

*The
Florida
Historical
Quarterly*

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COVER

The Daytona Beach business district, circa 1906. An automobile and telephone poles share the roadway with horses and buggies, symbols of an earlier Florida. The photograph is from the Library of Congress' collection of negatives made by the Detroit Post Card Company. It was made available by Joan Morris, State Photographic Archives, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee.

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FLORIDA AND THE BLACK MIGRATION

by JERRELL H. SHOFNER *

WHEN THE EUROPEAN WAR ERUPTED IN 1914 the flow of immigrants to the United States was greatly curtailed, depriving developing American industries of their traditional supply of new laborers. Northern railroad and manufacturing firms then turned to the native blacks of the South as potential workers to fill the unskilled jobs so necessary to their continued growth. Southern blacks had been migrating northward in small numbers since before the turn of the century, but when northern companies began sending recruiters into the South the numbers accelerated enormously. Beginning with the Pennsylvania Railroad's recruiting of several hundred blacks from Jacksonville, Florida, in early 1916, the "great migration" took more than a half million Negroes out of the South to northern industrial cities. They came from the southern rural regions where there had always been a large labor surplus. Now the massive exodus began to alarm turpentine, lumber, and agricultural producers, and caused glaring contradictions in the attitudes of white Southerners toward their black neighbors.

Between early 1916 and 1920 about 40,000 blacks left the northern Florida counties.¹ Some migrated to Miami and other south Florida locations, but most left for New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and other northern states. Migration studies show that the largest proportional movements of blacks from the entire South occurred from west Florida, Tampa, and Jacksonville. Because of its location as a transportation center, Jacksonville became the major focus of the movement. With a Negro population of 35,000, the city lost more than 6,000 of them. About 14,000 more assembled there from adjacent rural

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1. United States Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Abstract, Florida* (Washington, 1913), 590-99; Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States 1920, Population, Florida* (Washington, 1922), 192-94.

areas for transportation out of the state. Tampa was also an important assembly point from which nearly 5,000 blacks migrated. Others went directly from their rural homes. From tiny Capitola just east of Tallahassee, most of the black residents left for Jacksonville and other Florida locations as well as northern cities. A sizable group of Leon County blacks went to Connecticut to work in the tobacco fields. It was estimated that the areas adjacent to Apalachicola, Gainesville, and Ocala lost about twenty to twenty-five per cent of their blacks. About half the blacks of Palatka and DeLand left, while Orlando and Lakeland lost approximately a fourth of their black populations. In a few cases, entire communities, including pastors of local churches, left as groups for northern points. Live Oak and Dunnellon, among others, were starting places for such movements. By late summer 1916 so many blacks had left northern Florida that it was claimed that "the more stable classes of negroes became unsettled."²

There were good reasons for Negroes to move, especially from northern Florida. The arrival of the boll weevil had added to the heavy burden of the crop lien system. Tenancy as an agricultural system was no longer able to support that part of the population which had depended on it. The turpentine camps and timber operations required laborers to work under adverse conditions for inadequate wages. When the Pennsylvania, Erie, and New York Central railroads, the iron and steel manufacturers, and others sent recruiting agents into the South offering six or seven dollars a day in wages to people who were working for a dollar or less, they found many blacks willing to leave.

There were other reasons also. All of the state legislatures of the South and most southern communities had enacted an extensive list of Jim Crow laws requiring complete separation of the races except where blacks were subservient to whites. These legal sanctions were accompanied by increasing violence against blacks. Beatings, petty abuse, and insults were commonplace, lynchings were all too frequent, and harassment by law enforcement officials, especially in the towns and cities, was extensive.

The Pennsylvania Railroad began recruiting blacks in Jacksonville in early 1916. The New York Central hired 500 men out

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2. Emmett J. Scott, *Negro Migration During the War* (New York, 1969), 62-63.

of the city about June of that year and a total of 1,500 during the next several months. The *Indianapolis Freeman* reported that over 10,000 Floridians had departed the state for northern points between September and November that year.³ Jacksonville was a major lumber and naval stores center and the home of the influential Georgia-Florida Sawmill Association whose members employed thousands of blacks. Over the years the city's white business and political leaders had maintained fairly good relations with their black counterparts. Now they realized the need to deal with the black exodus. First to act were Mayor John E. T. Bowden, John Ball, F. C. Groover, P. L. Sutherland, and Arthur G. Cummer of the Chamber of Commerce. They met with members of the Negro Board of Trade-L. H. Myers, M. Baker, Jr., J. W. Floyd, N. W. Collier, G. W. Wetmore, George A. Sheehy, Joseph E. Lee, and J. H. Ballou-and urged them to assist in discouraging migration. The black leaders generally agreed to help. Sheehy doubted the wisdom of going north; Ballou thought Negroes would fare better in the South and promised to say so to laborers whenever possible. Lee and Collier also agreed with this view.⁴ About a week later the Negro Board of Trade members issued "Words of Advice to all Negroes of Duval County." Having considered the problem at two meetings, they admitted that while local blacks were being treated to "disproportionate use of tax money and some abuse by petty officers, also inadequate wages from some firms . . . these wrongs cannot be corrected by running away." While the group condemned the "wholesale exodus as injurious and unwise," their reasoning may not have convinced laboring blacks. If the exodus continued, they asked, "who will support the negro men of business and those in professions."⁵

That some blacks were unconvinced was soon apparent. Within a week after "Words of Advice" was issued eleven union leaders representing black stevedores, plasterers, carpenters, painters, and bricklayers denounced the statement as unrepresentative of Negro laborers in Jacksonville. When James Weldon Johnson, editor of the *New York Age* and a Jacksonville native,

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3. *Indianapolis Freeman*, November 4, 1916; George E. Haynes, *Trend of the Races* (New York, 1922), 28.

4. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 27, 1916.

5. *Ibid.*, August 6, 1916.

was asked whether he thought blacks stood to benefit "financially, morally and religiously," as well as in "manhood, citizenship, etc." by migrating northward, he indicated his approval. Migration was good for all, Johnson felt, and if the South desired to keep the blacks it should provide fair treatment and impartial execution of the laws. A few days later, he reprinted an article from a Jacksonville newspaper depicting the city's new railroad station whose "West Bay (Street) end will be occupied by the Negro waiting room, smoking room and the Negro women's room. It will have a separate entrance so that Negroes may go and come without coming into contact with white persons."⁶ The arguments of Johnson and the labor leaders were enhanced in July when workers struck the Seaboard Airline Railroad shops. Deputy sheriffs patrolled the area, while replacements were hired in place of the strikers.⁷

And the city council used more than moral suasion. It enacted an ordinance requiring that all labor recruiting agents must pay a \$1,000 license fee. Failure to do so would be penalized by a \$600 fine and sixty days in jail.⁸ At the same time northern railroad firms were asked to stop their recruiting efforts in the state. R. L. Sutherland reported that while telegrams had been received from the heads of several companies promising that their agents would be withdrawn, he was concerned that "free lance" agents would continue to cause turmoil. City Judge W. W. Anderson found Frederick Ruff and R. N. Mullen innocent of violating the ordinance by recruiting laborers to be sent out of the state. He ruled that the license was required only of "free lance" recruiters; Ruff and Mullen were employed by a company which planned to hire the new workers. But the judge changed his mind a few days later when 500 blacks were left stranded at the city's Union Depot when E. G. Chase, Hugh Powell, and B. F. Jefferson were arrested for recruiting without licenses. Jefferson and Chase were found innocent, but Powell was convicted and fined \$200. Blacks attempting to board trains for whatever reason were subjected to harassment by local police during the follow-

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6. Ibid., August 14, 1916; *New York Age*, August 24, 1916; Eugene Levy, *James Weldon Johnson: Black Leader*, *Black Voice* (Chicago, 1973), 192.

7. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 27, 1916.

8. Scott, *Negro Migration During the War*, 37; *New York Age*, August 24, 1916.

ing weeks, but recruiting agents remained active. Several clashes between the local police and recruiting agents occurred, but there were few convictions until December 1916, when B. F. Shannon, an attorney, Andrew J. Butler, a minister, and Henry Bryant were arrested "on charges of being suspicious characters and recruiting labor without a license." They were convicted and fined \$250 each.⁹

The situation was still unsettled when Sidney J. Catts was inaugurated as governor on January 2, 1917. He first became interested in the migration controversy when white turpentine and lumber operators complained that their laborers were being enticed away from the north Florida forests by promises of better wages and working conditions in the North. But it was apparently Robert Randolph Robinson, a longtime black leader, Republican politician, and former deputy United States marshal, who convinced the governor that action was required. Agreeing with the Negro Board of Trade in its opposition to migration, Robinson organized the National Colored Protective Association to stop the tide of black migration out of the state.¹⁰ According to Robinson, blacks preferred to remain in the South, but they also needed equal justice before the law, cessation of the "rough treatment colored people have been receiving at the hands of public officers," and increased wages to offset the recent rise in the cost of living. He would seek these remedies through conferences between employers and governing officials rather than by strikes.

Catts responded favorably to Robinson's request that he address Jacksonville's black community on the matter. In late June 1917, the governor spoke at Ebenezer Methodist Episcopal Church in Jacksonville on "Protection, How to Get It, How to Keep It, and the Attitude of the Administration toward the Negro Race." He advised the blacks to remain in the South and promised that he would show them fair treatment. Robinson declared that the governor's address was so successful in slowing

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9. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 29, August 4, December 15, 17, 1916.

10. Hugh E. Miller to E. C. Weeks, January 18, 1893, Weeks Family Papers, M74-22, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee; R. R. Robinson, "Don't You Want to Check Colored Laborers Leaving the South for the North?" Chief Clerk's Files, Records of the Department of Labor, Record Group 174, National Archives, Washington.

the tide of migration that \$10,000 had been redeposited with Anderson, Tucker and Company, a local Negro bank, by people who had withdrawn their money in preparation for departure.¹¹

To bring together the laborers and the "larger interests using labor," Robinson obtained Catts's agreement to speak at the Negro Masonic Temple in Jacksonville on September 14. A large crowd of blacks assembled there along with several white business and industrial leaders. There were several speakers, but Catts was the star attraction. In introducing the governor, Robinson explained the purpose of the National Colored Protective Association of Florida and suggested that committees composed of "leading white men" and an equal number of "sensible negroes" be organized in every Florida county to settle all disputes where blacks were involved. Such a policy, he declared, would "clear the jails and negro labor for the white man would be protected and the old-time good feeling that prevailed years ago . . . would be resumed and further exodus discontinued."¹²

Catts's address was entitled "What God Has Done for the Colored Race and the Attitude of the Administration." It revealed the ambivalence of this exuberant evangelist who genuinely wished to help the little people of Florida but who was also a white man in a community where blacks were believed to be inferior. He solemnly proclaimed that at the beginning of things whites occupied the colder climates and "the descendants of Ham" moved into the hot zones of the earth. He urged Negroes to remain in the warm climate where the "Creator had put (them)." After admonitions regarding morality, economy, and the need to plant victory gardens, the governor closed "with an eloquent peroration for unity of all people and races in the great state of Florida." With typical candor he told his audience that many turpentine and lumber operators had asked him to make the address "to help checkmate further exodus of labor from the state." It was also announced at the gathering that Robinson had been appointed assistant probation officer for Duval County "to work among the colored people only."¹³

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11. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 28, 29, 30, 1917; Jacksonville *Florida Metropolis*, June 27, 29, 1917; Robinson, "Colored Laborers," RG 174, NA.

12. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, September 15, 1917.

13. Ibid.

Catts showed his interest in black citizens in other ways. When Jacksonville Negro leaders proposed the raising of a military regiment, Catts endorsed the idea, although he recommended that they choose at least three white officers "for the protection they would give."¹⁴ After the selective service began registering blacks for compulsory service, the army was reluctant to call them up. Catts supported the black cause much to the chagrin of the war department as well as several southern congressmen. When he and United States Senator Duncan Fletcher appealed to the war department, they were told that blacks were not being called because the problem of segregation of the races "had been most difficult." An early solution of the problem was promised, however, and within a month after Catts's intervention, the first black Floridians were ordered to report for duty.¹⁵

While the governor was characteristically employing direct action to serve his constituents who desired military service, he was indirectly exacerbating the problem of the labor shortage which had been threatening since blacks began leaving the state in 1916. Shipyards in Jacksonville, training camps in several localities, and growing port facilities created new demands for workers. More labor was also needed by the forest industries and agricultural enterprises which were expanding their production in behalf of the war effort. Where such influential politicians as former Governor Napoleon Bonaparte Broward and incumbent Congressman Frank Clark had once advocated sending blacks "back to Africa," Florida employers were now complaining of labor shortages and the unfair tactics of northern corporations who were enticing their work force away.

As the nation mobilized for war, the United States Employment Service was established to assist in placing workers in defense work jobs. The Florida office was in Jacksonville with Robert Gamble in charge. It was his duty to locate enough available workers to fill monthly quotas levied by the national office. When a severe shortage of skilled laborers occurred, he and Senator Fletcher were able to establish an industrial training school in Jacksonville so that unskilled workers could be trained. Some women were also able to find work in the shipyards because

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14. *Ibid.*, April 2, 1917.

15. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, February 27, March 16, 1918.

of the shortage.¹⁶ The demand for defense workers made the Florida labor problem even more acute and caused greater concern among the lumber and turpentine interests. Suwannee County farmers also complained that so many blacks had left the area that they would be unable to gather the crops in 1918. Citrus and vegetable producers in peninsular Florida were also faced with severe labor shortages. To alleviate that problem, Professor P. H. Rolfs of the University of Florida who was serving as chairman of the Florida State Council for National Defense, obtained assistance from Congressman Clark and Senator Fletcher to have the immigration rules changed so that Bahamian laborers could be brought into the state. Upon payment of a head tax, the Department of Labor was authorized to issue permits for their importation during 1918 and early 1919.¹⁷

With large numbers of rural blacks finding employment in northern factories for the first time, many southern employers were wondering if their labor supply was not being drained off permanently. To make full use of available manpower for the war effort, the labor department established an agency to deal with problems arising from the migration. The Division of Negro Economics had as its head Dr. George E. Haynes, professor of sociology and economics at Fisk University and a secretary of the National Urban League. Field agents were attached to employment service offices in the states. The Division of Negro Economics' purpose was to promote "good feeling between the races" by resolving misunderstandings which might arise between blacks and whites in their new relationships. Its work was to be initiated by conferences held in the cooperating states to organize biracial workers' advisory committees in counties and cities. The field organization was shortly working in twelve northern and southern states which had been most affected by the migration of blacks. With both Governor Catts and Dr. Haynes present, a large group of blacks and whites met in Jacksonville in July 1918, and adopted plans for organizing a state Negro workers' advisory

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16. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 29, September 14, 1918; Wayne Flynt, *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher* (Tallahassee, 1971), 109.

17. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, March 19, 1918; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 20, 1918, January 19, February 26, 1919; *New York Age*, February 1, 1919.

committee. Under the auspices of the state Council of National Defense, as well as the United States Employment Service, its goal was to promote better working relations between white employers and black employees. W. A. Armwood, a black drug store owner and school principal from Tampa, was named supervisor of the Division of Negro Economics for Florida. He would travel around the state representing the new agency.¹⁸

By early September 1918, all fifty-four of Florida's counties and the cities of Jacksonville, Tampa, Miami, and Pensacola had established biracial committees.¹⁹ In his speeches and in letters to Dr. Haynes, Governor Catts expressed his willingness to cooperate with the Division of Negro Economics to make its work successful in Florida.²⁰ Headed by President N. B. Young of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College, the state committee, with subordinate groups in all the counties and major cities, operated much as the committees previously suggested by R. R. Robinson and his National Colored Protective Association. In its first few months of operation, the division was successful.²¹ As the labor shortage continued and the emphasis on work as a patriotic duty accelerated, several newspapers carried reports that some Negro women were quitting their jobs and living on allotments they were receiving from their husbands in the armed services. There were discussions of the need for compulsory work laws. To counter this course of action, President Young called a meeting of the state workers' advisory committee for Ocala in November 1918. An investigation showed that the allotment problem was not serious but that many blacks still did not understand the increased necessity to work. The committee adopted a program of cooperation between white employers, Negro churches, lodges, and local chapters of the Negro Business League to promote better understanding of the need to work "and to remove the discontent of workers" so that they would be more willing to help in producing war supplies and food. The Ocala conference was praised for its efforts to remedy the

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18. George E. Haynes, *The Negro at Work During the World War and During Reconstruction* (Washington, 1921), 12-14, 65.

19. Jacksonville *Florida Metropolis*, September 12, 1918.

20. Haynes, *Negro at Work*, 64; *Chicago Defender*, November 9, 1918.

21. *New York Age*, December 21, 1918; Department of Labor, *Annual Report* (Washington, 1918), 113.

labor shortage without having to resort to plans of compulsory labor.²²

Then, just as it appeared that there was growing harmony between the races as well as between laborers and employers, the war ended in Europe. Rapid demobilization and the cutback on military contracts quickly reversed the demand for laborers, and by early 1919 it became apparent that there would be an increasing surplus of skilled workmen in Florida. At the same time, however, demand for timber, turpentine, and agricultural workers-jobs usually filled by blacks-remained high. The employment service estimated that about 3,000 black laborers were needed in Florida's forests and fields in early 1919. The war department had already agreed to lend its aid in solving the problem. Most returning servicemen were discharged at Fort Dix, New Jersey, but the military decided instead to muster out all blacks in their home states. The *Indianapolis Freeman* saw this as a measure to "insure a normal distribution of the Negroes to meet labor conditions in southern states."²³

Several developments in early 1919 exacerbated the labor problem. Rising prices, alarm over the numerous strikes and accompanying violence, race riots even in northern cities where such disruptions had heretofore seldom occurred, fear that Communism had or might permeate the American labor movement, and increasing harassment of whites against blacks caused anxiety and resentment. The harmony and good will which had seemed to be developing just a few months earlier now began to decline.

Negro newspapers such as the *Chicago Defender*, the *Indianapolis Freeman*, and the *New York Age* continued to urge southern blacks to migrate northward, and those who had already gone north to remain there now that the war was over. They understandably condemned the violence and lynchings in the South. Although these papers, and most others published by blacks at the time, limited their criticisms to the denial of civil and human rights to blacks, while supporting the American political system, the criticisms angered many white Southerners. The only important journal to attack American institutions and

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22. *Ocala Star-Banner*, November 29, 1918; *Chicago Defender*, November 9, 1918.

23. *Indianapolis Freeman*, December 14, 1918; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, January 4, 23, 29, February 2, 9, 25, 1919.

propose radical alterations was the *New York Messenger*, edited by A. Philip Randolph. Even black Jacksonville residents who remembered him as a youth growing up in their city were shocked at his editorials and denounced them vigorously.²⁴

Resentment toward the Negro press and alarm that Florida blacks were reading these papers, concern over the likelihood of further loss of their labor supply, and reaction to the general social unrest all over the nation caused white Floridians in 1919 to focus their frustrations on the Division of Negro Economics and its field representative, W. A. Armwood. Viewing unionization of labor as radical, dangerous, and something to be resisted, several lumber operators who belonged to the Georgia-Florida Sawmill Association noted that Armwood was traveling around the state speaking to numerous groups of black laborers. They asked him to use his influence to keep those working in the forest industries from joining unions. Armwood politely explained that he was a government official and was obliged to remain neutral. His protestation of neutrality convinced the lumber men that Armwood was actually a union advocate who was secretly urging the blacks to unionize. In early 1919 the Georgia-Florida Sawmill Association launched a campaign to have Armwood removed from Florida on the grounds that his activities were injurious to peace and harmony. They were able to persuade Gideon B. Travis, who had replaced Robert Gamble as director of the United States Employment Service in Florida, that Armwood was guilty, and he recommended that he be dismissed. Dr. Haynes, however, managed to counteract this action with the explanation that Armwood's mission was to work toward improving employee-employer relations and that of necessity he had to travel to where the laborers lived.²⁵

Both Congressman Herbert Jackson Drane and Senator Fletcher were asked by M. J. Scanlon of the Brooks-Scanlon Corporation, a Minnesota-based firm with large operations in Florida, to assist them in forcing Armwood to leave the state. In addition to the unionizing charge, Scanlon also accused Armwood of spreading "inflammatory literature." About the same

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24. Levy, *James Weldon Johnson*, 192; Jervis Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait* (New York, 1972), 118.

25. George E. Haynes to William B. Wilson, March 22, 1919, Chief Clerk's Files, Department of Labor, RG 174, NA.

time a Mr. Ward, auditor of the Georgia-Florida Sawmill Association, called on the Secretary of Labor and made the same charge. Dr. Haynes was called in to confer with Ward. Armwood and N. B. Young were in Washington at the time, and they were invited to join the conference. The three black leaders explained that the Division of Negro Economics had been originated at the call of Governor Catts, that white citizens from every county served on the local committees, that Armwood was and always had been under the direct supervision of the Florida director of the United States Employment Service, and that his sole mission was to promote understanding. This was not enough for Ward; he still wanted Armwood and the agency withdrawn from Florida.²⁶

Shortly afterward, Scanlon arrived in Washington to take personal charge of the matter. In a friendly interview Haynes apparently explained to Scanlon's satisfaction that his agency had no other purpose than to improve cooperation and good will between white employers and black employees, and insofar as possible, to alleviate difficulties between black and white employees. The lumberman agreed to arrange a meeting of the executive board of the Georgia-Florida Sawmill Association in Jacksonville so that Haynes could address its members on the controversial issue.²⁷

Haynes went to Jacksonville, but in the interim other difficulties arose. By January 1919 the United States Employment Service was locating about 1,200 returning servicemen per month in Florida and was beginning to experience difficulty in finding jobs for all veterans desiring them. Meanwhile, the shortage of agricultural, lumber, and turpentine workers continued despite the war department's policy of discharging black servicemen in their home states. Then it was announced that the employment service would be demobilized by April 1. The Division of Negro Economics would be continued but reassigned to another branch of the labor department. In reporting this change, the Jacksonville *Florida Metropolis* led a new attack on Armwood. The paper claimed that the employment service was being discontinued just as the difficulty of finding jobs for returning white soldiers and

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26. Report on Negro Economics in Florida, Division of Negro Economics, Department of Labor, RG 174, NA.

27. Haynes to M. J. Scanlon, March 7, 1919, in *ibid.*

sailors was increasing, while the "service which looks to the welfare of negroes" was being continued.²⁸

Secretary of Labor W. B. Wilson continued to receive complaints of Armwood's distribution of "extremely radical racial literature" and the alleged "secret organizations" which were being formed as a result. He ordered Haynes to send one white and one black investigator to "quietly investigate the alleged activities of our representative in this connection." Without his knowledge, the two men retraced Armwood's path across Florida, questioning employers and employees about his activities. They found no evidence to support the allegations, but there was reason to believe that he had helped to improve race relations. Several lumber operators acknowledged that the misleading newspaper article was the cause of most of the resentment toward the Division of Negro Economics.²⁹

This report did not stop the controversy. Ward continued his complaints of Armwood to Washington. Senator Fletcher contacted the labor department declaring his concern at the amount of mail he was receiving on the subject. Secretary Wilson and Dr. Haynes decided to seek advice from Governor Catts and Robert Gamble. Telegrams were sent to both men on March 22, 1919, explaining the errors in the *Metropolis* article and reiterating the stated purpose of the Division of Negro Economics. The telegrams asked if the continuance of the division in Florida would have any effect other than the promotion of good will and co-operation between whites and blacks. There is no record of Gamble's reply, but Governor Catts's answer caused the national government to decide to withdraw the Division of Negro Economics from the entire South. Southern states would be left to handle their own affairs as had been done forty-two years earlier after the Hayes-Tilden election dispute of 1876.³⁰

Catts was being beleaguered on several fronts at this time, but the labor situation was causing him particular difficulty. Race relations had degenerated markedly since 1917. Blacks were beginning to speak out in Florida, as well as through their national press, against their mistreatment by state and local governments dominated by white men. In early January 1919, R. E. S.

28. Jacksonville *Florida Metropolis*, March 15, 1919.

29. Report on Negro Economics in Florida, RG 174, NA.

30. Haynes to Governor Catts, March 22, 1919, in *ibid*.

Toomey, a black attorney from Miami, had organized a state-wide Negro Uplift Association to advocate improvement of schools for black children, admission of Negroes to juries, and desegregation of public facilities such as railroad depot waiting rooms. With R. G. Lee serving as president and S. H. Savage as secretary, the Uplift Association scheduled a convention at Ocala on April 23. The association decided to send a committee to call upon the legislature when it convened. When its representatives began addressing a legislative committee, state Senator J. B. Johnson of Live Oak interrupted the reading of their petition. Moving that it not be heard, Johnson said that the proposal was obnoxious because it referred to blacks as Doctor, Mrs., Reverend, and Lieutenant. The clerk was prevented from entering the petition in the record of legislative proceedings, and the committee was subsequently ignored.³¹

Catts explained that he had no control over the legislature's conduct, but his own antipathy toward Negroes who forgot their traditional roles was revealed in another way. At about the same time he received the telegram asking for advice on the Division of Negro Economics, he was engaged in a quarrel with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It was the policy of the NAACP to notify governors when lynchings occurred in their states and to ask them to help bring the culprits to justice. Two lynchings had occurred in Florida in March 1919. After shooting a night watchman at Greenville, Joe Walker had been taken from arresting officers on the way to the Madison County jail and was shot to death by a mob. Bud Johnson, accused of raping a white woman near Pace, was removed from the Escambia County sheriff's custody and was burned to death.³²

John R. Shillady, white secretary of the NAACP, urged Catts to see that the guilty persons were punished. The governor was furious. Although he had tried to prevent such things from happening in Florida, it would be impossible to bring the

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31. Committee members were the Reverend J. A. Gregg, Duval County; Reverend H. Y. Tookes, Madison County; Reverend S. H. Betts, Jackson County; Dr. W. G. Wilson, Marion County; R. G. Lee, Palm Beach County; Reverend J. W. Robinson, Bradford County; and C. C. Manigault, Duval County. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, February 4, 1919; *Chicago Defender*, May 10, 14, 1919; *New York Age*, May 10, 1919.

32. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 19, 1919; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, March 14, 1919.

lynchers to trial. "When a Negro brute or white man ravishes a white woman in the state of Florida there is no use having the people, who see that this man meets death, brought to trial, even if you could find who they are, the citizenship [*sic*] will not stand for it." Catts then took issue with Shillady's assertion that burning a person to death was a horrible act: "Your Race is always harping on the disgrace it brings to the state by a course of white people taking revenge for the dishonoring of a white woman, when if you would spend one-half the time that you do, in giving maudlin sympathy, to teaching your people not to kill our white officers and disgrace our white women, you would keep down a thousand times greater disgrace." Warming to his subject, Catts added that he did not like "the tone of your telegram," and, while he had "tried to be fair to your people at all times," he did not believe in "such maudlin sentiment" as that revealed in Shillady's message. Shocked at the governor's response, Shillady retorted that had he not read the words himself, he could not have believed that "you as governor of a great state find it possible to apologize for burning at the stake." The NAACP felt that justification of lynching by pleading the wickedness of the crime was not the way to uphold the law. Although the distinction was probably not important to the governor, Shillady cautioned that, "incidentally, I do not happen to be a Negro myself."³³

Embroidered with the NAACP over the lynchings, with the Negro Uplift Association convention at Ocala pending, and under pressure from the Georgia-Florida Sawmill Association members, Catts was in a poor frame of mind to receive a telegram on March 22 from the Department of Labor. After a brief investigation of the problem the governor telegraphed Secretary Wilson that the Division of Negro Economics should be discontinued. When Armwood visited the governor in Tallahassee and protested his recommendation, Catts held meetings at Jacksonville and De Funiak Springs to obtain additional opinions of white Floridians regarding the issue. Reassured in his earlier recommendation, he warned the Secretary of Labor that "unless the denunciatory editorials being published by several negro papers . . . against the white people of the South, inflaming the

33. Catts to John R. Shillady, March 13, 1919, and Shillady to Catts, March 23, 1919, quoted in *Chicago Defender*, April 19, 1919.

minds of negroes against the white people of Florida, is not stopped, and the Bureau of Home Economics for negroes [*sic*] discontinued, it will cause more trouble." He reminded the secretary that "the white people of the South had a great deal of trouble in the old Reconstruction days with the scallawag negro officers and white carpetbagger officers, who came down to rule over them."³⁴ Catts wanted "the inflamed editorials, coming out in Negro papers from the North and West" to be suppressed. Secretary Wilson explained that he had no authority to stop publication of newspapers and that there was no agency known as the "Bureau of Home Economics for Negroes," but only the Division of Negro Economics. Undaunted by such fine points, Catts replied that "regardless of what the work is called, it will be deeply resented by the white people . . . if a negro is employed and sent through Florida doing this work and at the same time (you) cut out the white officials employed by your Department." Wilson then suspended the division in Florida, the only state where it had encountered any difficulty.³⁵

Although he had projected himself as the friend and benefactor of Florida blacks when he first assumed office in 1917, Catts had by early 1919 become the staunch defender of white supremacy because "war conditions have so changed the negroes in the South." On March 4, 1919, he had attended a Washington conference called to try to improve the field operations of the Division of Negro Economics. But when Wilson called a conference in late April - after the exchange of letters in which Catts recommended discontinuance of the division and after his encounter with Shillady of the NAACP - to try to resolve the division's mounting difficulties, Catts appointed W. W. Phillips, a legislator from Lake City, to represent him.³⁶

With representatives from every southern state present, the conference soon showed that most of their regional neighbors agreed with white Floridians about the migrations of blacks to the North as well as the need to discontinue the Division of Negro Economics. A plan was agreed upon to withdraw all the division's field representatives and to allow the states to conduct

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34. Catts to William B. Wilson, April 7, 1919, RG 174, NA.

35. L. F. Post to Catts, April 16, 1919; Catts to Wilson, April 22, 1919, Chief Clerk's Files, Department of Labor, RG 174, NA.

36. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, April 22, 1919.

whatever employment services they chose. The Washington office would continue merely as a clearing house for laborers who moved from one state to another.

Phillips became a member of a committee to draft proposed legislation by which Congress was asked to authorize the states to handle their own labor problems. Florida newspapers praised Phillips for ridding the state of the "Negro Labor Bureau Man." Congress did not appropriate funds for the division, but Secretary Wilson managed to continue it from emergency funds in its diminished capacity. Haynes remained as director, but he had no field staff. The agency ended with the expiration of President Woodrow Wilson's term.³⁷

Race relations continued to deteriorate throughout 1919, and labor shortages in the lumber industry and migration of blacks from the state remained major problems and the cause of continuing bad feeling in Florida. At its annual meeting in Pensacola in June, the Georgia-Florida Sawmill Association again called attention to the difficulty of its members in meeting demands for lumber because of their inability to find enough workers.³⁸

The Chicago Chamber of Commerce was apparently concerned that the demobilization of defense industries would leave their city with unemployed Negroes recently arrived from the South. The Chamber telegraphed their counterparts in several southern states: "Are you in need of Negro labor? Large surplus here, both returned soldiers and civilian Negroes, ready to go to work." Both chambers of commerce and individual business men, especially from Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi, responded, but Negro newspapers advised their readers not to be misled by latter-day promises of fair treatment. The *Chicago Defender* suggested that one plan was "to get the people back, get them declared vagrants by the courts and then immediately pay their fines and put them to work under the peonage system."³⁹ Although it was this kind of editorial which had so enraged Florida employers and governing officials, it was not without foundation. The 1919 Florida legislature had enacted a

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37. Ibid., April 29, 1919; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 29, 1919; Department of Labor, *Annual Report* (Washington, 1920), 41.

38. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 21, 1919.

39. *Chicago Defender*, May 3, 17, 1919.

law which provided the legal basis for a similar and equally effective plan. Anyone who agreed to perform labor and then failed to live up to his promise would be guilty of a misdemeanor and subject to a fine up to \$500. Failure to perform constituted prima facie evidence of fraud. Under this statute, an employer could interpret many acts to mean failure to perform.⁴⁰

The *Defender* editorialized that the same people who "proclaimed but yesterday that we were a nuisance, a problem, and retarded the growth of their section" were "now bidding for us to come back." But if the South wanted the blacks to return, the paper continued, "let it tame its white savages, let there be a rigid and equal enforcement of the laws. No man can feel safe in any section that has one law for one class and one law for another. One can scarcely pick up a daily paper without reading of some dastardly exhibition of savagery on the part of the lawless white element of the South. Still they are asking us to return. . . . Like any other human beings, we want schools for our children, protection for our wives and daughters and safety for ourselves."⁴¹ A few days later the *Defender* carried an editorial entitled, "Laborers are Wanted Where There is no Lynching and Burning."⁴²

Governor Catts and the Georgia-Florida Sawmill Association were joined by others who called for the suppression of this "radical racial literature." In early September 1919 Congressman James F. Byrnes of South Carolina denounced several Negro newspapers as seditious and in violation of the espionage law. "These radical leaders are urging their followers to resort to violence in order to obtain privileges they believe themselves entitled to, and the recent riots indicate that they are accepting this advice."⁴³ Alabama Congressman John McDuffie asked Postmaster General Albert Burleson to deny the mails to these newspapers.⁴⁴ President Wilson finally felt obliged to announce that no such action could be taken.⁴⁵

For James Weldon Johnson, two lynchings in Jacksonville in mid-September 1919, measured the deterioration in race relations

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40. *Laws of Florida*, 1919, 286.

41. *Chicago Defender*, May 17, 1919.

42. *Ibid.*, May 24, 1919.

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Indianapolis Freeman*, October 18, 1919.

45. *Chicago Defender*, May 24, 1919.

in his native state. Two blacks, in jail for murder, were taken out by a mob, shot to death, and then left in the streets of the Jacksonville business district. Johnson lamented: "Jacksonville is the birthplace of the writer. For many years it was known as a most liberal city for colored people. We have received a number of letters from colored residents of the city. One . . . is taken up entirely with the shame of the city. We have no doubt that there are many of the older colored residents of Jacksonville who are as much pained by the fact that their city has been thus disgraced as they are at the fact of the lynching itself."⁴⁶

For Johnson, the one redeeming fact was a resolution by the Jacksonville Chamber of Commerce declaring that the city was not a "lynch law community," and that "in no instance has lynch law prevailed in Duval County during the memory of the oldest inhabitant."⁴⁷ But six weeks later Johnson's *New York Age* carried an editorial entitled "Terrorism is Playing a Big Part in the South Today." Respected black residents of several southern cities, he noted, were being driven from their homes, and "from Jacksonville, Florida, comes the rumor that a number of leading colored men of that city have been notified that they must go."⁴⁸

In July 1920, several white men drove a car through the "colored section" of Miami and tossed out a dynamite bomb. Its explosion brought forth 3,000 indignant blacks and the entire police force. The mayor called out the American Legion at midnight and by daybreak 400 armed men were patrolling the streets.⁴⁹ Lynchings and similar violence continued in other southern states. The *Indianapolis Freeman* declared that "there is another mighty exodus of the colored people on from the South. It is not economic this time, . . . but due to an epidemic of intimidation and lynching."⁵⁰

The violence was climaxed with a pitched battle at Ocoee near Orlando in Orange County on election day, 1920. Two white men were killed and at least ten others wounded in a battle

46. *New York Age*, September 20, 1919.

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*, November 1, 1919; *Indianapolis Freeman*, September 20, 1919.

49. *Indianapolis Freeman*, July 31, 1920; Paul George, "Colored Town: Miami's Black Community, 1896-1930," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LVI (April 1978), 445-46.

50. *Indianapolis Freeman*, July 31, 1920. George B. Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1967), 154-55.

which destroyed the Negro section of the town. Harry White, an NAACP investigator, claimed that "July Perry and an unknown number of colored killed at the scene of the riot, 25 colored houses, 2 colored churches and a colored lodge destroyed by fire." He estimated that thirty people were killed in the fighting which lasted more than a full day.⁵¹ "A gruesome cremation scene was exposed to all . . . as the morning sun peeped over the smoke laden battlefield," according to one observer. The same reporter declared that "practically all of the colored residents in the vicinity of the place had left the region, mostly by foot, as there was no exodus by rail."⁵² There was irony resulting from the macabre event. After complaining of shortages of black laborers for several years, white citizens were obliged to harvest their citrus crops themselves since nearly all the blacks had been killed or driven away.⁵³ In a sense the Ocoee incident was a microcosmic example of the entire labor situation since 1916. On the one hand white Floridians were treating blacks so poorly that many felt forced to flee the state in order to survive, while on the other they were bemoaning the loss of what they had come to regard as a perpetual labor supply.

But few lessons were learned either from the Ocoee incident or from the other tragic events. The Ocoee incident was repeated on a slightly smaller scale when both blacks and whites were killed in a 1923 riot resulting in the dissolution of the community of Rosewood near Cedar Key. In the same year Sam Carter was lynched by a mob near Bronson because he had harbored a fugitive trying to escape from another mob, and Abe Wilson was hanged near Newberry after his conviction for cattle stealing.⁵⁴ At the same time, either the demand for lumber diminished sharply or the lumber operators had been exaggerating the labor shortage in the mills and forests. At its November 1920 convention at Tampa, the Georgia-Florida Sawmill Associa-

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51. *Indianapolis Freeman*, November 20, 1920; James Weldon Johnson to A. Mitchell Palmer, November 12, 1920, NAACP Papers, C-351, Library of Congress, Washington.

52. *Indianapolis Freeman*, November 20, 1920.

53. *Ibid.*, December 25, 1920.

54. Levy, *James Weldon Johnson*, 218-19; Tindall, *Emergence of the New South*, 155; *Literary Digest*, LXXVI (1923), 11-12; *New York Tribune*, January 3, 1923.

tion adopted a reduced wage scale which they declared the only alternative to closing the mills.⁵⁵

As Florida entered a period of phenomenal growth in the early 1920s, its black residents remained in a status not unlike that which they had endured before 1916. Anticipating large adjustment problems resulting from the hundreds of thousands of blacks moving into northern industrial areas during the war years, and with greater willingness to exert national governmental authority on behalf of the war effort, the newly established United States Department of Labor had created the Division of Negro Economics and charged it with the goal of resolving disputes between the races and between labor and management in the interest of all parties. It sent one black supervisor into each of several southern states to carry out this mission. Then, because of resistance from Florida and the shrill threats of Governor Catts, Washington recoiled immediately and withdrew from the field. This became the only example of the national government's intervention in the South in an area touching on racial affairs between the ending of Reconstruction in the late nineteenth century and the school desegregation activities of the 1950s.

Because of his personality and the way he had become governor, Sidney Catts emerged as a key figure in the controversy over black migration. While his actions toward blacks in 1917 and 1919 may at first appear contradictory, closer examination suggests that he was actually quite consistent. He was sincere when, in 1917, he told Jacksonville blacks that he intended to be governor of all Floridians and when he assisted Robert Raymond Robinson and his National Colored Protective Association in establishing committees to work toward better racial relations. But that sincerity was within the overarching limitation of white supremacy. Every action he had taken had been with the assumption that whites were superior to and different from blacks. His appointment of Robinson had been with the understanding that the black man was to deal only with the youth of his race. His insistence that blacks be called up for military service as a matter of right was done with the knowledge that they would be segregated from white soldiers. He had even recommended that their

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55. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, November 5, 1920.

militia unit elect some white officers because the latter could better represent them in a world where whites were in charge.

In 1919 Catts and his worried white constituents believed that their social system was being threatened. The governor felt compelled to defend the racial customs of his state, customs in which he firmly believed. His dealings with Director Haynes and Secretary Shillady showed that he considered himself the representative of white Floridians associating with the spokesmen for blacks-including black Floridians. For Catts and most of his white constituents, blacks were simply not part of the community of Floridians, except in the restricted, subservient role that was set aside for them.

KEY WEST AND THE CUBAN TEN YEARS WAR

by GERALD E. POYO *

ACTIVIST EMIGRE COMMUNITIES have always been a prominent factor in the Cuban historical experience. Because of its proximity to the island, Florida became a traditional gathering point for dissatisfied Cubans seeking to influence the political situation in their homeland.

When the final phase of the Cuban wars for independence erupted in 1895, emigres in Florida were in the forefront of organizing efforts, and the importance of their contribution in reinitiating hostilities against Spanish authority has been recognized in historical literature. Limited attention, however, has been focused on the Key West origins of the exile communities and the molding of their revolutionary tradition during the Cuban Ten Years War, 1868-1878. This period in Cuban history has been the subject of considerable scholarly research, but the role of Key West in its historical development has not been adequately detailed.¹

For Key West the independence struggle was a thirty-year endeavour and a constant factor in the daily life of the Cuban community of that city. It was during the first decade, however, that the independence ideal became firmly embedded in the consciousness of the tobacco workers, which allowed them to carry on after most others had despaired.

Cubans began their exodus to Key West at the outbreak of the independence war in October 1868. As the pro-Spanish *Voluntarios* imposed their authority in Havana, thousands departed and established the exile communities that eventually served as the vanguard for the independence movement.² The three major destination points within United States borders were

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1. See Ramiro Guerra, *Guerra de los Diez Años*, 2 vols. (Havana, 1972), for the most comprehensive account of the war.
2. New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, February 19, 1869.

New York, Key West, and New Orleans. Many of the emigrating Havana elite moved to New York, hoping to obtain support from wealthy and influential Cubans. Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, the initiator of the rebellion, was more than willing to turn over to them the diplomatic and expeditionary organizing tasks of the movement. Key West, on the other hand, became the congregating point for Cubans of more modest origins, the majority with middle and working class backgrounds.

The arrival of Cubans in Key West proceeded steadily. By 1870, they numbered approximately 1,100, and more continued to arrive weekly. In December 1871, the influx intensified as a result of an order by the captain-general requiring all natives to enlist with the Voluntarios or leave the island. By 1873 the Cubans in Key West constituted a majority of the population.³

One of the earliest arrivals was the Spanish tobacco capitalist Vicente Martinez Ybor, who had been involved in pro-independence conspiracies, but who had fortunately escaped before he was captured. High import duties on cigars and relatively low taxes on tobacco leaf made it advantageous for Ybor to reestablish his cigar enterprise in Key West. Shortly thereafter the New York based firm, Seidenberg & Co., opened a factory on the isle, thereby firmly establishing the foundations of the Florida cigar industry. Cigar making induced further immigration to Key West, molding the primarily working class character of the Cubans in the community.⁴

Usually, however, it was not members of the working class who became the community leaders. It was more affluent Cubans who were living in Key West primarily because of political persecution who began to organize the community, emphasizing a revolutionary orientation.⁵ These leaders included Jose Dolores Poyo and Juan Maria Reyes, both journalists from Havana. Poyo had worked for *La Gazeta de la Habana*, and Reyes had collabo-

3. United States Census Office, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, microfilm population schedules, Monroe County, Florida; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, December 12, 1871; Jacksonville *Tri-Weekly Florida Union*, January 10, 1874.

4. L. Glenn Westfall, "Don Vicente Martinez Ybor, the Man and His Empire: The Development of the Clear Havana Industry in Cuba and Florida in the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1977), 21-25; Willis Baer, *The Economic Development of the Cigar Industry in the United States* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1933), 106.

5. Manuel Deulofeu y Lleonaart, *Heroes del destierro. La emigracion: notas historicas* (Cienfuegos, 1904), 26.

rated with the noted reformist organ *El Siglo*. Because of their involvement in conspiratorial activities they were forced to abandon their homeland. In their capacities as *lectores* in the cigar factories, Poyo in the Martinez Ybor factory and Reyes with Seidenberg & Co., they propagandized for the revolution and aided in the organization of the Cuban community.

A sense of solidarity and common destiny emerged as more and more Cubans arrived in Key West. At first there were many jobs available in the newly-established cigar industry, but these were filled quickly, and the number of unemployed increased. When the steamers arrived from Havana, crowds waited on the docks to welcome the immigrants and to find homes for them.⁶ By February 1869, a benevolent society was organized to aid those in need of support, and during that month and the following, a Cuban-sponsored fair raised over \$3,000 to help the refugees.⁷ What became the symbolic institution representing the cohesiveness of the community, however, did not appear until late in 1871. On November 11, the Club San Carlos, named after Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, opened as a combination political, educational, and social institution. Generations of Cuban-Americans received their education at San Carlos, and the needy found security during periods of hardship. In 1879 the Key West Key *of the Gulf* observed, "The Cubans here not only provide for their poor, but educate them in a manner that others ought to emulate. The San Carlos Benevolent Association stands as a bright star in our city."⁸

Just as Cespedes recognized the advantage of establishing contacts with the Cubans in New York, he also took steps to insure the cooperation of his exiled compatriots in Key West. In early 1869, Ambrosio Valiente, an agent representing the revolutionary government, arrived in the city to aid in organizing the colony. Under his auspices Pedro Franchi Alfaro gained election as the official agent for the revolution in the community.⁹ Soon after, the Key West colony dispatched a company of forty-two men, the *Rifleros de la Habana*, to Nassau where they joined the

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6. Juan Perez Rolo, *Mis Recuerdos* (Key West, 1928), 9.

7. Luis Fernandez Marcane, *La vision grandiosa de Vicuna Mackenna* (Havana, 1943), 22-23; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, April 19, 1870; Key West *El Republicano*, January 22, February 26, March 5, 1870.

8. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, September 23, 1879.

9. Fernandez Marcane, *Vision grandiosa de Vicuna Mackenna*, 22-23.

Salvador expeditionary force. Organized by the New York junta, the expedition landed on the northern coast of Camaguey on May 13, initiating Key West's contributions to the Cuban independence struggle.¹⁰

The revolutionary effort gained additional structure in July 1869, when the *Asociacion Patriotica Cubana* was formed under the presidency of Franchi Alfaro. The organization proclaimed its intention to support the activities of the New York junta by collecting at least \$150 weekly. During the next year, the Cubans of Key West continued to demonstrate their enthusiasm by organizing other revolutionary clubs and organizations.¹¹

Throughout this period, the revolutionary press exerted important influence on the various Cuban communities in the United States. Key West was no exception, and a vigorous press there propagandized for the revolution. Founded by Juan Maria Reyes, *El Republicano* was the first of a series of Spanish-language newspapers that flourished in Key West. Reyes's publication became an important tool for the revolutionaries and established itself as the focal point for a community hungry for news about Cuba. *El Republicano* was not strictly speaking a newspaper, but more accurately a propaganda organ dedicated exclusively to furthering the cause of independence.

To reemphasize community support for the insurrection, on October 10, 1869, the first anniversary of the declaration of Cuban independence, a large gathering of Cubans and supporters assembled at the Key West cemetery, where they participated in ceremonies paying homage to their compatriot dead. Afterwards, the group, 1,200 strong, marched through the streets of the city to the *Ateneo Democratico Cubano* to listen to speeches by their leaders.¹² Such fervent demonstrations created tensions that sometimes resulted in violence and bloodshed. In July and October 1869 riots erupted involving pro-revolutionary Cubans and anti-insurgent elements made up of a substantial number of Spaniards.¹³

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10. Juan J. E. Casaus, *La emigracion cubana y la independencia de la patria* (Havana, 1953), 85.

11. *Ibid.*, 149-51.

12. Manuel Deulofeu y Lleonart, *Marti, Cayo Hueso y Tampa. La emigracion: notas historicas* (Cienfuegos, 1905), 38-51.

13. Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet* (Gainesville, 1974), 239.

Early in 1870, the political activism of the Cubans culminated in an incident that led to heightened passions against the Spanish and to greater determination to continue revolutionary organizing. Editor Reyes of *El Republicano* became involved in a polemic with the Havana-based Voluntario organ *La Voz de Cuba*, edited by Gonzalo Castanon. After exchanging insulting articles, Castanon travelled to Key West, having challenged Reyes to a duel. Shortly after his arrival, however, the Spaniard became involved in a fatal gun battle in the Russell House where he was staying. The subsequent arrest of several Cubans for his murder kept the city in a tense atmosphere, but when it became apparent that the events leading to Castanon's death were obscure and that there was no proof of the defendants' involvement, charges were dropped.¹⁴ Frustrated by the loss of their leader and intent on terminating the subversive activities of the Key West Cubans, the Voluntarios attempted to undermine the financial base of the community. They were able to intimidate Martinez Ybor and force him to close his cigar factory. *El Republicano* vehemently criticized Ybor's decision to yield to Spanish pressure and lamented the precarious situation of the 250 cigar makers left unemployed. Further indignation was expressed by the strongly pro-Cuban newspaper, the *New York Sun*; it sarcastically suggested that Key West be turned over to the Spanish if they were strong enough to force Ybor to shut down his operations.¹⁵ Voluntario efforts to disrupt the community were not successful; Key West continued to grow and revolutionary activities remained the primary pursuit of the exiled Cubans.

When the Ten Years War erupted, Cubans from all walks of life, from all regions of Cuba, and representing vastly divergent interests and attitudes joined the insurrectionary effort. This broad support for the movement made it difficult to define goals and tactics and to create the necessary harmony for a successful outcome. Although the rebellion established a strong foothold

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14. Juan Ignacio de Armas y Cespedes, *Combate de Russell House* (Nassau, 1870; facsimile edition, Havana, 1938); Luis F. LeRoy y Galvez, "La muerte de castanon, raiz de los sucesos de Noviembre de 1871," *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional Jose Marti* (May-August 1970), 37-70; Key West *El Republicano*, February 12, 1870.

15. Key West *El Republicano*, February 26, March 5, 1870.

on Cuban soil, by the end of 1869 it became clear that dissensions within revolutionary ranks threatened to undermine the effort. The initial source of controversy for the nascent republic-in-arms was Manuel de Quesada, commander-in-chief of the revolutionary armed forces. An aggressive individual with an authoritarian manner, Quesada alienated the primarily youthful, idealistic, and democratic members of the legislative body. Strictly a military figure, Quesada advocated centralizing power in order to carry on the revolution more effectively. In sympathy with Quesada's tactical considerations, President Cespedes was also criticized by the legislature. The first major confrontation between Cespedes and the legislature came in December 1869, when Quesada was removed from his position, initiating a struggle that created negative consequences for the rebellion.

Apart from these developments in Cuba, the New York Cuban community also succumbed to internal dissensions. Upon arriving in New York, that sector of the Havana elite supporting the rebellion gained the leadership of the exile revolutionary effort. Designated as the official representative of the government in the United States, a wealthy Havana planter, Miguel de Aldama, took charge of the New York junta known as the *Agencia General*. Controversy developed over the way in which the new arrivals allegedly usurped authority from the patriot junta already in operation. Division had deepened so much that by 1870 exiles were publicly airing their differences in extremely vehement terms.¹⁶

The disputes in Cuba and New York became intimately linked when General Quesada, with a special commission from President Cespedes, arrived in the United States to prepare an expeditionary force. Quesada's presence in the United States prompted another round of disputes, this time involving the general and the agency. The anti-Aldama elements supported Quesada, resulting in the establishment of two factions that battled throughout the Ten Years War. Cubans everywhere took sides, and in Key West in 1870, a Quesada faction emerged led by Jose D. Poyo who kept close contact with Carlos del Castillo,

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16. Cirilo Villaverde, *La revolucion de Cuba vista desde New York* (New York, 1869), reprinted in Comision Nacional Cubana de la UNESCO, *Cuba en la UNESCO: Homenaje a Cirilo Villaverde* (Havana, 1964), 26.



Jose Dolores Poyo y Estenoz, 1880. Photograph courtesy of the Felix A. Mesa family, Key West.



a leading supporter of Quesada in New York.¹⁷ Prior to arriving in New York in early 1870, Quesada had passed through Key West where he likely established contact with Poyo. The latter aided in the formation of the local *Club Patriótico Cubano* to ensure organized support for President Cespedes and General Quesada.¹⁸

By 1871, President Cespedes, realizing that the disruptions in the United States were seriously damaging the independence struggle, persuaded Vice-President Francisco Vicente Aguilera to go to New York to reunite the exiled Cubans. Arriving in September, Aguilera commissioned Jose Maria Izaguirre to travel to New Orleans, Key West, and Philadelphia as his special envoy, with the task of consolidating the revolutionary associations in each community. Izaguirre found the Key West colony willing to cooperate, and on November 17, 1871, the *Asociacion Patriotica del Sur* emerged as the organization representing a tenuously conciliated emigre population. Poyo became president of the association and also editor of *El Republicano*, to which he had been contributing since its inception. The newspaper was designated the official organ of the new organization.¹⁹

By 1872, the Cubans in Key West were not only involved in supporting the revolutionary movement in Cuba, but were also active in local and Monroe County politics. Jose Ramos, the official representative of the New York Agency in Key West, was elected as alderman on the city council in 1872. The Quesada faction, led by Poyo, argued that Ramos's official capacity as local agent of the Cuban revolution was incompatible with his new office.²⁰ Maybe Poyo felt that time expended on local political affairs would hurt rather than help the revolutionary cause. The Cubans in Monroe County, however, continued their active involvement in United States politics.²¹

17. Aleida Plasencia, ed., *Bibliografia de la Guerra de los Diez Anos* (Havana, 1968), 187.

18. Gerardo Castellanos y Garcia, *Motivos de Cayo Hueso* (Havana, 1935), 221.

19. Eladio Aguilera Rojas, *Francisco V. Aguilera y la revolucion de Cuba de 1868*, 2 vols. (Havana, 1909), I, 502; Castellanos y Garcia, *Motivos de Cayo Hueso*, 221; Casassus, *Emigracion cubana y la independencia de la patria*, 150-51.

20. Plasencia, *Bibliografia de la Guerra de los Diez Anos*, 187.

21. See Gerald E. Poyo, "Cuban Revolutionaries and Monroe County Reconstruction Politics, 1868-1876," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LV (April 1977), 407-22.

Despite the political differences within the Key West Cuban community, every attempt to raise expeditions met with an outpouring of enthusiasm. In August 1871, when news arrived of the landing in Cuba of Colonel Rafael de Quesada with arms and munitions for the rebel forces, 200 Cubans and their supporters paraded through the streets of the city.²² Two months later, Comandante Carlos Garcia arrived in Key West with a commission and \$4,000 from the New York Agency to fit out a small expedition for Vuelta Abajo. In the midst of the preparations, however, the Spanish consul discovered the plan and revealed it to the local authorities, inciting an angry mob to stone his home.²³ Enthusiasm did not wane, and shortly thereafter, when Melchor Aguero, another patriot who had recently taken one expedition to Cuba and was organizing another, arrived in the city, he was received warmly. All available funds were given to him. One Cuban resident raffled off some property and donated the proceeds to the filibusterer, and others gave clothes, shoes, and other items.²⁴

With the arrival of Aguilera in New York and the forging of stronger connections between the centers of revolutionary activity, Key West began to contribute to the independence movement in a more systematic manner. The *Asociacion Cubana del Sur* was the most important revolutionary organization. Mainly from contributions received from the tobacco workers, the association, by February 1872, was sending approximately \$700 monthly to New York. The other large society in Key West, *Obreros de la Libertad*, raised another \$250 per month. The contributions from Key West were considerably higher than those collected by the New York and New Orleans revolutionary organizations.²⁵

Patriots continued arriving in Key West and were warmly received. In May 1872, thirty Cubans carrying \$1,000 contributed by Key West citizens, departed for New York to join an expedition. Later that year, former chief of the Cuban revolutionary armed forces, General Thomas Jordan, visited Key West.

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22. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, August 12, 1871; Aguilera Rojas, *Francisco V. Aguilera*, I, 63.

23. Guerra, *Guerra de los Diez Anos*, II, 133.

24. Aguilera Rojas, *Francisco V. Aguilera*, I, 459.

25. *Ibid.*, I, 120, 183, 197.

The following year General Bernabe Varona, who commanded the forthcoming ill-fated *Virginus* expedition, was welcomed and "extensively feted by the Cuban refugees and citizens generally." It was reported that the community had "subscribed \$20,000 toward fitting out a new expedition," undoubtedly Key West's contribution to the launching of the *Virginus*.²⁶

In Cuba the political situation continued to deteriorate. Cespedes's decision to send Quesada to New York in 1870 was denounced by the legislature because they were not consulted in the matter; Aguilera's departure was viewed by some as Cespedes's manner of consolidating his own power in Cuba. When it became apparent that the vice-president could not conciliate the exile communities, however, the president recalled Aguilera and named Quesada the official representative in the emigration. This action evoked a strong reaction from the anti-Quesada legislature, as well as from Aguilera and the Aldama faction in New York. Political disagreements continued to rock the Cuban government, and in October 1873, the final confrontation between the executive and legislative bodies took place resulting in the constitutional removal of Cespedes from office.

Sometime later, in his capacity as editor of *El Republicano*, Poyo received official notification from acting-President Salvador Cisneros Betancourt of what had taken place. He informed Cisneros that these developments had not been well received in Key West and that he personally lamented such a "violently extreme" solution to the discords in Cuba.²⁷ One of the first measures taken by the new administration was the removal of Quesada from a position of authority in New York, replacing him with Aldama. Poyo's position as editor of *El Republicano* became untenable as Antonio Rios, a supporter of Aldama, assumed the presidency of the *Asociacion Patriotica del Sur* in February 1874. Another patriot, Federico de Armas, became the new editor of the Cuban newsweekly.²⁸

Although Quesada had lost his official capacity in New York, he was able nevertheless to launch the *Virginus* in December

26. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, May 21, 1872. August 26, November 25, 1873; Plasencia, *Bibliografia de la Guerra de los Diez Anos*, 187.

27. Raoul Alpizar Poyo, *Cayo Hueso y Jose Dolores Poyo: dos simbolos patrios* (Havana, 1947), 53-54.

28. Plasencia, *Bibliografia de la Guerra de los Diez Anos*, 188.

1873. Tragedy struck, however, for the ship fell into enemy hands, and the Spanish began systematically executing the expeditionaries. United States-Spanish relations neared the breaking point as naval vessels gathered at Key West to await the final rupture.²⁹ Excitement grew in that community, and there even were reports that the black population was "ready and willing to make war upon the Spanish butchers in Cuba."³⁰ Though "war fever" ran high, the executions in Cuba ceased, and the United States accepted Spanish offers of reconciliation.

Soon after his deposition, Carlos Manuel de Céspedes died in a Spanish ambush. Upon receiving news of this tragedy, Key West Cubans held religious services in his memory and "hundreds of ladies dressed in deep mourning added a melancholy interest to the scene."³¹

The death of Céspedes failed to alleviate the disunity. Besides personal rivalries and tactical considerations, regional jealousies and class antagonisms created divisions and animosities. There was much factional infighting in Key West. The Quesada group's position was strengthened with the arrival in Florida of Colonel Carlos Manuel de Céspedes y Céspedes, son of the late president. He and Poyo became closely associated, and they organized the *Comite Revolucionario Cubano* in April 1874 to counter the Aldama-controlled *Asociacion*.³²

Meanwhile in New York, Agent General Aldama and Aguilera, who would become president of the republic-in-arms upon arriving in Cuba, coordinated efforts to organize an expedition. Although anxious to return to his homeland to assume his office, Aguilera agreed to visit New Orleans and Key West with Hilario Cisneros, agency secretary, to raise funds and to try to unite the revolutionary groups. They arrived in February 1874, conferred with the Cuban community leaders, and were able to raise \$5,000 in the cigar factories. During his stay Aguilera also met with city and Monroe County dignitaries who praised the Cubans for their diligent work ethic and their respect for law and order. The mayor noted that although there had been

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29. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, December 16, 1873, January 6, 1874.

30. *Ibid.*, December 9, 1873.

31. Jacksonville *Tri-Weekly Florida Union*, May 28, 1874.

32. Plasencia, *Bibliografía de la Guerra de los Diez Años*, 188; Casassus, *Emigración cubana y la independencia de la patria*, 153.

a large increase in the Cuban population, the city had not needed to increase the police force. This demonstrated, Aguilera felt, "the best proof of the morality of the Cubans." He found, however, that Cuban black residents had not participated in the revolutionary organizing efforts in Key West. He met with their leaders and assured them that the revolution was also in their best interests. Aguilera won their trust, and prior to his departure for New York, they held a banquet in his honor. The Cuban president left Key West satisfied that he had unified that community.³³

The cooperation between Aldama and Aguilera in New York rekindled the hopes of the exile communities. Expeditionary leaders continued to travel to Key West to raise funds for the revolution. Later Colonel Fernando Lopez de Queralta collected \$2,500 for the cause in Key West. Early in 1875, Colonel Juan Pacheco y Cespedes and Colonel Pio Rosado raised additional funds, and in March, the workers in the Ybor and Wolf tobacco factories sent more money to New York.³⁴

By mid-1874 the ever-present distrust and intrigue so characteristic of the exile communities again threatened to damage the rebellion. Now residing in Paris, General Quesada felt that it was imperative to dispatch an expedition as quickly as possible, and he offered Aguilera in New York \$21,000 to purchase a steamer. After a number of misunderstandings between Aguilera and Aldama concerning the terms under which they would accept Quesada's funds, preparations commenced in September to organize the enterprise which the President would command. As the official agent, Aldama carried the organizational responsibilities of the project, but by April of the following year he could still not announce a departure date.

Relations between the two men deteriorated, and Aguilera's anxiety about departing grew. Further tension developed during January and March as community differences were aired in the city's Cuban press and more partisan organizations formed. During the latter part of April, after two months of polemical

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33. Panfilo D. Camacho, *Aguilera, el precursor sin gloria* (Havana, 1951), 139-42; Casassus, *Emigracion cubana y la independencia de la patria*, 137; Francisco V. Aguilera, *Francisco Vicente Aguilera: epistolario* (Havana, 1974), 137-43; Plasencia, *Bibliografia de la Guerra de los Diez Anos*, 188.

34. Plasencia, *Bibliografia de la Guerra de los Diez Anos*, 189, 289.

disputes with Aldama, Aguilera decided to depart for Cuba on his own.³⁵

These dissensions in New York encouraged partisan politics in the Key West Cuban community. The news of Quesada's contribution to the New York Agency was congratulated and the cigar makers of the Ybor factory dispatched a message of gratitude to the general. The agency representative in Key West did what he could, however, to minimize the importance of the contribution. A struggle developed in December 1874, when Poyo attempted to regain control of the *Asociacion Patriotica del Sur* and *El Republicano*, but the incumbent president and editor, Federico de Armas, successfully resisted.³⁶

Relations between Armas and the Aldama group, however, grew strained also. In New York, Hilario Cisneros received complaints that Armas was publishing "socialist" articles in *El Republicano*, creating even greater controversy within the Key West community. In addition, local agent Carlos Diaz Silveria accused Armas of attempting to abolish the official agency in Key West and impose his own authority. Armas did not succeed in this endeavour, but he refused to cooperate with Diaz Silveria and left him isolated from the association's activities.³⁷ Community disunity reached alarming proportions, much to the detriment of the revolutionary effort in South Florida.

There were still other problems in Key West which aggravated the situation there. In September 1873, the national financial crisis and economic depression that enveloped the country brought havoc to the local cigar industry. The manufacturing had grown significantly since the arrival of Ybor in late 1868. During 1869-1870, annual production of cigars reached 8,250,000, and by 1873 output stood at 25,000,000. When Ybor came to Key West only a couple of small cigar establishments existed, but five years later fifteen factories were in operation. The economic dislocations that affected the industry during the latter part of 1873 caused factories to begin laying off employees, and the largest operation, Seidenbert & Co., reduced its labor force significantly.³⁸

35. Camacho, *Aguilera*, 139-61; Aguilera, *Francisco Vicente Aguilera*, 161-221.

36. Plasencia, *Bibliografia de la Guerra de los Diez Anos*, 189, 191.

37. *Ibid.*, 190-92.

38. Tallahassee *Sentinel*, September 17, 1870; *New York Times*, January 11, 1874; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, December 23, 1873.

Concerned about their welfare, the cigar makers organized the Cooperative Union of Cigar Makers.³⁹ The expected occurred in July 1875, as the factory owners announced a reduction in wages. A committee, which included Federico de Armas, promptly organized to lead a strike and initiated efforts to raise the necessary funds to ensure its success. The strike committee held a mass meeting which voted to request from Aldama \$2,000 for the strike fund. The official representative of the Cuban government in New York did not even acknowledge receipt of the request, increasing the general resentment toward him. Secretary Cisneros, however, forwarded to the committee \$77 that he had managed to raise in New York. By mid-August the strikers surrendered to the terms outlined by the factory owners, and the cigar makers returned to work. The remaining strike funds were given to Martin Herrera, president of San Carlos Club, for utilization by the school.⁴⁰

Unable to resolve their grievances with the factory owners, Key West Cubans renewed their interest in local politics. Cespedes announced his candidacy for mayor of the city, and with solid Cuban support he was elected to that office in October 1875. Although the Cuban community had involved itself in politics from the beginning, this was the first time that a Cuban had run for an important office and had won. The full effects and implications of this successful campaign would not become clear until the following year.⁴¹

After several unsuccessful attempts to land on the coast of Cuba during June through October 1875, Aguilera arrived in Key West en route back to New York. The president's failure to reach Cuba caused a great deal of disappointment and disillusionment among the exiles. There was more disheartening news when it was learned that Aldama's expedition, finally launched in late June, had fallen into the hands of authorities in Jamaica, thus failing to reach the rebel forces.⁴²

Aguilera, however, continued his efforts. In mid-November 1875, a commission representing him arrived in Key West, but they found that the series of failures had caused many to wonder

39. Jacksonville *New South*, July 18, 1874.

40. Plasencia, *Bibliografia de la Guerra de los Diez Anos*, 191.

41. Poyo, "Cuban Revolutionaries and Monroe County Reconstruction Politics," 417-22.

42. Plasencia, *Bibliografia de la Guerra de los Diez Anos*, 191, 289.

about the future of the revolution. The difficult economic situation and the low morale hampered the commission's work. Though they managed to collect \$1,200, Poyo informed Aguilera that the apathy and the general demoralization within the community made it difficult to raise the patriotic fervor of the populace.⁴³

Nevertheless, Aguilera planned his second attempt to reach Cuba. In April, accompanied by General Quesada and others, he embarked once again on a last desperate effort to assume the presidency of the republic-in-arms. But after five months of successive failures, Aguilera returned to New York, where he died early the next year.

The ineffectual activities of the exiles generally reactivated and intensified divisions in New York and Florida during the next year. In Key West, Cuban political successes achieved in 1875, spurred interest and involvement in the political campaign of 1876. To the detriment of the insurrection in their homeland, Cubans became embroiled in American politics.⁴⁴ In January, General Quesada arrived in Key West to raise funds, but not enough supporters could be rallied, and an insignificant sum was collected. Poyo founded a new paper, *La Igualdad*, to replace the defunct *El Republicano*, in an attempt to revive community commitment to the rebellion.⁴⁵ Throughout the year, however, Cuban energies were expended on United States politics, and the exile effort diminished to its lowest ebb since the outbreak of the rebellion eight years before.

Reinforcements, arms, and ammunition were critically needed by the patriot forces, and once again, the authorities turned to the emigre communities for support. President Tomas Estrada Palma commissioned General Julio Sanguily and his brother, Colonel Manuel Sanguily, to travel to the United States for the purpose of getting help. On the evening of March 11, 1876, Cubans gathered in New York to hear the representatives of the revolutionary government plead for unity, requesting the community to put aside partisan interests for the benefit of the

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43. Ibid., 192; Aguilera Rojas, *Francisco V. Aguilera*, I, 369.

44. Poyo, "Cuban Revolutionaries and Monroe County Reconstruction Politics," 417-22.

45. Aguilera, *Francisco Vicente Aguilera*, 247; Alpizar Poyo, *Cayo Hueso y Jose Dolores Poyo*, 61-62; Castellanos y Garcia, *Motivos de Cayo Hueso*, 221.

cause. They also outlined their plans to organize a large expeditionary force.⁴⁶

In the tradition of the previous eight years, the Sanguily brothers planned a visit to New Orleans and Key West, hoping to mobilize the generally cooperative tobacco workers. After the disheartening news earlier in 1876, the Florida exiles seemed once again ready to turn their attention to the problems of their homeland. At the annual bazaar, pamphlets of the Sanguily brothers' speeches delivered in Jamaica and New York sold well. Aldama received reports from Key West that promised renewed cooperation.⁴⁷

On July 3, after a stopover in New Orleans, General Sanguily and his brother docked at Key West. They were greeted enthusiastically by a large crowd who escorted them to their lodging. The general reprimanded the community for its partisan dissensions, and he reminded the populace that while they lived in relative comfort, their brothers in Cuba lacked even the basic essentials required to carry on the struggle. He asked them for greater sacrifices in order to guarantee the necessities for the insurrection. Responding vigorously, the cigar makers signed pledges for between \$10 and \$25, and manufacturers extended credit to be repaid during a four week interval. Before departing Key West the two leaders raised \$6,637.50 for their proposed expedition.⁴⁸

Meanwhile, disturbing reports regarding peace negotiations began filtering out of Cuba. The *New York Sun* carried an interview with a recent arrival from the revolutionary camp who denied the reports. The *Jacksonville Daily Sun and Press* also ran a denial by Jose Antonio Echeverria, the Cuban diplomatic agent in Washington, that a compromise peace was being sought.⁴⁹

Still skeptical of Aldama's ability to organize successful expeditionary forces, and noting that the Sanguilys had become associated with the agent general, others continued organizing

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46. Julio Sanguily, *Revolucion de Cuba. Discursos del Mayor General Julio Sanguily y el Coronel Manuel Sanguily. A la emigración cubana.* (New York, 1877).

47. Plasencia, *Bibliografía de la Guerra de los Diez Años*, 193.

48. Cuba, *Boletín del Archivo Nacional*, XX (1921), 125-26, 135-37.

49. *Ibid.*, XIX (1920), 71; *New York Sun*, October 10, 1877; *Jacksonville Daily Sun and Press*, October 21, 1877.

independently. Leoncio Prado, son of the president of Peru, was one of the young militant supporters who initiated an independent enterprise, hoping to reinvigorate the exile effort. Prado was in Key West in early February 1878, to confer with Poyo who agreed to become his agent in that city. Prado informed the workers that he needed funds to purchase a steamer that he intended to convert into a gun-boat. One thousand dollars was collected.⁵⁰

Rumors of impending peace negotiations in Cuba continued to circulate throughout the United States, but it was not until the last of February that it was learned that the Peace of Zanjón had been signed earlier that month, on February 12. The emigre groups in Key West and elsewhere reacted immediately to the news. In New York, Cubans protested the treaty and established a *Comite Revolucionario* to replace agents Aldama and Echeverria who had resigned their positions after receiving news of the pact. Spirits lifted somewhat when notification arrived that the noted Cuban insurgent Antonio Maceo had rejected the peace and that a new revolutionary government had been created to carry on the fight.⁵¹

Community leaders in Key West worked to keep the revolutionary ideal alive. On March 11, 1878, Cespedes called a meeting to protest the Zanjón Treaty, raise additional funds, and enlist men for the revolutionary army.⁵² Later that month, Prado, now a prominent member of the *Comite* in New York, arrived for a brief Key West visit on his way to Nassau. In order to protect revolutionary activities in the city, Prado arranged to make Poyo the Peruvian consul. Then, with diplomatic immunity, the revolutionaries could store arms in Poyo's residence.⁵³ The *Comite Revolucionario de Cayo Hueso*, with Cespedes as president and Poyo undertaking secretarial duties, was formed to replace the *Asociacion del Sur* as the official revolutionary club in Key West. Since the Cuban press had not survived the internal strife that struck the community in 1876, Poyo established a new

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50. Alpizar Poyo, *Cayo Hueso y Jose Dolores Poyo*, 56-57; *Boletin del Archivo Nacional*, VIII (1909), 96.

51. *Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Publicaciones, Documentos para servir la historia de la Guerra Chiquita*, 3 vols. (Havana, 1949-1950), I, 3-4.

52. *Boletin del Archivo Nacional*, VIII, 98.

53. Alpizar Poyo, *Cayo Hueso y Jose Dolores Poyo*, 62.

journal for the cause, *El Patriota*. In it were printed the resolutions adopted by the newly-formed insurgent organization.⁵⁴

Enthusiasm in favor of Cuban independence continued in Key West, and when the community received notice of a rebel military victory in early May, there was great rejoicing. According to one Florida paper, "Some 2,000 Cubans formed in procession with torchlights, banners and flags, and headed by a brass band marched through the streets bearing a coffin containing the Spanish peace proclamation." After the procession, the crowd gathered at San Carlos Hall, and "a number of speeches were delivered which were highly applauded and which . . . show the determination of all patriots to fight to the death for independence."⁵⁵

The general economic situation, however, made it increasingly difficult to retain the undivided attention of the tobacco workers. Although the cigar industry had expanded during these years, and would continue to do so, a recession had set in which damaged the financial base of the exile community. In February the depressed situation forced the cancellation of the annual San Carlos bazaar.⁵⁶ During April, Poyo sent the Comité in New York \$925 collected for the cause, but apologized for not being able to send the full \$2,000 requested. He cited the "almost general and unexpected paralización of work here."⁵⁷ By mid-May the cigar factories had laid-off approximately two-thirds of their labor force, and unemployment in Key West had reached 5,000. Throughout April and May many Cubans departed for Havana, hoping to find employment there, but the situation was no better and the exodus ceased.⁵⁸

The determined efforts by the Key West community to keep the insurrection alive slowly dwindled as news arrived from Cuba in early June 1878 that the provisional government could no longer hold out and had submitted to the peace treaty. The Ten Years War came to an end.

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54. Archivo Nacional, *Documentos para servir la historia de la Guerra Chiquita*, I, 7; Castellanos y García, *Motivos de Cayo Hueso*, 221.

55. *Jacksonville Daily Sun and Press*, May 12, 1878.

56. Plasencia, *Bibliografía de la Guerra de los Diez Años*, 193.

57. Archivo Nacional, *Documentos para servir la historia de la Guerra Chiquita*, I, 7.

58. *Jacksonville Daily Sun and Press*, May 5, 15, 25, 1878; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, April 30, May 21, 1878.

Morale among the tobacco workers in Key West remained low throughout the summer. During the early part of July, labor disputes resulted in a strike that became so aggravated that the cigar makers threatened to depart for Havana en mass.⁵⁹ Disillusioned with the emigre leaders, the workers demanded that the New York Comite return the money collected by Julio Sanguily the previous year since no expedition had ever departed.⁶⁰ For the tobacco workers, a moral and financial bulwark of the emigre effort during the Ten Years War, the events of the last six months were disturbing. Their economic security was endangered, and the decade-long commitment to Cuban independence seemed lost. The spirit that had sustained them in the past was not totally extinguished, however. No exodus to Havana developed, and since the independence ideal was still not achieved, conspiratorial activities continued.

On the afternoon of August 4, a group gathered at Poyo's home to establish a secret organization whose function included seeking Cuban freedom and propagating the principles of "Liberty, Fraternity and Union." The *Orden del Sol*, as it was designated, ensured that the ideal of independence would continue to thrive within the Key West community. In order to promote Cuban liberty, on October 12, Poyo published the first issue of his noted newspaper, *El Yara*. It was the last of his journalistic endeavours, and *El Yara* continued publication until Cuban independence was secured from Spain twenty years later.⁶¹

The Ten Years War was the first phase of a revolutionary movement that culminated in Cuba's political separation from Spain in 1898. In Key West, the establishment of an economically and politically influential Cuban population committed to its homelands freedom was the result of the first decade of struggle. The seeds of liberty were sown, and they spread to Tampa, Jacksonville, and other Florida communities, and were passed on to a younger generation of Cubans, many born in the United States. The independence ideal became an integral part of the consciousness of the exile communities.

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59. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, July 9, 1878.

60. Archivo Nacional, *Documentos para servir la historia de la Guerra Chiquita*, I, 20; Plasencia, *Bibliografia de la Guerra de los Diez Anos*, 193.

61. Alpizar Poyo, *Cayo Hueso y Jose Dolores Poyo*, 57-59.

While the Key West community succumbed to the same personality conflicts, regional jealousies, class antagonisms and Tactical disagreements characteristic of the entire rebellion, the Cubans there demonstrated great loyalty to the cause of independence. Time after time expeditionary leaders sought support, and in most cases Key West responded with enthusiasm and pride. The tobacco workers consistently contributed portions of their modest incomes for the benefit of the insurrection, and it became almost axiomatic that when extra funds were required for a revolutionary enterprise, Key West could be called upon to contribute.

Insurrectionary conspiracies continued to thrive in Key West throughout the decade of the eighties, and when Jose Marti arrived there for the first time in 1891, the revolutionary clubs and press still existed and the separatist enthusiasm of the Cuban inhabitants had not diminished. As Marti noted upon arriving in the community and observing Key West in action, "Everything is already done here." Only his catalytic presence was required to unify the Florida exile communities and to initiate the final confrontation with Spanish authority in Cuba.⁶²

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62. Jorge Manach, *Marti: Apostle of Freedom* (New York, 1950), 280.

THE MOSQUITO FLEET'S GUIDES AND THE SECOND SEMINOLE WAR

by GEORGE E. BUKER *

THE SIGNIFICANCE of the navy's role in the Second Seminole War has often been overlooked, especially its impact upon the Seminole nation through the many naval canoe expeditions into the Everglades during the last years of the war. Yet the fact remains that these incursions caused the Seminole people to break up their their war bands and resort to small family groups to avoid the pursuing sailors and marines. Such dispersal destroyed the Indians' ability to maintain an effective military posture against the United States forces in southern Florida. Once the navy obtained proficient guides who were knowledgeable about the Seminoles and the interior of the Everglades, the end of the conflict was not far off.

The United States Navy's participation in the Second Seminole War developed haphazardly. On October 29, 1835, before hostilities had begun, Secretary of the Navy Mahlon Dickerson ordered Captain Alexander J. Dallas, commodore of the West India Squadron, to aid Brigadier General Duncan L. Clinch, the army commander in Florida, when the time came to move the Seminole Indians to the west.¹ Thus, when the news of open conflict between the Seminole nation and the United States reached Commodore Dallas at his anchorage in Havana, Cuba, late in the evening of January 12, 1836, it brought an instant response from him.² During the first few months Dallas sent naval

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1. Duncan L. Clinch to Adjutant General R. Jones, October 8, 1835, printed in Clarence E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States: Florida Territory*, 28 vols. (Washington, 1932-1958), XXV, 182-84; Secretary of the Navy (SN) to Alexander J. Dallas, October 29, 1835, Letters Sent by the Secretary of the Navy to Officers, 1798-1868, Record Group 45, National Archives, Washington. Cited hereafter as Off., Ships of War.
2. William A. Whitehead, collector of customs at Key West, to Dallas, January 11, 1836, enclosure in Dallas to SN, January 12, 1836, Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy from Captains, 1807-1861 and 1866-1885, Record Group 45, National Archives. Two standard authori-

units to the east and the west coasts of the Florida peninsula to render aid.

The Seminoles had long maintained trade relations with the Spanish who fished along the Florida coast, and there are references among Cuban sources to occasional crossings from the mainland to Cuba by bands in their native pirogues. Therefore, at the outbreak of hostilities, the army command requested that the navy establish a blockade of the peninsula.³ This conflict was the only Indian war in which the United States Navy played a substantial role.

Although the army bore the brunt of the fighting, the West India Squadron conducted numerous small boat expeditions along the bays and rivers of Florida in addition to its offshore blockade. Yet Lieutenant Levin M. Powell, USN, who was among the most active of the naval officers conducting operations along the coasts during the early years of the conflict, led his most ambitious expedition into the Everglades during the winter campaign of 1837-1838 while under the auspices of the War Department.

Powell had employed Stephen R. Mallory, Dr. E. Frederick Leitner, and William Cooley as his guides. Mallory, who lived on Key West, was a sailing enthusiast familiar with the waters around the Keys; Dr. Leitner, a resident of South Carolina, had spent many years studying the fauna of southern Florida; Cooley, a former settler on the Miami River whose family had been slain during the opening days of the Indian war, was acquainted with the coastal area. Not one of these guides, however, was well informed on the Seminoles or familiar with the interior of the Everglades.⁴

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ties on the war in general are: John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1848; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), and John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (Gainesville, 1967).

3. Secretary of War (SW) to SN, January 20, 1836, Office of the Secretary of War, Letters Sent, Record Group 107, National Archives. Cited hereafter as SWLS. SN to Dallas, January 20, 1836, Off., Ships of War; SN to SW, May 18, 1836, printed in *American State Papers: Class V, Military Affairs*, 7 vols. (Washington, 1832-1861), VI, 440. For information concerning intercourse between the Seminoles and Cuba, see James W. Covington, "Trade Between Southwest Florida and Cuba," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVIII (October 1959), 114-28.
4. George E. Buker, "Lieutenant Levin M. Powell, U.S.N., Pioneer of Riverine Warfare," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLVII (January 1969), 253-75.

As the war continued, the Indians, who were fighting against overwhelming odds, were driven south until they finally entrenched themselves in the Everglades. This natural stronghold, surrounded by water and semiaquatic, dictated that the naval forces participate more actively, but because the navy did not have ships with shallow enough drafts, nor the money to purchase them, the army supplied the vessels, while the navy, through the West India Squadron, provided the officers and crews to man them.

In those days, before the practice of unified command was prevalent, this arrangement caused considerable confusion in the employment of this naval group, especially since Commodore Dallas had many commitments other than the Indian war in Florida to occupy his staff. Finally, in 1839, the two service secretaries in Washington decided that the naval forces in south Florida should be separate from the West India Squadron and under a naval commander whose only concern was the war in Florida. Thus the navy's Florida Expedition was formed.⁵

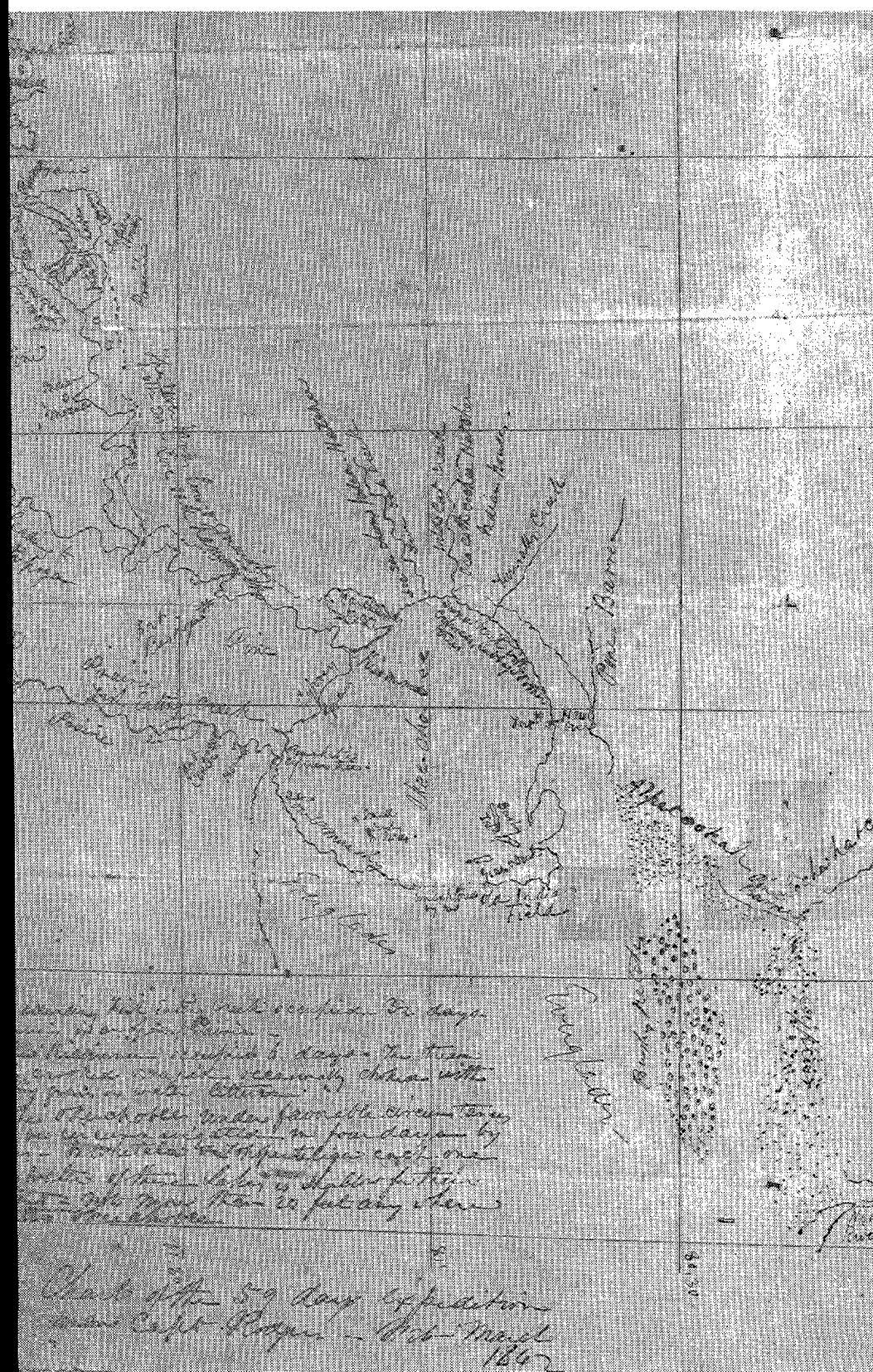
When naval Lieutenant John T. McLaughlin assumed command of the Florida Expedition in 1840 it consisted of three schooners, the *Wave*, *Flirt*, and *Otsego*; five twenty-oared, single-masted gun barges, for close in offshore patrol among the keys; and about sixty canoes of various sizes ranging from ten to forty feet in length, which were to be used to probe the interior. The officers and men called their expedition the Mosquito Fleet.⁶

From January to July Lieutenant McLaughlin and his second in command, Acting Lieutenant John Rodgers, USN, led groups of sailors and marines into the Everglades to find the Seminoles. McLaughlin's men developed the skills necessary to travel through the morass in canoes. They learned how to survive in that hostile environment, but they were unable to discover any Indians. The only engagements which took place happened when the Seminoles, on their initiative, attacked the sailors and marines as they paddled and poled through the trackless wastes of that great swamp.

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5. SN to Isaac Mayo, April 5, 1839, United States Navy Department, Records Relating to the Service of the Navy and Marine Corps on the Coast of Florida, 1835-1842, National Archives; SW to SN, October 17, 1839, SWLS; SN to Mayo, November 18, 1839, Off., Ships of War.

6. Joseph Warren Revere, *Keel and Saddle: A Retrospect of Forty Years of Military and Naval Service* (Boston, 1872), 2.



attending this route, each occupied 32 days
 in 1840 of the season -
 to business - confined to days - the time
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Chart of the 59 Regt Expedition
under Capt. Rogers - Feb. March
1862



Lieutenant McLaughlin concluded that if the war was ever to be brought to a successful end it was imperative that his force be provided with competent guides who knew both the Everglades and the Seminole life-style within the swamp. Thus, when information reached him in July 1840 that a former slave had escaped from the Indians and had turned himself in at Fort Dallas, he canceled the Mosquito Fleet's activities on the west coast of Florida and sailed for the fort, hoping that he could recruit this man to act as his guide.

Several weeks earlier a Negro had appeared before the gates at Fort Dallas on the Miami River. He told First Lieutenant Henry S. Burton, USA, who commanded the fort, that his name was John, that he had been the slave of Dr. Henry Crews, customs inspector at Charlotte Harbor, and that he had been captured by a Seminole war party some four years earlier. During much of his captivity, he had been a prisoner of Chakaika, who, he averred, was making plans to attack Indian Key. John had succeeded in escaping from his captors, and had made his way to Fort Dallas so that he could warn the whites.⁷

Chakaika and his band of Spanish Indians were well known in south Florida.⁸ Judge William A. Marvin of Key West claimed that it was Chakaika's band which had attacked the white settlers living in the Miami River area on January 4, 1836, killing Mrs. William Cooley and her three children. Further, the judge said that Chakaika had been involved in the April 2, 1836, raid on Charlotte Harbor in which John's master had been killed. While Marvin's claims may not be substantiated, it was known that three years later Chakaika had been one of the leaders in the July 23, 1839, assault upon the Army trading post on the Caloosahatchee River. Colonel William S. Harney, USA, Second

7. John T. McLaughlin to SN, August 4, 1840, Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy from Officers Below the Rank of Commander, 1802-1886, Record Group 45, National Archives. Cited hereafter as Off. ltrs. *Niles' National Register*, January 16, 1841; William C. Sturtevant, "Chakaika and the Spanish Indians": Documentary Sources Compared with Seminole Tradition," *Tequesta*, XIII (1953), 51.

8. It was believed by some authorities that these Indians were a remnant of the Calusa tribe, the original natives of South Florida. The Calusa theory was espoused by John R. Swanton, "Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*, 73 (Washington, 1922), 344. Two scholars of the Seminole theory are: Wilfred T. Neill, "The Identity of Florida's Spanish Indians," *Florida Anthropologist*, VIII (June 1955), 43-57, and Sturtevant, "Chakaika and the Spanish Indians," 63-64.

Dragoons, who had commanded the twenty-seven man guard detachment, survived, along with thirteen others. The remainder had been killed.⁹

Chakaika, according to John, planned to attack the white settlement at Indian Key, one of the small islands in the chain from the Florida mainland stretching southwestward to Key West. John volunteered to lead the army to Chakaika's island deep in the Everglades before the Spanish Indians made their attack.

In all probability John had been captured in the raid upon Charlotte Harbor in April 1836; on the other hand, John may have been one of the runaway slaves who had joined the Indians in their fight against the whites. Many Negroes, both slave and free, allied with the Seminoles, and they had proved themselves to be excellent warriors. If this latter situation was true, John could be volunteering to lead the soldiers into an ambush. Lieutenant Burton had no way of knowing the truth; therefore, he decided to pass the decision in John's case up the line to headquarters. In the meantime, he placed the black in irons.

As for the information that Chakaika planned to attack Indian Key - it was thought preposterous that a band of Seminoles would travel out on open water for more than thirty miles to raid an island settlement, especially since the Mosquito Fleet was sailing in the waters about the Keys.

As soon as McLaughlin's schooners were anchored off Key Biscayne, he set out for Fort Dallas and a possible guide. He was allowed to see John, and he asked many questions of the black, which John did his best to answer. The black was overjoyed at the prospect of being released from his chains, and he readily agreed to McLaughlin's proposal to lead the navy into the Everglades. He was not afraid that his information could be used without his services, for no matter how completely he described the route, he knew that no one would be able to find the island, unless intimately familiar with the terrain. Therefore, he told the lieutenant everything he wanted to know, and more.

Unfortunately for McLaughlin, Lieutenant Burton refused to turn John over. In the end McLaughlin had to accept the situation. However, he submitted a written request through

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9. Niles' *National Register*, January 16, 1841.

army channels for the black's services. In the meantime, he decided to undertake a scouting mission based upon John's information.

In spite of the experience of McLaughlin's crew, made up of seventy-two seamen and thirty-four marines from the *Wave* and the *Otsego*, the going was slow and tortuous. The saw grass inflicted deep wounds on the arms and legs of the men as they paddled through vast tracts of the vegetation. The small streams meandered about making it impossible to use dead reckoning to calculate their position. The lush semitropical growth effectively obstructed the horizon, eliminating the possibility of using celestial navigation to determine their location. Without a guide the sailors and marines would never be able to surprise the Seminoles in their Everglades retreat.

There was only one time during the seven-day trek that Lieutenant McLaughlin could make camp on firm ground. He came upon a small palmetto island of about twenty acres where he was able to fix his position as twenty miles southwest of his departure point. From this point McLaughlin made a sweep to the north where the country was one sheet of water varying from one to four feet deep, overgrown with grass whose tops towered above the sweating, laboring crews. Living in such an environment demanded more from the men physically than any storm at sea, and all hands became so fatigued from their labors that, after traveling about the same distance to the northwest of the Miami River as they had gone to the southwest, they had to retrace their steps back to Fort Dallas after a short and inconclusive scouting mission.¹⁰

Still McLaughlin had satisfied himself that he was familiar with the country around the Miami River, and he was convinced that it was feasible to cross the Everglades, a feat not yet accomplished by white men. He determined to make a crossing from the west coast to the east coast as soon as possible; therefore, he sent Lieutenant Rodgers, who commanded the *Wave*, to Cape Romano. He intended to send the *Otsego* to the same rendezvous a few days later, for by spacing his vessels he hoped to increase the chance of surprising some Indians along the shore en route to the cape. Yet realizing the importance of a good

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10. McLaughlin to SN, August 4, 1840, Off. ltrs.

guide, McLaughlin decided to remain at Key Biscayne with the *Flirt* until he received an answer to his request for John's services.

Lieutenant Rodgers stopped off at Tea Table Key, a small island about a mile or so from Indian Key where the Mosquito Fleet maintained a base hospital. Here he added to his crew all able-bodied men capable of manning the forthcoming venture, except for five who were left under the command of Midshipman Francis K. Murray to look after the hospital's invalids. That night, after Rodgers had departed from Tea Table Key, Chakaika led his men in an attack upon the settlement at Indian Key. This key, thirty miles from Cape Sable, was owned by Jacob Housman, a notorious wrecker of the Florida Keys, who had established a community of some seventy people on his island.¹¹ The Indian raids at the opening of the conflict had driven the sparsely settled mainland whites to the safety of the Keys. Thus, since the early months of the war, Housman's settlement had been the nearest American habitation to the mainland.

Not only had Chakaika crossed the thirty miles of open waters! from the mainland in twenty-eight dugouts, but he brought his warriors around the island to a beach on the opposite side from his initial approach. McLaughlin felt that the Spanish Indians must have had outside aid to plan such an attack, and this was confirmed later by Chakaika's sister who revealed that three Spaniards had visited them in the Everglades and had supplied them with details about the island.¹²

The braves silently beached their canoes and noiselessly began filing among the houses. Fortunately for the settlers, one of Housman's workers happened to come out on his porch for some fresh air about two in the morning, saw the intruders, and raised an alarm. The Indians responded with war whoops and rifle shots which further roused the sleeping whites. Most of the island's inhabitants managed to flee to the safety of the schooner *Medium* which was riding at anchor in the harbor, but thirteen of the villagers, including the renowned horticulturist Dr. Henry Perrine, were killed, and most of the dwellings were destroyed in the fires set by the Seminoles.¹³ At daybreak the *Medium* left its

11. Dorothy Dodd, "Jacob Housman of Indian Key," *Tequesta*, VIII (1948), 3-19.

12. Anonymous, "Notes on the Passage Across the Everglades," *Tequesta*, XX (1960), 63; McLaughlin to SN, August 11, 1840, Off. ltrs.

13. McLaughlin to SN, August 11, 1840, Off. ltrs.; Hester Perrine Walker,

exposed anchorage for the safety of the naval hospital at Tea Table Key.

When Midshipman Murray learned of the attack, he quickly jury-rigged his two four-pounder field pieces, still mounted on their carriage wheels, to the thwarts of his two barges, and with his crew of five, plus seven ambulatory volunteers, he set out for Indian Key. Initially, he intended making an assault upon the key, but after serious thought he decided that if he could shell and destroy the Indian dugouts the war party would be trapped on the island until reinforcements from the Mosquito Fleet arrived. Therefore, Murray sailed directly for the beach where the canoes were lined up.

Chakaika, grasping the situation as soon as the barges began approaching, brought the settlement's long guns over to the beach to defend his pirogues. He loaded the pieces with musket shot and opened fire first. Much of this salvo, fired at an extreme range, rattled harmlessly off the sides of the navy barges, although one sailor was seriously wounded in the thigh.

Murray answered with his two four-pounders, which were mounted athwartships with the carriage wheels lashed to the seats so that the pieces could clear the gunwale. It was an awkward arrangement. He urged his sailors to load and fire rapidly for he could see that the Indians were slow handling their pieces. On Murray's third salvo both guns recoiled overboard, causing him to give up the fight and retreat before the superior numbers and armament of the Indians. Murray returned to Tea Table Key to prepare his defenses for an attack he felt would surely come. He also dispatched his two barges, to the east and west, to inform units of the Mosquito Fleet of his predicament.

The following day Lieutenant McLaughlin arrived in the *Otsego* carrying a detachment from the *Flirt* prepared to assault and retake Indian Key, but it was too late. Chakaika had gathered up his plunder, including five boxes of precious powder, and,

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"Massacre at Indian Key, August 7, 1840, and the Death of Dr. Henry Perrine," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, V (July 1926), 18-42; *Niles' National Register*, August 29, September 5, 1840. Perrine, a famous horticulturalist interested in raising tropical plants in Florida, had been granted a township on the mainland by Congress. McLaughlin received a letter from the Secretary of War explaining Dr. Perrine's mission and requesting him to supply any aid required by the doctor. SW to McLaughlin, July 13, 1838, SWLS.

with the addition of some small boats taken from the key, had led his 130 or so warriors back to the mainland and the safety of the Everglades.¹⁴

As soon as McLaughlin ascertained that there was nothing he could do at Indian Key, he set a course for Key Biscayne. With John's help, McLaughlin intended to follow Chakaika into the swamp to revenge the sack of Indian Key. When he reached Fort Dallas he found the army's answer to his request. Headquarters had informed Lieutenant Burton that under no circumstances was John to be released from his confinement.¹⁵ That, of course, ended McLaughlin's hopes for finding Chakaika's camp in the glades. At a later date, he bitterly complained to the Secretary of the Navy, that "it is reasonable to believe that that catastrophe would not have occurred, had my [original] requisition been complied with."¹⁶

In September McLaughlin loaded all of his sailors and marines due for discharge, as well as those men who were physically incapacitated, into the *Flirt* and sailed north to Philadelphia for replacements. He left Lieutenant Rodgers in charge of the Mosquito Fleet with instructions to continue operations along the west coast of Florida.

In the meantime, Colonel Harney heard of John and he succeeded in obtaining the black's services to guide his force into the Everglades after Chakaika. Harney was especially eager because of his defeat at the hands of Chakaika a year and a half earlier; the colonel was out for blood. Harney had openly boasted before he left that he would bring in Chakaika's scalp. He also brought along a coil of new rope to hang Seminole warriors. Harney's command for this expedition consisted of ninety men drawn from the garrisons at Fort Lauderdale and Fort Dallas. The colonel borrowed sixteen canoes from the Mosquito Fleet's marine detachment on Indian Key. This was the force which John was to guide to Chakaika's island in the heart of the glades. Harney left Fort Dallas for the Everglades on December 4, 1840.

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14. McLaughlin to SN, August 11, 1840, with enclosure, Francis Key Murray to McLaughlin, August 7, 1840, Off. ltrs.

15. Henry S. Burton to McLaughlin, August 15, 1840, with enclosure, McLaughlin to SN, August 15, 1840, *ibid.*

16. McLaughlin to SN, December 31, 1840, *ibid.*

Two days later, John stated that about noon they would reach an island used by the Seminoles as a resting spot. When Harney came in sight of the place, he halted and disguised Lieutenant James Lee Rankin's men as Indians. Then, four canoes loaded with "Indians" set out in the van for the island. The remainder of the soldiers were to follow at some distance behind so that only the lead canoe would be able to see the last of Rankin's boats. Harney's men approached their objective and cautiously fanned out to search for the enemy. They were disappointed when they found that the place was empty.

At noon on December 9, the men were sprawled out resting and/or sleeping on another island when one of the sentinels posted in a tree-top called down that two Seminole canoes were approaching from the opposite side. Instantly all hands grabbed their weapons and waited for orders. The Indians were not aware of the whites, and Harney dispatched four canoes to flank them. The soldiers moved silently and rapidly through the tall grass, under John's guidance, to a point a few hundred yards from the Seminoles before they were noticed. When the Indians saw their enemy, they wheeled their pirogues about in order to flee, but the army canoes seemed to leap out of the water in response.

The soldiers were about to overtake their quarry when the Seminole canoes veered towards a dense growth of saw grass. The soldiers began shooting at an extreme range to cut off any escape via that route. One of the warriors was hit, disabled, and his canoe overtaken shortly after the skirmish started. The other dugout made it to the saw grass where it halted as its occupants leaped out to side in the thick vegetation. However, the whites were upon them before they could escape. Eight persons were captured: two warriors, two women, one of whom was accidentally wounded, and four children.

After Harney had dispatched his canoes, he climbed a tree to watch the operation, and, with a complete view of the whole scene, the colonel shouted encouragement to his men. By the time Lieutenant Rankin returned to base camp, Harney was back on the ground with his rope ready. The two warriors were hanged summarily. The wounded woman died of her wounds the next day at noon, and she was buried on the island near the tree from which dangled the bodies of the two braves.

Under John's guidance, the soldiers reached their destination, Chakaika's island, some hours after sunup on December 11, 1840. Secure in the fastness of the glades, Chakaika had not posted any guards, and the first indication the Indians had that whites were in the vicinity was when the troops opened fire. The whole camp was quickly thrown into confusion. During the initial surprise, one warrior was killed and two were captured, along with a few women and children.

Chakaika, who was on the opposite side of the camp from the army's approach, and unarmed, ran off into the underbrush with a group of soldiers in hot pursuit. The Indian, a giant of a man, well over six feet tall, easily outdistanced all but one of his pursuers. Private Edmund M. Hall, Second Dragoons, dogged his prey long after the other soldiers turned back. Finally, Chakaika stopped, turned toward the soldier, and held out his hand. Hall killed him with one shot, took his scalp, and returned to camp.

The next day Colonel Harney led a party out to retrieve Chakaika's body. En route an Indian sail was sighted approaching, and Harney set a successful ambush for the unsuspecting Seminoles. He captured one warrior and nine women and children.

That evening Harney hanged two of the captured braves to the same tree where he had suspended the body of Chakaika. He spared the third warrior, Micco, so he could act as a guide. An anonymous diarist made the following entry: "Our tent or shed was pitched last night within a short distance of the tree on which Chakika [*sic*] was suspended. The night was beautiful, and the bright rising moon displayed to my view as I lay on my bed, the gigantic proportions of this once great and much dreaded warrior. He is said to have been the largest Indian in Florida." ¹⁷

Besides wiping out Chakaika's band, Colonel Harney's expedition was significant in that it proved that with competent guides the Americans could bring the war to the Indians anywhere in the fastness of the Everglades. In all, four braves were killed in battle, six were captured (five of whom were hanged), thirty-two women and children taken, and another guide obtained so that even more soldiers might penetrate the glades. ¹⁸

17. "Notes on the Passage Across the Everglades," 63.

18. *Ibid.*, 57-65; Niles' *National Register*, January 16, 23, 1841; William

News of this expedition spread rapidly. On December 19, 1840, Harney's group encamped on an island within sight of Indian Key. The following day they boarded the sloop *Reform* to return to Key Biscayne. On the last day of the month Judge Marvin at Key West sent a letter to the editor of the Tallahassee *Floridian* describing the results of Harney's expedition. Eight days later the St. Augustine News published the anonymous diary of one of the participants of that trek. Still later, on January 16, 1841, the *Niles' National Register* of Washington retold the story, quoting from the *Savannah Republican* and the Tallahassee *Floridian*. The following week the paper carried the St. Augustine diary story. The expedition had become national news.

Lieutenant John Rodgers heard of Harney's success long before it made the newspapers, and he brought the *Wave* and *Otsego* around to Key Biscayne to offer his services to the colonel for the next trek. Harney accepted Rodgers's offer. Later, Lieutenant McLaughlin, who arrived in the *Flirt* from his recruiting voyage just three days before the joint force was scheduled to enter the glades, added a crew from his vessel to the expedition. He told the Secretary of the Navy that he had no choice: "The Cooperation being necessary, from the fact that the only guides for the Indian towns on the border of the glades, were in possession of Col: Harney."¹⁹

With Chakaika disposed of, Harney now hoped to capture Sam Jones (Arpeika), who was described by the Negro Sampson, after he had escaped from Seminole captivity: "Arpeika or Sam Jones is regarded as a medicine-man or doctor. His advance age . . . attaches to his advice and opinions much importance. At the commencement of the war, he planned attacks, fired the first gun, then retired to take care of the wounded. By certain medicines, and prayers offered to the Great Spirit, he infused into the young warriors a resolute daring."²⁰ His capture could very well be the key to peace.

Micco, the Indian who had been spared on the first expedition, was the guide, while John, who had recovered from the

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Harney to Walker K. Armistead, December 29, 1840, H-353, 1840, F/W A-34, 1841, Adjutant General's Office, Letters Received, Record Group 94, National Archives.

19. McLaughlin to SN, December 31, 1840, Off. ltrs.

20. Sprague, *Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War*, 318-19.

thigh wound received during the skirmish on Chakaika's island, acted as the interpreter. Harney's new force consisted of twenty dragoons, seventy soldiers of the Third Artillery, sixty marines, and ninety sailors, traveling in canoes (four or five large canoes carrying up to ten men the remainder in smaller five-man vessels).

Micco led the force to many islands in the Everglades where the Seminoles had been cultivating food, but the Americans found all the encampments empty. On the morning of January 6, a pirogue was discovered with two people in it, but it quickly disappeared from sight. Harney ordered a pursuit hoping that the pirogue could be intercepted, but the search was fruitless, and after several hours the canoes were recalled.

Harney then decided to send Lieutenant McLaughlin with eleven boats to investigate a distant island, but nothing was found. However, on his return trip four pirogues were sighted, overtaken, and a brief skirmish ensued. Three warriors were killed, and one was wounded. The remaining seven Indians jumped from their canoes hoping to hide in the tall grass. The firing brought Harney with the remainder of his men. Soon 250 combatants were combing the area for the hidden seven, and by nightfall five of the Indians, none of them men, had been captured.

That evening John questioned the captives, and he learned that they had been led by a brave named Chia who was guiding them to Sam Jones's band. According to John, Chia was one of the best guides of the Everglades; therefore, the next morning, when the Americans set out to search for Chia, Harney instructed them to capture him alive, if at all possible.

One of the detachments, led by First Lieutenant Thomas T. Sloan, USMC, and Second Lieutenant Edward Ord, USA, found a trail in the high grass and followed it for five miles before they came upon Chia's wife in hiding. A few yards further, they heard a rustling, and immediately several men leaped out of their canoes to investigate. As Private William Smith, USMC, vaulted over the gunwale, a gun exploded and he was shot. His companions quickly pulled him back into the canoe.

Chia broke from his hiding place, all the while loading his rifle. Sergeant Willard Searles, Third Artillery, gave chase and closed to about five steps before Chia whirled and shot his pursuer

point blank. Searles, although mortally wounded, did not check his stride; he continued on after the Indian. Chia held his ground lashing out at the sergeant with his rifle and striking a blow which dropped Searles to his knees. The soldier, in a last burst of strength, lunged forward to grapple with the brave. With his arms about the Indian's neck, Searles hung on, crying out that he had him. Chia drew his knife and was about to stab the wounded man when other soldiers and marines arrived and overwhelmed the brave.²¹

After his capture, Chia agreed to act as a guide, and did so throughout the remainder of the war. From the terse military reports there is no way of knowing why Chia would act as he did. The explanation that the experience of Micco, sole survivor of the six men captured on the previous expedition, could be the reason is not satisfactory after some serious reflection. If that had been the sole reason, then why did not Chia await an opportune time to escape? The following November McLaughlin lost two Indian guides who fled when the occasion presented itself, and there is no indication that Chia could not have done the same.²² It may have been some psychological idiosyncrasy of the Seminole culture which allowed a warrior to fight hard until taken, and then aid the enemy after being captured. In any case, Chia became the navy's guide, probably because Lieutenant Sloan, USMC, led the detachment which had captured him. For whatever reason, McLaughlin now had full use of Micco's services.

In spite of the addition of Chia to his command, McLaughlin borrowed Micco and John from Harney when the colonel decided to end the fruitless search for Sam Jones. McLaughlin wanted to cross the full length of the Everglades to check on the remnants of the Spanish Indians who might have gathered in the western portion near the Big Cypress swamp.

En route, Lieutenant Rodgers's group was in the van when an Indian canoe was sighted. The sailors quickly overtook the craft containing a warrior, a woman, and two children, but not before the brave, who resisted, was killed. Rodgers learned that these people were members of Chia's band who had es-

21. *Niles' National Register*, April 3, 1841; McLaughlin to SN, January 24, 1841, Off. ltrs.

22. McLaughlin to SN, November 25, 1841, Off. ltrs.

caped undetected during the skirmish in which their leader had been captured.

John, Micco, and Chia next led the Americans to Chakaika's island, where the bones of the chief lay bleaching in the sun. Then the guides took the force to numerous campsites in the vicinity, but, except for the fields of cultivated food found on some of the islands, there were no signs of the enemy. The Mosquito Fleet's only hostile acts were the destruction of the Indians' food supply.

At last they entered Harney's River to make their way out of the glades to the Gulf coast. On January 19, 1841, they became the first group of whites to cross the full breadth of the Everglades. The *Wave* and *Otsego* were found on their respective cruising grounds near Capes Sable and Romano, and their crews returned aboard. McLaughlin took the men from the offshore barge patrol and the *Flirt* across the Bay of Florida to Indian Key and thence back to their duty stations.²³

John was sent back to the army at Fort Dallas upon the completion of Lieutenant McLaughlin's expedition, and the navy dispatches make no further mention of the black during the next year. Evidently the army did not use John as a guide either, for the commanding officer at Fort Fanning on the Suwannee River, far from the Everglades, wrote to his superior in December that he was employing John as an interpreter.²⁴

In March 1841, McLaughlin had Lieutenant John Rodgers conduct another scout of the Everglades using Chia as his guide, while McLaughlin sailed to Mobile, Alabama, to try to obtain recruits. Both missions failed, and so in June the *Flirt* headed north once again to New York for repairs and replacements. Meanwhile Rodgers's activity was severely limited due to the shortage of personnel.

Harney's and McLaughlin's successes in the Everglades were so encouraging that the Navy Department decided to increase the size of the Mosquito Fleet. Thus, when McLaughlin returned south in the *Flirt* in October, he was accompanied by the revenue cutters *Jefferson*, *Madison*, *Van Buren*, and a newly-built schooner, the *Phoenix*. All were manned by naval personnel. These additions doubled the size of the Mosquito Fleet.

23. McLaughlin to SN, January 24, 1841, *ibid*.

24. Sprague, *Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War*, 396-98.

Lieutenant McLaughlin made plans to cooperate with the new army commander in Florida, Colonel William J. Worth, and to carry out his instructions to “find the enemy, capture, or exterminate.”²⁵ Therefore, early in October 1841, McLaughlin provided five detachments to move into the Everglades from the Shark River to rendezvous at Chakaika’s island with an army unit led by Captain Martin Burke. Under McLaughlin’s leadership, the joint command swept the southwest section of the Everglades.²⁶

During November the sailors and marines scouted the northern portion of the glades from the Caloosahatchee River, across Lake Okeechobee, and down the Locha Hatchie River to the east coast.²⁷ After a few days rest, they reentered the Everglades at Fort Dallas, and went to Prophet’s Landing to work again with the army. McLaughlin did not bring his force back to Key Biscayne until December 23.²⁸

Next, McLaughlin organized a major sweep through the glades using two large forces: one to enter from Fort Dallas and the other to begin on the west coast, with a rendezvous planned for Lake Okeechobee. He asked the army commander in Florida for guides, since their sole guide was Chia. If the army failed to furnish guides, “we should be wandering in the dark, and perhaps defeat the very object we have in view, by blundering along, exposed to sight when we should be concealed.”²⁹

Colonel Worth provided the additional guides. At the same time he began redeploying his units to the north leaving the Everglades to the Mosquito Fleet. He offered Fort Dallas to McLaughlin as a shore base for his future expeditions. The navy lieutenant accepted, and garrisoned the fort with marines.³⁰

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25. *Ibid.*, 274.

26. McLaughlin to SN, October 25, 1841, Off. ltrs.; Captain Martin Burke to Major Thomas Childs, November 3, 1841, printed in Sprague, *Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War*, 334-35; Niles’ *National Register*, November 20, 1841.

27. McLaughlin to SN, October 30, November 2, 25, 1841, Off. ltrs.

28. McLaughlin to SN, November 27, 1841, with enclosure of memorandum from William Worth, October 30, 1841, *ibid.*; McLaughlin to SN, January 17, 1842, *ibid.*; Marchand to McLaughlin, January 27, 1842, printed in Sprague, *Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War*, 380.

29. McLaughlin to Worth, December 26, 1841, printed in Sprague, *Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War*, 380.

30. McLaughlin to SN, January 16, 1842, with enclosure, Worth to McLaughlin, January 3, 1842, Off. ltrs.

Passed Midshipman George H. Preble commanded the U.S. Brigantine *Jefferson*'s four canoes and eighteen men which composed the second of Lieutenant Rodgers's three divisions making up the eastern prong of the navy's pincer operation. Preble noted in his diary that the Negro John, his Indian wife Fanny, his child, and John Tigertail were members of the expedition. Where and when John met Fanny is not recorded in contemporary military reports, but throughout Preble's diary John's wife was always referred to as "the Indian wife of our guide."³¹

John and John Tigertail led Rodgers's divisions into the glades on Sunday, February 13, 1842. The sailors paddled north from the Rio Ratones to New River, and then on to Fort Lauderdale to pick up a guide for the third detachment before moving into the interior of the Everglades. On the tenth day, John led them to Lake Okeechobee. Here Rodgers split his force into smaller units which fanned out to search for the enemy. Fires were seen in the distance, and fresh tracks were sighted frequently; however, no contact was made with the Seminoles.

Rodgers's sailors and marines covered the area around Lake Okeechobee, the northern portion of Big Cypress Swamp, and the Kissimmee River as far north as Lake Tohopebeliga, putting the torch to many cultivated fields without encountering any Seminoles. Finally, John led them down New River to Fort Lauderdale, and the following day they stood out in their canoes under canvas to sail down the coast to the anchorage at Key Biscayne. Midshipman Preble's crew boarded the *Jefferson* in the early afternoon of April 11, 1842, ending a fifty-eight day expedition.³²

Lieutenant John B. Marchand, commanding the *Van Buren*, was in charge of the western wing of the pincer, with Chia and Joe as his guides. Because of the exceptionally low water level in the Everglades and the discovery of numerous Seminole campsites in the extreme southern section of the glades, his detachment never did link up with Rodgers's eastern prong. However, during February and March, Marchand established his base of

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31. George H. Preble, "A Canoe Expedition into the Everglades in 1842," *Tequesta*, V (1945), 30-51.

32. Ibid.; John Rodgers to McLaughlin, April 12, 1842, printed in Sprague, *Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War*, 384-86.

operations at Fort Henry, an abandoned army post midway between Cape Sable and Fort Dallas, and from there he and Lieutenant C. P. R. Rodgers led scouting units out in all directions.

To the east, Second Lieutenant Robert D. Taylor, USMC, had his Fort Dallas-based marines patrolling from the Miami River westward towards Fort Henry. Further west, around Cape Sable, Lieutenant James S. Biddle, USN, of the *Otsego* led a shore party into the glades in that region. Thus, McLaughlin's Mosquito Fleet blanketed the Everglades.³³

At the conclusion of these operations the reports of the naval officers reflected their discouragement over the effort expended in relation to the enemy contacts encountered. These officers measured success in terms of military engagements, and it is apparent that they were not aware that their frequent expeditions into the glades had imposed a significant change in the life-style of the Florida Indians. The destruction of the Indians' crops, coupled with the numerous superior military units scouring the Everglades, had forced the Seminoles to disband their war parties and to live in family groups concentrating on physical survival to the exclusion of military matters.

The Negro Sampson, who had been held a prisoner for over two years in the Big Cypress Swamp, reported on the significance of these incursions into the Everglades. He related what happened at the great council meeting held in April 1841. About 240 warriors-members of Sam Jones's, Hospetarke's, and the Prophet's band, along with some Spanish Indians-gathered to hear their leaders discuss the situation. The scarcity of powder led to a decision that game must be killed by bow and arrow. All concurred that the military forces were penetrating every section of the glades in such numbers that it was no longer safe in the watery retreat. Sampson added that the Indians had great respect for the sailors' canoes which moved about the swamp with the same facility as their own craft. And finally, it was agreed that the Seminole nation had been so reduced in numbers that the only recourse left was to resort to ambush, fire, and flight. The council's solution for survival was to split up

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33. McLaughlin to SN, March 3, 18, 27, 1842, with enclosures, John B. Marchand to McLaughlin, February 24, March 23, 1842, Off. ltrs.

into small family units which could move about continually without setting up permanent campsites.³⁴

In other words, the Mosquito Fleet equipped with competent guides had brought enough pressure into the glades to cause the Seminoles to disband their war parties and to disperse into family groups living on the run. It is significant to note that this council had been held just three months after John's services had first been employed.

Before the sailors and marines of the Mosquito Fleet had commenced their February-April expeditions, Colonel Worth had been corresponding with Washington to end the war. He reported that there were only 300 Seminoles left in Florida, a third of which were warriors. Therefore, he recommended that the Indians be left alone. It would be impossible to track down every single one hiding within the Everglades, and the threat from the Seminoles had been eliminated. The government in Washington agreed, after seven and a half years of fighting, and Worth was instructed to terminate his activities.

There had been no formal declaration of war; the cession was equally as informal. When the colonel detached the Mosquito Fleet from duty in Florida, Lieutenant McLaughlin brought his vessels into Norfolk on July 19, 1842, to end the Navy's role in the Second Seminole War.³⁵ Obviously the Mosquito Fleet did not bring the war to a close by its actions alone. Yet the fleet's operations were more successful than its officers realized at the time. Within its sphere of operations, the naval units had a significant impact upon the destruction of the Seminoles' ability to wage war in the Everglades.

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34. Sprague, *Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War*, 317-18, 349-50; Sturtevant, "Chakaika and the Spanish Indians," 55.

35. SN to McLaughlin, June 20, 1842, Off., Ships of War; McLaughlin to SN, July 19, 1842, Off. ltrs.

WILLIAM EDWARDS AND THE HISTORIC UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA CAMPUS: A PHOTOGRAPHIC ESSAY

by STEPHEN KERBER *

THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA officially dates its birth to the founding of the East Florida Seminary in 1853, but the university has really existed in its present form only since 1905. In that year the Florida legislature passed the Buckman Act (named for state Representative Henry H. Buckman, its main author), which consolidated the colleges, seminaries, and institutes receiving state support.

The act created a five-member Board of Control to oversee the three new institutions, the University of Florida, Florida Female College (later Florida State College for Women and then Florida State University), and a school for blacks which later became Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University. It also stipulated that the location of the two colleges for white students—one male and one female—would be decided by the Board of Control and the State Board of Education in joint session. Governor Napoleon B. Broward signed the Buckman Act into law on June 5, 1905.¹ The school for women was located in Tallahassee. After a spirited contest between Lake City and Gainesville for the site of the men's college, the two boards on July 6 voted in favor of Gainesville as the home of the University of the State of Florida.²

Because of the poor condition of the existing buildings of the East Florida Seminary in Gainesville, one of the three institutions that became parents of the University of Florida, it was decided that the university would remain in Lake City during the 1905

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* Mr. Kerber, a doctoral candidate in United States history at the University of Florida, Gainesville, is coordinator of the university's oral history project. He acknowledges the assistance of Tom Kennedy, photo-journalist with the *Gainesville Sun*, in the preparation of this photographic essay.

1. *Laws of Florida*, 1905, 37-61.

2. Samuel Proctor, "The University of Florida: Its Early Years, 1853-1906" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1958), 465, 475-92.

1906 school year while a new campus could be established in Gainesville. The boards appointed Dr. Andrew Sledd, president of the Florida Agricultural College, as president of the new university.³

In July 1905 Professor N. H. Cox came to Gainesville to designate the sites for the first buildings. He also planted oak trees along two semi-circular campus drives. In August the Board of Control engaged the South Carolina architectural firm of Edwards and Walter to prepare a comprehensive campus plan. Board member P. K. Yonge of Pensacola worked with the architects to develop this plan. The board accepted the scheme in October 1905, and construction of the new buildings began after the first of January.⁴

William A. Edwards designed the campus arrangement and drew the plans for virtually all the original buildings at the University of Florida from 1905 through the mid-1920s. Edwards did not concern himself merely with the academic aspect of the university; he planned for a gymnasium, a Y.M.C.A. building, and a museum. He also envisioned a chapel, a dining hall, an infirmary, an athletic field, and houses for faculty, fraternities, and literary societies.⁵

Edwards designed the university buildings in the Collegiate Gothic style. A secular version of Gothic architecture-characterized by the use of the pointed arch-was introduced on the Bryn Mawr campus in the 1890s. It spread to the campuses of Princeton, Yale, Duke, and the University of Chicago early in the twentieth century as part of a larger Late Gothic Revival in ecclesiastical and commercial architecture.⁶

Over the years Edwards remained consistent to this style at the University of Florida, and also to the original campus plan. Rudolph Weaver, first director of the architecture school and later architect to the Board of Control, who designed most of the

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3. *Ibid.*, 513-16.

4. *Ibid.*, 517-21; *Gainesville Daily Sun*, January 11, 1906.

5. William Tobias Arnett, "A Study of the Campus Planning Problem at the University of Florida" (M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1932), 59-64. On William A. Edwards, see Henry F. Withey and Elsie Rathburn Withey, *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased)* (Los Angeles, 1956), 190-91.

6. Cyril M. Harris, *Historic Architecture Sourcebook* (New York, 1977), dictionary of terms; Marcus Whiffen, *American Architecture Since 1780, A Guide to the Styles* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1969), 173-77, 294.

university's subsequent buildings before World War II, respected Edwards's work and harmonized his own designs with it. In all, Edwards planned thirteen of the historic campus buildings, of which twelve remain standing today (1979).

The first three buildings erected on the campus during 1906 consisted of Buckman and Thomas halls and Machinery Hall. Buckman was designed as a dormitory, although it was used also for classes until after World War II.⁷ Thomas Hall, named for Gainesville Mayor William R. Thomas, contained the lecture rooms, laboratories, library, assembly hall, dining hall, and faculty and administrative offices.⁸ There was also a faculty apartment in Thomas Hall. In fact, because of limited space, students were quartered in both buildings. The W. T. Hadlow Company was awarded the contract for Buckman and Thomas halls, with a bid of \$75,250.⁹

Machinery Hall was a one-story, thirty-foot by sixty-foot structure, which was initially built to hold the drawing equipment and wood- and metal-working tools. It later served as a chemistry laboratory, university post office, and the offices for the News Bureau and Informational Services. It is uncertain whether Edwards himself designed this structure. Machinery Hall was razed to make room for General Purpose Building A-the edifice that now houses the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences.¹⁰

In August 1909 the Board of Control authorized construction of two additional buildings-one to house the science departments and the other the Agricultural Experiment Station. The contract for both went to J. J. Cain of Atlanta for \$68,950.¹¹ Ground was broken in early September 1909.¹² Science Hall was two stories high, the station building three. Each also included

7. *University Record*, May 1907, II:2, p. 20; May 1908, III:2, 18; Sanborn insurance map, May 1909, number 15, Gainesville, Florida, copy in Map Library, Library East, University of Florida.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Gainesville Daily Sun*, December 14, 1905; Proctor, "University of Florida," 520.

10. Sanborn insurance map, May 1909, number 15; *Gainesville Daily Sun*, March 8, 1906; *University Record*, May 1907, II:2, 20; May 1908, III:2 18; Brian Paul Bowman, "Historic Buildings Survey, University of Florida Campus" (unpublished report, University of Florida Office of Planning and Analysis, 1973), 12-13, copy in Documents Department, Library West, University of Florida.

11. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, August 8, 1909; *Gainesville Daily Sun*, August 8, 1909.

12. *Gainesville Daily Sun*, September 15, 1909.

a basement. They were finished in time for the beginning of school in September 1910.¹³

Located to the northeast of Buckman Hall, along what would become West University Avenue, Science Hall contained the botany, chemistry, physics, and zoology departments, and the university museum (since 1917 the Florida State Museum). Science Hall was later named for Dr. Edward R. Flint, first chairman of the chemistry department and university physician.

The Agricultural Experiment Station, which had been established on the Florida Agricultural College campus at Lake City in 1888, conducted scientific experiments with crops and soils. On the Gainesville campus the station staff first utilized the south section of Thomas Hall, but that space quickly proved inadequate. The new station building provided the offices and laboratories that were needed. The building in 1944 was named for Wilmon Newell, who had served as station director (1921-1943), dean of agriculture (1938-1943), and director of the Extension Service (1921-1943).

The engineering building, constructed in 1911, was named for John Robert Benton, professor of physics and electrical engineering and first dean of the engineering college. Benton Hall was razed in 1969 to make way for a Graduate Studies and International Studies facility (Grinter Hall).¹⁴

At a meeting in Jacksonville in January 1912, the Board of Control authorized construction of a dining hall and a building to house the agriculture college. The contract for both went to Holladay and Crouse of Greensboro, North Carolina. These structures were completed by September 1912.¹⁵ The dining hall, or the Commons as it was called, was one story in height with a basement. It replaced the mess hall which had originally been located in B section on the first floor of Thomas Hall. The Commons, which cost \$17,000 to build, is today part of Richard Johnson Hall.¹⁶

The three-story agriculture college building, built for

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13. *Ibid.*, August 8, September 15, 24, 1909; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, October 9, 1909; *University Record*, May 1910, V:2, 23.

14. *University Record*, May 1911, VI:2, 24; May 1912, VII:2, 24-26.

15. *Gainesville Daily Sun*, January 10, September 15, 1912; *Florida Alligator*, September 24, 1912.

16. *University Record*, May 1912, VII:2, 24-26; May 1913, VIII:1, 24-25; *Florida Alligator*, July 17, 1915.

\$39,800, contained an assembly hall on the second floor which was used for chapel services and student gatherings. During the fall of 1918, demands created by military training courses necessitated dividing the room into classrooms, and chapel services were moved briefly into the Commons. The building was named for Major Wilbur L. Floyd, originally a member of the East Florida Seminary faculty and later assistant dean of agriculture.¹⁷

During the fall of 1911, President Albert Murphree received a promise of money from the George Peabody Education Fund to construct a building for the teacher's college. In February 1912, the Board of Control directed architect Edwards to draw up plans for two structures - one to house the language and history departments, and another for a teacher's college. When the first bids proved to be too high, Edwards altered his specifications, and re-advertised for bids. Holladay and Crouse received the contracts, charging \$36,393 for the language building and \$35,483 for the education building. The Atlanta Steam Heating Company contracted to supply heating systems for \$2,422 and \$1,831.

Excavations on Peabody Hall began but were stopped in July 1912 until the legal terms of the grant could be settled. At a board meeting in Gainesville on September 30, 1912, the Peabody Fund check for \$40,000 was turned over. In return, the board agreed to expend \$10,000 a year for the perpetual maintenance of the property.¹⁸

Language Hall, abutting University Avenue, held the history, language, English, and mathematics departments. It also contained the registrar's facilities and offices for the College of Arts and Sciences and the Graduate School. The president's offices were located on the northwest corner of the first floor. The building was named for James Nesbitt Anderson, professor of Latin and Greek and first dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and dean of the Graduate School.

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17. *University Record*, May 1912, VII:2, 24-26; *Florida Alligator*, September 24, 1912, September 26, 1916, January 23, February 6, March 28, 1919; "Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Preservation of Significant Buildings and On-Campus Sites, May 24, 1977" (report directed to University of Florida Executive Vice President Harold P. Hanson), pp. 8-9, copy in Architecture Library, University of Florida.

18. Bowman, "Historic Buildings Survey, University of Florida Campus," 7-15.

Peabody Hall was the home of the College of Education until completion of the first P. K. Yonge Laboratory School (now Norman Hall) in 1934. It also contained the psychological laboratory, the university library, and a second-floor assembly room. The library was in the basement and remained there until 1925. Later history, sociology, political science, and architecture were in Peabody. It also housed the first office of the *Alligator*, the student newspaper.

The College of Law, the second oldest in the state, began in 1909 with thirty-one students.¹⁹ Four years later, on October 13, 1913, the Board of Control directed William Edwards to prepare drawings for a building to house the college.²⁰ The following February, J. L. Crouse of Madison, Florida, was selected as contractor with his bid of \$24,000.²¹ The building was finished in approximately nine months.²² The dedication ceremony was held November 20, 1914.²³ It was named for United States Senator Nathan P. Bryan, who was first chairman of the Board of Control.

By 1918 the university had outgrown the small auditoriums in the agriculture and education buildings. In addition, the university had no proper gymnasium. There was a one-story, temporary wooden structure constructed near the dormitories, but it was too small to serve the students adequately.²⁴ Construction of an auditorium and gymnasium building began in the late summer of 1918 on a site southwest of Thomas Hall.²⁵ Despite the upheaval caused by military training on the campus during the fall of 1918, workers made steady progress. In March 1919, before the building was completed, the appropriated funds ran out. Undaunted, President Murphree and town officials concocted a plan. The people of Gainesville realized the publicity which would follow if the New York Giants would hold spring training in town. They would contribute \$1,050 to complete the gym if the university would make its facilities available to the baseball team. The plan worked-the university got the gym, the town

19. "Report of the Ad-Hoc Committee," 4.

20. *Gainesville Daily Sun*, October 19, 1913.

21. *Ibid.*, January 18, 21, February 15, 1914.

22. *Ibid.*, February 25, 1914.

23. *Florida Alligator*, November 6, 27, 1914.

24. Sanborn insurance map, January 1913, number 26, Gainesville; December 1922, number 19, Gainesville, both in Map Library.

25. *Florida Alligator*, August 2, 1918.

received the publicity, and the Giants utilized a free training facility.²⁶

Dedicated in March 1919, the auditorium-gymnasium became Florida's first indoor basketball arena. It also held chapel services, motion picture showings, dances, and assemblies.²⁷ William Jennings Bryan, a friend of President Murphree and the university, lectured in the building several times.²⁸ Presently called the Women's Gym, it was displaced as the site of Gator basketball games by a wooden structure begun in 1925 and demolished in August 1978, and by the construction of the current Florida Gym in 1950.

The dual nature of the building precluded it from ever satisfactorily filling the role of an assembly hall. Thus, by December 1921, plans had begun for a 2,200 seat auditorium to comprise the first unit of a large administration complex. Problems—usually related to money—plagued the project from its inception, however. When the Board of Control opened bids in January 1922, it found them too high. The architect had to make modifications to lower costs.²⁹ Governor Cary Hardee spoke at the laying of the cornerstone on April 21, 1922.³⁰ The auditorium was placed directly at the center of the campus, as in the original campus plan of 1905, south of the quadrangle or plaza cornered by Science, Language, Peabody, and Agriculture halls.³¹

Work on the new auditorium proceeded slowly due to shortages of funds and delays in acquiring building materials. When the structure was nearly completed, Murphree took his friend Dr. Andrew Anderson of St. Augustine, a former associate of Henry M. Flagler, for a tour. Murphree casually remarked that he hoped one day a generous benefactor would provide the university with a pipe organ to grace the building.³² Shortly there-

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26. Ibid., March 7, 28, 1919.

27. Ibid., March 28, October 24, 1919; *University Record*, May 1919, XIV:1, 19-20.

28. *Florida Alligator*, February 24, 1922. See also, Samuel Proctor, "William Jennings Bryan and the University of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. XXXIX (July 1960), 1-15.

29. *Florida Alligator*, January 13, 1922.

30. Ibid., April 28, 1922.

31. Arnett, "Study of the Campus Planning Problem," 59-63.

32. Orland Kay Armstrong, *The Life and Work of Dr. A. A. Murphree* (St. Augustine, 1928), 92-95.

after, in July 1924, Dr. Anderson himself donated \$50,000 to make the purchase of such an instrument possible.³³

The completed building was dedicated on February 5, 1925.³⁴ Until the present Florida Gym was built, all large assemblies, including commencements, were held there. Poet Robert Frost delivered his annual readings to packed audiences, and many celebrities sang, spoke, and performed on the stage. The campus telephone exchange was in the basement of the building. President Stephen C. O'Connell initiated the process which led to the restoration of the auditorium in 1975-1976.

The last of the campus buildings designed by William Edwards was the library (now a section of an expanded structure called Library East). When the Board of Control tentatively accepted his plans in December 1923, the main book collections had been located in Peabody Hall for over a decade.³⁵ In February 1924 the board selected O. P. Woodcock of Jacksonville as contractor.³⁶ The walls were up and a temporary roof was on by November of that year, and the heating and electrical systems were added the following month. The building was finished by the spring of 1925, and the formal opening came at an open house on the evening of October 23, 1925.³⁷

Although most of the historic University of Florida buildings have survived for many decades, they seem to be in danger of possible demolition today (1979). During the turbulent and affluent 1960s, at a time when the university found itself expanding at a prodigious rate, administrators saw no great value in these buildings. Instead they sought appropriations for huge new air-conditioned structures. They based their appeals for expanded facilities not only on a growing enrollment but on the deteriorating condition of the older buildings.

If funds were provided for new buildings, the administration promised to demolish the older historic buildings. Events of the past several years, however, have called into question the wisdom of these decisions and commitments. Building costs have in-

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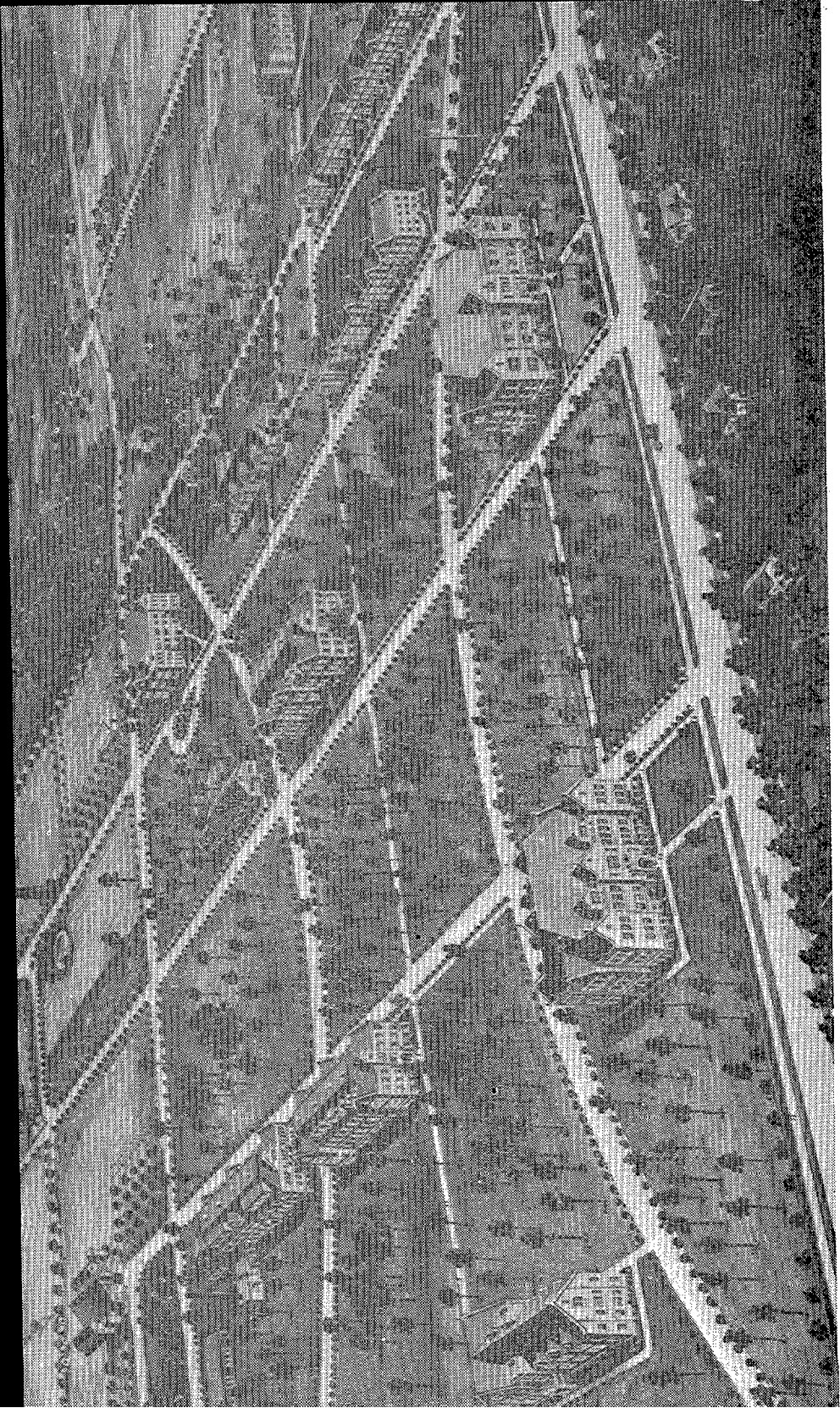
33. *Florida Alligator*, November 24, 1923, May 3, July 19, 1924. See also, November 2, 27, 1924, January 10, 1925.

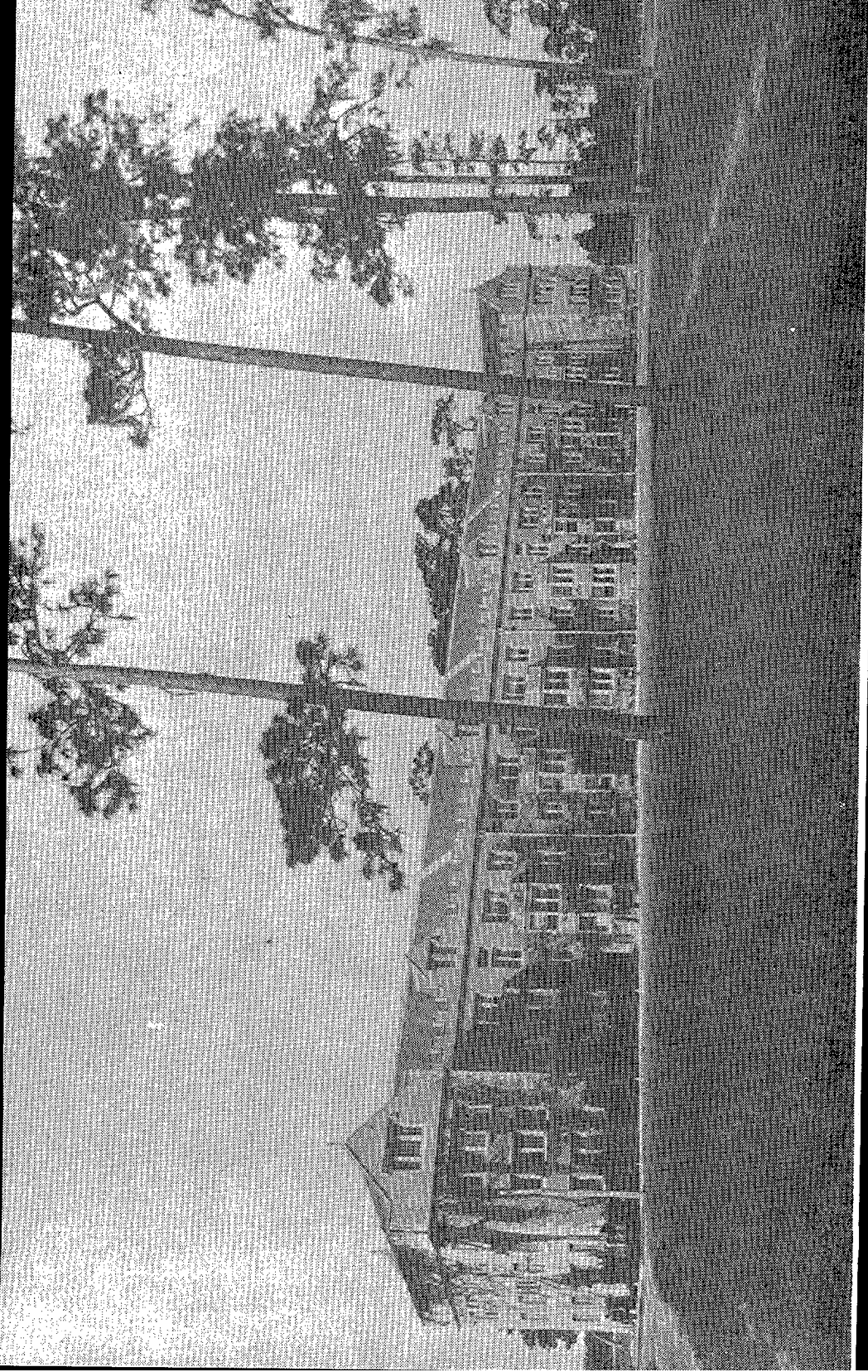
34. *Ibid.*, February 7, 1925.

35. *Ibid.*, December 23, 1923; *University Record*, May 1913, VIII:1, 24-25.

36. *Florida Alligator*, March 1, 1924. See also, March 22, April 5, May 3, October 5, 1924.

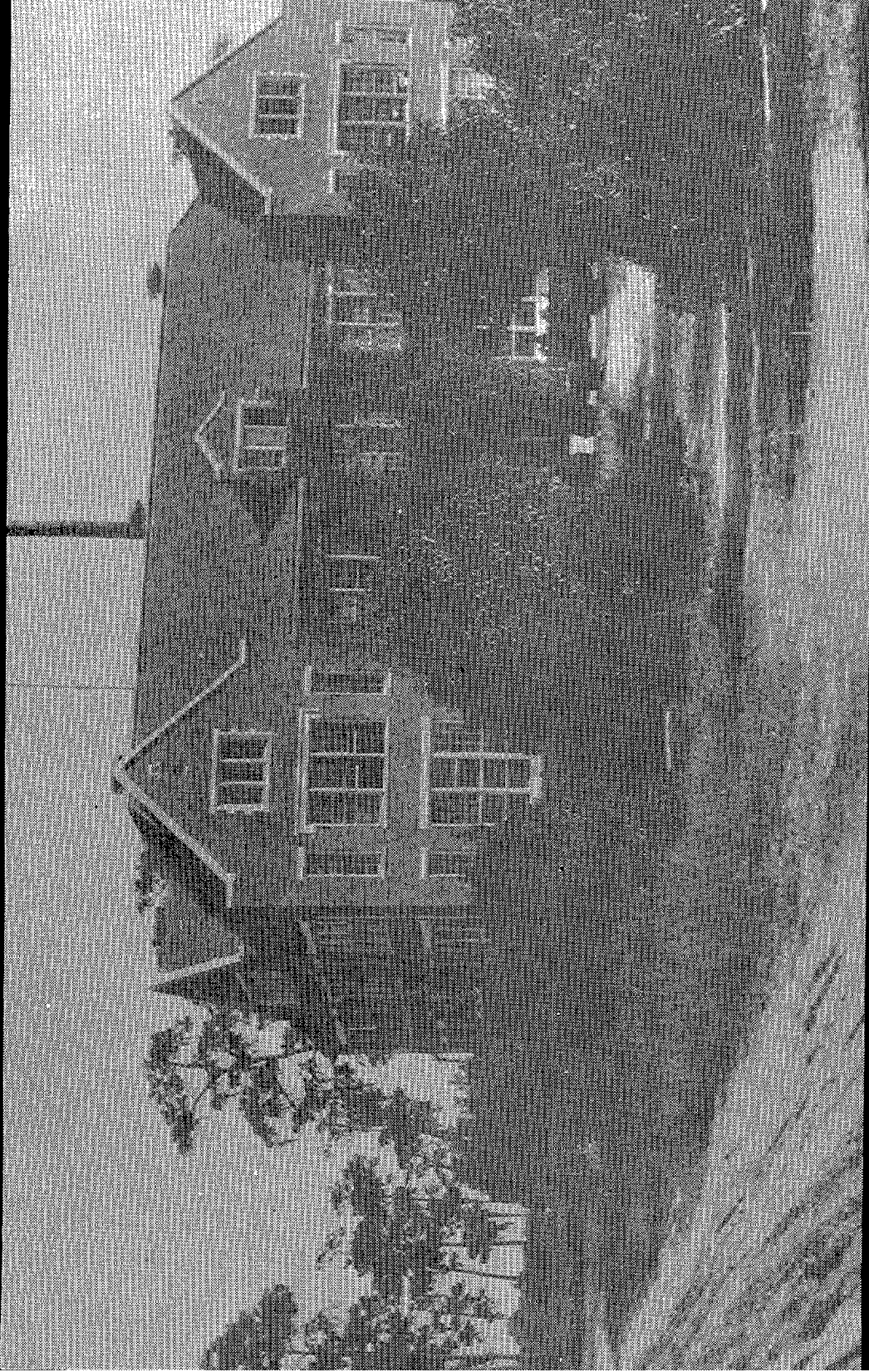
37. *Ibid.*, December 13, 1924, February 7, October 25, 1925.





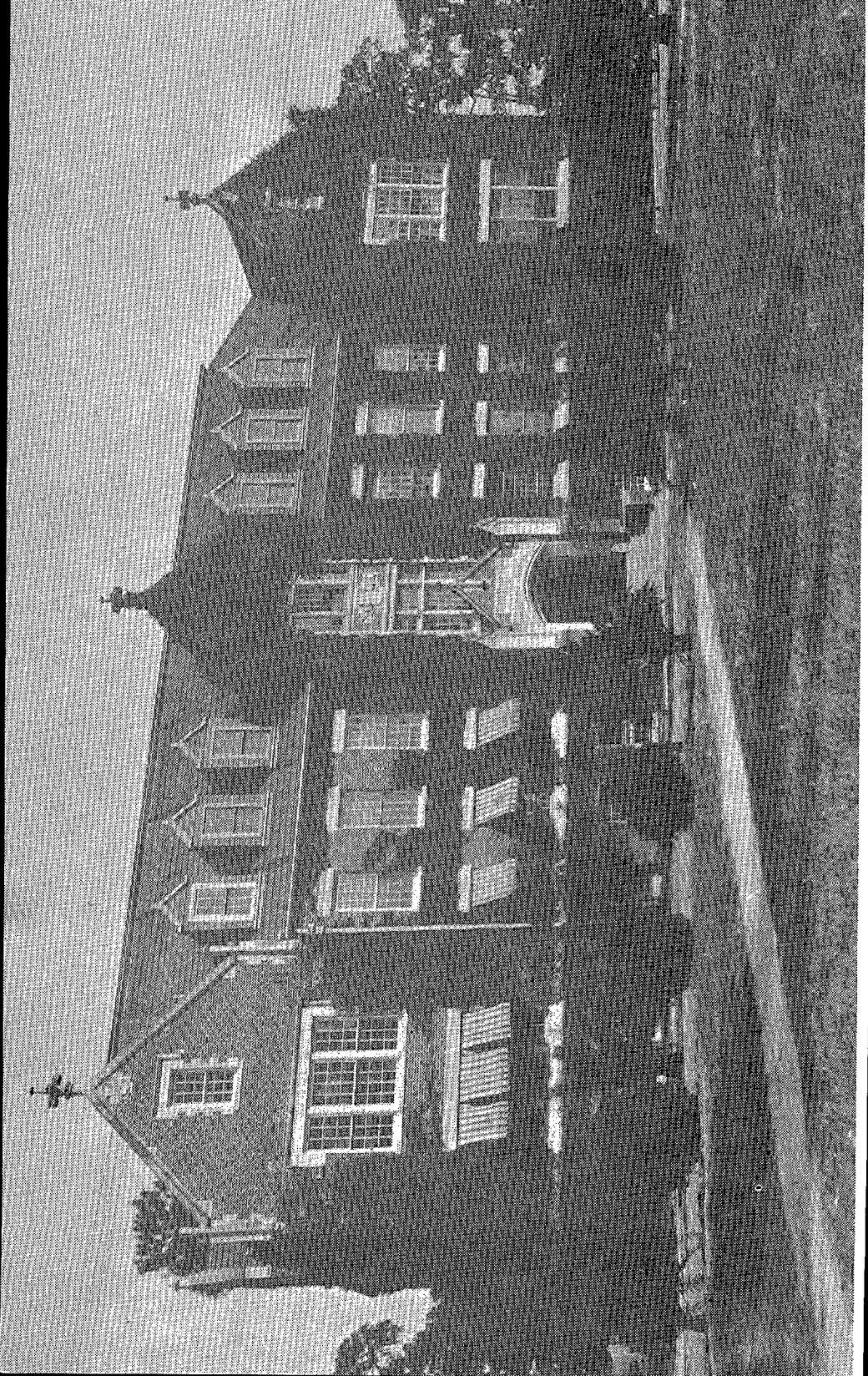


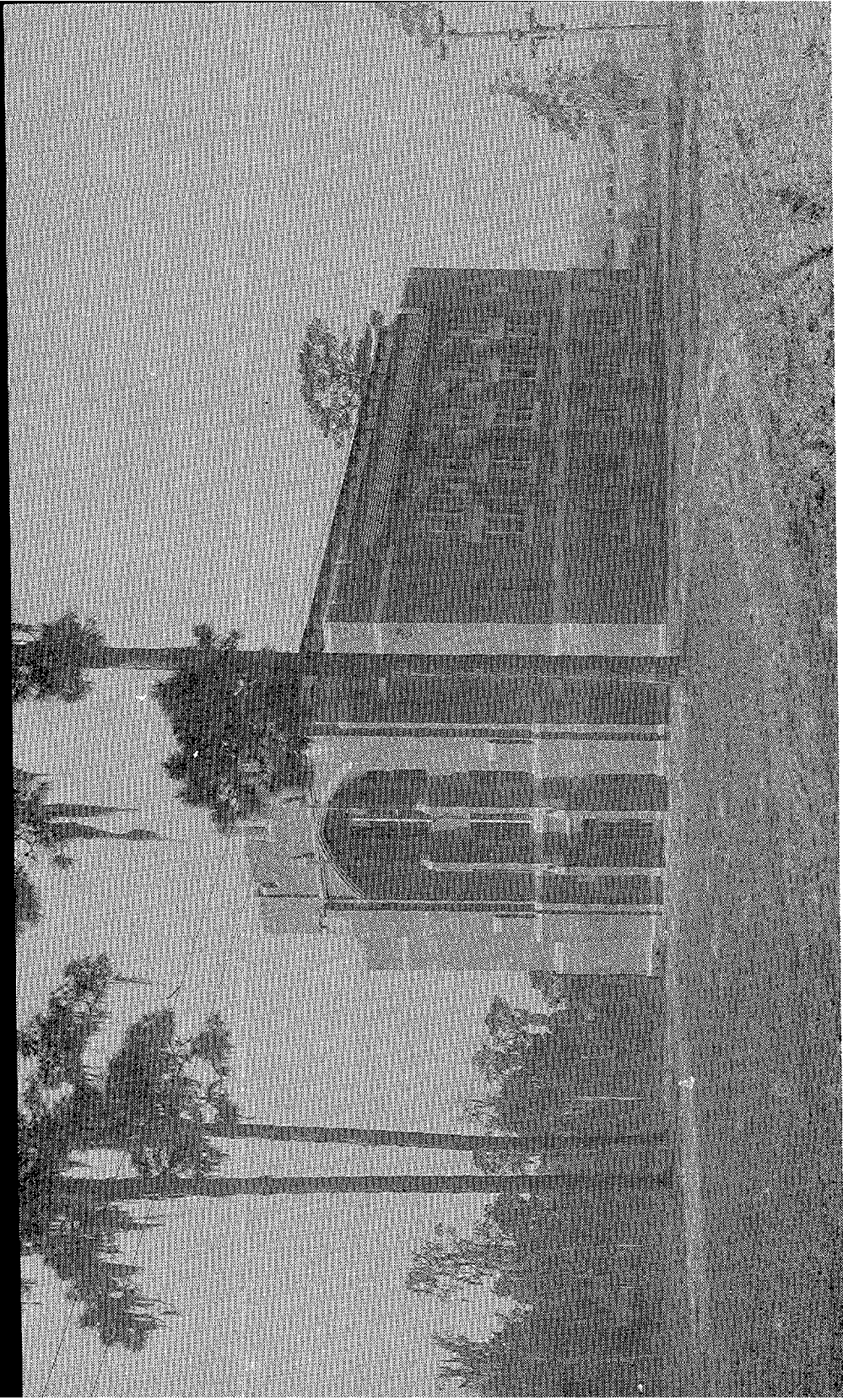
Flint (Science) Hall, 1910.



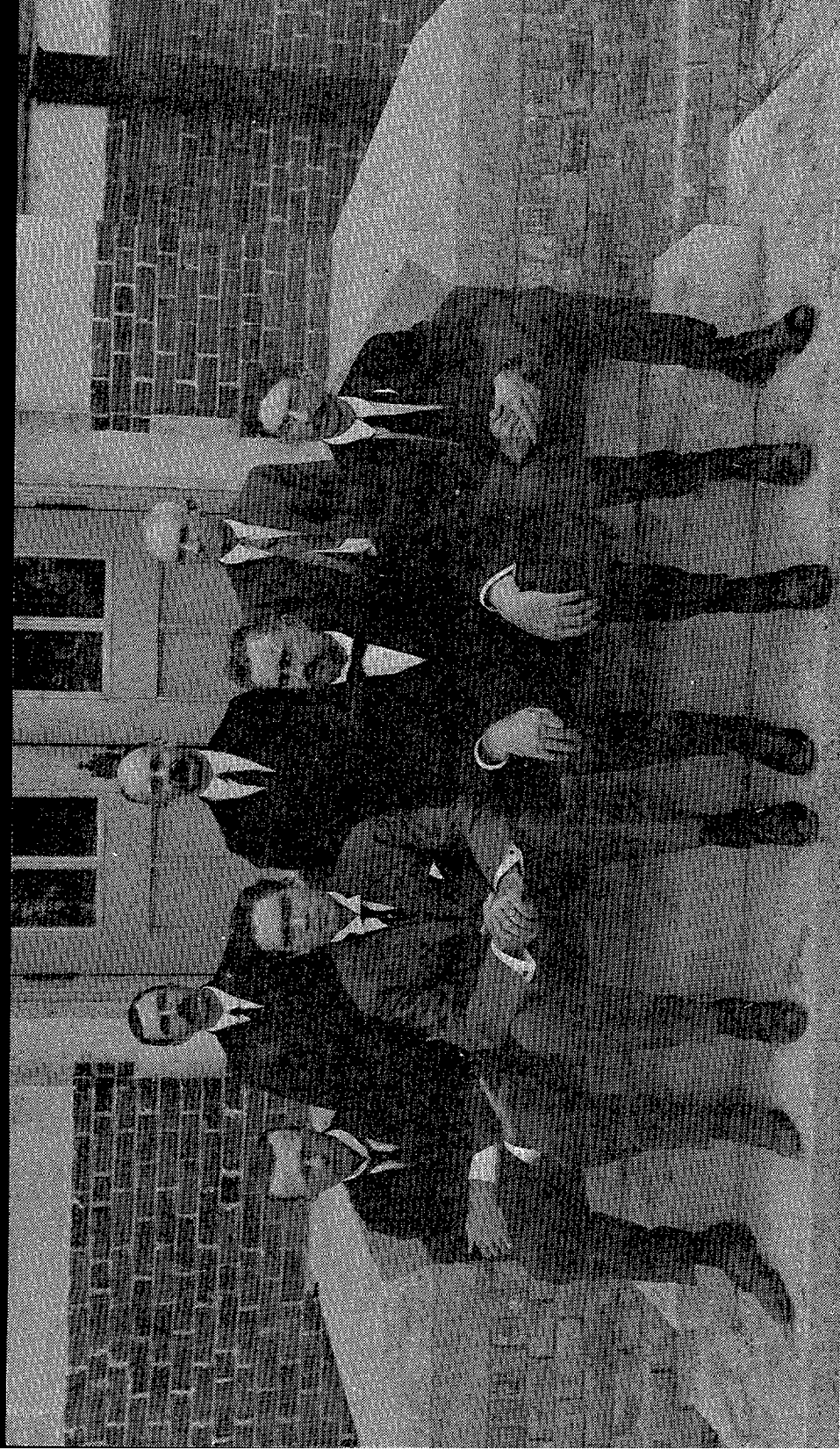


Commons (Dining Hall), 1912.





Women's Gym (Auditorium and Gymnasium) 1919.



University administrators on east steps of Flint (Science) Hall, ca. 1911. Front row, left to right: Vice President James M. Farr, President A. A. Murphree, Agricultural Experiment Station Director Peter H. Rolfs, Engineering Dean John R. Benton. Back row: Agriculture Dean J. J.

creased. A world energy crisis has been articulated, underscored by threats of another oil embargo against the United States. Rising utility bills raise the question of whether windowless buildings which must be air-conditioned will not soon become inoperable. The creation of new regional state universities has altered predictions of continuing growth of the University of Florida student enrollment. In addition, successful programs involving the rescue of historic buildings have been carried out across the nation.

In October 1976, a University Ad Hoc Committee on the Preservation of Significant Buildings and On-Campus Sites was established to investigate the situation. The committee inspected and evaluated the physical condition and the historical and architectural significance of these buildings. In May 1977 it reported its findings, and urged that at least six of the buildings—Flint, Newell, Floyd, Peabody, Anderson, and Bryan—be preserved. Destruction, the committee declared, “would cause an irreparable loss, not only to the University and its alumni but to the people of the state.” The committee recommended that “these structures be placed in the National Register of Historic Places and that a sensitive feasibility program be initiated to determine a method through which these buildings can be rehabilitated and preserved.”³⁸

Through the efforts of the committee, the Board of Regents staff reviewed their position and decided that the university should itself decide whether to save these buildings or replace them. However, the historic buildings remain in danger, although the building evaluation of Anderson, Peabody, and Floyd halls by J. A. Condon & Associates of Fort Lauderdale in October 1978, found the three buildings to be structurally sound.³⁹ Some planners seem to prefer to build new structures on the sites of historic buildings, regardless of whether it would be eco-

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38. “Report of the Ad-Hoc Committee,” 1. During 1978 the Florida Review Committee for the National Register unanimously approved the nomination of eight of the historic campus buildings—Anderson, Bryan, Flint, Floyd, Newell, and Peabody halls, Library East, and the Women’s Gym—to the National Register of Historic Places. The National Register is maintained by the National Park Service’s Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, U. S. Department of the Interior.
39. “Condon Building Evaluation Report” (Job No. 862-78), October 9, 1978. Copy in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

nominically feasible or morally right to save those structures for adaptive use.

Thus, the future of these historic halls remains uncertain. The administration has moral commitments to future generations of students to preserve the best part of its own past, and also to the taxpayers to determine whether it may not be cheaper and more energy efficient to restore the buildings and adapt them to new uses. A decision has been made to remove all "temporary" wooden structures, relics of the World War II era, prior to permitting destruction of the original brick buildings. Whether circumstances will permit the university and the state to save these historic buildings remains to be seen.

IMMIGRANTS AND RADICALS IN TAMPA, FLORIDA

by GEORGE E. POZZETTA *

THE ROLE that radical ideologies have played in the experience of America's immigrant groups has been the subject of increasing scholarly attention. Historians are coming to realize that these philosophies often exerted a substantial influence on ethnic group development. This was particularly true of the manner in which immigrants interacted with the labor movement in America. That these developments have often been overlooked has been explained, in part, by a lack of documentary evidence available for use in charting the events, issues, and personalities of the radical world. In recent years, however, a growing volume of historical material has become available which has shed important light on this fascinating aspect of America's immigrant past.¹ A case in point involves the Italian community of Tampa, Florida.

In the years surrounding the turn of the present century thousands of Italians came to Tampa in search of economic opportunities offered by the city's cigar factories. Together with other "Latins" - Cuban and Spanish immigrants - they transformed this small coastal village into a major manufacturing center. While helping to underwrite the economic success of Tampa, these immigrants also created a flourishing community life of their own. There were a number of ethnic institutions-press, theater, fraternal clubs-established in Ybor City and West Tampa that provided cultural and intellectual activities for the workers. Occupying a conspicuous place in this ethnic sub-society were a number of anarchist and socialist groups.

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* Mr. Possetta is associate professor of social science and history at the University of Florida.

1. Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Pane e Giustizia," *La Parola del Popolo*, XXVI (September-October 1976), 58-61; Edwin Fenton, *Immigrants and Unions, A Case Study: Italians and American Labor, 1870-1920* (New York, 1975), 136-96. The Immigration History Research Center of the University of Minnesota contains an unusually rich collection of historical documents describing the impact of radical ideologies on immigrant life.

Many of Tampa's Italians were familiar with these ideologies even before they arrived in America. The overwhelming majority had emigrated from a cluster of five small villages in mountainous, west-central Sicily.² It was this section of the island that figured prominently in a wave of peasant uprisings that swept through Sicily in the early 1890s. These movements most commonly took form in the creation of *fasci dei lavoratori*, or workers' leagues. In village after village, including those that sent their sons and daughters to Tampa, the *fasci* took control and began to institute a series of reforms. Many of the leagues were under the leadership of socialists who infused the populace with a new vision of society. A noted socialist teacher named Lorenzo Panepinto headed the *fascio* of Santo Stefano Quisquina, the village which alone supplied nearly sixty per cent of Tampa's Italian population.³

The programs of the *fasci* included efforts to reduce or abolish taxes, redistribute land, and establish schools and cooperatives for the peasantry. Leaders placed a heavy emphasis on familiarizing workers with their rights under the laws of man and nature., The successes of the *fasci* contributed in 1893 to bringing about a changeover in the Italian government. The new premier, Francesco Crispi, dedicated himself to restoring order in Sicily and, to this end, sent an army to eradicate the leagues. In the suppressions that followed, many of the closest adherents of the *fasci* fled the country.⁴ Some made their way to Tampa. As Stefanesi, one of these immigrants, wrote: "When in 1902 I landed in Tampa, I found myself in a world of radicals for which I was prepared. . . . In those days in Tampa, anarchists and socialists were many."⁵

Once in Tampa, these individuals established numerous study groups, debating clubs, and social circles to popularize their beliefs. Small libraries were created for the education of

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2. Santo Stefano Quisquina, Alessandria della Rocca, Bivona, Cianciana, and Contessa Entellina.

3. Calogero Messina, *S. Stefano Quisquina: Studio Storico-Critico* (Palermo, 1976), 82-85; Angelo Massari, *La Comunita Italiana di Tampa* (New York, 1967), 477-535; Anthony J. Pizzo, "The Italian Heritage in Tampa," in *Back to Ybor City Day* (Tampa, 1976), 13-16.

4. By late 1894 Crispi struck out at all "subversive" organizations in Italy and sent many more radicals fleeing.

5. Angelo Massari, *The Wonderful Life of Angelo Massari* (New York, 1965), 56.

the membership, and some large organizations funded the publication of newspapers. Rival groups often vied with each other for the prestige of inviting world famous anarchists and socialists to Tampa. The city soon came to be a regular stop on the "propaganda tours" of radical luminaries. Included among the individuals who made trips to Florida in the early years of the century were Errico Malatesta, Luigi Galleani, Arturo Caroti, and, of course, Lorenzo Panepinto.⁶

Yet, the radicals of Tampa did not confine their attentions totally to activities of the mind. At times they became actively involved with affairs of the real world. This was especially true of their efforts to organize the multi-ethnic work force of the cigar factories. In 1901 and 1910 radicals played a role in two general strikes which paralyzed Tampa's cigar industry. They were able to supply a class ideology to workingmen that aided in maintaining union solidarity.

The following documents are selections from two Italian language anarchist newspapers printed in Tampa. They supply an insight into the kinds of activities and philosophies that were present in the city, but have been essentially lost to history. The very names of the papers are revealing: *L'Alba Sociale* (The Social Awakening) and *La Voce dello Schiavo* (The Voice of the Slave).⁷ But they have importance beyond the fact that they illuminate an aspect of Tampa's past that has been largely forgotten. They reveal that the intellectual life of the Tampa immigrant community was far richer and more diverse than many natives of the time imagined. Indeed, they point out the irony of stereotypes which branded immigrants as ignorant. In fact the range and complexity of the issues which these immigrants commonly dealt with were quite sophisticated. Studs Terkel, the noted chronicler of American social life, recorded descriptions of immigrant miners in Depression-era Pennsylvania that could have just as well been made of Tampa's cigar workers. "They would be discussing Daniel De Leon and Debs and Christian Socialism and Syndicalism and Anarchism," an observer recalled. "The ones who couldn't read, someone would read it to them."⁸

6. Tampa *La Federacion*, February 16, March 2, 9, 1900; Tampa *El Internacional*, November 10, 17, 1905; Massari, *Wonderful Life*, 56-57, 107.

7. *L'Alba Sociale* and *La Voce dello Schiavo* are available on microfilm at the Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota.

8. Studs Terkel, *Hard Times* (New York, 1970), 208.

The following newspaper articles also present a window through which one can gain a fuller appreciation of what these Tampans were thinking and discussing. By glimpsing their efforts to structure a different, and, to them, a better world, one learns something of their values. Additionally, the documents give an indication of how these immigrants reacted to the conditions they encountered in Florida. They framed responses to America and to local conditions in the sunshine state in large part based upon an ideological framework that they themselves shaped. They presented criticisms of the existing order that were often quite accurate, at least with regards to the abuses that were present. While some of the remedies that they proposed were perhaps idealistic and unworkable, they offered alternative ways of viewing some of the basic relationships involving man and his society.

The documents fall into two categories. The first three items present differing glimpses of happenings within the radical community of Tampa. The initial article attempts to give an overall summary of anarchist philosophy for those Tampans who expressed an interest in joining the radical ranks. The second recounts a somewhat humorous adventure involving the practice of surveillance in Tampa carried out by the Italian government in its efforts to control radicals. The third is a very personal letter of farewell written by a Tampa anarchist who had been forced to flee Italy and was now leaving Florida to return to his family. It poignantly reveals the sense of comradeship and purpose present in these small groups. The final two selections deal with the 1901 general strike of Tampa's cigar workers. It was during this labor struggle that a self-appointed Citizens' Committee kidnapped the leaders of the striking union, some of whom were radicals, threw them aboard a ship, and dropped them off on a deserted stretch of the Honduras coastline.⁹ All of the following articles have been translated by the editor from Italian into English.

La Voce dello Schiavo, January 26, 1901.¹⁰

9. The events of the 1901 strike are covered in Durward Long, "La Resistencia": Tampa's Immigrant Labor Union," *Labor History*, VI (Fall 1965), 193-213.

10. *La Voce dello Schiavo* was the publication of an Italian anarchist group in Tampa of the same name. Like other such organizations in

AROUND TAMPA: THE SECRET OF ANARCHY

Many young people have asked me for a long time if they could become part of the anarchist society. But, before entering they want to know the rules, regulations, and mysterious secrets that their naivete ascribes to anarchist principles.

I answer them that our statute is Liberty and our rules are the fight, the struggle, against authority and that in these struggles and battles there are not presidents, there are not men who have authority over others. They are all equal.

Anarchism is to fight everything that forms the law, to fight the abuse of the strong authority over the weak, to fight those associations that under the government are taking advantage of the proletariat. We must fight the hypocrisy of all men, the pride, and the bad will which are against anarchist principles. And we must fight for anarchy and the anarchists; we must loyally observe our statutes which are impressed upon the soul of the worker.

We must apply ourselves against private property and the ability of money to cover over all evil. We know that money is the main cause of all social disease and all of us are part of this. We want equality for the anarchists and we want to fight those men, who, even though they are born good like everyone else, have been corrupted by society. They all carry and cherish an interest, a passion, and an idiosyncratic love toward money. We must promptly resolve to make the greatest moral and material sacrifice. Our propaganda desires, right now, the rebirth of this present society to fight evil institutions and to unite all men who are now so brutally divided. These words, expressions, and thoughts are all that we plan to do; these are the mysterious proceedings of anarchism.

Who wants to unite themselves with us? Whoever desires the liberty, brotherhood, equality, and love of all humankind and wants to bring all this together in a united society and live happily. You must feel this happiness in your heart. Between us there are no distinctions, everyone is equal; the intelligent one

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Tampa, it viewed the printed word as a major tool in its quest for converts. Most of these publishing ventures, however, were short lived. No copies of *La Voce dello Schiavo* are known to exist beyond the year 1901.

as well as the ignorant one are equally respected between themselves and other people. This is the constant rule. Anarchy and the anarchists must not have secrets. Where there are secrets it only serves to aid the politicians in their efforts to govern the people. If we had secrets among ourselves, liberty would not exist, but rather authority would rule, and it is this authority that we are fighting. And we know that authority is the source of the brutality and power that today is in existence and which today enslaves the worker. Slavery is not liberty and in slavery we can say goodbye to anarchism for good.

Do not believe the stories that the police department invents, and the propaganda that they give out to the newspapers which are themselves sold and prostituted. For example, look at the newspaper *Progresso Italo-Americano* and its own companion, *L'Araldo*.¹¹ This is their own secret to do the worker in. The policemen never discover conspiracies or lies before something happens. They invent them and so they are just as mysterious as the newspapers and the government. Newspapermen and policemen see conspiracies to kill everywhere-to kill Emperors, Presidents of Republics, and Kings-and so they have publicized these fantasies everywhere, in every newspaper, for their own interests. In this way they can fill up the columns of the newspapers and they can appeal, with great magnificence, to the bourgeoisie who applaud them in their great imagination. The great majority of the workers do not read the daily press. These newspapers end up in the hands of the bourgeoisie, which really believes that anarchism is based upon a secret pact to destroy everything and everybody.

On the contrary, our principles push us only to publish propaganda and manifestos. We want to educate the people to their own right to defend themselves; to convince them that this defense begins with their own hands and their own work, and that this is a natural thing to do. We have decided to tell the workers, fearlessly and in public, to work and strive for the awakening of their moral consciousness.

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11. *Il Progresso Italo-Americano* and *L'Araldo Italiano* were two Italian language daily newspapers published in New York City. They were owned by wealthy members of the Italian-American business community, who often turned these journals into sounding boards to promote their own interests. Radicals attacked them as enemies of the working class.

Therefore, we invite all workers to come close to us, to dedicate a little bit of their time to read our newspaper and the propaganda journals that we are publishing. If they read our materials, they will see all of the secrets of anarchy, written by the workers themselves. Everyone who chooses can come to 1618 7th Avenue and find the necessary books and papers to educate themselves.¹² Here you will find friends, and we can take advantage of the opportunity to get to know one another. We can educate ourselves.

Come and you will be very openly accepted. All are accepted, except those who smell like policemen.

G. SCAGLIONE

La Voce dello Schiavo, October 18, 1900.

THE FIASCO OF A SPY

In Ybor City many people are surprised that the Italian government, as it did elsewhere, had not sent policemen accompanied by some evil person to search secretly for anarchists. We have smiled and laughed because we understood the true situation. The government did not send someone because it knew that one of these poisonous snakes was already in Ybor City, down crawling in the mud and waiting to do something bad to somebody with its own slimy saliva. And, by God, we were feeling and smelling the odor! But how are we going to find out who is this awful animal?

Well, we waited until something came up so as to indicate where he was hiding. This happened at the end of August of last year when a certain fellow named Giddio Giuseppe, known here in the colony as a friend of our close friends, was leaving Ybor City to go back to Italy. In fact, he was going to Santo Stefano in Sicily. As he was leaving, another man had already

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12. Each radical group in Tampa possessed some sort of library, whether it was a single shelf of books or a more extensive collection. Most of the reading materials consisted of small, inexpensive pamphlets (*opuscoli*) which featured the writings of Marx, Malatesta, Bakunin, etc. The Tampa societies also stocked the works of local Italian and Spanish radicals such as Alfonso Coniglio and Pedro Esteve. For more information, see George E. Pozzetta, "An Immigrant Library: The Tampa Italian Club Collection," *Ex Libris*, I (Spring 1978), 10-12.

anticipated that he was departing and knew of his past and that he was an anarchist and, therefore, dangerous to the Italian government. He went and told the officials. He said that this man was such a dangerous anarchist that they should be careful, especially on the boat.

We can imagine the morbid anxiety of the Italian government as it was waiting to have another anarchist in its hands. The rumor swept through the boat, which was going to Naples; everyone was very upset in the boat knowing that an anarchist was there. Santo Stefano was telegraphed and the whole population was in a turmoil. It was so bad that people went to the relatives and parents of Giddio and broke down their homes and closets. They wanted him dead or alive for questioning.

This man, in the meantime, had established himself in New York City and later he travelled to London. The entire matter turned out to be a fiasco because it was a trick and Thank God, he was not in Italy.

Meanwhile, those people who had knowledge of the affair, but were not necessarily involved in any way, were laughing and generally not paying very close attention. But we, the anarchists of Tampa, were looking at the facts very closely. We found out who the spy, this reptile, was. We also know the hole in which this reptile has buried himself waiting to see how much harm he can do to the anarchists. We are just waiting for him to put his head out of his hole, and if he does, we will trap this reptile and smash his head just like the woman did in the serpent in the hole legend. By these words, this reptile better know that it will no longer be possible for him to bite, to spy on, and to betray the anarchists. In our next issue of the *Schiavo* we will publically make known this person, and believe us, it does not matter who he is. . . .

THE ANARCHISTS OF TAMPA

La Voce dello Schiavo, February 4, 1901.

TO THE ANARCHIST GROUP, THE VOICE OF THE SLAVE

Dear Comrades: With this number I leave the newspaper. I am very sorry but exceptional circumstances involving those who have caused my exile have brought me to believe that I can finally

hug my children in my arms again. It has been such a long time since I have seen them—ever since I was abruptly brought away from the violence of those who govern the land.

I cannot tell you how happy I am in these circumstances which will permit me to see my children again. But, I repeat, leaving you and the entire group which was so generous and full of affection while taking care of me will be a sad, painful thing. I am going back to the affectionate love of my children. I am going back to sustain and devise new struggles with my brothers and friends, both old and new, in Italy.

I can forget easily my sad exile, but I can never forget the friendship and the affection that I have found here. These gifts which you have given me were forged in the difficult cement of propaganda and sustained in the face of prejudice, censures, and the animosities of those workers who were ignorant of the everyday realities of their lives.¹³ And you, my dear friends, you from our own group who have freely given part of your own everyday money to the cause, you that have been indifferent to the unpopularity, even among the *paesans* of your own village, of your friends and ideas; you have tried to popularize and make this propaganda comprehensible and acceptable to the great principles of anarchism. You people have remained in my soul, and you will always be a part of my body and heart. We have fought hand-in-hand, and my heart will always remember this truly exceptional fight that we have gone through together.

Continue my dear friends and comrades the difficult duty of illuminating your own consciousness and that of others as well. You must know that the indifferent, the hypocrites, the naive ones, the evil ones, and the simple will end up absolutely admiring you for your ideals and for your great beliefs. Your noble work will continue to capture the consciousness of all people and this will be your duty. This will be your guidance. What you will gain from this will be big and precious. You will be working for the great principles of anarchy for which today

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13. Radical groups in Tampa and elsewhere were often sustained in their early years by the dedication and zeal of exiles from Italy. These men perpetuated groups that were almost always small in membership and besieged from every side by critics. Native Tampans branded radicals as "agitators" and viewed them with extreme distrust. Within the immigrant colony, they could count on the opposition of clergymen, businessmen, and members of conservative AFL unions.

and always and everywhere in the world you will have me with you.

YOURS, P. CALCAGNO

L'Alba Sociale, August 15, 1901

THE GENERAL STRIKE

From the last issue of *L'Alba* the reader will know that here in Tampa there has developed a general strike. It is not the strike that our votes and aspirations would want, but, for the effect that it is having, it looks something like that. The bourgeoisie, big and little, businessmen, landowners, restaurant owners, factory owners, store-keepers-are all in a tremendous uproar. The nerves of all these people are just up in the air. They do not know where to turn, or how to plead with the upcoming catastrophe. For them things are going badly.

But, let us not exaggerate. Tampa, before the workers came here, used to be a small town, a town that even dogs would not have wanted to come to. But you know that dogs go where their masters are, so here they are. Six thousand workers came here in this desert of quicksand, marsh, and nothing else just because the capitalists, for economic reasons, were offering them a deal. Also, we must admit that the climate is more favorable here for the industry than elsewhere. So the workers liked it and they came and established themselves here. The authorities, whatever little authority existed in this locality before now, came very proudly offering the capitalists land for free as long as they would put their factories here. In a few years Tampa gained the flourishing ways of many other cities in this country, as you see. And you can see the reasons why.

Let us not exaggerate, we repeat. Factories exist here that, when they used to be in Chicago, could not even employ forty or fifty workers. The owners of these factories, naturally, they do not do anything anyway, as always, were happy to just have these few workers on whose shoulders they could make a good profit. They could take advantage of them as they pleased and they possessed no other inclinations. But, you can see, they transgressed as a good Christian the fifth commandment by treating these people so badly. Today these gentlemen are here in Tampa and

they have doubled the number of workers and their labor, and consequently doubled their earnings. The workers do not work for themselves alone, but they are here for the whole community and the whole community becomes involved. That is the way of life. When the truths about the workers' cause are revealed, it is seen that there is a great deal of reason for this strike. Seeing Tampa flourishing is proof of the justice of this strike.

L'Alba Sociale, August 15, 1901.

THE SEIZURES

Up until now, all of these old emigrants-and us-who came here to collect some small savings and earn a piece of bread, actually came to enrich the Yankees with their own sweat. We thought we came to a land that was relatively free, that had freedom of work and a freedom of speech which would enable us to express our thoughts and ideas.

How much we had fooled ourselves in our honest anticipations! This is demonstrated by the fact that a committee of citizens is now withholding the freedom of fifteen friends of ours, honest and very hard working men who have no fault whatsoever. Indeed, these men should be praised for their love of humanity. The authorities had no reason to proceed against some of the six thousand workers of Tampa that are actually on strike. On the contrary, the committee of American citizens, which is so jealous in keeping up its flag, is using all means at hand to take advantage of these poor workers. We are asking ourselves, what is this committee of horrible citizens, which claims to be so patriotic, proposing to accomplish by carrying out such monstrous acts as they have committed at the expense of the workers? Do they believe that by such actions the striking workers will come back and submit to work? If this is their hope, they are truly fooling themselves because the workers of Tampa are not the ignorant fools that they imagine.

They will not go back to work until they have obtained complete satisfaction for the violence and abuses committed unjustly against them. And they have not forgotten their rights. These acts against them, which are monstrous and arbitrary, are like the actions of the Zulus of Africa. But even the Zulus would

be ashamed of themselves to act in such a way. This is not the way most indicative of persuading a mass of honest working people as those of Tampa. The bourgeoisie of Tampa are not accomplishing anything else but injecting in the minds and souls of the workers a most tenacious and long lasting resistance. It seems ridiculous and pathetic that the *Tampa Daily Times* wrote some days ago that the striking workers were waiting for the liberation of their friends to come back to work. They can wait eternally because these workers will never, never see Tampa again. . . . The question of increasing salaries has been a dead issue since the time of the brutal violence that was committed. The salary increase has passed to the last line. First we must consider the dignity and self-respect of the workers who have been so brutally mistreated by the oppression of these gangsters, next to whom even the figures of Minaldi and Musolino would pale by comparison.¹⁴

Yet, our friends will be liberated and there exists the probability of finishing the strike soon on the worker's terms. If this does not happen, let Tampa become what it once was, a desert of sand populated by animals-a very biased kind of animal which the bourgeoisie can get along with better than they can with us.

The daily newspapers of the other states do not seem inclined to show compassion toward the inhuman act done to our workers. We see in this a terrible testament on human rights under the American flag, a symbol of protection and hospitality in this country. These gangsters, we say, in the shadow of their own stars and stripes rag, continue to hold our friends hostage. Our beloved brothers and friends were so threatening to the gangsters in this locality that they seemed to them to be stones in their eyes. Thus, they have seized our friends in this brave act of theirs. It would astonish us if the people in this area were ashamed of themselves and no longer were dominated by the basest hunger and impatience for gold.

Let them continue in this way. The final victory will be ours and the entire world will see who the workers of Tampa are. And they will see to what extent we can gain dignity and self-respect through their actions.

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14. Two well known Italian bandits.

FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

This list shows the amount and variety of Florida history research and writing currently underway, as reported to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Doctoral dissertations and masters theses completed in 1978 are included. Research in Florida history, sociology, anthropology, political science, archeology, geography, and urban studies is included.

Auburn University

Robin F. A. Fabel (faculty)-“Economic Aspects of British West Florida” (continuing study).

Robert R. Rea (faculty) -“Governor John Eliot of British West Florida” (continuing study).

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, St. Augustine

Luis R. Arana-“Fort Matanzas: Guardian of St. Augustine’s Back Door, 1740-1763”; “The Disintegration of Fort Matanzas, 1784-1821” (research completed).

Edwin C. Bearss (National Park Service, Denver Service Center)-“Fort Matanzas: The War Department Years, 1821-1933” (research completed).

Randall G. Copeland, Craig C. Frazier, and Terry Wong (National Park Service, Denver Service Center)-“Architectural Data, Fort Matanzas” (research completed).

Kathleen A. Deagan (for the National Park Service, Southeast Archeological Center, Tallahassee)-“Archeological Investigation of the Fort Matanzas Interior, 1978” (research completed).

John C. Paige (National Park Service, Denver Service Center) -“The British Occupation of Fort Matanzas, 1763-1784”; “The National Park Service at Fort Matanzas since 1933” (research completed).

Daytona Beach Community College

Peter D. Klingman (faculty)-“Black Politicians in Recon-

struction Florida"; "History of the Republican Party of Florida" (continuing studies).

Emory University

Elliott Mackle - "Utopian Colonies in Florida" (continuing study).

Flagler College

Thomas Graham (faculty)-"Charles H. Jones, 1848-1913: Editor and Progressive Democrat" (continuing study).

Michael J. Sherman and Dawn Wiles (faculty)-"Mexico / St. Augustine Living History Project" (continuing study).

Florida A & M University

Barbara R. Cotton (faculty)-"The Effects of Antebellum Conditions Upon Postwar Economic Adjustment of Blacks in Jacksonville, 1870-1895" (continuing study).

James N. Eaton (archivist)-"Collection and Compilation of the Records of All-Black Secondary Schools in Florida" (continuing study).

Florida Atlantic University

Harry A. Kersey, Jr. (faculty)-"Seminole Indians of Florida" (continuing study).

R. Duncan Mathewson-"Method and Theory in New World Historic Wreck Archeology: Hypothesis Testing on the Site of Nuestra Senora de Atocha, Marquesas Keys, Florida" (M.A. thesis-completed).

Florida Division of Archives, History, and Records Management

Sherry Dougherty-"The 1902 Capitol Building of Florida"; "The Historic District of Tallahassee" (continuing studies).

Terrence H. Nolan-"Corbett vs. Mitchell: Florida's First Championship Fight"; "The Kingsley Plantation"; "Outpost in the Sun: A Historical, Architectural, and Archeological Survey of Key West, Florida" (continuing studies).

Terrence H. Nolan, Jerrell H. Shofner, and William Warren

- Rogers—"Trouble in Paradise: A Pictorial History of Florida During the Depression" (continuing study).
 William Carl Shiver—"Architecture of Historic Key West" (continuing study).

Florida Southern College

- J. Larry Durrence (faculty)-"The Activities of the 'Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching' in Florida" (continuing study).

Florida State University

- Chad Braley (faculty)-"Archeological Investigation of the De Leon Site, St. Augustine"; "Archeological Investigations at Fort Barrancas, Pensacola"; "Archeological Investigations at the Bay Pines Veteran's Administration Hospital Site, Tampa" (research completed).
 William R. Brueckheimer (faculty)-"The Quail Plantations of the Thomasville-Tallahassee Region"; "Historical Geography of the Tall Timbers Region" (continuing studies).
 Robert F. Crider-"Jose Coppinger, Governor of East Florida, 1816-1821" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
 Kathleen Deagan (faculty)-"Archeological Investigation of Sixteenth-Century Spanish Florida" (continuing study).
 John Ehrenhard (faculty)--"Cultural Resource Inventory of the Everglades National Park" (continuing study).
 Katharine B. Gedris-"Archeological Investigations of the Protohistoric Apalachee Indian Village Life, Leon County, Florida" (M.A. thesis in progress).
 Robert Hall (faculty)-"Slave Religion in the Deep South"; "A Rural Unemployment Survey" (continuing studies); "Florida's Black Churches in the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
 Robert Hall (faculty) and Paul George - "Black Floridians as Seen in *The Crisis*, 1910-1940" (continuing study).
 James P. Jones (faculty)-"History of the Florida State College for Women" (continuing study).
 Edward Keuchel (faculty)-"History of Columbia County" (continuing study).
 Joan Koch-"Analysis of the Site of the Spanish Parish Ceme-

tery in St. Augustine, 1598-1763" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Richard Alan Nelson-"A History of the Motion Picture Industry in Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Greg Padgett-"A History of the Black Churches in Florida as an Organ of Protest" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

J. Anthony Paredes (faculty)-"Archival Research on the Eastern Creeks, 1815-1950" (continuing study).

Charles Poe-"Archeological Investigation of an Upper-Income Criollo Household in Eighteenth-Century St. Augustine: The Ponce de Leon Site" (M.A. thesis in progress).

William Warren Rogers (faculty)-"A History of Saint George Island" (continuing study).

William Warren Rogers (faculty), Jerrell H. Shofner, and Terrence Nolan-"Trouble in Paradise: A Pictorial History of Florida During the Depression" (continuing study).

Fay Ann Sullivan - "Georgia Frontier, 1754-1775" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Burke G. Vanderhill and Frank A. Unger-"Geographic Implications of the Georgia-Florida Boundary Dispute" (continuing study).

J. Leitch Wright, Jr. (faculty)-"Southern Indians in the Colonial Period" (continuing study).

Georgia College

Paul George (faculty)-"Miami's Police During the Roaring Twenties"; "The Evolution of a Penal System in Dade County"; "Early Black Communities in Miami" (continuing studies).

Paul George (faculty) and Robert Hall - "Black Floridians as Seen in *The Crisis*, 1910-1940" (continuing study).

Georgia Southern College

George A. Rogers (faculty)-"Stephen Elliott in Florida"; "William Bartram's Route through Georgia and Florida" (continuing studies).

Guilford College

Alexander Stoesen (faculty)-“Biography of Claude Pepper” (continuing study).

Hillsborough Community College

Nancy Rachels (faculty)-“Biographical Study of Peter D. Knight and His Influence on the Tampa Bay Area” (continuing study).

L. Glenn Westfall (faculty)-“West Tampa: The Second Industrial Community in Hillsborough County”; “The Tobacco Industry in Jacksonville”; “Eduardo Hidalgo Gato: Migrant to Millionaire” (continuing studies).

Hillsborough County Museum

Mike Mayfield and staff - “Black History of Tampa”; “Florida Maritime History” (continuing studies).

Historic Pensacola Preservation Board

Linda V. Ellsworth-“Pensacola Creoles, 1860-1970”; “West Florida Furniture Making, 1800-1820”; “West Florida Vernacular Architecture in the Nineteenth Century” (continuing studies).

Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board

Michael C. Scardaville and staff-“Biographical File of Cathedral Parish Registers, 1594-1763” (continuing study).

Robert Steinbach and staff-“Archeological, Architectural, and Historical Investigations of the de Mesa-Sanchez Site” (continuing study).

Historical Association of Southern Florida

Dorothy J. Fields - “Black Historic Archives and Oral History Collection of South Florida” (continuing study).

Arva M. Parks - “Pre-1896 South Florida”; “Coconut Grove” (continuing studies).

Thelma M. Peters-“Early Homestead Families on Upper

Biscayne Bay" (continuing study).

Jean C. Taylor-"South Dade County" (continuing study).

Jacksonville Historical Society

James R. Ward and Dena Snodgrass-"The King's Road" (continuing study).

Jacksonville University

Frederick S. Aldridge (faculty)-"An Analysis of the Effect of Consolidation Upon the Productivity of City Employees, City of Jacksonville"; "History of the Jacksonville Planning Board" (continuing studies).

George E. Buker (faculty) - "History of the Jacksonville District, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers"; "The Union Blockade of Florida During the Civil War" (continuing studies).

Joan S. Carver (faculty)-"Analysis of the Political Impact of Consolidation in Jacksonville"; "Women in Florida Politics" (continuing studies).

James M. Olson (faculty) - "Participation of Women in Florida Politics Since 1920, With Emphasis Upon Jacksonville Women" (continuing study).

Louisiana State University

Roland Chardon (faculty)-"Wet Sediment Transport on the Atlantic Shore of Miami Beach, 1770-1867"; "Evaluation of DeBrahm's 1769-1770 Maps of Biscayne Bay"; "The Derrotero of 1595" (continuing studies).

Brian Coutts - "Martin Navarro: Spain's First Louisiana Intendant" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Carolyn O. French - "Cadastral Patterns in Louisiana: A Colonial Legacy" (Ph.D. dissertation-completed).

Janet Gritzner - "Tabby in the Coastal Southeast: The Culture History of an American Building Material" (Ph.D. dissertation-completed).

Paul E. Hoffman (faculty)-"St. Augustine, 1580"; "The Chicora Legend and European Exploration and Settlement in the Southeastern United States to 1600" (continuing studies).

Patricia Woods—"A History of the Frontier in French Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

McNeese State University

Thomas D. Watson (faculty)-"United States-Creek Relations, 1783-1830" (continuing study).

Palm Beach Atlantic College

Robert D. Billinger, Jr. (faculty)-"With the Wehrmacht in Florida: The Evolution of German POW Facilities in Florida between 1942 and 1945" (continuing study).

Jerry W. Weeks (faculty)-"History of the Florida Citrus Industry" (continuing study).

Pasco-Hernando Community College

Richard J. Stanaback (faculty)-"History of Pasco and Hernando counties" (continuing study).

Southern Illinois University at Carbondale

Guy Bishop-"Commerce and Trade Between the English and the Indians, British East and West Florida, 1764-1784" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

L. David Norris-"The Administration of Jose Coppinger: The Incident and Consequence of the International Transfer of Florida in 1816-1821" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Stetson University

Kevin J. O'Keefe (faculty)-"The Cuban Crisis as Reflected in the Florida Press, 1895-1898"; "Senator Smathers and the Poll Tax" (continuing studies).

Janice Fluegel (faculty)-"Eighteen Months of the New Deal in Daytona Beach" (continuing study).

Tallahassee Community College

Janice B. Miller (faculty)-"History of the Administration of Governor Juan Nepamuceno de Quesada of East Florida, 1790-1796" (continuing study).

Troy State University-Bay Minette

Randall J. Broxton-"Occie Clubbs: Her Role in Education and History" (continuing study).

Troy State University at Fort Rucker

Morris Simon (faculty)-"Ethnological and Ethnohistorical Reconstructions of the Spanish Colonial Period" (continuing study).

J. Barton Starr (faculty)-"Loyalists of East Florida": "Slave Codes of the British Floridas"; "Mid-Eighteenth Century Cotton Gins" (continuing studies).

University of Alabama

James F. Doster (faculty)-"The Creek Indian Confederacy, 1700-1825" (continuing study).

Alan Thompson-"Social and Economic Characteristics of the People of Mobile, Alabama, 1850-1861" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

University of Alabama in Birmingham

Jack D. L. Holmes (faculty) - "Pensacola Settlers, 1780-1821"; "Bernardo de Galvez and the American Revolution in West Florida" (continuing studies); "Studies in the Spanish Borderlands of the Southeast" (research completed); "The Gulf Coast Hurricane of July 1819"; "The Removal of Billy Bowlegs to Arkansas, 1858" (research in progress).

University of Arizona

George R. Adams - "William Selby Harney: Frontier Soldier" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

University of Central Florida

Richard C. Crepeau (faculty) - "A History of the Melbourne Village Project" (continuing study).

Thomas D. Greenhaw (faculty) - "Patrick Tonyn: Last Royal

Governor of East Florida"; "Prisoners of War in Florida During World War II" (continuing studies).

Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty) - "Peonage in Twentieth Century Florida"; "A History of Apopka"; "An Interpretive History of Higher Education in Florida"; "Mary Grace Quackenboas: A Visitor Florida Did Not Want"; "Involuntary Servitude on Flagler's Overseas Railroad"; "The Knabb Turpentine Company at MacLenny: A Case Study of Labor Practices in the Florida Turpentine Industry"; "The Lynching at LaBelle" (continuing studies).

Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty), William Warren Rogers, and Terrence H. Nolan-"Trouble in Paradise: A Pictorial History of Florida During the Depression" (continuing study).

Paul W. Wehr (faculty)-"History of Central Florida" (continuing study); "Will Wallace Harney of Pinecastle" (research completed).

University of Florida

Afolabi A. Adedibu - "Spatial Diffusion Analysis of Commercial Land-Use Changes Associated with the Jacksonville, Florida, International Airport, 1965-1976" (Ph.D. dissertation-completed).

Elizabeth Alexander (project director), Bruce Chappell, Lorne McWaters, and Michael Getzler (editorial assistants)-"Calendar of the Spanish Holdings of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History" (continuing study).

Rebecca S. Auve - "Social Services Delivery for the Elderly in Marion County, Florida" (M.A. thesis-completed).

Amy Bushnell-"The Royal Treasury Officials of Spanish Florida, 1566-1702: Constants and Variables in Provincial Administration" (Ph.D. dissertation-completed); "The Governors of Florida, 1568-1700" (research in progress); "Don Patricio de Hinachuba: Defender of the Word of God, the Crown of the King, and the Little Children of Iritachueo" (research completed).

James Button (faculty) and Richard Scher (faculty) - "The Impact of the Civil Rights Movement in Six Florida Communities, 1960-1976" (continuing study).

- Kathleen Cargill-Mazer - "A Rural [Florida] Clinic in Transition" (M.A. thesis-completed).
- Bruce Chappell - "A History of the Diego Plains in the Second Spanish Period" (continuing study).
- William C. Childers (faculty) - "Garth Wilkinson and Robertson James: Abolitionists in Gainesville During Reconstruction" (continuing study).
- David R. Colburn (faculty)-"St. Augustine, 1964: Racial Crisis and Community Adjustment" (continuing study).
- Caroline Johnson Comnenos - "Florida's Sponge Industry: A Cultural and Economic History" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Merlin G. Cox (faculty) and Charles Hildreth - "A History of Gainesville, Florida, 1853-1978" (research completed).
- Charles H. Fairbanks (faculty)-"History of Florida Archeological Work"; "Indian Tribes of the Central Gulf Coast" (continuing studies).
- Charles H. Fairbanks (faculty) and Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)-"Florida Archeology" (continuing study).
- Michael V. Gannon (faculty)-"Documentary History of Florida, Volume I: The Colonial Period, 1513-1821" (continuing study).
- William Tucker Gibbs-"Claude Pepper and the Election of 1948" (M.A. thesis-completed),
- E. A. Hammond (faculty)-"History of the Medical Profession in Florida, 1821-1875" (continuing study).
- Ellen Hodges-"The Stephens family of Antebellum and Civil War Florida: A Social and Economic History" (M.A. thesis in progress); "Letters of Winston and Octavia Stephens" (continuing study).
- John Paul Jones (faculty) - "History of the Florida Press Association, 1879-1968" (continuing study).
- Stephen Kerber - "Park Trammell of Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); "Letters of Winston and Octavia Stephens" (continuing study).
- Robert Thomas King - "The Florida Seminoles in the Twentieth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation-completed).
- Timothy Kohler - "The Social and Chronological Dimensions of Village Occupation at a North Florida Weeden Island

- Period Site" (Ph.D. dissertation-completed).
- Kevin M. McCarthy (faculty)-"A Cultural, Literary, and Historical Tour of Florida" (continuing study).
- Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)-"Archeology of Weeden Island Peoples in Northern Florida" (continuing study).
- Paige Parker-"Political Mobilization in the Rural South: A Case Study of Gadsden County, Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Ralph L. Peek (faculty)-"Florida in World War II" (continuing study).
- Julian Pleasants (faculty) - "Zibe King, Jacob Summerlin, and the Cattle Barons in Florida, 1860-1910" (continuing study).
- George Pozzetta (faculty)-"Ethnic Interaction in Tampa" (continuing study).
- Samuel Proctor (faculty)-"Documentary History of Florida, Volume II: Modern Florida, 1821-Present"; "Florida Slave Interviews"; "History of the University of Florida" (continuing studies).
- Storm L. Richards-"Geographic Techniques for Differentiating Archaeological Sites in Florida" (M.A. thesis-completed).
- Richard Sapp-"Suwannee River Town, Suwannee River Country: Political Moieties in a Southern Country Communities" (Ph.D. dissertation-completed).
- Claire Shulman-"The Stylistics of Zora Neale Hurston's *Moses, Man of the Mountain*" (M.A. thesis in progress).
- Willie J. Simmons-"Johnson Crossing: The Study of a Rural Black Community" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Phillip Slocum - "The Impact of the Panama Canal on Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Linda Vance - "May Mann Jennings: Florida's Genteel Activist" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Arthur O. White (faculty) - "William N. Sheats: A Biography, 1851-1922" (continuing study); "One Hundred Years of State Leadership in Florida Public Education, 1876-1976" (accepted for publication, University Presses of Florida).
- Kimball D. Woodbury - "The Spatial Diffusion of the Cuban Community in Dade County, Florida" (M.A. thesis-completed).

University of Maryland Overseas (Spain)

Eric S. Beerman (faculty) - "Jose de Ezpeleta"; "Jose de Riano"; "Family Backgrounds of the Major Spanish Explorers" (research in progress).

University of Miami

Ernest R. Dibble - "Joseph M. White and Florida Territorial Growth"; "The Naval Live Oak Reservation" (continuing studies).

Charlton W. Tebeau (emeritus) - *A History of Florida* (revisions and additions).

University of New Mexico

Michael E. Welsh-"Tribal History of the Oklahoma Seminoles" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

University of North Florida

Dan Schafer (faculty)-"Biographical Study of the Stevens Family in Jacksonville"; "Biographical Study of Eartha M. M. White" (continuing studies).

University of South Florida

Rita Hammond - "A History of West Tampa" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Robert P. Ingalls (faculty)-"Labor and Urban Vigilantes" (continuing study).

Steven F. Lawson (faculty)-"The Civil Rights Movement in Tampa in the 1960s" (continuing study).

Gary Mormino (faculty) - "Italian Immigration in Tampa" (continuing study).

Louis A. Perez, Jr. (faculty)-"Cuban Immigration and Labor in Tampa" (continuing study); "Tampa Cubans and the War for Independence" (research completed).

University of Tampa

Lois Benjamin (faculty)-"History of Blacks in Tampa" (continuing study).

James W. Covington (faculty) - "History of the University of Tampa"; "The Rough Riders in Tampa"; "Federal Relations with Florida Indians, 1859-1970" (continuing studies).

University of West Florida

William S. Coker (faculty) - "Papers of Panton, Leslie and Company" (continuing study).

Jane E. Dysart (faculty) - "Immigration in West Florida Before the Civil War"; "The Spanish Population of West Florida, 1820-1860" (continuing studies).

Lucius F. Ellsworth (faculty)-"Lumbering in Northwest Florida During the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries" (continuing study).

Janice R. Holmlund - "Living History Farm Museum: A Feasibility Study for Pensacola" (M.A. thesis-completed).

George F. Pearce (faculty)-"The United States Navy in Pensacola"; "The West Indies Squadron and American-Caribbean Diplomacy, 1823-1841" (continuing studies).

H. O. Simpson-"Confederate Occupation of the Forts and Navy Yard in Pensacola During the Civil War" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Valdosta State College

Lamar Pearson (faculty)-"Spanish-Indian Relations in the First Spanish Period" (continuing study).

Joseph Tomberlin (faculty)-"The *Brown Case* and Its Aftermath" (continuing study).

Woodville Historical Society

A. R. Ferrell-"Major Families of the Woodville Area" (continuing study).

Robert Mullins-"Woodville's Civil War Veterans" (continuing study).

F. A. Rhodes-"The Summer of 1920: Woodville's Religious Revivals" (continuing study).

John Ryan-"The Great Woodville Fire of 1929" (continuing study).

Woodville Historical Society Field Project—"Census of the
Woodville Cemetery" (continuing study).

BOOK REVIEWS

The Military Presence on the Gulf Coast: Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, Volume VII. Edited by William S. Coker. (Pensacola: Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, 1978. xvi, 178 pp. Introduction, notes, illustrations, maps, index. \$10.95; \$6.95 paper.)

Historical conferences with thematic programs are often less than stimulating. The themes are not infrequently artificial, and the papers presented are of very uneven quality. Happily, the seventh Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference did not suffer from those familiar deficiencies. Certainly much of the credit belongs to Professor William S. Coker of the University of West Florida, whose role was large in planning and executing the conference and in editing this resulting volume of essays. The theme itself was proper and timely, for "The Military Presence on the Gulf Coast" still exists as it has for nearly three centuries—from Spanish, French, and British colonial days, when Pensacola, Mobile, Natchez, and New Orleans were remote outposts on the map of far-flung European empires. And there could hardly have been a better way to dramatize that continued presence of uniformed men (and now women) than by asking representatives of the various American armed services there to participate in the conference.

These essays, all well worth reading, are organized into three categories. Under "The Foreign Military," David Hardcastle writes on the "Military Organization of French Colonial Louisiana"; Robert R. Rea, on "Life, Death, and Little Glory: The British Soldier on the Gulf Coast, 1763-1781"; W. James Miller, on "The Militia System of Spanish Louisiana, 1769-1783." Under "The United States Military," Edwin H. Simmons describes "The United States Marines on the Gulf Coast"; John K. Mahon, "The United States Army in the Gulf Coast Region"; George F. Pearce, "The United States Navy in Pensacola, 1825-1914"; Fran McKee, ". . . the Naval Air Station Pensacola and Some Firsts in Naval Aviation, on the Gulf Coast"; Robert F. Futrell, "Science and Air Warfare: Training and Testing at Eglin Field in World

War II." The third and final category, "Military Education on the Gulf Coast"-devoted to the contemporary scene-has William L. Maloy dealing with "Education and Training in the Military: An Overview"; Wallace W. Prophet, with "The United States Army in the 1970s: Developments in Training and Manpower Technologies"; and Sidney R. Sumrall, with "Air Force Education and Training: A Program for Individual Career Development."

Quite obviously, no coherent interpretation can emerge from these wide-ranging essays, although they do collectively attest to the region's continuing military importance and to the impact of military installations on civilian societies. As Coker observes in his thoughtful introduction, "Military camps stretched at one time from present-day Brownsville, Texas, on the Mexican border, to Key West." Only the United States, however, had the strength to make that part of the continent militarily secure. The region's lack of defensive resources, explained in part by small populations and remoteness from the European homeland, was a significant factor in the geopolitical instability of the Gulf area prior to the early nineteenth century when America managed to rid herself of foreign competitors there.

In addition to its other virtues, this is a handsomely made volume, replete with excellent maps and numerous other illustrations. Future Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conferences will be hard pressed to present a product that is the equal of this one.

*University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill*

DON HIGGINBOTHAM

Tacachale: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeastern Georgia during the Historic Period. Edited by Jerald T. Milanich and Samuel Proctor. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1978. xi, 217 pp. Foreword, introduction, notes, contributors, index. \$10.00.)

Tacachale is a Timucuan Indian word meaning "to light a new fire." To the editors it symbolizes the efforts of the native Florida Indians to deal with the European intrusion, but it also

symbolizes the efforts of the authors of this work to fuse historical and archeological data into an anthropological synthesis.

Seven of the nine chapters are devoted to indigenous Indian groups of peninsula Florida and southeastern Georgia during the first Spanish period, which ended in 1763. None of these groups have left any identifiable descendents, and what we can know of them must be recovered from documents and excavations. A brief chapter by Hale G. Smith and Mark Gottlob serves as an introduction by summarizing Spanish-Indian relations from 1500 to 1763, and outlining the items of European material culture introduced during this period.

The following chapter on the Calusa by Clifford M. Lewis is the first of five dealing with specific ethnic areas. Basing his research primarily on late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century documents, Lewis sketches the historical contacts, ethnography, intertribal relations, acculturation, and decline of this important South Florida group. To the north of the Calusa, centering around Tampa Bay, were the Tocobaga, identified as the bearers of the archeologically-defined Safety Harbor culture by Ripley P. Bullen. The culture area also includes other groups mentioned in early documents, such as the Mococo and Ucita.

The chapters on the Western and Eastern Timucua by Jerald T. Milanich, one of the two editors of this volume, and Kathleen A. Deagan, respectively, constitute thirty per cent of the book. Both contain detailed discussions of identifiable sub-units within the major geographical divisions and are concerned with demography, settlement patterns, and social and cultural change resulting from Spanish impact. Each is more than a summary; together they provide a fresh framework for further research on the Timucua.

Lewis H. Larson, Jr., follows with an informative paper entitled "Historic Guale Indians of the Georgia Coast and the Impact of the Spanish Mission Effort." Larson has done more than anyone else to clarify the archeological picture of this period in Georgia, and he provides us here with a very useful summary of this northward extension of Spanish mission efforts. Utilizing a previously unpublished 1743 report and map by Father Joseph Xavier de Alana, William C. Sturtevant discusses the remnant

Indians of the Florida Keys toward the middle of the eighteenth century.

The next chapter, by Charles H. Fairbanks, shifts from the indigenous populations to the more recently arrived Seminole. Fairbanks divides the history of the Seminole in Florida into five phases, and he provides a concise statement of the ethnoarcheology of each phase. In a final chapter Samuel Proctor describes the University of Florida Indian Oral History Project, which is amassing large quantities of recorded information from living descendents of various Indian groups.

All but Sturtevant's contribution were originally presented at a symposium at the annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology in 1973. Regretably, the paper on the Apalachee which formed part of the symposium was not available for publication. The coverage of Florida is complete east of the Aucilla River and includes the related Georgia coastal cultures.

This useful and well-printed volume will be a standard source for many years. It is fitting that it should be the first volume in the Ripley P. Bullen Monographs in Anthropology and History of the Florida State Museum, a series founded as a memorial to the late Dr. Bullen, who contributed so much to the anthropology of Florida, including his posthumous chapter in this volume.

St. Augustine, Florida

JOHN W. GRIFFIN

The Trouble of It Is. By David M. Newell. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978. 272 pp. Introduction, illustrations, a note about the author. \$8.95.)

David M. Newell, formerly editor-in-chief of *Field & Stream*, roving editor of *Sports Afield*, special correspondent for the *New York Times*, and "off and on" resident of Leesburg for the past sixty-seven years, is already well-known to Floridians as the author of *If Nothin' Don't Happen*. This was a nostalgic chronicle of a backwoods (the term is not pejorative) Florida that is almost dead. *The Trouble of It Is* is as completely charming as its predecessor, text, as well as illustrations, which are the work of Mark Livingston. The book's underlying assumptions, one sus-

pects, are that transactional analysis, air pollution, and Miami Beach have never existed—at least not in the Withlacoochee River country. This is the setting for Mr. Newell's Florida tales of the people and animals, hunts and holidays, and, sometimes, heartaches of the river and of the Gulf Hammock, that mysterious wilderness that tantalizes the speeding passenger on Route 19, but appears to be utterly closed to him.

The narrator of *The Trouble of It Is*, which may probably be best described as a collection of tales, is Billy Driggers "of the Withlacoochee River Driggerses, nephew to Winton Zebulon Epps who busted the mold when they made him." There is some dialect, never burdensome, in the book: "he were," for instance. There is also more than a little marvelous confusion of words, as in the description of a woman who wearied her long-suffering husband because "she were an infomaniac." Also, when the Women's Lib lady arrives on the Withlacoochee and calls Billy Driggers a shovin'est male, he replies in kind: she sure is the shovin'est female he has even seen.

Rural Florida has been written about most notably by women: Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings and Marjory Stoneman Douglas. What Mr. Newell has managed here is a masculine companion volume to *The Yearling* and *The Everglades: River of Grass*. It instantly put this reviewer in mind of Robert Ruark's *The Old Man and the Boy*. Newell's book is almost as good. It would have been as good or better if he had concentrated on one relationship throughout the stories, as did Ruark: the relationship of grandson to grandfather. On the other hand, there is something of a sustained relationship between Billy Driggers and Uncle Wint Epps. Had it been more prominent, perhaps *The Trouble of It Is* would have lost some of its variegated merriment.

There are naively poetic glimpses of the Gulf Hammock: "great big old cypress trees along the sloughs and creeks and around the ponds, high islands of big pines and water oaks and magnolias and palmettoes and gums and bays and cedars and hickories. A feller couldn't hardly see the sky." There are ornery mules and delightful Florida Crackers; there is the kind of authenticity that knows a redbug is a redbug, not a Yankee-language chigger; there are Lord God woodpeckers hammering away in the pinewoods; there is the poem-writing of Uncle Wint and his

abbreviated wisdom: "Like all wild critters, turkeys is interested in just three things-feedin', fightin', and you know what." Says Uncle Wint:

"The feller you might think a saint, ain't.
The sweet young gal, you later learnt, weren't.
The dog they say will never bite, might.
The mule that never kicks a man, can."

There is also a just appreciation of the tasteful tourist Homosassa of our own time, unique among jazzy Florida attractions for its respect for the land.

Recounting isolated bits of *The Trouble of It Is* hardly does justice to the warmth and irresistible delight of the whole book. It should be taken on hunting trips and read in the light of Coleman lanterns; it should be read aloud by Crackers on winter nights; it should be shown to boys who will, sadly, never know a world such as the one depicted: the broad duck marshes, the hot hammocks and slow rivers, the horns of hunters, sometimes the ghosts of vanished red men. Is it history? If history embraces spirit, then surely it is.

Tallahassee, Florida

GLORIA JAHODA

The Young Hamilton: A Biography. By James Thomas Flexner. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1978. xiv, 497 pp. Introduction, notes, maps, illustrations, appendices, acknowledgments, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

To a major biographer of Washington the young man most generally associated with the magisterial commander-in-chief and first President quite naturally suggests itself as a subject. Alexander Hamilton joined General George Washington's staff as aide-de-camp in March 1777 at age twenty and remained with him four years until February 1781. Again in 1789 Hamilton came into Washington's "family" as the first Secretary of the Treasury and again spent four years with Washington, the President. Washington, then, created Hamilton's opportunities for public service by calling him to both posts. Only the first of

these associations is treated by the author in *Young Hamilton*, which ends when Hamilton attained the age of twenty-six. The reader is left with the impression that another volume-the Mature Hamilton-will one day follow to round out the twenty years remaining to this young genius whose life ended in the most celebrated duel in American history.

The author presents his subject in the full-bodied style, the manner made familiar by Winston Churchill's *Marlborough* and Douglass Southall Freeman's *Lee* and later his *Washington*. These leisurely biographies, the shortest of them in four volumes, allow the authors ample room to let the subject speak at length in his own words-from letters, essays, reports, and the like-and still leave space enough for the ruminations and reflections that are the special charm of the full-bodied style. Flexner, for instance, quotes and paraphrases an effusion that Hamilton wrote at age sixteen describing the devastating hurricane of 1772 in St. Croix, his birthplace in the West Indies. Throughout the biography Hamilton speaks, in his letters and precocious teen-age propaganda pieces. This manner of treatment readily lends itself to the psychoanalysis that is to this reviewer a blemish on an otherwise attractive, readable biography. Even for professionals well trained in psychology and medicine Oedipus complexes and father images yield treacherous and at best tentative diagnoses. Sound biography need not call on cracker barrel psychoanalysis to be readable or suggestive.

Except those passages where the author previsions the future to point his psychoanalytic moral, this account is straightforward and chronological. Flexner dwells more fully on the West Indian background, the circumstances of Hamilton's illegitimate birth, his pinched boyhood which nevertheless did not prevent the early flowering of his talents, and the business experience that discovered for elder associates the bent of his genius and brought them to sponsor his education in mainland New York. Hamilton arrived just as the course of imperial relations moved the mainland colonies towards the crises of independence and war which absorbed his energies as propagandist, troop leader, aide-de-camp, and again, at Yorktown, as an officer of the line. All this is familiar ground to the author, who carries Hamilton through these great events with a master hand. He never claims too much

nor does he denigrate his subject; rather he presents his reader evenhandedly with Hamilton's comeliness and with his warts as well.

Young Hamilton is certainly the fullest account of the twenty-seven years treated, and the writing draws the reader along just as a work of fiction. Scholars inevitably think of the single volume, now three decades old, by Nathan Schachner which covers Hamilton's entire life in fewer pages (433) than Flexner fills for these formative years (451). In future years their choice between the two may well come to a preference between two styles of biography.

University of Georgia

AUBREY C. LAND

The Rise and Fall of the Plantation South. By Raimondo Luraghi. (New York: New Viewpoints, 1978. 192 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index, about the author. \$12.50; \$5.95 paper.)

This volume contains provocative interpretations which support causes for the intellectualism of the master class in the Old South. These causes are linked to the humanistic literature of the Italian Renaissance which influenced and directed "Raleigh, Gilbert, and their mentor, Hakluyt" to dream of creating a New World society similar to the seigneurial system of the ancient Greeks and Romans during their age of colonization. The seigneurial system was introduced by the French in Canada, and it spread down the Mississippi River to leave its mark especially on Louisiana, but also on Arkansas and South Carolina (Georgia should have been included) as the headright system. Calvinism, which permeated New England, diffused by Pilgrims and Puritans, was purely a Manichean interpretation of St. Augustines, while the true classical ethics and ideals of the Renaissance were embraced and preserved by the early Virginians. While Massachusetts colonists filled their libraries with Bibles, planters of the Old South and West Indies showed their humanistic taste for Latin, Italian, and French culture. These conflicting ideologies, "the sharp contrast between an Elizabethan, classically minded,

aristocratically individualistic South and a puritanical, trade-minded, Calvinistic North," underlay the sectional conflict which later culminated in the Civil War.

The author is critical of Robert W. Fogel and Stanley Engerman's *Time on the Cross* which discusses the economics of slavery by means of an econometric analysis. The findings of these two historians are debunked because only a fragment of the South's history, the so-called cotton era, is confronted, and also because southern planters are characterized as capitalists who received profitable returns from a plantation economy with the use of slave labor. Luraghi contends that slavery was forced upon the plantation colonies by European capitalism which opened markets for staple commodities, but he does concede that slavery was harmonious with the agricultural minds of local seigneurs while the slave trade offered tremendous profits for the bourgeois merchant class. It was those entrepreneurs, Portuguese, English, Dutch, and French, who financed and sponsored the slavers who inundated the Americas with Africans.

The chapter on southern culture is exceptionally good in describing the way of life among the slaveholding class which exemplified the neo-classical revival. The hill upon which the University of Georgia was to be built, where the sons of planter aristocracy would enroll to study the classics, was christened "Athens." Soon thereafter, other such non-religious institutions spread throughout the South. While William H. Seward rejected anything Roman, John C. Calhoun's presence in the United States Senate conjured the image of a Roman senator. Only after a serious study of the Roman constitution did Calhoun create the idea of a "concurrent majority" which in his mind would keep the Union together. When Southerners became conscious of being a minority, their Roman ideals gave way, even in architecture, to the Greek ideal. Southern cities remained agrarian in essence, quite different from cities in industrial areas. The center of production in the South was in the country; cities were places only for aristocrats to meet, to socialize and entertain, and to exchange ideas. Like Brazilian planters, southern planters gave their city mansions a distinctly agrarian character by means of formal gardens and trees. The African ethos influenced much of what was (and still is) termed

southern seigneurial culture. It can be identified in styles of living, cooking, speech habits, and other cultural expressions.

Because the South's leadership remained in the hands of an agrarian ruling class and lacked capital investment, the government of the Confederacy is compared with Communist China. Jefferson Davis hoped to impose a socialist economy to implement the growth of an industrial state; only a state economy based on nationalism of all railroads and foreign trade could give the Confederate government sufficient funds to prosecute the war with success. But national control of the railroads was not fully successful until too late, and Secretary of the Treasury Christopher Memminger refused to follow a plan for nationalizing foreign trade. However, by 1864, the Confederate government did own much industry, and nationalization of trade was bringing a credit rise in Europe. More runners were slipping through the Federal blockade in 1864-1865 than at any time previously. Through an almost superhuman effort, the Confederacy managed to wage total war against a highly industrialized and technologically advanced foe. The South was defeated because the southern productive system and southern labor had no flexibility. When compelled to face an industrialized capitalist opponent the South was doomed to defeat.

Luraghi has expressed a perceptive understanding of the economics and culture of the Old South in the context of world affairs. Though his Marxist theory has a Genovesean flair and his Puritans pitted against seigneurs smacks of Vernon Parrington's intellectual history, his special talent as a military historian illumines the last five chapters with original ideas concerning the Civil War. The book is a distinct contribution to southern history and is worthy of high praise.

Georgia Southern College

JULIA F. SMITH

Milledgeville: Georgia's Antebellum Capital. By James C. Bonner. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978. xii, 307 pp. Preface, illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$14.50.)

Sleepy Milledgeville, Georgia's antebellum capital, has been characterized as typifying the Old South, in contrast to bustling

Atlanta, which has served as Georgia's capital since 1868, and which is said to embody the qualities of the New South. However, if the reader expects to hear the rustle of crinoline or smell the magnolias of the Hollywood version of plantation Georgia in this volume, he or she is in for a surprise. The study substantiates the contention that as late as 1860, upcountry Georgia was still close to the frontier and that life tended to be hard, simple, and almost raw. Although Milledgeville served as the capital while Georgia was developing from a sparsely settled frontier to being Empire State of the South, the town was limited by its natural location. It remained a small town, never achieving great significance except in its role as the seat of government.

One of the most impressive things about this volume is the refusal of Professor Bonner to succumb to the temptation to view the decades from 1807 to 1868 through the eyes of governors and state legislators and thereby to write another history of Georgia for the period when Milledgeville was the capital. He has chosen to concentrate on picturing life in Milledgeville through an unusually wide lens. The result of this approach is a study of unusual breadth illustrated with interesting and illuminating details about almost every aspect of life in this cotton-belt community.

Of great value is the author's skillful selection of details from voluminous notes gathered over a period of more than thirty years to put flesh on the skeleton of historical generalities, thus enabling the reader to get a realistic impression of the life of the people. For example, in discussing land lotteries, he describes the process in such detail as to make it come alive. Valuable information is presented in describing schools, entertainment, hotels and boarding houses, business, banking, transportation, and a variety of other aspects of living conditions in the capital. Important new material is brought out in connection with the state bank, the penitentiary, and the lunatic asylum, all located in or near Milledgeville. There are suggestive new insights into the working of the convict lease system, the administration of the Freedmen's Bureau, and the pattern of race relationships before and after the Civil War. Chapters describing the impact of secession, war, and reconstruction are well done. The account of futile attempts to keep the capital in Milledgeville

in the face of competition from Atlanta throws new light on state politics. In an epilogue, the author describes briefly the transition from seat of government to educational center, pointing out that Milledgeville's development after 1868 is not sufficiently unique to justify a detailed record.

With this volume, Dr. Bonner has added another valuable study to the bibliography of Georgia history. Despite the fact that it is obviously a labor of love, he has maintained a commendable objectivity and he has included references to all important elements of society. It is regrettable that he did not include a bibliographical essay because he obviously was zealous in his search for materials and used a wide variety of sources both published and unpublished, a number of the latter still in private possession. The antebellum state capital has long deserved a history written by a professional historian. It now has one which may serve as the definitive study for many years to come.

Emory University

JUDSON C. WARD, JR.

With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln. By Stephen B. Oates. (New York: Harper and Row, 1977. xvii, 493 pp. Preface, illustrations, reference notes, index, about the author. \$15.95.)

This is the first major, full-scale, one-volume biography of the sixteenth president to appear since Benjamin P. Thomas's skillful and scholarly *Abraham Lincoln* in 1952. The author of this biography, who is professor of history at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst (but is a native of Texas), says that his aim was "to depict the Lincoln who actually lived . . . to draw a portrait that is fair and unflinching in its realism" (p. xv). In some respects he has succeeded; in some he has not. His focus on Lincoln is constant; the pages are few in which Lincoln does not appear. Background explanations are often sketchy or superficial (especially of events in the pre-war years), and are brought to hurried ends if they tend to keep Lincoln out of the foreground. Yet it seems reasonable to ask: how "unflinching" can an account of Lincoln be if it says nothing at all about the cynical splitting of Virginia into two states in 1862-1863, or about Lincoln's no-

torious order of 1862 subjecting civilians to military trials? Furthermore, how “fair” is it to depict Lincoln’s redoubtable opponent, Stephen A. Douglas, as a crude, erratic, racist demagogue? Such a picture of Douglas is not only untrue, but also unnecessary. Lincoln can be presented as great and noble without making his opponents mean or ignoble. Indeed, depicting Douglas as wrong-headed and unprincipled destroys the chance of bringing out the most notable feature of the famous debates of 1858 in Illinois—namely, the fact that they offered to Americans in the 1850s the only earnest and thoughtful public discussion of the political and moral implications of slavery.

Whenever Lincoln’s motives are unknown, Dr. Oates usually refuses to speculate about them, even when Lincoln’s actions cry out for explanation. For example, why did Lincoln refuse to visit his father (only eighty miles distant) in the autumn of 1850 when he knew his father was dying, and why did he refuse to go to the funeral in January 1851? Eventually he had a stone marker put at his father’s grave, but why—especially in view of his growing means—did he never have a marker of any kind placed at his mother’s grave site in Indiana? Much more important, why did Lincoln resist every effort made toward compromise in the secession crisis of 1860-1861, when he ought to have known that the only alternative was war? Did he knowingly choose war?

Dr. Oates’s research is wide, but he actually cites only a few manuscript sources, and he seems to have relied mainly on printed works—of which the supply is almost boundless. He presents nothing startlingly new, and the chief difference between him and earlier biographers lies in the attention he has given to Mary Lincoln. This difference is made possible by Ruth Randall’s *Mary Lincoln* (1953) and by Justin and Linda Turner’s *Mary Todd Lincoln* (1972).

This book has no footnotes. Instead, Dr. Oates has provided a thirty-six page appendix, which he calls “references notes.” This means that he has listed from one to twenty sources for each four or five pages of his text. This solution is not likely to satisfy many readers. College undergraduates and casual readers will pay no attention to them; serious readers will seldom find them precise enough to be useful in tracking down some assertion or quotation. But this book was probably never

intended for serious readers anyway. Dr. Oates can, when he chooses, write with skill and power. For example, his account of eleven-year-old Willie Lincoln's death in 1862 and of his parents' grief is touching. But generally Dr. Oates has chosen to write with a breeziness and a slanginess that often spills over into a sophomoric disregard of literary standards. Here are a few examples: "they quarreled some" (p. 79); McClellan's cocky manner "bothered Lincoln some" (p. 258); "Mary improved some" (p. 291); Mary was "terribly proud of him" (p. 190); Mary was "terribly impressed with" Sumner (p. 242); Lincoln was "attentive to most everyone" (p. 246); in his speeches "Lincoln flayed away at popular sovereignty" (p. 116); delegates were "moiling about" in the Hall (p. 125); "thousands of people moiled about the East Plaza" (p. 217); Chase "chummed around with liberal Republicans" (p. 310); again and again Lincoln suffered from "the hypo" (Dr. Oates's word for Lincoln's attacks of depression); "he was much censored" (p. 424—he means "censored"). Dr. Oates seems to think that the ellipsis (. . .) is interchangeable with the dash as a punctuation mark. The most painful of his illiteracies occurs when, twice on the same page (432), he shows that he does not know the difference between the verbs "lie" and "lay." For these affronts to good usage, Dr. Oates's publishers must share responsibility; they ought to have provided him a competent editor.

Emory University

JAMES RABUN

Forty Acres and a Mule: The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Land Ownership. By Claude F. Oubre. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978. xv, 212 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, maps, tables, conclusions, selected bibliography, index. \$12.95.)

Concerned that historians have paid too little attention to the question of land for freedmen following the Civil War, Professor Oubre has moved to correct the deficiency with his *Forty Acres and a Mule*. Wartime efforts at overseas colonization from the mostly oratorical Chiriqui project in Central America to the somewhat more successful American Colonization Society activi-

ties in Liberia, are dealt with in proper perspective. Philanthropists, direct tax commissioners, and a few sympathetic military commanders succeeded in placing some blacks on abandoned lands during the war, despite serious doubts about their chances of remaining there.

When the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands was launched in March 1865, its most ambitious goal was to settle freedmen on lands which had been abandoned by Confederates during the war. A very few congressmen even spoke vaguely about confiscating land from Confederates and giving it to blacks.

When President Johnson granted amnesty to most former Confederates and restored their land to them, there was little left to be divided among the destitute freedmen, and many who had already settled were ejected in favor of former owners. Some of those holding property under General Sherman's order were allowed to harvest crops already in the ground, and a few, according to Professor Oubre, obtained titles, but most were obliged ultimately to relinquish the acreage. Although it is difficult to be certain with such a complex subject, this reviewer believes that Oubre has confused lands held under the Sherman order with some purchased at the wartime tax sales. At any rate, he does not deal with the complicated struggle between tax-sale purchasers and former Confederate owners which was not finally settled until the early 1890s.

Professor Oubre's most significant contribution is in the chapters dealing with the Southern Homestead Act which opened millions of acres of government lands in Arkansas, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi for settlement by freedmen and Unionists. When Freedmen's Bureau agents reported the desperate need of blacks for land and offered a variety of proposals, Congress made public land in the South available for the "exclusive use of freedmen and loyal refugees until January 1, 1867" (p. 87). After that time it would be open for all classes of homesteaders. Significantly for Florida readers, most of the actual homesteaders settled there, but some successfully proved claims in other states. Oubre explains why the homesteading program was not more successful. First, the land was open exclusively to them for only a few months in 1866, during which time most

were already under contract to labor for the year. Also, most of the land had been available for sale for some thirty years, and it was extensively picked over. Much of what remained had little value for agricultural purposes. Finally, given their destitute condition, the only freedmen who could take advantage of the law were those who obtained rations under the Freedmen's Bureau program of 1868. Oubre concludes that "efforts to assist the freedmen to become landowners must therefore be judged a failure," and "yet, despite the failure of the masses, freedmen did achieve considerable success" (p. 197).

There is some justification for this ambivalence. Oubre scores President Johnson for not supporting the Freeman's Bureau, notes the ideas about private property which kept an ambivalent Congress from doing more about providing land, recounts the difficulties of settling destitute people on raw land from which they must sustain themselves, and still finds that nearly one-fourth of the freedmen obtained land in one way or another in the years following the Civil War.

University of Central Florida

JERRELL H. SHOFNER

My Soul Is Rested: Movement Days in the Deep South Remembered. By Howell Raines. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1977. 472 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, chronology, notes. \$12.95.)

Howell Raines is a journalist who advanced rapidly from being a cub reporter on an Alabama newspaper to become political editor of first the *Atlanta Constitution*, then the *St. Petersburg Times*, and finally to his present position as southeastern national correspondent for the *New York Times*. Along the way he wrote a flawed, but nevertheless interesting, novel entitled *Whiskey Man*, and he conducted the interviews that form the text for *My Soul Is Rested*. The title, of course, comes from the much-quoted remark by an elderly black lady who, while daily walking to work during the Montgomery bus boycott, observed: "My feet is tired but my soul is rested."

Raines interviewed a wide variety of people who had been involved with the civil rights movement in the South, and these

interviews, strung together with very little commentary, comprise *My Soul Is Rested*. Most of the respondents were civil rights activists, although Raines also talked with segregationists, journalists, lawyers, lawmen, and, as he puts it, "assorted rebels." The bulk of the work concerns Alabama and Mississippi with most of the remainder dealing with Georgia.

On the whole, the book comes off extremely well. Raines manages, particularly in his chapters on Mississippi and Alabama, to achieve a certain amount of continuity by juxtaposing series of interviews on the same general subject. The result is a highly personalized and eminently readable review of some of the highlights of an epic period in the southern past.

More so than any of the academic studies of the civil rights era, Raines's interviews catch the mood of the period. The high esprit de corps of a generation which thought it could fundamentally alter the social mores of a section and the tremendous pressures that civil rights activists faced in the hostile environment of the Deep South are graphically portrayed. While Raines is clearly sympathetic with the proponents of social change, he also gives a fair hearing to a wide variety of anti-civil rights leaders.

There are, of course, weaknesses in this type of oral history. Informants are often recalling events that happened decades before and their memories are sometimes fallacious. For example, James Farmer recounts the White City Roller Rink demonstrations in Chicago in the following manner: ". . . during White City-the thing was dragging on for several months-somebody suggested, 'Well, why don't we sue? Let's go to court and sue on the basis of century-old civil rights laws.' We rejected this because that would be reverting to the old techniques which we knew could work under certain circumstances, but it would not tell us whether nonviolence would work here, direct-action techniques" (p. 29). In fact, of course, CORE did take the case to court and began demonstrations only after legal action failed.

At the same time, many of the interviews contain a refreshing frankness. During the days of the civil rights movement, leaders went out of their way to avoid revealing to reporters the divisions and strains within the movement. By the time Raines interviewed them in the mid-1970s, the concern for a united front had long passed, and many respondents talked revealingly about the pro-

found divisions between and within the major civil rights organizations. If nothing else, Raines's interviews document the diversity and energy of the Negro Revolution. They also document the sacrifices made by so many unheralded workers, particularly those associated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. As one former SNCC worker observed: "Once you've had a bad experience physically, where you've been mauled or beaten or brutalized or hit with a bullet or had some broken bones, that fear is always in you. . . . I think there was a heavy toll in that generation, [among the] people who were active" (p. 259). But as this book demonstrates, most of the people involved felt that the movement's accomplishments more than repaid the sacrifices.

University of Georgia

NUMAN V. BARTLEY

The Federal Writers' Project: A Study in Government Patronage of the Arts. By Monty Noam Penkower. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978. ix, 266 pp. Preface, prologue, notes, conclusion, bibliography, index. \$11.95.)

Early in the Roosevelt administration, Harry Hopkins, as head of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, recognized the need for a program to assist unemployed white collar workers. The FERA failed in this respect because its rules required work relief programs to be initiated by local authorities who were reluctant to consider any but manual labor projects. The obvious solution seemed to be a program to operate directly from Washington. It was not until the establishment of the Works Progress Administration in the summer of 1935, however, that a comprehensive program for the relief of needy professionals was instituted. Federal Project No. 1 originally covered theatre, art, music and writing, with Henry Alsberg as national director of the Federal Writers' Project.

Before the Writers' Project could function, it had to solve two problems: what constituted an "unemployed writer," and, what type of program could be instituted on a national scale to give these "writers" socially useful employment? Professional writers were concentrated in urban centers such as New York and

Chicago, but throughout the country there were thousands of unemployed teachers, librarians, lawyers, and other white collar professionals who possessed writing skills. For those reasons, the term "writer" was defined very liberally by project officials.

Suggested programs covered a wide range of activities, from translations to local histories and state and local guidebooks. The pattern that evolved for what became the American Guide Series consisted of essays on such topics as a state's history, literature, art and architecture, followed by comprehensive tour guides to all sections of the state.

The project was administered by a central editorial staff in Washington, state directors nominated by Alsberg but appointed by state WPA administrators, and, beginning in 1938, four regional directors. Inevitably, it had to fend off efforts at political control and censorship. An even greater hurdle was the dearth of qualified writers. In spite of these and other difficulties, all the state guides were finished by the end of 1941. An ingenious concept of "sponsorship" made possible their publication by commercial firms rather than the Government Printing Office. *Florida, A Guide to the Southernmost State* was published by Oxford University Press and the State of Florida Department of Public Instruction in 1939. It carried a foreword by Dr. John J. Tigert, then President of the University of Florida, and a preface by Carita Doggett Corse, state director of the Writers' Project in Florida.

Publication of a number of local guidebooks preceded completion of the American Guide Series. One of these was *A Guide to Key West* (1941). Other auxiliary projects included pioneering socio-ethnic studies of the Negro and other minority groups in America. Perhaps the most interesting black study was the collection of ex-slave narratives. The project also did valuable work in the collection of folklore and in research on place names.

Although the guides received a uniformly favorable reception, the project ran afoul of the Martin Dies Committee in 1938 because of charges of Communist domination. Conservatives in Congress succeeded in terminating the WPA as a federally administered project when the 1939 relief bill was passed. The Writers' Project, renamed the Writers' Program, was allowed to continue under local sponsorship until it was terminated early

in 1943. When the project was discontinued, Alsberg stated that it had issued 321 publications, had 128 on the presses, and 68 almost completed.

The author has told the story of the Writers' Project in a interesting and well-documented narrative. His sources include not only voluminous project and personal papers, but interviews with many of the participants. The volume falls short, however, of the promise of the subtitle. Although it may fairly be said that the project was justified artistically in the high literary quality of its product, neither it, nor any of the other "arts" projects, was ever intended as a subsidized cultural enterprise.

Tallahassee, Florida

DOROTHY DODD

Media-Made Dixie: The South in the American Imagination. By Jack Temple Kirby. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978. xviii, 203 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, illustrations, notes, epilogue, essay on sources, index. \$9.95.)

The dustjacket says that author Jack Temple Kirby shows "how the change in national attitudes toward the South was largely affected by the taste makers of the national communications media." Kirby himself is more modest. He describes it as a work of historiography that surveys the image of the South since 1930 as reflected in films, best-selling fiction, popular history, school texts, music, television, radio, drama, sports, and advertising. The dust jacket does Kirby an injustice. Since he provides no periodic survey of Americans' image of the South, he of course makes no serious attempt to show the effects of the mass media. Unfortunately, Kirby does his own cause of disservice by biting off here more than any historian can really chew.

Kirby, would have been far better off to deal with one medium only and to do a thorough job of the changing image in that particular medium. Instead, his fisherman's net approach to the task forces an eclecticism that becomes at first confusing, then annoying, and finally inconsistent. Why full chapters on filmmaker D. W. Griffith and historian Claude Bowers and only half a paragraph to Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings? How can one be sure that Bowers's white contemporaries had a "swelling generosity

toward Dixie" or that Erskine Caldwell's "readers assumed that Caldwell's contemporary South was actual"? Is it not possible that readers assumed, perhaps correctly, that there were a few people in the South like Jeeter Lester?

Kirby apparently finds improvement in the image of the South as reflected in advertisements—from grinning, liveried blacks rushing to serve mint juleps at country clubs to the current "down home taste" in Winston cigarette ads showing mamma's Thanksgiving table in the rural South. What is left unsuggested by Kirby is the fact that media are not necessarily changing the image of the South, but simply reflecting a change that has taken place outside the media.

This is the general problem with *Media-Made Dixie*. It is a hodge-podge that moves chronologically from 1900, but jerks the reader back and forth from the contemporary South to antebellum days, then forward again, from one medium to another, from one theme to another. One is never certain whether Kirby sees a general dissipation in the negative image of the South or a resistant strain that we can call southern culture.

Media-Made Dixie will be most useful to those who would like to build upon Kirby's effort, both his idea and the material he has catalogued. His knowledge of media titles and content relating to southern themes is catholic. He brings together in this book an impressive amount of information which others could use more selectively and more conclusively.

University of Florida

RALPH L. LOWENSTEIN

St. Simons Memoir. By Eugenia Price. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1978. 224 pp. Illustrations. \$10.00.)

It is a magical thing to discover an island. And it has nothing to do with ancient mariners, or tattered treasure charts, or a queen's jewels. One can simply drive, or fly, or swim to a previously unencountered shore and be overwhelmed by a mystic sense of identification and a deeper and even happier feeling of belonging.

This can happen easily on St. Simons, the least exploited of Georgia's three best-known "golden isles." After lawn-to-lawn

Sea Island, and Jekyll, a museum of turn-of-the-century millionaire sportsmen's hunting and fishing lodges, one comes upon St. Simons with its driftwood-strewn beaches and its moss-draped trees (Sidney Lanier's "glooms of the live-oaks"), its semi-ruined fort and its forest full of violets, its tiny woodland Episcopal (High) church, and its rambling King and Prince Hotel. One wonders how to sort it all out.

"But now I had found St. Simons Island, and all else faded," mused Eugenia Price in her handsomely produced *St. Simons Memoir*. A West Virginian, she had lived in, and even liked, Chicago. What she dreamed of, though, was the writing of an historical novel laid in the southeastern coastal region. And she found the Georgia setting and settlers responsive to her dream.

Everyone is indeed so responsive, so loving and lovable, that the encounters begin to take on an air of unreality. One wonders if these "love relationships," as the author herself calls them, could possibly have been that adorable. And yet this is an autobiographical and well-documented account of the years she spent on the island writing her trilogy of St. Simons novels and other works, including one called *God Speaks to Women Today*.

God is given credit for most of the good things (and there are many) that happen to her, and this is engaging to a point, but when Miss Price writes of "Knowing Him to the extent I knew Him then," and "We were friends," I was bothered by a diminishing or debasing of the Deity, or what others have termed reducing Him to a kind of "universal pal," or "celestial bell-boy." Even more offensive was her interminable emphasis on being a Christian ("I met Jesus Christ") and therefore a shade better, or at least more honorable, than most of the rest of civilization. "Part of me wanted to renege on the book, but as a Christian I knew that was out of the question." With a large proportion of the publishing world non-Christian, as well as many of its readers, one wonders why this tasteless expression of her moral superiority was allowed to slip by. A good editor might have helped here.

Another facet of her personality, which shines through all the way, is her obvious satisfaction with her career. It starts out by being somewhat naive and endearing, but as we read on we gather that what impressed her most was the number of auto-

graph seekers and the length of the lines waiting to buy her books. "I went, of course, to Rich's in Atlanta, where Faith Brunson and her fine staff crippled my right hand by selling eight hundred copies in one day. I then spent a week with Mother and autographed successfully." This continual horn-blowing, irritating as it is, unfortunately also finds the reader thinking: Who cares? I have not read her other books, but if they were as popular as she keeps indicating, they must have been a good cut above this one.

Anyone's constant complacency with friends, and work, and even one's home, is bound to be tiresome. I kept wishing that Miss Price might have read May Sarton's beautifully expressed *The House by the Sea*, and have been guided by its wisdom, literacy, sensitivity, and good taste.

As for style: "Mother hopped another plane in February, this time to Washington, D. C., where I was to speak at the First Lady's Prayer Breakfast," will give you some idea, as do the samples quoted above. Like many self-professed "Christian writers," she seems incapable of, or uninterested in, any kind of subtle, discerning wit or humor. The dialogue is often stilted and unnatural, and there is too much of it.

But a love affair with an island is bound to be appealing, or it least understandable. Eugenia Price is probably a very nice person. Let us just consider *St. Simons Memoir* as the fruit of her love affair with the island, and let it go at that.

Winter Park, Florida

MARJORY BARTLETT SANGER

Human Rights Odyssey. By Marion Wright and Arnold Shankman. (Durham, North Carolina: Moore Publishing Company, 1978. 382 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, index. \$9.95.)

In recent years, southern racial liberals have attracted an increasingly appreciative audience. As the South's race relations seem more and more to represent a significant departure from the age of segregation, those white Southerners who argued for racial changes in southern life before the 1960s become more prominent in the region's past.

One of these southern liberals-forthright and unyielding in his denunciation of racial discrimination-is Marion Wright, a native South Carolinian who now resides in Linville Falls, North Carolina. *Human Rights Odyssey*, which chronicles Wright's commitment to racial justice and the defense of civil rights in the South, is not a biography. It is rather a compilation of Wright's public addresses and statements over the last half century and more. In compiling this volume, Wright has had the assistance of Arnold Shankman, a young historian who teaches at Winthrop College. Shankman has, additionally, provided an introduction which offers an overview to Wright's career.

Wright's public years-he was born in 1894-have witnessed the South passing through an agony of racial turmoil and reappraisal. But Wright has been much more than merely a witness to the South's modern history. An alumnus of the University of South Carolina, and a former president of both the University Alumni Association and the Law Alumni Association, Wright has been active in many civil rights and interracial organizations. An early member of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in the 1920s and 1930s, Wright served as president of the Southern Regional Council during the 1950s. He was for years a member and chairman of the board of Penn Community Services, based at Frogmore, on St. Helena Island, South Carolina. Over the years Penn Community Services has maintained a library at Frogmore, a day care center, clinic, and early in the civil rights movement, unsegregated facilities which could be used as a meeting place for civil rights groups. In addition to these responsibilities, Wright maintained a law practice and worked to establish public libraries all over the South. He also served as president of the North Carolina chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union in 1973, and fought the re-institution of the death penalty when interest in criminal execution revived in the 1970s. Unlike some white Southerners classified as racial liberals, Wright has not been a gradualist in racial matters. He has argued forcefully throughout his career for immediate change in the South's racial patterns. That position is restated again and again in his public statements.

Editorially, this compilation of Wright's papers and addresses suffers somewhat from redundancy. Further, the headnotes which

introduce various sections should have been set in typescript different from Wright's words. But as a chronicle of events, *Human Rights Odyssey* has considerable interest for students of southern history. It is not a substitute for the biography which Wright deserves, and which one hopes Professor Shankman will provide. Until that study appears, Marion Wright's public statements stand as a worthwhile introduction to this remarkable Southerner.

University of Florida

AUGUSTUS M. BURNS III

A History of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its Activities Among Indians. By Curtis E. Jackson and Marcia J. Galli. (San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1977. xi, 162 pp. Preface, tables, figures, notes. \$12.00 paper.)

In their preface the authors state that "a book that goes into the history of the BIA and the development of its activities has been needed for a long time." If such a need existed, it has not been lessened one whit by the publication of this embarrassingly bad work. To read *A History of the Bureau of Indian Affairs* in its entirety is to undertake an ordeal without purpose. There is nothing to be gained from it; it merely tests one's powers of endurance.

Macaulay understood that, "in history, the facts are given, to find the principles; and the writer who does not explain the phenomena as well as state them performs only one half of his office." As historians, Jackson and Galli bungled one half of their office and appear to have left the other half unattempted: once past the title, the reader will find no history in this book. Facts are few but incomplete, and of explanation there is practically none. Much of the text is comprised of arbitrary excerpts from various documents, the remainder being largely devoted to simple connecting paragraphs. The seventeen chapters are topical in their subjects, but follow one another in only the vaguest sort of chronological fashion. (For instance, a chapter entitled Early Education of American Indians at Government Schools is immediately followed by one on the General Allotment Act of 1887.) Lacking even the simple order imposed by rigid

chronological progression, the book is so fragmented as to be almost incoherent. It is entirely devoid of any sort of unifying thesis; there seems no point to the thing.

Fortunately, those interested in the subject need not rely entirely on Jackson and Galli for an appreciation of the history of federal Indian policy. Although their narrative belies it, the authors' bibliography indicates that they have some familiarity with several books which deal quite capably with Indian affairs and the BIA, and the reader would do well to consult it. Included in the listed sources are Francis P. Prucha's *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years* and Lawrence F. Schmeckebier's *The Office of Indian Affairs: Its History, Activities, and Organization*, both of which are more profitably read than the work under consideration. Not listed is *American Indians* by William T. Hagan—a short but useful survey of Indian-white relations from first contact through 1960, which is one volume in the University of Chicago's History of American Civilization series. This century's most influential figure in Indian affairs has been examined in an excellent book by Kenneth R. Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform: 1920-1954*, which was published too late for inclusion.

One suspects that Jackson and Galli could have done better had they had some help. The finished book gives no evidence of having been edited, and if there were galley proofs someone forgot to read them. Gross errors in spelling, punctuation, and syntax abound, and the paragraphing might best be described as creative. One can only marvel at the publisher's audacity in sending the book to press. There must be a market for this sort of thing (R & E published seventy-five books in 1977), but it is doubtful that the readership of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* is part of it.

Indiana University

R. T. KING

BOOK NOTES

The History of Okeechobee County is by Kyle S. VanLandingham and Alma Heatherington, both well known for their writings on St. Lucie and Osceola counties and the Kissimmee River Valley. The area now encompassed by Okeechobee County first drew attention during the Second Seminole War when the Indians sought refuge there. A monument marks the site of the Battle of Okeechobee, fought on December 25, 1837, when Colonel Zachary Taylor routed a band of Seminoles. White settlers moved in during the 1860s, and there were churches, schools, and a growing population by the beginning of the twentieth century. The county, created by the legislature in 1917, included land from Osceola, St. Lucie, and Palm Beach counties. Pogy Bill Collins was one of the colorful personalities associated with the area. A leader of the fishermen, he was also a trouble maker and served time in jail. Later, Collins became first city marshal and then sheriff. *The History of Okeechobee County* includes pictures, bibliography, and index. It may be ordered from Mr. VanLandingham, 103 South West Second Avenue, Okeechobee, Florida 33474. The price is \$7.00.

Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main, in the Ship "Two Friends;" was an anonymously written eyewitness account of the Amelia Island Affair. In 1817, a Scottish adventurer, Gregor MacGregor, seized Fernandina in the name of several South American governments. MacGregor did not remain long in Florida, and was replaced by Luis Aury, a privateer sailing under the flag of the defunct revolutionary Republic of Mexico. Aury's stay was brief also. An American naval squadron, under orders from Washington, arrived at the island in December 1817. This Narrative was published in 1819 in London, likely by John Miller, a bookseller. John Griffin of St. Augustine, editor of the facsimile of *Narrative of A Voyage*, attempts to learn who the author is, but the Narrator remains unidentified. Griffin shows how the Affair, and Jackson's invasion of West Florida in 1818, set the stage for the cession of Florida to the United States. Griffin has compiled an index to the book and to his Intro-

duction. This volume in the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series published by the University of Florida Press for the Bicentennial Commission of Florida costs \$12.00.

Southern Elections: County and Precinct Data, 1950-1972 was compiled by Numan V. Bartley and Hugh B. Graham, and was published by Louisiana State University Press. This work continues earlier activities of Alexander Heard, Donald S. Strong, and V. O. Key, Jr., who compiled data for the period 1920-1949, and Richard M. Scammon, who analyzed election statistics through 1964. Bartley and Graham examine a variety of demographic and geographic data for all the Southern states, including Florida. Florida is divided between its predominantly metropolitan, tourist-oriented southern portion and the northern area adjacent to the Alabama and Georgia borders. Each Florida county is examined demographically and geographically, and there is a separate category for the few counties containing in 1960 a black population of more than forty per cent. Additionally, there is a socioeconomic analysis of precinct returns from twenty-four representative southern cities, including Jacksonville and Miami. In each community precincts are divided, on the basis of census data, into categories that reflect specific race and economic class distinctions: black, lower-class white, lower-middle class white, upper-middle class white, and upper-class white. There is data on Florida's thirteen Democratic gubernatorial primaries (including the 1954 special primary to fill the unexpired term of Dan McCarty) held since 1950. There is also material on seven Democratic senatorial primaries, three Republican primaries, the 1972 Democratic presidential primary, and the vote on three proposed Constitutional amendments. *Southern Elections* includes maps for the eleven involved states. The book sells for \$24.95.

A. D. Mayo, a nineteenth-century reformer and a Unitarian minister, traveled throughout the South, including Florida, at the end of the century. He was convinced that the South would realize its potential only under a sound educational system, and this became his message. Teachers, he felt, had to be persons trained in the civilizing values. Southern white women, he argued, would be the best ones to transmit learning to children, and this

is the thesis of his book, *Southern Women in the Recent Educational Movement in the South*. Florida at the end of the 1880s, according to Mayo's statistical data, had 113,647 (white and black) students enrolled in common schools and 2,593 teachers of whom 1,174 were female, about forty-six per cent. In a compilation made at the time by the National Bureau of Education, listing institutions for "superior instruction of women" in the South, there are four Florida schools listed: Rollins College, Stetson University, St. Johns River Conference (Orange City), and Florida Conference College (Leesburg). All were church-supported. Of the nearly 300 students attending these schools, about one-third were women. Only two institutions for blacks are listed: State Normal College for Colored Teachers in Tallahassee and Cookman Institute in Jacksonville. The black student population at the time was 53,000. Mayo's study was originally published in 1892. It is now reprinted, with an interpretative essay by Dan T. Carter and Amy Friedlander, by the Louisiana State University Press. It sells for \$17.50.

Jacques Le Moyne du Morgues was one of the few sixteenth-century artists who accompanied the early explorers and colonists and could paint from his own experiences. Because of his pictures and writings, detailed information has survived of Fort Caroline, the French settlement at the mouth of the St. Johns River, and of the Timucuan Indians who inhabited the area at the time of European contact. Other artists represented in *Discovering the New World* are John White, who was with Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition to Virginia in 1585, Hans Staden who visited Brazil, and Girolamo Benconi who spent fifteen years traveling through the South American continent. Theodore deBry, a Flemish engraver, launched a series of fourteen volumes which included copper-plate engravings of their articles. His *Historia Americae* was a compilation of travel accounts based on original texts. The first six volumes were completed at the time of his death, but deBry's widow and sons completed the project. Michael Alexander has made selections from these richly illustrated volumes, edited the texts, and provided new introductions and notes for his *Discovering the New World*. Published by Harper and Row, it sells for \$22.95.

The Exploration of North America, 1630-1776 is a collection of pictures, several in color, and maps illustrating a text based upon original narratives by traders, frontiersmen, priests, and soldiers. It covers the major period of American exploration and colonization up to the time of the American Revolution. Of special interest to Floridians is the material dealing with St. Augustine, the Spanish missions in Tallahassee and other areas of north Florida, and Dickinson's 1696 shipwreck on the Florida east coast. Several of Mark Catesby's prints, from *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands* are reproduced. There are also excerpts from *Bartram's Travels* and from the literature describing La Salle's activities along the Gulf coast. Each chapter of the book is prefaced by an historical survey, and there is also an index. The authors-W. P. Cumming, Susan Hillier, D. B. Quine, and Glynder Williams-are specialists in the field of North American history and cartography. The book was published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, and the price is \$30.00.

The Urbanization of Florida's Population: An Historical Perspective of County Growth, 1830-1970, was compiled by T. Stanton Dietrich of the Department of Sociology, Florida State University, and was published by the University of Florida's Bureau of Economic and Business Research. The state's growth since World War II has been truly phenomenal; census statistics document it as one of the fastest growing in the nation. It is predicted that by 1980 the population will exceed 9,000,000. The growth since 1950 has been in the urban areas, especially in South Florida. Professor Dietrich's report, in preparation for nearly fifteen years, provides a variety of statistical data relating to racial diversity, regional distribution, rural-urban growth, and urban-farm population change. The maps which have been included aid in interpreting the data. Order from 221 Matherly Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville, 32611; the price is \$8.50.

A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838-1907, is by Morris L. Wardell, one of the pioneer historians of modern Indian scholarship. First published in 1938 by the University of Oklahoma Press, it is now reissued with a foreword and bibliographical essay by Rennard Strickland, himself a Cherokee-Osage Indian and former professor at the University of West Florida.

Removal of the Cherokees from western North Carolina and their travail along the "Trail of Tears" to the West is the event of Cherokee history that had been most explored in the literature. Yet, as Strickland points out, notwithstanding the "thousands of books, articles, and pamphlets that have been written about the Cherokees," less is known of their story than many of the other Indians, for which there are only a few monographs. Wardell's book serves as an important springboard for scholarly research into Cherokee history. Published by the University of Oklahoma Press, this volume sells for \$12.50.

The Camelia Caper is by James K. Polk, a St. Augustine resident. The scene of the "caper" is Camelia, a "sleepy little town . . . in north central Florida." It is a funny book, all about an attempt at larceny, and one in which all the male characters are bested by females. Published by Vantage Press, New York, it sells for \$7.95.

In recent years attention has been focused on the need for architectural restoration and preservation. Most of this activity, however, has been in preserving structures associated with important personalities: "Save those houses in which George Washington slept." As a result, other significant structures are being lost, either through deterioration or by being dismantled. *The Architectural Legacy of the Lower Chattahoochee Valley in Alabama and Georgia* was assembled to preserve the history and architectural flavor of some sixty buildings. These include residences, churches, stores, schools, and other structures. All were selected by the Historic Chattahoochee Commission's board of directors. Included in the volume are detailed photographic records, architects' measured drawings of floor plans, trim, and elevations, and available historical data. This handsome book will be an important source for architects, historians, and preservationists. Architectural Legacy has already proved its value as an archival record, although sadly. The Malone Stone House (Bainbridge, Georgia) and the Tingle Home (Columbus, Georgia) have been razed. The latter now has a service station on the site. The Hood Law Office (Cuthbreth, Georgia) was destroyed while being moved, and the William Walker-Cook-Hood House was consumed by fire. On the other hand, buildings in Abbeyville,

Seale, and Chambers County, Alabama, have been saved and are being restored partially through interest generated by this project. This handsome and valuable volume contains 195 photographs and sixty-one sets of architectural drawings. D. Gregory Jeane and Douglas Clare Purcell are the editors; Sidney R. Mullen, the architect; and George R. McGlaun, photographer. Published by the University of Alabama Press, *Architectural Legacy* sells for \$45.00.

Steamboats Come True, by James Thomas Flexner, was first published in 1944, and is in print again with a new foreword and new illustrations. The steamboat was invented in the era of the American Revolution, but it was not until the time of Robert Fulton that all of its components—vessel, paddle wheel, and engine—were successfully combined to bring about a major change in the concept of motion through space. Steamboats played a major role in nineteenth-century Florida history, providing transportation to the remote parts of the state. Published by Little, Brown and Company of Boston, *Steamboats Come True* sells for \$12.95.

William Berry Hartsfield, Mayor of Atlanta is by Harold H. Martin. Hartsfield began his first administration in 1937 in the midst of the Great Depression, when the city was struggling with a myriad of economic and political problems. A quarter of a century later, when he retired, Atlanta had grown to become the third most populous capital city in the country, as well as the cultural, commercial, and financial center of the Southeast. By 1961, Atlanta's population stood at nearly half a million, and as Hartsfield told an interviewer, "Atlanta is a city of destiny whose growth has hardly begun." The years since 1961 have proved Hartsfield to be right. Harold Martin, Hartsfield's biographer, is also author of *Georgia, A History*, one of the volumes in the American Association for State and Local History's Bicentennial series. *William Berry Hartsfield* was published by the University of Georgia Press, and it sells for \$7.50.

HISTORY NEWS

Historic Capitol Restoration

The state of Florida has recently undertaken restoration of its Historic 1902 Capitol in Tallahassee. The original building, which is the core of the Capitol, was completed in 1845, shortly before Florida entered the Union. At first, because frontier government required few offices, basement rooms were rented out to private citizens. The dislocations of the Civil War and Reconstruction were mirrored in the physical neglect and deterioration of the building. Returning prosperity brought fresh paint and modern improvements, such as gas lighting and running water.

As government expanded, the Capitol became increasingly overcrowded. This prompted the first major enlargement of the building. In 1901, architect Frank Pierce Milburn was engaged to alter the Capitol. New north and south wings were added, along with an Italian Renaissance dome. Masonry staircases replaced the old wooden stairs to the porticoes, and the roof line was adorned with a dentiled cornice and balustrade and set metal reliefs of the state seal over the porticoes.

The interior of the building also underwent changes. The Senate, House, and Supreme Court moved to more spacious chambers in the new wings. By cutting an opening in the second-story floor, Milburn converted the main lobby into a rotunda. A new wooden grand staircase swept upward to a landing, divided, and continued to the second floor. Under the dome, an interior dome heightened the rotunda ceiling.

Although later architects retained many of Milburn's stylistic elements, three successive enlargements greatly altered the building. Accurate restoration of the 1902 statehouse requires the most complete record possible. While the standard research sources contain considerable information, there remain certain gaps in the historical evidence. The Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board is requesting the assistance of Florida citizens in its search for historical data. Old photographs of the interior or exterior of the building, letters or other documents, and information regarding furniture from the Capitol are of particular interest.

Anyone who has such materials should contact Christine Galbraith or Barbara Miller, Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board, 329 North Meridian, Tallahassee, Florida 32301, telephone (904) 488-4063.

Museum Openings

The Fort Lauderdale Historical Society opened its historical museum at 219 S.W. Second Avenue, on October 5. The inaugural exhibit was "People in Fort Lauderdale, 1870-1930," and featured items from the museum's antique clothing collection. Museum hours are Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, 1:00 to 4:00 p.m. The archives are open Monday through Friday, 10:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m., but advance appointments are desirable.

The Fernandina Historical Museum was formally opened to the public on November 4, 1978. Its first exhibition is a display of nineteenth-century clothing entitled "Suiting America." The museum occupies the old Fernandina Railroad Depot at the foot of Center Street. Barbara Stidfole serves as director. The museum is open Monday through Friday, from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.

Awards

The American Association for State and Local History, at its annual meeting in Springfield, Illinois, in September 1978, voted a Certificate of Commendation to Arva Moore Parks of Coral Gables for the contribution she made to an understanding of South Florida history through her book, *The Forgotten Frontier, Florida Through the Lens of Ralph Middleton Munroe*. It was published by Banyan Books of Miami. Ms. Parks is past president of the Historical Association of Southern Florida and a former member of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society. She is also chairperson of the program committee for the 1979 annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society.

The AASH also voted an Award of Merit to Dr. Jack D. L. Holmes of the University of Alabama, Birmingham, in recognition of his distinguished career as an historian, writer, and teacher. Holmes research activities have illuminated important aspects of the history of the American Gulf Coast and

of West Florida. He has presented papers at Florida Historical Society meetings, and his articles and book reviews have appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Both awards will be presented at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society, West Palm Beach, in May 1979.

The Tampa Historical Society presented its D. B. McKay Award for 1978 to Hampton Dunn, former managing editor of the *Tampa Daily Times* and now vice-president of Peninsular Motor Club (AAA), for his writings and contributions to an understanding of the history of the Tampa Bay area and of Florida. Mr. Dunn, the author of several books on Florida, has spurred interest in architectural preservation in both Tampa and Hillsborough County, and he has been active in the affairs of the Tampa Historical Society and the Florida Historical Society. The Tampa Historical Society annually presents the D. B. McKay Award to a person who has made important contributions to the understanding and interpretation of Florida and community history. Previous recipients are Frank Laumer, State Senator David McClain, Judge James R. Knott, Gloria Jahoda, Harris H. Mullen, and Dr. James W. Covington. Mr. Dunn received his award at the annual banquet of the Tampa Historical Society on November 17, 1978.

Herschell E. Shepard, Jr., AIA, received the President's Award of the Florida Association of Architects "in recognition of his significant contribution to outstanding achieving of the preservation of historic architecture of Florida." It was presented at the FIAI annual awards banquet in Miami in September 1977. Mr. Shepard has been involved as consultant architect for a number of restoration projects in Florida, and currently is architect for the restoration of the Historic Florida Capitol.

Announcements and Activities

The Pensacola Historical Society is the recipient of two grants. One for \$5,000 was awarded by the Institute of Museum Services to support the museum's operations. The other, a \$10,000 gift from the Gannett Foundation, will be used to complete the society's historic photograph collection and to redesign the interior of its museum.

The Florida College Teachers of History will hold their annual meeting, February 16-17, 1979, at Florida International University, Miami. For information, write: Dr. Darden A. Pyron, Department of History, FIU, Miami, Florida 33199.

Richard A. Nelson, a doctoral student at Florida State University, is gathering material on the history of the movie industry in Florida. He is particularly interested in the period prior to World War II. Anyone having information, documents, pictures, or other data is asked to write him at 2309 Delgado Drive, Tallahassee, Florida 32204.

State historic preservation officers will hold their annual conference in Tampa, April 8-11, 1979. Officers and their staff, meeting outside of Washington for the first time, will attend sessions in three Tampa landmarks—University of Tampa (Tampa Bay Hotel), Tampa Theater, and Ybor Square.

The Florida Trust for Historic Preservation will hold its annual preservation conference in Tallahassee on March 8-11, 1979. The Florida Trust solicits membership from all those interested in helping to preserve the state's architectural heritage. Individual memberships are \$15.00; family, \$20.00; student, \$5.00; and organization, \$25.00. There are also contributing, sustaining, business, and benefactor memberships available. Items for *Florida Preservation News*, the organization's newsletter, should be received no later than the twenty-fifth of each month. For information on the meeting in Tallahassee, membership, or the newsletter, write Box 10368, Tampa, 33679.

Miss Thelma Bolton has donated her personal collection of folklore material and publications to the Florida Folklife Archives at the Stephen Foster Center, White Springs. Her collection covers the years that she has worked as a leader in Florida folklore and folk music. She became the director of the Florida Folk Festival in 1954, and has directed the festival and been involved in folklore programming ever since. Miss Bolton's materials are being cataloged and will be available for research. Contact Florida Folklore Archives, Stephen Foster Center, Box 265, White Springs, 32096.

The Florida Folk Art/Folklife Conference will be held January 26-28, 1979, at Stephen Foster Center, White Springs, Florida. This is a three-day intensive forum on folk arts, folklife, and ethnicity in Florida. Professionals and lay persons will discuss major issues surrounding folk and ethnic cultural programming in Florida. In addition to a regional foods banquet, an evening of traditional music, and media presentations, there will be a dramatic production of Zora Neale Hurston's "Color Struck." For information, write Stephen Foster Center, Box 265, White Springs, 32096, or call (904) 397-2192.

There are a number of genealogical societies in Florida which publish material useful to state and regional historians. The *Florida Genealogical Journal* is published by the Florida Genealogical Society, Box 18624, Tampa, Florida 33679, semiannually in March and October. Annual subscriptions are \$3.00. The *Genealogical Society of Okaloosa County Journal* is a quarterly publication mainly devoted to material relating to the Okaloosa, Santa Rosa, and Walton counties area. The society's annual dues are \$6.00. Inquiries may be directed to Box 1175, Fort Walton Beach, Florida 32548. The Central Florida Genealogical and Historical Society publishes a newsletter, and its address is Box 177, Orlando, 32802. Ancestry is a quarterly bulletin issued by the Palm Beach County Genealogical Society, Box 1746, West Palm Beach, Florida 33402.

Charles T. Thrift, Jr., Chancellor of Florida Southern College, and former president of the Florida Historical Society, has been appointed editor of the *Polk County Historical Quarterly*. He is soliciting articles relating to Polk County. Articles should be submitted to Dr. Thrift at 48 Lake Hollingsworth Drive, Lakeland, Florida 33802.

The Palm Beach County Commissioners have established a historical commission to gather information about the county's history. It will survey local historical sites in the county and prepare a tour map of the area. The commission's work is being supported by the historical societies of Palm Beach County, Boca Raton, Delray Beach, Everglades, and Loxahatchee.

"Cuba and the Caribbean: Twentieth-Century Perspectives" will be the theme for the annual meeting of the Southeastern Council on Latin American studies to be held at the University of South Florida, Tampa, April 19-21, 1979. Program chairman is Louis Perez, Jr., Department of History, University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida 33620.

The Confederate Memorial Literary Society is accepting entries for the 1978 awards for historical research and writing on the period of the Confederate States of America. Deadline for entries is March 1, 1979, and the awards will be presented on June 3 at the Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia. The Jefferson Davis Award is given for a book-narrative history; the Founder's Award for work in the area of research or editing a primary source resulting in publication of one or more volumes; and the Award of Merit for a published article or monograph. For additional information, write Museum of the Confederacy, 1201 East Clay Street, Richmond, Virginia 23219.

The seventh annual Major General Wilburt S. Brown Memorial Military History Conference will be held at the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa on February 10, 1979. The theme will be "Guerillas: Soldiers Out of Uniform." For information, write John H. Burton, P. O. Box 2967, University, Alabama 35486.

The Citadel's Department of History will host a conference on the "Old South to the New," on April 19-21, 1979. The conference will feature approximately fifteen panel sessions where visiting historians will present and comment on papers dealing with aspects of southern history from the 1830s to the 1970s. Direct all correspondence relating to the conference to Dr. Walter J. Fraser, Jr., Department of History, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina 29409.

The Georgia Department of Archives and History will hold its thirteenth annual institute in Atlanta, July 23-August 17, 1979. The institute offers a comprehensive training experience covering all aspects of archival work. Instructors are archivists and records managers from a variety of institutions. Enrollment is limited to eighteen participants. A certificate is awarded to

those who successfully complete the course. Application deadline is May 15, 1979. For further information, write: Institute Coordinator, Georgia Department of Archives and History, 330 Capitol Avenue Southeast, Atlanta, Georgia 30334.

The Bicentennial Council of the Thirteen Original States Fund has established two annual history book awards honoring the late John D. Rockefeller III. Prizes will be given for books which best reflect the values, ideals, and principals of America's Revolutionary era. Awards will go for a book on a particular event, location, or movement which occurred between 1765 and 1790, or about an individual who lived during those years. One award will go to a senior scholar or writer, and will include a certificate and a check for \$1,000. The second award is to encourage young scholars and will be for a first book or a manuscript accepted for publication. It will result in a certificate and a check for \$1,000 to help defray the cost of publication. The Council also presents annually the Torch Award to individuals or organizations who have shown outstanding participation in the continuing celebration of the Bicentennial era. For more information, write Great American Achievements Program, 901 N. Washington Street, Suite 300, Alexandria, Virginia 22314.

A recently updated inventory of bibliographies and other finding aids is available for the asking from the Library of Congress. The inventory includes a directory of archives, bibliography of recent articles on archiving, recordings of slave narratives, and lists of material collected by the WPA. Write Joseph C. Hickerson, Archive of Folk Song, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

The Oral History Association has begun an advisory service to assist individuals, institutions, foundations, or groups beginning an oral history program or assessing current programs. Thirty-six experienced oral history practitioners from all parts of the country will serve as advisors. No charge is made for the service, but requesting groups must pay all expenses of the evaluation. After an on-the-spot consultation, the advisor will send a confidential written report to the requesting agent. Inquiries should be addressed to: Oral History Association Evalua-

tion Service, North Texas State University, Box 13734, NT Station, Denton, Texas 76203.

The University of South Alabama has established a photographic archive which documents life in southern Alabama between 1876 and 1963. The archive consists of approximately 65,000 negatives, both glass and film, and includes studio portraits, port scenes, industrial photographs, images of landmarks and buildings, and landscapes. Prints from the collection's negatives will be made available. For more information write: Michael Thomason, University of South Alabama Photographic Archives, History Department, HUMB 344, University of South Alabama, Mobile 36688.

The Caribbean Review, published at Florida International University, Miami, is soliciting articles, essays, reprints, excerpts, translations, book reviews, poetry, etc., on the Caribbean, Latin America, and emigrant groups. Submit material, with a self-addressed stamped envelop, to *Caribbean Review*, Florida International University, Tamiami Trail, Miami, Florida 33199.

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GREAT EXPECTATIONS. . . . .

1978

Dec. 28-30	American Historical Association	San Francisco

1979

Jan. 26-27	Florida Society of Geographers	Jacksonville

Jan. 26-28	Florida Folk Arts and Folklife Conference	Stephen Foster Center, White Springs

Feb. 16-17	Florida College Teachers of History	Florida International University, Miami

Mar. 8-11	Florida Trust for Historic Preservation Annual Meeting and Preservation Conference	Tallahassee

Apr. 11-14	Organization of American Historians	New Orleans

Apr. 27-29	American Jewish Historical Society	Nashville

May 3	Florida Confederation of Historical Societies-Workshop	West Palm Beach

May 4-5	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY-77th ANNUAL MEETING	West Palm Beach



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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All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Jay. B. Dobkin, Executive Secretary, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should be directed also to Mr. Dobkin.

