1837, in "Military Court Of Inquiry," 539.

where, after an icy reception by Scott, they continued by horseback to Tallahassee and then proceeded on a long journey west. By April both arrived at the Mexican frontier where they confronted a far different set of problems posed by General Santa Anna and the Texas War.⁴¹ As far as the Seminole parley was concerned, Scott was the least likely person to pursue a peace strategy linked in any way to his much despised military rival and so he began offensive measures against the Seminoles. It is also difficult to imagine that President Jackson would have altered his policy of complete Indian removal. Even so, the unique opportunity presented at the Withlacoochee ultimately fell to naught and a lethal but potentially short war evolved into a costly and deadly seven-year conflict.

Just and Unjust War

In his journal entries regarding the Camp Izard negotiations, Hitchcock referenced the wrongs the Indians suffered during their years of dealing with the government. "The fact is," he wrote at the time, "they *have* been abused."⁴² This conclusion certainly influenced his talks and established a foundation for mediation. During Hitchcock's return tour of duty in Florida (1840), he reiterated his belief that the treaties of Paynes Landing and Fort Gibson were obtained dishonestly, that the Seminoles had never agreed to emigrate and hence they "had the right to defend themselves in their country."⁴³ Some of the Indian leaders who he conferred with at Camp Izard were indeed present during the events at Fort Gibson. But in order to place Hitchcock's remarks into perspective, not only should evidence of fraud be examined but contemporary standards of a just war should also be acknowledged. According to Emmerick de Vattel's *The Law of Nations* (1758), among the most influential texts on warfare during the early nineteenth-century and required reading at West Point during the antebellum era, key aspects of lawful war were reduced to a simple premise: "1. *To recover what belongs or is due us. 2. To provide for our future safety by punishing the aggressor or offender. 3. To defend ourselves, or protect ourselves from injury, by repelling unjust violence.*"⁴⁴ If one accepts the proposition that the

41 Hitchcock, March and April 1836, Diary #7, 48-53.

42 Ibid., 40 [italics are mine].

43 Hitchcock, November 4, 1840, Diary #16, 32.

44 Emmerick de Vattel, *The Law of Nations or, Principles on the Law of Nature, Applied to the Conduct and Affairs of Nations and Sovereigns*, revised ed. (London, UK: G. G. and J. Robinson, 1797), 302-303. This publication had a profound impact on jurists, politicians and military officers throughout nineteenth-century

treaties were coerced then it certainly follows—especially in the face of actions to remove the Indians by armed force—that their refusal to emigrate and their defense of reservation lands, awarded during the previous Treaty of Moultrie Creek (1823), would constitute a just war according to Vattel. It is also clear that Hitchcock did not group Indians under Vattel's category of "savage nations," as exemplified by such figures as Attila, Genghis Khan and Tamerlane; "lawless robbers" who acted without mercy and made war "from inclination purely, and not from love to their country." In such cases the author, a Swiss jurist, encouraged severe punishment, even extermination.⁴⁵

To be sure, neither the Seminoles nor most of the southeastern tribes who were also being forced to move and forfeit vast land holdings during this time had any knowledge of European notions of ethical war or American jurisprudence. As Horace Everett of Vermont stated in the House of Representatives several months after the Camp Izard episode and in answer to his self-posed question, "Is our quarrel just?"—Everett answered in the negative. His initial reason, quite tellingly, was "the fact that our treaties are, as they say, white men's treaties, made in *our* language, translated by *our* interpreters, and by them imperfectly *understood* and imperfectly remembered." Another primary objection, according to Everett (an ardent Whig opponent of Jackson's Indian removal policy), was the unquestionable fact that "we [Anglo-Americans] are our own historians—we tell the whole story." Because of these circumstances, he insisted that "in all questions of doubt, proper allowances should be made in their [Seminoles] favor."⁴⁶ In any legal contest between Indigenes and the government, the former, lacking attorneys or even highly acculturated tribal members, were defenseless.

Adding even more to this situation was the cynical manipulation of Native people by the Jackson administration. The Indian Removal Act (1830), as historian Alfred A. Cave observed, "neither authorized the unilateral abrogation of treaties guaranteeing Native American land rights . . . nor the forced relocation of the eastern Indians."⁴⁷ Yet

America; see Gary D. Solis, *The Law of Armed Conflict: International Humanitarian Law in War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 18; David Rolfs, *No Peace for the Wicked: Northern Protestant Soldiers and the American Civil War* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2009), 61-62.

45 Vattel, *Law of Nations*, 305.

46 Horace Everett, June 3, 1836, *Speech of Horace Everett of Vermont: Delivered in the House of Representatives, in Committee of the Whole, on the Indian Annuity Bill* (Washington, DC: National Intelligencer Office, 1836), 6.

47 Alfred A. Cave, "Abuse of Power: Andrew Jackson and the Indian Removal Act of 1830," *The Historian* 65, no. 6 (December 2003): 1331.

both these extra-legal measures were enacted during Jackson's term. Indian treaties, though ratified by the Senate, were not viewed as entirely legitimate by Old Hickory's associates. Secretary of War John Eaton, for example, declared that treaties were nothing more than temporary privileges that could be retracted in the future, a position that was also supported by the House Committee on Indian Affairs.⁴⁸ This committee, composed of presidential loyalists, maintained that Indian reservations were created because they were "expedient to the interests of the Government making them" and nothing more. Similarly it was asserted that "no respectable jurist" ever claimed "that the right of the Indians to hold their reserved lands could be supported in the courts upon any other ground than the grant or permission of the sovereignty or State in which such lands lie."⁴⁹ Government, in other words, reserved final judgment and any tribal land claims, as opposed to individual ownership, were suspect. To compound matters, testimony from Native Americans was routinely excluded by the courts.⁵⁰ Moreover, even in rare instances when Indians held sufficient funds and possessed extraordinary English language facility and cultural knowledge—as was the case with the Cherokee leadership—such major advantages ultimately proved futile when it came to protecting Native rights. Despite the favorable U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), for example, both the state of Georgia and the Jackson administration simply refused to obey the high court's finding of Cherokee tribal sovereignty and ignored the verdict—a state of affairs that ultimately led to the notorious "Trail of Tears." Given such a framework, the position of Native people as legal nonentities was unequivocal. Under the Jackson administration, the very concept of an Indian treaty, other than serving as a fictive device to empower government claims of removal powers, was reduced to a cynical pretense.

Once this operative condition is recognized, then the preponderance of fraudulent activity on the part of Indian agents, contractors and a variety of government representatives should not be

48 Ibid., 1333.

49 Quoted in Alpheus Henry Snow, *The Question of Aborigines in the Law and Practice of Nations* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1919), 77.

50 Deborah A. Rosen, *American Indians and State Law: Sovereignty, Race, and Citizenship, 1790-1880* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 114-115; see also, E. A. Hitchcock to J. S. Spencer (Secretary of War), in "Message from the President of the United States, transmitting the report of Lieutenant Colonel Hitchcock, respecting the affairs of the Cherokee Indians, &c. January 31, 1843. Referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs," 27th Congress, 3d sess., 1843, H. Doc. 219, 15.

unexpected. Enriching “themselves and their friends at the expense of the native tribes” as Robert Remini observed, was ubiquitous.⁵¹ On this subject, Hitchcock served as one of the era’s leading authorities and moralists. Among Hitchcock’s various credentials was the fact that he was appointed by the secretary of war (1841) as a special commissioner charged with probing large-scale fraud on the part of government contractors who were supposed to provide vital supplies to the Indians, including Seminoles, who had been removed to the Arkansas Territory. Hitchcock’s innovative investigative methods included forming a network of secret agents.⁵² His report filled nine notebooks and detailed a variety of duplicitous practices by private contractors, including forgery, bribery and perjury. Contractors routinely delivered spoiled food and the government was also billed for non-existent deliveries. Hitchcock’s edited report was eventually published by the House of Representatives over the opposition (and acute embarrassment) of President John Tyler.⁵³

In regard to the Treaty of Payne’s Landing, Hitchcock believed that the commissioner, Colonel James Gadsden, a long-time Jackson man, had resorted to bribery and misrepresentation of the treaty stipulations in order to acquire the necessary signatures and the supposed consent of the Seminoles. This version of events stemmed from an eyewitness account. Army Captain Charles Thruston heard Gadsden admit to Jackson during a meeting in Washington D.C. that “he never could have got the treaty through if he had not bribed the negro interpreter.” According to Thruston—a West Pointer who was also present during efforts to enforce the treaties in Florida—an interpreter named Abraham (also “Abram”) purposely misrepresented the stipulations “in such a manner as to leave the chiefs under the impression that they were to have the ultimate decision” on whether to move to the West.⁵⁴ This was “the simple unquestionable truth,” as Hitchcock

51 Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and his Indian Wars* (New York: Penguin Books, 2002), 237.

52 Hitchcock, *Fifty Years in Camp and Field*, 141.

53 “Message from the President of the United States, transmitting the report of Lieutenant Colonel Hitchcock, respecting the affairs of the Cherokee Indians, &c. January 31, 1843. Referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs,” 27th Congress, 3d sess., 1843, H. Doc. 219; Paul VanDevellder, *Savages and Scoundrels: The Untold Story of America’s Road to Empire Through Indian Territory* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 126.

54 Hitchcock, *Fifty Years in Camp and Field*, 79-80; for the actual Treaty of Payne’s Landing see “Treaty with the Seminole, 1832,” in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, ed. Charles J. Kappler, vol. 2 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1904), 344-345. Thruston is listed as a witness to an agreement with

understood it. The fact that a payment of \$200 to Abraham, under the guise of services rendered, was written into the treaty at the time adds credence to this assertion.⁵⁵ Moreover, Seminole leaders contended that they only agreed to send representatives to the Arkansas Territory because of Gadsden's vehement insistence. They thought they were under no further obligation. After all, the Moultrie Creek accord had guaranteed their Florida reservation holdings; it was, they believed, a "sacred" pact.⁵⁶ Although the annuity paid to the Seminoles would last no more than twenty years, the treaty explicitly stated that their reservation lands "shall herein be allotted them," with no time limit attached.⁵⁷

The next step in the removal process was the Treaty of Fort Gibson (Arkansas). In this instance Hitchcock's informant was an unnamed officer at the fort who took part in the proceedings. The officer stated that a seven-member Seminole delegation arrived under the supervision of Indian agent, Major John Phagan, and was offered a document to endorse which specified their approval of the lands. "The Indians refused to sign," Hitchcock quoted his source, "saying that they had no authority to do it."⁵⁸ It was only through coercion that they relented. Phagan threatened to leave the Seminoles stranded in the Arkansas Territory unless they affixed their marks. This brazen misconduct also appears to be corroborated by Jumper (Hotemathla), Micanopy's principal adviser, who was one of the delegates: "The agents of the United States made us sign our hands to a paper." Another leader, Charley Emathla, emphatically declared that "the white people forced us into the treaty."⁵⁹ Captain George A. McCall, who was stationed at Fort Gibson, related in his published memoirs how the Seminoles were "induced" to sign, although McCall was unwilling to go into

the Seminoles that supposedly recognized the legitimacy of Payne's Landing, dated April 23, 1835 at the Seminole Agency near Fort King; see Cohen, *Notices of Florida*, 55.

- 55 \$200, a substantial sum at this time, was also awarded to Cudjo, another interpreter; see "Treaty with the Seminole, 1832," 344.
- 56 "Talk of the Seminole Chiefs," in Cohen, *Notices of Florida*, 58.
- 57 "Treaty with the Florida Tribes of Indians, 1823," in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, 203. It is unknown whether the Seminoles were actually cognizant of this detail.
- 58 Hitchcock, *Fifty Years in Camp and Field*, 80.
- 59 Jumper quoted in "Talk of the Seminole Chiefs," Cohen, *Notices of Florida*, 58; Charlie Emathla quoted in Thomas L. McKinney, *Memoirs, Official and Personal; With Sketches of Travels Among the Northern and Southern Indians*, 2nd ed. (New York: Paine and Burgess, 1846), 280.

further detail.⁶⁰ No matter the method, it is obvious that both treaties adhered to a familiar pattern that was applied elsewhere among the Native people: deception and coercion were the methods of choice. John F. Schermerhorn, the commissioner (and Jackson associate) who oversaw the infamous Cherokee removal treaty of New Echota (1835) and approved the Seminole treaty at Fort Gibson, warned the Cherokees who dared remain east of the Mississippi "that the screws would be turned upon them till they would be ground into powder."⁶¹

Evidence also arises in connection with the character of Agent Phagan. Another Jackson appointee, Phagan was under investigation during this period for a variety of illegal activities, including embezzlement of Indian funds. These charges originated from his earliest days at the Florida agency. In 1832 matters were so far out of hand that Florida Congressional Delegate Joseph M. White asked the secretary of war to "order the agent and all his subordinate agents out of the [Seminole] Nation," but White's appeal went unheeded in Washington.⁶² Despite Phagan's ill-repute and his widespread standing as "totally unqualified, both by education and morals," he was nevertheless deemed well-suited for the purposes of the Jackson administration.⁶³ A few months after his return to Florida, Phagan was removed from office, a consequence of an independent investigation by the acting governor, James D. Westcott, who uncovered damning evidence during a visit to the Seminole Agency.⁶⁴ Ultimately, as a contemporary historian of the war observed: "Such conduct exasperated Indians. They were surrounded by crafty and designing men, and subjected to the advice and control of an agent, who, not content with wronging them . . . was carrying on ingenious schemes to defraud."⁶⁵ All things considered, Hitchcock's insights vis-à-vis the injustices

60 George A. McCall, *Letters from the Frontier* (Philadelphia, PA: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1868), 301.

61 Quoted in John Ross, *Letter from John Ross, the Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation to a Gentleman of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, n.p., 1838), 8.

62 Delegate White to the Secretary of War, Jan. 23, 1832, in *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, 28 vols., ed. Edwin Clarence Carter (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1934-1975), 24: 637.

63 John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1848), 72; see also, John Phagan to the Secretary of War, Feb. 7, 1832, *Territorial Papers*, 24: 651-652.

64 Sprague, *Florida War*, 72-73. Phagan waited twenty years before being paid for his services at Fort Gibson (a total of \$450); see, "An Act for the Relief of John Phagan," *Daily Globe* (Washington, D.C.), September 13, 1854.

65 Sprague, *Florida War*, 73.

accorded the Seminoles appear to be well-founded. No matter how devastating the conflict proved for both soldiers and settlers, the Seminoles adhered, in Hitchcock's judgment, to the principles of just war. "The natives used every means to avoid a war," Hitchcock wrote, "but were forced into it by the tyranny of our government."⁶⁶

Hitchcock was certainly not the only U.S. Army officer who sympathized with Native Americans or acknowledged the culpability of both government and settlers in provoking bloodshed.⁶⁷ As a free-thinker and intellectual, Hitchcock had few equals in the army; even so, it should also be said that the officer corps, especially those who earned their commission at West Point, tended to identify not only as gentlemen but as part of an elite eastern establishment culture. Notably, it was within this culture that a new reform vision of the American polity was taking place, one in which colonialism was to be kept in check, existing forms of bondage eschewed, and the rights of citizenship expanded. For the first time women, while unable to vote, became active participants in the political process and were particularly attracted to the Whig Party's emphasis on moral reform. Among other contributions, women affirmed men's political choices, aided in expanding party membership, and served as exemplars of moral virtue.⁶⁸ To properly judge Hitchcock, therefore, one should place him within an intellectual milieu where moral questioning was deemed sacrosanct, especially in the view of those New England Transcendentalist authors who captured so much of his attention. Beyond these influences, however, Hitchcock possessed a singular nature that was all his own. "By a little show of kindness, which is very easy to show when it is felt," he was proud to assert, he often succeeded in "winning the heart" of the Seminoles that he engaged with, enemies who were typically consumed with hatred of the whites.⁶⁹ Hitchcock felt that service on the frontier was harder for him when compared

66 Hitchcock, June 22, 1840, *Fifty Years in Camp and Field*, 120.

67 Sherry L. Smith, *The View From Officers' Row: Army Perceptions of Western Indians* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1990), 113-114; Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 77; Skelton, *American Profession of Arms*, 323-324.

68 Aziz Rana, *The Two Faces of American Freedom* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 14; Carol Lasser and Stacey Robertson, *Antebellum Women: Private, Public, Partisan* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2010), 60-61; John M. Sacher, *A Perfect War of Politics: Parties, Politicians, and Democracy in Louisiana, 1824-1861* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), 100-101; Elizabeth R. Varon, "Tippecanoe and the Ladies Too: White Women and Party Politics in Antebellum Virginia," *Journal of American History* 82, no. 2 (September 1995): 494-521.

69 Hitchcock, *Fifty Years in Camp and Field*, 173.

to most of his compatriots. "For I know the cruel wrongs to which the enemy has been subjected," he once admitted to an eminent clergyman, "so I cannot help wishing that right may prevail, which is, to use your own language, 'praying for the Indians.'"⁷⁰

Peace Strategy

On October 21, 1840 Hitchcock returned to Tampa Bay after an absence of several years. His dejected mood, affected by the loss of his brother Henry during the preceding year as well as his dread of returning to "a dirty Indian war from which I may never return," was palpable.⁷¹ Earlier that year Hitchcock, now a major, was summoned to Washington, D.C. where he dined with Congressman John Bell, head of the influential Indian Affairs Committee and former Speaker of the House, and also visited with President Van Buren.⁷² Afterward, while stationed at Jefferson Barracks in St. Louis, Hitchcock learned that his regiment had been ordered to Florida following the "sickly session" (the late spring and summer months). In the interim, as was his habit, Hitchcock avoided idle chat and passed his free time, whether in the barracks or encamped in the wild, deeply engrossed in the books that he kept by his side. In Florida, his interests gravitated to the "grave & severe labors" of Immanuel Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* to which he devoted many hours otherwise lost to the monotony of camp life.⁷³

While at Fort King, Hitchcock queried his fellow officers in regard to a far-reaching plan that would place the removal policy on hold and allow Indians to possess the largely uninhabited southern peninsula of Florida. Aside from two junior officers who objected, the majority agreed this would be a prudent course. In addition to framing his idea within an ethical context, reiterating the Seminole's ill-treatment, Hitchcock underscored the army's tactical and strategic conundrum. "The Army has done all an Army can do," Hitchcock emphasized. "Our troops have gone over the whole of upper part of Florida in every direction. They have opened roads through hammocks & through swamps—have burned all of the [Seminole] towns & destroyed all of the fields that can be found & after all the Indians, broken up as a tribe & driven at all points, exist in a scattered condition a hundred fold worse for us than when

70 Quoted in Smith, *View from Officers' Row*, 113.

71 Hitchcock, October 18, 1840, Diary #16, 8.

72 Hitchcock, *Fifty Years in Camp and Field*, 120.

73 Hitchcock, October 19, 1840, Diary #16, 11.

united in bodies."⁷⁴ Steeped in the Napoleonic tradition, the U.S. Army was not only unprepared to combat guerilla-style warfare but many officers, including Hitchcock, deemed such tactics as beneath the dignity of civilized nations.⁷⁵ Among the officers who approved of a peaceful resolution, despite expectations of harsh criticism from certain quarters, Colonel William Worth—who Hitchcock succeeded at West Point—spoke up as a staunch advocate, stating "that he thought it for the interest & honor of the Government to put an end to the War & that he would act upon that conviction."⁷⁶

On November 13 a letter from Secretary of War Joel Poinsett arrived at Fort King and appeared to back Hitchcock's bid for policy change (without actually naming him).⁷⁷ General Armistead was permitted to make a truce, allowing the Seminoles who refused to emigrate to temporarily reside in the south, keeping to a boundary from just below Tampa in the west to New Smyrna on the east coast—a much larger area than the overture made by General Macomb the previous year.⁷⁸ Moreover, Poinsett gave Armistead authority to offer sizable monetary awards to those Seminoles who agreed to move to Arkansas. During a "Council of War," as Armistead called the meeting, the general discussed Poinsett's letter with his top field officers, including Hitchcock. All concurred, Hitchcock observed, that the general now had "ample authority to do anything he pleased that would effect a removal & urged the use of money."⁷⁹

Armistead's subsequent decisions, however, left Hitchcock quite agitated. While sending out peace feelers, the general simultaneously enacted hostile actions elsewhere in the territory, contradictory movements that provoked the Seminoles and magnified mistrust. The general also disagreed with his War

74 Ibid., November 4, 1840, 34.

75 Lieutenant Colonel William S. Harney, who did not attend West Point, proved the exception to the general reluctance to engage Native forces using guerilla tactics. By 1839 he saw his objective as "hunting down" Indians "as so many wild beasts," a premise that may have offended West Point sensibilities, but when viewed within a purely military perspective actually resulted in the development of effective guerilla-style training and tactics, including riverine warfare; see especially, W. S. Harney to G. H. Griffin (Fort Russell), September 30, 1839, "Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General Main Series, 1822-1860," Roll 0189, RG 94, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. (hereafter NARA); George Rollie Adams, *General William S. Harney, Prince of Dragoons* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 78.

76 Hitchcock, November 6, 1840, 38.

77 Secretary of War to Walker K. Armistead, November 2, 1840, in *Territorial Papers*, 26: 224.

78 Hitchcock, November 22, 1840, Diary #16, 75.

79 Ibid., November 13, 1840, 58-59.

Council's interpretation of Poinsett's directive, and did not immediately offer money to the Indians nor did he present an option to reside in south Florida.⁸⁰ Hitchcock termed Armistead's actions "abominable," an assessment that only intensified over time. "If it were not that lives are at stake, I should look upon the whole thing as a farce."⁸¹ Armistead also transgressed the rules of war and jeopardized future communication with the enemy by imprisoning Seminoles who peacefully approached under a white flag. "No extremity of Savage War," according to Hitchcock, could justify such a violation.⁸² Furthermore, instead of heeding the advice of his regimental field officers, Armistead appeared muddled and "puerile" and shielded himself behind a coterie of junior officers who were opposed to any peaceful overtures—an aspect of the war that has been entirely lost in the historiography.⁸³

Throughout December and January Hitchcock wrote letters to Poinsett and others in the War Department as well as his friend John Bell outlining Armistead's "strange orders & movements" and overall confusion. To rectify this situation, he suggested that the general be relieved of command and replaced with Colonel Worth.⁸⁴ Worth was chosen, not out of friendship—they in fact disliked each other—but because Hitchcock believed that the colonel, despite his "pride & conceit" had the determination to end the war quickly.⁸⁵ Following William Henry Harrison's election and the appointment of Bell as secretary of war, Hitchcock was ordered by Macomb to appear in Washington post haste. By the spring of 1841, active war had been replaced by concerted efforts to induce "the principal Chiefs with offers of money to come in with their people." These awards ranged from \$8,000 (intended for the famed Seminole leader Coacoochee) to several thousand for lesser chiefs. William Tecumseh Sherman, a young lieutenant at the time, privately remarked that this method of "buying them up" actually produced significant results and that Armistead, as Sherman phrased it, "learned wisdom by the experience."⁸⁶ Under these conditions, Hitchcock felt he could

80 Later, Armistead did his best to bribe Seminole leaders, going so far as showing them a chest filled with Treasury notes, a scene that failed to please, as they were expecting payment in silver; Hitchcock, March 18, 1841, Diary #19, 9-10.

81 Hitchcock, November 15, 1840, Diary #16, 68.

82 *Ibid.*, December 8, 1840, 107-108.

83 *Ibid.*, November 21, 1840, 73.

84 *Ibid.*, December 7, 1840, 105-106; Hitchcock, December 16, 1840, Diary #17, 3.

85 *Ibid.*, January 13, 1841, 63-68; Hitchcock, April 15, 1841, Diary #20, 10.

86 W. T. Sherman to John Sherman (Ft. Pierce), March 30 1841, in *The Sherman Letters: Correspondence between General and Senator Sherman from 1837 to 1891*,

depart Florida in good conscience and still be able to provide useful advice to the highest authorities.⁸⁷

Once in Washington Hitchcock found himself in a "whirlpool of intrigue." Bell was quite solicitous and offered him the post of Commissioner of Indian Affairs—a position of obvious importance to the War Office. General Gaines enthusiastically approved of Bell's choice, not only stating that Hitchcock was the most highly qualified candidate but believed that only by employing such talented individuals to negotiate with the Indians that "we should soon win their confidence."⁸⁸ At the same time, Bell confided that General Scott had objected to Hitchcock's placement in the department, evidently the result of Scott's annoyance at Hitchcock's earlier testimony during the inquiry at Frederick, Maryland. The general, at least at this date, considered Hitchcock his "enemy" (this would later change for the better). Hitchcock, however, was not disposed to become a player in such a partisan game, especially after realizing that Worth, a Scott protégé, had also interposed to discredit him. As a result, Hitchcock politely declined the offer, stating that he had no desire of "creating irritation in the Army."⁸⁹ Despite this refusal, Bell continued to seek Hitchcock's advice and assigned him an office at the War Department. They engaged in lengthy, informal discussions, often until late at night. Once again the major made the case for peace, just as the previous administration ultimately concluded. Bell was caught between his concern for public opinion (which he assumed required ramping up the war) and his respect for Hitchcock's judgment. Ultimately he accepted his new adviser's suggestions and asked him to draft letters directing Armistead to step down and place Worth in command. Hitchcock recommended that the colonel be given "free scope" and then enticed with a brevet promotion if successful. "Though I found fault with Col. Worth's hasty disposition & impatient temper," Hitchcock recalled telling Bell, "I did justice to

ed. Rachel Sherman Thorndike (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894), 13. For a tally of payments to individual Seminoles, see "Payments made to Seminole Chiefs and Warriors on their emigrating west of the Mississippi River by Order Col. Worth," June 6, 1842, "Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General Main Series, 1822-1860," Roll 0262, RG 94, NARA. True to his character, Hitchcock maintained particular rapport with Coacoochee and proved instrumental in gaining the latter's subsequent concession to emigrate; see, Hitchcock, March 20, 1841, Diary #19, 14-25.

87 Hitchcock, April 14 and 15, 1841, Diary #20, 4-5, 12.

88 Gaines quoted in Satz, *American Indian Policy*, 160.

89 Hitchcock, April 30, 1841, Diary #20, 25, 28, 36.

his activity and energy." The change of command was approved by Scott and Macomb, with special praise directed to Hitchcock for his selfless and "noble" choice.⁹⁰ These behind-the-scenes events—though missed by historians—offer substantial insights regarding the direction of the Florida war during its later years and certainly places Hitchcock as a key player in the decision making process.

The death of President Harrison resulted in John Tyler assuming office, and in September 1841 Bell's post as secretary went to John C. Spencer. Hitchcock, as mentioned, was appointed as a commissioner to investigate charges of fraud throughout the Arkansas Territory—an undertaking that originated under Bell. After five months of spirited investigation, Hitchcock returned to Washington, at which point he received a belated promotion to lieutenant colonel. The report that he furnished Secretary Spencer, weaned down to one hundred supporting documents, proved to be a political bombshell, as it squarely laid the blame of major misconduct on various Whig functionaries and implicated certain well-connected Washington insiders and "friends of exposed rogues."⁹¹ Indeed, as historian Ronald Satz has noted, it became evident that Tyler had awarded lucrative Indian ration contracts to his political followers in order to support his candidacy in the 1844 election.⁹² Despite pressure to moderate or ignore charges by some in the administration, Hitchcock held firm and declared that "I shall make my report without regard to anything or anybody but the facts." Spencer waited a year to submit a report and only after an intense political struggle. Scott, now commanding the army, was eager to send Hitchcock back to the Florida war, but the secretary overruled him, believing it prudent to keep the lieutenant colonel under his direct authority in Washington. Caught in-between factions and dismissive of most politicians ("slippery bipeds"), Hitchcock began to doubt that he chose the right vocation. In moments of despair he surmised he had probably "read and studied" himself out of the military. "The study of philosophy and my general reading have subdued all spirit for action and induced a wish to retire from the world into some solitude."⁹³ Not possessed of independent means, and thus unable to

90 Ibid., May 15, 1841, 63-66, 75. The choice was made easier by Armistead's letter of resignation which arrived just at this time. The general mistakenly believed that he was going to be replaced by Gaines and wished to make the transition that much easier; see, Hitchcock, May 17, 1841, 76.

91 Quote from Hitchcock, *Fifty Years in Camp and Field*, 162.

92 Satz, *American Indian Policy*, 194.

93 Hitchcock, *Fifty Years in Camp and Field*, 157-158, 162.

step down, he was obliged to do his best under what he considered extremely discomfoting circumstances.

By February 1842 Colonel Worth concluded that any continuation of the war would be futile, especially in light of the fact that only three hundred Seminoles (including women and children) remained scattered throughout Florida in small bands.⁹⁴ Three months later, General Scott consented to Worth's proposal and Secretary Spencer subsequently ordered that hostilities be brought to a close.⁹⁵ Despite these developments, Hitchcock felt deceived by the trust he initially placed in Worth. Indeed, after assuming command, Worth aggressively pursued hostilities and only succeeded, in Hitchcock's view, to extend the conflict at an exorbitant sum and needless loss of lives. Be that as it may, Worth finally enacted the long-sought peace initiative and directed the remaining Seminoles to restrict themselves to south Florida. On August 14 he formally declared the war's end and thus received the brevet rank to brigadier general that Hitchcock proposed two years earlier, an event that left Hitchcock even more exasperated against the "humbug of the world."⁹⁶

Despite Worth's proclamation, and much to his embarrassment, a hostile band of Creek Indians led by the notorious Pascofa continued to attack and kill settlers in the Apalachicola district southwest of Tallahassee and drew the special outrage of Governor Richard K. Call. The territorial militia combed the wilderness but failed to uncover any of the miscreants. Worth had to resolve the matter swiftly and in response he reached out to Hitchcock to lead the Third Infantry Regiment—then stationed in the region—in a punitive expedition. Once in Florida, Hitchcock, convinced of the futility of military action, proceeded with a plan that evolved into one of the most unique chapters of the Florida war. "I have been much with Indians," he noted in his diary, "and look upon them as a part of the great human family, capable of being reasoned with and susceptible of passions and affections which, rightly touched, will secure moral results with almost mechanical certainty."⁹⁷ From his new headquarters at Fort Stansbury, twelve miles south of the Florida capital, Hitchcock was at last in a position to enact his convictions

94 Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 307.

95 John Spencer, "Memorandum to the Commanding General," May 10, 1842, "Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General Main Series, 1822-1860," Roll 0262, RG 94, NARA.

96 Hitchcock, *Fifty Years in Camp and Field*, 163.

97 *Ibid.*, 165.

and placed offensive operations on hold, in spite of orders to reopen the war. Soon after departing for the Indian country, he sent out several Native scouts to Pascofa's band with directions to prompt any member to come to him for peaceful talks. One by one, this band began to trust Hitchcock's intent, as he consistently greeted them with friendly gestures and carefully kept his word. Pascofa eventually met Hitchcock in a face-to-face meeting that took place just outside the camp, with both men casually sitting down on a log with a single interpreter. Hitchcock won over Pascofa with his unusual blend of diplomacy and candor, and the chief agreed in principle to move to the Arkansas Territory, but only after consulting his people. Pascofa returned the next day with ten of his warriors and, in a demonstration of peaceful resolve, the men discharged their rifles in the air before they entered Hitchcock's camp. In a scene recalled by one of the officers, Pascofa stood before the camp, now adorned in the black ostrich feathers and red turban that Hitchcock gave him. The chief spoke of a long-standing tribal prophecy that foretold of bloody wars and great suffering. Their nation would be divided, with some selling their land and departing while others were hunted down by white men, until the remainder would be reduced to misery and starvation. "Such is our present condition," Pascofa declared. But when all seemed hopeless it was also foreseen that "a man with a *white heart* (referring to purity and honesty), and a *white tongue*, would offer them peace, and make them happy." The chief turned to Hitchcock and affirmed that he was that very man, the "ruling spirit" who "brushed the clouds from before the sun."⁹⁸ Whether this stemmed from actual prophecy or was a rhetorical flourish intended to flatter may never be known. What is clear is that diplomacy, even among those ranked below the "civilized," could indeed accomplish what war could not. Within two weeks, the previously hostile band, now laden with food, blankets, cloth and other items, were safely on their way west via steamboat.⁹⁹

98 "Scraps from my Florida Journal.—No. 6," *Spirit of the Times* (New York), January 4, 1845.

99 For his efforts Hitchcock was rewarded with a commendation by Governor R. K. Call and the Florida Legislative Council, in which Call claimed that the enterprise "has been attended with more complete and signal success than any other expedition conducted against the savage enemy"; see, R. K. Call, "Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives," January 13, 1843, in *A Journal of the Proceedings of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida* (Tallahassee: S. S. Sibley, 1843), 33; Hitchcock's proceedings with Pascofa are also briefly mentioned in Edwin C. McReynolds, *The Seminoles* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), 236-237.

Conclusion

Despite Hitchcock's marginal presence in standard histories of the Second Seminole War, it is obvious that he played a far larger role than has previously been acknowledged. His service in Florida, while intermittent, spanned the war's opening days to its end, and so he held a unique perspective that few could claim. His journal reveals heretofore unknown facts about critical phases of the war and since Hitchcock was integral to larger strategic planning, certainly exceeds more typical battlefield diaries in terms of significance. Aside from being a talented negotiator and peace advocate, he also was the army's leading authority on Indian policy and was recognized as such by a succession of secretaries of war. His astute and often acerbic commentary provide historians with a much needed corrective to previous historical assessments which tend to underestimate Hitchcock's role in the War Department, generally gloss-over or minimize Seminole peace initiatives, and fail—despite abundant evidence—to relegate the treaties to historical ignominy.

During its final years, the Florida war devolved into a low-intensity conflict and much time was spent in near-stultifying boredom, with alcoholism and the “grog shop” becoming serious detriments to discipline and morale.¹⁰⁰ Despite these conditions, deaths totaled 1,446 out of approximately 10,000 army regulars who were stationed at one time in Florida—an imposing statistic. Yet many more died from disease than actual combat and malaria epidemics continually sapped the army's strength and morale.¹⁰¹ The high rate of desertions (sixteen percent per month in 1842) as well as an unprecedented number of officer resignations (200 resigned between 1835 and 1837) has been duly noted by historians.¹⁰² Furthermore, of the seven different commanders during the war, three requested to be relieved of duty. The U.S. Army thus had little cause to look to the Florida war as an exemplar. Indeed, the army establishment considered the war as such an affront to its collective sense of propriety that the entire campaign was judged

100 Joe Knetsch, *Fear and Anxiety on the Florida Frontier* (Dade City, FL: Seminole Wars Foundation Press, 2008), 114-115; Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 320.

101 C. S. Monaco, “Shadows and Pestilence: Health and Medicine during the Second Seminole War,” *Journal of Social History* 48, no. 3 (forthcoming, 2015).

102 Watson, *Peacekeepers and Conquerors*, 180; Bruce Vandervort, *Indian Wars of Mexico, Canada and the United States, 1812-1900* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 131; Lee Kennett, *Sherman: A Soldier's Life* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2001), 27.

a temporary abnormality that was best forgotten. Whether it was the Second Seminole War, the Philippine Insurrection (1899-1903) or Vietnam (1965-1973) the U.S. Army's predisposition, according to historian Russell F. Weigley, is to forget rather than build upon lessons learned in regard to guerilla wars.¹⁰³

The Florida war became the embodiment of an army trying to implement a settler colonial project. Hitchcock, as many of his fellow officers, abjured such undertakings and joined in Whig criticism of Jackson, judging him "as cruel and despotic as any Russian tsar."¹⁰⁴ The war's most lasting impact, at least from a military perspective, may well have been in the arena of future Indian wars that developed in response to expansionist policies. The Seminoles presented a fiercer stand against removal than any other of the southeastern tribes and it was in this context that a new level of brutality evolved within the army, particularly in regard to prisoners of war. During one such episode, Lieutenant Colonel William S. Harney, a Jackson protégé who possessed an especially violent temperament, was allowed by Armistead to execute male Seminole captives by summarily hanging them during his Everglades campaign, a task that he performed with apparent gusto.¹⁰⁵ Instead of censure, Harney received the approbation of President Van Buren, a promotion, as well as ebullient praise in the newspapers.¹⁰⁶ Florida Governor Robert R. Reid declared that "the severest means are the best means" and became incensed at the military's critics, mocking their "gentle strains of humanity and brotherly love."¹⁰⁷ Fifteen years later, realizing that public opinion would be on his side, Harney intensified his terror tactics, this time against Plains Indians, and slaughtered innocents without regard

103 For a discussion of Weigley, see David H. Ucko, *The New Counterinsurgency Era: Transforming the U.S. Military for Modern Wars* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2009), 27-28; for the lack of institutional memory of this conflict, see Hall, "A Reckless Waste," 83.

104 Hitchcock, *Fifty Years in Camp and Field*, 154; see also, Wettemann, *Privilege vs. Equality*, 63.

105 Watson, *Peacekeepers and Conquerors*, 224; for a contemporary description of this incident, see Hitchcock, December 29, 1840, Diary #17, 25-26; see also, Vandervort, *Indian Wars*, 135. Andrew Jackson famously declared during the First Seminole War that "the laws of war did not apply to conflicts with savages"; quoted in John Fabian Witt, *Lincoln's Code: The Laws of War in American History* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2012), 99.

106 "Secretary of War to Walker K. Armistead," February 1, 1841, in *Territorial Papers*, 26: 250.

107 "Message of Governor Reid to the Legislative Council," February 28, 1840, in *Territorial Papers*, 26: 112-113.

to gender, age or fighting status, earning the epithet of “Mad Bear” among the Sioux.¹⁰⁸ Ironically, racial divisions, influenced by what was deemed civilized and barbarous, were used to rationalize such transgressions. As it happened, Hitchcock, now a brevet brigadier general, was transferred to Harney’s command in 1855 and chose to resign rather than be placed under the orders of “a man without education, intelligence, or humanity.”¹⁰⁹ [Hitchcock re-entered the army as a major general in 1862 at the request of Abraham Lincoln and Secretary of War Stanton.] The character of the Second Seminole War era also resurfaced in the guise of unsavory Indian agents—albeit not under military command—who dominated the western tribes throughout the latter half of the nineteenth-century. Even George A. Custer traced many of his troubles to cunning agents and traders. A few years before his death, Custer publicly urged “the abolishment of the system which has proven itself so fruitful in fraud and dishonest dealing toward those whose interests it should be their duty to protect.”¹¹⁰ As a nineteenth-century colonial power, the United States therefore continued the aggressive mindset of Jackson in its westward expansion, tolerating cruelty and corruption when it applied to Native people, while often denigrating the reform impulses in society so intently manifested in the character of Ethan A. Hitchcock.¹¹¹

108 Vandervort, *Indian Wars*, 53; see also, Jeffrey Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 41-43; Mark E. Neely, Jr., *The Civil War and the Limits of Destruction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 157; Adams, *Prince of Dragoons*, 132-133.

109 Hitchcock, *Fifty Years in Camp and Field*, 420.

110 G. A. Custer, letter to the editor, *Prairie Farmer* 44, no. 9 (March 1, 1873): 68.

111 For the U.S. as a colonial power vis-à-vis Native Americans, see Ostler, *Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism*, 1-12.

Time to Grow Up: The Rise and Fall of Spring Break in Fort Lauderdale

by James Schiltz

Every year millions of American college students embark upon their spring break odysseys south to enjoy a break from classes and inclement weather. Contrary to the degenerative nature of today's spring breaks, the genesis of the custom was rather innocent. In 1934, before the ubiquity of collegiate indoor swimming pools, Colgate University's swimming coach Sam Ingram became concerned that the harsh winters of upstate New York were inhibiting his team's strength and conditioning. At the suggestion of a swimmer's father who hailed from South Florida, Ingram and his team traveled to Fort Lauderdale to train at the Las Olas Casino Pool. As the community eagerly welcomed his swimmers, Ingram reasoned that Fort Lauderdale was an ideal location to hold a competition that could display talent and allow proper winter conditioning for his and other swim teams.¹

With the aid of Fort Lauderdale Chamber of Commerce Secretary August Burghard, Ingram established the Collegiate Aquatic Forum in 1935. Held over that year's winter break at the Las Olas Casino Pool, the event attracted over two hundred

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1 Gary R. Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams: A Social History of Modern Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008), 317; Bill Marsh, "The Innocent Birth of the Spring Bacchanal," *New York Times*, March 19, 2006.

competitors from several northern colleges.² Still reeling from the combined effect of the recent Florida land boom collapse and a devastating hurricane that struck during the late 1920s, city officials shrewdly recognized the event's financial potential and decided to make the forum an annual competition.³ By 1940, nearly six hundred coaches and competitors representing approximately one hundred colleges traveled to Fort Lauderdale to compete in the forum.⁴

Establishing the Collegiate Aquatic Forum, while important for the city in its own right, also fostered the beginnings of the spring break phenomenon in Fort Lauderdale. With swimmers enjoying their annual trips to the city, American college students began taking notice of Fort Lauderdale. Word spread quickly across college campuses that Fort Lauderdale was a great warm-weather destination to escape cold winters and enjoy academic breaks. August Burghard, influential figure in the establishment of the Collegiate Aquatic Forum, described this development:

Collegians who attended [the forum] had returned to their schools and spread the word of the wonders of Fort Lauderdale. College students were given spring vacations at a time when long and dreary northern winters still had muddy tail ends of cold to go through. They listened to their fellows on the swimming teams and started "Fort Lauderdale plans" for the spring recess. At the start they came to Fort Lauderdale in driblets, then by scores, and soon by hundreds.⁵

Aided by the GI Bill's democratization of higher education and the dramatic emergence of American youth culture in the 1950s, collegians began invading Fort Lauderdale each spring after World War II and the modern spring bacchanalia was born.⁶

2 Associated Press, "Aquatic Forum Scheduled for Ft. Lauderdale," *St. Petersburg Times*, December 23, 1935.

3 Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams*, 317.

4 Associated Press, "600 Will Attend Holiday Swim Forum," *The Palm Beach Post*, December 18, 1940.

5 August Burghard and Phillip Weidling, *Checked Sunshine: The Story of Fort Lauderdale, 1793-1955* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1966), 243.

6 Michael Dawson, Ashley Doiron, and Catherine Gidney, "'The students swarm to these peaceful shores in droves': An Historical Overview of the Postwar Spring Break Phenomenon," *Historical Studies in Education* 24 (Spring 2012): 4; Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams*, 317.

While the tradition steadily gained notoriety among collegians for the next few decades, the 1960 release of the hit film *Where the Boys Are* truly established spring break in Fort Lauderdale as an American cultural institution. For the next quarter century, Fort Lauderdale remained the unquestioned spring break capital of the United States. As students made their annual pilgrimages to the city thereafter, residents developed an uneasy relationship with the tradition. Although spring break served as a major contributor to Fort Lauderdale's remarkable growth during the latter half of the twentieth century, many citizens grew concerned with the students' outlandish behavior, the ill repute it gave Fort Lauderdale, and the detrimental physical impact the carousing had on the city itself. By 1985, with 350,000 collegians migrating to the city and spending an estimated \$120 million, spring break in Fort Lauderdale had reached unprecedented heights. Along with these record numbers, however, also came increased drunkenness, debauchery, and death that ultimately destroyed the fragile relationship between the town and the students. In the end, despite spring break's prominent role in Fort Lauderdale's history and economy, the unruly mobs of the 1980s triggered a backlash among local residents that brought about the unthinkable rapid demise of the tradition in the city by the end of the decade.

"We don't come down here for planned entertainment"

Recognizing the growing desire among American college students to engage in spring frivolity in the years after the Second World War, Fort Lauderdale moved to capitalize on the city's emerging reputation as a spring break haven. In 1953, city leaders mailed invitations to over five hundred college campuses encouraging students to enjoy spring vacation in Fort Lauderdale. As an estimated fifteen thousand collegians journeyed to Fort Lauderdale that spring, the city seemed on the cusp of becoming a commercial juggernaut.⁷

Although the city's marketing campaign was a public relations and financial success, the local populace became alarmed over the students' antics during spring break 1953. Fueled by a toxic amalgamation of cheap alcohol and immaturity, collegians vandalized property and terrorized the city. Students tossed dead fish into hotel swimming pools, hurled coconuts through car

7 Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams*, 318.

windows, streaked through the streets of Fort Lauderdale, and even hijacked a city bus.⁸ The collegians' indecent behavior along the city's beach also dismayed some residents of the city. One resident was shocked to have witnessed "lewd sex and liquor parties" among youths who "showered like ancient Romans under facilities provided for bathers."⁹ Perhaps most disturbing, in the early hours of Easter Sunday morning a collegian's car careened off Ocean Boulevard, striking and killing two students strolling along the beach.¹⁰

In response to residents' distress, city officials attempted to curb unruliness during spring break 1954. The mayor's office, for example, attached notices to campus invitations warning students to behave while on spring break. Hoping to keep students busy and out of trouble, the city also organized a reception committee that sponsored various recreational activities such as block dances, cookouts, and tugs-of-war.¹¹ Despite these efforts, collegians proved unresponsive. When Fort Lauderdale organized a dance for spring break 1954, only seventy-five students participated and the band was playing to an empty room by 11:00 PM. As one disenchanted student remarked, "We have dances at home. We don't come down here for planned entertainment."¹² Largely uninterested in organized activities, students once again focused on drinking and sophomoric hijinks during subsequent spring breaks.

As the decade unfolded and spring break attendance increased, collegiate delinquency fostered further consternation among residents. While Fort Lauderdale had primarily dealt with a few prank-happy individuals, the city faced its first serious disturbance in 1959 when Porky's Hideaway ominously offered unlimited beer to students for \$1.50. The establishment exhausted its beer supply before the first hour was over, and drunken collegians vented their frustrations by destroying the bar's furnishings and tossing them into a nearby pond.¹³ Requiring police intervention to quell the

8 Associated Press, "College Horde Headache to Florida's Spa Officials," *Spokane Daily Chronicle*, April 7, 1953.

9 Paul S. George, "Where the Boys Were," *South Florida Magazine* (Winter 1991), 5.

10 Associated Press, "College Horde.,"; Douglas McQuarrie, "Restraints Needed, Sheriff Says After Accident Fatal to Two," *Fort Lauderdale News and Evening Sentinel*, April 6, 1953.

11 George, "Where the Boys Were," 5-6.

12 Anne L. Wendt, "Spring Recess by the Sea," *New York Times*, April 13, 1958.

13 Susan Gillis, *Fort Lauderdale: The Venice of America* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2004), 114; George, "Where the Boys Were," 5; United Press International, "20,000 Beer Drinking College Students Harbingers of Spring," *The Daily Iowan*, March 27, 1959.

melee, "Porky's riot" was emblematic of the spring break culture of heavy drinking that posed a worsening problem for the city in future years.

Such episodes as "Porky's riot" also showed the mixed blessing that spring break posed for the community during the 1950s. Although considerable outcry accompanied the outrageous behavior of students—with some tormented hoteliers even asking officials to ban collegians—residents could not deny the financial potential and national recognition the tradition brought their city.¹⁴ Whereas national publications generally mentioned Fort Lauderdale only in relation to Miami and South Florida, hosting spring break gave Fort Lauderdale its first widespread exposure. For example, after an estimated nineteen thousand students reveled in Fort Lauderdale over spring break 1954, *Holiday Magazine* christened the city as "the greatest college town in the country."¹⁵

"This is where the boys are"

Though the 1950s certainly brought notoriety to spring break in Fort Lauderdale, a few events at the turn of the decade—beginning with the publication of an article in the April 13, 1959 issue of *Time Magazine*—cemented the city's reputation as America's indisputable spring break mecca. Entitled "Beer on the Beach," *Time's* story depicted the annual phenomenon as an invasion of moderately behaved college students who dressed in Bermuda shorts and bikinis and spent their days and nights "beach boozing." While the article afforded Fort Lauderdale national attention, an innocent quote to conclude the story proved to be the most fateful for the city's future. Asked why she made the trip to Fort Lauderdale for spring break, an anonymous coed replied, "This is where the boys are."¹⁶

In time, this innocent quote served as the inspiration for college professor Glendon Swarthout to pen a best-selling book about spring break in Fort Lauderdale. Appropriately titled *Where the Boys Are*, Swarthout's 1960 novel tells the story of four female collegians' adventurous search for romance and excitement while on spring vacation in Fort Lauderdale. Shortly thereafter, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer purchased the rights to Swarthout's novel and quickly set out to produce the movie. Filmed on location and featuring

14 George, "Where the Boys Were," 5-6.

15 Gillis, *Fort Lauderdale: The Venice of America*, 114.

16 "Beer and the Beach," *Time Magazine*, April 13, 1959.

local youngsters as extras, *Where the Boys Are* depicted many spots frequented by spring breakers including the Marlin Beach Hotel, the beachfront bar Elbo Room, and, of course, the beach. The film also captured the incredible bustle and excitement of "the strip," the mile-and-a-half stretch of Highway A1A that separated the bars, restaurants, and hotels from the beach.¹⁷

The movie inspired a nationwide craze among college students for spring break and Fort Lauderdale profited from the publicity. Accompanied by the hit eponymous title track performed by costar Connie Francis, *Where the Boys Are* was a smash box-office success following its release in December 1960. Only three months after the film's premiere, an unprecedented fifty thousand students migrated to Fort Lauderdale for spring break.¹⁸ Bringing their wallets and healthy appetites for hedonistic consumption, collegians spent an estimated three million dollars during their brief six-week stay.¹⁹ Hence, an anonymous girl's quote truly institutionalized spring break as an American rite of passage and the city of Fort Lauderdale became synonymous with the tradition.²⁰

At the same time *Where the Boys Are* brought national attention and increased business to Fort Lauderdale, the sudden upsurge in spring break visitors and student misbehavior further strained civic patience. One infamous event that drew considerable public condemnation and typified citizens' concerns occurred on "the strip" during spring break 1961. Barred from drinking on the beach within city limits, spring breakers for years had instead gone to nearby Jade Beach. When the sheriff's office closed the private beach, thousands of incensed students amassed along "the strip" on the evening of March 28, 1961 to protest the city's drinking ban. As a growing mob disrupted traffic and a riot loomed on the horizon, Minnesota State Teachers College student George Dalluge climbed the traffic light at the corner of Los Olas Boulevard and Atlantic Boulevard.²¹ Hanging upside down, Dalluge broke into a drunken rendition of "The Star-Spangled Banner" and encouraged students below to demand that the city allow alcohol in the streets. After

17 Gillis, *Fort Lauderdale: The Venice of America*, 114.

18 George, "Where the Boys Were," 6.

19 Gay Talese, "Youth Tide Rising on Florida Beach," *New York Times*, March 25, 1962.

20 Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams*, 318.

21 William Cahill, *Out of the Muck: A History of the Broward Sheriff's Office, 1915-2000* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2010), 180; Gillis, *Fort Lauderdale: The Venice of America*, 115.



Photo of the 1961 riot/Dalluge incident that appeared in *Life* magazine. Image courtesy of the Fort Lauderdale History Center.

nearly 3 hours and 225 arrests, police were finally able to restore order and coax Dalluge from his perch.²² When the chaotic spring break of 1961 finally ended, police had arrested five hundred students, including Dalluge, over three nights of disturbances.²³

Embodying and amplifying local reservations about hosting spring break, the Dalluge incident divided the community over how to cope with the annual influx. Frustrated by the students' destructive behavior and consequent overcrowding along the beach and Highway A1A, some residents urged city officials to break with the tradition, arguing that the bedlam diminished their quality of life every spring and threatened to fuel the dilapidation of their city. Moreover, upon discovering photos of the Dalluge incident in

22 Miami News Bureau, "Lauderdale Arrests 225 College Rioters," *The Miami News*, March 28, 1961.

23 George, "Where the Boys Were," 6.

Life Magazine, many members of the populace feared that spring break might give Fort Lauderdale a negative image that would inhibit the city's ability to attract older tourists, new residents, and development.²⁴ Other residents opposed such drastic measures, contending that press reports, despite exaggerating the extent of the 1961 unrest, did more good than harm for the city's image. More importantly, they hoped spring break would provide a crucial boost to Fort Lauderdale's continuing growth.²⁵ As Forrest Crane, Fort Lauderdale's publicity director, reasoned in 1960, "We feel these kids are the future adult visitors to Fort Lauderdale. They are not only a potential tourist crowd but also a source of possibly future residents."²⁶

In the end, with most officials believing that a reliable six to eight weeks of peak business was better than the irregular crowds of other competing resorts and therefore worth the difficulties, the event's financial promise convinced the city to continue courting collegians for the ensuing spring break.²⁷ As had been the case in the past—and repeatedly so in the future—community leaders attempted to curb the yearly disorder with organized entertainment and activities to keep students out of trouble.²⁸ While such efforts may have temporarily assuaged outraged residents, persistent collegiate misbehavior thereafter created a seemingly annual discussion as to whether each year's crowd had gone too far. Thus, when the city welcomed collegians back for spring break 1962, this situation gave birth to a tense love-hate relationship between Fort Lauderdale and spring break that persisted for the next quarter century. Although residents certainly enjoyed spring break revenue and hoped the tradition would continue the city's recent growth and development, after the turbulence of 1961 many citizens began questioning at what moment the cost of hosting the event would finally outweigh its benefits.²⁹

24 "Lauderdale Wonders if it's Worth It," *Daytona Beach Morning Journal*, March 25, 1961; Michael Dawson, Ashley Doiron, and Catherine Gidney, "'The students swarm to these peaceful shores in droves,': An Historical Overview of the Postwar Spring Break Phenomenon" *Historical Studies in Education* 24 (Spring 2012), 5.

25 Talese, "Youth Tide Rising on Florida Beach."

26 Clark Ash, "Fort Lauderdale Greets the College Crowd," *New York Times*, April 10, 1960.

27 Herbert L. Hiller, *Highway A1A: Florida at the Edge* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 232.

28 Talese, "Youth Tide Rising on Florida Beach."

29 Gillis, *Fort Lauderdale: The Venice of America*, 114.

As the 1960s came to a close, residents' relations with spring break became more tense and complex. With spring break turnout swelling year after year, a vocal segment of the local populace became more boisterous in its opposition to hosting the tradition.³⁰ The city's remarkable growth and its correlation with the expansion of spring break, however, also made it increasingly difficult for Fort Lauderdale to downplay the event. From 1960 to 1970, Fort Lauderdale's population grew 66.9% to nearly 140,000 compared with an increase of 49.3% among other Florida cities during the same period.³¹ Although numerous factors contributed to this boom, hosting spring break was instrumental in carving Fort Lauderdale's niche in the state's emerging tourism industry and attracting development and investment to the city. During the 1960s, for instance, Fort Lauderdale placed second among Florida cities in construction of new motel rooms.³² As students annually poured millions of dollars into the local economy, spring break, in many ways, helped put Fort Lauderdale on the map and ensure its vitality in the face of competition from other Florida vacation destinations.

"Paradise Lost"

In the years after the release of *Where the Boys Are*, Fort Lauderdale formed a delicate relationship with its duties as spring break host. Most residents and community officials in favor of continuing the tradition were willing to accept—or reluctantly tolerate—the mayhem only because of the publicity, revenue, and development it brought their city. With changes in Florida's tourism industry and the community that took place during the ensuing decade, however, spring break gradually ceased to provide the expected benefits and, instead, fostered the tragic dilapidation of its beachfront and besmirched the city's reputation for a generation.

Opening its doors on October 1, 1971, Walt Disney World was truly the first of its kind. Never before had the United States

30 Associated Press, "Lauderdale Urged to Shun Collegians," *New York Times*, March 28, 1967.

31 United States Bureau of the Census 1970, "Florida," under "Characteristics of the Population." http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/1970a_fl1-01.pdf (accessed February 1, 2013), 11-12.

32 Milo Smith and Associates, *The Beach, the Bay, and the City: Tourism at the Crossroads* (Pensacola: Escambia-Santa Rosa Regional Planning Council, 1971), 12.

seen an attraction that had the ability to draw huge numbers of domestic and international tourists consistently year after year. Built on forty-three square miles of land twenty miles south of downtown Orlando, the original tract was roughly twice the size of Manhattan.³³ As other attractions paled in comparison to the massive size and scope of Orlando's shrine to consumerism, Walt Disney World overshadowed and overwhelmed its competition and quickly redefined tourists' expectations.³⁴ Drawing an astonishing eleven million visitors by the end of its first year, Walt Disney World eventually overtook the Eiffel Tower as the world's most popular tourist attraction only a decade later, with Orlando as the number one vacation destination.³⁵

To the chagrin of Fort Lauderdale civic and business officials, Walt Disney World's popularity shifted the focus of the state's tourism away from South Florida to Orlando and Central Florida. In the first month after Walt Disney World's opening, for example, an estimated 10.8 percent of all visitors to Florida headed to the Orlando area—up from 3.7 percent the previous year—while travel to Dade County dropped from 10 to 7.7 percent during the same time.³⁶ Discouraged by the behemoth to the north, South Florida hoteliers soon complained of a virtual wall that surrounded Central Florida and prevented tourists from traveling farther south.³⁷ Although Walt Disney World undoubtedly produced many pull factors for this emerging trend, concurrent developments in Fort Lauderdale during the 1970s also helped alienate and push tourists—not to mention business development and new residents—away.

Diverging from the rapid ascension of Orlando and Central Florida, Fort Lauderdale was a community very much on the decline during the 1970s.³⁸ The tremendous growth the city had consistently experienced since its inception—its population had increased over sixty-five percent each decade from 1910 through

33 Tracy J. Revels, *Sunshine Paradise: A History of Florida Tourism* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011), 123.

34 *Ibid.*, 130.

35 John B. Easterling, Leadership Broward, *Has Broward County been Mickey-Moused?* (Fort Lauderdale: Fort Lauderdale/Broward County Chamber of Commerce, 1984), 11-12.

36 Revels, *Sunshine Paradise*, 134.

37 Scott A. Zamost, "Tourism Ads will Target Middle Class," *Sun-Sentinel*, August 25, 1988.

38 Robert Dressler, "Restoring Fort Lauderdale's Shine in the 1980s," *City View News Magazine*, (August-September 2012): 28.

1970—finally stagnated, nearly coming to a complete halt. By the end of the 1970s, Fort Lauderdale's population had only grown ten percent over the previous decade.³⁹ With the city nearly eighty-five percent developed and new residents and businesses moving into the suburbs to take advantage of land and housing unavailable within city limits, several neighborhoods in Fort Lauderdale suffered from neglect and began to deteriorate.⁴⁰

The most obvious victim of this downward trend in Fort Lauderdale was its beach. While the adjacent "strip" had been home to an assortment of retail shops, restaurants, and taverns since the late 1940s, spring break began taking over the district during the 1970s. As the city continued drawing collegians, numerous businesses that catered almost exclusively to spring break crowds replaced more respectable establishments. In addition to a variety of tacky t-shirt and souvenir shops, a number of tawdry beachfront bars that would soon gain infamy opened.⁴¹ With the opening of the Button in 1970, the Candy Store in 1977, and Penrod's in 1979, countless seedy taverns lined Fort Lauderdale's beach by the end of the decade.⁴²

Decaying hotels and motels along "the strip" also added to the general dereliction of the beach area. By the 1970s, many of the city's lodgings, which had once been some of the most charming establishments in the state, had begun to deteriorate. As national chains amplified their involvement in Florida's hotel industry after Walt Disney World's opening, several Fort Lauderdale beachside hotels and motels—the majority of which were small, mom-and-pop operations—faced difficulty in keeping up with their rivals' modest rates, luxury extras, and national marketing capabilities.⁴³ Furthermore, as collegians had made the destruction and vandalism of their rooms a yearly tradition, some hoteliers, anticipating similar

39 United State Census Bureau 1980, "Florida," under "Number of Inhabitants." http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/1980a_fABCs1-01.pdf (accessed February 1, 2013), 20.

40 Gillis, *Fort Lauderdale: The Venice of America*, 127.

41 Susan Gillis, *Fort Lauderdale: Images of America* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 1999), 107; Mary McGreevy, "Las Olas Boulevard: Progress or Doom," *Broward Legacy* 19 (1996): 36.

42 John Hughes, "Greg Newell Still Crazy after All These Years," *Sun-Sentinel*, April 1, 1990; Liz Doup, "Closing Time on the Strip," *The Miami Herald*, November 11, 1992; Neely Tucker, "Landmark Bar Finds Going Sour," *The Miami Herald*, April 15, 1988.

43 Hiller, *Highway A1A*, 232; Bob Lamendola, "Beach Motels Hard Hit: Sale Signs Pop Up as Business Drops," *Sun-Sentinel*, April 2, 1991.

damage annually, simply stopped making major repairs.⁴⁴ Thus, by the end of the 1970s, most of the city's beachside hotels and motels had become comparatively aged, rundown, and generally uninviting.⁴⁵

"The strip's" decline was ultimately part of a negative image problem that hampered South Florida in general during the late 1970s and early 1980s. With nearly seventy percent of all marijuana and cocaine imported into the United States passing through the region and Miami owning the nation's highest homicide rate, South Florida had become both the murder and drug smuggling capital of the United States. The problem was so dismal that in November 1981 *Time Magazine* ran a cover story titled "South Florida: Paradise Lost" analyzing the area's numerous problems and speculating about the hopelessness of the situation.⁴⁶ For its part, Fort Lauderdale's "strip" was a major contributor to the region's difficulties. Drawn to the area's many cheap motels, dingy bars, and notoriety as a youthful haven, a sea of vagrants, prostitutes, teenage runaways, and drug dealers gradually inhabited Fort Lauderdale's beach during the 1970s.⁴⁷ While the FBI listed Miami as the most crime-ridden city in the United States in 1980, Fort Lauderdale was not far behind at eighth place.⁴⁸

"Thank God for the Kids"

At the same time Mickey Mouse had begun his reign in Central Florida, Fort Lauderdale's main tourist attraction was rapidly descending into moral excess and decay. Fostered by the consequences of hosting the annual collegiate assault, the city's beachfront had become a tragic contradiction by the end of the 1970s, with miles of beautiful, unblemished ocean on one side of Highway A1A facing the overwhelming tastelessness of "the strip" on the other. With the yearly chaos of spring break, a corroding beachfront, continuing bad press for the region, and absence of a major tourist attraction akin to Walt Disney World, Fort Lauderdale

44 Cynthia Vaughn, "County to Breakers: No One Waits for You," *The Bradenton Herald*, March 12, 1990.

45 Gillis, *Fort Lauderdale: The Venice of America*, 129.

46 James Kelly, "South Florida: Paradise Lost," *Time Magazine*, November 23, 1981. <http://www.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,922693,00.html> (accessed February 21, 2013).

47 Robert Dressler, "The Death of Spring Break and a New Fort Lauderdale Beach," *City View Magazine* (May/June 2012), 15; Gillis, *Fort Lauderdale: The Venice of America*, 129.

48 Kelly, "South Florida: Paradise Lost."

quickly fell behind its competitors, ultimately losing major business to Central Florida and creating an unhealthy dependence on the spring break economy.

After a period of stagnant attendance, spring break in Fort Lauderdale rebounded spectacularly, reaching unprecedented heights by the early 1980s. As American collegians during the late 1960s and early 1970s busied themselves with various causes, their countercultural ethos temporarily dampened enthusiasm for the superficial debauchery of spring break. With an end to the Vietnam War and a decline in student activism by the mid-1970s, however, students once again sought lighthearted fun instead of political reform. As one collegian on spring break in 1976 remarked, "We've given up on changing the world. All we ask—at least on our holiday—is to have a good time."⁴⁹ Starting with an estimated turnout of 100,000 in 1976, spring break attendance doubled over the next 5 years, with a record 200,000 collegians embarking to the city in 1981.⁵⁰

Despite all the problems that had been occurring along "the strip" in conjunction with spring break, Fort Lauderdale civic and business leaders initially welcomed this rapid growth for the revenue it afforded the city. While collegians poured an estimated \$30 million into the local economy in 1976, their spending neared \$100 million by the dawn of the 1980s.⁵¹ Overall, spring break's expansion was part of a brief resurgence in Fort Lauderdale's tourism industry during the late 1970s when an improving national economy helped temporarily mollify the adverse effects of the city's decline and entice a record 3.9 million visitors to Broward County in 1979, up from 2.1 million just 3 years earlier.⁵²

Unfortunately, the prosperity of the late 1970s was only fleeting. In addition to yet another recession in the early 1980s, Fort Lauderdale lost significant tourist dollars to the opening of Walt Disney World's \$800 million EPCOT center in October 1982. Largely shielding Orlando from the effects of the economic downturn, the new attraction drew nearly twenty-three million visitors in 1983.⁵³ With Fort Lauderdale ailing from years of neglect and escalating competition, the total number of visitors to Broward County dropped after a record 1979, bottoming out in 1983 at just over three

49 George, "Where the Boys Were," 6.

50 Phillip Ward, "...And so Does this Binge," *The Miami Herald*, January 2, 1983.

51 Ibid.

52 Easterling, *Has Broward County been Mickey-Moused?*, 11-12.

53 Ibid., 12.

million.⁵⁴ Annual occupancy rates also plummeted, falling from 70.1 percent in 1980 to 56.2 percent in 1983, below the approximate 60 percent necessary for hoteliers to break-even for a year.⁵⁵

During these difficult years, public officials and business leaders turned to spring break in hope of temporarily bolstering the economy until it could fully recover. Fearing that other cities might detract from Fort Lauderdale's collegiate crowd, Broward County's Tourist Development Council spent \$130,000 advertising in campus newspapers in 1983 as well as taking out a full-page flier in *Rolling Stone* magazine.⁵⁶ Furthermore, business owners poured thousands of their own dollars into marketing the city's spring break season. For example, George Gill, owner of 2 beachside hotels, spent \$25,000 on advertisements in 50 college newspapers.⁵⁷ In the end, with crowds surpassing 250,000 in 1983 and 300,000 in 1984, such efforts proved rewarding.⁵⁸

Thus, at the same time overall visitors to the city dropped, spring break attendance, in contrast, continued its rapid growth. After a sluggish winter tourist season in 1982 that saw hotel occupancy in November and December a combined fifteen percent below the same months in 1981, Fort Lauderdale hoteliers became dependent on the spring break season for revenue. Frank Buonauro, president of the Broward Hotel and Motel Association, voiced the community's desperation in early 1983, stating "Without the college season, we'd really all be in trouble. Thank God for the kids." He went on, "My big concern is that the kids have enough money, with the economy the way it is."⁵⁹

Clinging to spring break temporarily softened the blow of a tourism industry in the doldrums, but the decision of business leaders and government officials to embrace the tradition while ignoring its problems did far more damage to the area's economy in the end.

54 Ibid., 33. Michele Cohen, "Tourism Officials Look Beyond Spring Break" in *Broward in the '80s: A Progress Report*, ed. Gene Cryer (Fort Lauderdale: Sun-Sentinel, 1985), 47.

55 Gail DeGeorge, "Business Hotels Flowering in Broward," *The Miami Herald*, December 16, 1984.

56 Bill Luening, "Beach Businessmen Poised to Spring into Break Dance," *The Miami Herald*, March 30, 1984.

57 Elizabeth Wilson, "Spring Break '84 May Be Best Ever for City Merchants," *The Miami Herald*, March 21, 1984.

58 Patrick May, "Promoters: Rules Sour Spring Rite Spirits," *The Miami Herald*, March 4, 1984; Brian Blanchard, "Youthful Invasion is Nearly History," *The Miami Herald*, April 9, 1985.

59 Associated Press, "Florida Tourist Businesses Counting on Students," *Toledo Blade*, February 28, 1983.

For years Fort Lauderdale had walked a fine line, promoting itself and enjoying a reputation as both an upscale resort city as well as a haven for spring break excess.⁶⁰ With collegiate crowds swelling to unprecedented numbers, the goal of attracting both demographics proved unrealistic. By the early 1980s, the effects of hosting the annual anarchy hindered the city's ability to entice more mature and upscale vacationers. While there had previously been enough tourism throughout the rest of year for motel owners to refuse rental to college kids, the multiple problems that had been developing in Fort Lauderdale since the 1970s in accordance with spring break had alienated the more affluent winter trade, forcing these businesses to rent to students in order to stay afloat.⁶¹

After the spring break explosion of the early 1980s, Fort Lauderdale officials found themselves in a familiar situation. With the annual collegiate invasion clearly out of control and staining the city's reputation, leaders felt compelled to act, but were reserved about the future prospect of liberating the city from spring break. Referring to the yearly flood of students, Assistant City Manager Bob Baldwin commented in 1984, "People are just going to keep coming down here and there's not much we can do about it. At some point we may have to start discouraging people from coming here."⁶² Yet, city officials were reluctant to pursue a concerted effort targeted at ending spring break in Fort Lauderdale for fear of conceding the revenue on which many businesses had come to rely. Although such sentiment had traditionally restrained Fort Lauderdale from taking radical measures, spring break 1985 would forever alter this pattern.

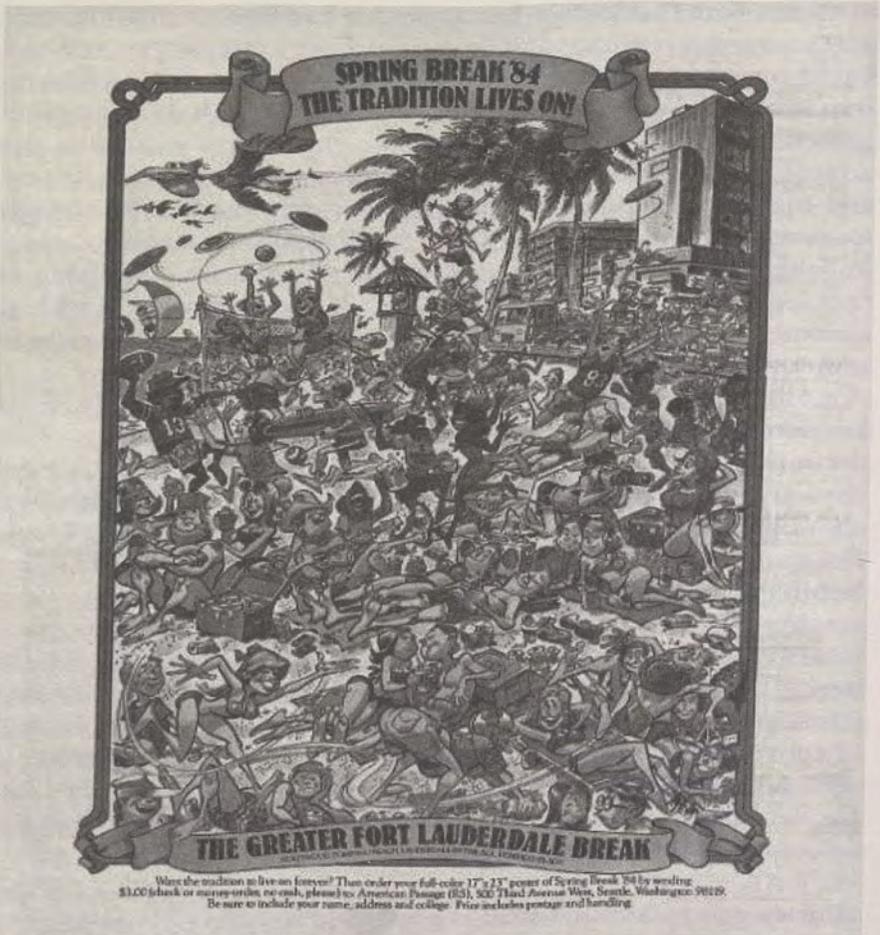
"I'm no prude, but that stuff is pretty vile"

Over a mere six-week period in 1985, an unprecedented 350,000 collegians packed "the strip," pouring a record \$120 million into the local economy, but also causing more mayhem and destruction than the city had ever witnessed. Ushering in a new era of collegiate revelry, the decadent behavior of collegians and exponential attendance growth during spring break 1985 intensified existing concerns and created new problems for the populace that brought

60 Patrick May, "Tourist Panel Buys Ad Pitch," *The Miami Herald*, December 16, 1983.

61 Hiller, *Highway A1A*, 232.

62 Joseph Schwerdt, "Lauderdale Hopes to Subdue Spring Break Ritual," *The Palm Beach Post*, July 23, 1984.



Fort Lauderdale's spring break ad appearing in a 1983 issue of the *Rolling Stone*.

their already fragile relationship with the tradition to a breaking point. Troubled by spring break's adverse impact on their city and quality of life, Fort Lauderdale and its citizens were at a crossroads by the mid-1980s. The city could continue embracing spring break and hope to find a way to overcome its difficulties or it could shun collegians and deal with the negative financial consequences. Whereas students' commercial contributions had traditionally overwhelmed calls for terminating the event, a growing list of concerns arising from the spring breaks of the early 1980s-

especially 1985- promoted widespread sentiment among residents that the cost of hosting the event finally outweighed its benefits.⁶³

The sudden influx of students during the 1980s, for example, became a perpetual source of inconveniences and headaches for many citizens. As attendance rose from 100,000 in 1977 to 350,000 in 1985, the mile-and-a-half "strip" along Highway A1A maintained the same parameters. For residents using A1A to commute to and from work, the heavy concentration of collegians along the road resulted in constant traffic congestion that made these seemingly short trips exhausting journeys.⁶⁴ During spring break 1985, traffic crept along A1A at an average speed of 1.3 miles per hour, transforming the 2.4-mile trip from East Las Olas Boulevard to Atlantic Boulevard into a 2-hour odyssey.⁶⁵ In a subsequent 1986 research poll, two-thirds of central beach residents responded that spring break had negatively affected their quality of life by forcing them to change their routines or arrive late for scheduled activities.⁶⁶

Vulgar and raucous behavior of spring breakers also disgusted Fort Lauderdale residents. Although collegians had always been mischievous, many residents felt that their behavior in previous decades had been relatively tame compared to that of the students of the 1980s. Not surprisingly, such impropriety owed to the culture of heavy drinking that had historically plagued spring break. By the 1980s, bars that eagerly catered to collegians' thirst for inexpensive alcohol had overtaken the city's beachfront. As the most popular establishments used as many as one hundred beer kegs in a day, collegiate disturbances requiring police intervention turned from isolated incidents into nightly occurrences, resulting in record numbers of arrests each year.⁶⁷ In addition to drunken and disorderly behavior, the sight of students' relieving themselves in public cultivated concerns of impropriety among numerous citizens. With the sudden increase in spring break attendance, local restroom facilities were overtaxed and students often chose to handle their business outside rather than wait in lengthy

63 Harvey H. Jackson, *The Rise and Decline of the Redneck Riviera* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013), 195.

64 Easterling, *Has Broward County been Mickey-Moused?*, 18-19.

65 Marie Betancourt, "One-Way Streets Urged for Beach," *The Miami Herald*, October 19, 1985.

66 Scott A. Zamost, "Residents, Business People Split on Spring Break," *Sun-Sentinel*, March 2, 1986.

67 Gillis, *Fort Lauderdale: The Venice of America*, 140; Patrick May, "Nine Arrested in Scuffle on Lauderdale Strip," March 26, 1984.

queues.⁶⁸ Combined with heavy drinking, this situation posed a serious problem for Fort Lauderdale. As Barbara Hagdorn, owner of Sea Isle Apartments, astutely concluded after spring break 1985, "The more you drink, the more you gotta go." She went on to reflect residents' concerns, "Kid's don't use toilets anymore. We're tired of public urination, defecation, and fornication."⁶⁹

While residents were upset with the way collegians conducted themselves in public, the activities that went on behind the closed doors of the city's beachfront bars also alarmed the local populace. After conducting a sting operation at The Button in March 1985, city officials revealed to an outraged public the sexualized rituals in which collegians participated. While undercover, police officers claimed to have witnessed simulated oral sex during the "Like a Virgin Contest," a young man fondle himself as part of the "Wet Willy Contest," and students tear the tops off and grab the breasts of female contestants in the "Wet T-shirt Contest." On previous visits, police also alleged that collegians consumed beer enemas, beer-vomit cocktails, and even urine as part of the "Gross Acts Contest." After the 1985 sting operation, the city charged and sentenced Button Disc Jockey John Torregrossa to a year in jail for "promoting a lewd, lascivious, indecent live show before an audience."⁷⁰ In the wake of these revelations, Fort Lauderdale Mayor Robert Dressler echoed local indignation, "I'm no prude, but that stuff is pretty vile."⁷¹

That the dangerous behavior of collegians had made death a seemingly permanent fixture of Fort Lauderdale's spring break season also dismayed residents. Impaired by their heavy consumption of alcohol, students often engaged in various life-threatening activities, including "balcony jumping" in which they attempted to reach adjoining rooms by climbing hotel balconies. From 1965 to 1986, fifteen collegians fell to their deaths while on spring break in various Florida cities.⁷² Furthermore, the flood of students crossing Highway A1A from the bars to the beach led to numerous traffic accidents and fatalities. The death of local high school student Charla Laboda during spring break 1985 caused significant public

68 Linda Robertson, "Break Toilets Provide Relief for Residents," *The Miami Herald*, February 23, 1986.

69 Linda Robertson, "Spring Antics Descend to Record Low, Hoteliers Say," *The Miami Herald*, April 13, 1985.

70 Patrick May, "Nightclub's Lewd Shows Get DJ Jail," *The Miami Herald*, September 4, 1985.

71 Jennifer F. Schenker, "Lauderdale Vice Buttonholes Emcee over Lewd Contests," *The Miami Herald*, March 14, 1985.

72 "Balcony Bill Flies through Senate," *The Orlando Sentinel*, May 14 1986.

outrage. After telling her mother that she was going to a barbecue at the park, Laboda instead went to party on "the strip," on March 7, 1985. Asked by an older man if they wanted to cruise A1A, Laboda and her friends piled into his van and left the sliding door open. When the seventeen-year-old lost her balance, she fell from the vehicle and struck her head on the pavement.⁷³ Two days later, Laboda was removed from life supports and pronounced dead.⁷⁴ Laboda's death was the first of three fatalities stemming from traffic-related accidents during spring break 1985.⁷⁵

Laboda's tragedy confirmed many citizens' fears that the spring break scene along "the strip" lured their children away to a dangerous place.⁷⁶ For years, local teenagers had flocked to "the strip" during spring break to mix with college students, often cruising along A1A on the beds of pick-up trucks or boots of convertibles. As there was little else to do on "the strip" aside from drinking and causing mischief, parents hoped to keep their kids away from the district. Asked if he would allow his daughter to go to "the strip," Broward Sheriff Sergeant Dennis Creamer evinced local sentiment, "She's not going there- not as long as I'm breathing." As demonstrated by Laboda's secret venture, however, parents were often helpless in preventing their children's excursions to the "the strip." In the wake of her daughter's death, Sharon O'Brien reflected many citizens' feelings regarding the district, "I hate this place. It's so bad for kids."⁷⁷

Along with the sorry state of "the strip," residents felt the time had come to retake control of Fort Lauderdale's decaying beach. Although spring break took place over a mere six weeks, the residual problems it left behind lingered throughout the rest of the year, both in reality and perception. Delinquency, for example, became so dire in the area that by the early 1980s Fort Lauderdale was widely known as the "runaway capital of America."⁷⁸ Coupled

73 Jennifer L. Schenker, "Teen Brain Dead after Accident on Strip," *The Miami Herald*, March 8, 1985.

74 Wendy Shaffer, "Brain-Dead Teen Removed from Support," *The Miami Herald*, March 9, 1985.

75 Linda Robertson, "Lauderdale Has New Wall for Spring Break Madness," *The Miami Herald*, January 9, 1985.

76 Mike Sante, "Revelry Lures Local Kids Too," *The Miami Herald*, March 18, 1985.

77 Herald Staff, "Spring Breakdown," *The Miami Herald*, March 18, 1985.

78 Denny Abbot, Statement to the Committee on the House of Judiciary Representatives, *Missing Children's Act*, Hearing, November 18 and 30, 1981 (Serial No. 33). Available at: <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/87561NCJRS.pdf>. (accessed February 1, 2013); Marie Betancourt, "Runaways Home-Free with Railways Ticket," *The Miami Herald*, June 9, 1985.

with the presence of these undesirables and other transients, the annual swarm of college students and their disregard for the beach's beauty furthered the perception among residents that the area had become an unruly wasteland. After spring break 1984, volunteers filled 6½ garbage trucks with the litter collegians left behind on the beach.⁷⁹ Police Chief Ron Cochran later indicated residents' dismay, "the thing that saddened me the most as I walked up and down the beach was the absolute squalor. Your feet stuck to the pavement because of the urine, puke, and beer. Just heaps of garbage in a tropical setting."⁸⁰

With spring break cultivating the physical and moral degradation of their city, the local populace grew concerned that hosting the event was having a detrimental impact on the health of Fort Lauderdale's long-term tourism industry. During the 1980s, many residents realized that notoriously thrifty collegians were not the ideal type of tourists.⁸¹ While the average visitor to Fort Lauderdale spent about sixty-eight dollars per day, collegians only expended about forty-six dollars.⁸² To account for limited budgets, students crammed into hotel rooms, slept in their cars, and subsisted on meals from fast-food restaurants.⁸³ In March 1983, for instance, Fort Lauderdale's Burger King reported the highest sales volume in the United States. This led some citizens to believe that the only businesses to profit from spring break were establishments that catered mainly to the college crowd.⁸⁴ Thus, after the spring breaks of the early 1980s, many residents felt that the city should diversify its tourist trade by courting adult travelers who, in addition to more moderate behavior, would provide a steadier source of revenue over the entire year rather than the crash six-week period of spring break.⁸⁵ As City Commissioner John Rodstrom stated after spring

79 Elizabeth Wilson, "Bar Brigade Hits the Beach," *The Miami Herald*, May 1, 1984.

80 Scott A. Zamost, "Officials Try for the Best, Fear the Worst," *Sun-Sentinel*, February 16, 1986.

81 Brian Blanchard, "Youthful Invasion is Nearly History," *The Miami Herald*, April 9, 1985.

82 Cohen, "Tourism Officials Look Beyond Spring Break," 47.

83 Linda Robertson, "Police Chief Wants Ban on Beach Booze," *The Miami Herald*, May 1, 1985; Patrick May, "Spring Break Scene: The Faster, The Better," *The Miami Herald*, March 20, 1984; Paul Shannon, "Investigation of 'Fines' Is Increased," *The Miami Herald*, March 28, 1986.

84 Herald Staff, "Spring Brakes," *The Miami Herald*, April 5, 1985.

85 Second Century Broward, Report from *Broward's Beach: A Symposium Sponsored by Second Century Broward in Cooperation with the FAU-FIU Joint Center for Environmental and Urban Problems*, Fort Lauderdale: Sheraton Yankee Trader, May 11-12, 1984, 2.

break 1985, "I'd rather have 100,000 people who spend a lot of money than 300,000 people who spend a little money."⁸⁶

Some residents feared that spring break had hindered the city's ability to attract more affluent tourists. George Gill spoke for many hoteliers, "You are not going to attract a different clientele if they can't walk on the street at night. The harassment of tourists is terrible."⁸⁷ Residents were concerned that the degenerate image of spring break scared away adults and families. For many citizens, an article in the April 1985 issue of *People Magazine* confirmed their suspicions about Fort Lauderdale's reputation. Describing "the strip" as "a sleazy mile-and-a-half-long stretch of shops, bars, and hotels... dead center in the salty armpit of Fort Lauderdale," the article was a source of controversy among many local business owners who felt increasingly imprisoned by the spring break economy.⁸⁸

Ultimately, the new era of excess ushered in by the 1980s severed residents' fragile relationship with the tradition and set Fort Lauderdale on a course to end its association with spring break. Whereas spring break had helped put Fort Lauderdale on the map during the 1960s, the unruliness of the 1980s convinced many members of the local populace that hosting the event was contributing to the general decay of the city. In addition to the dilapidation of the beach and adjacent "strip," other areas of Fort Lauderdale had long suffered from neglect and were deteriorating.⁸⁹ Moreover, with many residents fleeing to the suburbs, Fort Lauderdale's population plateaued after the boom of the 1960s and actually declined during the 1980s for the first time since the community's inception.⁹⁰ While citizens sought to revitalize their city, court affluent tourists, and once again attract new development, they perceived spring break and its increased drunkenness, debauchery, and death as major impediments.⁹¹ No longer believing that spring break revenue provided a major boon to their city and its economy, residents felt little reason to continue tolerating collegiate delinquency. For the city of Fort Lauderdale, the cost of hosting spring break had finally outweighed its benefits.

86 Cohen, "Tourism Officials Look Beyond Spring Break," 47.

87 Scott A. Zamost, "Redevelopment Plans Clash with Spring Break," *Sun-Sentinel*, March 2, 1986.

88 Marie Betancourt, "Mayor: Strip Story Bad Break," *The Miami Herald*, April 6, 1985.

89 Hiller, *Highway A1A*, 232-233.

90 Gillis, *Fort Lauderdale: The Venice of America*, 127, 137.

91 Maya Bell, "Where the Boys Were: Fort Lauderdale De-emphasizes Spring Break," *The Orlando Sentinel*, March 6, 1988.

“It’s like a ghost town compared to what it used to be”

In the wake of 1985’s turbulence, an unprecedented number of residents and business owners organized to demand a reduction of spring break rowdiness.⁹² Many citizens wrote Mayor Robert Dressler, imploring him to end, or at least curb, the annual anarchy. One angry resident described his consternation with spring break, “I would rather be back on the battlefield of World War II than go through these conditions- at least I could shoot back, but not here, where you have to swallow it.”⁹³ In response to augmented indignation, Fort Lauderdale’s Beach Advisory Board convened on April 18, 1985 to discuss the city’s future as a spring break host. Hoping to take back their community from the grasp of collegians, more than 250 outraged citizens packed the commission chamber to vent their frustrations.⁹⁴ The Beach Advisory Board, spurred to action by the onslaught of complaints, eventually approved the creation of the Spring Break Task Force to address specifically spring break issues on a year-round basis rather than just in the few weeks before and after the students’ arrival.⁹⁵ Faced with a clear popular mandate to diminish the chaotic nature of the tradition, officials enacted a number of measures to crack down on unruliness during spring break 1986, ultimately alienating collegians and leading to the rapid and unthinkable downfall of spring break in Fort Lauderdale by the end of the decade.⁹⁶

To mitigate the traffic congestion and fatalities that had plagued Highway A1A during previous spring breaks, city officials appropriated nearly \$100,000 in late 1985 to construct a temporary barrier down the middle of the road that separated the line of bars, hotels, and stores from the beach. Officially deemed a “vehicle separator” but known colloquially as “the wall,” the divide was a 4½-foot high concrete structure topped with 18 inches of chain-link fence that ran 3,000 feet from Grenada Street to Las Olas Boulevard.⁹⁷ Installed in early February 1986 and razed after spring

92 Dan Ray, “Record Spring Break Leaves City Reeling,” *The Miami Herald*, April 14, 1985.

93 Steve Bosquet, “Not Everyone is in Love with Spring Break,” *The Miami Herald*, April 12, 1985.

94 Easterling, *Has Broward County been Mickey-Moused?*, 10-11.; Paul Saltzman, “Lauderdale Wants Breaks from Crowds,” *The Miami Herald*, April 19, 1985.

95 Herald Staff, “Spring Break Task Force Planned,” *The Miami Herald*, May 18, 1985.

96 Dressler, “The Death of Spring Break,” 16.

97 Linda Robertson, “Lauderdale Has New Wall for Spring Break Madness,” *The Miami Herald*, January 9, 1985.

break had ended, "the wall" closed A1A's two southbound lanes along "the strip" for pedestrian usage and restricted traffic to the lanes on the opposite side of the barrier near the beach.⁹⁸ Although "the wall" was a source of controversy among some residents for its cost and lack of aestheticism, the structure proved effective.⁹⁹ By allowing students to cross A1A only at designated points, "the wall" prevented pedestrians from mixing with traffic, offered little reason to cruise aimlessly along the road, and significantly eased congestion. One student observed during spring break 1986, "You can drive down 'the strip' in thirty minutes instead of two hours."¹⁰⁰

Fort Lauderdale also aggressively enforced formerly neglected capacity limits and fire ordinances during spring break 1986. Whereas officials had previously allowed businesses to pack students into hotel rooms and bars, the city was determined to punish such future violations. In preparation for spring break, a six-man enforcement team visited the most notorious bars along "the strip" in January 1986, warning managers to keep their crowds within legal limits when the students arrived.¹⁰¹ Working six nights a week during the collegiate season, the enforcement team swiftly punished managers found in violation of capacity ordinances. In less than twenty-four hours, for instance, the team arrested three managers of the Elbo Room for allowing their crowds to exceed capacity.¹⁰² Local officials also cracked down on Fort Lauderdale's beachfront hotels. Finding the Lauderdale Surf Hotel in violation of more than 100 fire codes, city inspectors arrested the establishment's manager and temporarily closed the 253-room hotel until it remedied its transgressions.¹⁰³ Forced to find alternative lodging, the hotel's two thousand occupants, who averaged nearly eight per room, were quite chagrined with the city's harsh measures. "It sucks monkeys' eggs," lamented one collegian as he carried his luggage to his new spring break accommodations- a friend's car.¹⁰⁴

98 Mike Sante, "Spring Break Beach Barricade Approved," *The Miami Herald*, July 17, 1985.

99 Jeffrey Moore, "Graffiti-Detering Plan: Paint Spring Break Wall," *Sun-Sentinel*, February 13, 1986.

100 Linda Robertson, "Spring Break is Subdued, Less Lewd," *The Miami Herald*, March 24, 1986.

101 Steven Girardi, "Bars Along Strip Warned to Heed Legal Crowd Limits," *Sun-Sentinel*, January 9, 1986.

102 Michael Connelly, "Bar Crowding Brings Arrests," *Sun-Sentinel*, March 7, 1986.

103 Jonathan Susskind, "Violations Force 2,000 to Evacuate Beach Hotel," *Sun-Sentinel*, March 17, 1986.

104 Andrew Froman, "Students Have a Night Out, Literally; Fire Safety Violations Roust 2,000 from Lauderdale Hotel," *The Miami Herald*, March 17, 1986.



"The wall" during spring break 1987. Image from "The Candy Store, Fort Lauderdale, Spring Break, 1987_0001.wmv," YouTube.com <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NNKKvTbWDRM>.

Perhaps most importantly, the city addressed the culture of heavy drinking that had historically plagued spring break in Fort Lauderdale and instigated collegiate rowdiness since the tradition's genesis. At the behest of the Spring Break Task Force and Police Chief Ron Cochran, the city passed an ordinance in late 1985 that effectively banned open containers of alcohol while walking in public or driving along "the strip."¹⁰⁵ Moreover, Florida complied with the National Minimum Drinking Age Act in 1985, raising the statewide age for alcohol consumption from 19 to 21.¹⁰⁶ As with capacity limits and fire codes, the city enforced these new laws aggressively, even enlisting the help of agents from the Florida Division of Alcoholic Beverages and Tobacco to control rowdy crowds.¹⁰⁷ Not surprisingly, these ordinances were controversial among many spring breakers who were reluctant to relinquish their public drinking privileges without a fight. Only midway through spring break 1986, Fort

105 United Press International, "Year-Round Drinking Ban Hits Beaches, Fort Lauderdale Set To Shed Its Old Image," *The Orlando Sentinel*, December 2, 1985.

106 Lynne A. Duke, "Reaction Mixed on Drinking Bill," *The Miami Herald*, June 1, 1985.

107 Mike McKee, "Agents to Crack Whips during Spring Break," *The Orlando Sentinel*, July 11, 1985.

Lauderdale had nearly eclipsed the total number of arrests made during the previous year's spring break, largely due to the new drinking ordinances.¹⁰⁸ When spring break 1986 finally ended, police had made 2,506 arrests, up from 889 in 1985.¹⁰⁹

For collegians and business owners alike, the impact of the city's crackdown was immediately apparent. Students who made the journey to spring break were disheartened to learn that Fort Lauderdale officials had transformed their beloved haven of decadence into what seemed to them to be a virtual police state. One student complained, "You can't drink on the beach. They put walls up. It's not as wild as last year." Angered by the comparative lack of freedom, another collegian reflected the growing consensus among many Fort Lauderdale spring breakers, "I wouldn't come back." He went on to assert, "It's not an appealing place. The Bahamas is better."¹¹⁰

As news of the city's lukewarm reception, strict rules, and police crackdowns spread across college campuses, many collegians cancelled their trips to Fort Lauderdale. Over a 10-day period in March 1986, hotel owner George Gill had 716 cancellations, almost tripling his average number.¹¹¹ Bob Gour, manager of the Holiday Inn-Oceanside, complained, "We're at eighty-five percent occupancy this week, but we were full every day in March last year." For most other beachside businesses relying on spring break, the drop in students and revenue was alarming. The Sunwear T-shirt Shop, which normally did more than half its annual business in the first three months of the year, reported a forty-five percent decrease in sales compared with the previous year's spring break season.¹¹² When spring break 1986 concluded, only 300,000 collegians had attended, down 50,000 from 1985.¹¹³

Pleased with a calmer and more subdued spring break in 1986, the city amplified its attack on the tradition, alienating more collegians along the way. On February 24, 1987, only a few months

108 Michael Connelly, "Spring Break Arrests Near Total for 1985," *Sun-Sentinel*, March 11, 1986.

109 United Press International, "Blame Spread for Smaller Spring Break," *The Orlando Sentinel*, May 18, 1987.

110 Associated Press, "Students Say Rules Ruining Spring Break," *The Orlando Sentinel*, March 16, 1986.

111 Scott A. Zamost, "Breakers Skipping the Strip, Police Crackdown Scares off Students," *Sun-Sentinel*, March 30, 1986.

112 Andrew Froman and Marlene Sokol, "Lauderdale to Pull Welcome Mat from College Kids," *The Miami Herald*, April 6, 1986.

113 Kevin Allen, "A Tamer Break Comes to an End," *Sun-Sentinel*, April 6, 1986.

after Robert Dressler had resigned from office in preparation for a failed state senate bid, newly appointed Mayor Robert Cox appeared on ABC's *Good Morning America* to tell an audience of five million viewers that Fort Lauderdale was attracting more collegians for spring break than the city could realistically handle.¹¹⁴ Speaking alongside Daytona Beach Mayor Larry Kelly, Cox expressed to anchor Joan Lunden his hopes that students would instead choose Daytona Beach. "We could use far less," Cox said. "I'm glad the mayor of Daytona Beach is here. I hope he can entice a few of them off to his fair city."¹¹⁵

While Cox avoided explicitly telling collegians to stay away from Fort Lauderdale, many students assumed his message meant they were unwelcome in his city for spring break. Coupled with the city's maintenance of its drinking ordinances and reinstallation of "the wall" during spring break 1987, Cox's message helped Fort Lauderdale quickly relinquish its traditional status among collegians as the indisputable spring break mecca.¹¹⁶ As Martin Axelrod, then-president of Northwestern University's Associate Student Government, stated in 1987, "Fort Lauderdale has been popular for a long time, but it's not the automatic spot to go to any more."¹¹⁷ While 300,000 students reveled in Fort Lauderdale for spring break 1986, attendance dropped to 250,000 in 1987.¹¹⁸

Although the city's efforts pleased residents, the rapidity in which spring break attendance and revenues had declined distressed many local business owners, causing some to question whether they should once again court collegians. As Fort Lauderdale attempted to deemphasize its reliance on collegiate tourism, the city's repressive measures placed businesses in a difficult transitional period. Along with alienating collegians, Fort Lauderdale maintained its negative reputation among more mature tourists. Thus, most local business owners suddenly lost significant income without gaining substantial

114 Ron Ishoy, "Mayor Cox on Spring Break: Simmer Down," *The Miami Herald*, February 25, 1987.

115 Herald Staff, "Send Students to Fort Lauderdale, Mayor Cox Tells the Nation," *The Miami Herald*, March 1, 1987.

116 Lyda Longa, "City Proves there is Life after Spring Break- Ft. Lauderdale Basking in Banishment of Breakers," *Daytona Beach News-Journal*, February 27, 2002.

117 Associated Press, "Fort Lauderdale: Now it's Where the Boys (and Girls) Aren't," *The Orlando Sentinel*, March 2, 1987.

118 Scott A. Zamost, "Breaking Away: Upperclassmen are Bypassing Fort Lauderdale for Their Spring Vacations," *Sun-Sentinel*, March 1, 1987.

revenue from other demographics to replace it.¹¹⁹ Former mayor Robert Dressler addressed the situation in 1987, "We've got an unfortunate situation right now, but if people remember back two years ago, we had an intolerable situation. Changes had to be made. I think people would like to have seen it happen more gradually."¹²⁰

After yet another sluggish spring break in 1987, a group of about fifty merchants petitioned the city council for temporary tax relief to make up for lost income. "This season is a disaster as you know," said Bob Motwani, owner of the Merrimac Beach Resort. "The small motel and hotel owners make on the average fifty percent of their money during the spring break, and that carries them for the rest of the year. We did not have spring break the way we thought."¹²¹ While the staunchest opponents of the city's crackdown were beachfront bar managers, after spring break 1987, some local business owners who had previously been ardent supporters of taming spring break began clamoring for a return of students. Despite considerable outcry, the city refused to acquiesce to popular demands and continued shunning collegians.¹²²

As local officials remained committed to transforming the city's image, spring break in Fort Lauderdale rapidly fizzled out by the end of the 1980s. For spring break 1988, only 140,000 collegians journeyed to Fort Lauderdale. "It's like a cemetery," one spring breaker lamented as he packed his bags to leave Fort Lauderdale for Key West. "It's like a ghost town compared to what it used to be. There is nobody here."¹²³ Spending \$56 million, students provided roughly half of the revenue that they had three years earlier.¹²⁴ Although many businesses suffered because of the dramatic drop in spring break attendance, the city continued to enforce aggressively its fire codes and capacity limits. During spring break 1989, for example, Fort Lauderdale charged the infamous beachfront bar the Candy Store, with 52 code violations, amounting to more than

119 "Fort Lauderdale on Right Track in its Approach to Spring Break," *Sun-Sentinel*, March 14, 1987.

120 Robert L. Steinback, "Hoteliers Seek New Beach Image as Break Dwindles," *The Miami Herald*, March 26, 1987.

121 Associated Press, "Merchants Ask City for Tax Break Lean College Crowd Hurts Fort Lauderdale," *The Orlando Sentinel*, April 17, 1987.

122 Steinback, "Hoteliers Seek New Beach Image as Break Dwindles."

123 Associated Press, "From Spring Break to Spring Bust Fort Lauderdale: 'Looks like a Ghost Town' to Those Who Still Show Up," *The Orlando Sentinel*, March 21, 1988.

124 Neely Tucker, "Spring Break's Losers Revamp for Tamer Times," *The Miami Herald*, April 10, 1988.

\$76,000 in fines. Many local business owners who catered heavily to the collegiate crowd feared that city officials were purposely targeting their establishments. Mike Brinkely, attorney for the Candy Store, reflected such suspicions, "The city is going out of its way. It looks like they're doing their best to find anything to shut the [Candy Store] down."¹²⁵ By the end of the decade, Fort Lauderdale's quest to disassociate itself from the tradition was nearly complete. Four years after an unprecedented 350,000 collegians had made their annual pilgrimages to the city, a mere 20,000 returned to Fort Lauderdale for spring break in 1989.¹²⁶

"More people are willing to be here when the kids aren't here"

In the years just after Fort Lauderdale abdicated its spring break throne, Daytona Beach, Florida assumed favored status among students. During the 1970s, with many local businesses suffering in lieu of Walt Disney World's opening, Daytona Beach officials had initiated an aggressive campaign to court collegians in the hope of supplementing lost tourist dollars. Attempting to break South Florida's traditional stronghold on the hearts and minds of America's youth, the city even hired helicopters during one spring break to drop Ping-Pong balls along the beaches of Fort Lauderdale with notes advertising Volusia County. Thus, when Fort Lauderdale voluntarily withdrew from spring break festivities in the mid-1980s, Daytona Beach eagerly stepped in to fill the void.¹²⁷

No longer competing with Fort Lauderdale, Daytona Beach attracted an unprecedented 400,000 collegians for spring break 1989, leaving the city reeling and frustrating the local populace.¹²⁸ Referring to his appearance two years earlier on *Good Morning America*, Daytona Beach Mayor Larry Kelly commented, "[Mayor Cox] turned to me and said, 'You can have them.' And I got them."¹²⁹ While officials had initially welcomed this growth, Daytona Beach ironically went through the same identity crisis as Fort Lauderdale. Despite a tremendous boost in revenue, spring

125 Beth Duff Sanders, "Fort Lauderdale Hits Candy Store with 52 Violations," *Sun-Sentinel*, April 7, 1989.

126 Herald Staff, "Where the Boys Aren't... Should Lauderdale Try to Entice Students Again?" *The Miami Herald*, December 23, 1990.

127 Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams*, 318-319.

128 Derek Catron, "1989 Spring Break- A Look Back at the Year that Left Daytona Beach Reeling," *Daytona Beach News-Journal*, March 22, 2009.

129 Beth Duff Sanders, "Daytona Asks Fort Lauderdale's Advice on Spring Break," *The Orlando Sentinel*, December 22, 1989.

break 1989 provided a period of excess that created a desire among residents to curb the mayhem and court more mature tourists.¹³⁰ Echoing sentiments previously held by many Fort Lauderdale residents, one Daytona Beach citizen complained after spring break 1989, "The residents that live on the peninsula are fed up. The beer parties, the parking, the trash, we don't want that in our community anymore." Confronted by mounting public pressure, Daytona Beach sought to distance itself from the tradition soon after, eventually seeking advice from Fort Lauderdale officials concerning methods to control the annual anarchy.¹³¹

Although collegians had largely abandoned Fort Lauderdale, the city faced an uphill battle to revamp its tarnished image. To combat this reputation, Fort Lauderdale embarked on an aggressive campaign to breathe new life into its central beach district. As part of an effort to make Fort Lauderdale "the best city of its size by 1994," city voters in November 1986 approved a \$44.7 million bond referendum for various quality of life projects such as a downtown riverwalk, city park improvements, and a children's science museum. The bond also appropriated nearly fourteen million dollars for an ambitious beach revitalization project.¹³² Completed in 1993, the project gave a much-needed facelift to the city's "strip" and beachfront that included landscaping, a twenty-eight-foot high skywalk crossing A1A to the beach, and a palm-lined, beachside promenade highlighted with fiber-optic lighting.¹³³

While this renovation slowly attracted new development, most beachfront bars, stores, and mom-and-pop motels were unable to hold on until the city's economic plan brought new business.¹³⁴ One by one, city officials and private developers bought and demolished these historic establishments to make way for parking lots, luxury hotels, and high-rise condominium developments.¹³⁵ With the razing of the final vestiges of spring break, most of the criminals, transients, and other undesirables quickly deserted "the strip." By 1994, with reports of crimes down fourteen percent compared with 1988, one beachfront hotel manager put it simply,

130 Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams*, 318-319.

131 Sanders, "Daytona Asks Fort Lauderdale's Advice on Spring Break."

132 Randy Hoder, "Officials Give Progress Report on Bond Projects—Six Projects," *Sun-Sentinel*, May 24, 1988.

133 Gillis, *Fort Lauderdale: The Venice of America*, 154.

134 Sue Reisinger, "City Embraces a Wealthier Spring Break," *The Miami Herald*, March 28, 1999.

135 Gillis, *Fort Lauderdale: The Venice of America*, 154.

"The beach is much safer than it ever was."¹³⁶ Ultimately, the opening of the privately funded, \$22 million, Beach Place in 1997 signaled the rebirth of Fort Lauderdale's central beach district. Built where some of the most infamous "strip" bars once stood, Beach Place is a three-story open-air mall that houses a variety of upscale restaurants, retail stores, and nightclubs.¹³⁷

As civic officials and private businesses overhauled "the strip," Fort Lauderdale has been remarkably successful in overcoming its tainted reputation. After a brief transitional period, Fort Lauderdale now enjoys a more diverse and lucrative tourism industry. As Nikki Grossman, president of the Greater Fort Lauderdale Convention and Visitors Bureau, stated in 2001, "More people are willing to be here when the kids aren't here." While 350,000 collegians contributed an estimated \$120 million to the local economy in 1985 (\$197 million in 2001 dollars), during that same period in 2001, Fort Lauderdale attracted 650,000 vacationers—mostly families and business travelers—who spent more than \$600 million.¹³⁸ Fort Lauderdale's tourism industry continues to thrive today. As recently as March 2012, Orbitz.com ranked Fort Lauderdale fourth among the top ten most desired spring vacation destinations, behind only Orlando, Las Vegas, and New York City, in a review of trips booked on the travel site.¹³⁹

Thus, Fort Lauderdale has managed to overcome its immature past and disassociate itself from the tradition it helped establish. Although students have largely moved on to other destinations, Fort Lauderdale still attracts a sizeable, albeit comparatively paltry and more controllable, collegiate spring break crowd. For spring break 2012, city officials expected ten thousand collegians—a far cry from the unruly mobs of the mid-1980s.¹⁴⁰ Regardless of the city's upscale transformation, spring break and Fort Lauderdale will always play an important role in each other's narrative. While Fort Lauderdale gave birth to the spring bacchanalia that has become a rite of passage for today's college students, the tradition, in many ways, put the city on the map, distinguishing it from the countless

136 Karen Rafinski, "New Beach Attraction: User-Friendly Cops," *The Miami Herald*, May 14, 1995.

137 Tracy Kolody, "Beach Place Shoppers Test the Waters—Lauderdale's Unfinished Mall Offers Early Peek," *Sun-Sentinel*, January 16, 1997.

138 Lyda Longa, "City Proves there is Life after Spring Break," *Daytona Beach News-Journal*, February 27, 2002.

139 Arlene Satchell, "Fort Lauderdale Remains Favorite for Spring Break," *Sun-Sentinel*, March 11, 2012.

140 *Ibid.*

resorts littering Florida's coastline. As generation after generation of students invaded Fort Lauderdale, however, the populace continually had to pick up the pieces after they left. Whereas collegians' commercial contributions had traditionally muted calls for ending the event, the wild crowds of the 1980s severed citizens' increasingly fragile relationship with spring break. As students at one time or another had to quit their partying and grow up, by the mid-1980s many residents felt their city should do the same. Hence, Fort Lauderdale and American college students have amicably parted ways and moved onto bigger and better things. Nevertheless, Fort Lauderdale will forever maintain an iconic place, both in the annals of spring break history and in the memories of millions of adults who spent a wild week of their youths reveling on the beach and along "the strip."

“A Few Crazy Ladies”: How Women Broke Down Barriers and Created a Place for Female Martial Artists in Florida, 1974–1983

by Christopher David Thrasher

In September 1974, *Black Belt Magazine* published a letter from Karen Swanson, a school teacher living in Tallahassee, Florida. Swanson thanked the editors for their recent hire of the New York historian and martial artist Valarie Eads to write a reoccurring column in their magazine on female fighters titled “Fighting Woman.” Swanson described herself as an active feminist who wanted to learn self-defense under the guidance of a female teacher. Swanson lamented that there were no female martial arts teachers in north Florida and therefore she had been forced to look for a male instructor. Swanson explained that most male martial arts instructors in her area refused to teach her, citing their low opinions of women and their lack of a suitable woman’s dressing room. She believed that in the face of sexist attitudes of instructors and classmates, most women gave up, leaving only “a few crazy ladies” who Swanson did not identify specifically. These women refused to surrender their place in the martial arts community, ignoring sexism and continuing their studies. Swanson revealed that eventually she found a man willing to teach anyone willing to train seriously, even a woman. She ended by encouraging women

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to push for equality in the dojo just as they demanded it in the workplace.¹

Swanson did not explain how she defined the term feminist and there is some debate on the exact meaning of the term. As gender theorist Chris Beasley explained, "feminism is a troublesome term."² Sallie Ann Harrison, a Florida contemporary of Swanson, was somewhat more explicit when she described feminism as a state of alienation from mainstream, chauvinistic society.³ In *Split Decisions: How and Why to Take a Break from Feminism*, Janet Halley defined feminism "as capacious as possible" noting that even by the broadest definition feminism must "make a distinction between m and f," either in terms of actual genders or masculine and feminine attributes, it must "posit some kind of subordination as between m and f," and feminism must oppose the subordination of f to m."⁴ In an effort to use the broadest possible definition which is still accurate, this article will use Halley's definition for this term.

Swanson's struggle played out against a backdrop of larger issues in Florida and across the nation. Beginning in the nineteenth century, women across the United States and the Atlantic World fought for legal equality in a movement often retroactively called First Wave Feminism.⁵ The American branch of this movement achieved its most important goal in 1920 with the passage of the 19th Amendment, granting women the right to vote. Beginning with the 1963 publication of the *Feminist Mystique* by Betty Friedan, Second Wave Feminism emerged.⁶ This movement focused primarily on cultural rather than political or legal goals.⁷ Friedan argued that women should seek fulfillment outside the traditional roles of wife and mother, wryly noting "no woman gets an orgasm from shining the kitchen floor."⁸ As part of this struggle, Friedan

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- 1 Karen Swanson, "Cheers for Fighting Woman," *Black Belt*, September 1974, 81.
 - 2 Chris Beasley, *What Is Feminism? An Introduction to Feminist Theory* (London: SAGE, 1999), ix.
 - 3 Sallie Ann Harrison, "Radical Ravings," *WomaNews*, May 16, 1975.
 - 4 Janet E. Halley, *Split Decisions: How and Why to Take a Break from Feminism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 17-19.
 - 5 Deanna D. Sellnow, *The Rhetorical Power of Popular Culture: Considering Mediated Texts* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2010), 91.
 - 6 Sarah Gamble, *The Routledge Companion to Feminism and Postfeminism* (London: Routledge, 2001), 30.
 - 7 James P. Sterba, *Controversies in Feminism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), 181.
 - 8 Jessie Shiers, *The Quotable Bitch: Women Who Tell It Like It Really Is* (Guilford, CT: Lyons Press, 2008), 144.

visited Florida in 1971 and helped female students at the University of Florida in their protests against a sexist male political club on campus.⁹ Second wave feminism included a strong sporting aspect, most famously when female tennis player Billie Jean King won the Battle of the Sexes tennis matches in 1973 against a male opponent and became an icon of second wave feminism.¹⁰ Swanson and her Florida contemporaries, with their emphasis on cultural acceptance, fit primarily within the bounds of second wave feminism.

This article will demonstrate that second wave feminism extended into the martial arts schools of America's heartland. It also contributes to the extensive literature on women in sport. Susan Cahn provided one of the most definitive studies of women in sport with *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-century Women's Sport* (1994). This work provides additional support for Cahn's contention that some sporting cultures, including more violent sports, were particularly resistant to female athletes.¹¹ Research findings presented here build on the work of Pamela Grundy, Susan Shackelford, and Jenifer Ring, who explored women's attempts to find a home in sports such as baseball and basketball.¹² This study explores a sport traditionally dominated by men, similar to Cathy van Igen's works on poker and black, female boxers.¹³ It also is influenced by the findings of Sarah K. Fields, who provided an excellent study of women's efforts to enter the male dominated world of school sports.¹⁴ Fields provided an extensive study of the struggle for female equality in scholastic boxing and wrestling, but says nothing about the Asian influenced martial arts which exploded in popularity in the 1970s, just as women fought for a place in the boxing ring and on the wrestling mats.

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- 9 "Muskie Yields to Betty Friedan," *Daytona Beach Morning Journal*, October 23, 1971.
 - 10 Susan Ware, *Game, Set, Match: Billie Jean King and the Revolution in Women's Sports* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 41.
 - 11 Susan K. Cahn, *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women's Sport* (New York: Free Press, 1994), 217.
 - 12 See Pamela Grundy and Susan Shackelford, *Shattering the Glass: The Remarkable History of Women's Basketball* (New York: New Press, 2005); and Jennifer Ring, *Stolen Bases: Why American Girls Don't Play Baseball* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009).
 - 13 Cathy Van Ingen, "Poker Face: Gender, Race and Representation in Online Poker," *Leisure/Loisir* 32, no. 1 (2008), 3; Van Ingen, "Seeing What Frames Our Seeing: Seeking Histories on Early Black Female Boxers," *Journal of Sport History*, 40, no. 1 (Spring 2013), 106.
 - 14 Sarah K. Fields, *Female Gladiators* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005).

A few journalists of martial arts have documented a struggle for women's liberation in America's martial arts schools, but they focus almost entirely on the large cities of New York and California with little indication of how the struggle played out in the American heartland.¹⁵ Carol A. Wiley explained some of the unique challenges women faced in the martial arts in her broader study of martial arts instructors, but she looked almost entirely at the nation's largest cities.¹⁶ Diana Looser provided an important examination of pioneering female martial artists in the United States, Great Britain, and New Zealand from 1900 to 1918. Her work examined martial arts as exhibitions enjoyed by first wave feminists rather than a participatory sport of second wave feminists as covered in this article.¹⁷ Patricia Searles and Ronald Berger wrote an excellent overview of the American Feminist self-defense movement, noting that second wave feminists turned to the martial arts as self-defense as well as sport. However their work was an overview of the entire nation, not an analysis of any particular state or region.¹⁸

This work helps to fill a number of gaps by providing the first scholarly examination of the women's liberation struggle in the martial arts schools of Florida. Southern women, particularly in Florida, faced extraordinary challenges as they battled conservative attitudes common among both men and women in the area.¹⁹ In spite of these enormous obstacles, a thriving women's rights movement took root in Florida centered in Gainesville and inspired by similar efforts in the nation's largest cities.²⁰ These women, like their counterparts in the nation's larger cities, promoted martial arts in an effort to increase women's physical fitness, psychological health, and their ability to defend themselves from violent attacks.²¹

15 See for Example; Valarie Eads, "Fighting Woman," *Black Belt*, April 1974, 35; Loren Franck, "Women Run Karate Schools," *Black Belt*, March 1985, 74-78, 110-111.

16 Carol A. Wiley, *Martial Arts Teachers on Teaching* (Berkeley, CA: Frog, Ltd., 1995), 207.

17 Diana Looser, "Radical Bodies and Dangerous Ladies: Martial Arts and Women's Performance, 1900-1918," *Theatre Research International* 36, no. 1, (2011): 3.

18 Patricia Searles and Ronald J. Berger, "The Feminist Self-Defense Movement: A Case Study," *Gender and Society* 1, no. 1 (March 1987), 61-84.

19 Charles Reagan Wilson and Mark Silk, *Religion and Public Life in the South: In the Evangelical Mode* (Walnut Creek CA: AltaMira Press, 2005), 104-105.

20 Jack E. Davis, and Kari A. Fredrickson, eds. *Making Waves: Female Activists in Twentieth Century Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 16.

21 Sylvia Scudder, "Martial Arts is the Pursuit of the Spirit," *WomaNews: Gainesville's Feminist Newspaper*, April 1977.

Florida women who attempted to puncture the male sphere of martial arts often encountered resistance from men and women who resisted the vision of women as capable fighters.²² This work begins with a few remarks on the history of Asian martial arts in the United States and the feminist movement's efforts to enter the martial arts communities of New York and California in the early 1970s, highlights Swanson's lament over the lack of progress in Florida in 1974, demonstrates how feminists in Gainesville promoted female involvement in the martial arts in the late 1970s, explains the victories of martial arts advocates with the emergence of prominent women fighters and instructors in Florida during the early 1980s, and concludes with a postscript that demonstrates the prominent female presence in today's martial arts community of Florida. This article argues that from 1974 to 1983 "a few crazy ladies" broke down gendered barriers and built a home for women within the martial arts community of Florida.

Asian Martial Arts Come to America

Asian style martial arts attracted attention from Americans as early as the mid-1800s, but achieved notoriety only in the early twentieth century. American observers praised Asian martial artists as early as 1856.²³ By 1884, at least one Asian fighter toured the United States, fighting challenge matches against American boxers and wrestlers.²⁴ In the first years of the twentieth century, Asian fighters made friends with President Theodore Roosevelt and among the American military establishment. One of the most prominent instructors of the era was Yoshiaki Yamashita who frequently gave demonstrations with the help of his wife, and fellow martial arts expert, Fude.²⁵ Diana Looser, writing for *Theatre Research International*, argued that Fude's participation in these demonstrations was "a performative act in itself, a conscious cultivation and self – expressive display of the body" in which women disputed the notion that fighting arts were an exclusively male domain and presented compelling, visual, evidence that women were capable of demonstrating proficiency in the martial

22 See for example; "Training Same for Woman Patrol Recruits," *Portsmouth Times*, May 15, 1978; "Florida Woman Breaks Tae Kwon Do Barrier," *Stars and Stripes*, May 22, 2005; Swanson, "Cheers for Fighting Woman," 81.

23 "Japanese Scenes," *Ballou's Pictorial Drawing – Room Companion*, May 10, 1856.

24 "Two Famous Wrestlers," *Washington Post*, May 2, 1884.

25 "Summer Theatricals," *Washington Post*, June 25, 1905.

arts.²⁶ Following Fude's lead, and encouraged by male American jujitsu experts such as Harrie Hancock, a few American women began studying Asian martial arts in the first years of the twentieth century. Some martial arts experts argued that Asian arts were ideal for women since they stressed skill and agility over the brute force so important in the western style arts practiced by American men.²⁷ In 1912, the British jujitsu expert Frances Weste established what might have been the first martial arts school for western women and installed herself as the lead instructor.²⁸

In the early twentieth century, Asian martial arts began their association with liberation movements, including feminism. In 1900, Chinese martial artists became politically active as they attempted to drive foreigners from their land with spiritually infused fighting techniques in the Boxer Rebellion.²⁹ Also in the early twentieth century, politically active women became well known as dangerous brawlers who did not hesitate to use their martial skill to defend themselves from men.³⁰ In 1913, an English campaigner for women's rights, Sylvia Pankhurst, encouraged her supporters to learn jujitsu. She asked for qualified instructors to train suffragettes in the martial techniques that would enable them to defend themselves against police.³¹ American women who attempted to learn martial arts fought against a traditional belief by many Americans that weakness was a virtuous attribute for women.³² Women who studied martial arts faced further challenges as Japan and America marched towards war.

In spite of the gains made by Asian martial arts before World War II, racialized hostility towards Asians limited interactions between fighters of east and west, ensuring that martial arts from

26 Diana Looser, "Radical Bodies and Dangerous Ladies: Martial Arts and Women's Performance, 1900 - 1918," *Theatre Research International* 36, no. 1 (2011): 7.

27 See for example, Harrie Irving Hancock, *Physical Training for Women by Japanese Methods* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's sons, 1904), xi; Teiichi Yamagata, "Jiu-Jitsu, The Art of Self - Defense," *Leslie's Monthly Magazine* LIX, no. I (November 1904), 100.

28 Perry Peake, "A Woman's Self - defense for Women," *Martial History Magazine*, *Health and Vim*, May 1912. <http://martialhistory.com/2008/02/a-womans-self-defense-for-women/> (accessed May 10, 2013). Note: This link must now be accessed through internet archives. <http://web.archive.org/web/20130510085556/http://martialhistory.com/2008/02/a-womans-self-defence-for-women/>

29 "Fanatics of China," *Nashua Daily Telegraph*, July 12, 1900.

30 "Washing Makes Suffragist," *New York Times*, April 11, 1909.

31 "Jiu-Jitsu for Militants," *New York Times*, August 20, 1913.

32 Hancock, *Physical Training for Women*, xi.

Asia remained a fringe activity in the United States.³³ By the mid-1940s, as American men returned from military service in Asia with martial arts knowledge, they touched off an explosion in the popularity of Asian martial arts in the United States.³⁴ Over the next decade as interest in martial arts grew, media visibility increased. In 1961, a group of American martial artists near Los Angeles began publishing *Black Belt* magazine, which helped unify the community and facilitate communication between its members.³⁵ NBC Sports began television broadcasts of martial art tournaments in 1965.³⁶ Martial arts received an additional boost from popular media when Bruce Lee became an international celebrity for his role as a crime fighting martial artist in the television series *The Green Hornet* (1966–1967).³⁷

American Women Join the Martial Arts Community

The growing martial arts community was dominated by men, especially military veterans, but women fought for a place at the table, in spite of male opposition.³⁸ In 1959, the female judo expert Rena Kanokogi (also known as Rusty Glickman) won the YMCA New York State judo championship while posing as a man; the YMCA revoked her medal when they discovered her gender.³⁹ Two years later, in 1961, Glickman, now openly fighting as a woman, defeated a male rival in a bout sponsored by the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) of New York. In response, the AAU banned females from competing at future events.⁴⁰ Like the early, black, female boxers

33 Don T. Nakanishi and James S. Lai, *Asian American Politics: Law, Participation, and Policy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 70; Benson Tong, *Asian American Children: A Historical Handbook and Guide* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 86; William Francis Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of Its Mexican Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 47.

34 Sergio Ortiz, "Robertioneer of U.S. Karate," *Black Belt*, April 1976, 38; Bruce A. Haines, *Karate's History and Traditions* (Rutland, VT: C.E. Tuttle, 1995), 154.

35 "About Us," Black Belt: World's Leading Martial Arts Resource, <http://www.blackbeltmag.com/about/> (accessed October 14, 2014).

36 "National Karate Finals Set at Coliseum Tonight," *Washington Post*, April 10, 1965.

37 Poshek Fu and David Desser, *The Cinema of Hong Kong: History, Arts, Identity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 33.

38 Haines, *Karate's History and Traditions*, 154.

39 "RENA KANOKOGI aka "Rusty Glickman," International Jewish Sports Hall of Fame, <http://www.jewishsports.net/BioPages/Rena-Kanokogi.htm> (accessed October 14, 2014).

40 Thomas A. Green and Joseph R. Svinth, eds. *Martial Arts of the World: An Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2001), 828.

Van Ingen documented in "Seeing What Frames Our Seeing," Kanokogi has been largely ignored by historians of her sport, with only Allen Guttman providing her even a passing mention.⁴¹

Women participated in some of the first major martial arts tournaments in the United States during the mid-1960s. Some of the women at the 1967 National Karate Championships flagrantly violated the rules by pulling each other's hair and scratching each other's faces during sparing matches. Tournament promoter and father of American Tae Qwon Do, Jhoon Rhee, laughed and suggested that he finally understood why the government did not draft women, concluding they were far too violent for the battlefield. A judge at the tournament refused to enforce the rules in women's matches, arguing they were nothing more than little girls.⁴² In response to an announcement by the editors of *Black Belt* magazine to devote increasing attention to the emerging female martial arts community, an anonymous male fighter dismissed women, claiming that in spite of their ranking they were weak, inferior, unworthy of attention. He asserted that *Black Belt's* coverage of their activities would only degrade the magazine.⁴³ The penetration of women into male dominated martial arts tournaments provides additional support for Patricia Bradley's argument that second wave feminists of the 1960s and 1970s often sought to contest male domination of sport.⁴⁴

Many American women who entered the martial arts in the 1960s and 1970s did so as part of a broader political agenda of physical empowerment. As Patricia Searles and Ronald Berger explained, feminist attempts at self-defense were always a single component of a much larger political movement aimed at ensuring that women could maintain control over their bodies.⁴⁵ In 1970, women from the Women's Liberation and the Radical Student Union at the University of California claimed that they needed to learn self-defense in order to protect themselves, citing the 113 rapes on the university campus the previous year.⁴⁶ In the early

41 Cathy Van Ingen, "Seeing What Frames Our Seeing," 93-106, 110; Allen Guttman, *Women's Sports: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 303.

42 Musacchio, "Brickbat for the Gals," *Black Belt*, September 1967, 4.

43 Sakeet Toomey, "The Women - Damn ' Em," *Black Belt*, September 1969, 62.

44 Patricia Bradley, *Mass Media and the Shaping of American Feminism, 1963-1975* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2004), 275.

45 Searles and Berger, "The Feminist Self-Defense Movement," 61.

46 "Women Push for Equal Rights in Karate Self-Defense," *Black Belt*, May 1970, 12.

1970s, some New York women also began studying martial arts to protect themselves from rape.⁴⁷ The female judo expert, Rena Kanokogi, revealed to a reporter that most of the women who enrolled in her judo classes were interested in learning self-defense with many explaining bluntly that they wanted to learn how to kill.⁴⁸ Female police officers in New York observed that female martial artists occasionally fought off attackers.⁴⁹ Susan Rennie and Kristen Grimstad, a pair of New York based authors, argued that the feminist idea that women should be strong, confident, and capable of fighting off attackers quickly spread into the American heartland.⁵⁰

In 1971, feminists at Sarasota, Florida's New College, acting with the support of feminists based in Boston and New York, demanded the school administration offer a self-defense class for women.⁵¹ Susan Murdock, a karate instructor in New York, promoted women's self-defense courses in the *Lakeland* [Florida] *Ledger*. She argued that women lived under constant threat of life shattering sexual assaults. Murdock suggested that most American men and women thought of women as weak, helpless, and dependent on men for physical security. She took issue with this idea, arguing that women were perfectly capable of building the strong bodies that could resist male attackers. Murdock acknowledged that there was no simple answer to the problems of sexual assault, but she argued forcefully that women should study the martial arts as a method of psychological and physical training, concluding:

"it may well be that if more women can, in their own minds, break down the conditioning and taboos against developing physical strength and fighting in their own defense, then one small link in this chain of violent behavior will be taken down"⁵²

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- 47 Leslie Mitland, "Martial Arts Center Teaches Self-defense for Women," *Ocala Star-Banner*, June 8, 1975.
- 48 S. R. Gittens, "Judo is Protection, Guns are Deadly," *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, September 24, 1973.
- 49 Mitland, "Martial Arts Center Teaches Self-defense for Women."
- 50 Eve Sharbutt, "Feminism's Ripples Spread Across Country, Says Author," *Free Lance Star*, December 20, 1973.
- 51 "New College Feminists Enter Fifth Day Sit-In," *Sarasota Journal*, November 1, 1971.
- 52 Susan Murdock, "Rape and Women's Self Defense," *Lakeland Ledger*, September 8, 1974.

The following year, the *Ocala Star-Banner* published an article praising Murdock's self-defense classes for women in New York and suggested that female martial artists could successfully resist sexual assault.⁵³

Once again women who attempted to enter the martial arts encountered resistance. Their responses were vocal and highly visible. Male judges refused to enforce the rules on female fighters at martial arts competitions, and in response, outraged women called for the boycott of events where they were not held to the same high standards as the male competitors.⁵⁴ On multiple occasions during 1970, female students in Berkeley, California, tried to force their way into male karate classes before police intervention stopped them.⁵⁵ Women's groups, including one led by judo champion Kanokogi, protested the Amateur Athletic Union's refusal to allow female competitors in the martial arts tournaments they sponsored. In 1971, the AAU attempted to compromise by allowing women to compete under special rules for female competitors.⁵⁶ In spite of promises to promote women in the martial arts, a female reader from New York City wrote to *Black Belt* magazine in 1973 to complain about the lack of coverage of the martial arts community's female members.⁵⁷

These actions began to produce impressive gains within the martial arts communities of America's largest cities. An anonymous karate brown belt from the Chicago suburbs writing to *Black Belt* magazine denounced the chauvinists he encountered as idiots who were scared of women. He argued that respect stood at the center of everything good about the martial arts and urged male martial artists to show respect to both men and women.⁵⁸ After a prolonged fight, the AAU of New York finally conceded and allowed women to compete under the same rules as the men beginning in 1973.⁵⁹ In the same year, a reporter noted that martial arts classes for women had become extremely popular on college campuses in Boston and Berkeley, receiving support from women's groups who saw them as a way to help women become more assertive.⁶⁰ Female martial artists

53 Mitland, "Martial Arts Center Teaches Self-defense for Women."

54 Musacchio, "Brickbat for the Gals," 4.

55 "Women Push for Equal Rights in Karate Self-Defense," *Black Belt*, May 1970, 12.

56 Green, *Martial Arts of the World*, 828.

57 Hadley Haden - Guest, "Letter to the Editor," *Black Belt*, September 1973, 4.

58 "Reply to Saket," *Black Belt*, February 1970, 62.

59 Green, *Martial Arts of the World*, 828.

60 "Rape, Assault, Major Campus Problems," *Bulletin*, November 22, 1973.

began teaching many of these classes in major cities including San Francisco, Chicago, Los Angeles and New York.⁶¹ In 1974, Mariano Gonzales, a martial artist from New York, reflected on the gendered conflict in the American martial arts. He acknowledged that in the past he had discriminated against women, but lamented his past behavior and argued that the time was right for American martial artists to change their attitudes towards women and accept their changing status in American society.⁶²

These developments within the martial arts were contemporaneous with important events in the women's rights movement as a whole. In 1972, Congress passed and President Nixon signed Title IX legislation which forbade gender discrimination in American education, including scholastic sports. Sarah K. Fields argued that the act was "critically important in opening sport to women."⁶³ In another milestone of women's empowerment, the United States Supreme Court ruled that the right to privacy extended to a woman's decision on abortion (*Roe v. Wade*, 1973).⁶⁴ Later the same year, female tennis player Billie Jean King won the Battle of the Sexes tennis matches against male player Bobby Riggs. Susan Ware argued that King's performance made her an icon of second wave feminists and encouraged women to participate in sports.⁶⁵

The role of women in the martial arts community experienced a similar transformation. In April 1974, *Black Belt* magazine published its first of a series of columns by the martial artist Valarie Eads. *Black Belt* presented the series in response to their realization that women were the fastest growing portion of the American martial arts community. In 1973, the ranks of female karate students swelled by thirty percent and judo students by fifteen percent. In contrast, the total number of karate students, both male and female, increased by only ten percent, and the overall numbers of judo students decreased by two percent. Eads observed that most women began practicing the martial arts in an effort to learn self-defense, but continued training when they developed an

61 Gil Johnson, "A Single Reed that Bends Gracefully in the Wind," *Black Belt*, June 1974, 29-33; J. Dwyer, "End of the Line for Jack the Ripper? The Surging Interest in Women's Self Defense," *Black Belt*, December 1973, 22-26; Frank Wolverton, "Mother Knew Best," *Black Belt*, 42-45.

62 Mariano Gonzales, "Time to Re-Examine Sexual Contradictions," *Black Belt*, 65-66.

63 Fields, *Female Gladiators*, ix.

64 Suzanne Staggenborg, *The Pro-Choice Movement: Organization and Activism in the Abortion Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 3.

65 Ware, *Game, Set, Match*, 41.

unexpected love for the physical and mental rewards of the arts. They practiced martial arts even though they faced hostility from many of their male counterparts. Eads argued that the women's rights movement deserved credit for convincing women to take up the martial arts. She explained that women who discussed rape in feminist groups quickly came to the conclusion that only the bone shattering salvation of the dojo could banish their fears forever. In closing, Eads assured her readers that she would not rest until women earned the respect of their martial arts brothers and received trophies identical to those awarded to male competitors.⁶⁶

As Eads propelled female martial arts forward from her New York office with the help of the California editors of *Black Belt*, Florida witnessed a particularly heated fight over the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). State Attorney General Robert Shevin argued that Florida, which had failed to ratify the nineteenth (women's suffrage) amendment, should rectify its mistake and give women the rights they deserved. A large faction of Florida lawmakers and voters vigorously opposed the amendment, citing concerns that the new law might force women into the military where they would face combat, a concept repellant to many Floridians.⁶⁷ The opponents of the amendment eventually achieved victory in Florida and across many states.⁶⁸

In spite of the resistance feminists encountered in Florida, women in the sunshine state continued to participate in the martial arts. In 1974, Seminole, Florida karate expert Debbie Bone entered the tournament circuit, winning the prestigious Battle of Atlanta and earning praise as one of the best female fighters in the country.⁶⁹ At the second annual Central Florida Championship, in 1975, women competed in gender segregated contests. Although event promoters congratulated women on their victories, they gave cash prizes and trophies only to male competitors.⁷⁰

Female martial artists in large American cities continued to strengthen their community. In September 1975, a group of women led by Dana Densmore, owner of women only martial arts schools in Boston and Washington, D.C., founded *Black*

66 Eads, "Fighting Women," 35.

67 "ERA Football Threat," *Daytona Beach Morning Journal*, April 10, 1974.

68 "Something Happened on the Way to the Equal Rights Amendment," *Milwaukee Journal*, April 29, 1975.

69 "Top Women Karateka," *Black Belt*, October 1975, 18.

70 D. E. Stoner, "The Central Florida Open Championships," *Black Belt*, 66-67.

Belt Woman, a magazine for female martial artists.⁷¹ The editors attempted to support women with articles on a range of topics including running a women's only martial arts school, self-defense, first aid, and strengthening exercises.⁷² The next year, a group of southern California women with expertise in arts including aikido, karate, kung fu, and jujitsu formed Women in the Martial Arts (WIMA) in an effort to support female martial artists across the nation. Their first order of business was to hold a workshop on the campus of the University of California at Los Angeles in which they encouraged female college students to consider the martial arts as a path towards physical and mental growth.⁷³ Lynn Marevich Pacala used her position in WIMA and on the faculty of the University of Southern California to encourage women to become martial arts instructors in mixed gender as well as female only classes.⁷⁴ Kung Fu instructor LaVerne Bates joined WIMA in an effort to reach out to struggling female martial artists because she feared that women who trained entirely with men would abandon their unique goals in the martial arts.⁷⁵

Feminists in Florida were aware of the progress made by women in southern California and sought to emulate their progress. Sylvia Scudder, writing for *WomaNews*, a feminist newspaper published in Gainesville, Florida, informed her readers of the birth of WIMA in April 1977. Scudder explained her admiration for the women of WIMA and their attempts to help women improve themselves through martial arts.⁷⁶ Janis Mara, another writer for *WomaNews*, agreed with Scudder, urging women to take martial arts classes.⁷⁷ In the same month that Scudder praised WIMA in *WomaNews*, the Gainesville Women's Health Center sponsored a Women's Health Weekend. The center, which provided abortions, gynecological care, general health services, and treatment for sexually transmitted

71 Dana Densmore, "Having a Means of Communication," *Black Belt*, April 1976, 18, 77.

72 "Black Belt Woman: The Magazine of Women in the Martial Arts and Self Defense," Green Lion Press, <http://www.greenlion.com/BBW/bbw.html> (accessed October 14, 2014).

73 "Women in the Martial Arts: Breaking Down the Identity Crisis," *Black Belt*, December 1976, 68-73.

74 Lynn Marevich Pacala, "You are the Instructor," *Black Belt*, November 1976, 12-14.

75 Maryann Guberman, "Running an All-Female Kung-Fu School," *Black Belt*, January 1977, 50-55.

76 Scudder, "Martial Arts is the Pursuit of the Spirit."

77 Janis Mara, "The Latest Fad: Everybody's Not doing It," *WomaNews: Gainesville's Feminist Newspaper*, April 1977.

diseases, was very controversial in conservative Gainesville.⁷⁸ In spite of the controversy swirling around the organization, the event drew roughly one hundred and thirty participants. Along with instruction in belly dancing and jogging, the center provided a workshop on the martial arts.⁷⁹ Gainesville feminists promoted the martial arts because they believed the arts could provide women with a system of practical self-defense, an excellent exercise program, and a method of breaking down traditional gendered bonds. Martial arts also helped to build strong communities of women and a path to spiritual fulfillment. Scudder explained to her readers that women like herself practiced the martial arts “to unify the physical, mental, and spiritual strivings of the individual toward personal enlightenment.”⁸⁰

Van Ingen and Kovacs argue that women have had a particularly difficult time making inroads into boxing since many observers consider it “the ultimate masculine sport.” But women learning the Asian inspired martial arts did not have to overcome the same assumptions.⁸¹ *WomaNews* author Sylvia Scudder argued that the martial arts provided women with an ideal system of self-defense.⁸² She claimed that most women who showed up in martial arts classes initially turned to the arts because they wanted to learn how to defend themselves. This claim was entirely consistent with Valarie Eads’ ideas, ideas which resonated with Floridian and karate practicing feminist Karen Swanson.⁸³ Scudder argued that martial arts were ideally suited to women since the designers of these arts developed them for the smaller and weaker bodies of Asian men. This made them very different from western arts, including boxing and Greco Roman wrestling, which western men designed for their own, much larger and stronger bodies. She also claimed that Japanese karate’s simple attacks, designed for small bodies, were an ideal system of self-defense for women.⁸⁴ The idea that certain bodies were more compatible with particular fighting systems was an old idea that had been articulated in the American press

78 Barbara J. Love, *Feminists Who Changed America, 1963-1975* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 279.

79 “Health Weekend,” *WomaNews: Gainesville’s Feminist Newspaper*, April 1977.

80 Scudder, “Martial Arts is the Pursuit of the Spirit.”

81 Cathy Van Ingen and Nicole Kovacs, “Subverting the Skirt: Female Boxers’ ‘Troubling’ Uniforms,” *Feminist Media Studies*, 12, no. 3, 460–463.

82 Scudder, “Martial Arts is the Pursuit of the Spirit.”

83 Eads, “Fighting Women,” 35; Swanson, “Cheers for Fighting Woman,” 81.

84 Scudder, “Martial Arts is the Pursuit of the Spirit.”



Photograph of Carolyn Benson published by Sylvia Scudder, "Martial Arts in the Pursuit of the Spirit," *WomaNews: Gainesville's Feminist Newspaper*, April 1977 <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00076708/00001>. Printed with the permission of the University of Florida Digital Archives.

since the dawn of the twentieth century.⁸⁵ Scudder and Swanson's emphasis on the importance of martial arts-based self-defense for feminists provides additional support for Searles and Berger's argument that many feminists joined martial arts programs in an effort to learn how to protect themselves and ensure their bodily autonomy.⁸⁶

The concept of self-defense also offered a convenient cover story for women with other goals. Valarie Eads argued that since it was socially acceptable for women to fear sexual assault, women often stressed fear of rape when explaining their desire to attend martial arts classes, even if they were more interested in the personal enlightenment or physical fitness benefits of martial arts classes.⁸⁷ Women who expressed a desire for effective self-defense encountered other benefits in the martial arts and the Gainesville feminists believed that the martial arts were an excellent exercise program for women. The Gainesville Women's Health Center promoted the arts as a method of healthy exercise for women. Sylvia Scudder noted that many Gainesville women sought out the martial arts as an exercise program. She explained that the unique emphasis of martial arts on a combination of balance, flexibility, range of movement, and coordination made the martial arts an excellent exercise program for women.⁸⁸ In emphasizing exercise, Scudder once again connected Gainesville women with the women of southern California, whom she admired. Members of WIMA also promoted the martial arts as a path to physical fitness.⁸⁹ This emphasis on physical fitness within the female martial arts community of Florida provides additional support for Dworkin and Wachs's argument that the promotion of female bodily empowerment through athleticism was a key aspect of second wave feminism.⁹⁰

The women of Florida promoted the martial arts as a way of building strong communities of women that rejected traditional

85 See, for example; "Jiu - Jitsu to be Avoided," *Hudson Independent*, May 19, 1905; Harrie Irving Hancock, *Physical Training for Women by Japanese Methods* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's sons, 1904), xi; Teiichi Yamagata, "Jiu-Jitsu, The Art of Self - Defense," *Leslie's Monthly Magazine* LIX, no. 1 (November 1904), 100.

86 Searles and Berger, "The Feminist Self-Defense Movement," 61 - 84.

87 Valarie Eads, "In Only Ten Easy Lessons," *Black Belt*, May 1975, 36.

88 "Health Weekend."

89 "Women in the Martial Arts: Breaking Down the Identity Crisis," *Black Belt*, December 1976, 68 - 73.

90 Shari L Dworkin and Faye Linda Wachs, *Body Panic: Gender, Health, and the Selling of Fitness* (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 131.

gendered boundaries. Janis Mara, writing in *WomaNews*, urged women to break out of traditional gender roles by attending martial arts classes and building relationships with women rather than surrendering to men's sexual advances.⁹¹ The Gainesville Women's Health Center sponsored martial arts classes for women as part of their efforts to build a strong women's community in Florida.⁹² Sylvia Scudder argued that the martial arts allowed women to break out of their expected role as passive victims. She also saw the arts' community as a positive social environment where women formed associations, like WIMA, and worked together to deal with their unique challenges. Scudder believed that by working together, female martial artists could "promote the natural blossoming of women's talents in this overwhelmingly beautiful way of self-attainment."⁹³

These beliefs were not limited to the women of Gainesville, and were common amongst the women of distant cities. Deborah Ross Wheeler, a southern California Tai Chi student, supported women's-only martial arts organizations because she believed that the exclusion of men assisted women in creating strong female relationships.⁹⁴ Valarie Eads observed that most female run martial arts schools, such as those springing up in southern California, were tightly knit communities where women resisted male domination.⁹⁵ In Portland, Oregon, Pauline Short founded Karate for Women, a school dedicated to building a strong association of feminist women who worked together to break out of old fashioned concepts of womanhood.⁹⁶ As these communities grew, female martial artists found additional benefits.

Women sought enlightenment in the martial arts. Sylvia Scudder of Gainesville explained that while the arts provided women with exercise and a viable means of self-defense, there were easier ways to accomplish those goals. Every day women entered the dojos of Florida because they believed that only through the martial arts could women obtain greater psychological and spiritual power. Scudder argued that when women trained like herself pushed through pain and exhaustion of intense training sessions

91 Janis Mara, "The Latest Fad."

92 "Health Weekend."

93 Scudder, "Martial Arts is the Pursuit of the Spirit."

94 "Women in the Martial Arts: Breaking Down the Identity Crisis," *Black Belt*, December 1976, 68-73.

95 Valarie Eads, "Meanest Mother in the Valley," *Black Belt*, March 1975, 17.

96 Pauline Short, "Realistic Self-defense for Women," *Black Belt*, June 1976, 16-17.

they discovered inner strength.⁹⁷ Women from areas far removed from Florida shared Scudder's motivations. Valarie Eads claimed that women who entered the martial arts for exercise and to learn self-defense stayed once they discovered psychological benefits in the arts.⁹⁸ Kung-Fu instructor and WIMA member LaVerne Bates explained that she saw individual enlightenment as one of the primary benefits of the martial arts.⁹⁹ Beth Austin, an instructor of Aikido in Los Angeles, urged women to study the martial arts as a method of promoting their emotional growth.¹⁰⁰

The appreciation for the spiritual power of the martial arts noted by women in the 1970s was similar to the long standing belief of many men who believed they found enlightenment in the ring. Male fighters, dating back to the ancient Greeks, spiritualized the athleticism and the violence of the arena.¹⁰¹ In 1888, the fighter and author Duffield Ossborne urged men to study the fighting arts in search of "a saving touch of honest, old fashioned barbarism" which alone could protect them from the "unmanly" and the "female saints" which threatened to emasculate men.¹⁰² The comments of Scudder, Eads, Bates, and Austin indicate that the ring was expanding, and that by 1977, women were also aware that they could find enlightenment in the fighting arts.¹⁰³ The enlightenment Scudder found was somewhat different than the "saving touch of barbarism" Ossborne cherished in the violent sports of a century before, but the ring's underlying appeal was no less real for Scudder than for Ossborne. The intangible, spiritual, benefits of the ring bound women from Gainesville to their counterparts in distant cities, and even to their openly chauvinistic predecessors.

The women's martial arts community of Florida achieved an important milestone with the arrival of Beth Meikos, an expert in the Korean martial art of Tang So Do, in 1980.¹⁰⁴ Meikos was an experienced martial arts instructor from the Pacific Northwest,

97 Scudder, "Martial Arts is the Pursuit of the Spirit."

98 Eads, "Fighting Women," 35.

99 Guberman, "Running an All-Female Kung-Fu School," 50-55.

100 "Women in the Martial Arts: Breaking Down the Identity Crisis," 68-73.

101 Jim Parry, *Sport and Spirituality: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 19.

102 Duffield Ossborne, "A Defense of Pugilism," *North American Review* 146, no. 377 (April 1888), 430-435.

103 Scudder, "Martial Arts is the Pursuit of the Spirit."

104 "About," Facebook, <http://www.facebook.com/pages/N-Marion-Soo-Bahk-Do-Tang-Soo-Do/236950036512> (accessed October /14, 2014).

eager to share her knowledge with the women of Florida.¹⁰⁵ She began teaching women's self-defense courses at Central Florida Community College in the spring of 1980. The classes began after an outbreak of 239 violent rapes in Marion County during the previous year.¹⁰⁶ Meikos invited women of all ages to attend the courses.¹⁰⁷ The goal was to provide women with a complete system of self-defense that combined awareness, assertiveness, and simple defensive techniques.¹⁰⁸ When her first group of students giggled, Meikos ignored them, focusing on her work, with calm deliberation. Meikos bluntly admitted that women had no chance at overpowering male assailants, but she offered them hope, informing her students that she knew from personal experience that men who seemed tough one moment, would cry for mercy when they fell into the hands of a skilled, female, martial artist who kept her cool. The students' giggles subsided as Meikos patiently instructed her students in the dangerous techniques that could save their lives.¹⁰⁹

Florida women were aware that they faced considerable danger from rape in the 1970s and early 1980s. For example, Miami police noted a dramatic increase in rapes during 1971. Spokesmen for local law enforcement agencies acknowledged rapes were unlikely to decrease in response to more police patrols, statements that enraged local feminists who demanded the police do something to protect women.¹¹⁰ William Tucker, writing for *Miami News*, reported that in 1974 rapes increased at a greater rate in the South than in any other region. Reports of rapes in Miami increased by thirty-eight percent in a single year, 1975.¹¹¹ Ted Bundy's murder of women at Florida State University in 1978 made national news and alarmed women across the nation.¹¹² In 1981, the Sarasota, Florida, police reported that rapes in the city were increasing at a rate far

105 Mary Ann Murdoch, "Awareness is Women's Best Defense," *Ocala Star Banner*, April 1, 1983.

106 "Rape, Murder, Assault Increase in State," *Ocala Star Banner*, March 29, 1979; Murdoch.

107 "Defense for Women Offered at CFCC," *Ocala Star Banner*, January 14, 1980.

108 "Women Asked to Enroll in Self-Defense Course," *St. Petersburg Times*, May 9, 1980.

109 Murdoch, "Awareness is Women's Best Defense."

110 "Women to March for Protection," *Daytona Beach Morning Journal*, October 4, 1971.

111 William Tucker, "Crime Rate Here Jumps 18 Pct.," *Miami News*, October 1, 1975.

112 "Fugitive Ted Bundy Captured in Florida," *Bulletin*, February 17, 1978; "Bloodstained Jacket Searched for Clues," *Boca Raton News*, April 9, 1978.

faster than the national average.¹¹³ Women's attempts to combat rape through legal means were sometimes treated dismissively. When state senator Betty Castor proposed greater penalties for gang rapes, her idea was dismissed by other state legislators as an overreaction.¹¹⁴

Florida women who sought self-defense skills struggled against flawed assumptions by some that women's martial arts program were of little value. When the St. Petersburg city council encountered a budget shortfall in 1979, the women's karate classes held at the local community center headed the list of programs for elimination.¹¹⁵ This fact provides additional support for the contention by Lindsay and Justiz that programs for women are often the first ones cut during times of economic hardships.¹¹⁶ In 1982, the journalist Gail Haborak warned Florida women that every two minutes a woman was raped somewhere in the United States and that ninety five percent of rape victims were female. Revealing the continuing gendered divide, male and female experts responded differently to Haborak's suggestion that women might benefit from self-defense classes. Florida physician Dorothy Hicks told women they should learn to fight. A central Florida police officer disagreed, suggesting that women should use their minds to avoid dangerous situations since karate lessons, weapons, and guard dogs could not protect women from determined assailants.¹¹⁷ In their examination of *Hawthorne v. Florida*, a legal case concerning a Florida woman who killed her abusive husband, the journal for the American Bar Association cast doubts on the entire concept of female self-defense, noting that women who claimed to act in self-defense rarely responded to immediate threats and instead often used self-defense as an excuse for premeditated, illegal, violence against men.¹¹⁸

The derision persisted in spite of evidence that some women were able to defend themselves through violence. Female police

113 Kathy Tyrity, "Local Violent Crime Outpacing National Statistics," *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, September 10, 1981.

114 "Rape Bill Unnecessary," *Lakeland Ledger*, April 5, 1984.

115 Bob Chick, "More Means Less," *Evening Independent*, July 31, 1979.

116 Beverly Lindsay and Manuel J. Justiz, *The Quest for Equity in Higher Education: Toward New Paradigms in an Evolving Affirmative Action Era* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), 172.

117 Gail Haborak, "Awareness is the Best Protection," *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, April 15, 1982.

118 Cheryl Frank, "Driven to Kill," *ABA Journal, The Lawyer's Magazine* (December 1984), 25-27.

officers, quoted in the *Ocala Star-Banner*, observed that female martial artists were successfully defending themselves from assault.¹¹⁹ A female karate student in California prevented a home invasion by kicking her attacker in the groin.¹²⁰ In Florida, two women strangled their rapist.¹²¹ New York police officer and karate instructor Richard Rupert reported that one of his female students used her karate techniques to break the jaw of a man who tried to assault her in 1978.¹²² Carol DaRonch became famous when she successfully fought off infamous serial killer, Ted Bundy. Melissa Soalt, writing for *Black Belt*, pointed out that the one woman who escaped Bundy survived only because she fought back.¹²³

In spite of the derision they faced, the women of Central Florida Community College's martial arts program struggled on in much the same way as their counterparts in California and New York. Fear motivated women who looked for a method of self-defense that could protect them from the horrors of sexual assault. Women who attended the classes improved their physical fitness with vigorous exercise. The students shared a transformative experience as they broke away from traditional expectations that women were weak and fragile. Husbands and boyfriends of students, some of them abusive, disapproved of Meikos's work, but the women remained in the class. Meikos took pride in her students' personal development. She observed that women who entered the class nervously, quickly developed a quiet confidence which they took out of the classroom and into their daily lives. Meikos, her students, and many in the local community considered the classes a success.¹²⁴

The place of female martial arts in Florida has continued to grow since Meikos began her classes. At the 1980 National Tae Kwon Do Championships in Berkeley, California, women from Florida took home more victories than the competitors from any other state.¹²⁵ Two years later, a Florida based bodyguard company began actively recruiting female martial artists. The company's

119 Mitland, "Martial Arts Center Teaches Self-defense for Women."

120 Paul William Kroll, "Martial Arts for Self-defense Only," *Black Belt*, September 1976, 67.

121 "Rapist Strangled by Coeds in Florida," *Milwaukee Journal*, June 9, 1974.

122 "New York Police Teach Women Karate for Self Defense," *Black Belt*, September 1978, 69.

123 Melissa Soalt, "Women & the Killer Instinct," *Black Belt*, December 2000.

124 Murdoch, "Awareness is Women's Best Defense," *Ocala Star Banner*, April 1, 1983.

125 "Sixth National AAU Tae Kwon Do Championships Results Berkeley California May 3, 1980," *Black Belt*, September 1980, 44.

director, John Artemik, explained that female martial artists were in great demand because of their ability to appear unthreatening while still retaining the ability to unleash brutal violence in defense of their clients. Artemik worked with the aid of his wife and fellow Floridian, martial arts expert, Angela Artemik.¹²⁶ Beth Meikos eventually retired from teaching, but her successor, Lisa Donnelly, keeps the work alive with a successful school that continues to pass on martial knowledge to women.¹²⁷

Florida's female martial artists enjoy a respected position in a new sport which provides martial artists with unprecedented challenges. Emerging from the shadows in the early 1990s, the sport of mixed martial arts invites fighters from every discipline to enter the arena and compete in fights with few rules, but numerous paths to victory or defeat. While the sport's short history has been dominated by men, women, some from Florida, have also demonstrated that they too can succeed in the new sport. Ediene "India" Gomes, who was born in Brazil but currently lives and trains in Florida, has produced an impressive string of victories, including one against a male opponent.¹²⁸ The most successful mixed martial artist to emerge from the sunshine state is undoubtedly Jessica Aguilar.¹²⁹ She is currently ranked as the sixth best female mixed martial artists in the world.¹³⁰ Aguilar has also become a mentor to other fighters such as Stephanie Guimares, who Aguilar convinced to leave the world of Brazilian kickboxing to train in Florida as a mixed martial artist.¹³¹

Conclusion

In 1974 Karen Swanson lamented that she was unable to find a female instructor in Tallahassee, but the women of Tallahassee

126 Kurt Seemann, "The Business of Bodyguarding," *Black Belt* September 1982, 62-67.

127 "About."

128 John Morgan, "India," October 29, 2011, MMA Junkie <http://mmajunkie.com/news/25863/as-ufc-expands-brazilian-presence-manager-hopeful-for-countrys-poorest-athletes.mma> (accessed January 12, 2011). Note: This link must now be accessed through internet archives. <http://web.archive.org/web/20111031170801/http://mmajunkie.com/news/25863/as-ufc-expands-brazilian-presence-manager-hopeful-for-countrys-poorest-athletes.mma>

129 "Jessica Aguilar Bio," Jessica Aguilar, <http://jessicaaguilar.com/fighter.html> (accessed October 16, 2014).

130 Staff, "Women's Pound for Pound MMA Top Ten," MMA Weekly, <http://www.mmaweekly.com/womens-pound-for-pound-mma-top-10> (October 16, 2014)

131 Kelly Crigger, "Gomes & Guimaraes: The Top Women At American Top Team," *Fight*, November 27, 2009.

no longer have that concern. The northern Florida city is filled with female martial artists and instructors. Logan's Martial Arts Academy in Tallahassee boasts an impressive staff which includes more female than male instructors. Across town at Tiger Rock Martial Arts, female instructors train mixed classes of female and male students.¹³² Tallahassee women in search of more vigorous training can take women's only or mixed gender classes under the guidance of Ailsa Haberfeld, a highly skilled instructor with a background in Kung Fu and an impressive string of wins in grappling competitions.¹³³ Swanson urged women like herself to demand equality in the martial arts, just as they demanded it in the workplace.¹³⁴ In the years since she wrote that letter, the women of Florida have largely made the dream a reality. They are accepted not only as students, as Swanson hoped, but also as fighters and even as instructors to male students. Swanson described the anonymous women who fought for equality within Florida's martial arts community as "a few crazy ladies." Perhaps "crazy ladies" is a fitting description for those martial pioneers. They were crazy enough to believe that the martial arts offered benefits that made the struggle worthwhile. They were crazy enough to demand a place at the table. They were even crazy enough to obtain equality.

132 "Our Instructors," Logan's Martial Arts Academy, <http://www.logansmartialarts.com/instructors.php> (accessed October 15, 2014).

133 "Coaching Staff: Women's Only Class," Capital City Combat Club, http://c4combatclub.com/coaching_staff.php#7 (accessed May 8, 2012). Note: This link must now be accessed through internet archives. http://web.archive.org/web/20120508092659/http://www.c4combatclub.com/coaching_staff.php#7

134 Swanson, "Cheers for Fighting Woman," 81.

Book Reviews

Daniel Murphree, Book Review Editor

Florida Sinkholes: Science and Policy. By Robert Brinkmann. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013. Acknowledgements, illustrations, references, index. Pp. x, 243. \$49.95 cloth.)

Scholarly and popular interest in Florida's sinkholes has waxed and waned over time. Exploding with the dramatic opening of the Winter Park sinkhole in 1981, and the subsequent development of the University of Central Florida's Sinkhole Research Institute, by the early 1990s, after a solid decade of research, there occurred a gradual shift in priorities signified by the Florida Legislature's cut in funding for the Sinkhole Research Institute. A resurgence of attention to sinkholes culminated in passage of Florida's major insurance reform legislation in 2011, and the tragic death of Jeffery Bush due to a Tampa Bay area sinkhole in early 2013. In his aptly titled book, *Florida Sinkholes: Science and Policy*, Robert Brinkmann outlines what is known and what is not yet known about this unsettling natural hazard. The scientific community has made much progress in understanding and predicting Florida's other prominent natural hazard (hurricanes), but the study of sinkholes and their human ramifications is barely past infancy. Brinkmann is a physical geographer, which means he is an earth scientist who often incorporates analysis of the spatial distribution of physical phenomena; indeed, he is an expert on karst landscapes. Karst refers to the collection of landforms in places underlain by rocks that are dissolved in water over time—especially caves, springs, and sinkholes. A large percentage of the rocks beneath our feet in Florida consists of easily dissolved limestone or dolostone. On top

of this, the state has roughly 7,800 lakes at least one acre in size as well as innumerable smaller ponds and puddles. Many of Florida's lakes and ponds are the visible remains of old sinkholes: places where sub-surface cavities in rocks ultimately experience sudden roof collapse or the raveling of sediment into an empty cavern (as in an hour glass) causing depression at the surface.

This book is not based on what historians commonly refer to as primary sources, but the author spent the better part of the past two decades researching and directing the research of graduate students interested in sinkholes. Indeed, he acknowledges that "the topic has received much attention in what is called the grey literature, or technical documents, written by consulting firms, or by federal, state and local governments" (3). One would think that a book on Florida sinkholes already exists. After all, central Florida is pocked with thousands of old sinkholes (many are now lakes or ponds) and hundreds more open up in this state every year. Yet such a book did not exist—until now.

Brinkmann's goal is daunting: to review and summarize sinkhole science and policy in Florida. Despite some hiccups, he succeeds. The book consists of an introduction and conclusion, a few chapters dealing with the distribution of Florida sinkholes and processes of sinkhole formation, a chapter on sinkhole detection and mapping, another on evaluations and repairs—and one chapter (the book's longest) devoted to sinkhole policy. Readers will learn much about where most of Florida's sinkholes occur and why. Brinkmann is a hard scientist and he is generally successful in distilling a technical and jargon-laden subject into prose that most non-scientists can understand. In addition, Brinkmann is at his best when he explains issues such as our limited understanding of sinkholes despite the avalanche of research and technical reports on myriad properties throughout central Florida. According to Brinkmann, much of this information is proprietary, and despite the public's interest—property owners are anxious to avoid having the results of such work on their property made public for fear of losing property value. As a result, most privately commissioned sinkhole investigations remain in private hands.

That said, many readers of this journal will cringe at some of the book's flaws: there are a few technical discussions, extensive use of passive voice, occasional editorial lapses (figures out of order [13], Hamilton Disston's year of death is listed as 1883 [92], the community of Spring Hill is incorrectly described as being in southern Pasco

County [131], and so forth), and more than one tangent in the book seems irrelevant. For example, after acknowledging that sinkholes are rare in south Florida, Brinkmann devotes several pages to the history of everglades drainage and the more recent comprehensive everglades restoration plan. The everglades history, although interesting, seems unnecessary. Perhaps most disappointing is the book's relative lack of balance: the longest chapter is on sinkhole policy, but only one chapter dedicated to human responses to sinkholes is insufficient. Although Brinkmann delves into sinkhole insurance, he gives inadequate attention to the struggle between homeowners claiming sinkhole damage, trial lawyers, insurance companies (including the state-run Citizens Property Insurance Corporation), and the Florida Legislature. Specifically, he fails to include discussion of Florida Senate Bill 408, the state's 2011 effort to reform property insurance law—a drama widely covered in Florida's major newspapers. Perhaps just as befuddling is Brinkmann's failure to cite or discuss Spencer Fleury's 2009 book entitled *Land Use Policy and Practice on Karst Terrains: Living on Limestone*.

To be fair, any book attempting to review the science and policy related to Florida sinkholes is an enormous endeavor, especially for a single author. Brinkmann deserves high praise for tackling such a complex project and helping us understand much more about Florida's sinkholes and our interaction with them. The book's contributions greatly outweigh its flaws and I will use it in my natural hazards courses. Students of environmental and Florida history will find the volume illuminating, and perhaps it will inspire some to investigate the history of people and their struggle to cope with Florida sinkholes.

Christopher F. Meindl

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The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture. Volume 21: Art and Architecture. Edited by Judith H. Bonner and Estill C. Pennington. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013. General introduction, illustrations, list of contributors, index. Pp. xx, 544. \$49.95 cloth.)

Produced as a cooperative effort by the Center for the Study of Southern Culture, based at the University of Mississippi, and the University of North Carolina Press, the *New Encyclopedia of*

Southern Culture is a twenty-four volume exploration into the varied components—both traditional and contemporary—that make up the American South. Each volume follows a theme, such as Literature, Law & Politics, Environment, and Violence, among others, to create a “composite portrait” that examines the “core zones and margins” of southern culture (xiii). This text, one of the last in the series of revised “New” publications, succeeds as a comprehensive reference book for discussions of art in the South, but falls far short of expectations in the area of architecture, with many gaps in the coverage of important figures, and an absence of current scholarship regarding building designs and styles from the second half of the twentieth century.

To their credit, the editors are trying to capture and synthesize an enormous amount of history that covers a vast area of the United States over a temporal expanse measuring hundreds of years. Nonetheless, they admit that combining art and architecture into one volume is “problematic,” (1) and the issues are evident from the beginning, with only fourteen pages dedicated to the architecture overview, and more than forty pages devoted to the discussion of art in the South. In the Introduction, the editors outline additions to the original volume, published in 1989, and delineate the expansion of content to consider current cultural conditions, including globalization, political changes, and new genres of design. In some cases, the authors revised their essays for this updated edition, a necessity dictated by changing interpretations of the character of the South over the intervening two decades.

Despite the revisions, the text fails to update the narrative for architecture in keeping with current scholarship. For instance, the primary discussion of art runs to an endpoint of 2012, but the analysis of buildings focuses only on structures built before 1941. The contributing authors are relying on studies completed more than a decade ago, without subscribing to the new works completed on the history of architecture or the South. In speaking of the “International Style” in his essays, Robert Cangelosi, of New Orleans, inappropriately refers to this major movement in design as a “non-historical” architectural style (versus the “historical” Neo-Classical and Gothic), rather than using the more accurate terminology of modern and revivalist (115, 164). The discussion on “Resort Architecture” (166) is anemic, with only two pages dedicated to post-World War II developments, which are now acknowledged by

contemporary scholars as a high point in American innovation and design. A disdain for Post-Modern style buildings, and anything related to Walt Disney (as expressed in a number of essays), reveals a bias against pop-culture movements that has since been discounted. Major omissions occur throughout the text, with Frank Lloyd Wright, one of the most prominent architects of our age, receiving only two mentions, and no reference to his many designs at Florida Southern College (beginning with the Annie Pfeiffer Chapel in 1938), which comprise the single largest collection of this master's works in the world.

Scholars seeking new avenues of study can mine the well-composed biographies that occupy more than half of this 500-page book. These captivating profiles illuminate the range of characters that compose the cultural context of the South. One descendant of slaves, Frank Jones, listed as a "draftsman" (ca. 1900-1969, [353]), occupied his many years in prison by utilizing his "second sight" to create cross-section drawings of "devil houses" with the "discarded red and blue bookkeeping pencils available to him" (354). Equally compelling is the story of Henry Yuzuru Sugimoto (1900-1990, [434]), an artist born in Japan and then held in an internment camp during World War II with his family, first in Fresno and later in Arkansas. As a prisoner, he discovered painting and sought to "tell the bigger story of incarceration" by creating works on "pillowcases, sheets, government-issue mattress bags, and canvas that had wrapped household belongings" (435). It is through these biographies that the layered history and diversity of the South—in culture, gender, religion, and race—is distinctively revealed. Yet again, critical information is missing, even with the understanding that only a certain number of entries can be included in one volume. Of the 182 biographies included in the book, only eight focus on architects. References to prominent modernist designers—the subject of increased historical analysis and public interest throughout the last decade—are almost entirely absent from the text.

The editors could incorporate the histories of any number of architects who practiced in the mid to late twentieth century to update their analysis. Figures such as Paul Rudolph (1918-1997), who graduated from Auburn University in Alabama, studied with Bauhaus founder Walter Gropius at the Harvard Graduate School of Design, produced seminal works during his mid-career tenure in Sarasota, Florida, that vitally changed the built landscape of

the region during the 1950s. Another notable designer left out of this text is Charles Colbert (1921-2007), an architect born in Oklahoma, raised in Texas, and prolific in New Orleans, where he designed a number of school buildings in the modernist idiom for the African-American community.

The boundaries of this study—temporal, geographical, and cultural—are ambitious. Although the editors did redefine and revise this volume from an earlier text, the current edition fails to provide the holistic context that current scholars rely upon. In terms of our own area, the history of Florida is, for the most part, left out of the discussion. Historians of Southern architecture—especially modern-era styles—would be better served by other books that separate the historical analysis of arts and architecture and cover each subject comprehensively.

Christine Madrid French

Orlando, Florida

Southern Crucifix, Southern Cross: Catholic-Protestant Relations in the Old South. By Andrew H. M. Stern. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012. Acknowledgements, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. x, 232. \$39.95 cloth.)

Andrew Stern makes a convincing case for the need of a reassessment of traditional characterizations of Catholic-Protestant relations in the antebellum South. The assumed Protestant dominance of the South, along with a focus on Protestant hostility toward Catholics, has overshadowed a more nuanced and intriguing story of southern Catholic-Protestant relations. The story of Catholic-Protestant relations in the South is also a cautionary tale of what happens when there is an unquestioning relationship between religion and culture.

Well-researched and documented, Stern argues that the development of southern Catholicism, especially as it relates to an understanding of Protestant-Catholic relations, is better served by a study of smaller Catholic communities. His study focuses on the smaller Catholic communities of Louisville, Kentucky, Charleston, South Carolina, and Mobile, Alabama, all cities with sizeable Protestant majorities, rather than on the larger and older Catholic communities of Baltimore and New Orleans. These smaller Catholic communities were thus both more visible and “too

small to build networks of institutions without Protestant support" (6). Furthermore, Stern maintains that these smaller Catholic communities are more representative of the Catholic experience in the South than either Baltimore or New Orleans.

Organized around five chapters (Living Together, Healing Together, Education Together, Worshipping Together, and Ruling Together), Stern demonstrates that Protestants supported Catholics in the institutional building of churches, schools, and charities, but more importantly they "encouraged Catholics to participate in the public life of the South" (35). Stern points out that Protestants shared their houses of worship when Catholics were not able to build their own churches. Furthermore, Protestants were involved in the life of the Catholic community and came to believe "rather than threatening American society, Catholic churches sustained southern culture" (144). Protestants were particularly impressed by the dedication of the clergy and the work of women in their service to others, regardless of their religious affiliation. This was particularly the case in two categories in which the South was most in need: care of the poor, and response to disease and epidemics that raged throughout the region.

Protestant acceptance of Catholics was more than a case of tolerance of Catholics as the "other," but an outgrowth of genuine friendships, particularly among elite Protestants who found among wealthy planter Catholics kindred spirits. For example, Catholic prelates and Protestant planters shared a vision of a hierarchically ordered society in which everyone knew their proper place in the social order with their respective, rights, duties, and obligations in the maintenance of the status quo.

One of the important dimensions of Stern's work is his tracing of the growth of the Catholic Church throughout the South. This growth was in large part due to the ways in which Catholics accommodated themselves to southern culture. Southern laity and clergy alike celebrated the virtues of the Republic while worshipping "in a monarchical church" (181). At the same time, the adaptation to southern culture on the part of Catholics and the Catholic Church was reflected, as it was for their Protestant counterparts, in the extent to which they legitimized a racist society based on slavery.

In Stern's appropriately entitled chapter "Ruling Together," Catholic integration into southern society was most clearly indicated by their acceptance and support for slavery, support they justified

through Church teachings. Catholic support for slavery was both an expression of their loyalty to an institution central to southern society as well as a "strategy to survive as a foreign and minority population" (156). Southern Catholics were also viewed favorably in the South because, unlike northern Protestants, they refrained from a direct political involvement in the public debate over slavery. And yet, what signified Catholics' adoption of southern cultural values were the ways in which both the institutional church and parishioners responded to criticisms of slavery from abolitionists or northern critics by upholding the importance of order and stability against threats to the southern way of life.

Southern Crucifix, Southern Cross makes an important contribution to our understanding of the growth and the development of Catholicism in the South prior to the advent of the Civil War as well as a needed corrective to often one-dimensional portrayals of Catholic-Protestant relations. It will find a receptive audience for those who seek an unexplored dimension of American Catholic history. The work also illustrates the inherent problems of the Catholic Church's adaption of southern cultural values as its own, especially in regard to race and slavery, which led to the justification of slavery and institutional racism. Disregarded was that slavery was not only the reducing of human beings to chattel, the private property of others, but the debasing of the God-given worth and dignity that belongs to all human persons.

Robert H. Craig

The College of St. Scholastica

A Political Nation: New Directions in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Political History. Edited by Gary W. Gallagher and Rachel A. Sheldon. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012. Acknowledgements, notes, index. Pp. viii, 272. \$40.00 cloth.)

The 'old' is new again in this *festschrift* to Michael Holt, long-time advocate of the proposition that partisan politics have mattered deeply in American history. The collection of essays, including several from highly-regarded historians of nineteenth-century America, provocatively champions what the editors term "traditional" political history—the type of history modeled by Holt most notably in *The Political Crisis of the 1850s* (1978) and *The Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party: Jacksonian Politics and the Onset*

of the Civil War (1999). Such history focuses on presidential and congressional politics within the context of America's federal system, and, above all, it assumes that elected politicians' decisions have crucially—and contingently—shaped American history. Arguably, political leadership was never more consequential than during the Civil War era, a case Holt makes most succinctly in *The Fate of Their Country: Politicians, Slavery Extension, and the Coming of the Civil War* (2004). This last contention undergirds *A Political Nation*.

Holt's colleague, Gary Gallagher, along with a former graduate student of Holt's, Rachel Sheldon, bluntly inform readers that *A Political Nation* "is a book about political leaders—the people who made policy, ran for office [and] influenced elections" (1). While for many historians that emphasis takes a back seat to other scholarly interests—such as the notion of "political culture" as a constraining context for politicians' decision-making, social and cultural historians' foregrounding of Americans outside the halls of power, and political scientists' focus on institutional and structural limitations—the editors are hopeful that those interests can be keyed to the older narrative that places influential decision-makers at the interpretive center. Thereby American political history in general might be revived and made more widely accessible to non-academics, who, for their part, have not lost interest in the leading actors and events associated with the American story. The "new" directions in American political history involve in part, then, a return to an old way that should prove stimulating to anyone interested in the causes and consequences of the Civil War.

Resonances with Holt's scholarship abound throughout the collection, which is arranged chronologically into three groupings. The first section contains three essays devoted to antebellum political culture, beginning with Sheldon's look at the Texas annexation controversy of 1844-1845. She makes creative use of Washington D.C. boardinghouse arrangements to portray intersectional Whig comity around the Union and opposition to perceived executive tyranny, thus echoing Holt's insistence that the Whigs remained a truly national party until at least the Wilmot Proviso. Mark Neely's essay is equally creative in utilizing the 1855 murder of New York City's nativist boss William Pool as a case study to contend that political violence should occupy a central place in our understanding of antebellum politics. Jean Baker rounds out the first trio by helpfully providing three categories for understanding women as antebellum political actors: benevolent

activists who carved out very public roles for themselves; political integrationists who sought equal inclusion in the American body politic; and partisan enablers who participated as spectators at political events or behind the scenes on behalf of political parties.

The second section consists of three essays dealing with the contingencies of the secession crisis. Daniel Crofts examines the pro-Union "Opposition Party," that group of Upper South ex-Whigs who supported John Bell in 1860 and whose potential success troubled Abraham Lincoln. If not for the outbreak of war and the southern perception of northern coercion, which forced a binary choice on southerners, Crofts suggests that the Opposition Party very well could have emerged as a viable non-Republican alternative to Democratic dominance. William Freehling's essay on Civil War causation follows nicely from Crofts'. Echoing Holt's emphasis upon republican anxiety in *The Political Crisis of the 1850s*, Freehling stresses southern white secessionist leaders' fear of enslavement by the central government as the flipside of northern fears of the enslaving "Slave Power" (or the Papacy). While Freehling agrees that without race-based slavery the Civil War likely would not have occurred as it did (if at all), he convincingly contends that "the now overly derided issue of state rights" also must be included in any explanatory effort (112). Finally, William Cooper puzzles over the decision by Lincoln—avowed devotee of the "Great Compromiser," Henry Clay—to resist compromise efforts during the secession winter of 1860-1861, plausibly explaining Lincoln's behavior in terms of "his ignorance of the South, his vigorous partisanship, and his visceral antislavery commitment" (130).

The final quartet addresses political leadership during the Civil War and Reconstruction. In the spirit of Michael Holt, the first two essays underscore the inescapable importance of federalism by relating intra-state politics to the national political story. Sean Nalty identifies continuity between John Bell's 1860 Constitutional Union Party and the bipartisan (and even anti-partisan) formation of Pennsylvania's Union Party, which supported Lincoln in 1864 and contributed to the 1872 Liberal Republican movement. J. Mills Thornton's exploration of Alabama legislative politics persuasively complicates the received Reconstruction narrative by revealing that class tensions between planters and middle-class Alabamians account for the state's response to congressional Reconstruction policy as much as racist intransigence does. Erik Alexander brings much-needed attention to northern Democrats during the election

of 1868, highlighting what he calls “the fluidity and flux of Civil War-era politics” (190). Most significantly, Alexander contends that Democrats’ attempts to lure Republican voters frustrated by their party’s Reconstruction agenda brought moderating pressure to bear on Republican policy-makers. Finally, Brooks Simpson brilliantly portrays Republicans’ policy-making as the product of three (sometimes incompatible) aims—sectional reunion, justice for the freedmen, and party welfare—in relation to unavoidable limitations stemming from federalism, Andrew Johnson’s stubbornness, and an impatient northern populace generally eager to be done with the Civil War. Simpson’s essay should give pause to those inclined to castigate Republicans—and Ulysses S. Grant in particular—for the “failures” of Reconstruction, and thus it is a fitting end to a coherent collection of essays urging historians to take a fresh look at the political leaders who have indeed acted consequentially throughout American history.

Grant R. Brodrecht

Winter Park, Florida

Katharine and R.J. Reynolds: Partners of Fortune in the Making of the New South. By Michele Gillespie. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012. Acknowledgements, notes, illustrations, table, bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 448. \$32.95 cloth.)

Richard Joshua Reynolds (1850-1918), founder of the R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, deserves historians’ attention for his role as a captain of southern industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Despite Reynolds’s obvious importance to the New South Movement, historian Michele Gillespie did not set out to write the first modern survey of his life. Instead, she planned to examine the experiences of his wife, Katharine (1880-1924). But Gillespie discovered she “could not truly understand Katharine or tell her story without more fully understanding R.J.R. and the company that he created” (11). Drawing upon accessible archival materials and the vast scholarship on the post-Reconstruction South, Gillespie presents an invaluable study of the New Woman and the New South in her dual biography of Katharine and R.J.R. The couple embraced and promoted innovation and modernization even as they preserved vital connections to the region’s past. Gillespie concludes that they “pursued goals that

left them stranded more times than not between old worlds and new" (290).

Historians debate who led the New South Movement. Gillespie cuts through the well-crafted image of R.J.R. as a self-made middle-class man of the backcountry, exposing a wealthy slaveholder's son. However, his embrace of the urban, industrial New South distinguished him from his planter father's generation. Gillespie elucidates both the evolution of the tobacco industry and the New South city it built, Winston-Salem, as she traces his early days as a backwoods tobacco peddler, the establishment of his own tobacco company in Winston, his rise to prominence in the wider South, the acquisition of his company by James B. Duke's American Tobacco Company in 1899, and the dissolution of this trust by the Supreme Court ruling in 1911. Throughout these later stages, R.J.R. maintained "his dual identity as a country boy from the Old South and a New South entrepreneur" (120). Gillespie argues that he utilized the former image to offset his modern, sometimes predatory business practices.

Katharine, thirty years younger than her husband, came of age in an era in which southern women, particularly those from wealthy families, enjoyed greater freedoms and opportunities, and her marriage to R.J.R. enabled her to escape Victorian standards of womanhood. Gillespie presents their marriage as a partnership that did not conform to the traditional domestic union and permitted both to achieve their personal and professional goals. R.J.R. initially hired Katharine as a personal secretary. He taught her about the tobacco business and the stock market, and she served as his trusted business advisor as well as domestic caretaker. Katharine also benefitted from their marriage. R.J.R.'s wealth and respect allowed her to pursue her interests beyond the domestic sphere as she participated in a variety of reform movements targeting the poor and uneducated folk of North Carolina. Gillespie concludes that they "could accomplish more for each other, for the company, for their community, and for their society than they could individually" (13).

Katharine and R.J.R. were agents of change, but they did not challenge the existing social structure. They sought to ameliorate the hardships endured by poor whites and blacks in the ever-changing New South through their support of various Progressive causes in a state that exemplified the reform movement in the region. His color-blind philanthropy defies historians' assumptions about southern industrialists of his era, although self-interest no doubt influenced

many of R.J.R.'s philanthropic efforts. Gillespie argues that he supported some causes that addressed the suffering of his workers and their families in order to prevent labor turnover and unrest. She pays particular attention to his support of African American charities. In an era that witnessed the white supremacist backlash against interracial rule and the arrival of Jim Crow in the Tarheel State, R.J.R. supported African American schools, churches, and other institutions. Gillespie argues that his efforts stabilized his black work force without undermining the emerging racial order, thus permitting him to retain support from whites upon whom his business depended. Gillespie describes his philanthropy toward African Americans as an example of Old South paternalism, but his concerns for his work force eventually inspired his embrace of modern "welfare capitalism." Katharine advised R.J.R. on these matters, drawing upon her work with various Progressive reformers on behalf of women and children to identify necessary programs for workers.

Katharine's grand estate, Reynolda, illustrated the benefits of modern scientific farming methods and capitalist endeavors for poor farmers and sharecroppers. The estate exhibited the ways in which Katharine and R.J.R. promoted modern practices while drawing upon images of an idyllic, pastoral past. She hoped to preserve traditional agrarian traits while modernizing the habits of small farmers. Katharine juggled her domestic responsibilities with her management of this project and her various reform efforts. According to Gillespie, Katharine acted as a Progressive matriarch, but in many ways her relationships with black domestic employees and residents of the estate and the wider community supported the emerging racial order.

Although Katharine challenged Victorian gender definitions, "she never really escaped her belief in nineteenth-century moral absolutes, for she remained unwilling to forgo the language, aesthetics, and values of the Victorian era" (282). Katharine embraced modern impulses after the death of R.J.R. in 1918, spending her final years living for herself and experiencing the pleasures of the emerging culture of consumerism and leisure. When she died in 1924, Winston-Salem mourned her loss and remembered her as a woman who served the public without sacrificing her womanhood.

Gillespie's dual biography of R.J.R. and Katharine provides readers with a fresh perspective on the New South. Readers will recognize the conflict between tradition and modernity in the New

South; Gillespie successfully illustrates how one couple navigated that struggle, revealing the malleability of economic and social relations and the relative inflexibility of the racial order in this era of transformation.

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To Render Invisible: Jim Crow and Public Life in New South Jacksonville.

By Robert Cassanello. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013). Acknowledgements, illustrations, figures, table, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xv, 182. \$74.95 cloth.)

One of the greatest shifts in American social geography took place a generation after the end of the Civil War. In every growing city in every state across the U.S. South, African Americans were pushed into separate neighborhoods away from whites. The political context for that segregation was introduced by C. Vann Woodward in his classic *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (1955) and corroborated by many other studies such as Paul Escott's volume on North Carolina, *Many Excellent People* (1988). The racial apartheid nicknamed Jim Crow did not "just happen" at the end of the Civil War, nor at the end of Reconstruction. Instead, it was methodically implemented in the years around 1900 amid fears kicked up by the deep economic Depression of the 1890s. In Atlanta, Charlotte and other New South towns, scholars have shown, new laws forced black people into Colored waiting rooms at train stations and onto the back seats of streetcars, set up African American residential districts defined by zoning or deed restrictions, and even prescribed separate black and white Bibles to swear upon when testifying in court. A period of relative freedom, excitement and opportunity for black Southerners in the late nineteenth century gave way to bleak times in the first half of the twentieth.

Robert Cassanello, an associate professor at the University of Central Florida, is the first scholar to dig into that transition in Jacksonville, Florida. His slim volume *To Render Invisible: Jim Crow and Public Life in New South Jacksonville* offers tantalizing glimpses of the segregation process at work. James Weldon Johnson, one of the nation's most accomplished cultural leaders, famed for writing the "Negro national anthem" *Lift Every Voice and Sing*, was born in 1871 in Jacksonville and witnessed the heartbreak firsthand.

"When I was growing up, most of the city policemen were Negroes; several members of the City Council Negroes; one or two justices of the peace Many of the best stalls in the city market were owned by Negroes," Johnson wrote in his 1933 autobiography. But now "the old conditions have been changed. Jacksonville is today a one hundred percent Cracker town" (quoted, 151).

Non-specialist readers likely will find it hard to connect with that story as Cassanello tells it, however. The volume concentrates on placing Jacksonville in the context of the theories of Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey and Jurgen Habermas. There are long discussions of creating a "black counterpublic" but not enough close-up examination of how actual African Americans worked toward self-empowerment. When Jim Crow relegated black people to segregated seats on the trolley cars, to cite one example, African American businessmen in Jacksonville built their own streetcar system in 1902 to serve predominantly black neighborhoods. Such a project was a huge undertaking, requiring construction capital and permissions from elected officials to build in city streets. Typically, only the most accomplished white businessmen in a city had the combination of cash and clout to make that happen. Cassanello does not even name the project's African American leaders.

One wishes that James Weldon Johnson himself might have been given center stage in *To Render Invisible*. Where in Jacksonville did he grow up, exactly? How would the changing city have looked through his eyes? Could we discover a network of social and economic leaders connected to him? Cassanello taps Johnson's extensive correspondence during his years as a lawyer and official of the national NAACP, so it seems as if raw materials for storytelling are available. But ironically, given the book's title, the man himself is almost invisible.

Tom Hanchett

Levine Museum of the New South

Long Key: Flagler's Island Getaway for the Rich & Famous. By Thomas N. Knowles. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014. Preface, illustrations, notes, appendix, bibliography, index. Pp. x, 188. \$21.95 cloth.)

Typically, Key West predominates in histories of Monroe County, Florida. Yet, other islands in the Florida Keys can reveal much about the county's history, and Thomas Neil Knowles's *Long*

Key is a case in point. He has produced a book rich in details and strong in historical narrative, illustrating a distinctive Florida place and important tourist destination that provided the foundation for much of the Upper Keys' tourism revenue by specializing in attentive accommodation and challenging sportfishing. Present-day tourism in the Florida Keys owes much to Flagler's Long Key Fishing Camp, and Knowles's account of Long Key is readable, original, and informative.

Knowles sets out to explain the development, growth, and destruction of a fishing camp on Long Key, the first of two Flagler-designed hotels in the Florida Keys. He places the fishing camp within the context of Flagler's other resort destinations and the spirit of the times, the twilight of the Gilded Age. High-end, luxury accommodation was not the fishing camp's mission. Flagler served that market through his many other hotels. Rather, the camp managers invested in maritime infrastructure and vessels specially designed for fishing beyond the reef in the Gulf Stream. The buildings of the camp trended along the lines of rustic vernacular style. During the tourist season, the life of leisure here focused on enjoying the essence of the Upper Keys' tropical environment: fishing and secluded relaxation. Knowles's research informs a complete picture of the construction, management, and cultural milieu of the camp from 1909 to 1935. He succeeds in his endeavor, but there is more to the story.

The railroad, Henry M. Flagler's Key West Extension of the Florida East Coast Railway, emerges as the prime mover in this history, but Knowles attends to earlier developments on the key. *Long Key* tells of Dr. Henry Perrine's plans for silk production in 1838 and an 1879 palm tree farm that produced cocconut fiber as a raw material for the manufacture of naval stores. The railroad work camp appeared in 1906 and suffered a hurricane in October of that year with numerous fatalities, foreshadowing the fate of the fishing camp. Following completion of the railroad line, the work camp became a fishing camp, incorporating many of the railroad buildings and physical plant into tourist cottages and support buildings.

Despite the camp's lack of architectural pretension in its accommodations, it attracted wealthy visitors after opening for the 1909-1910 season. Long Key's guest list rivaled that of Key West. Zane Grey enjoyed the fishing and popularized the camp, and its attendant fishing club, in his writings. A member of an American family who married into English nobility frequently visited. Wallace

Stevens, the poet, and Lou Gehrig, the famous baseball player, vacationed here, as did U.S. President Herbert Hoover. Franklin D. Roosevelt, before being elected president, stopped by during a coastal cruise. Knowles uses these anecdotes to make his case that the fishing camp, though modest in appearance, deserves to be ranked higher among Flagler's hotels due to such patronage.

The part of the book's title behind the colon is eye-catching, but it downplays the best part of Knowles's work. After exploring the doings of elite visitors at the camp, the last half of the book tells the story of the staff at the fishing camp. Knowles reveals that the fishing camp was part of a network of resorts served by staff that followed the seasons from resorts in the Catskills to other Flagler properties in Florida and the Bahamas. Here, the book's narrative pace picks up as readers learn of James "Buck" Duane's role at the camp and in saving lives during the September 2, 1935 Labor Day Hurricane. As the last caretaker of the property, Duane's account personalizes the loss caused by the hurricane.

Throughout *Long Key*, readers will find excellent mapping and numerous photographs, many of which are keyed to locations on the map figures. Furthermore, Knowles makes excellent use of oral history material to enliven his account of the fishing camp. He has written an original contribution to scholarship on the Upper Keys, and *Long Key* is a welcome companion to his other important work on the Upper Keys, *Category 5: The 1935 Labor Day Hurricane* (2009). Lastly, the book is not just about a fishing camp. Knowles explores transportation improvements, the Great Depression, tourism, work and leisure, and hurricanes—all important themes in local Keys history.

Matthew G. Hyland

Duquesne University

Race, Rape, and Injustice: Documenting and Challenging Death Penalty Cases in the Civil Rights Era. By Barrett J. Foerster. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2012. Foreword, notes, index. Pp. xiii, 193. \$39.95 cloth.)

In *Race, Rape, and Injustice*, Barrett J. Foerster examines a 1965 study conducted by the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund (LDF). Twenty-eight white law students journeyed south to research rape convictions where defendants were sentenced to death. Whiteness allowed

these young men and one woman to more easily navigate a turbulent and complicated legal system. The NAACP's LDF encouraged these students to disguise their role in the Civil Rights Movement to enable their research and access to rape convictions. Foerster, a member of the group, argues that the LDF's efforts resulted in legal challenges to capital punishment and excessive sentencing in comparison to the actual crime committed. These challenges culminated in two United States Supreme Court cases, *Maxwell v. Bishop* and *Furman v. Georgia*. Foerster asserts that while this litigation produced both victories and defeats, the LDF's research project ensured not only a challenge to racial discrimination as practiced through convictions and sentencing, but also transformed the legal system in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Race, Rape, and Injustice, edited by Michael Meltsner after Foerster's death in 2010, takes readers on an historical expedition to a racially turbulent time in American history. The book documents the difficulties encountered and resistive measures applied by these students and how helpful their research proved in challenging the death penalty during the height of the Civil Rights Movement. Foerster complicates the historiography of Civil Rights Movement scholarship and legal history. Although some legal historians briefly mentioned the LDF's Law Students Civil Rights Research Council (LSCRRC) in their works, they did so sporadically and superficially. Foerster's research shines through in his analysis of the LDF's major cases that reached the Supreme Court. His thorough examination of the problems LDF lawyers encountered broadens current understanding of the legal system during the Civil Rights Movement. *Race, Rape, and Injustice* compliments works like Marie Gottshalk's *The Prison and The Gallows* (2006) and Robert Samuel Smith's *Race, Labor, & Civil Rights* (2008). Gottshalk's tome on political motivations for mass incarceration only briefly covers the LDF's efforts in the late 1960s. Smith's work on labor's challenge to Jim Crow through the legal system mentions the LDF's efforts as part of the legal struggles African Americans faced in the 1960s. Foerster builds upon Gottshalk's and Smith's works to complicate the perception of capital punishment amidst the path toward mass incarceration in the United States and the legal history of the Civil Rights Movement. His work fits well not only with these other important works of legal history, but also provides a clearer understanding of the legal system's resistance toward change in comparison with American society at large.

Rather than a typical monograph, Foerster's text is part legal history and memoir. Foerster wrote about the LSCRRRC and their efforts personally, because he participated in the LDF's research. Due to his personal connection, the memoir portion of the manuscript becomes awkward and distracting when he transitions to the latter half of the work. The fourth chapter, which addresses Southern lawyers who aided LDF efforts, feels disjointed from the rest of the manuscript. Had Foerster integrated this chapter into earlier chapters or included it as an appendix, this section would have greater impact.

Women's voices and experiences are also missing in this book. The oversight is most notable when Foerster discusses lynching in the third chapter. Foerster argues that Southern states turned away from lynching by 1900 and concentrated on controlling African Americans through Jim Crow legislation. Foerster's assertions oversimplify the history of lynching prior to 1920. As an example, Foerster incorrectly attributes the anti-lynching campaign's beginnings to the NAACP in 1909. The national campaign first began with the efforts of Ida B. Wells-Barnett in the 1890s. Excluding Wells-Barnett from the anti-lynching campaign discussion reflects Foerster's larger exclusion of women in his manuscript. While only one female, Karen Davis, traveled South with the LSCRRRC, Foerster mentioned her only when other men involved in the research project discussed her. Excluding her voice can partially be explained by her death in the 1980s as noted in the epilogue, but I wonder whether she maintained correspondence or wrote a diary while in the South, as some of her male colleagues did. Foerster utilizes these diaries, but Davis's voice remains silenced.

Despite these critiques, *Race, Rape, and Injustice* is commendable and an important addition to the scholarship of legal history and the Civil Rights Movement. His in-depth discussion of the *Maxwell v. Bishop* and *Furman v. Georgia* cases provides a new and thought-provoking insight into challenging capital punishment during the Civil Rights Era. It also shows how racial discrimination affected not only convictions, but also sentencing in cases of rape throughout the southern United States. The first few chapters of his work that chronicle the LSCRRRC's difficulties gathering their research would benefit an undergraduate class on Civil Rights history because they exemplify the difficulties facing white students aiding the NAACP's LDF at the height of the Civil Rights Movement. The experiences offer a glimpse into the complicated role that these twenty-eight white law students adopted in 1965, the height of the Civil Rights

Movement. The latter portion of Foerster's work, however, would be most beneficial to students and historians who study legal history. His discussion of the problems and roadblocks the LDF encountered when they challenged capital punishment in the Supreme Court ensures that Civil Rights legal history is presented in all of its configurations.

Amanda M. Nagel

University of Mississippi

Marjorie Harris Carr: Defender of Florida's Environment. By Peggy Macdonald. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014. Acknowledgements, notes, index, illustrations. Pp. 272. \$26.95 cloth.)

Even in her death, Florida environmentalist Marjorie Harris Carr continued to champion the waterway she fought to protect—a “Free the Ocklawaha” sticker was placed on the back of her hearse. The waterway is a winding river that flows north toward the Atlantic Ocean, via the St. Johns River. Carr first became aware of the Ocklawaha River as a graduate of the Florida State College for Women in Tallahassee. She would battle politicians and businessmen through awareness and educational campaigns through community and media messages at a time when women had little political clout. Carr devoted her life to protecting the river in Central Florida and in doing so she played a key role in the environmental movement, according to a new biography.

Marjorie Harris Carr: Defender of Florida's Environment was written by Peggy Macdonald and provides an interesting portrayal of an often overlooked woman. It is a fascinating tale of Carr's personal and professional life. Macdonald also looked at the role that gender played in leadership from the 1950s to the 1980s. Carr was an educated scientist who published scholarship of her own yet allowed the mediated description of “housewife from Micanopy” to define her. In that way, her advocacy was less threatening and, as a result, more successful.

Carr worked as the country's first female federal wildlife technician at the Welaka Fish Hatchery. It was through her hatchery work that she met what her biographer describes as the two great loves of Carr's life: the Ocklawaha River and her future husband, Archibald “Archie” Carr, Jr. While she was soon dismissed from her job because of her gender, her life's path had been set.

Carr had an activist career that spanned four decades. Also during this era, she raised five children, assisted her husband in his research and conducted scientific scholarship of her own. She was often overshadowed by her husband, a scientist, in the historical record. She was assisted by women, members of garden and women's clubs, who had long worked to help the environment. In a 1965 essay, she laid out the philosophical framework that brought national attention to what she called the Ocklawaha Regional Ecosystem. Her approach embraced an environmental focus rather than an earlier conservation approach.

With this scholarship by Macdonald, who will be an assistant professor at Florida Polytechnic University in 2014, Carr joins the ranks of fellow Florida environmentalists Marjory Stoneman Douglas and Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings. While Douglas and Rawlings made change through their own writing, Carr's approach was one of using the media to sway opinion. Her successful campaign to stop construction of the Cross Florida Barge Canal showed the unique rhetorical approach women activists of that era used as they stepped into an often unwelcoming public sphere.

Macdonald had unique access to material about Carr. The author's mother, Katherine (Kit) Macdonald, had been a member of Carr's Girl Scout troop and was a lifelong friend of daughter Mimi Carr. The pictures provided by Mimi Carr make the story of her mother come alive. A strong chronology follows an interesting acknowledgment section that outlines the extensive research that went into the book.

Carr, like many women activists of the 1950s and 1960s, used the language of the time to share her messages. Identifying themselves as wives and/or mothers gave them a certain sort of non-threatening agency in spreading their message of taking care of the environment. Carr was a published scholar and earned a master's degree in zoology. Yet, she often referred to herself as a "poor little housewife." She began her conservation career at the local level in the 1950s, working with the Florida Audubon and the Florida Federation of Garden Clubs. Macdonald wrote of Carr: "She succeeded in translating the complex new language of ecology to the masses. She influenced the media, which initially supported construction of the barge canal as a means to foster economic growth in central Florida to inform the public about the importance of preserving the integrity of the regional ecosystem" (200). To do that, she used the mediated image of the housewife

despite her professional accomplishments, and she often referred to herself as "Mrs. Carr" or "Archie's wife" (203). According to Macdonald, "The path she forged in the 1950s combined the traditional responsibilities of a wife and mother with the aspirations and abilities of an ecologist" (97).

This book demonstrates that the premise behind the often repeated phrase "Well-Behaved Women Don't Make History" is wrong. It makes for a great bumper sticker but history in general, and women's history specifically, deserves better. Well-behaved women deserve to be part of history. They may have worn white gloves and fancy hats but they got things done working within the parameters of their times and their own agency.

Kimberly Wilmot Voss

University of Central Florida

The Color of Christ: The Son of God and the Saga of Race in America.

By Edward J. Blum and Paul Harvey. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012. Acknowledgements, notes, illustrations, index. Pp. 352. \$32.50 cloth.)

Anyone living since the mid-twentieth century probably has not escaped the white and globally iconic image of Warner Sallman's *Head of Christ* (1941), or more recently, the bloody incarnation in Mel Gibson's film *The Passion of the Christ* (2004). In *The Color of Christ*, the historians of American religion Edward J. Blum and Paul Harvey provide an examination of how these and other images of Christ, both visual and narrative, gained cultural power and were adapted for multifarious social projects. Through race and theological analysis, the authors demonstrate how the rendering of Jesus as white underwrote racial exclusion. In the process, whiteness is given sacred meaning and subsequently subverted by subordinate groups who saw Jesus as identifying with their suffering. The image of Christ became a complex symbol of white national identity, racial domination, and resistance. The authors argue that the changing image of Christ in America reflects the malleable relationship between race and religion and the contest for political power.

Nine chapters span a period of over 500 years, from the time of the Spanish missions to the high-tech Jesus of the twenty-first century. In rich and vivid prose accessible to a broad audience, the authors paint a historical portrait drawing from an abundance

of primary sources including tracts, paintings, folk renderings, narratives, and films. The rich historiography on race and religion, which has developed over the last few decades, provides a deep historical frame to support their arguments. Their historical analysis includes not only race, but also class, in images of Jesus as a workingman. Their examination of the shifting gender and sexual meaning of the image of Christ, whether feminized or muscular, adds to their already rich analysis.

Beginning with the iconoclastic Puritans, who eschewed all images of the divine, Jesus was physically absent in early America. The authors trace how the priests of the Spanish conquest first introduced images of Christ to the continent and how the French Jesuits carried the image further north and east. The revival fires of the Great Awakenings, emphasizing an emotionally charged encounter with Christ, the emergence of Mormonism with Joseph Smith's vision of a blue-eyed Jesus, and Catholic immigrants' "Sacred Heart" fueled popular desire to actually see the divine (84). The early nineteenth-century explosion in mass print culture, with its illuminated bibles and illustrated religious tracts, increasingly overtook the Puritan idea of the divine as a blinding and inaccessible light to become visually white. In the antebellum period, white and black abolitionists claimed Christ as a crusader of emancipation, leaving southerners to militarize Christ for the Confederacy. During Reconstruction, Lost Cause theology deployed Christ as a sympathizer with the defeated South and a compatriot of Klansmen. In the twentieth century, the remaking of Christ continued with Henry Ossawa Tanner's artistic depiction of a dark-skinned Jesus in *The Resurrection of Lazarus* (1897) and Marcus Garvey's anti-imperialist call for a rejection of a white Jesus. By the 1950s, Martin Luther King's project of racial reconciliation presented Christ as transcending race, superseded in the 1970s by the black God of liberation theology. Ultimately, through its many contested incarnations, the image of the white American Jesus endured, achieving a global presence through missionary dissemination efforts, Hollywood spectacles, and the expansion of American power.

Blum and Harvey confront several myths about the relationship between race and religion. They demonstrate how the scorning, manipulation, and worship of the image of Jesus under racist ideologies turned the image of Christ alternatively red, black, and brown. Nevertheless, they challenge the idea that racial and ethnic groups necessarily go about constructing an image of Christ that

visually diverges from what they received from the dominant culture. Free and enslaved blacks could at times deploy a white Jesus to shame whites for failing to meet up to his ideal of a suffering servant. Indian people could use the "blood-and-wounds theology" of the Moravian missionaries to construct a Jesus bathed in blood to question those who attacked native people and killed their own God (61). The myth that Americans imported European images of Jesus from Europe fails to account for the production and global distribution of images forged in America. Hollywood films, from Cecil B. DeMille's *King of Kings* (1927) to the digital Jesus of the twenty-first century, made the image of an American Christ globally ubiquitous. In their analysis of how different groups related to the image of Christ, the authors challenge as myth the idea that liberation theology was born in the 1960s. They demonstrate how throughout American history subordinated people endowed the image of Jesus, rendered in every hue, with the meaning of freedom.

This rich and provocative book will be of interest to historians in the areas of religion and race. Historians examining the ideological component of images and the deployment of religious ideas in discourse will find this a fascinating and productive study. The authors demonstrate how religious discourse never remains merely useful for the devoted, but articulates the power dynamics in society and creates new ways to construct it. Not diminishing the power of their evidence, the authors' own passion for the subject appears at times to romanticize certain historical interpretations of the image of Christ, a feature that may dissuade some readers. As the authors persuasively argue, in a nation in which everyone claimed the body of Christ, the construction and deconstruction of the image of Jesus reflected the continual struggle for freedom and power in America.

Lilian Calles Barger

University of Texas at Dallas

Going Ape: Florida's Battles over Evolution in the Classroom. By Brandon Haught. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014. Preface, acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xii, 268. \$24.95 cloth.)

In *Going Ape*, Brandon Haught describes the debates over the teaching of evolution that have been a persistent presence in Florida for almost a century. Arguing that Florida, with its

population reflecting that of the country as a whole, can be seen as a bellwether of national trends, he takes a bottom-up view of the conflicts, concentrating on controversies that have played out in state and local politics. The book is carefully documented and clearly written, and particularly strong at showing how average citizens driven by moral commitments can take controversial stands on a deeply divisive topic.

An avocational historian whose interest in the issue comes from his involvement as communications director of Florida Citizens for Science, an advocacy group which promotes the teaching of evolutionary science in the public schools, Haught has nonetheless written an admirably impartial account of these debates. Making extensive use of public records, especially minutes from meetings of state legislative committees and local school boards, he allows his subjects to speak for themselves, capturing both the character of their arguments and the intensity of their rhetoric. The story is populated with colorful personalities: angry activists, ambitious politicians, harried teachers, torn and troubled school board members.

The narrative begins in the early 1920s with William Jennings Bryan, a Florida transplant, whose successful lobbying of the legislature to secure a resolution against the teaching of evolution in the state would soon morph into a national crusade. The book describes some of the complexity of Bryan's views, noting that his own version of creationism allowed for an earth that was millions of years old. It goes on to detail the development of other creationist groups of the time, including George Washburn's Bible Crusaders and the Florida Purity League, which launched campaigns aimed at the University of Florida and Florida State College for Women, where books advocating evolution were removed from libraries and professors accused of teaching the topic began to carefully watch their words.

From there the book moves briskly through the mid-twentieth century, citing the absence of evolution in state textbooks and the lack of any motivation to include it. It touches on the reappearance of the topic in schools during the Sputnik era, sparked by concerns about the weakness of American science education, and points to growing resistance to these evolutionary themes over the following decade. Hitting its stride, the book then demonstrates how the issue gained intensity in Florida in the early 1980s, when local activist groups organized campaigns in several counties to provide equal time to evolution and the teaching of "scientific creationism."

Haught treats these debates thoroughly, arguing that the failure of creationists to convince the state board of education to remove evolution from textbooks led them to turn to county school boards in many parts of the state, swelling the ranks of local activists determined to banish evolution from the schools and inspiring the creation of advocacy groups equally determined to keep it in.

Much of the book is about what followed next, such as the arrival of the concept of "intelligent design" in the early 1990s debates that exploded across the state. Amid impassioned statements delivered in lengthy school board meetings, creation and evolution advocates fought to a kind of standstill in which evolution remained in state science standards and textbooks, but teachers in many districts treated the topic cautiously or not at all, leading to national reports that described Florida as failing its students in science teaching. These local debates would continue throughout the next decade, boiling up and spilling over in fights over state science standards in the Florida Department of Education and in a series of "academic freedom bills" sponsored by critics of evolution in the state legislature. Perhaps because of his association with Florida Citizens for Science, which was active in these events, Haught's description of them is especially detailed. The book ends by noting new issues raised by a recent survey that documents the teaching of creationism in private schools that receive public money through voucher programs, suggesting that the controversies are certain to continue.

Going Ape provides a thorough treatment of creation-evolution debates taking place in settings that scholars have studied too little. Its focus on local activists and groups is a welcome addition to scholarship on the subject that often has concentrated on national leaders and organizations. That said, in stressing local activism, the book says too little about the importance of national influences in Florida: the role of Henry Morris and Duane Gish of the Institute for Creation Research in introducing scientific creationism to the state; the ties of national organizations like the Christian Coalition, Concerned Women for America, and the Discovery Institute to local creationists, and those like the ACLU and Americans United for Separation of Church and State to local evolutionists; the impact of federal court decisions such as *McLean v. Arkansas*, which declared creation science to be religious doctrine and cast doubt on "balanced treatment" legislation, establishing legal precedents that reached into Florida county courtrooms.

In addition, while strong on narrative, the book is short on analysis. Conceptual conflicts like the seemingly endless controversy over whether evolution constitutes “theory” or “fact” are sometimes described but not examined. Political outcomes are occasionally left unexplained, as when the election of a candidate who did not campaign as a creationist is seen “possibly as a sign of the changing times” (22). The intellectual importance of the conflict over evolution is diminished when the author simply asserts that it “isn’t an intellectual struggle but rather a deeply emotional one” (233).

Nevertheless, Brandon Haught has written a book that makes a clear contribution to the study of this important topic. To read it is to gain greater appreciation for the activism of average citizens engaged in difficult public debates. It is also to experience a certain amount of dismay at how these debates have persisted in our politics, and how students in our public schools continue to pay the price for them.

Michael Lienesch

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

End Notes

Ada Coats Williams (1920-2014)



Ada Coats Williams, a former president of the Florida Historical Society and much-admired historian of Florida's Treasure Coast area, died Sept. 8, 2014. She had been in declining health for several years and her death came just three days short of her 94th birthday. Descended from a pioneer St. Lucie County family, Mrs. Williams had lived in and around Fort Pierce for most of her life. She is survived by her husband of 63 years, Harold S. Williams Sr., daughter Robyn C. Wright and son Hal Williams, all of Fort Pierce. She was predeceased by a son, Jeffry Williams.

Mrs. Williams was born in Okeechobee in 1920, the daughter of pharmacist and citrus grower William Lee Coats and his wife Katie Turner Coats. The father had moved to St. Lucie County from Brevard County after the disastrous citrus freezes in the winter of 1894-95. The Coats family became active in local business and civic matters and the young Ada Coats grew up in the company of many sons and daughters of the area's early ranching and farming families. Early in life she became fascinated by local and state history.

At Rollins College Mrs. Williams studied English, speech and drama, and later studied theater and playwriting at the University of North Carolina. She earned a master's degree in education and was for more than a half-century a teacher in St. Lucie County public schools and at Indian River State College.

During the 1950s and 1960s Mrs. Williams presented local radio programs and newspaper articles on historical topics. Her many friendships among the area's early settlers provided a wealth of first-person information. When she was asked to compile a history of St. Lucie County, Mrs. Williams had a different idea – a historical drama that could be presented in an outdoor setting. The result was "Along These Waters," using a combination of dialogue, music and dance to depict episodes from St. Lucie County's past. She got the entire community involved, persuading famed landscape artist A.E. "Bean" Backus to paint scenery and casting many descendants of local pioneers in major roles. The City of Fort Pierce built an amphitheater alongside the Indian River Lagoon and "Along These Waters" was for many years a highlight of St. Lucie County's wintertime Sandy Shoes Festival.

Mrs. Williams was the author of several books, including *Florida's Ashley Gang* which chronicled the activities of an outlaw band who robbed and murdered along the lower east coast in the early 1920s. Relying on previously unreported accounts from eyewitnesses (kept confidential while they lived), she added important new details on how and why the gang members were shot dead on the Sebastian River Bridge in 1924. She also compiled a text and photo book on early days in Fort Pierce for the "Images of America" series. She earned a Florida Historical Society award for her paper on the Ashley gang presented at the 1997 annual meeting in Jacksonville.

Mrs. Williams was a longtime member and enthusiastic supporter of the Florida Historical Society, serving on its board of directors and as its president in 2001-2003. She also was among the most active members of the St. Lucie Historical Society and several times was elected its president. She is fondly remembered by hundreds of former students, many of whom went on to their own careers in education and historical research.

Numerous community honors came her way in recent times, but one was especially memorable. In 2004 Ada Coats Williams was chosen as grand marshal for St. Lucie County's annual Cattleman's Day parade through downtown Fort Pierce. She thus emulated her father, William Lee Coats, who led the way as grand marshal of the July 4, 1905 parade celebrating the creation of St. Lucie County. Then at age 83, Mrs. Williams did not ride on horseback as her father did many years before. Instead she waved and smiled brightly, perched on the back of a convertible.

**Annual Meeting and Symposium of the Florida Historical Society
May 22-24, 2015
World Golf Village Resort, St. Augustine, Fla.**

THEME: *Subjects, Citizens, and Civil Rights: 450 Years of Florida History*

The Florida Historical Society seeks submissions for its Annual Meeting & Symposium to be held May 22-24, 2015 in St. Augustine, Fla. *Please note: The conference will run on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday.* The conference hotel will be the Renaissance World Golf Village Resort. Information about conference registration and hotel reservations will be posted at <http://myfloridahistory.org/annualmeeting>.

Submission guidelines: Come join us to mark the 450th anniversary of the founding of St. Augustine. All topics in Florida history welcome. The Society will accommodate as many papers as possible within the limit of available time slots. Our program committee will notify you of the status of your paper shortly after the submission deadline.

- **INDIVIDUAL PAPER:** send a title, 150-word abstract and one-page vita.
- **THEME PANEL:** send a title and brief (150 word) description of the theme; 150-word abstract for each paper, one-page vita for each panel member, suggested discussant.
- **ROUND TABLE FORUMS OR DISCUSSIONS:** send a title and brief (150 word) description of the topic and a complete list of the participants and moderator/discussant with vitas. Time allocation—90 minutes

Send submissions by email as an MSWord attachment to program organizer James Cusick at jgcusick@ufl.edu (*Please put "2015 FHS Paper" in your email heading*). Or send a paper copy to James Cusick, Special & Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611. Expect an email confirmation that your submission has been received. If you do not receive a confirmation, send an email query to James Cusick to verify receipt. The Society sponsors numerous annual awards. For types of awards and information on how to submit an entry, please see <http://myfloridahistory.org/society/awards>.

FHS Acquires the Brevard Museum of History and Natural Science

A new era begins for both the Florida Historical Society and the Brevard Museum of History and Natural Science as the oldest cultural organization in the state takes ownership of an outstanding museum.

The facility is now also the home of the Florida Historical Society Archaeological Institute.

"I've been connected with the Florida Historical Society for almost twenty years now, and this is the most exciting event I've seen happen," says FHS President Leonard Lempel. "This museum is a tremendous new edition to the Florida Historical Society. I'm just real excited about all the opportunities it presents."

The Brevard Museum of History and Natural Science was established in 1969. The nearly 15,000 square foot facility sits on a 20-acre nature preserve with walking trails through three Florida ecosystems. The museum is adjacent to Eastern Florida State College and the University of Central Florida Cocoa campus.

The change in ownership from Brevard Museum, Inc. to the Florida Historical Society was amicable and even welcomed. With a passionate and emotionally invested Museum Guild already in place, the addition of Florida Historical Society personnel and resources will allow the museum to become even better than it already is.

"There certainly is a passion," says Lee Bailey, president of the outgoing Brevard Museum Board of Trustees. "Unfortunately it takes more than just passion. It has to have really good, solid understanding and knowing how to run a museum. I think with this in place, we're going to see it thrive."

The centerpiece of the Brevard Museum of History and Natural Science is an exhibition on the amazing Windover Archaeological Dig. In 1982, an ancient pond cemetery was discovered near Titusville. Hundreds of ritualistically buried bodies were remarkably well preserved, wrapped in the oldest woven fabric found in North America. Ninety-one skulls even contained intact brain matter.

The Windover people were between 7,000 and 8,000 years old, making them 2,000 years older than the Great Pyramids and 3,200 years older than King Tutankhamen.

The museum also features exhibits on other native peoples, the Spanish Colonial period, pioneer culture, and has numerous archaeological artifacts.

Many improvements were made to the Brevard Museum of History and Natural Science under the leadership of outgoing



The Florida Historical Society Board of Directors, made up of educators, historians, business people, and museum professionals from throughout the state, is the new governing body of the Brevard Museum of History and Natural Science.

executive director Nancy Rader. She refreshed exhibits, improved the museum branding, and increased attendance. Her proudest achievement was adding a mastodon skeleton that joined the bones of a giant ground sloth and a saber tooth cat on display.

Rader is very supportive of the changes happening at the museum. "I feel like the Brevard Museum is a real treasure and I really want the community to jump on board and support it," Rader says.

The museum's mission to educate the public about local history compliments the Florida Historical Society's statewide focus. From the prehistoric era to pioneer settlement to the launching of America's space program, Brevard County serves as a microcosm of Florida history.

Established in 1856, the Florida Historical Society maintains an extensive archive at the Library of Florida History in Cocoa, publishes books and periodicals, produces radio and television programs, operates the Florida Historical Society Archaeological Institute, and manages the Historic Rossetter House Museum in Eau Gallie. Our Annual Meeting and Symposium is held in a different Florida city each May, and we participate in festivals, events, and educational outreach throughout the state.

Bruce Piatek is the new Director of the Florida Historical Society Archaeological Institute and the Brevard Museum of History and Natural Science. Piatek has an extensive background as both a professional archaeologist and a museum administrator. He was City Archaeologist in St. Augustine where he also ran a successful museum. For 20 years, Piatek was executive director of the Florida Agricultural Museum, building it into the most popular tourist destination in Flagler County.

"I think the Brevard Museum is great. It's got tremendous potential," says Piatek. "There's been 45 years of hard work by the folks who put the museum together, got it operating, and have continued to operate it. I think it's exciting what the Florida Historical Society has planned for coming into the museum and making it a more vibrant and viable operation."

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE (FHSAI)

The Florida Historical Society (FHS) has established a new department focusing on the intersection of history and archaeology. FHS launched the Florida Historical Society Archaeological Institute (FHSAI) on March 4, 2014.

Established in 1856, the Florida Historical Society has been supporting archaeology in the state for more than a century.

FHS was the first state-wide organization dedicated to the preservation of Florida history and prehistory, as stated in our 1905 constitution. We were the first state-wide organization to preserve Native American artifacts such as stone pipes, arrowheads, and pottery, and the first to actively promote and publish archaeological research dating back to the early 1900s. Archaeology enthusiast Clarence B. Moore became a Member of the Florida Historical Society in 1907, and donated his written works to the Library of Florida History.

From the early twentieth century to the present, leading Florida archaeologists have had their work published in the FHS journal, *The Florida Historical Quarterly*. The Florida Historical Society was instrumental in the creation of the position of State Archaeologist and the establishment of the Florida Anthropological Society (FAS) in the 1940s, and served as host of the Florida Public Archaeology Network (FPAN) East Central Region from 2010 through 2013. Under the direction of FHS, the East Central Region was one of FPAN's most successful.

Today, FHS is continuing our long tradition of supporting archaeology in the state with the Florida Historical Society Archaeological Institute (FHSAI). The mission statement says that FHSAI "is dedicated to educating the public about Florida archaeology through research, publication, educational outreach, and the promotion of complimentary work by other organizations."

FLORIDA FRONTIERS: THE WEEKLY RADIO MAGAZINE OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society, airing on public radio stations throughout the state, continues to be one of our most successful educational outreach projects. The program is a combination of interview segments and produced features covering history-based events, exhibitions, activities, places, and people in Florida. The program explores the relevance of Florida history to contemporary society and promotes awareness of heritage and culture tourism options in the state.

The first section of the program each week is a long-form NPR-style piece from *Florida Frontiers* producer and host Ben Brotemarkle, Executive Director of the Florida Historical Society. He talks with authors of books about Florida history and culture; takes listeners to historic sites around the state; discusses important issues dealing with education and preservation; and demonstrates how learning about our history and culture can provide a sense of community to Floridians today.

The second section of the program is a conversation between Ben Brotemarkle and FHS Educational Resources Coordinator Ben DiBiase about various items in our archive at the Library of Florida History in Cocoa. Recent discussions have focused on slave documents from the El Destino Plantation; the 1821 decree from Spain informing residents of Florida that they were now living in a territory of the United States; 19th century Florida money; and the FHS collection of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings materials.

The third section of the program is produced by Robert Cassanello, Associate Professor of History at the University of Central Florida and an award-winning podcaster. Cassanello's segment has recently featured a look at urban planning in 1920s Jacksonville; a discussion about wooden Gothic churches in Florida; a visit with Ernest Hemingway's cats in Key West; and a conversation with Gilbert King, Pulitzer Prize winning author of

Devil in the Grove: Thurgood Marshall, the Groveland Boys, and the Dawn of a New America.

Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society is currently broadcast on 90.7 WMFE Orlando, Thursdays at 6:30 pm and Sundays at 4:00 pm.; 88.1 WUWF Pensacola, Fridays at 5:30 p.m.; 89.9 WJCT Jacksonville, Mondays at 6:30 pm; 89.5 WFIT Melbourne, Sundays at 7:00 a.m.; 88.9 WQCS (HD2) Ft. Pierce, Wednesdays at 9:00 a.m.; 89.1 WUFT Gainesville, Saturdays at 6:00 am and Sundays at 7:30 a.m.; and 90.1 WJUF Inverness, Saturdays at 6:00 am and Sundays at 7:30 a.m. Check your local NPR listings for additional airings. The program is archived on the Florida Historical Society web site and accessible any time at www.myfloridahistory.org/frontiers.

Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society is made possible in part by the Jessie Ball duPont Fund and by Florida's Space Coast Office of Tourism, representing destinations from Titusville to Cocoa Beach to Melbourne Beach.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY PODCASTS

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* has entered a new era of media. Dr. Robert Cassanello, Associate Professor of History at the University of Central Florida and a member of the *FHQ* editorial board, has accepted a new role as the coordinator for podcast productions. In conjunction with the Public History programs at UCF, Dr. Cassanello will produce a podcast for each issue of the *Quarterly*. Each podcast will consist of an interview with one of the authors from the most recent issue of the *Quarterly*. The podcasts are uploaded to iTunes University and are available to the public at <http://publichistorypodcast.blogspot.com/>.

Dr. Jack E. Davis on his article "Sharp Prose for Green: John D. MacDonald and the First Ecological Novel," which appeared in Volume 87, no. 4 (Spring 2009).

Dr. Michael D. Bowen on his article "The Strange Tale of Wesley and Florence Garrison: Racial Crosscurrents of the Postwar Florida Republican Party" appeared in Volume 88, no. 1 (Summer 2009).

Dr. Nancy J. Levine discussed the research project undertaken by her students on the Hastings Branch Library that appeared in Volume 88, no. 2 (Fall 2009).

Dr. Daniel Feller, 2009 Catherine Prescott Lecturer, on "The Seminole Controversy Revisited: A New Look at Andrew Jackson's 1819 Florida Campaign," Volume 88, no. 3 (Winter 2010).

Dr. Derrick E. White, on his article "From Desegregation to Integration: Race, Football, and 'Dixie' at the University of Florida," Volume 88, no. 4 (Spring 2010).

Dr. Gilbert Din was interviewed to discuss his article "William Augustus Bowles on the Gulf Coast, 1787-1803: Unraveling a Labyrinthine Conundrum," which appeared in Volume 89, no. 1 (Summer 2010).

Deborah L. Bauer, Nicole C. Cox, and Peter Ferdinando on graduate education in Florida and their individual articles in Volume 89, no. 2 (Fall 2010).

Jessica Clawson, "Administrative Recalcitrance and Government Intervention: Desegregation at the University of Florida, 1962-1972," which appeared in Volume 89, no. 3 (Winter 2011).

Dr. Rebecca Sharpless, "The Servants and Mrs. Rawlings: Martha Mickens and African American Life at Cross Creek," which appeared in Volume 89, no. 4 (Spring 2011).

Dr. James M. Denham, "Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Pensacola," which appeared in Volume 90, no. 1 (Summer 2011).

Dr. Samuel C. Hyde Jr., Dr. James G. Cusick, Dr. William S. Belko, and Cody Scallions in a roundtable discussion on the West Florida Rebellion of 1810, the subject of the special issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 90, no. 2 (Fall 2011).

Dr. Julian Chambliss and Dr. Denise K. Cummings, guest editors for "Florida: The Mediated State," special issue, *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 90, no. 3 (Winter 2012).

Dr. David H. Jackson, Jr., on his article "'Industrious, Thrifty and Ambitious': Jacksonville's African American Businesspeople during the Jim Crow Era," in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 90, no. 4 (Spring 2012) and Dr. Tina Bucvalas, 2012 Jillian Prescott Memorial Lecturer and winner of the Stetson Kennedy Award for *The Florida Folklife Reader*.

Dr. Claire Strom, Rapetti-Trunzo Professor of History at Rollins College, on her article, "Controlling Venereal Disease in Orlando during World War II," *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 91, no. 1 (Summer 2012).

Dr. Matthew G. Hyland, on his article, "The Florida Keys Hurricane House: Post-Disaster New Deal Housing," *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 91, no. 2 (Fall 2012).

Dr. Paul E. Hoffman, guest editor of Volume 91, no. 3 (Winter 2013) on sixteenth century Florida.

Dr. Christopher Meindl and Andrew Fairbanks were interviewed

for the Spring 2013 (Volume 91, no. 4) podcast on their article (with Jennifer Wunderlich). They talked about environmental history and the problems of garbage for Florida's environment.

Dr. Samuel Watson was interviewed about his article, "Conquerors, Peacekeepers, or Both? The U.S. Army and West Florida, 1810-1811," Volume 92, no. 1 (Summer 2013). His article challenged some of the work published in the Fall 2010 special issue on the West Florida Rebellion. In his interview Dr. Watson spoke about the discipline of history and the way in which the field advances as historians debate larger interpretative issues.

Richard S. Dellinger, Esq., attorney with the Orlando firm of Lowndes, Drosdick, Doster, Kantor & Reed and Vice President for the 11th Circuit Court, was interviewed for the Fall 2013 Special Issue on the 50th Anniversary of the United States District Court, Middle District of Florida.

Dr. Jane Landers, guest editor for Volume 92, no. 3 (Winter 2014) on seventeenth century Florida, the second issue in the 500 Years of Florida History series of special issues.

Dr. Matt Clavin, an Associate Professor of History at the University of Houston was interviewed for Volume 92, no. 4 (Spring 2014) on his article "An 'underground railway' to Pensacola and the Impending Crisis over Slavery."

Dr. Lisa Lindquist Dorr's article "Bootlegging Aliens: Unsanctioned Immigration and the Underground Economy of Smuggling from Cuba through Prohibition" was the topic for the podcast on Volume 93, no. 1 (Summer 2014).

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY AVAILABLE ON JSTOR

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* is available to scholars and researchers through JSTOR, a digital service for libraries, archives, and individual subscribers. JSTOR editors spent more than a year digitizing *FHQ* volumes 3-83; it became available to academic libraries and individual subscribers in August 2009. The *FHQ* has reduced the 5-year window to a 3-year window for greater access. More recent issues of the *Quarterly* are available only in print copy form. JSTOR has emerged as a leader in the field of journal digitization and the *FHQ* joins a number of prestigious journals in all disciplines. The *Florida Historical Quarterly* will continue to be available through PALMM, with a 5-year window.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY ON FACEBOOK

Join the *Florida Historical Quarterly* on Facebook. The *FHQ* Facebook page provides an image of each issue, the table of contents of each issue, an abstract of each article. There is also a link to the *Quarterly* podcasts and the Florida Historical Society. Go to the *FHQ* to find information on recent "Calls for Papers" for conferences in Florida and the South.

The Lawton M. Chiles, Jr., Center for Florida History presents The Florida Lecture Series 2014-2015

Founded in 2001, the Lawton M. Chiles, Jr., Center for Florida History strives to enhance the teaching, study, and writing of Florida history. The center seeks to preserve the state's past through cooperative efforts with historical societies, preservation groups, museums, public programs, media, and interested persons. This unique center, housed in the Sarah D. and L. Kirk McKay, Jr., Archives Center, is a source of continuing information created to increase appreciation for Florida history.

In its 18th year, the Lawton M. Chiles, Jr. Florida Lecture Series is a forum that brings speakers to the Florida Southern College campus to explore Florida life and culture from a wide range of disciplines, including history, public affairs, law, sociology, criminology, anthropology, literature, and art. The overall objective of the series is to bring members of the community, the faculty, and the student body together to interact with and learn from leading scholars in their fields.

JANUARY 15

PEGGY MACDONALD, *Assistant Professor of History, Florida Polytechnic University*

"Marjorie Harris Carr: Defender of Florida's Environment"

Hollis Room, Thad Buckner Building

A self-described "housewife from Micanopy," Marjorie Harris Carr in reality struggled to balance career and family with her husband, Archie Carr, a pioneering conservation biologist. For 35 years, Carr tirelessly led a coalition of citizen activists in the continuing battle to protect and restore the Ocklawaha River. To this day, this little-known river in the heart of Central Florida

remains blocked by the remnants of the Cross Florida Barge Canal, a U.S. Army Corps of Engineers project that Carr and her fellow Florida Defenders of the Environment (FDE) activists stopped before its construction was completed.

Peggy MacDonald is a native Floridian. She is an assistant professor of history at Florida Polytechnic University and a freelance writer, editor, and photographer.

FEBRUARY 5

JOHN AND MARY LOU MISSALL, Writers

“Voices from the Seminole Wars”

Hollis Room, Thad Buckner Building

The Seminole Indian Wars were the longest, costliest, and deadliest of all the nation’s Indian wars and spanned a period of 40 years. Taking place between the War of 1812 and the Civil War, all three conflicts drew wide national attention. They were also the only Indian wars in which slavery played a key part. Through the poetry, journals and letters of the participants—both Seminole and white—the Missalls recreate the experience of this early period of Florida history.

John and Mary Lou Missall are writers whose primary work focuses on the Seminole Indian Wars. They are authors and editors of several books, including *The Seminole Wars: America’s Longest Indian Conflict* from the University Press of Florida, and *Hollow Victory*, a novel of the Second Seminole War, and *This Miserable Pride of a Soldier: The Letters and Journals of col. William S. Foster in the Second Seminole War*.

MARCH 26

LARRY RIVERS, Professor of History, Valdosta State University

“Rebels and Runaways: Slave Resistance in the Nineteenth Century”

Hollis Room, Thad Buckner Building

Using a variety of sources such as slaveholders’ wills and probate records, ledgers, account books, court records, oral histories, and numerous newspaper accounts, Larry Eugene Rivers discusses the historical significance of Florida as a runaway slave haven dating

back to the seventeenth century and explains Florida's unique history of slave resistance and protest. Rivers argues persuasively that the size, scope, and intensity of black resistance in the Second Seminole War makes it the largest sustained slave insurrection ever to occur in American history.

Larry Rivers is professor of history at Valdosta State University and the author of *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation and Rebels and Runaways: Slave Resistance in Nineteenth-Century Florida*.

GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSIONS TO THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* is a peer-refereed journal and accepts for consideration manuscripts on the history of Florida, its people, and its historical relationships to the United States, the Atlantic World, the Caribbean, or Latin America. All submissions are expected to reflect substantial research, a dedication to writing, and the scholarly rigor demanded of professionally produced historical work. Work submitted for consideration should not have been previously published, soon to be published, or under consideration by another journal or press. Authors who are engaged in open source peer review should watermark any manuscript available through an open source site as "Draft Under Consideration."

Authors should submit an electronic copy in MS Word to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, at Connie.Lester@ucf.edu.

Manuscripts should be typed and double-spaced (excluding footnotes, block quotes, or tabular matter).

The first page should be headed by the title without the author's name. Author identification should be avoided throughout the manuscript. On a separate sheet of paper, please provide the author's name, institutional title or connection, or place of residence, and acknowledgements. Citations should be single-spaced **footnotes**, numbered consecutively, and in accordance with the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Use the reference feature to create footnotes rather than the superscript button.

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Images or illustrations to be considered for publication with the article may be submitted in EPS or PDF electronic format at 300 dpi or higher. Xeroxed images cannot be accepted. All illustrations should include full citations and credit lines. Authors should retain letters of permission from institutions or individuals owning the originals.

Questions regarding submissions should be directed to Connie L. Lester, editor, addressed to Department of History, PO Box 161350, 12790 Acquarius Agora Dr., Suite 551, University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL 32816-1350, by email to Connie.Lester@ucf.edu, or by phone at 407-823-0261.

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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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Created in St. Augustine in 1856, The Florida Historical Society is the oldest existing cultural organization in the state, and Florida's only state-wide historical society. The Society is dedicated to preserving Florida's past through the collection and archival maintenance of historical documents and photographs, the publication of scholarly research on Florida history, and educating the public about Florida history through a variety of public history and historic preservation projects. We publish scholarly research in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and through the Florida Historical Society Press. *Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society* is broadcast on public radio stations throughout the state and is archived on our web site. The Florida Historical Society headquarters are located at the Library of Florida History in historic Cocoa Village. The Florida Historical Society manages the Historic Rossetter House Museum and the Florida Books & Gifts.

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