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COVER

Hialeah was developed by famed aviator and aircraft designer Glenn Curtiss, along with Missouri rancher James Bright. By January 1922, prospective real estate buyers were being brought by boat to Hialeah from Miami via the Miami Canal. This photograph, dated January 23, 1922, was taken by Claude C. Matlock. It is in the collection of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami.

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THE POLITICS OF PATRONAGE: FLORIDA REPUBLICANS DURING THE HOOVER ADMINISTRATION

by DAVID J. GINZL

ON November 6, 1928, Republican presidential candidate Herbert Clark Hoover won a national landslide victory, receiving over fifty-eight per cent of the popular vote and carrying all but eight states. Among the states supporting Hoover were Virginia, North Carolina, Texas, and Florida, the first Republican victories in these southern states since Reconstruction more than a half century earlier.

Hoover's strong showing in the "Solid South" was, in large part, the result of dissatisfaction with the Catholic faith and vocal anti-Prohibition views of the Democratic nominee, New York Governor Alfred E. Smith Nevertheless, many political observers interpreted the election results as indicating the end of the one-party South.[1] Shortly after the election, an aide to Republican national chairman Hubert D. Work announced that the strong Republican vote in the South had so encouraged party leaders that they would attempt to build stronger party organizations throughout the region.[2]

Florida, at least on the surface, seemed to offer bright prospects for the Republican party. The expansion of southern highways corresponded with the growth of a new tourist industry; expanding business opportunities and the speculative land boom of the 1920s had attracted thousands to the state. Although the boom soon collapsed, Florida's population continued to increase, and many of these northern migrants brought their Republican pol-

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1. "Smith Breaks the South," *The Nation,* CXXVII (November 21, 1928), 537; "Why It Happened," *Outlook and Independent,* CL (November 21, 1928), 1197-98; Dixon Merritt, "Democracy and the South," *Outlook and Independent,* CLI (February 27, 1929), 341-43; Struthers Burt, "Democracy and the Broken South," *The North American Review,* CCXXV (April 1929), 477-78.
2. *New York Times,* November 8, 1928.

itics with them. Hoover had carried Florida by a wide margin—144,168 to 101,764 for Smith. Many Floridians approved of Republican economic policies and looked to the incoming administration for higher tariffs to protect Florida agricultural products and to assist the ailing citrus industry. They also wanted federal funds for construction of intercoastal canals and for flood control and reclamation projects in the Everglades.[3]

Florida's black-and-tan Republican organization, under the leadership of national committeeman George W. Bean, offered little encouragement to newly-arrived republicans. Principally concerned with federal patronage matters, Bean's skeleton party organization rarely challenged the Democrats for political offices. At the Republican state convention in May 1928, however, Glenn B. Skipper led a successful effort to oust Bean from party leadership.[4] Skipper was a wealthy Florida cattleman who had first gained statewide prominence by leading a successful lobbying effort to fight hoof-and-mouth disease by legislating mandatory dipping of cattle. He directed the Republican presidential campaign. in Florida and worked closely with Colonel Horace A. Mann, Hoover's southern campaign coordinator. As a political

3. A friend of Ohio Senator Simeon D. Fess forwarded a letter that he had received from a businessman who had worked in Florida during 1925-26. Enthusiastic about Republican prospects in the state, Harvey White of the Inter-Southern Life Insurance Co. observed, "With the new blood that is coming into Florida, and with the prevailing progressive spirit, it appears to me that there is a real opportunity for the Republican Party to gain control of this State." White to Frank B. Russell, February 15, 1927, Box 27, Simeon D. Fess Papers, Ohio Historical Society (Columbus, Ohio). Also see "The South 'Goes Republican'," *The New Republic,* XLVII (August 4, 1926), 296-97; Harry M. Cassidy, "The South and the Tariff," *The New Republic,* LVI (October 31, 1928), 295-98; H. C. Nixon, "The Changing Political Philosophy of the South," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* CLIII (January 1931), 246-47; Richard L. Strout, "Will Florida Crack the Solid South?" *Independent,* CXVI (January 23, 1926), 95-96, 110-12.

4. Bean advocated an uninstructed delegation to the 1928 Republican National Convention. Hoover's pre-convention campaign managers believed that Bean favored the movement to draft President Calvin Coolidge, and thus they spent $3,000 in Florida boosting Hoover sentiment, including the payment of $500 directly to Skipper. Prior to the national convention, Bean appealed his loss to the Republican National Committee, charging that the state convention had been packed with "Northern millionaires" who had gone to Florida to avoid taxes. The RNC, controlled by Hoover supporters, dismissed Bean's charges and recognized Skipper's pro-Hoover delegation. U. S. Senate, Special Committee Investigating Presidential Campaign Expenditures, *Hearings on Presidential Campaign Expenditures,* 70th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, 1928), 287, 289, 298-300; *New York Times,* June 5, 1928.

correspondent for the *New York Times* reported, Skipper was "generally hailed as the genius who organized and directed, almost singlehanded, the Republican organization in this State."[5]

Hoover had often vacationed in Florida during his tenure as secretary of commerce, and Floridians enthusiastically greeted his month-long visit to the state in January 1929. During this trip, Skipper had remained highly visible. He met frequently with the president-elect and coordinated with Governor Doyle Carlton's staff Hoover's tour of the Everglades. Skipper seemed to enjoy the confidence of the incoming president. Within a week after returning to Washington from his Florida trip, Hoover reassured one of Skipper's supporters that he had "great confidence in, and a very high appreciation of Mr. Skipper and his purposes."[6]

During his Florida visit Hoover learned of the deep divisions within the Florida Republican organization. On the eve of a sojourn in Miami Beach, President Calvin Coolidge had nominated two new federal judges for Florida. The controversy over the judgeship appointments illustrated the many dimensions of the factionalism that would divide Florida Republicans throughout the next four years– divisions between former supporters of George Bean and leaders of the new party organization; between factions within the reorganized party who favored Skipper's leadership and those who opposed him; between Republicans who had lived in Florida for years and those recently-arrived Yankees who were becoming active in the party. One of the judgeships had been vacant since late 1927, and Congress had failed to confirm Coolidge's first nominee, Miami lawyer Crate D. Bowen. In January 1929, Coolidge again nominated Bowen, but when he declined, Coolidge nominated Halstead L. Ritter, who had moved to Florida from Colorado three years earlier. Both Bowen and Ritter had connections with the ousted Bean faction. Skipper, angry that as Florida's new Republican national committeeman he had not been consulted about the appointments, pledged to

5. Miami *Daily News*, January 27, 1929; Hal Leyshon article in *New York Times*, November 18, 1928. For a good summary of the election, see Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., "Florida and the Presidential Election of 1928," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVI (October 1947), 174-86.
6. Hoover to E. E. Callaway, February 26, 1929, Herbert Hoover Pre-Presidential Papers, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library (West Branch, Iowa).

work for the defeat of Ritter's confirmation since he lacked the endorsement of the new Republican state organization.[7]

Heeding the advice of his advisers, Hoover remained silent about this dispute, trying not to antagonize Coolidge nor any of the Florida factions before assuming office. On February 9, when meeting with a group of Miami lawyers, Hoover declared the selection of capable federal officeholders to be one of the principal needs of the state. While pledging to supervise carefully the selection of nominees, Hoover avoided mentioning whom he would appoint to any future Florida vacancies.[8]

During his Florida vacation, Hoover met with William J. Howey, Barclay H. Warburton, J. Leonard Replogle, and other prominent Republicans who disliked Skipper's control of the party organization. Part of the anti-Skipper feeling centered upon the national committeeman's handling of the 1928 campaign. Skipper had concentrated his efforts on the presidential ticket and on cooperation with anti-Smith Democrats. He had given little encouragement or financial assistance to congressional or local Republican candidates. This lack of support had antagonized Warburton, the mayor of Palm Beach who was running for the United States Senate, and Howey, a wealthy land developer and citrus grower, who was a candidate for governor. Despite this lack of support, both had waged strong campaigns– Warburton winning thirty-one per cent of the vote against incumbent Park Trammell, and Howey winning thirty-nine per cent against Doyle Carlton.[9] Similarly, the Republican organization in Pinellas County resented Skipper's failure to support their local ticket.

7. Miami *Daily News*, January 19 and 24, 1929; Edward T. Clark to Louis K. Liggett, December 28, 1928, and John G. Sargent to Coolidge, January 18 and 23, 1929, File 208B, Calvin Coolidge Papers, Library of Congress (Washington, D. C.). Ritter had the endorsement of National chairman Work, who also was a Coloradoan. Work's involvement in the dispute further illustrated the deep divisions, within the party. Work feared the growing patronage influence of Horace Mann, and, by association, disliked Skipper, who worked closely with Mann during the presidential campaign and conferred with him frequently during Hoover's Florida trip. Despite Skipper's opposition, Ritter was confirmed. In 1936, however, the House of Representatives impeached him and the Senate convicted him of "misbehavior." Joseph Borkin, *The Corrupt Judge: An Inquiry into Bribery and Other High Crimes and Misdemeanors in the Federal Courts* (New York, 1962), 199-200.
8. George Akerson to Lawrence Richey, January 25, 1929, Hoover Pre-Presidential Papers; Miami *Daily News*, February 10, 1929.
9. Louis W. Fairfield to Walter H. Newton, May 17, 1929, and William C. Lawson to Walter Brown, May 14, 1929, Hoover Presidential Papers.

In 1928, Pinellas Republicans had elected their candidates to important county posts such as sheriff, judge, and tax assessor, as well as electing St. Petersburg realtor Albert R. Welsh to the state senate. County chairman Henry H. Morgan and other leaders of the Pinellas Republicans believed that this strong showing entitled them to "special recognition" from the national administration since Morgan claimed that "this is the only county where the democrats *[sic]* are being consistently fought in elections."[10]

Despite the rumblings against Skipper's leadership, many longtime party members resented the efforts of politically ambitious Northerners, such as Warburton and Replogle, to take over control of the party, and they backed the national committeeman. As one of his supporters wrote Hoover in the spring of 1929, Skipper "is Florida's own son, the crackers love him and have faith in him." Those who opposed his leadership were labelled "the money peope of the North."[11]

These divisions within the Florida Republican party broke into open warfare in the spring of 1929. The source of discord centered around patronage, which long had been the lifeblood of southern Republicanism. Throughout the southern states, Republican leaders rarely challenged the Democrats at the polls, but fought among themselves for influence with the national Republican administrations in recommending federal appointees. Most of the patronage positions were with the post office department, but there also were positions with the treasury department in the internal revenue and customs service, positions with the justice department as federal marshals and district attorneys, and appointments to federal judgeships. With no electoral local or statewide constituencies to hold Republican leaders accountable for the quality of their recommended appointees (and, conversely, no Republican senators and few congressmen from the South for national administrations to consult), abuses in the appointment process were widespread. A well publicized Senate investigation of patronage abuses in 1928-1929 uncovered evidence of corruption among Republican leaders in Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Consequently, at a press conference on March

10. Henry H. Morgan to Newton, July 5, 1930, and Morgan letter entitled, "Florida Political Situation," October 19, 1929, Hoover Presidental Papers.
11. Mrs. Lila Lloyd to Hoover, May 28, 1929. Also see Ida Nancy Merrill to Hoover, June 25, 1929 and E. E. Callaway to Lawrence Richie *[sic]*, October 27, 1929, Hoover Presidential Papers.

26, 1929, Hoover condemned the "recent exposures of abuse in recommendations for Federal office" in these three states, and pledged that if these abuses were not corrected "the different Federal Departments will be compelled to adopt other methods to secure advice as to the selection of Federal employees."[12] Hoover delegated responsibility for supervising southern patronage, which was to be the foundation of his program to improve the caliber of southern Republican leadership and thus attract more Southerners to the party, to two veteran northern politicians, Postmaster General Walter F. Brown and presidential secretary (and former Minnesota congressman) Walter H. Newton.

Hoover's March 26 statement had included Florida Republicans among those "now rendering able and conscientious service in maintaining wholesome organization under whose advice the appointments to public office have steadily improved."[13] Nevertheless, neither Brown nor Newton cared for Skipper. This negative attitude toward Skipper resulted from his close association with Colonel Horace A. Mann. During the 1928 campaign, Mann had been in charge of the presidential campaign in nine southern states. He worked closely with anti-Smith Democratic groups and, according to charges from Democratic newspapers, served as a point of contact between the Hoover organization and the Ku Klux Klan. Following the election, however, he began to fall out of favor with the incoming administration. During Hoover's trip to Florida, Mann set up headquarters in Miami Beach, where he met with numerous politicians and job seekers. Newspaper reports that Mann was claiming credit for Hoover's southern victories and was attempting to direct all patronage matters in the South greatly upset the president-elect.[14] Consequently, in seeking patronage recommendations from the various southern states, Brown and Newton generally avoided those persons who had actively cooperated with Mann. Thus, Skipper's list of proposed

12. William Stan Myers, ed., *The State Papers and Other Public Writings of Herbert Hoover* (New York, 1934), I, 23.
13. Ibid.
14. For a more complete discussion of Mann's role during the 1928 campaign and his subsequent fall, see David J. Ginzl, "Herbert Hoover and Republican Patronage Politics in the South, 1928-1932" (doctoral dissertation, Syracuse University, 1977), 69-80, 139-40, 148-49 and 153-54.

members for a patronage advisory committee for Florida, which he had forwarded to the president in mid-March, was rejected.[15]

Republican state party chairman A. F. Knotts, who disliked Skipper for allegedly advising Hoover not to visit Yankeetown, where Knotts served as mayor, to look at a proposed canal project during his Florida trip, joined forces with Howey and others to protest Skipper's failure to consult them about patronage matters. Brown's rejection of Skipper's advisory committee, made up chiefly of his supporters, gave Knotts an opportunity to suggest an alternate advisory committee, composed principally of Skipper's opponents. Brown accepted Knotts's recommendations. Skipper countered by having the vice-chairman of the state central committee call for a meeting to be held at South Jacksonville on May 13. Boycotted by Knotts and some of his supporters, Skipper's allies ousted Knotts as state chairman and adopted a resolution highly critical of the administration's patronage policies. In a bluntly worded challenge to the administration, a copy of which party secretary Fred E. Britten sent to the president, the resolution stated that "the Republican Party of Florida resents any and all interference with the prerogatives of the Republican State Committee by outside parties or by individual Republicans . . . and repudiates the appointment of any patronage committee except as approved by the National Committeeman."[16]

Knotts and Skipper both traveled to Washington in late May personally to appeal their cases to administration leaders, while their supporters traded accusations about attempts to pack illegally the state central committee. A reconciliation between Skipper and Knotts on June 1 only lasted a little more than one week before Knotts resigned the chairmanship with a blast at Skipper for failing to live up to their harmony agreement.[17]

With Knotts out of the way, Skipper packed the state central committee with his supporters and directed that Lakeland lawyer

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15. Skipper to Hoover, March 8, 1929, memo from Skipper, March 18, 1929, and Mann to George Akerson, March 15, 1929, Hoover Presidential Papers.
16. Knotts to Newton, May 15, 1929, Charles R. Pierce to Newton, May 22, 1929, William C. Lawson to Brown, May 14, 1929 and "Resolution Adopted By Republican State Committee," May 13, 1929, Hoover Presidential Papers.
17. Knotts to Newton, May 21 and June 18, 1929, open letter from Knotts to State Central Committee, June 10, 1929, and clippings from Jacksonville Florida *Times-Union*, May 26 and 29, 1929, Hoover Presidential Papers.

E. .E. Callaway be elected state chairman. The choice of Callaway proved unfortunate; he was completely unpredictable, and his selection did little to reassure the administration about the loyalty of Skipper's faction. At the South Jacksonville meeting, he reportedly had threatened that if Hoover did not stop interfering in the affairs of Florida Republicans, "I will bolt him in 1932 and defeat him." After becoming state chairman, he bitterly and repeatedly denounced the administration's patronage policies. Callaway further irritated administration leaders by urging repeal of national prohibition and opposing the Federal Farm Board's campaign to eradicate the Mediterranean fruit fly which had been ravaging the citrus industry.[18]

Post Office inspector Dirrelle Chaney, who served as Postmaster General Brown's field representative in patronage matters for several of the southern states, attended the August meeting in Lakeland that elected Callaway as chairman. At this meeting, Skipper agreed to accept a compromise patronage advisory committee. Several weeks later, however, Callaway declared that the formation of this committee implied that "we in Florida are unfit to govern ourselves. . . . They [Brown, Newton, and James Francis Burke, counselor of the Republican National Committee] have insinuated that we are selling public offices and that we are grafters and crooks unworthy of public confidence and trust." He announced that he would ignore the advisory committee and send all patronage matters directly to the national committeeman. Postmaster General Brown, in turn, threatened that he would seek patronage advice from other sources.[19]

While Brown and Skipper traded charges about who had caused certain omissions when selecting personnel for the "cornpromise" advisory committee, the appointment of a federal attorney for Florida's southern district remained open. William A.

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18. Clippings from Lakeland *Journal*, May 17, 1929, and Tampa *Daily Times*, November 27, 1929; Knotts to Newton, February 22, 1930, and O. M. Bowen to Newton, March 7, 1930, Hoover Presidential Papers. Callaway, in *The Other Side of the South* (Chicago, 1936), 90-96, 149-53, reveals more about his erratic personality than about the South. Callaway was extremely hostile toward Hoover and Walter Brown for their failure to work through the regular Republican organizations in the South, and he made wild accusations that Hoover had personally encouraged Florida Republicans to work with the Ku Klux Klan during the 1928 campaign.
19. Clipping from Lakeland *Evening Ledger*, August 21, 1929, unidentified Associated Press clippings for August 21, 22, 26, 27, 31, 1929, and Callaway to Clara C. Grace, August 25, 1929, Hoover Presidential Papers.

Gober, a political associate of George Bean, had resigned in April, and the district judge had appointed Wilburn P. Hughes as acting attorney. Hughes had served as Gober's assistant for two years and had then transferred to Washington to become a special assistant to the attorney general assigned to prohibition cases. Skipper had first recommended Callaway, and later, several others, for the post but none had been acceptable to Attorney General William D. Mitchell. Consequently, Mitchell recommended Hughes be named for a full four-year term, and in September Hoover sent his nomination to the Senate. Protests from members of the Skipper organization flooded the White House.[20]

What made this appointment so significant was that Hoover chose publicly to answer his critics. A tactless letter from party secretary Britten condemning the advisory committee and "this apparent dictation from Washington" that bypassed Skipper's leadership, prompted a strong rebuke from Hoover. The president expressed his hope "to build up and strengthen the Republican Party in the State of Florida," but reasoned that progress in this endeavor "rests upon good government, not on patronage, and Florida will have good government so far as it is within my powers to give it." Hoover concluded, "I note your demands that the organization shall dictate appointments in Florida irrespective of merit or my responsibility, and that you appeal to the opponents of the Administration to attack me. I enclose herewith copy of a statement which I issued last March. That statement was no idle gesture."[21] Britten protested that the president had misinterpreted his comments, but Hoover's letter, copies of which were sent to several of those who had been critical of the appointment, placed his detractors on the defensive. When the administration made public Hoover's letter in late October, Callaway complained that the statement made Florida Republican leaders appear "disreputable," but those opposed to Skipper's control of the party organization congratulated the president for his forceful stand.[22]

20. Mitchell to Hoover, August 27, 1929, Callaway to Hoover, September 19, 1929, Lawrence Richey to Callaway, September 20, 1929, and Callaway to Richey, September 23, 1929, Hoover Presidential Papers,
21. Fred E. Britten to Hoover, September 21, 1929, and Hoover to Britten, September 26, 1929, Hoover Presidential Papers. Hoover's letter to Britten has been reprinted in Myers, *State Papers of Hoover*, I, 105-06.
22. Britten to Hoover, September 30, 1929, Lee R. Munroe to Hoover, September 20, 1929, Newton to Munroe, October 2, 1929, Gilchrist

The letter to Britten served as a message to anti-Skipper leaders of the administration's unhappiness with the present state leadership. The actions of Newton in December 1929, during the struggle over the selection of a district supervisor for the upcoming census, provided a further indication of the administration's disillusionment with Skipper's organization. As early as September, the director of the census bureau had agreed to delay the appointment of a census supervisor for the St. Petersburg-Tampa area because of disagreements between Skipper and Pinellas County Republicans. Chaney investigated the matter, reporting to Newton that Skipper's nominee should not be appointed. Chaney thought that Skipper's choice probably would do a good job, but objected to the appointment because he "is very close to Skipper and Callaway and probably would endeavor to build up a machine for Skipper's use."[23] It became clear from Chaney's several reports on the census supervisor question, and from Newton's actions, that their primary consideration was to disrupt Skipper's control of the Republican state organization. Newton openly sided with Henry Morgan and the Pinellas County Republicans. He informed Skipper that he would only agree to an appointment based upon a joint recommendation from him and Morgan. When Skipper tried to discredit Morgan and to delay any agreement, Newton advised the census director in late December to appoint Morgan's candidate.[24]

The administration's obvious aversion toward the Skipper faction encouraged his many opponents. By early 1930, Howey had begun organizing the anti-Skipper forces to gain control of the party machinery at the upcoming June primary. On the eve of the March 9 meeting of the Republican state committee in Lakeland, Howey, Knotts, and others met to discuss their plans. The ever-changing Callaway joined them and confirmed some of

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Stockton to Newton, October 3 and 22, 1929, Callaway to Richey, November 4, 1929, Karl Westphal to Hoover, October 23, 1929, and J. Leonard Replogle to Hoover, October 22, 1929, Hoover Presidential Papers.

23. William M. Steuart to Newton, September 28, 1929, Newton to Dirrelle Chaney, September 26, 1929, and Chaney to Newton, October 5, 9 and 30. 1929, Hoover Presidential Papers.

24. Newton to Skipper, December 5, 1929, Skipper to Newton, December 9 and 10, 1929, Morgan to Newton, December 11, 16 and 18, 1929, A. H. Lindelie to Newton, December 17 and 23, 1929, Chaney to Newton, December 16, 1929 and Newton to William M. Steuart, December 23, 1929, Hoover Presidential Papers.

their suspicions about Skipper, that the national committeeman had organized a so-called Hoover Club so that various business interests could contribute to paying his expenses and that he had received money from individuals seeking government contracts and federal appointments. When confronted with these charges, Skipper allegedly admitted his questionable deals and agreed to resign as national committeeman. Callaway also agreed to resign as state chairman because he had known about these dealings and had done nothing to prevent them. Consequently, at the Lakeland meeting the next day, Skipper and Callaway both announced their resignations, supposedly in the interest of party harmony. The following week, leaders of the Coalition Committee of the Progressive Republicans of Florida met at Howey's estate at Howey-in-the-Hills to discuss campaign strategy for the primary. They invited Chaney to their meeting, and the postmaster general's agent reported to Brown about the plans of the "coalition."[25]

The June 3 primary, the first statewide primary for the Florida Republican party, was mandated by state law. According to Florida's primary laws, political parties that polled at least thirty per cent of the vote in the preceding election were required to select their party candidates in the primary, as well as representatives for the party's county, congressional, and state executive committees. The new state executive committee would have authority to name delegates to the 1932 national convention; these delegates, in turn, would select the state's representatives on the Republican National Committee. Therefore, the "coalition" concentrated upon gaining control of the executive committee through organizing voters and distributing anti-Skipper propaganda. These efforts did not go unchallenged. Within several weeks of the Lakeland meeting, Skipper retracted his resignation and organized his supporters to contest the primary. After a

25. Chaney to Brown, March 16, 1930, and A. F. Knotts to Newton, March 11, 1930, Hoover Presidential Papers. Whether or not all of these allegations were true, despite the fact that Skipper allegedly admitted them, is another matter. The charge that a dredging contractor agreed to give Skipper twenty-five per cent interest in his company and other financial rewards in return for his influence in securing a government contract in the Okeechobee reclamation district were forwarded to the War Department, but their investigation cleared the contractor. Richey to Patrick Hurley, March 20, 1930, and F. Trubee Davison to Richey, April 25, 1930, Hoover Presidential Papers.

heated but confusing campaign, the primary results appeared to be a sweeping victory for the "coalition," and they claimed the newly-elected committee members from fifty-two out of the sixty-seven counties favored their program for ousting Skipper as national committeeman.[26]

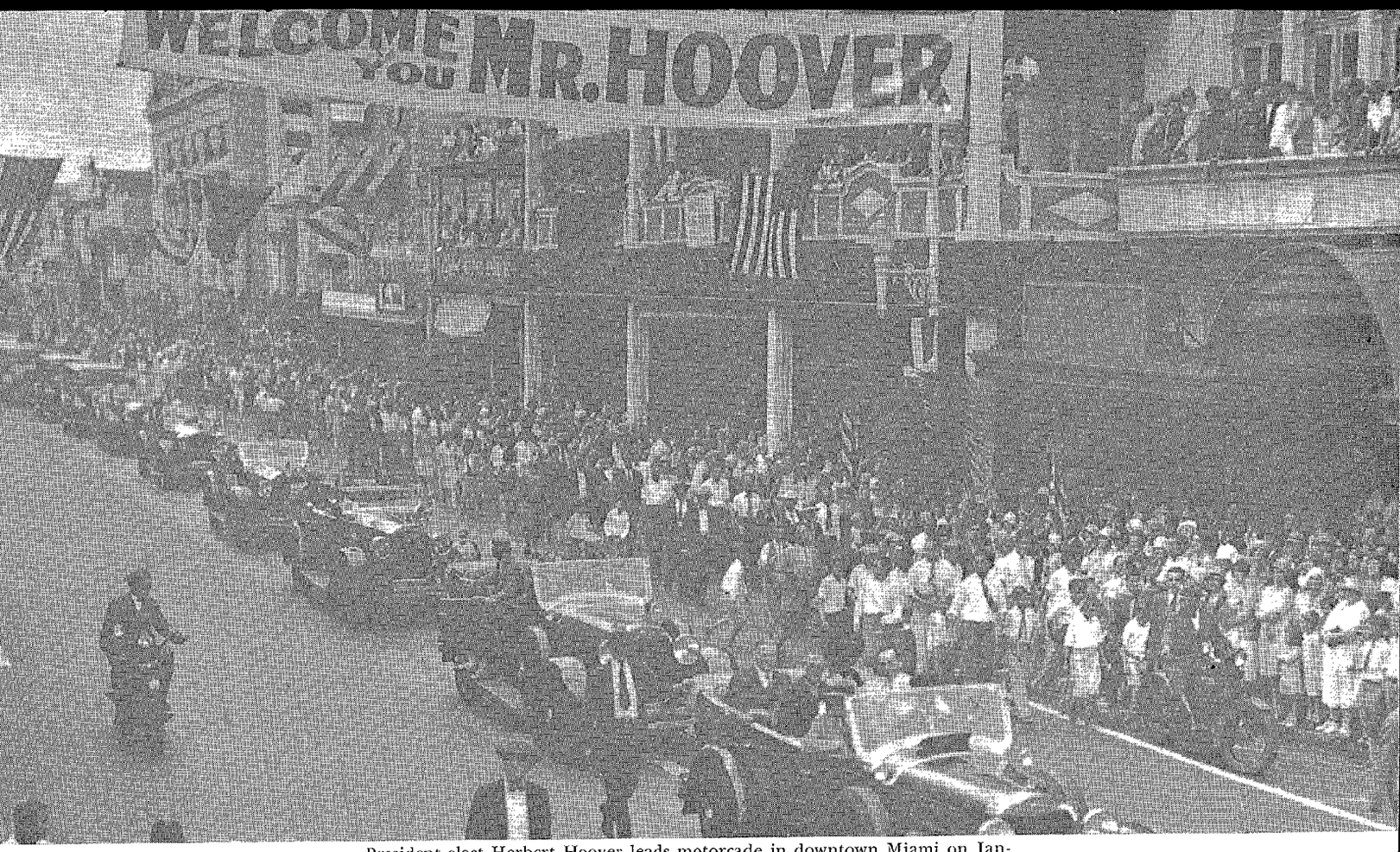
The newly-elected Republican state executive committee met on June 28 at Jacksonville. "Coalition" leaders demanded Skipper's resignation, but he refused. He argued that he had been elected to a four-year term as national committeeman and that he intended to continue on the Republican National Committee. Since Skipper refused to resign, the committee selected John F. Harris, a millionaire broker from New York who had a home in Palm Beach and had contributed considerable sums to the "coalition" effort, as the new organization's "contact man" in Washington through whom all patronage recommendations and dealings with administration leaders would be conducted. They then selected other leaders of the "coalition" to important party posts – Robert E. Lee Pryor as chairman; George P. Wentworth, former state chairman during the Bean regime, as vice-chairman; and Terrell Smith, publisher of the anti-Skipper Republican weekly newspaper the Lakeland *Journal*, as treasurer.[27]

The reorganization of the state party did not clarify Florida Republican politics nor end the factional feuding. Skipper actively fought the new organization. He forwarded accusations against his political opponents to Washington, while filing a $250,000 damage suit against Howey, Pryor, Harris, and four others in February 1931, because of their allegedly false charges against him concerning the sale of political patronage.[28] In the spring of that year, he had a bill introduced in the Florida legislature to prohibit federal officeholders or applicants for federal posts from serving on any political party executive committee. Such a bill obviously was aimed at Pryor, who had recently been

26. Clippings from *Jacksonville Journal*, March 20, 1930, and Lakeland *Journal*, June 14, 1929, Charles R. Pierce to Newton, May 10, 1930, and Bulletins No. 3 and 9 of Coalition Committee, Progressive Republicans of Florida, Hoover Presidential Papers.

27. Chaney to Brown, June 28, 1930, R. E. Belcher to Newton, July 8, 1930, with copy of resolutions passed by the new state executive committee, and clipping from Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 29, 1930, Hoover Presidential Papers.

28. Skipper to Richey, July 1, 1930, Skipper to Hoover, July 6, 1930, and March 8, 1932, and clipping from Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, February 26, 1931, Hoover Presidential Papers.



President-elect Herbert Hoover leads motorcade in downtown Miami on January 22, 1929. (Photographs courtesy of Florida Photographic Archives, Florida State University).

Thomas Alva Edison, President Herbert Hoover and Henry Ford on the street

Republican campaign workers are shown in front of their Dade County headquarters in November 1928.

Republicans in Miami campaigned for Hoover and Howey (for Governor) in

appointed customs appraiser for the port of Tampa. Pryor claimed that "passage of that bill would have eliminated 70% of the committee as elected last June."[29] Pryor and Howey successfully lobbied against this measure in Tallahassee, but Pryor's admission that seventy per cent of the party leaders were either federal office holders or wanted federal posts offers a revealing glimpse of the political motivation of Florida Republicans.

A. F. Knotts, who had been an active leader of the "coalition," also opposed the new Pryor-Howey organization because of his failure to receive a party appointment. After the June 3 primary, Knotts had announced his candidacy to replace Skipper as national committeeman. Evidently, the administration favored such an idea, and Chaney, who attended the Jacksonville meeting, tried to get Knotts selected. Howey and Wentworth, however, favored Harris because of his large financial contributions to the primary campaign.[30] After this disappointment, Knotts became a bitter critic of the new organization, and wrote Newton that Howey and his northern friends had joined forces with old members of the Bean faction to gain control of the party. He charged that "there is a conspiracy of Wets and anti-Hoover men to select a delegation to the next National Convention from Florida. The old 'B' [Bean] men, Mr. Howey and others are in this combination and they will recommend persons for office who will help them accomplish this purpose."[31] Knotts continued to warn the White House about this "conspiracy" and to object to the patronage recommendations of the new organization.

The reorganized state party seemed as beleaguered as the Skipper organization had been. Skipper, Knotts, and Callaway (who also had wanted to replace Skipper as national committeeman) attacked the organization, and the Pinellas County Republicans continued their independent course of action. To unsettle further the new state organization, it failed to get prompt action on patronage recommendations for three major posts– customs appraiser at Tampa, a federal judgeship, and a United States marshal. Although Brown and Newton had agreed to the elimination of the patronage advisory committee in the summer of 1930,

29. Pryor to Newton, June 1, 1931, and clipping from Tampa *Tribune,* May 8, 1931, Hoover Presidential Papers.
30. Knotts to Newton, June 12 and July 3, 1930 and Chaney to Brown, June 28, 1930, Hoover Presidential Papers.
31. Knotts to Newton, July 3, 1930, Hoover Presidential Papers.

they did not give their wholehearted support to the new patronage referees, Harris and Pryor. The failure of the organization's recommended candidates to receive immediate approval was interpreted by their factional foes as illustrating the administration's disapproval, and thus the delay spurred more candidates to apply for the vacant posts and led to increased intra-party bickering.

The position of customs appraiser had been vacant since December 1929, after the incumbent resigned when faced with charges of "excessive intemperance." Skipper previously had recommended a replacement, and the treasury department had sent the necessary papers to the White House for approval. Newton, by this time determined to oust Skipper, held up the appointment and made no attempt to fill the post during the factional maneuvering preceding the June primary.[32] Shortly after the primary, Chaney recommended Pryor, who "is very much anti-Skipper."[33] A few weeks later, the reorganized Republican state committee selected R. E. L. Pryor as chairman and endorsed him for the post of customs appraiser. Inexplicably, and much to Pryor's displeasure, the administration delayed acting on the appointment until February 1931.[34]

The new state Republican organization became even more upset by the handling of the other two major patronage posts. The organization recommended two men who previously had been associated with the Bean regime. These endorsements, plus Wentworth's election as vice-chairman, gave some credence to the charges of their opponents that former Bean leaders now dominated the Pryor-Howey faction. For federal judge, the organization backed Allen E. Walker, who had served as chairman of Bean's contesting delegation at the 1928 national convention. For federal marshal, they selected Charles N. Hildreth, who had held the post of customs appraiser when Bean headed the state party. The administration showed little enthusiasm for either man. The

32. Andrew W. Mellon to Hoover, November 16, 1929, and memorandum for chairman of Republican National Committee, January 8, 1930, Hoover Presidential Papers.
33. Chaney to Newton, June 14, 1930, Hoover Presidential Papers.
34. George P. Wentworth to Newton, September 10, 1930, Howey to Newton, September 10, 1930, Pryor to R. E. Belcher, December 9, 1930, and Andrew W. Mellon to Hoover, February 24, 1931, Hoover Presidential Papers.

justice department considered Walker to be unqualified, and Newton favored the candidate of the Pinellas County Republican organization, County Judge Harry R. Hewitt, who had been an old friend in Minnesota before moving to Florida. Hewitt was only one of a countless number of aspirants who forwarded their credentials to Washington. In February 1931, Hoover finally nominated a Democratic justice from the state supreme court, who had the backing of Governor Carlton and Senators Duncan Fletcher and Park Trammell, to fill the judicial opening. While the Florida press praised this selection, Pryor complained that the judgeship appointment was "a hard blow to the State organization" and it angered many Florida Republicans.[35]

The vacancy for United States marshal for the southern district of Florida became an even more divisive dispute and remained a subject of contention for nearly two years. Hildreth had been appointed acting marshal by a federal judge, and as an active member of the "coalition" effort to overthrow Skipper, he had received the new organization's endorsement for a full four-year term. Charges against Hildreth by opponents of his nomination proved flimsy, but Newton was against his appointment. Newton justified his objection by pointing out that Hildreth had not been a Hoover supporter prior to the 1928 national convention and had done little for him during the presidential campaign, Hildreth, he argued, was not the best man for building a stronger Republican party in the state. This attitude created bitter feelings among Pryor, Wentworth, and others who thought that they were better judges of Florida political conditions than someone in Washington.[36]

Newton backed former county sheriff Gladstone R. Beattie, the candidate endorsed by Pinellas County Republicans. Governor Carlton had removed Beattie as sheriff because of alleged misconduct, and county Republicans charged that he had been dismissed on trumped-up charges and "has been persecuted for

35. Pryor to Newton, September 4, 1930, January 12 and March 15, 1931, Hewitt to Newton, June 8 and November 14, 1930, Newton to Hewitt, June 11 and November 19, 1930, William D. Mitchell to Hoover, February 20, 1931, and editorial clippings from *Tampa Tribune*, Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union* and *Miami Herald.* February 1931, Hoover Presidential Papers.

36. Newton to James F. Burke, November 25, 1931, Newton to Mrs. H. W. Peabody, January 13, 1932, Pryor to Newton, January 12 and 18, 1931 and Wentworth to Chaney, January 10, 1931, Hoover Presidential Papers.

the political aggrandizement of the Governor."[37] Assistant Attorney General Charles P. Sisson, who supervised appointments for the justice department, looked unfavorably upon Beattie's candidacy. He reasoned that federal selections should not be used for purposes of vindication, especially "when there are so many candidates available whose records require no explanation."[38]

By late 1931, the uncertainty over the marshal appointment had so seriously divided the party that Walter D. Shelly, an old Minnesota friend now active in the Jacksonville Republican organization, wrote Newton that Hildreth had to be appointed since "the vacancy in the Marshal's office is leading to a serious situation involving party harmony and endanger[s] the existing lineup of Hoover delegates"[39] Newton had already reached a similar conclusion that the continued intra-party warfare might damage Hoover's renomination effort, and he reluctantly withdrew his objections to Hildreth.

Hildreth's nomination in January 1932 could not please all the Republican factions in the state. Complaints about Hoover's appointments, and fears that either Skipper or Bean or both would challenge the Pryor-Howey state organization by selecting contesting delegations to the convention, kept the Florida Republican situation unsettled throughout early 1932.[40] At the April state convention, however, Florida Republicans did manage to agree on a single delegation pledged to Hoover. In a surprising show of harmony, former critics reconciled with the state organization– Knotts received the party nomination for state comptroller, while Skipper and A. R. Thompson of the Pinellas County Republican organization received congressional nominations. Many of the elements within the party that had been bitterly attacking each other for the past four years now joined forces. Knotts and Skipper stumped the state for the party ticket, as did the erratic Callaway and other members of Skipper's old

37. A. R. Thompson to Newton, December 30, 1930, Morgan to Newton, June 30, 1930, Newton to Morgan, November 24, 1931, and F. R. Anderson to Newton, July 27, 1931, with copy of "The Case of Sheriff Beattie– Shall Republican Submit?" Hoover Presidential Papers.
38. Sisson to Newton, January 2, 1931, Hoover Presidential Papers.
39. Shelly to Newton, December 28, 1931, Hoover Presidential Papers.
40. A. H. Lindelie to Newton, January 8, 1932, W. G. McIntyre to Newton, January 11, 1932, Knotts to Newton, January 22, 1932, Pryor to Newton, March 28, 1932, Howey to Newton, January 20, 1932 and J. Leonard Replogle to Newton, January 20, 1932, Hoover Presidential Papers.

faction. Former Bean supporters such as George P. Wentworth, the new state chairman, worked for the ticket. Northern millionaires J. Leonard Replogle and new national committeeman John F. Harris contributed thousands of dollars and organized an active campaign organization. Of all the southern states, Republicans in Florida waged the most active campaign for Hoover's reelection in 1932. They sent speakers throughout the state and printed extra copies of the weekly Republican paper, the *Florida Beacon.* They used money from Replogle and Harris to subsidize the state's Anti-Saloon League organization and its newspaper, to finance Baptist and Methodist ministers who agreed to give speeches for the president, to hire loud speaker trucks, and to print political advertisements in the state's Democratic newspapers.[41]

Florida Republicans could not remain united for long, however, and by summer Howey, Pryor, and their followers had withdrawn from the state organization. At the state convention, Howey had unsuccessfully backed Pryor's reelection as state chairman and had opposed Harris. With control of the state organization slipping away, Howey and his supporters claimed that the organization would give him no more support in his gubernatorial race than it had four years earlier. He announced, as he had done in 1928, that he planned to run his campaign independent of the state organization and the rest of the state and national ticket. Howey also believed that he was more popular in Florida than President Hoover. Governor Carlton's administration had been a disaster, and a straw poll by an Orlando newspaper in March showed Howey decisively defeating his two likely opponents.[42] Consequently, Howey tried to divorce his candidacy from Hoover, which worried Democratic leaders in the state. Franklin Roosevelt's pre-convention Florida manager wrote Democratic National Chairman James A. Farley a few weeks before the election that although he was confident that David Sholtz,

41. Shelly to Newton, April 14, October 25 and 29, 1932, Hoover Presidential Papers; George B. Hills to James A. Farley, October 29, 1932, Democratic National Committee Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library (Hyde Park, New York).

42. Shelly to Newton, April 1, July 12, and October 29, 1932, Replogle to Newton, July 7, 1932, and Ferman Wilson to Newton, March 22, 1932, with clipping from *Orlando Sunday Sentinel and Reporter-Star,* Hoover Presidential Papers; George B. Hills to Farley, August 12 and October 7, 1932, Democratic National Committee Papers.

the Democratic candidate, a virtual unknown who could not be tied to the unpopular state administration, would win, he feared that Howey would get a large vote. This would be due in part to "the Democratic National campaign's arguments for leaving one's normal Party to vote for a change. That argument works directly counter to the stressing of Party loyalty by the Democratic organization in this state."[43] Republicans complained that Howey, Pryor, and others had not only failed to campaign for the president, but as election day neared they were encouraging voters to support Roosevelt.[44]

By November 1932, the condition of the Florida Republican organization had changed little since the beginning of Hoover's presidency. Throughout the period, the shifting loyalties and alliances among state party leaders, the excessive concern with patronage rewards, and the endless quarreling made the situation chaotic. Attempting to unravel the byzantine course of Florida Republican politics during these years is nearly impossible, and one can imagine the exasperation of Brown and Newton in trying to solve all of the petty factional disputes.

As Hoover and his associates discovered, the use of patronage to restructure party organizations and eliminate unacceptable leaders did not always coincide with the use of patronage to improve the caliber of federal appointees. The clash between these conflicting goals and the administration's lack of consistency caused confusion over the criteria being used to judge applicants. Hoover had informed Fred Britten that appointments would be based upon administrative ability and the goal of promoting "good government." Yet Hoover, beset by economic collapse at home and diplomatic crises abroad, could devote little personal attention to local and state political feuding. His policy for improving the quality of government appointments had to be carried out by others, who often considered other factors to be more important. Newton, for example, wrote Pryor concerning one pending reappointment to inquire about the incumbent's political

43. George B. Hills to Farley, October 29, 1932, Democratic National Committee Papers.

44. Clara C. Grace to Newton, November 11, 1932 and R. A. Gideon to Newton, October 23, 1932, Hoover Presidential Papers. On the eve of the election, Howey's organization hired planes to drop throughout the state campaign flyers that read, "If You REALLY Want a NEW DEAL vote for HOWEY and Roosevelt." Howey lost 186,270 to 93,323, but outpolled Hoover by over 20,000 votes.

activities. He asked, "Just what has he been doing politically and how helpful has he been in that field? What group does he affiliate [with], etc. [?]"[45] Newton eventually decided to go outside the state leadership for political information, and he corresponded frequently with old friends from Minnesota who had moved to Florida. He appeared to show favoritism toward the Pinellas County organization, perhaps because of former Minnesotan Harry R. Hewitt, a county judge actively involved in local Republican politics. Newton's actions only compounded the factional divisions since uncertainty about whose patronage recommendations the administration would accept led to a flood of applicants for federal posts and unnecessary delays in making appointments, with the controversy over the appointment of one federal marshal lasting two years.

Why did the efforts of the Hoover administration to strengthen the Republican party fail in Florida, a state that seemed to offer such bright prospects in the late 1920s because of its rapid growth and the influx of large numbers of northern Republicans? The Depression and the perceived failure of the Hoover administration to deal adequately with the economic crisis obviously hurt the Republicans in Florida, as it did in the rest of the country. Nevertheless, even if Hoover's administration had been a success, it is difficult to imagine the hopelessly divided Florida Republicans agreeing on any one set of leaders or on any one program to strengthen the party. Part of the blame for this political disorder during the period 1929-1933, however, should be placed on the inconsistency and political ineptness of the administration's handling of patronage claims, which caused resentment among state party leaders toward outside interference in what previously had been viewed as the state organization's area of responsibility.

45. Newton to Pryor, December 23, 1931, Hoover Presidential Papers.

CUBAN PATRIOTS IN KEY WEST, 1878-1886: GUARDIANS AT THE SEPARATIST IDEAL

by GERALD E. POYO

THE signing of the Zanjón Pact in February 1878 signaled the termination of the Cuban Ten Years War, the first phase of the island's efforts to gain freedom from Spain. However, for many Cubans the treaty represented only a temporary setback, and in Key West it was clear from the start the community would not accept the pact.[1] During the next decade separatist activity continued unabated, though actual fighting was sporadic at best and never a serious threat to Spanish domination.

Key West played an important role in protecting and perpetuating the Cuban separatist ideal during these years; an effort that by the mid-1880s had earned it a reputation as the primary rebel center in the United States. Indeed, on coming to Key West for the first time in 1884, the rebel chieftain Maximo Gomez noted in his diary, "we arrived in Key West . . . where the best of the Cuban emigre centers exisits."[2] By the end of the decade, José Martí also recognized the importance of the Key, and the newly-established community in Tampa, and based his rise to prominence on this constituency.

Key West became central to the separatist cause through a patriotic and dedicated populace, able and spirited local leaders, and a prosperous cigar industry that provided the necessary financial resources to support the revolution, but, not without considerable sacrifice and frequent setbacks. In fact, it seems that the colony verged on disintegration in 1878 when a period of economic deprivation and political demoralization set in.

Though the colony vehemently rejected the pact with Spain, a recession in the late 1870s hurt the local cigar industry forcing

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1. See Gerald E. Poyo, "Key West and the Cuban Ten Years War," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LVII (January 1979), 289-307, for an account of Cuban activities during the first decade of the rebellion.
2. Máximo Gómez, *Diario de campaña, 1868-1898* (Havana, 1968), 177.

many Cubans to return to Havana or move north to Jacksonville and New York. High unemployment, labor unrest, and the departure of workers characterized the city throughout 1878 and the following year, hardly a promising environment for pressing on with revolutionary activity. Despite these problems, a dedicated few initiated the task of reorganizing the embattled community.[3]

In August 1878, a secret patriotic society, *Orden del Sol,* formed to propogate Cuban liberty, and on October 12, a prominent community leader, José Dolores Poyo, established a revolutionary newspaper called *El Yara.*[4] Named in honor of the town where Cuban independence was proclaimed, *El Yara* became a symbol of the dedication and selflessness with which the Latin colony is south Florida continued to agitate for Cuban independence.

These developments proceeded in conjunction with activities in New York where General Calixto García, one of the most prestigious figures of the Ten Years War, arrived to take command of the revolutionary junta. He reorganized the rebels into the *Comité Revolucionario Cubano,* and issued a manifesto calling his compatriots to arms. Encouraging news arrived from many emigre centers and Cuba, including the information that on November 9, activists in Key West had gathered at San Carlos Hall to establish the *Club Revolucionario Cubano de Cayo Hueso.* After electing officers and listening to rousing speeches by Martin Herrera, long-time director of San Carlos, and José Francisco Lamadriz, representing the New York committee, the club notified García that it would support his efforts.[5] That December, forty Key West women, led by Rosario Lamadriz, L. Piedad Figueredo, and Clara, Celia, and América Poyo, formed the *Club Hijas de la Libertad.* It became during the next two decades one of the most active organizations backing Cuban independence.[6] Throughout the following year revolutionary clubs were orga-

3. Cuba, *Boletín del archivo nacional,* VIII, 98; Poyo, "Key West and the Cuban Ten Years War," 305.
4. Raoul Alpízar Poyo, *Cayo Hueso y José Dolores Poyo: Dos símbolos patrios* (Havana, 1947) 57-60; Gerardo Castellanos García, *Motivos de Cayo Hueso* (Havana, 1935), 222.
5. Juan J. E. Casasús, *La emigración cubana y la independencia de la patria* (Havana, 1953), 167; Cuba, Archivo Nacional, *Documentos para servir la historia de la Guerra Chiquita,* 3 vols. (Havana, 1949-1950), I, 106.
6. Alpízar Poyo, *Cayo Hueso y José Dolores Poyo,* 44; Cuba, Archivo Nacional, *Documentos para servir la historia de la Guerra Chiquita,* I, 115-16.

nized, and at a mass meeting in early June the community reaffirmed its commitment to give to General García "all our material and moral support, without restriction," This resolution was sent to New York, and it was published in *El Yara.*[7]

After a year of careful planning and organizing, rebellions finally erupted in central and eastern Cuba in late August 1879. The following month García launched an expedition commanded by General Gregorio Benítez, which reached the island successfully. Unable to raise a significant force, however, it was quickly defeated. While the failure did not discourage activists in Key West, the community's continuing economic problems during 1878 and 1879 threatened to undermine their financial base. In previous years rebels collected thousands of dollars from the tobacco workers, but now that chore would be difficult.

A brief strike by the cigar makers in July 1878 foreshadowed a period of labor unrest that added to the growing complexity of the situation. During the first half of 1879, the Key West revolutionary clubs sent only modest sums to New York, and prospects for increasing those sums dwindled during the summer when another strike occured. The work stoppage the previous year had underscored how vulnerable the workers really were, and it prompted activity that resulted in the establishment of unions among the cigar makers, selectors, classers, and strippers. All operated under the umbrella of a "general union" with a central board composed of representatives of each occupation. The general union, or *Unión de Tabaqueros,* sought to unify the workers traditionally splintered by trade, hoping to establish sufficient leverage to gain recognition from the factory owners. In addition, the workers demanded the creation of industry-wide standardized wage scales and the regularization of lax cigar classification procedures that had traditionally allowed the manufacturers to pay cheaper prices for the finer cigars.

The strike succeeded as the industry came to a virtual standstill; the first time labor effectively closed it down in Key West. Writing to the revolutionary leadership in New York, Cecilio Henríquez, president of the Key West *Club Revolucionario* wrote, "with great sentiment it was resolved to inform that center that currently it is impossible to respond to your request because

7. Cuba, Archivo Nacional, *Documentos para servir la historia de la Guerra Chiquita,* II, 146-47.

of the financial situation in this locality." The rebel leaders promised to continue working, but emphasized little could be expected until the crisis passed.[8]

In New York, General García announced plans to travel to Key West, no doubt hoping to heighten patriotic sentiment and encourage a settlement of the dispute. Accompanied by Lamadriz, he docked at 6 a.m., on November 13, disembarking to the thunder of a twenty-one gun salute and the sounds of a cheering crowd. Throughout the day García and Lamadriz met with various committees, attended a concert by the San Carlos children's band, and attended a dance given in their honor that evening. The general also met with Mayor Livingston Bethel, a strong supporter of Cuban independence, and the city council sent a message of congratulations to the celebrating Cubans.[9]

Several days later the workers settled the strike, suggesting the general's intervention in the matter had helped bring about a settlement which would benefit the revolutionary cause. A compromise in the dispute had been agreed to by both sides. The workers accepted modest wage increases in return for recognition of the union and a standard industry price list.[10] Despite his best efforts, however, García was not able to raise the kind of money he had hoped for before he had to return to New York to prepare his expedition. It was announced, however, that Lamadriz would remain permanently in Key West; it was hoped that his presence would aid in keeping the community's enthusiasm high. A veteran revolutionary, Lamadriz had been involved in anti-Spanish activities since the 1840s, and he was prominent in New York during the Ten Years War. His move to Key West strengthened the local leadership's influence.[11]

Lamadriz's position in New York was filled by a relatively unknown Cuban who arrived from Spain late in the year. His name was José Martí, and after contacting Garcia, he took Lamadriz's vacated seat on the *Comité's* board of directors. At a mass meeting on January 24, 1880, the new arrival delivered his

8. Cuba, Archivo Nacional, *Documentos para servir la historia de la Guerra Chiquita,* I, 216, 233; II, 216, 274; *Cigar Makers' Official Journal,* December 10, 1879.
9. Cuba, Archivo Nacional, *Documentos para servir la historia de la Guerra Chiquita,* III, 17-18.
10. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* November 18, 1879.
11. Casasús, *La emigración cubana y la independencia de la patria,* 160-63, 421.

first speech to the exile communities, establishing himself as a highly articulate and progressive member of the revolutionary leadership. No one at the time could have known that Martí would eventually emerge as the main leader of the Cuban independence struggle, but his eloquent call for unity and racial harmony in rebel ranks struck a responsive chord among the multiracial Cuban tobacco workers attending the New York meeting. Published as a pamphlet, and likely read aloud in cigar factories as was then the custom, the message received a warm reception in Key West, introducing the tobacco workers to the man, who, with their support, would lead the final assault on Spanish authority in Cuba a decade later.[12]

In the spring of 1879, García sailed from Jersey City with a small contingent of twenty-seven expeditionaries, landing in Cuba three weeks later. News of his arrival, together with the announcement that Lamadriz had been named agent for the revolution in the United States, was the cause for a celebration in Key West, starting with parades led by the *Unión de Tabaqueros* and the *Club Hijas de la Libertad,* and concluding with the usual grand meeting at San Carlos. Although 6,000 rebels responded to García's landing, they were inadequately armed and financed, a problem the emigre communities could not remedy. Of equal detriment to the insurrection was García's inability to link-up with a large body of rebels before his capture in early August, and General Antonio Maceo's failure to reach the island at all.[13] Without prominent leaders to coordinate and legitimize the effort, the rebels could not resist the swift Spanish reaction that crushed the incipient revolt. The last insurgent leader, General Emilio Núñez, surrendered in September 1879, and the *Comité* in New York disbanded, suspending the publication of its newsweekly, *La Independencia.*[14]

12. José Martí, *Obras completas,* 27 vols. (Havana, 1963-1965), IV, 183-211; Cuba, Archivo Nacional, *Documentos para servir la historia de la Guerra Chiquita,* III, 114.
13. Cuba, Archivo Nacional, *Documentos para servir la historia de la Guerra Chiquita,* III, 154-55. Maceo had been denied the leadership of the first expedition led by General Benítez because he was a mulatto, and he was unable to reach Cuba later as planned. Martí's plea for racial harmony in his first speech was undoubtedly a reference to this incident.
14. José L. Franco, *Antonio Maceo: Apuntes para una historia de su vida,* 3 vols. (Havana, 1975), I, 206-16; Philip S. Foner, *A History of Cuba and Its Relations With the United States,* 2 vols. (New York, 1963), II, 286-87; Luís Estévez y Romero, *Desde el Zanjón hasta Baire,* 2 vols. (Havana, 1974), I, 127-28.

The *Guerra Chiquita,* as this brief insurrection is known, was a desperate effort to reinitiate the revolt immediately after the Zanjón Pact. In its traditional manner, Key West contributed what it could, but, given the stringent economic conditions, labor unrest, and the departure of significant numbers of Cubans from the isle at that time, the community could not assume a very large financial burden. Enthusiasm, however, was never lacking, and revolutionary zeal did not wane in Key West after General García's surrender as it did in other communities. The local patriot society remained intact, and *El Yara* did not miss an issue as Cuban exiles again scattered throughout the Caribbean and the United States, most waiting for a resumption of the struggle. The dispersed Cubans relied on the Key West weekly for news of conspiratorial organizing and gained inspiration from the patriotic exhortations of prominent figures like Maceo who contributed to its columns. Also, sympathizers of independence regularly smuggled *El Yara* into Cuba, allowing supporters there to stay in touch with exile activities.[15] During these years of reduced rebel activity, the Key West newspaper acquired a reputation for persistence in its call for a free Cuba, playing a vital role in keeping the independence ideal in the forefront of community awareness.[16]

After the demise of the rebellion in 1880, many rebels went to Key West, and during the next five years the Cuban population there increased significantly; this migration was attributable mainly to the recovering cigar industry. Among the political exiles who arrived, giving the local leadership additional prestige, was Fernando Figueredo, a veteran of the Ten Years War, who with Maceo and others, had rejected the Zanjón Pact and had continued fighting until surrender became inevitable. Along with Lamadriz and Poyo, Figueredo became an influential leader in the community, and was the first Cuban elected to the Florida legislature in 1884. Soon after Figueredo's arrival he presented a series of lectures at San Carlos describing his experience during

15. Antonio Maceo, *Ideología política: Cartas y otros documentos,* 2 vols. (Havana, 1950), I, 192-202; Eusebio Hernández, *Maceo: Dos conferencias históricas* (Havana, 1968), 134; Castellanos García, *Motivos de Cayo Hueso,* 222-23; Juan J.E. Casasús, *Ramón Leocadio Bonachea: El jefe de vanguardia* (Havana, 1955), 250-51.
16. Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, ed., *Historia de la nación cubana,* 10 vols. (Havana, 1952), V, 358.

the Ten Years War. These were subsequently published as *La Revolución de Yara,* and provide one of the classic accounts of that struggle. He also founded a short-lived newspaper, *La Voz de Hatuey,* whose militancy prompted complaints from the Spanish ambassador in Washington, and criticism from the local Anglo press that condemned what it considered the weekly's advocacy of violence against loyal Spaniards in Key West.[17] Figueredo's activities were clearly calculated to keep the issue of Cuban independence in the public arena.

Other arrivals in Key West during these years who also worked for the renewal of separatist activities were Gerardo Castellanos, José Rogelio Castillo, and Enrique Canals, all veterans of the first decade of struggle. The first two opened small cigar establishments while Castillo went to work as a typographer for *El Yara.*[18] The presence of these veterans helped keep the revolutionary ambience flourishing in Key West.

In this environment, it was not long before signs of patriot activism again appeared. In 1883 Cubans in Key West, New York, and Philadelphia held meetings to celebrate October 10, the anniversary of the proclamation of their independence. These gatherings grew out of the activities of another rebel veteran, Ramón L. Bonachea, who had begun travelling to the emigre centers earlier in the year seeking funds for an expeditionary force. He obtained backing from various Cuban patriotic societies in the United States and publicity in *El Yara* and in the New York revolutionary press.[19]

Some Cubans, however, considered the moment not yet ripe for reinitiating rebel activities and they viewed this organizing activity with some dismay. Watching revolutionary developments closely from Honduras, Antonio Maceo feared that secondary leaders initiating isolated, uncoordinated activities, only wasted valuable resources. He regarded Bonachea's manner of proceed-

17. Casasús, *La emigración cubana y la independencia de la patria,* 402-03; Manuel Deulofeu y LIeonart, *Héroes del destierro* (Cienfuegos, 1904), 81; Fernando Figueredo, *La revolución de Yara,* 2 vols. (Havana, 1968), I, 41-45; U.S., National Archives, Microfilm Publications, *Notes From the Spanish Legation in the United States to the Department of State,* November 10, 1883.

18. Gómez, *Diario de campaña,* 177; José Rogelio Castillo, *Autobiografía del general José Rogelio Castillo* (Havana, 1973), 63-64.

19. Casasús, *La emigración cubana y la independencia de la patria,* 184, 189-90; Casasús, *Ramón Leocadio Bonachea,* 174-75; Guerra y Sánchez, ed., *Historia de la nación cubana,* V, 358-60.

ing, especially his penchant for issuing proclamations, calling mass meetings, and generally creating much publicity, as unproductive, and he suggested that rather than supporting these kinds of ventures, the revolutionary press should concentrate on publicizing the oppressive nature of Spanish rule in Cuba.[20] Despite Maceo's criticisms revolutionaries in Key West and New York continued working with Bonachea.

The exile communities became even more active when another revolutionary of secondary stature, Carlos Aguero, who had been carrying on guerrilla operations in Cuba since 1882, arrived in Key West in 1883 to try to raise a force. To the dismay of the community, however, local authorities arrested him early the next year after the Spanish requested his extradition. During the Ten Years War Aguero had commanded several forces and acted as aide-de-camp to the noted General Julio Sanguily, who had visited Key West in 1877. The Spanish called Aguero a bandit who was wanted in Cuba as a common criminal in connection with his guerrilla activities. Angered by his detention, Cubans in Key West threatened the Spanish consul, prompting federal authorities to dispatch agents with instructions to survey the situation and guarantee the diplomat's safety. Naval vessels also arrived in the area to guard against the departure of expeditions to Cuba.

Meanwhile, members of Florida's congressional delegation and the state's lieutenant governor, former Key West Mayor Livingston Bethel, introduced resolutions and lobbied in the Congress against turning Aguero over to Spanish authorities. A resolution demanded that the president prevent his delivery "until it shall be ascertained that the charges against him are true," and it called on the United States attorney general to investigate and to prevent extradition if the request appeared to be politically motivated.

After a hearing in Key West on February 21, 1884, United States District Judge James Locke released Aguero. This action sparked a great demonstration 5,000 strong, that included the mayor, collector of customs, and Lieutenant Governor Bethel. A short time later Aguero slipped out of Key West for Cuba, where

20. Maceo, *Ideología política: Cartas y otros documentos,* I, 219-24, 226-27, 230-34.

with a small band of men he conducted guerrilla warfare for almost a year before finally being defeated and killed.

Concerned that the troubles in south Florida would interfere with a reciprocal trade agreement then being negotiated with Spain, President Chester Arthur requested the removal of customs collector Frank Wicker, a vocal sympathizer of the Cuban cause, after a formal Spanish protest to the secretary of state had decried his participation in pro-Cuban demonstrations. Suspecting that Wicker and his Cuban deputy collector, Ramón Álvarez, were unwilling to uphold effectively the neutrality laws, the treasury department sent an agent to the Key to supervise the customs house and to insure that proper vigilence be maintained. Although Florida politicians attempted to gain a special hearing for Wicker, the United States Senate, after three hours of debate on April 22, adopted its commerce committee's report advising his removal. More threats against the Spanish consul in Key West followed, and the United States Secretary of State fired off a telegram to Governor Edward A. Perry in Tallahassee demanding that order be maintained.[21]

Hearing of the enthusiasm of the Cubans in south Florida and elsewhere in the United States, the rebel veteran, Máximo Gomez, then in Honduras, sent an envoy to New York with a proposed plan of action for initiating new conspiracies. The New York leadership received Gomez's representative warmly, with assurances they were willing to follow the general's initiatives. Furthermore, a wealthy Cuban, Félix Govin, offered $200,000 to the cause, settling Gómez's financial concerns and prompting him and Maceo to set out immediately for the United States. After a rather subdued reception in New Orleans, the two veterans received a tumultuous greeting in Key West where they met with community leaders and comrades of the Ten Years War.[22]

After four days of talks, Gómez called a general meeting in a cigar factory and detailed his plans to the local leaders, out of which emerged a formal organization whose members agreed to

21. U.S., Congress, Senate Journal, 48th Cong., 1st Sess., 272; House, *Journal*, 48th Cong., 1st Sess., 531, 635; *House Executive Documents*, 48th Cong., 2nd Sess., I, 493-95, 502-21; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, February 12, 26, April 4, 15, 22, 29, May 20, June 3, 1884; *New York Herald*, January 10, March 4, 1885; U.S., National Archives, *Notes From the Spanish Legation*, see correspondence for 1883-1884.

22. José L. Franco, *Ruta de Antonio Maceo en el Caribe* (Havana, 1961), 93-107; Gómez, *Diario de campaña*, 177-78.

work secretely to establish revolutionary clubs. At a meeting of the first such organization, the *Club Carlos Manuel de Céspedes,* members resolved to place Bonachea, still preparing his departure for Cuba in the Caribbean, under Gómez's orders.[23] Bonachea proceeded on his own, however, landing in Cuba later that year, where, after a brief struggle, he was captured and executed. In a letter to Poyo and Figueredo written just prior to his execution, the expeditionary leader asked that the people in Key West care for his family and educate his children. The following year, 1885, the Bonacheas arrived in Florida from Mexico and established their home in Key West.[24]

The Bonachea and Aguero experiences lent credence to Maceo's original estimation that it would take prominent revolutionary figures with adequately financed and coordinated expeditions to revolutionize Cuba, but their activities did serve to reinitiate organizing efforts. Undoubtedly, emigre leaders in the United States recognized that the prominent veterans could lead the rebellion more effectively, but since they failed to take the initiative in 1883, support was given to those who did. The response to Bonachea's and Aguero's calls for revolution demonstrated that, at least in the emigre communities, the moment seemed right for another round of organizing.

The potential for raising well-financed expeditions had increased substantially by the mid-1880s. Besides obtaining the traditional support of the workers in Key West, Gómez and Maceo also attracted a group of prosperous Cuban cigar manufacturers to the organizing sessions. During the late 1870s, Cuban-owned factories usually were modest enterprises struggling to survive in a poor economic environment made worse by constant labor agitation and strikes. This kind of situation did not promote significant contributions to the rebel cause. After 1880 however, the industry in Key West grew; forty-five factories increased to ninety-one by 1884, capital investments expanded from $429,400 to $683,000, and the average number of hands rose from 1,377 to 2,811. Most significant was a sharp rise in wages, from $337,966 in 1880, to $2,500,000 four years later. Wages

23. Casasús, *La emigración cubana y la independencia de la patria,* 187-88; Gómez, *Diario de campaña,* 177.
24. Casasús, *Ramón Leocadio Bonachea,* 219; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* August 27, 1885.

disbursed by the industry had reached $1,000,000 in 1875, but the depressed earnings during the latter years of the decade indicates why funds could not be readily obtained for the *Guerra Chiquita.*

Seven of the Cuban cigar manufacturers attending the organizing sessions in Key West represented a capital investment of $187,000, and their combined profits were over $400,000 in 1884-1885. The largest of these manufacturers was Eduardo H. Gato, whose enterprise had expanded rapidly after the depression of the late 1870s. Employing only fifty men in 1880, Gato's factory increased its labor force to an average of 435 by 1884. His capital investment was approximately $100,000.[25] The expanding operations of the manufacturers and the increased earnings of their workers insured that funds would be available for the rebel leaders in 1885.

During their brief stay in Key West in 1884, Gómez and Maceo raised some $5,000, to be utilized as operating expenses until Govin in New York provided the funds he had offered. Arriving in New York in late September the two generals were joined by José Martí, now one of the leading exile personalities in America. Though news of the renewed activism was well received in New York, events soon soured the initial optimism. Govin retracted his financial commitment, explaining he was involved in delicate negotiations with Spanish authorities to recover property in Cuba. The revolutionaries were forced to devise other plans for a major fund raising drive. A disagreement between Gómez and Martí followed, resulting in the latter's withdrawal from the revolutionary effort. This action deprived the rebels in 1884 of Martí's extraordinary ability, so evident in the 1890s, to mobilize the Cuban emigre centers.[26]

Not allowing these setbacks to dampen their spirits, Gómez and Maceo directed agents to all the cities offering possibilities of

25. Alpízar Poyo, *Cayo Hueso y José Dolores Poyo,* 73; New York *Tobacco Leaf,* July 3, 1880; Walter Maloney, *Sketch of the History of Key West, Florida* (Newark, 1876; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1968), 25; U.S., Census Office, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, *Statistics of Manufactures,* 207; Florida State Census, 1885, Microfilm population schedules, Monroe County. Statistical data taken from the 1885 census should be viewed with caution since the figures are obviously just crude estimates. The wage figure for 1885, for example, is higher than wages paid in the whole state in 1890. In any case, a significant increase in wages paid between 1880 and 1885 is apparent.

26. Franco, *Antonio Maceo: Apuntes para una historia de su vida,* 267-74.

support. Gómez selected his aide Rafael Rodríquez to go to Key West, where he immediately began forming an expedition. Strained labor-management relations, however, threatened the disruption of community focus on insurgent activities. After two bitterly disputed strikes in 1880 and 1881, labor agitation had declined and the economy became more prosperous. However, worker concerns again appeared in 1883, when an influx of laborers from Cuba threatened wage rates and job security, and after manufacturers began taking advantage. of relaxed union activity to return to some of their earlier practices, the most objectionable being underclassifying the finer cigars. In 1883, the selectors reorganized their union and by September 1884, the cigar makers and other occupations had followed suit. Preparing for the worst, the manufacturers also reorganized, electing as officers of their trade association Cuban factory owners prominently connected with the revolutionary cause. This was an apparent attempt to use their influence within the rebel movement to intimidate the workers. Although the strike did not develop immediately, the lines were drawn and all expected it would eventually come.[27]

Revolutionary concerns again gained prominence in the colony when Dr. Eusebio Hernández, collaborating closely with Gómez and Maceo, arrived in Key West in early January 1885, hoping to raise at least $20,000. He and Gómez had estimated that $55,000 would be needed for the first expedition, and in considering quotas for the various centers, it was thought that only Panama could produce the equal of Key West. The other proposed fund-raising locations were Philadelphia, New Orleans, and Kingston (Jamaica), each estimated to produce $3,000; Santo Domingo, $1,000; and New York, $5,000. Key West became the primary locale for raising needed financial resources.[28]

On arriving, Hernández obtained the active cooperation of Lamadriz and Poyo, and the three initiated their rounds of the cigar factories. Cigar manufacturers Gate, Cayetano Soría, Francisco Marrero, Enrique Canals, and Carlos Recio one of the most prosperous merchants on the isle, offered to loan the revolu-

27. New York *Tobacco Leaf*, October 25, 1884; Key West, *La voz de Hatuey*, March 1, 1884, a copy is included in U.S. National Archives, *Notes From the Spanish Legation*, March 17, 1884.

28. Hernández, *Maceo: Dos conferencias históricas*, 144; Hortensia Pichardo, ed., *Máximo Gómez: Cartas a Francisco Carrillo* (Havana, 1971), 39.

tion $30,000. With another $10,000 collected from the workers, Hernández had doubled what the leadership in New York had thought could be obtained in south Florida. Although Hernández accepted the manufacturers' loan, he later observed, "I do not censure those who loan their money at times where money is the principal factor; no, but permit me to applaud those who give with all their heart and their soul." Deeply moved by the enthusiasm and sacrifice of the tobacco workers, Hernández cabled Gómez in New Orleans, inviting him to come to Key West to receive personally the funds. On arriving he assured the colony that rebel forces would soon be battling in Cuba.[29]

Soon after the revolutionary leaders' departure from Key West, news arrived that Aguero had been killed in Cuba. His death stunned the community, and some wondered if a foothold on Cuban soil could now be established. On March 22, 1885, the Key West community met to honor Aguero, Bonachea, and others who had recently died while fighting Spanish authority in their homeland. People filled San Carlos Hall, and as a *New York Herald* correspondent described it, "Inside the hall, as the exterior of the building, was heavily draped with emblems of mourning. On the platform the catafalque erected was strewn with choice flowers, while lighted candles and a skull and cross bones . . . gave the whole a decidedly funeral appearance. The ceremonies lasted several hours, and consisted principally of dirges by a brass band, singing of hymns by the audience and the delivery of eulogies on the departed."[30]

Throughout that summer, rebels continued their preparations, but the expeditions formed slowly, and growing concerns about working conditions caused increasing dissatisfaction among the Key's Cuban labor force. During the first week in August the long-awaited confrontation with the owners finally erupted, bringing cigar production to a halt. Labor leaders demanded wage increases, regularized cigar classification procedures, and worker election of factory foremen. The manufacturers were unwilling to yield; they hoped to outlast union strike funds, reputed to be small. After a month strike monies indeed gave out,

29. Hernández, *Maceo: Dos conferencias históricas,* 145-47; Castellanos García, *Motivos de Cayo Hueso,* 232; George Chapin, *Florida, 1513-1913, Past, Present, and Future,* 2 vols. (Chicago, 1914), II, 313-14.
30. *New York Herald,* March 23, 1885.

forcing the union to send representatives to New York and Havana, where some support funds were raised. Spanish officials in Havana usually cooperated with strikers from Key West, knowing that it benefited not only Cuban industry, but more importantly it weakened the revolutionary organizations. Recognizing this as well, rebel leaders joined in the negotiating sessions after several bargaining meetings held in New York failed to provide a solution. An agreement finally emerged after the major stumbling block, the issue of worker election of foremen, was settled in a compromise allowing union representatives into the factories to investigate grievances, but leaving the foreman as a management position. Rafael Rodríquez, Gómez's aide in Key West, officially witnessed the final agreement. Once again the revolutionary element within the Key West community contributed to settling a strike, and the factories were soon back in full operation.[31]

The settlement of the dispute came at an opportune moment because in September 1885, the local revolutionary leaders received a cable from New York explaining that Maceo and Hernández wished to visit for another fund-raising effort. Having travelled to New Orleans and New York where they met with limited success, the two decided that another jaunt to Key West was necessary, though Hernández expressed some reluctance, feeling the city had already contributed more than its share. Nevertheless, the two wasted little time after receiving a reply urging them to come. Arriving in October, they were met in the traditional manner by a crowd at the docks. Loud cheers, a twenty-one gun salute, and a procession to San Carlos Hall led by the Cuban brass band in a drenching rain initiated a week of activities.

At San Carlos Hernández took the podium to explain why the insurrection had not yet erupted, but the crowd packing the building interrupted, shouting that explanations were unnecessary and expressing support for the expedition. After Maceo's speech, men began emptying money from their pockets and women removed jewelry, turning it all over to the fund raising committee. Viewing this scene with delight and with tears of emotion swelling in his eyes, Maceo saw again the willingness of

31. Ibid., August 4, 5, 25, September 2, 1885; New York *Tobacco Leaf*, August 29, September 12, 1885, quoted in L. Glenn Westfall, *Don Vicente Martinez Ybor, The Man and His Empire* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, Gainesville, 1977), 43-46.

the Key West community to support the Cuban cause. Throughout the week, *La Semana Patriótica,* speech-making and fundraising activities in the cigar factories provided Maceo with almost $10,000 for his expedition.[32]

The enthusiasm and euphoria created by the successes in Key West gave way to disillusionment during the first half of 1886 because of a series of setbacks. Having decided to launch his expedition from the Dominican Republic, his homeland, Gómez sent the war materials there from New York during late 1885, but an unexpected change in government unsympathetic to Cuban exile activities, resulted in Gómez's arrest and confiscation of the arms. Although the general was soon released, he was deported, and the war materials could not be recovered, delaying any possible invasion of Cuba for months.[33]

Though distressed by the loss of the weapons, Cubans in Key West continued supporting the revolt until their attention was distracted by their own disaster that struck in the early morning hours of March 30, 1886. As the population slept, a fire broke out in the San Carlos Hall which quickly spread out of control enveloping large portions of the city. Before it could be extinguished some 600 buildings worth an estimated $2,000,000 were destroyed, a disaster unprecedented in the city's history. The fire leveled eighteen cigar factories, including the Martínez Ybor and Seidenburg establishments, two of the largest, sharply curtailing economic activity in the community. The *Unión de Tabaqueros* distributed $900 among its members and donated another $480 to the city-wide relief fund, but hundreds of Cuban workers, homeless, unemployed, and ruined, left by steamer for Cuba, or sailed up the coast to Ybor City where a nascent cigar industry offered some hope of work.[34]

Details regarding how the fire started are not clear, but some suspected it was not accidental.[35] Perhaps a Spanish agent's attempt to destroy San Carlos, symbolic of the revolutionary com-

32. Hernández, *Maceo: Dos conferencias históricas,* 154-56.
33. Franco, *Antonio Maceo: Apuntes para una historia de su vida.* I, 292.
34. Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West: The Old and the New* (St. Augustine, 1912; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1973), 125, 152-53; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* April 8, 15, 1886; Deulofeu y Lleonart, *Héroes del destierro,* 31; José Rivero Muñiz, "Los cubanos en Tampa," *Revista bimestre cubana,* LXXIV (January-June 1958), 206-13; *New York Herald,* March 31, April 1, 3, 12, 15, 1886.
35. Browne, *Key West: The Old and the New,* 152.

munity, developed into something more than was intended. When informed of the catastrophe, Gómez indicated he was not surprised, suggesting that he believed the Spanish may have been behind it.[36] Whatever the cause, it resulted in paralyzing and hopelessly demoralizing the revolution's most active center of support, depriving the insurgents of critically needed financial resources and moral backing. Any hope of raising sufficient funds to replace the Dominican losses virtually disappeared.

These developments caused many to reconsider their commitment. In Key West the leadership appraised the situation and urged Gómez to halt temporarily organizing activities because of the community's economic paralysis. Rodríguez also wrote the general explaining that there was little hope now of mobilizing the community.[37]

Despite the news from Key West, Gómez and Maceo felt a responsibility to the conspirators in Cuba, and they were determined to continue their activities. Maceo addressed an open letter to the "Emigres of Key West," explaining, among other things, that his expedition was in its final stages of preparation and that he would soon be in Cuba. He asked for continued support.[38] The expedition never departed, however, for in July 1886, the shipment of arms destined for his men in Jamaica was thrown into the sea by a steamer captain fearful of being apprehended.

If insurrectionary activities were to continue now, another major fund-raising drive would be necessary, and in August, Maceo, Gómez, Hernández, and others met in Jamaica to discuss their options. By now Maceo advocated abandoning activities for the time being, but Hernández insisted that a last attempt be undertaken. Gómez expressed support, and Hernández set sail for Key West to explore the possibility of initiating another fund-raising drive.[39] Although he was received cordially, Hernández did find the Cuban leaders firmly opposed to the contemplated effort. Besides the negative impact of the fire and the loss of arms on rebel enthusiasm, increasing labor activism among the tobacco workers was causing disunity in the community. Opposing Cuban labor organizations had already clashed over the politics and con-

36. Pichardo, ed., *Máximo Gómez: Cartas a Francisco Carrillo,* 52.
37. Gómez, *Diario de campaña,* 206; Pichardo, ed., *Máximo Gómez: Cartas a Francisco Carrillo,* 58.
38. Maceo, *Ideología política: Cartas y otros documentos,* I, 313-14.
39. Franco, *Antonio Maceo: Apuntes para una historia de su vida,* I, 312.

duct of a strike in January 1886, and early the next year blood was shed in Tampa in a similar incident. Also, the tendency of pro-separatist labor and revolutionary leaders to discourage strikes and confrontations, and the high visibility of Cuban cigar manufacturers in the rebel organizations caused skepticism among many workers who suspected the factory owners were using the revolution to prevent labor struggles.[40]

Again assessing the general situation in Key West, local leaders repeated their advice to the revolutionary chiefs that another fund-raising drive would not be well received by the community. Recognizing that without Key West it would be virtually impossible to mount a credible effort, Hernández and Gómez accepted reality and reluctantly called an end to their activities. In a letter to Gómez, Hernández explained, "Confidence has given way to doubt, hope to disbelief, enthusiasm to silence, love to indifference, effective action to quiet disorganization; Somber silence!, that in these moments is the Key."[41]

Bleak as Hernández's description of Key West was at the moment, it in no way reflected a weakening of the community's resolve to support the struggle for Cuban independence. For almost two decades with tireless dedication the colony had funded the revolution when it could, and it offered its enthusiasm and patriotic zeal when money was not available. There had been periods of disillusionment and retraction before, but a resurgence in activity never failed to materialize after a healthy period of reflection and consolidation.

The flames and subsequent temporary loss of heart that brought the conspiracies to an end in 1886, ironically contributed to the birth of a new revolutionary center in the Tampa Bay area, that in time, produced a community as equally dedicated and patriotic as Key West. It could not have been otherwise since those who pioneered Ybor City carried with them the dreams and traditions of an insurgent population confident of eventual success. By 1888 the tobacco workers in the two communities were again spearheading the revolutionary organizing that culminated in José Martí's visit to Florida, laying the foundation for the final confrontation with Spain over the question of a free Cuba.

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40. *Cigar Makers' Official Journal,* January 1886, February 1887; Rivero Muñiz, "Los cubanos en Tampa," 24.
41. Hernàndez, *Maceo: Dos conferencias históricas,* 161-64.

ANOTHER ROAD TO DISAPPEARANCE: ASSIMILATION OF CREEK INDIANS IN PENSACOLA, FLORIDA, DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

by JANE E. DYSART

IN historical accounts of the old South, Indians are customarily treated as participants only in the frontier phase of colonial rivalry and during the era of territorial expansion. With the removal of the Indians to lands west of the Mississippi, southern history becomes the story of a white-dominated society composed almost exclusively of whites and blacks. The diversity of Indian-white and Indian-black relationships during the early years of the antebellum era is rarely part of the story, nor is the account of the Indians who remained behind included in the traditional narratives. Yet Indians constituted a third ethnic group in the South before removal, and they interacted with both races. After removal, those who did not isolate themselves into inaccessible or undesirable land, such as the Seminoles in the Florida Everglades and the Cherokees of western North Carolina, were forced to adjust to a biracial society. Many lost their identity as Indians altogether, and their descendants kept alive only vague memories of their ancestry. The story of this experience sheds light on another aspect of the "disappearance" of the southeastern Indians. It is perhaps best understood by examining a single community– Pensacola, Florida– and the surrounding area, which has a long history of interaction with Indians but has only recently rediscovered the Indians in its midst.[1]

Identifying individuals of Indian ancestry in a biracial community such as Pensacola is difficult. Early court proceedings and Catholic church records designate Indians and mestizos, but after

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1. For a discussion of the inadequate treatment given Indians in southern historiography, see John H. Peterson, Jr., "The Indian in the Old South," in *Red, White, and Black: Symposium on Indians in the Old South,* Charles M. Hudson, ed. (Athens, 1971), 116-33.

1840 there is no mention of either racial designation in the church or court records or in the census returns. In 1907-1908, however, 116 people in the Pensacola area filed applications for the Eastern Cherokee enrollment in the mistaken belief that all Indians were included. Those applications, together with the testimony before the special claims commissioner who held hearings in Pensacola in 1908, provide extensive genealogical information.[2] For the present study names of Indian ancestors were located either on the 1832 Creek tribal roll or in Alabama censuses which indicated Indian race on the 1850 and 1860 returns even though it was not required to designate Indians separately until 1870. A few individuals, such as William Weatherford, were famous Creeks; others were identified as Indians in contemporary journals, memoirs, and letters. Almost every Indian applicant in the 1907-1908 enrollment had migrated to the Pensacola area from one of the south Alabama counties where several of the mixed-blood families had either settled or remained after the removal of the Creeks in the 1830s.[3]

Pensacola, with its favorable location on the Gulf of Mexico and its nearby rivers and bays, had been a popular hunting and fishing ground for southeastern Indians. After the establishment of the Panton, Leslie Company there in 1785, Pensacola became a major trade center, especially for the Creeks of Alabama and

2. Applications submitted by claimants in the Eastern Cherokee Enrollment, 1907-1908, Records of the United States Court of Claims, Record Group 123, National Archives in Washington, D. C., copies in Special Collections, John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida (cited hereinafter as Eastern Cherokee Applications). Records relating to Enrollment of Eastern Cherokees by Guion Miller, 1907-1908, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives Microfilm Publication M-685, roll 11, copy in John C. Pace Library (cited hereinafter as Eastern Cherokee Enrollment).

3. 1832 Census of Creek Indians taken by Parsons and Abbott, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives Microfilm Publication T-275, copy in John C. Pace Library. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules, Seventh Census, 1850, M-432, manuscript returns for Alabama: Baldwin County, roll 1; Conecuh County, roll 3; and Monroe County, roll 11. Eighth Census, 1860, Alabama, M-653: Baldwin County, roll 1; Conecuh County, roll 6; and Monroe County, roll 18; copy in John C. Pace Library (cited hereinafter as U.S. Census Returns, year, publication number, name of state, roll number, name of county). Contemporary sources consulted include: Benjamin Hawkins, *A Sketch of the Creek Country 1798-1799 and Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806* (Savannah, 1848: reprint ed., Spartanburg, 1974); Thomas S. Woodward, *Woodward's Reminiscences of the Creek, or Muscogee Indians Contained in Letters to Friends in Georgia and Alabama* (Montgomery, 1859; reprinted., Birmingham, 1939).

Georgia. The town was a typical frontier garrison community with a large part of the population being males engaged in trade or service. According to a Spanish census taken in 1820, just before the transfer of the territory to American sovereignty, French and Spanish creoles were in the majority. One-third of the population was mixed-blood, including three individuals identified as mestizos. Of the 181 households listed, thirty involved white men and either Negro or mixed-blood women and their children.[4] The community was rather lax in its attitudes toward racial mixture although, as was usually the case in Spanish societies, the varying types of miscegenation were noted and the social structure arranged according to different degrees of intermixture of blood. Mestizos and Indians being lighter in color occupied higher rungs on the social ladder than did mulattoes and Negroes.[5] Within a few years, however, the entire character of the town changed when United States-born citizens became the majority and the town's racial attitudes came to resemble those of other southern communities, allowing no racial distinctions other than white, black, and mulatto.[6]

Even though the 1820 Spanish census did not list Indians as living in the city, Pensacola and the nearby area did include, thoughout the 1820s and 1830s, a small number of Indian residents, as well as transients who came to hunt, fish, or trade. Their presence was noted in official records, travelers' accounts, and, on occasion, by artists who painted their likenesses. The full range of relationships between Indians and the community's inhabitants was represented, ranging from occasional trade transactions to intermarriage.

An encounter with Indians reminiscent of many frontier tales was described by George A. McCall who was stationed with the United States Army in Pensacola during the early 1820s. On an outing with Spanish acquaintances McCall and his companions came upon an Indian family camped on Bayou Grande a few

4. William S. Coker and G. Douglas Inglis, *The Spanish Census of Pensacola, 1794-1820: A Genealogical Guide to Spanish Pensacola* (Pensacola, 1980), 97-141.
5. Lyle N. McAllister, "Pensacola During the Second Spanish Period," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXXVII (January-April 1959), 324-25; Dian Lee Shelley, "The Effects of Increasing Racism on the Creole Colored in Three Gulf Coast Cities Between 1803 and 1860," (master's thesis, University of West Florida, 1971), 1, 47-48, 53.
6. Shelley, "Creole Colored," 66-67.

miles from the city. "Knowing that the Indians who visit Pensacola to sell their skins and procure powder, lead and other necessaries, are better acquainted with the Spanish language than either the French or English," he addressed the woman in Spanish but quickly learned that she spoke only the Muskhoghean language. According to one of the Spaniards, the Indian family came from the Apalachicola River area annually to hunt in the area and to sell skins in Pensacola. While McCall was trying to communicate with the Indians, a Spaniard of bad reputation shot and wounded the brave, whom he accused of stealing his cattle. McCall, in heroic frontier style, rescued the Indian and sent the Spanish rogue on his way. A few months later McCall learned that the Indian had taken his revenge by killing and scalping the Spaniard.[7]

Other visitors, including at least two artists, confirmed the presence of Indians in Pensacola. In 1834 George Washington Sully, nephew of the famous artist Thomas Sully, painted three watercolor portraits of Indians. On the front of one picture he wrote, "painted these rascals in Pensacola, Florida, August 1834." One of the Indians Sully identified as the famous Seminole chief, Tiger Tail, who with his two companions had probably come to the city for supplies or to negotiate with government officials.[8] Famous for his Indian portraits, George Catlin, who was visiting relatives in Pensacola in 1835, painted a family of Seminoles drying red fish on the sand dunes of nearby Santa Rosa Island.[9] In a letter he described the Florida swamps as "lurking places of the desperate savage," but noted that the Indians in Pensacola, "like all others that are half civilized . . . are to be pitied."[10]

Among those "half-civilized" Indians whom Catlin pitied was perhaps a small group of "settlement" Indians living in impoverished conditions in the city. No longer members of a tribal community, they were also somewhat isolated from white so-

7. George A. McCall, *Letters from the Frontiers* (Philadelphia, 1868; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1974), 56-60, 126.
8. Thirty-one original watercolors painted by Sully in the 1830s are located in the George Washington Sully Collection, Special Collections, John C. Pace Library.
9. Marjorie Catlin Roehm, ed., *The Letters of George Catlin and His Family* (Berkeley, 1966), 78.
10. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians* (London, 1844; reprint ed., New York, 1973), II, 35.

ciety.[11] Some spoke only the Indian languages, while a few could communicate in Spanish or English. Their presence was noted only when they committed or witnessed crimes. From court records, white attitudes toward these settlement Indians can be inferred. Known only by their first names– David, Polly, John– they were regarded as cattle and horse thieves and as drunks. They evidently eked out a meager living working as laborers in local lumberyards or performing odd jobs. The murder of one Indian by another was apparently of little consequence to the white citizens. In one case involving a fatal stabbing, for example, the killing was declared self-defense.[12] In another the defendant, who was accused of beating and kicking his wife to death, was found guilty of involuntary manslaughter and was released to "catch skins."[13] These records reveal that whites described Indians in the same degrading terms they used for blacks. The court records also confirm the continuation during the 1820s and 1830s of the more complex social structure of the Spanish borderlands. In one murder case involving whites the testimony of Indians was accepted but not that of a Negro slave.[14] Indians, however, ranked below the free Negroes in the city, many of whom were craftsmen or owned small businesses and were permitted to make all sorts of official transactions. Apparently Indians occupied a social position somewhere between free blacks and slaves, distinguished from the latter chiefly by their free status.

Living, about twenty miles outside the city near the mouth of the Blackwater River was a small band of Indians, mixed bloods, and two or three Spanish men. Well known to the townspeople, they supported themselves by catching fish and oysters for the local market. The Indians spoke English and claimed to be descended from Creeks who had come to the area from Tuckabahchee town during the American Revolution. Even though they had lived peacefully in the area for more than fifty years, they were suspected of supplying renegade Creeks from Alabama

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11. For a discussion of the term "settlement" Indians, see Charles M. Hudson, *The Catawba Nation* (Athens, 1970), 56.
12. Escambia County, Florida, Clerk of Circuit Court, Archives Division, Circuit Court File, 1834-2818, *Territory* v. *Apia, an Indian.* This and all subsequent Escambia County Court cases cited are in the Escambia County Judicial Center, Pensacola.
13. Ibid., Circuit Court File 1826-2579, *Territoy* v. *J. Indian.*
14. Ibid., Circuit Court File 1829-391, *Territory* v. *A. Crail.*

and Georgia. They were removed to Indian territory in 1837.[15] The Indian bands that camped in the area from time to time aroused uneasiness among the townspeople. Not only were they considered a threat in times of hostilities with the Creeks and Seminoles, but more importantly they were thought to help slaves escape and to harbor runaways. Indeed, occasionally runaway slaves were found in Indian camps on the nearby rivers.[16] Increasingly anxious about their slaves, and fearing the consequences of the free association of Indians and blacks, white Floridians demanded that the Indians be moved west of the Mississippi.[17]

Other familiar Indian-white relationships were also represented in Pensacola. Typical of frontier societies– English, Spanish, and French– was the Indian wife-white husband household. During the early 1820s a tract of land belonging to Maria Garzon, identified as an "Indian of the Tallapoosa or Creek nation," came under litigation. Maria Garzon's husband, Antonio, had received the land for his services to the Spanish crown as an interpreter to the Indians.[18] The census of 1820 listed three mestizos in the city, and there were probably more in the outlying area who were not enumerated.[19] In another court case of

15. Archibald Smith, Jr., to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 12, 1837, Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1871, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives Microfilm Publication M-234, Creek Agency Reserves, roll 244 and Florida Superintendency Emigration, roll 290, copy in John C. Pace Library; Henry Wilson to Major General Thomas S. Jesup, May 18, 1837, *American State Papers: Military Affairs* (Washington, D.C., 1861), VII, 838.

16. See, for example, a court case involving a runaway slave found in an Indian camp on the Escambia River, Escambia County, Florida, Clerk of Circuit Court, Archives Division, Circuit Court File 1829-387, *J. Cook* v. *E. Garcon.* For an analysis of the relationship between slaves and Indians, especially the runaway problem, see Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., *Africans and Creeks from the Colonial Period to the Civil War* (Westport, Conn., 1979) 84-105.

17. Floridians sent numerous petitions and letters to Washington demanding that the Indians be removed. See especially *Pensacola Gazette,* March 23, 1827, and July 16, 1836, and Commissioner and Governor Jackson to Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, May 26, 1821, in Clarence E. Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States: Territory of Florida* (Washington, D. C., 1956), XXII, 58; Memorial to Congress by the Legislative Council, February 1832 and Proceedings of a Meeting of Citizens in Jefferson County, January 18, 1832, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers* (Washington, D. C., 1856), XXIV, 667, 671.

18. "Claims to Lands in East and West Florida," *American State Papers: Public Lands* (Washington, D. C., 1859), IV, 176-77.

19. Coker and Inglis, *Spanish Census,* 98-141.

the 1820s Mary Ann Prieto, also married to a Spaniard, accused William Weatherford, the famous Creek warrior, of stealing slaves given to her by her Creek Indian father.[20]

Although the number of Indians in the Pensacola area was not large, the Indian presence during the 1820s and 1830s in the area was evident. By 1850, however, several factors had forced those Indians who avoided removal to conceal their Indian identity and ignore their culture. Traditional frontier prejudice against Indians had been obvious since the whites had first come to the area, but during the removal era it increased. Pensacolians read newspaper accounts of Creeks fleeing from Alabama to join the Seminoles, hiding in the swamps and dense woodlands, and massacring white families. In response to reports of a hostile Creek band hiding in the area, citizens held a meeting in March 1837, and sent out a scouting party which failed to locate the Indians.[21] Ships moving troops to south Florida to fight the Seminoles and transporting Indians to the west frequently docked in the Pensacola port. Such constant reminders of the Indian presence reinforced the already negative attitudes of the whites.[22]

In 1853 the Florida legislature passed a law making it illegal for Indians to remain within the state and provided that "any Indian or Indians that remain . . . shall be captured and sent west of the Mississippi."[23] Even though the law excluded from removal half-bloods and Indians already living among the whites, most Indians evidently found it prudent to ignore or conceal their ancestry. At least no Indians were listed on official census returns during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Pensacola by the 1850s had acquired many of the racial attitudes of other southern communities. Society had polarized into a rigid biracial structure which lumped all non-whites into the "colored" category. During the 1840s the population had shifted in favor of an Anglo-American majority and, with the influx of families from nearby southeastern states, previously tolerant attitudes toward race mixing and concubinage– usually white men

20. Escambia County, Circuit Court File 1822-77, *M.A. Prieto* v. *W. Weatherford.*
21. *Pensacola Gazette,* March 11, 1837.
22. Ibid., May 13, 1837, September 17, December 3, 1842, March 11, 1843, January 13, 1844.
23. "An Act to Provide for the Final Removal of the Indians of this State and for Other Purposes," *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Florida,* 6th Sess., 1853, 133-36.

and black or mixed-blood women– had stiffened.[24] Indians who remained were pressured to become either white or black and to separate themselves socially from the other race. The evidence suggests that those half-bloods whose physical characteristics allowed them to claim to be white more than likely did so. Those, on the other hand, who were dark-skinned or who had black ancestry were forced to merge with the black community.[25]

Despite the disappearance of Indians from the official records and the historical accounts, some people of Indian ancestry, mostly Creeks, did remain in the Pensacola area, and others migrated there during the latter half of the nineteenth century. No evidence has been found which confirms stories of Creeks who returned from Indian territory during the nineteenth century and reestablished homes in the east.[26] Of the few known Indians who stayed in Pensacola after 1840, all were descended from families who had been in Florida before it was annexed to the United States, and all came from Spanish husband-Indian wife families. None, however, was referred to officially as Indian. When, for example, the two mestizo daughters of Maria and Antonio Garzon sued for a debt owed their mother in 1842, no mention was made of their Indian ancestry. In marked contrast to the offspring of black women and white men who were referred to as "colored" or mulattoes, Indian parentage did not permanently affix an Indian designation to the descendants.

The free black community in Pensacola absorbed a few individuals known to be of Indian blood. Several families designated as Creole colored claimed an Indian ancestor. Of mixed racial background, usually French or Spanish and Negro, these

24. Shelley, "Creole Colored," 47-61.

25. No Indians were listed in the nineteenth-century manuscript census returns, Escambia County, Florida. Individuals known to be Indian were designated as black, white, or mulatto in all the manuscript returns during the nineteenth century. *U.S. Census Returns 1850,* M-432, Florida, roll 58, Escambia County; 1860, M-653, roll 106, Escambia County; 1870, M-593, roll 129, Escambia County; 1880, T-9, roll 127, Escambia County.

26. No references to individual Indians returning to the east during the nineteenth century were found in the Creek interviews in the Indian-Pioneer Papers in the Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, the Indian Oral History Collection in the Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma Library, Norman, Oklahoma, or in the manuscript collection of the Gilcrease Institute, Tulsa, Oklahoma. To date, none of the Indians in the Pensacola area or in northwest Florida has been able to document such a return though several claim descent through Indians who reputedly went to Indian Territory and then came back to Florida.

people enjoyed a higher social status and usually a better economic position than did other free blacks in Pensacola. They were careful to preserve their privileged position by marrying within their own group or finding mates in lighter-skinned families-Indians, for example.[27] The Touarts, one of the prominent Creole colored families, claimed Indian grandmothers on both sides of the family. On the paternal side, they traced their descent from a well-known Alabama Creek family, and on the maternal side from a Mississippi-born Choctaw woman.[28] In the mid-1850s after the Florida legislature required all free negroes to acquire white guardians, the Touarts migrated to Mexico along with several other Creole colored families. Upon their return to the United States some time in the 1860s, they resumed their former prestigious position among the black community, with the men following trades as butchers, barbers, and tailors.[29] At least four other Creole colored families also traced lineage to Indian grandmothers.[30]

Other blacks whose knowledge of their ancestry was less certain than the Creole colored families also claimed Indian blood. Most were probably descended from slave women and Indian men. One woman wrote in 1908: "My father was known as Big John Indian and I was raised a slave. I don't know of any other name he had but Big John."[31] Although her claim to Indian ancestry could not be proved, it seems likely that her father was an Indian. The settlement Indians had shared a low social and economic position with blacks, ranking only slightly above the slaves. That they mixed with slaves and some free blacks is feasible. They had vanished as Indians from official records, but there is no evidence confirming their removal to Indian territory.[32] Indeed, some may have been enslaved. Jonathan Walker,

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27. In addition to the Shelley study of the Creole colored in Pensacola, see Linda V. Ellsworth, "Pensacola Creoles, Remnants of a Culture," typed manuscript in the files of the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, Pensacola, Florida.
28. Eastern Cherokee Applications, 17904 and 17905.
29. "An Act to Authorize Judges of Probate of the Several Counties in this State to Appoint Guardians for Free Negroes," *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Florida,* 3rd Sess., 1848, 27; U.S. Census Returns, 1879, M-593, Florida, Escambia County, roll 129.
30. Eastern Cherokee Applications, 18684, 17902, 17903, 17905.
31. Ibid., 40453.
32. Removal of the "settlement" Indians was not reported in sources which usually noted the departures of Indians for the West, such as newspaper

the abolitionist who was imprisoned in Pensacola for helping slaves escape, wrote in his journal in 1844: "A fugitive slave apprehended and committed; he had straight hair, and looked more like an Indian than a negro, and tried to pass himself for one."[33] Cases of slaves attempting to gain their freedom on the grounds that they were the illegally enslaved children of Indians were not unusual in some southern communities.[34]

After the removal era most of the Indians who moved to Pensacola came from nearby south Alabama counties. The Reeds and Shomos represented one pattern of this migration. Both families, who were descended from prominent Creek Indians, emigrated during the economic boom in Pensacola in the late 1840s and 1850s. In both families, also, the wives were mixed-bloods who had married whites. They passed on to their children the memory of their Indian heritage even though they lived as whites. Cynthia Reed, granddaughter of Peggy Bailey, a famous survivor of the 1813 Fort Mims massacre, had married a white man and moved from Alabama to Pensacola during the late 1840s instead of going to Indian territory with her family. Her husband, Thomas Reed, was a carpenter who found jobs plentiful in Pensacola when construction of the naval installation was in full swing. Although Cynthia was enrolled as a member of the Creek nation, she stayed in Pensacola after her husband's death in 1853, and lived with her son Dixon Bailey Reed, who was a sea captain.[35] Rosanna Shomo, sister of William Weatherford "Red Eagle," also moved to Pensacola in the late 1840s with her children and husband, Captain Joseph Shomo, who had served with Andrew Jackson in Florida. Shomo, who was a merchant, was murdered before he could establish a trade in the port city. Despite the notoriety of the Weatherford family, Rosanna's In-

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accounts in the *Pensacola Gazette*, 1835-1850, nor in RG 75, M-234, Florida Superintendency, 1832-1850, rolls 288-89; Seminole Agency Emigration, 1827-1850, rolls 806-07, Creek Agency Emigration, 1826-1849, rolls 236-40; Florida Superintendency Emigration, 1828-1853, rolls 290-91.

33. Jonathan Walker, *Trial and Imprisonment of Jonathan Walker at Pensacola, Florida, for Aiding Slaves to Escape from Bondage* (Boston, 1845, facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1974), 51.
34. Ira Berlin, *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York, 1974), 161-63.
35. Eastern Cherokee Enrollment, roll 11; U.S. Census Returns, 1850, M-432, Florida, roll 129, Escambia County; 1870, M-593, Florida, roll 129, Escambia County.

dian connections were not mentioned in the newspapers, in the court proceedings involving her husband's murder, or during a lawsuit on stolen slaves.[36]

During the last three decades of the nineteenth century Indians were part of a large migration from Alabama to Escambia County, Florida.[37] Attracted by available land and jobs, all were mixed-bloods with most being one-quarter Indian or less. While the Indians living in the area before 1860 had generally resided in the city, most of the newcomers settled on farms or in small communities north of Pensacola. The rural character of this group was also reflected in the type of employment they found, either farming, or working for lumber companies or in saw mills.[38] In this respect they differed from the earlier group, most of whom were laborers, craftsmen, or small businessmen. Although none of the newcomers could be considered wealthy, several actively engaged in land transactions, purchasing acreage as well as acquiring homesteads. At least four members of the large Weatherford family, for example, moved in the 1880s to Century, about thirty miles north of Pensacola where they bought land and took up homesteads.[39] Most of these newcomers had thoroughly assimilated into the white community. None of the Weatherfords in Century had married spouses of Indian ancestry and, in fact, neither had their parents in Alabama.[40] Finally, the recent arrivals from Alabama apparently knew little about their Indian ancestry. During the Cherokee enrollment many of the applicants could not identify the tribe to which their ancestors had belonged. Even the Weatherfords provided little genealogical

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36. U.S. Census Returns, 1850, M-432, Florida, roll 58, Escambia County; Peggy Shomo Joyner, comp., "The Shomo Family of Alabama," typed manuscript, Lelia Abercrombie Library, Pensacola Historical Society Museum, Pensacola, Florida; *Pensacola Gazette*, 1853; Escambia County Circuit Court File 1853-1380, *State* v. *Wm. B. Jordan* and 1851-1226, *Mayberry* v. *F. Bobe.*
37. In 1880 there were 1696 Alabama-born residents of Escambia County as compared to 1467 Florida natives. U.S. Census Returns, 1880, T-9, Florida, roll 127, Escambia County.
38. Eastern Cherokee Applications; U.S. Census Returns, 1880, T-9, Florida, roll 127, Escambia County; 1900, M-623, Florida, rolls 168-69, Escambia County.
39. Deed Books, XXIII, 83, XXIV, 189, LXXVII, 369, XCVII, 587, Public Records of Escambia County Florida, Escambia County Court House. See also Rolla Queen, "Creek Indians Residing in Escambia County, Florida, 1880-1940," typed manuscript in Special Collections, John C. Pace Library.
40. Eastern Cherokee Applications, 26712, 26713, 26714, 18402.

or historical information on the application forms. In effect, their culture as well as their blood had become white.[41]

The "road to disappearance" for the Indians of the Pensacola area, and probably hundreds of others in the southeast, was assimilation. At least sixty years before the removal era many of their ancestors had initiated the process by mixing their own blood with that of the whites and in a few cases with that of the blacks. Although the majority of the mixed-bloods moved to Indian territory, some remained in the southeast. For those individuals, pressures to adapt to the rigid southern biracial society were too strong to resist. Undoubtedly many had little desire to remain Indian. Becoming white was preferable to being stigmatized "a primitive savage." In Florida, too, there was the added fear among those who did not understand the exemptions of the law, of being transported to Indian territory if they were discovered. To become black was the other alternative. The more prominent Creole coloreds had chosen Indians or mixed-bloods as spouses in preference to free blacks or slaves. Less is known about Indians who selected Negro slaves as mates or were themseleves enslaved. In some cases the mixed-blood farmers or planters formed liaisons with slave women like those of their white counterparts and their mulatto offspring later found it desirable to assert their Indian ancestry. Unlike the Cherokees of North Carolina, the Florida Seminole, and other native American groups who remained isolated and outside the mainstream of southern history, these assimilated Indians had lost their distinctive cultural traits along with their Indian identity.

41. Ibid.

THE GREAT SEALS DEPUTED OF BRITISH EAST FLORIDA

by PETER WALNE

THE cession of the Spanish province of Florida to the British crown by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, and the subsequent division of the territory into the two British provinces of East and West Florida, brought in its wake the introduction of new legal and administrative arrangements. One of these was the replacement of the Spanish seal for the province by two British royal seals, one for each new province.[1]

The two new provinces were legally constituted by royal proclamation of George III on October 7, 1763. Three days earlier, on October 4, the Board of Trade and Plantations in London agreed to present a representation to the Privy Council that new seals would be required for the provinces newly ceded to the British crown by the Treaty of Paris– Quebec in Canada, Grenada in the West Indies, and the two Floridas.[2] On October 5, having duly signed this representation, the Board transmitted it to the Privy Council, who on the same day issued an Order in Council to Christopher Seaton, chief engraver of His Majesty's

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1. Complementary to this article is one on the seal for West Florida. Robert R. Rea, "The Deputed Great Seal of British West -Florida," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, XL (Fall-Winter 1978), 162-68. The term "Great Seal Deputed" is used in British seal nomenclature to denote those seals which, over the course of centuries, have taken the place of the one Great Seal of the realm for the authentication of documents, which at one time would have been authenticated by the Great Seal itself. As government became more complex and its ramifications more widespread, the use of the one Great Seal became impossible, and so other seals fulfilled its tasks, some of them specifically being called [Great] Seals Deputed for particular business. Of this category of seal, those for use in the British colonies show the widest divergence from the traditional pattern of Great Seals and are probably the most interesting of them all.
2. *Journal of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations* (hereinafter cited as *JTP),* XI, 386.

Seals to prepare the necessary seal dies.[3] The order described the design of each seal, all of which were to be double sided. That for East Florida was to comprise: "On the one side a Fortified Town and Harbour with this Motto or Legend beneath *Moresque Viris et Moenia Ponet*[4] and this Inscription round the Circumference *Sigillum Provinciae Nostrae Floridae Orientalis* and on the Reverse His Majesty's Arms, Crown, Garter, Supporters and Motto with his Inscription round the Circumference *Georgius III Dei Gratia Magnae Britanniae Franciae et Hiberniae Rex Fidei Defensor Brunsvici et Luneburgi Dux Sacri Romani Imperii Archithesaurarius et Elector.*"[5]

Having received his instructions to prepare the dies, Seaton added them to the formidable total of Great Seals and Great Seals Deputed for home and colonial governments, privy seals, signets, judicial and departmental seals which it fell to the chief engraver and his workmen to prepare at the beginning of a new reign or, occasionally, at times such as this occasion, within a reign. In the colonial context, the four new provinces, including East Florida, received speedier attention than their fellow colonies. Being newly annexed their need for Great Seals Deputed was immediate and more urgent than that of the existing colonies, which by law were empowered to continue in use their seals for George II's reign until such time as new seals for George III should be sent to them.[6]

On December 21, 1763, the draft designs of the new seals for the Floridas, Quebec, and Grenada were submitted by Seaton to the Privy Council, which approved them and instructed Seaton to proceed to engrave the dies.[7] By April 11, 1764, the dies for West Florida, Quebec, and Grenada were ready and by April 25,

3. Ibid., 387.
4. Vergil, *Aeneid,* Book 1, verse 264: "He will set up customs and walls for his people." As Rea points out in his article (fn 19), the quotation is aptly applied in this case.
5. *Acts of the Privy Council. Colonial Series. Volume IV 1745-1766,* 573-4 (hereinafter cited as *APC).*
6. By the terms of the Act 6 Anne, cap 41 (the Act of Succession), public seals in use at the time of the death of the sovereign were to continue in use as the seal of the succeeding sovereign until orders to the contrary were given. Colonial governors were normally reminded of this by Order in Council under the Privy Seal and Royal signature. Thus the other North American colonies lawfully used their George II seals until they received those for George III as late as 1767.
7. *APC,* V, 574.

those for East Florida.[8] All were duly laid before the Privy Council that day, the work approved, and instructions given for letters of transmittal and warrants for use to be drawn up.[9] On April 30, the texts of these letters for each of the four colonies were approved by the Board of Trade and Plantations including those addressed to Colonel James Grant, newly-appointed governor of East Florida.[10] The warrant for the use of the seal was duly forwarded to the Earl of Halifax, secretary of state for the southern department, under whose jurisdiction colonial affairs came, so that it might be duly sealed under the Privy Seal and signed by the sovereign. On May 1, Halifax returned the warrant, duly signed and sealed, to the Board with instructions that it and the seal dies were to be delivered into Grant's hands prior to his departure to take up his appointment.[11] Upon his arrival in East Florida, one of Grant's first tasks, after presenting his own commission of appointment, would have been to lay the seal and the royal warrant for its use before the council and assembly for their information and approbation, after which the seal would immediately be brought into use.

How Seaton visually rendered the verbal descriptions of the two dies for the East Florida seal is shown in the two accompanying illustrations.[12] The first (Plate 1) shows the obverse of the seal clearly intended to represent the fortified town and harbor of St. Augustine with the Vergilian motto in the exergue beneath the main design. Around the whole, within the border, runs the identifying legend *SIGILLUM•PROVINCIAE•NOSTRAE• FLORIDAE•ORIENTALIS•* (The Seal of Our Province of East

8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. *JTP,* XII, 42.
11. Ibid., 45.
12. The illustrations are from the author's own photographs of the proof impressions submitted by the chief engraver of HM Seals to the officers of the Royal Mint in support of his bill for payment. This practice began in Anne's reign and carried on through George III's but such is the fraility of these impressions that the surviving series is far from complete. At some time the obverse impression of the East Florida seal has been stored on top of the reverse, probably under pressure and near heat, so that the obverse impression is badly distorted but is still reasonably visible. The reverse has suffered less. The impressions are both approximately four and one-half inches in diameter. The impressions of the West Florida seals, which survive in this series, have suffered a similar although worse fate and both impressions are now too distored to be clearly recognizable for what they are.

Florida). The whole is surrounded by an outer rim of formalized acanthus leaves.

The second illustration (Plate 2) shows the reverse of the seal with the shield bearing the royal arms of the Hanoverian sovereigns as they existed from 1715 to 1801.[13] Around the arms is the ribbon of the Order of the Garter upon which is inscribed the motto of the Order *HONI•SOIT•QUI•MAL•Y•PENSE•* (Evil be to he who evil thinks). The encircled shield is surmounted by the St. Edward's crown. To the left of the shield of arms is the crowned lion supporter, and to the right, the unicorn with a coronet around its throat and a chain hanging therefrom across the body and between its hind legs, upon which, like the lion, the beast stands. Beneath the shield of arms and Garter ribbon, on a scroll with elaborate tracery work upon which the two supporters stand, is the royal motto *DIEU•ET•MON• DROIT* (God and my Right). Surrounding the whole design, within two plain lines, run the sonorous royal titles of George III, suitably abbreviated by Seaton as he had discretion to do in order to fit them into the available space.[14] The outer rim, as on the obverse, is of formalized acanthus leaves.

For the engraving of the two silver dies, Seaton charged £60 together with the cost of the silver and duty payable thereon, which came to £14.8.11, the dies weighing together rather more than fifty-three ounces and the silver costing 5/5d an ounce. To this was added the sum of £1.5.0 for a shagreen case with silver

13. The arms are described as: Quarterly; 1, England (three lions passant guardant) impaling Scotland (a lion within a double tressure flory counter-flory); 2, France Modern (three fleurs de lis); 3, Ireland (a stringed harp); 4, tierced per pale and per chevron: (i), two lions passant guardant (Brunswick); (ii), a background powdered with hearts, a lion rampant (Luneberg); (iii), a running horse (Westphalia): over all three, the arms of the arch-treasure of the Holy Roman Empire (the crown of Charlemagne) on an inescutcheon surmounted by an electoral bonnet (all this quarter for Hanover).

14. The full tiles, extended, read in Latin with the extensions in brackets *GEORGIUS•III•D[EI]•G[RATIA]•MAG[NAE]•BRI[TANNIAE]• FR[ANCIAE]•ET•HIB[ERNIAE]•REX•F[IDEI]•D[EFENSOR]• BRUN[SVICI]•ET•LUN[EBURGI]•DUX•S[ACRI]•R[OMANI]• I[MPERII]•AR[CHI]•THES[AURARIUS]•ET•PR[INCEPS]•EL[ECTOR]•* i.e. George III by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith Duke of Brunswick and Luneberg of the Holy Roman Empire Arch-Treasurer and Prince Elector. The titles as engraved by Seaton show one variation from the titles as cited in the Order in Council of October 5, 1763, set out in the main text. That is the addition quite properly of *Princeps* before *Elector* as the Hanoverians were princely electors of the Holy Roman Empire.

PLATE 1. Obverse of George III's is Great Seal Deputed for East Florida.

PLATE 2. Reverse of George III's is Great Seal Deputed for East Florida.

clips and velvet-covered inlay in which the dies were to be kept when not in use and for their safer and surer transit in Governor Grant's hands across the seas.[15] Though not mentioned in Seaton's account, a seal-press would also be supplied to Grant since this would be essential to allow the two dies to be impressed (almost certainly, if usual colonial usage with double-sided seals was followed, through a paper covering) upon the cake of wax to form an impression. Seaton's charges rendered to the Treasury were approved by the officers of the Royal Mint, to whom, as was customary, they were referred, as being reasonable and proper and his workmanship of a quality equal to that of his predecessors. Upon this certification received, the Treasury approved payment of the account on January 28, 1765.[16]

When the provinces of East and West Florida were ceded back to Spain by the Treaty of Versailles in 1783, the Great Seals Deputed of George III ceased to have legal validity. The new Spanish administration replaced them by their own seal. What happened to the two heavy silver dies of the East Florida seal is not known. Whether, as ought to have been the case, the outgoing British governor took them back to England to be laid before the Privy Council for formal defacement and eventual melting down or whether some other fate befell them remains a mystery.

15. Royal Mint Record Books, Vol XII, 29 (now in Public Record Office under reference MINT 1/12).
16. Ibid., 31.

RELIGIOUS CENSUSES OF PENSACOLA, 1796-1801

by WILLIAM S. COKER

THERE are few population censuses for colonial Florida. For Pensacola, there are two civil name censuses for the second Spanish period, 1781-1821; one prepared under the direction of Governor Arturo O'Neill in 1784, and another directed by Governor José Callava in 1820.[1] Other censuses of a statistical nature also exist, but like the name censuses, they were taken only periodically. A third list of Pensacola names was found among the records in the Spanish archives; Bishop Cirilo de Barcelona's report of his *Santa Visita* (Holy Visit) of 1791 contained ninety-seven names of Pensacola residents who had complied with the annual Easter precept of communion and confession.[2] In addition, the confirmation lists for Pensacola and Fort San Carlos de Barrancas of 1798 from the archives of St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans provided several hundred more names of area residents.[3] Until recently those four lists of names: 1784, 1791, 1798, and 1820, were the only convenient source of Pensacola names for the forty-year period between the Spanish occupation of Pensacola on May 10, 1781, and July 17, 1821, when the Spaniards officially turned the city over to Andrew Jackson.[4]

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1. *Padrón general de vecindario de esta Plaza . . . . Panzacola, 20 de junio de 1784, Archivo General de Indias. Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2360.* Hereinafter cited as *AGI PC leg. Padrón Nominal de la Plaza de Panzacola, 20 de junio de 1820, AGI PC leg. 1944.* The 1784 and the 1820 censuses are in William S. Coker and G. Douglas Inglis, *The Spanish Censuses of Pensacola, 1784-1820: A Genealogical Guide to Spanish Pensacola* (Pensacola, 1980), 31-44, 93-126.
2. *Santa Visita* of Plaza of Pensacola . . . May 20, 1791, *AGI Audiencia de Santo Domingo, leg. 1436;* Coker and Inglis, *Spanish Censuses of Pensacola,* 49-58.
3. Hewitt L. and Alice D. Forsyth, *First Book of Confirmations of this Parish of St. Louis of New Orleans* (New Orleans, 1971), 79-87.
4. The records of St. Michael's Church contain a number of names in the "Baptismal Record of Negroes" and "Marriage Record of Whites" for Pensacolians during the late second Spanish period. See Coker and Inglis, *Spanish Censuses of Pensacola,* 160.

Researchers studying Louisiana's and West Florida's colonial history are aware of Bishop Luis Peñalver y Cárdenas's directive of 1795 which instructed the priests to prepare an annual census of each parish within the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas. In compliance with the bishop's instructions thirty-one parishes located throughout Lower and Upper Louisiana and West Florida submitted census reports between 1795 and 1802. Sixty-nine of those reports are preserved in the "Records of the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, 1576-1803," located in the University of Notre Dame Archives.[6] The Diocese records contain no censuses for St. Augustine or East Florida.

Of value to genealogists are the lists of names of parishioners compiled in connection with the annual Easter precept. Not all, but a number of the parish reports have such lists. A few of the priests prepared a complete census of their parish. Father Bernardo Deva of the parish church of the Assumption of La Fourche of Valenzuela (Plattenville, Louisiana) rendered such a report dated January 20, 1796. The parish contained 1,993 souls, and Father Deva listed the names, ages, and sex of all white and Negro persons living there. Father Buenaventura de Castro prepared a similar report for the parish church of San Gabriel of Iberville (St. Gabriel, Louisiana), which is dated September 26, 1795. Because of the disruption to the Diocese caused by the retrocession of Louisiana to France in 1800 and Bishop Luis's departure for the Archdiocese of Guatemala in November of 1801, the last censuses in the records are for the year 1802.[7] A few of these censuses have been published. Elizabeth Shown Mills included the religious censuses for the Parish of Natchitoches in her volume on *Natchitoches Colonials* published in 1981.[8] The publication of this study now adds the Pensacola censuses to the published materials on West Florida.

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5. Michael V. Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1817* (Gainesville, 1965), 110-11.
6. Thomas T. McAvoy and Lawrence J. Bradley, *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Records of the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, 1576-1803* (Notre Dame, 1967). Hereinafter cited as *Records of the Diocese.* Microfilm available from University of Notre Dame Archives.
7. Gary Simmons, "Parish Census Reports of the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, 1795-1802." Copy in John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida.
8. *Natchitoches Colonials-Censuses, Military Rolls, and Tax Lists, 1722-1803.* Vol. 5, Cane River Creole Series (Chicago, 1981), 115-20.

In January 1796, Bishop Luis issued a report on the Diocese in which he listed Pensacola's population as 671.[9] A search of the Diocese records failed to uncover that Pensacola census, but the records did reveal six religious censuses (1796-1801) prepared by Father James Coleman. Father Coleman served as pastor of the parish of St. Michael of Pensacola *(San Miguel de Panzacola)* from 1794 to 1806, and vicar general and ecclesiastical judge of West Florida until he left the province in 1822.[10] Included with the censuses were several Easter precept lists of Pensacola parishioners. [11] These censuses and lists provided the information for Tables I and II which follow.

Table I contains a summary of the data from the six censuses. In addition to the thirteen categories listed in that table, Father Coleman also divided the population by sex and age groups. Those two categories are not included in Table I.

Data in Table I indicates that the progressive increase in the number of free Catholic mixed-bloods *(pardos)* and Negroes from twenty-two to seventy [col. 3] was probably the natural increase from the mixed union of blacks and whites noted in the census of 1784. It is likely that these mixed unions, resulting in mixed blood births, continued after 1784.[12]

The changes in the Catholic white and slave populations [col. 2 & 4] were not significant for the period between 1796 and 1801. Protestant white and slave populations [col. 6 & 8] sharply decreased between 1796 and 1798 (48.8 per cent), and then leveled off for the next four years. The departure of eighty-four Protestants (thirty-four whites, one free mixed-blood or Negro, and forty-nine slaves) may be attributed to the Treaty of San Lorenzo of 1795 which set the United States-West Florida boundary at 31° north latitude. The new border was approximately forty miles north of Pensacola. Although there is no record of where these

9. *Estado de la Diócesi de la Luisiana con las adventencias que se espresarán sin incluir las Floridas,* New Orleans, January 20, 1796, *AGI Audiencia de Santo Domingo, leg. 2673;* Coker and Inglis, *Spanish Censuses of Pensacola,* 59.
10. Merrily Y. Wells, "Father James Coleman in Pensacola," *The Echo,* Pensacola Historical Society Quarterly, II (Fall 1981), 11-22; Michael J. Curley, *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas (1783-1822)* (Washington, 1940), see 192ff for Father Coleman.
11. These censuses under the dates given in Table I [col. 1] are on reels 5-6 and 8-10 of *Records of the Diocese.*
12. On mixed-unions noted in the 1784 census, see Coker and Inglis, *Spanish Censuses of Pensacola,* 11-32.

TABLE I

SUMMARY OF POPULATION FROM THE RELIGIOUS CENSUSES OF PENSACOLA, 1796-1801[1]												
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	Catholics				Protestants							
		Mixed-Bloods and Negroes				Mixed-Bloods And Negroes						
Date	White	Free	Slaves	Total Catholics	White	Free	Slaves	William Panton's Employees[2]	Total Protestants	Military	Convicts[3]	Total
1 June 1796	324	22	170	516	49	4	121	[64]	174	265	190	1,145
13 June 1797	256	26	160	442	35	5	88	[80]	128	--	185	755
6 June 1798	256	53	170	479	15	3	72	[71]	90	--	143	712
5 June 1799	262	62	167	491	15	4	74	[75]	93	--	152	736
14 June 1800	266	66	174	506	17	4	76	[77]	97	--	166	769[4]
12 June 1801	281	70	175	526	15	2	84	[85]	101	--	105	732

[1]See Thomas T. McAvoy and Lawrence J. Bradley, *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Records of the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, 1576-1803* (Notre Dame: A University of Notre Dame Archives Publication, 1967), 32. Please note that those documents listed under Father Coleman as 1 June and 19 August 1795, should read 1796. The censuses are found on reels 5-6, and 8-10 of the Diocese records.

[2]Father Coleman specified the number of Panton's employees and included them in the total number of Protestants, but he gave no breakdown by race or age.

[3]On 10 August 1796, Father Coleman prepared a roster of the convicts, which by then had grown to 202 persons, Diocese records, reel 5.

[4]Father Coleman showed a total of only 751 for 1800. The correct total from the figures given should be 769.

Protestants went, they may have moved north of the treaty line into United States territory. Some of the departing whites were probably slave owners who took their slaves with them. William Panton of Panton, Leslie and Company, and his employees [col. 9] represented the largest segment of the Protestant population (59.6 per cent) for the six years. Panton came from Scotland as did his immediate associates in Pensacola and Mobile, John Forbes and James Innerarity. Mixed-bloods and Negro slaves composed the bulk of the company workers, who for the most part, reached Pensacola from the United States or the British colonies, and thus their Protestant orientation.[13]

Father Coleman reported the number of military personnel in Pensacola [cod. 11] only for the year 1796. He did so because at the time no chaplain was present with the Third Battalion of the Louisiana Infantry Regiment, stationed at Pensacola and Fort San Carlos de Barrancas.[14] Men from the Third Battalion also garrisoned Fort San Marcos de Apalache and the fort on Santa Rosa Island. The presence or absence of chaplains directly affected the preparation of Father Coleman's censuses. The presence of chaplains also meant that the soldiers stationed at San Marcos, over 200 miles east of Pensacola, and those at Fort San Carlos de Barrancas, about nine miles southwest of Pensacola, periodically had a chaplain available to conduct religious services, although the priests did not always do so on a regular basis.

The bishop of Havana designated Father Ramón Bilac [also Vilac] assistant pastor and chaplain of the Third Battalion in 1792. But Father Bilac protested his transfer, and he managed to delay his arrival in Pensacola until November 1793. Almost immediately after he reached Pensacola, Father Bilac went to Fort San Marcos de Apalache.[15] He returned to Pensacola serving as

13. On the slaves employed by Panton, Leslie and Company, see William S. Coker, *Historical Sketches of Panton, Leslie and Company* (Pensacola, 1976), 5-6, 13, 15, 30, 30n4, 33, 43, and 43n59. See also William S. Coker, "John Forbes and Company and the War of 1812 in the Spanish Borderlands," in William S. Coker, ed., *Hispanic-American Essays in Honor of Max Leon Moorhead* (Pensacola, 1979), 61-97.

14. See remarks on census of June 13, 1797, *Records of the Diocese*, reel 6. A royal order of 1786 had approved organization of the Third Battalion for the defense of Pensacola and Mobile, Caroline Maude Burson, *The Stewardship of Don Esteban Miró, 1782-1792* (New Orleans, 1940), 40. By 1805, a chaplain was assigned to the royal hospital, Our Lady of Carmen, at Pensacola, census of Plaza of Pensacola, 1805, *AGI PC leg. 142-B.*

15. Curley, *Church and State,* 140, 198-99; 237-38.

interim pastor until Father Coleman arrived on August 6, 1794, and then resumed his duties as chaplain. By the summer of 1795, Father Bilac had been granted permission to return to Spain, and by August he was in New Orleans on his way home.[16]

By the following December, the bishop had selected Father Antonio Meriño as chaplain of the Third Battalion. Exactly when Father Meriño reached Pensacola is not known, but it was after Father Coleman submitted his report of the battalion on June 1, 1796. In May 1797, Sergeant Major Juan Gautier, battalion commandant, asked for a replacement for Father Meriño, who he complained was habitually sick and had refused to make the trip to Fort San Carlos de Barrancas. As a result, the soldiers there were forced to go without the mass and sacraments.[17]

The bishop then appointed Father José Serrano as the battalion chaplain. He arrived in Pensacola on February 8, 1798, and received an enthusiastic greeting from his new congregation. Father Serrano served as battalion chaplain for at least five years.[18] His presence between 1797 and 1801 relieved Father Coleman of the responsibility of accounting for the military in his annual reports.

The assignment of convicts to Pensacola [col. 12] might suggest that the town served as a penal colony for the Spaniards, but it was not unusual for convicts to be sent to frontier presidios where they worked in labor battalions. For one thing, it was difficult to find volunteers to send to these faraway posts, and the jails were often emptied to fill manpower needs. When the Spaniards first permanently occupied Pensacola Bay in 1698, a number of convicts were assigned to the presidio. Captain Jaime Franck, the Austrian engineer who began construction of the fort there that year, complained about the practice and the difficulties

16. *Expediente, "Diligencias para la provición de la Capellanía del tercer Batallón del Regimento de la Luisiana que recide en Panzacola,"* June 22, 1797, *Records of the Diocese,* reel 6.
17. Juan Gautier to Vicente Folch, May 31, 1797; Bishop Luis Peñalver to the Barón de Carondelet, June 19, 1797, in *Records of the Diocese,* reel 6.
18. Father José Serrano to Peñalver, February 19, 1798, *Records of the Diocese,* reel 7. See also *Expediente* of May 18, 1798, on his appointment, and letters of June 19, 1800, and March 29, 1803, in *Records of the Diocese,* reels 7 and 12. For additional information on priests who served as chaplains in Pensacola and on Father Coleman, see Thomas J. Burns, "The Catholic Church in West Florida, 1783-1850" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1962), 79-94.

of working with such men.[19] In 1784, Governor O'Neill reported thirty-seven convicts ranging in age from fifteen to fifty present at Pensacola.[20]

Officials in New Spain and Cuba probably considered Pensacola an ideal place for convicts. Indians virtually hemmed Pensacola in on the land side, and, with the exception of Mobile, Pensacola was remote from other population centers. Pensacola was also a long way from Veracruz or Havana. Occasionally prisoners from St. Augustine were sent to Pensacola via Havana. During Colonel Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada's tour as governor of East Florida, 1790-1795, he sometimes delayed sending prisoners to Pensacola because he needed them as laborers in St. Augustine.[21]

The prisoners in Pensacola worked in the warehouse, hospital, blacksmith shop, armory, pharmacy, butcher shop, and in the general maintenance of government property and cleaning duties. One of their jobs was the frequent cleaning of chimneys. In 1795, Governor Enrique White wrote that the engineer wanted to use some of the prisoners in the construction of the Plaza. He expressed concern, however, that if the prisoners were taken off the jobs to which they were already assigned there would be complaints. One prisoner, White related, "has always cared for the Garden of Government House."[22] There were the usual problems of fighting among the prisoners and efforts to escape. In June 1797 several prisoners escaped and took refuge in the church where they hoped to secure sanctuary.[23]

The presence of 100-200 convicts– 202 in August 1796– likely

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19. Jaime Franck to Martin de Sierra Alta, secretary of the Council of the Indies, February 19, 1699, translated in Albert Manucy, "The Founding of Pensacola– Reasons and Realities," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVII (January-April 1959), 239, 241.
20. Arturo O'Neill to Esteban Miró, May 31, 1784, *AGI PC leg. 36.*
21. Janice Borton Miller, *Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, Governor of Spanish East Florida, 1790-1795* (Washington, 1981), 28, 55.
22. Enrique White to Baron de Carondelet, Pensacola, March 4, 1795, translated in D. C. and Roberta Corbitt, "Papers from the Spanish Archives relating to Tennessee and the Old Southwest," East Tennessee Historical Society *Publications,* XLIV (1972), 105. See also Robert Franklin Crider, "The Borderland Floridas, 1815-1821; Spanish Sovereignty under Siege" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1979), 305, and David Hart White, *Vicente Folch, Governor in Spanish Florida, 1787-1811* (Washington, 1981), 34, 42.
23. Ibid., 33-34.

presented problems for Pensacola.[24] Since Father Coleman reported on the number of convicts, he, rather than the chaplain, must have been responsible for their spiritual welfare. The convicts represented nearly eighteen per cent of Pensacola's overall population in his reports, and they must be taken into account in any analysis of the town's population.

As for the population totals [col. 13], if the 265 military and the 190 convicts are subtracted from the population of 1,145 for 1796, the balance of 690 is only nineteen greater than Bishop Luis's report (671) of January 20, 1796.[25] Father Coleman rendered his report on June 1, 1796, and the five months between the two reports was time enough for such a small population increase. The other totals suggest that there was no sudden overall population fluctuation during those years. In fact, if the population counts before and after 1796-1801 are added to these figures, it is obvious that the population was relatively stable between 1784 and 1802.[26] After 1802, any natural increase was offset by the influx of Spanish officials, soldiers, and their families from Louisiana following its purchase by the United States.[27]

Year	Census	No. of Convicts	Total
1784	593	-	593
1791	572	-	572
1796	1,145	-455 (Includes 265 military)	690
1797	755	-185	570
1798	712	-143	569
1799	736	-152	584
1800	769	-166	603
1801	732	-105	627
1802	650	-	650

Table II consists of names compiled from the four percept lists: two for 1796, and one each for 1798 and 1801.[28] No such

24. On Angust 10, 1796, Father Coleman prepared a roster of the 202 convicts at Pensacola, *Records of the Diocese,* reel 5.
25. See note 9 for Bishop Luis's report.
26. For a summary of Pensacola's population throughout the period 1784-1820, see Coker and Inglis, *Spanish Censuses of Pensacola,* 143-44.
27. Ibid., 89.
28. These four lists may be found in the *Records of the Diocese* under dates

TABLE II
NAMES FROM THE ANNUAL PRECEPT LISTS FOR PENSACOLA OF 1796, 1798 AND 1801

Alba, Pedro de
wife-Isabel(a) Rocheblave
Alves, Domingo

Ballard, Frederico
Barelas, Joaquin
Barrios, Diego
Wife-Teresa Ledesma?
Bega, Felipa
Beltran, José
wife-Juana Creps
Bobe, Thomas
wife-Ana Eli
Bonifai, Carlos
Mariana
Byrne, Geraldo

Calder, María
husband-Eugenio Sierra
Cancaro (Cancario), Antonio
Caparos?, José
Caro, Benito
Carrera, Milan
wife-Rosa Hernández
Casimiro, María
husband-Juan de Ojeda
Centeno, Baltazar
wife-Isabel Cobos
Choriac, Lorenzo
wife-Clara
daughter-Clara
Commins(Cummins), Thomas
wife-María Lafon
son-Ramón
Corbeille (Courville), Juan
son-Ignacio
Cortes, Juan
Courville, Juan Francisco
son-Ignacio
Crespo, Vincente and wife
Cummins, Jorge, wife and family

Dauphin, Francisco
children-Santiago & Francisca
Detullet, Francisco
Deville, María Juana
daughter-María
Dolphin (Dauphin?), Francisca
Francisco
Isabela
Santiago
Domínquez, Manuel
wife-Juana Rosel
Duque, Juan del,
Durant, Manuel
Dutillet, Francisco
wife-Adelaide Amelot

Edwal, Francisco

Falcon, Catalina
Ferrera, Antonio
wife-Margarita Deverges (Duverges)
Flores, Antonio
Folch, María de la Merced Juncos y

Gabaron, Francisco
Ganet, Luis
wife-María Lavalle
Gannet, Luis
Wife-María Medsing
Garcia, Francisco
José
Garron (Garzon?), Antonio
Garzon, María
Gelabert, Francisco de Paula
wife-María Josefa Trevejos
Giménez, Andrés
Florentio (Florencio)
Gonzáles(z), Antonio
González, Manuel
wife-María Bonifai
González, Ramón
wife-Catalina Hiberni
Gotier, Luis
Maria Juana

Henrique, Francisco
Hernández, José
sons-Domingo
Francisco
Manuel
Hernández, José
wife-Francisca de Veras
Hidemberg (Hindemberg), Juana

Jonte, Francisco
Jurado, Antonio

LaCosta, Juan
wife-Euprasia Lami Moron
LaCoste, Leandro
wife-Adelaide Dutillet
Laguila, María de
Lara, Francisco
Lavalle, Carlos
brother-Carlos
Lavalle, Pedro
Lavat, Ramón
Ledesma?, Teresa
husband-DiegoBarrios
Leflor, Margarita
husband-Cornelio McCurtin
Lesassier (Lessasier), Rosa
Liensa?, Benito
Loediro, José
López, Nicolas
son-Ciriaco
Losada, Juan
wife-Sophia Rocheblave

McAboi, Diego
Guillermo
Isabel(a)
Santiago
McCurtin, Cornelio
wife-Margarita Leflor

Madrid, Martín
Malagosa, Juan
wife-Ana Macavoy (McAvoy)
Marchena, Catalina
José & wife
Mares, Antonio
Marin, Gabriel
son-Juan
Marin Pizarro, Gabriel
Marquéz, Francisco
Martínez, Julian
wife-María Vidal
Mas, Antonio
Maura, José
wife-Catalina Guera (Guerra)
Medsing, Eugenio
Medsing, María (Mariana)
daughter-Judith
Michaeli, Antonio
Miller, Rachaela
Milon, Maneta
María
Ramón
Montero, Antonio
Morena (Moreno), María
husband-RafaelVidal
Moreno, José
Josefa
María
Juan
Moro, Augustin
Moron, Antonio

Navarro, Francisco
son-Xavier
Noreiga, José
wife-Victoria Lessasier

O'Brien, Juan
Ojedo, Juan de
wife-Josefa María Casimiro
Oliva, José
wife-Barbara Pérez (Péres)
Organ, Patricio

Palmes, Francisco
son-Diego
Pardo, Benito
Pédrez? (Pérez?), Bernardo
Pérez, Carlos
José
Prudencio
Pintre, José
Pomo, Ignacio
Pozo?, Antonio
Puerto (Porto), Gabriel del

Ramón, Ana María
Requera, Francisco
Riera, Marcos
Rivas, Gabriel de
Wife-María Morena (Moreno)
Rivera, Marcos
Roque, Florentina
Rosel, Juana
husband-Manuel Domínquez
Rua, Francisco [de] la & wife
Rua, Josefa [de] la
Ruby, Juan
Ruiz, Francisco

Sabul, Catalina
Sanches, Guillermo
Senac, Pedro
Sierra, Eugenio
wife-María Calder
Suárez, Pedro
son-Ambrosio
Suriac, Clara
Suriac, Lorenzo
wife-Teresa
Sutton, Juana

Trevejos, María Josefa
husband-Francisco de Paula Gelabert

Vasquez, Augustin
Vidal, María
husband-Julian Martínez
Vidal, Rafael
wife-María Moreno(a)

Walker, Ana
Ximénez, Andrés

Zamora, Matheo
Zenon, Juan Andrés

lists for 1797, 1799, and 1800 were found in the Diocese records. A comparison of the names in this table with those in the censuses or lists of 1784, 1791, 1798, and 1820 reveals that more than ninety persons appeared in Father Coleman's lists that were not in any of the others. In addition, over twenty new relationships (fathers and mothers, wives and husbands, or children) were noted. The usual variations in the spelling of names occur in Father Coleman's lists as they do in every Pensacola census during the Spanish era.[29] Father Coleman even spelled his own name "Colman" when he signed the letters and documents which he wrote in Spanish. He did so because Coleman when pronounced in Spanish does not sound like it does in English, but "Colman" does. It is not known whether Father Coleman compiled any censuses after 1801. If so he may have taken them with him when he returned to Ireland, where he died and was buried at Dundalk, County Louth, in 1865.[30]

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of June 1, August 19, 1796, June 6, 1798, and June 12, 1801, reels 5, 8, and 10.

29. With a few exceptions only those names which do not appear in Coker and Inglis, *Spanish Censuses of Pensacola,* have been included in Table II. For example, Lorenzo and Clara Choriac appear in Ibid., p. 70, but their daughter, Clara, is recorded only in Father Coleman's census. Because of this new information, all three of them are included in Table II. For example, Lorenzo and Clara Choriac appear in ibid., p. 70, but finding names variously spelled in the Spanish censuses, see Coker and Inglis, *Spanish Censuses of Pensacola,* 2-3, 62, and 176.

30. Father Coleman died April 17, 1865. A copy of his will may be found in File No. 0-192, Year 1867, county judge's court, Escambia County, Florida, in "Re the Estate of Rev. James Coleman." These files are now in the Judicial Records, clerk of court's office, Judicial Building, Pensacola.

FLORIDA HISTORY IN PERIODICALS

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[Pensacola Historical Society], II (Spring/Summer 1981), 5-11.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Miami: The Magic City. By Arva Moore Parks. (Tulsa: Continental Heritage Press, 1981. 224 pp. Selected bibliography, index, photographs. $24.95.)

When the fantastic land boom inevitably fizzled in the 1920s, The New *York Times* wrote, "Florida . . . may suffer from a slight case of colic due to swallowing more than she can really digest, but the attack won't be serious." Miami, Florida's most precocious and colicky offspring has experienced it all: economic boom and bust, devastating hurricanes, and a painful coming of age in the 1970s and 1980s. In a year when *Time* magazine and other nattional publications have characterized Miami as the murder and drug capitol of the United States, *Miami: The Magic City* by Arva Moore Parks helps to put this complex city into perspective.

Today Greater Miami has a population exceeding 1,600,000. It is a brawling, sprawling metropolis which has yet to digest the vast change and unparalleled growth of the last two decades. The influx of 500,000 Cuban refugees during that time, not to mention 125,000 more "marielitos" in 1980, daily boatloads of Haitians seeking asylum, "anglos" who view themselves as the newest minority group, and blacks with dreams unfulfilled; all serve to keep the pot boiling. To those pessimists who have little faith in the future of Miami as a viable community, Parks cites a strong historic case proving that "Miamians can survive any storm— those created by nature and those created by man."

Miami: The Magic City, part of the American Portrait Series published by Continental Heritage Press, represents the first comprehensive and well-documented effort to chronicle events covering a time period of more than 400 years. Beginning with the first Miamians— the Tequesta Indians— and concluding with the most recent arrivals, Arva Parks exhibits a keen understanding of the forces that have shaped and determined the destiny of this unique environment and diverse population. It is a volume that is a harmonious blend of political, economic, and social history. The thorough research that is apparent throughout the book should come as no surprise to those who are familiar with Parks's

work. It is the result of many years of inquiry into the history of her native city. At the same time she acknowledges and makes excellent use of new materials such as Dr. Eugene Lyon's most recent work on the first Spanish period.

Parks is a gifted writer who never loses the story line but uses it as a framework to introduce fascinating characters like William H. Gleason, Miami's most famous carpetbagger; Commodore Ralph Munroe, Coconut Grove's Renaissance man; Julia Tuttle, the "Mother of Miami"; and George Merrick, the dreamer who built Coral Gables. Her treatment of black history figures prominently in the narrative, serving to remind us of the part blacks have played in the life of Miami and of the vitality of the black community itself.

Graphically, the book is attractive. It incorporates text and images in a manner that not only pleases the eye but enhances the reader's ability to reconstruct an earlier time. More than 400 photographs, maps, and other art works have been chosen with care, including many which have not been seen before in print. Color photography by Steven Brooke offers a contemporary flavor which contrasts with the historic sepia and black and white prints. Frequent page insets telling an anecdote or elaborating on a particular personality give an intimate quality to the period of time being discussed in the chronological text.

The last section of the book entitled "Partners in Miami's Progress" includes page-long histories of forty-one Miami businesses and institutions. Contributions from local firms are used to defray publication costs of the American Portrait Series. For *Miami: The Magic City*, businesses submitted their own corporate histories which were subsequently edited for accuracy by the author. Some readers may be disturbed by this commercial aspect, but without community sponsorship there would have been no book, and a rare opportunity to produce a quality history of Miami would have been lost. Judging from the initial demand for *Miami: The Magic City*, it has already demonstrated its broad audience appeal. Complete with selected bibliography and index it will continue to be an important general reference work for a long time to come.

Miami, Florida MARCIA J. KANNER

Biscayne Country, 1870-1926. By Thelma Peters. (Miami: Banyan Books, 1981. viii, 323 pp. Thank You Julia Tuttle, illustrations, bibliography, index. $14.95.)

It is all but impossible to realize that Miami, Florida, had less than thirty thousand people in 1920 and that the railroad reached the hamlet only in 1896, when 343 voters decided to incorporate the city. After the booming twenties population rose to 110,637 in the 1930 count, but modern Miami is really a product of the years since 1940. The years covered in this book, 1870-1926, are in the period of slow development, the frontier days, the formative period of the teeming metropolis we know today. Many of those who lived there in the early years of this century are still in the area, almost lost in the horde of newcomers since 1950. Dr. Thelma Peters, herself one of those pioneers, came with her family to Miami in 1914, and moved north on Biscayne Bay two years later when it was raw frontier– no roads, little cleared land, few buildings, no water system, and no telephones. Peters's account is quite personal and autobiographical which gives it both its authenticity and its charm.

The author's whole life, personal and professional, has pointed toward the writing of this book. She attended local public schools, went on to graduate from Brenau College, and began to teach in Miami Edison High School in 1930, where after one year she became chairman of the social science department. In 1957 she resigned to study for the Ph. D. degree in history at the University of Florida. The subject of her dissertation was the Bahamas, the principal interest of which was the migrants from British Florida at the end of the American Revolution when Florida reverted to the Spanish. After a year in the history department at the University of Miami, Dr. Peters joined the faculty at the Miami-Dade Community College, a new enterprise appropriately located in the north bay area which had always been the center of her life. When she retired in 1970 the faculty of the division which she headed had grown from twenty-one to seventy-two members.

All of these experiences provided her with an absorbing retirement interest, the study and writing of the history of the area where she has lived and worked. Her first book, *Lemon City: Pioneering on Biscayne Bay, 1850-1925,* showed mastery of much

detail put together in good professional style with due respect for the standards of historical scholarship. In this, her second book, Dr. Peters transcends the limitations of both the mass of detail and the restraints of the rule book and produces a narrative which at times literally sparkles. Yet the research is more far-reaching and no less rigorous. Most important in giving it the lifelike quality is her own experiences there and her continuing intimacy with other pioneers and their descendants who have added enormously to the wealth of information and have provided many of the illustrations. The story begins with the Sturtevants and the Tuttles who came to Miami in 1870, and who had become the principal landholders on the north bay by the time the Peter family arrived. The other most important person in this cast of characters is William Henry Gleason, later lieutenant governor, who turned up in the early 1870s. He tried his hand on the Miami River for a time, then moved up the bay where there was unclaimed land. Eventually he moved to Eau Gallie where he and his family played important roles in the business and politics of that community.

Only those concerned with such matters are likely to notice the skill with which documentation is mixed with Peters's narrative. She has used the increasing amount of material available in local, state, and national archives. There are also a bibliography of the principal printed sources, an index which indicates the large number of individuals identified, and sixty-seven resource people are named. Much can be said about the number of illustrations and their judicious use to dramatize the story.

University of Miami CHARLTON W. TEBEAU

History of Gainesville, Florida, 1854-1979. By Charles H. Hildreth and Merlin G. Cox. (Gainesville: Alachua County Historical Society, 1981. viii, 208 pp. Foreword, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $7.95 paper.)

According to authors Hildreth and Cox, Gainesville originated in the 1850s largely because its site was on the proposed Florida Railroad which David Levy Yulee was planning to build from Fernandina to Cedar Key. Their chapter on "Gainesville's

Beginnings" during that time contains an interesting discussion of the competition with Newnansville over relocating the county seat and the negotiations by which James Bailey managed that feat. It also includes a digression about the Second Seminole War in which General Edmund P. Gaines, for whom the town was presumably named, participated. Successive chapters develop the economy and society of Gainesville and its surrounding countryside. Anticipation of the railroad made the new town a transportation center for a cotton plantation economy. Strongly influenced by immigrants from South Carolina, the evolving society was imbued with the customs and attitudes typical of the antebellum South.

Chapters on secession and the Civil War show how Alachua County planter Madison Starke Perry used his powers as governor to strengthen separationist feelings in the state and how Gainesville citizens fared during the long conflict. Not only did they march off to war on distant battlefields and supply quantities of foodstuff for the Confederate army, but the town itself endured several skirmishes and one sizable battle. Two chapters on Reconstruction portray a typically southern interpretation– common to historical writing about a quarter of a century ago– of the way Florida in general and Gainesville in particular fared during that traumatic epoch. The relative tranquility of the period of Andrew Johnson's reconstruction policies was broken by the 1867 enactment of the "military bill." A Republican party, led by Leonard G. Dennis and Josiah T. Walls and supported by black voters, was resisted by the local citizenry until the 1876 election ultimately decided matters in favor of the latter.

With political calm restored, the community grew during the latter part of the nineteenth century, experienced its last severe yellow fever epidemic in 1888, and began to develop some of the public services which are common to modern cities. Cotton continued to be grown, but phosphate mining provided new directions, while winter vegetables began to be shipped out in refrigerated cars. Many new citizens settled around Gainesville, and the town enjoyed a considerable tourist business. Churches continued to be important social institutions, and public schools evolved. The beginnings of the University of Florida, destined to be so important to twentieth-century Gainesville, were visible by

this time. Still, Gainesville was a frontier town and rowdy behavior was common on its streets for many more years.

A brief chapter on "Social Change: 1900-1920" leaves the reader with the conflicting conclusions (p. 120) that "those who returned from the armed services at the close of the war found Gainesville little different from the city they had left," and "the first twenty years of the new century was a period of rapid change in Gainesville." A chapter on the boom of the 1920s shows how Gainesville was on the periphery of the area most seriously affected but suffered somewhat from the collapse of the speculative fever.

A chapter on the 1920s deals with governmental changes, the addition of more public services, and the excesses of the Ku Klux Klan of that era. The calamitous depression of the 1930s and the second world war are subjects of the next two chapters. The enormous growth and change which have occurred in Gainesville during the past thirty-five years are encompassed in the final two– and amazingly brief– chapters.

The book attempts to depict Gainesville as it developed in the context of the state of which it is a part. It was presumably written by two authors in collaboration. It appears, however, that Charles Hildreth wrote most of it some thirty years ago, and Merlin Cox added a final chapter, and portions of two others. The majority of the book would have benefitted greatly from use of some of the secondary material which has become available during the last quarter of a century, and which was wholly ignored. The book is further marred by numerous typographical and grammatical errors which more careful editing might have eliminated. *The History of Gainesville, Florida* does embody a contribution to Floridiana, but it is unfortunate that such an excellent subject was treated as it has been here.

University of Central Florida JERRELL H. SHOFNER

Iberville's Gulf Journals. Translated and edited by Richebourg Gaillard McWilliams. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1981. 195 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, bibliography, index, illustrations. $15.75.)

Among the more thrilling chapters in the life of Pierre Le Moyne, Seigneur d'Iberville et d'Ardillière (1661-1706) were three voyages to the Gulf of Mexico from 1699 through the spring of 1702. Thus, the "Canadian Cid," as he was known to generations of francophile historians, participated in the exciting struggle for hegemony in that vital sea between Spain, France, and England. The story of this rivalry has never been told with greater care and talent than in William E. Dunn's 1917 classic *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702,* and given greater balance in the superb *Spanish Approach to Pensacola, 1689-1693* by Irving A. Leonard. Perhaps the fact that these two studies have covered the international rivalry question in detail explains why the translator and editor has avoided such weighty discussions in favor of a carefully-translated edition of the journals of the voyages themselves.

His son, Tennant McWilliams, associate professor and currently head of the history department at the University of Alabama in Birmingham, is a specialist in the role of the South in American foreign policy, and his light overview of the life of Iberville attempts to suggest the value of comparative studies of European acculturation in North America: "Iberville's journals . . . provide examples of how such comparative study might proceed" (p. 14). This is a valid theme advanced by professor emeritus of the University of Alabama (and one of Tennant's influential mentors) Alfred Barnaby Thomas, whose Boltonian approach to the greater history of the Gulf of Mexico has influenced more than one scholar's historical orientation. Unfortunately, Tennant does no more than suggest what *might be done.* What his father has done here has been to use the collated and translated journals of the three voyages done by Edith Moodie, now in the Burton Collection of the Detroit Public Library.

The key source of published data on the journals is the United States-sponsored (pressed on Congress by historian Francis Parkman) publication of the six-volume *Découvertes et*

établissements des français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale (1614-1754) by Pierre Margry. Most of the Margry manuscripts are in the French archives– Bibliothèque Nationale, Archives Nationales, and Service Hydrographique de la Marine. McWilliams succeeds in collating the various versions, notes the variations in spelling, and provides in English a working source for geography, cartography, ethnography, economics, commerce, and military strategy, all of which the French developed in their Louisiana colony.

It is a familiar story, one which Spain had already faced and would experience still again– English penetration into Georgia's Guale Province, French penetration into the lower Mississippi Valley and the Gulf, United States expansion following French withdrawal from the area in 1763. The lucid translations speak to Professor Richebourg's consummate skill. No jerky, awkward "word-for-word" rendering, no use of deceptive cognates. He has been researching the subject since the early 1950s when his *Fleur de Lys and Calumet* about André Pénicaut's observations of the same place and time won the Louisiana Literary Award. McWilliams (père) has also published a short monograph on Iberville and the southern Indians. His successful identification of the "Palisades" at the mouth of the Mississippi River (called Río de la Palizada by Spain) as "mud lumps" was published in John Francis McDermott's *Frenchmen and French Ways in the Mississippi Valley* (1969).

There are bound to be differences of opinion among historians. Birth dates seem to defeat most of us; Tennant says the date of birth for Iberville is "controversial" (p. 1), yet he cites Guy Frégault's *Iberville le conquérant*, (p. 37), which cites a photostat of Pierre's baptism from Ville-Marie with the date of July 20, 1661, rather than the vague "around 1661" which McWilliams gives. The bibliography identifies the suppressed 1972 edition of James R. McGovern's *Colonial Pensacola* as being published by the University of Southern Mississippi Press, but that press only did the printing (and badly at that!) for the volume sponsored by the Escambia County Development Commission, the University of West Florida, and the Pensacola Bicentennial Commission (which revised the errors and published the work anew in 1974).

The weakest editing for this reviewer involves cartography

and ethnography. Rather than use the vast riches of the French archives or the Newberry Library (as Marcel Giraud has done in his studies of the time and place), McWilliams relies on maps available in the Rucker Agee Map Collection of the Birmingham Public Library. For his notes on Indians he relies almost exclusively on Hodge's *Handbook of American Indians* (BAE Bulletin 30), which is hardly the "last word" on the native cultures of the area. Despite this criticism, the availability of Iberville's journals is an accomplishment and should lead to more intensive and extensive study of the area and early French acculturation.

Birmingham, Alabama JACK D. L. HOLMES

Florida's Prehistoric Stone Technology. By Barbara A. Purdy. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1981. xvi, 165 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, illustrations, tables, maps, epilogue, glossary, bibliography, index. $25.00.)

Studies of Florida's prehistoric stone tools have, traditionally, focused on brief descriptions of "unique, newly discovered tool types." This book, in contrast, represents an initial attempt to synthesize temporal, spatial, and functional variability at the assemblage level of analysis. It is within such an analytical framework that significant contributions of broader historical and anthropological relevance are made.

The preface contains a brief discussion of how "our understanding of the past can be enhanced by studying how prehistoric peoples used stone to cope with their environment." The relevance of various investigative techniques to such studies is briefly discussed. Students of prehistory, the people of Florida, and especially lithic technologists are the target audiences. Ethnohistorical accounts of the aboriginal use of chert are presented in chapter I. The author discusses how these meager data may be supplemented by systematic archeological investigations.

The concepts of "type" and stone tool types, specifically, are discussed in chapter II. Stone tool morphology is the major criterion for classification and is the basis for inferred general function (i.e. cutting, scraping, piercing, pounding). These morphological or formal tool types are most temporally diagnostic.

They are the basis for descriptive comparisons used to characterize the stone tool assemblages for the five general time periods considered (from earliest to latest-Paleo Indian, Late Paleo Indian, Preceramic Archaic, Early Ceramic, Late Ceramic). Stone implements that are not "temporally diagnostic" are also discussed. Comparative technological, temporal, functional, and spatial data are presented and summarized. Functional inferences are drawn largely from the qualitative assessments of other researchers and through a consideration by the author of certain use-wear attributes on the relatively few specimens illustrated in each artifact class.

Stoneworking technology is addressed in chapter III. A special emphasis is placed on experimental and debitage studies conducted by the author and others at quarry sites in light of ethnographic data. Tentative inferences are drawn using the various data sets. General chert reduction techniques are described in the remainder of chapter III. A specific case study of projectile point manufacture (Senator Edwards Site– a Preceramic Archaic Workshop in Marion County, Florida) is presented.

In a final chapter (IV), various technical analyses (i.e. Particle Induced X-ray Emission, Neutron Activation, Thermal Alteration, Thermoluminescent dating, various weathering studies, and Petrography) to determine the age and origin of Florida chert implements are discussed. The potential significance of these analyses, as well as the procedures and problems involved, is considered. Although no analyses of Florida cherts using these methods have been completed, some tentative conclusions are drawn from the author's research. No summary chapter is provided. However, there is an epilogue in which it is argued that technological studies of prehistoric stone tool assemblages are relevant to examinations of the broader aspects (processes) of culture change. Some of the implications of such studies for modern technology are also considered.

As is usually the case, there are theoretical differences between the author and the reviewer. It is felt, however, that the biases of the author do not measurably detract from the overall success of the book. Still, a number of substantive and technical comments are in order. On the negative side; using morphology as the primary criterion for the classification of stone tools obscures much

of the intra-assemblage functional variability, especially with regard to the non-formalized, "convenience" tools. The assemblage variability is further obscured by using relatively few, "selected" tools "typical" of a given class of artifacts. It is also interesting that while much attention was given to chert raw materials, there was no discussion of variability over time or space in the aboriginal selection of specific Florida cherts. Research in progress by Albert C. Goodyear, Sam B. Upchurch, and this reviewer strongly indicates that such variability is present. Further, research by Upchurch indicates that the origins of specific cherts can be reasonably determined through an examination of their respective fossil assemblages. Such an approach to chert raw material origins would appear to be faster, more economical, and possibly more accurate than those methods discussed in chapter IV. With respect to chapter IV, the potential of the various methods for ascertaining the age and origin of various Florida cherts is certainly appreciated. However, it seems that the chapter is rather lengthy in view of the meager substantive results to date.

On the positive side, the book is well-written and well organized. The illustrations are excellent, and the references are generally adequate. The glossary and index are useful, as are the subheadings and summary discussions throughout the text. Most important, the book is an overall success in terms of achieving the stated objectives. Not only will this book appeal to the intended audiences, it also provides an initial, analytical framework within which to conduct more substantive historical and anthropological studies in the future. The author is to be congratulated for a job well done!

University of South Carolina MARK J. BROOKS

The Life and Travels of John Bartram: From Lake Ontario to the River St. John. By Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley. (Tallahassee, University Presses of Florida, 1982. xv, 376 pp. Acknowledgments, list of illustrations, introduction, appendices, notes, literature cited, index, maps. $25.00.)

The authors of *Dr. John Mitchell: The Man Who Made the Map of North America,* and also biographies of botanists John

Clayton and Alexander Garden (for whom the claytonia and gardenia respectively were named), have chosen a fascinating, and for them I should think irresistible, subject for their most recent and long-needed work.

John Bartram, born in Pennsylvania in 1699, with one foot in the seventeenth century, as it has been said, was a friend of most of the great men of the Colonies. George Washington sat in the shade of his grape arbor; it is still called "Washington's Arbor." Benjamin Franklin, the founder of the American Philosophical Society of which John was a charter member, arranged through his Library Company that Bartram, "the Quaker ploughman," be named "His Majesty's Botanist for North America," Royal Botanist to King George III.

The agent in London who provided most of the books was also a Quaker and a botanist. Back and forth across the Atlantic sailed innumerable letters, reports, and requests, and packets of seeds and roots. It was an extraordinary correspondence. John Bartram and Peter Collinson never met, but Collinson apparently felt spiritually close enough to Bartram to offer practical and often peppery advice about manners, dress, grammar, plant collecting, and shipping, and even about John's son, Billy.

William Bartram lived to be a revered old man. His book, the *Travels,* was widely acclaimed and influenced Carlyle, Wordsworth, and Coleridge, among many others. He was the first American-born ornithologist. His drawings hang in the British Museum. And Thomas Jefferson begged him to journey west with Lewis and Clark. But as a young man he had been a problem as well as a joy to his father.

This biography is, of course, John's story. Yet Billy accompanied John on many of his trips, and theirs was a particularly close relationship. On their Florida excursion in the winter of 1765-1766, while pushing through "weeds and reeds," their bateau reached the head of navigation of the San Juan, and they became the first white men to find the source of the St. Johns River.

These two were also together when, on the banks of the Altamaha River in Georgia, they discovered a "very curious tree" unknown to science, which they subsequently named for their friend Benjamin Franklin. Audubon, painting Bachman's warbler in its branches, called the blossom "one of the most beautiful of our southern flowers." Franklinias still flourish in

the Bartram garden by the Schuylkill, but they have all but disappeared from their wilderness habitat.

There is much in this scholarly, fastidiously researched and annotated biography to interest Florida historians: St. Augustine as a colonial capital, a congress at the Spanish Fort Picolata with the Lower Creek Indians to determine boundaries, early trading posts on Lake George, Billy's pioneering attempt to establish a plantation on the St. Johns, and Dr. William Stork's efforts to promote East Florida for possible settlers from the north.

Certainly the accounts of flora and fauna in a part of the country then rich in undescribed wildlife make John's journals a treasure trove to a naturalist. And the gardeners and their gardens provide material for some of the most beguiling reading imaginable. A vastly entertaining and engaging lot, these men— one becomes inevitably involved with them.

While the biography itself is eminently readable, its appendices, bibliography, and extensive notes make it a boon to students of the Bartrams, their historical background, their forays, and their friends. There are a few pages of dialogue (221-25) which, coming in a book otherwise devoid of it, seem awkward and out-of-place. Also, I believe that Quakers say, "Thee is,? not "Thee art," and do not address strangers or non-Quakers in the plain language, but this may not have been the case in those days.

The maps, botanical drawings, and old print reproductions are generally effective, but I am afraid I cannot say the same for the portrait sketches. They are singularly weak and lacking in character; it is difficult to believe that these were forceful, influential, and impressive men. Sir Hans Sloane looks like somebody's great-grandmother; Linnaeus has a girlish quality; Benjamin Franklin appears simple-minded; and St. John de Crèvecoeur looks downright ridiculous. I found myself laughing at them.

What I missed most was what every biography ideally ought to have a portrait of its hero. The Howard Plye illustration of "The Botanist," for some reason included twice, does not take the place of the face of the Philadelphia farmer, or assuage our desire to gaze upon the countenance of King George's remarkable botanist. But mine may be minor carpings. With only these few

stated reservations, I recommend this book and congratulate and thank its authors.

Winter Park, Florida MARJORY BARTLETT SANGER

Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, Governor of Spanish East Florida, 1790-1795. By Janice Borton Miller. (Washington: University Press of America, 1981. ix, 184 pp. Preface, footnotes, bibilography, index. $19.50; $9.50 paper.)

Narrative and descriptive rather than analytical, Janice Borton Miller's work is of interest for its details of Spanish administration and for its illumination of life in the frontier province of East Florida. The author clearly is sympathetic with the strenuous efforts which Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada made in spite of an illness which tormented him throughout his five years in St. Augustine. She finds him competent and admirable in his attempts to build a "government, economy, and society that would be intrinsically Spanish" but dismisses his dream as "an anachronism." Certainly the colony needed more colonists; but for Quesada's dream it needed Spanish settlers rather than the South Carolinians and Georgians whom it got.

East Florida's relative neglect on the fringe of the Spanish empire seems its most basic administrative characteristic. By a slight exaggeration one might say that Quesada's experience was an exercise in governing an infant colony in the absence (at crucial times) of money, officials, protection, and supplies. When the governor was at his most desperate, facing domestic traitors and the threat of a French embargo, his crucial support came not from Havana or Madrid but from Spain's British allies.

Yet the imperial bureaucracy churned out the documents on which Miller scrupulously based her study. Quesada's official correspondence is of necessity the major source, and much of it consists of detailed instructions to the governor, adapted from standard formulae. The resulting presentation carries much the tone of the instructions.

The liveliest portion of the work treats the 1795 revolt of settlers along the northern border who took the Franco-Spanish war and the plans of Citizen Genêt as a cover for their attempt

to drive out the Spanish whose trade restrictions they especially disliked. In this regard, Quesada's most crucial decision seems to have been his stand regarding the economic restrictions. Miller shows that the province had two overriding economic problems: insufficient markets for its products and dependence on imported necessities. Sufficient supplies were guaranteed by the thriving Panton, Leslie and Company, but the British company's entrenched monopoly and high prices were resented. According to Miller, Quesada reasoned that the freer trade which could provide the needed markets might result in lower profits for Panton, Leslie and Company, and thereby threaten the province's source of supplies. Fearing this, he protected the company's monopoly. Like his predecessor, Quesada was condemned for favoritism to the most powerful interest in East Florida. This hostility toward the governor was a significant factor in the anti-Spanish attitude of the northern settlers. Miller does not suggest that it was crucial to their disloyalty, however.

The general reader will find greatest interest in the two chapters on public welfare; there the author creates a sense of reality, particularly in her depiction of St. Augustine life. One learns, for example, the details of the fire which destroyed the barracks and warehouse and sees a free and compulsory school in operation from 7:00 a.m. to sunset.

The work's basic weakness is that it is an unrefined dissertation. Publication was from camera-ready typescript, and errors of grammar and typing were retained. More troublesome are several first references to individuals by surname only, especially since their full names and introductory information are provided later in the text. A 1797 military chart of St. Augustine is the only illustration. Notes are at the end of each of the twelve chapters, and there is a good index.

Elon College CAROLE WATTERSON TROXLER

From Savannah to Yorktown, the American Revolution in the South. By Henry Lumpkin. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1981. xi, 332 pp. Acknowledgments, credits, introduction, chronology, appendix, selected bibliography, index. $24.95.)

We are not lacking general histories of the American Revolution designed for the reading public, although any carefully written volume may be a welcome addition provided it can reach an audience not otherwise familiar with the events in question. For this reason Henry Lumpkin's account of the War of Independence may be given a solid recommendation, a book the literate layperson should be able to examine with interest and profit. One explanation at least for Lumpkin's ability to tell a good narrative story of the Revolution in the South is that he previously used much of his material in a successful series carried on South Carolina educational television entitled "And Then There Were Thirteen." The University of South Carolina Press has done a splendid job of bookmaking, with good maps and other handsome illustrations, along with a chronology of major events of the war.

Lumpkin is obviously enthusiastic about traditional battlefield military history, which may explain why he devotes virtually no attention to the origins of the Revolution and to the question of whether Southerners might have had reasons for engaging in rebellion that were somewhat different from patriots in the Middle Colonies and New England. In fact, we are not told if there was a distinctive South in terms of its culture and mindset. Some years ago Carl Bridenbaugh suggested that there were several societies in the region between Maryland and Georgia. Certainly jealousies and rivalries between the southern states were rampant during the war, and their presence– had they been explored– might have lent some credence to Bridenbaugh's thesis.

In any event, Lumpkin is a pretty sound military analyst. He notes that the South was more valuable to Britain because of its food stuffs and other raw materials than any other part of the mainland empire. Even while endeavoring to crack the rebellion in New England, royal officials had their eyes on the South. They had something of a southern strategy, which was revealed briefly in 1776 when Sir Henry Clinton failed in his attempt to establish

a southern beachhead near Charleston, South Carolina, a base where crown supporters could find safety. According to this southern strategy, the loyalists, whom the cabinet believed composed a majority of the southern population, would be able to maintain themselves after British armies landed and crushed the patriots' revolutionary governments.

Since Clinton had only the time and resources for a half-hearted effort, the real test of the southern strategy did not come until later, beginning in the winter of 1778-1779, when Britain increasingly shifted the focus of the conflict below the Mason and Dixon Line. Lumpkin lucidly describes the years of American defeat, 1779-1780, and the climactic year of victory, 1781, highlighted by Nathanael Greene's campaign to rid the Carolinas of royal control and by the Franco-American triumph at Yorktown. As events proved, the loyalists were never as numerous as London ministers believed. All the same, Lumpkin seems to feel– and here some scholars will disagree– that their numbers were adequate; that the real problem was "incredible British blundering and an equally incredible failure to establish unity of command and command planning."

Floridians will justifiably think that their state is virtually ignored in this volume, which is a pity, especially in view of the recent fine studies of J. Leitch Wright and J. Barton Starr, neither of whom is mentioned in the bibliography.

University of North, Carolina, Chapel Hill DON HIGGINBOTHAM

The Astonished Traveler: William Darby, Frontier Geographer and Man of Letters. By J. Gerald Kennedy. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981. xiii, 238 pp. Preface, acknowledgements, introduction, bibliography, index. $22.50.)

The deeds of the great or the infamous so dominate historical writing that it is always refreshing to encounter the biography of a man who was, in his person, rather ordinary, but whose life and achievements bordered on the extraordinary. William Darby, born 1775, grew up on the western Pennsylvania frontier, mi-

grated to Natchez in 1799, wandered on to Louisiana in 1805, returned to the east in 1815, and made his living as a writer, lecturer, and government clerk until his death in 1854. During his lifetime a nation was born; half a continent was subdued. Cities sprang up where Indian war-cries once echoed, and railroads replaced the hunters' paths. The frontier moved west, and as it moved, civilized Americans began to discover its romance and to unravel its often bloody history. A child of that frontier, William Darby helped to move it, map it, and finally to memorialize it in the literature of the new nation.

As a Mississippi planter, young Darby was a failure, but in Louisiana he built a successful career as a surveyor in the western reaches of the state. By dint of grueling labor and painstaking application he elevated himself to the status of geographer, and in 1816 he published an important *Description of Louisiana,* which was followed by an *Emigrant's Guide to the Western and Southwestern States and Territories* and an extensive *View of the United States.* The maps that accompanied these volumes were generally excellent, and Darby's descriptions of the country possessed both topographic exactitude and considerable literary merit.

Having turned east in order to pursue the publication of his geographical findings, Darby soon found employment as a surveyor along the Canadian border. By 1819, when he published *A Tour from the City of New-York, to Detroit,* his earlier straightforward prose style had taken on the colors of romantic literature, so moved was the "astonished traveler" when he viewed such natural wonders as Niagara Falls. Dependent upon his own resources, Darby was always short of funds. When neither lecturing nor publishing sufficed for his needs, he turned to politics. He had volunteered and served as General Andrew Jackson's "topographical advisor" at New Orleans, in 1815, but when his hopes of preferment were disappointed by President Jackson, William Darby became a staunch Whig contributor to the *National Intelligencer.* The geographer was not an ardent politician, however, and he had already discovered a higher calling– that of narrator of frontier life, reconteur of the exploits of sturdy backwoodsmen during the country's heroic age.

Writing under the nom-de-plume of "Mark Bancroft," between 1829 and 1836, Darby contributed a long series of sketches

of the old frontier to the *Saturday Evening Post* and the *Casket*. In the genre best represented by James Fenimore Cooper, Darby recounted tales of Indian massacre and the fierce revenge of white hunter-warriors along the upper Ohio. His stories reflected both personal and folk-memory, and their historical value led to an extended correspondence with the great antiquarian of the frontier, Lyman C. Draper. Darby even returned to western Pennsylvania for a time, but as a lecturer at Jefferson College rather than as an "Ingen'-fighter. Back in Washington, D.C., by 1840, Darby settled down as a clerk in the General Land Office and devoted his last years to the not unimpressive accomplishment of wheedling $1,500 out of Congress in recognition of his work in Louisiana some forty years earlier.

It is an interesting life, and Kennedy's brief biography is based upon extensive and impressive research. His skillful literary critique of Darby's prose illuminates the several examples that are offered, most notably two of the "Mark Bancroft" stories. Kennedy is quite honest about the man and his work– of which he says: "His best pieces display more crudeness than craftmanship; but several manage to relate engaging stories, and a few combine effective dramatic action with an inventive use of historical fact." That is praise enough for Darby's rough, romantic tales. Their interest– and Darby's justification– lies in their contribution to the mythology of the old Indian frontier. Mark Bancroft may be forgotten, but Daniel Boone still lives– at least for little boys.

Auburn University ROBERT R. REA

The Hammonds of Redcliffe. By Carol Bleser. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981. xxii, 421 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, cast of characters, key to correspondence and abbreviations, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $19.95.)

In the autumn of 1922, John Shaw Billings, a great-grandson of James Henry Hammond, one of South Carolina's notable antebellum leaders, visited his forebear's estate, Redcliffe, on the banks of the Savannah River. He was captivated by the old place. "It is the corporate Present symbolizing the Past– and I

don't want to leave it!" He told his mother that he was "carried away on a wave of sheer emotionalism by being there, with the ghosts." In short, "I love the place!" (pp. 375-76). Thirty years later, Billings retired to Redcliffe which he had come to own and proceeded to restore the mansion and estate, and to collect and organize the letters and memorabilia of the remarkable family which had lived there for four generations. Although Billings died in 1975, his spirit and that of his family thrive in Redcliffe, which he gave to the people of South Carolina, and now in this splendid collection of Hammond family letters.

Professor Carol Bleser arranges the correspondence of four generations of Hammonds so deftly that the joy, sorrow, excitement, and toil of their career seem as alive to the reader as they must have appeared to young Billings watching the ghosts move through Redcliffe's great rooms. Thus, Mrs. Bleser's work takes a prominent place at once in the growing historical literature concerning families in America, while she herself became almost an adopted daughter of South Carolina through her visits there and her work in the Hammond family materials at the South Caroliniana Library.

The book is in four parts, the first of which features James Henry Hammond (1807-1864), the family founder who was one of the most successful men in South Carolina, serving as governor and as United States Senator. In the second section, J. H. Hammond's son, Harry Hammond (1832-1916), is the central figure, holding the family together in trying times and retaining Redcliffe after his father's death. Harry's daughter, Katherine Hammond (1867-1925) is featured in the third section, going as she did to Johns Hopkins to study nursing and marrying a young physician, John Sedgwick Billings. Her son, John Shaw Billings (1898-1975) dominates the fourth part of Mrs. Bleser's book. It was he who cherished the ghosts at Redcliffe, and Professor Bleser helps the reader to know the spectres better than Billings did, not only by her footnote commentary, but through a convenient cast of characters placed at the story's outset and especially through her interpretive essays which are found before each group of letters.

All aspects of Hammond life are disclosed, beginning with J. H. Hammond's disappointment in his children, reaching even to Harvard College where Harry was a student. We learn also of

the price paid by the elder Hammond for his sexual misdoings. Another heavy burden was the Civil War and its aftermath, for the book displays vividly how the Hammonds and so many other southern families never quite recovered from the ordeal. Similarly, the tribulations of being a woman– belle, wife, mother, spinster– are all recounted as Professor Bleser allows the letters to unfold a century of human struggle, with dimensions by turns majestic, sordid, and trivial. The Hammonds were evidently an unusually intelligent group, but what these letters display most eloquently is the family's difficult life. Disease, melancholia, alcohol, infidelities, and financial distress kept the family– and now the reader– mindful of the frailty of human nature. *The Hammonds of Redcliffe* deserves to be placed beside *The Children of Pride*, Robert Manson Myers's quite different edition of letters from another southern family which was published in 1972. These two collections of family letters show us the soul of humanity with a clarity rarely found in historical literature.

Virginia Historical Society PAUL C. NAGEL

The Free Black in Urban America, 1800-1850. By Leonard P. Curry. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981. xix, 346 pp. List of figures, list of tables, acknowledgements, preface, appendices, notes on sources, list of initial citations, notes, index. $25.00.)

This book is the first general study of free blacks living under urban conditions in the United States before the Civil War. Fifteen cities were studied, and the author made use, apparently, of every available source. Nearly all of his sources are primary. Obviously, materials were not equally available from all the cities studied, with much less for Cincinnati and St. Louis, for example, than for New York and Philadelphia. Thus the reader gets more information about the black people who lived in the larger cities of the northeast, and also concerning those who lived in Charleston and New Orleans, than about those who lived in other cities.

Curry argues that 1850 rather than 1860 is the proper year for ending his study because increased anti-slavery agitation, in-

creasing urban growth, and immigration from abroad made the last decade before the Civil War atypical. Since there is no work comparable to this one for those last ten antebellum years, and since Curry is the authority, the reader has little option but to accept his conclusion.

After an important preface, the author presents thirteen chapters of text. The first chapter, basically, deals with the demography of free black urban populations. It is, as it no doubt should be, a highly quantified analysis, but it is not sprightly reading. The next chapter, dealing with urban black occupational patterns, is much more likely to hold the reader's attention, and this is also true of the following discussions of free black property ownership and of housing and residential patterns.

Chapters five and six discuss the discrimination and other oppression to which urban free blacks were subjected and, in considerable detail, the race riots that broke out all too often. An examination of crime and vice among urban blacks reveals, among other things, that this early in the nation's history "blacks were disproportionately represented in the prisons, penitentiaries, jails, and workhouses of the nation's cities." A chapter on poverty fittingly follows that on crime and punishment, because in nineteenth-century America pauperism was looked on as practically a crime in itself– and most urban Negroes were abysmally poor. Little was done to aid white paupers, and much less to aid blacks. As might be expected, mortality rates were greater for blacks than for whites in most cities, and Curry holds poverty primarily responsible for the high death rate. Considering the quality of the medical care of the day, the fact that blacks had little medical attention probably made little difference. Interestingly enough, in New Orleans the mortality rate for free blacks was less than that for whites.

The cities made little or no effort to provide education for black children, but parents who could afford to pay seemingly had little difficulty in finding schools opened by entrepreneurs who sought to make a living by teaching. Sunday schools provided some education for black children, and in some cities, especially New York and Philadelphia, white philanthropic and/or religious groups provided some schools. Near the end of the period, a very few black children had the privilege of attending public schools. One of the most interesting and significant chapters is the

eleventh, dealing with black churches. Curry makes it clear that the role of the black church was as important among urban free blacks before the Civil War as it was among blacks in general after the Civil War.

Another chapter tells of fraternal and other black organizations, and yet another deals with black participation in and protest against the urban society in which they lived. It is significant that urban free Negroes seem to have been fully aware from the beginning of the American Colonization Society and that the main thrust of that organization was not the ending of slavery but rather to rid the country of free blacks. Significant, also, is the degree to which urban free blacks in the North were involved in anti-slavery activity and in actively providing aid, extending to force in some instances, in helping runaway slaves.

Curry provides appendices which give statistics on black urban population, occupational patterns, property ownership, and mortality rates. His most important conclusion is that the free black people of the cities shared, to the extent that white prejudice and discrimination would allow, the "American dream" that made the pursuit of happiness the right of all. This dream had brought them to the cities, and it enabled them to survive the conditions under which most of them lived. Curry has produced a most useful book, and he is not to be blamed that in the last analysis it is a tragedy.

McNeese State University JOE GRAY TAYLOR

On the Road With John James Audubon. By Mary Durant and Michael Harwood. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1980. xiii, 638 pp. Introduction, photographs, authors' note, general index, bird index. $19.95.)

Of the extensive literature on John James Audubon which has appeared within the last thirty years none is more important or more delightfully readable than this major work of Mary Durant and Michael Harwood, a gifted husband and wife team. Both are natural historians, while Harwood is a knowledgeable ornithologist. Their design was to trace the journeys of the great naturalist from the outset at Mill Grove, the Audubon home near Phila-

delphia, in 1804, until his return to his New York home in 1843. Their finished work is an indispensable complement to the standard biographies by Francis Hobart Herrick, Alexander Adams, and Alice Ford.

Before departing on their adventure, which extended through thirteen months and covered 35,000 miles, Durant and Harwood did exhaustive home work in Auduboniana, the biographies, Audubon's journals and ornithological works, as well as the family letters. Then, equipped with an automobile, tent, cooking utensils, maps, local histories, and a trusted camera, not to mention their joyous enthusiasm for the natural world and their inexhaustible perseverence, they followed the trail of Audubon throughout eastern North America from Labrador to the Florida Keys, northwest almost to the Montana line, and southwest as far as Houston.

The book is set forth as a journal. Wherever applicable, excerpts from Audubon's writings are presented. These usually include his description of the locality, its wild life, and the people he encountered. These are identified by the initials, JJA, and are followed in each instance contrapuntally by the responses of Durant and Harwood, vignettes in which each presents his observation of the scene, noting the changes since the days of Audubon, and in some instances, the total disappearance of what might have been his landmarks. Each is signed either MD or MH.

Durant and Harwood do proper homage to the genius of Audubon; they hold him in high esteem, but they neither overlook nor excuse his eccentricities and often errant behavior. For example, they do not forgive his shabby treatment of his wife, Lucy, whom he abandoned for months at a time, leaving her to fend as best she could for herself and their two sons, either by teaching school or living with members of her family. They never label Audubon as an out-and-out philanderer, although there is some evidence that on occasion he was. There were extended periods during which Lucy would have no word of him. Then in a flush of passion he would write a tender declaration of his love with a promise soon to come home. Durant and Harwood do not excuse his wanton destruction of birds. He is known to have shot dozens of a species when a specimen of two might have served his purposes. They also lay to rest the myth surrounding his birth and heritage.

Many Floridians and students of Floridiana will find the sections on east Florida and the Florida Keys of particular interest, though not necessarily gratifying. In the former area, along the St. Johns River and inland, he found little to shoot or draw. He was not enchanted with St. Augustine which he described as the "poorest hole in Creation." The nearby plantations of General Joseph Hernandez and John J. Bulow, whose hospitality he enjoyed, drew favorable comment. He was delighted with Spring Garden, now known as DeLeon Springs, although Durant and Harwood found it over-commercialized and tawdry. At one point Durant exclaims, "My God. If Audubon could see this!"

The Florida Keys, on the other hand, were immensely rewarding. Audubon arrived in Key West to find a warm hospitality prepared for him by his dear friend and sometime collaborator, the Reverend John Bachman, of Charleston, who had written to his former protege, Benjamin B. Strobel, then a Key West physician and newspaper editor, of Audubon's impending visit. (Incidentally, Durant and Harwood are in error in identifying Strobel as Bachman's, brother-in-law; he was actually his great nephew, Bachman's two wives having been sisters of Strobel's paternal grandmother.) Thus was prepared the assistance Audubon required. Throughout the Keys Audubon found the birds plentiful and the shooting good for the seventeen days of his sojourn. As for Durant and Harwood, they were pleased to find so many of Audubon's birds still inhabiting the Dry Tortugas and the neighboring islands. As is the experience of many tourists, however, they found Key West crowded and the highway from Miami– Accident Alley– over-used. With laudable courage they destroy the myth of Audubon House, or Geiger House as it should be known, there being no evidence that Audubon ever entered it. Some of us have been aware of this for years.

An outstanding feature of this book is its abundance of photographs and drawings, the majority of the former credited to Harwood, the latter assembled from the files of various historical societies and museums. All told this is a first-rate book, a joy to read and a prize to possess.

University of Florida E. ASHBY HAMMOND

The Union Cavalry in the Civil War, Volume II, The War in the East: From Gettysburg to Appomattox, 1863-1865. By Stephen Z. Starr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981. 584 pp. Preface, footnotes, index, illustrations. $30.00.)

Capably continuing his well researched and clearly written history of the Union cavalary, Stephen Starr's second volume compares favorably with the first. Following Gettysburg, reminds Starr, General Lee "still commanded a powerful, veteran army, . . . back on friendly soil," and the war was far from over (p. 1). The author proceeds to tell the story of cavalry operations in the eastern theater, on both sides of the Blue Ridge Mountains, from July 1863, to Lee's surrender at Appomattox in April 1865.

Covering such matters as the establishment of the Cavalry Bureau, the development of tactics and firepower, and the growing strategic importance of cavalry, the volume includes both the failings and the contributions of men like William Averell, George Crook, George Custer, Randal MacKenzie, Wesley Merritt, A. T. A. Torbert, James Wilson, and of special interest to Floridians, who will wish for more information, John McIntosh, a native Floridian. The central figure of the book, however, and not unexpectedly, is Phil Sheridan. Swearing and exhorting, Sheridan emerges as an inspired leader, the chief motivating force behind the cavalry's mounting efficiency and success. Perhaps nowhere does he appear to greater advantage than at the Battle of Cedar Creek, October 19, 1864, an engagement described by Starr as "Second only to Gettysburg as the most glamorous Union victory of the Civil War" (p. 310).

Starr's account of growing Yankee success is appropriately balanced by a recognition of declining Rebel fortunes, both in equipment and numbers, the Union troopers customarily enjoying "the bulge" on their opponents throughout these later stages of the conflict. Also appropriately, because it is certainly integral to the full story, the reader is reminded many times of the horrors of war. As the widespread destruction of crops and property in the Shenandoah Valley is detailed, the awful suffering and loss of horseflesh recorded, or the command blunders and resulting confusion and loss of human life described, the value and breadth of Starr's work is accented.

The degree of objectivity is admirable. For an interesting example, Starr does not hesitate to point out General Grant's prejudices, stating: "It is an interesting coincidence that at the very time in mid-December that Grant quietly swallowed the latest of Sheridan's essentially negative, argumentative messages, he was on the verge of superseding General George H. Thomas at Nashville, because Thomas claimed, with complete justification, that it was a physical impossibility for him to attack the Army of Tennessee over the sheet of ice that covered the hills south of the city" (p. 329).

There are a number of interesting asides. William F. Cody, for instance, destined to become famous as "Buffalo Bill," awakening after having been "under the influence of bad whiskey," to find himself a soldier in the Seventh Kansas, never remembering how or when he enlisted (p. 11). Or the men of the Sixth Ohio, in order to vote for governor of the state, being withdrawn from the firing line, a company at a time, while fighting a rear guard action on the Rappahannock (p. 28).

Well grounded in primary sources, the first two volumes of Starr's projected three-volume work constitute an interesting narrative and a good analysis. This reviewer looks forward to the final volume, covering the Union cavalry in the western theater. The whole should be the best study of the subject which is available.

David Lipscomb College JAMES LEE MCDONOUGH

George Washington Carver: Scientist & Symbol. By Linda O. McMurry. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981. x, 367 pp. Preface, notes, index, photographs. $25.00.)

George Washington Carver was one of the most widely acclaimed, and yet misunderstood, men of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During the Reconstruction era and through the legalization of the "separate but equal" doctrine, the high tide of lynching, two world wars, and the great depression periods, few Americans captured the imagination of the American people as did this black scientist, teacher, artist, and diplomat of race relations. Professor Linda O. McMurry has written a de-

tailed and sympathetic account of Carver's complex life and multifaceted career from his formative years as a slave to his life's work at Tuskegee Institute and ultimate death in 1943.

In analyzing her subject, McMurry's paramount objective is to "separate the real Carver from the symbolic portrayals of his life" (p. vii). McMurry postulates that Carver was the most misunderstood American, not only during his time but also after his death. He was a complex man, both in his personal and professional life. Owned by Moses and Susan Carver in the rural town of Diamond Grove, Missouri, during the Civil War, Carver never knew his father, and "his mother disappeared while he was still an infant." Because of his frailties, he came under the influence of Susan Carver. Throughout much of his youth and early life, his closest friends were either whites or older women. When George left the Carvers in search of his destiny, he continued to be influenced by such older women as Marion Watkins, Lucy Seymour, Helen Eacker, and Etta Budd of Simpson College where he studied art.

Although Carver's first love was art, Budd recommended that he abandon his ambitions of making a living as an artist for something more realistic and practical. Since Carver had developed an appreciation for nature and a love for plants as a youth, Budd encouraged him to enroll at Iowa State College where her father, J. I. Budd, taught horticulture. Carver completed his studies at Iowa State for the bachelor's and master's degrees in agriculture by 1896, and left with a "missionary zeal" to work at Tuskegee Institute. Perceiving himself as one selected by God to help the "man furtherest down," Carver remained a dreamer throughout much of his life.

McMurry carefully presents the number of different backdrops against which Carver must be viewed during his long career at Tuskegee. Carver's varied relationships with such people as Booker T. Washington, the principal of Tuskegee; George R. Bridgeforth, a fellow employee and later administrator of the Agricultural Division; the Blue Ridge Boys; the staff of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation; and the many whites and blacks associated with his unsuccessful commercial schemes are admirably interpreted by McMurry. As the author notes, Carver's first twenty years were devoted to a career in agricultural science. During this period, however, he was still relatively unknown outside of Tuskegee. Carver's rise to prominence occurred during the

1920s when he came out of the "shadows" of Washington who had died in 1915. The search for honors that he did not receive from skeptical blacks at Tuskegee led him to seek international fame from beyond the confines of the Institute. This, in turn, accelerated the mythmaking and the "Carver legend." The author contends that Carver contributed to the myths by not denying erroneous statements made about him or about his work because of his deep need for recognition,

In his search for fame, Carver allowed himself to be used by many diverse groups in pursuit of their own goals. Although he did not make many significant contributions to agricultural science, several groups, such as the "peanut industry, New South editors, religious advocates, and segregationists," McMurry argues, used Carver as an acceptable "symbol," to show Americans, both black and white, that a black man with his meager background could still succeed in American society when race relations were at their nadir. Also some blacks at Tuskegee, and in other parts of the country, used the Carver "image" to raise needed funds for their educational institutions. They sought to prove to whites that blacks should be given equal rights because of the many contributions made to American life by men such as Carver. McMurry is, indeed, at her best when separating the myth from the man.

As is evident throughout this biography, Carver was not a fighter for civil rights or an enemy to segregation. Torn between seeking the constant approval of whites and his own blackness, Carver was an accommodationist on racial matters. Politics and social issues never apparently interested Carver either. Instead, developing a reputation in the field of agricultural research consumed much of his time after Washington's death.

The author notes, nonetheless, that Carver's success lay in his ability to work with people and to interest them in whatever he was doing. In his later years, he was the epitome of a practical inventor or "creative chemist," working on many projects that interested him but unable or unwilling to complete any. Carver shied away from technology at a time when it was sweeping the nation. He lacked organizational and managerial skills, although he had the good sense to surround himself with those who possessed those skills.

The reviewer found this meticulously researched account of

Carver's life highly readable and well documented. Notwithstanding her commendable efforts, Professor McMurry is least persuasive when dealing with Carver's attitudes toward his "blackness." For example, it might have proven worthwhile had McMurry explored at greater length the possible impact, if any, that Carver's co-workers at Tuskegee, as well as that of the overall black community, the Harlem Renaissance, and the NAACP had in molding his consciousness of, as well as his commitment to, black culture. Also, what was the overall response to the Carver "image" by many black Northerners? Perhaps a more in-depth perusal of black periodicals and newspapers would have provided an answer to these questions. However, regardless of these latter comments, this book remains the most complete, scholarly portrait of Carver's life to date.

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University LARRY E. RIVERS

Another Dimension to the Black Diaspora: Diet, Disease and Racism. By Kenneth F. Kiple and Virginia Himmelsteib King. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981. xix, 295 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, footnotes, bibliographic essay, index. $29.95.)

In his 1978 study of the health of Virginia slaves, Todd L. Savitt of the University of Florida warned historians about the risks of trying to evaluate the adequacy of the slave diet, especially by the use of modern nutritional research. Though those cautions were sound, happily Kenneth Kiple and Virginia King chose to ignore them and produced what this reviewer found to be an intriguing, provocative, and superbly researched study of the historic relationships between slaves' genetic heritage, their nutritional and physical environment, and their overall state of health.

Not that the book is without flaws. It is highly (and admittedly) speculative, and some of the "educated guesses" are unconvincing. The writing is often flippant– and occasionally preachy, as when the authors lecture present-day physicians on their special obligations to the Negro, since it was earlier white doctors who were "so instrumental . . . in fostering antiblack at-

titudes in the first place" (p. 203). Moreover, the authors are prone to long digressions on epidemiological issues (e.g., the geographic origins of malaria and yellow fever) that contribute little to their main argument and only weaken the reader's grip upon it. Even without the side trips the reasoning and terminology of the book are difficult enough, and many portions read like, and, in fact, are summaries of current medical research. But anyone who toughs it out will be richly rewarded indeed.

The authors' main goal, an admirable one in a day of runaway academic specialization, is to meld the historical writing on black Americans with contemporary medical literature on Negroes – chiefly on their blood anomalies, dietary needs, physiological and anatomical traits, and mortality. Out of this integration have come the authors' three major arguments.

Their first thesis is that when matters of health are considered, American Negro slavery turns out to be even crueler than formerly imagined, for it seized a people out of a land– tropical Africa– to which they had made a fairly stable biological and nutritional adjustment and put them into another land– the temperate South– where their former advantages suddenly became liabilities. On this point the main discussion centers around the Negro's characteristic lactose intolerance: a normal biological adjustment in Africa, in America it rendered most slaves seriously deficient in both vitamin D and calcium. In putting this case the authors clearly take issue with Kenneth Stampp's contention that Negro slaves were only white men in black skins.

Their second and most speculative thesis is that slaves, owing to lactose intolerance and the nutritional limitations of the food they ate, were especially prone to diet-deficiency diseases. Moreover, most of their infectious diseases were tied to those same nutritional deficiencies. It was not that masters were deliberately starving them. As Fogel and Engermann argued, the food slaves received, in terms of kind and quantity, did measure up to that eaten by whites. What the two "clio-metricians" did not recognize, however, was that in terms of certain important nutrients, the plantation diet was not adequate "for persons of West African descent" (p. 79).

The third argument is that the scientific racism of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that was used to justify, first, slavery and then segregation was an ideology concocted primarily

by antebellum southern doctors. Noting the Negroes' peculiar disease immunities– and susceptibilities– they concluded that the black man was innately different from and inferior to the white. The irony, here, say Kiple and King, was that most doctors sincerely wished to help afflicted blacks. But that irony was surely lost on Negroes who were– and still are, say the authors– made to suffer twice: once from the burden of ill health and, again, when that burden was held against them.

Readers will surely raise objections to the hypothetical, tentative quality of this book. They will also have questions for its authors– for example, how they explain the apparent lower mortality of the South's free Negroes, who had no master to look after them. But what the authors set out to do, they do with verve. *Another Dimension to the Black Disaspora* (the title somehow sticks on the tongue) makes a unique contribution and merits a wide readership among historians of American slavery and medical historians alike.

University of South Carolina E. H. BEARDSLEY

The Complete Book of Seminole Patchwork, From Traditional Methods to Contemporary Uses. By Beverly Rush, with Lassie Whitman. (Seattle: Madrona Publishers, 1982. 123 pp. Introduction, illustrations, photographs, bibliography, index. $19.95.)

A person seeking a detailed history of the development of Seminole patchwork and clothing should look elsewhere. Only twelve pages (about a third of each devoted to pictures) are spent discussing Seminole and Miccosukee history or clothing. However, the history, as far as it goes, is accurate and adequate for what this work is: an excellent how-to book.

This is by no means a "follow the step-by-step instructions and have fun with sewing" bit of froth for the beginner. A great deal of research into Seminole technique and design is evident. Ways of analyzing existing designs and creating new ones are presented. It is necessary to read carefully to understand the technique, and some experience in handling cloth is required for someone to be

successful. The illustrations alone make the expense of the book worthwhile.

The authors and the women– and men– who created profuse examples of non traditional uses of this traditional technique have managed a rare thing in modern "fiber art"; there is not an ugly piece in the book. Those familiar with the modern textile art scene will have noticed how seldom non traditional "explorations" of traditional crafts and techniques are successful; many are downright ghastly. Whether this is a product of the authors' and artists' tastes, or an attribute of the technique, I cannot tell.

The only quibble I had with this book is the lack of few but popular references in the bibliography. Notably missing is William Sturtevant's article "Seminole Men's Clothing" *(Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts,* proceedings of the 1966 annual spring meeting of the American Ethnological Society, University of Washington Press, 1967). A reader wishing scholarly information on the Seminole and Miccosukee will have to do his own searching. In a work intended for a popular, craft-oriented audience, however, this cannot really be called a fault.

Florida State Museum DEBORAH G. HARDING

BOOK NOTES

Preacher Gordon: A Mischievous Saint is not the traditional biography but is rather the story of the Reverend U. S. Gordon, or Preacher as most people knew and called him. Preacher Gordon was, during his lifetime, one of Florida's best known personalities. He was a man with great charisma who exerted a major influence not only on his own Presbyterian congregants, but also upon hundreds of University of Florida students and faculty, and upon townspeople who represented many different religious faiths, beliefs, and views. Ulysses S. Gordon began with his ordination in 1917 in Sardis, Mississippi, and after stints in Mississippi and Tennessee, he arrived in Gainesville to become minister of the First Presbyterian Church in 1928. One of the first people he met was Dr. John J. Tigert, newly-appointed president of the University. Dr. Tigert immediately invited Preacher to attend a University of Florida alumni banquet, and when he accepted, Gordon began an unofficial relationship with the University that was to last throughout his life. Preacher Gordon was thirty-five years old when he began his Gainesville pastorate; he served as minister of the First Presbyterian Church for forty years, retiring at the age of seventy-five. This book was written by Lester L. Hale, former speech professor, dean of men, and vice-president for student affairs at the University of Florida. Hale is himself an ordained Presbyterian minister, and he worked and served with Preacher Gordon for many years in the church and in the Gainesville community. Dr. Hale was assisted in the writing of his book by Dr. Perry Foote, Jr., who, in his introduction, credits Gordon with having had a major impact on his life. Former University of Florida president Stephen C. O'Connell has written the foreword, and in it he also describes Preacher Gordon's role as a religious and community leader. Preacher liked to hunt and fish, and he thoroughly enjoyed having friends in to eat with him, particularly the huge breakfasts which he served. Two of Preacher's famous recipes are included in this book. One is fried fish camp style and the other Tallahatchie Camp stew, which featured squirrel, tomatoes, okra, fried potatoes, and bacon. Preacher, as Hale points out, was no hypocrite. If he needed a

little bourbon and branch water for "medicinal purposes" he imbibed, but never in public. It was not that Preacher wanted to hide anything, but he never wanted to offend anyone. On occasion, he drank a bit of wine, explaining, "I think I have tramped long enough in God's vineyard to enjoy a little of the fruit of the vine." He, told jokes and stories, and sometimes they seemed even a bit risqué. Preacher remained a bachelor throughout his life, explaining, "When I was young I was too particular and as I grow older I am less desirable." *A Mischievous Saint* is available to anyone making a minimum gift of $15.00 to Suwannee Presbytery. Request the book from First Presbyterian Church of Gainesville, 103 S.W. 3 Street, Gainesville, Florida 32601.

To celebrate its centennial, Congregation Ahavath Chesed held a series of gala events in February 1982. These included a banquet, an exhibit of historic photographs, and a seminar. The latter involved the presentation of papers describing the history of Jacksonville Jewry from 1852 to the present. The congregation also published its history, *That Ye May Remember, Temple Ahavath Chesed, 1882-1982*, by Natalie H. Glickstein. Synagogue records, newspapers, personal correspondence, photographs, and oral history interviews were utilized. The Jewish community of Jacksonville had its beginnings in 1850, when Philip Dzialynski arrived with his family from Europe. His son George was the first Jew whose birth (1857) Jacksonville can be documented. The Jewish cemetery was organized that same year when six of the city's twelve Jews died during the yellow fever epidemic. Temple Ahavath Chesed, the second oldest Jewish congregation in the state (Pensacola has the oldest), was chartered in 1882. Twenty persons, including some of the most important merchants in the city, were present at the organizational meeting. Ten additional names were then added to the list, including Jews from Tallahassee, Ocala, Leesburg, Micanopy, Palatka, and Gainesville. Services and religious school classes were held in private homes until the first Temple was dedicated September 8, 1882. It stood on the corner of Laura and Union streets and was one of the buildings destroyed in the catastrophic 1901 Jacksonville fire. The Temple was the first house of religious worship to be rebuilt after the fire, and other congregations, including the Congregational Church, used the building until their own houses of worship

were ready. As Mrs. Glickstein points out in her history, the Temple and its members have continued to play active roles in the political, economic, social, educational, and cultural life of the Jacksonville and Florida community. Her book, which includes many pictures, should serve as a model for other congregations, Jewish and non-Jewish, to encourage them to publish their own histories. *That Ye May Remember* may be ordered from the Temple, 8727 San Jose Blvd., Jacksonville, Florida 32217. It sells for $12.00, plus $2.00 for mailing.

Half A Century In Florida: Land of Matters Unforgot is by August Burghard. He has lived in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, since 1925, and has been closely associated with the political, economic, social, and intellectual life of his community and of Broward County. Burghard was a newspaper reporter when he first came to Florida and then a Chamber of Commerce advertising executive. The activities that he was involved with, the people that he knew, and the many community events with which he was associated over the years are detailed in his volume of "Panoramic Memoirs." It is a large book in every way, but the size is justified when one considers all of the things that have engaged Burghard's interests. He enjoyed swimming, was Fort Lauderdale Beach's first lifeguard, and played a major role in the establishment of the internationally recognized Swimming Hall of Fame. He helped organize the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society and has been active in the Florida Historical Society and other cultural and social organizations. He is the author of several books, and the co-author of *Checkered Sunshine, A History* of *Broward County*. Burghard played a major role in the establishment of Birch State Park, was a friend of the Seminole Indians, a member of the Everglades National Park Commission, helped found Nova University's Gold Key, and is recognized as one of the best known and most beloved people in his community. There is one chapter in his book entitled "The Doers: Personalities Larger Than Life," which features people who Burghard has known and worked with for half a century. He is himself a "doer" with a personality larger than life. *Half a Century in Florida* is published by Manatee Books, 1700 East Las Olas Blvd., Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33301. It sells for $25.00. There is also a deluxe edi-

tion, numbered and autographed by the author, available for $100.00.

Midland Florida, Eden of the South, Alachua County was first published in 1883. Long out of print, it has been reprinted by Louis C. Goolsby, well-known Gainesville printer and publisher. Goolsby has also written an introduction. Although nearly one hundred years old, this is a delightful and entertaining history of Gainesville and Alachua County. The pictures and the vintage advertisments are alone worth the $7.75 price. Alachua County was the center of a rich farming area after the Civil War, and at the time that Mr. Webber was writing this pamphlet it was described as the fourth largest city in Florida. Charles Henry Webber was a newspaper editor from Salem, Massachusetts, who wrote under the name of Carl Webber. He listed Gainesville as his southern address and called himself a "traveling correspondent-journalist." Gainesville, as he described it, was literally an Eden, with its tempered climate, adequate rainfall, and abundant lakes and waterways. Many of the latter were teeming with fish—trout weighing twenty-five pounds and black bass fifteen pounds. A variety of agricultural products which were shipped to the north during the winter months and brought "really fabulous prices" were produced. Cabbages, beans, cucumbers, tomatoes, corn, and cotton were the leading vegetable crops. The county was then within the state's citrus belt, and the largest orange tree in the state grew near Fort Harley. It was a favorite tourist attraction. Webber admitted that frost might one day destroy the orange crop, but, as he put it, "so may the waters of the Atlantic ocean someday rise and sweep New England from the face of the earth." Gainesville boasted of its fine hotels, including the Arlington "where polite attention is the rule, not the exception." The private schools included Eastmans, Chateau-briant, and Miss Tebeau's School on West Main Street where primary, intermediate, and collegiate courses in English and music were offered. The East Florida Seminary, later recognized as one of the parents of the University of Florida, was also in Gainesville, and there is a picture of its classroom building (which is still standing) in the book. *Eden of the South* may be ordered from Mr. Goolsby, 1231 N.W. 25 Terrace, Gainesville, Florida 32605.

Key West, Images of the Past is a photographic history by Joan

and Wright Langley of the nation's southernmost city. Wright is the director of the Historic Key West Preservation Board and the author of an earlier-published photographic history of the Florida Keys. This volume traces the history of Key West from 1815, when Juan Pablo Salas of St. Augustine received the island as a Spanish government grant. It passed into the hands of John B. Strong and was then sold to John Simonton who saw the potential of the island becoming an important deep-water port. Key West's development, which Simonton predicted in the 1820s, has been realized over the years. The text in *Key West, Images of the Past* is by Joan Langley. She traces Key West's history to 1950. There are more than 200 photographs included, many of which are being published for the first time. These have been collected from libraries, museums, archives, family albums, and private collections. There are photographs of celebrities like Thomas Edison, Henry Flagler, Ernest Hemingway (whose home is a well known tourist attraction in the city), and Tennessee Williams who now lives in Key West. Several presidents, including William H. Taft, Franklin Roosevelt, and Calvin Coolidge, came to Key West and were photographed. Harry Truman visited so often that his cottage was called The Little White House. There are pictures of the first automobile in Key West, and images of the unpaved streets when cows roamed free. There are also pictures of fishing and sponge boats, scenes of the destruction wrought by storms and hurricanes, buildings, the docks, and the people of the community. *Key West, Images of the Past* was published by Christopher C. Belland and Edwin O. Swift, Box 1237, Key West, Florida 33040. The paperback edition sells for $9.95; hardback, $19.95.

The Calusa Indians were living on Pine Island (now Lee County, Florida) when Europeans arrived in the sixteenth century. Anthropologists from the University of Florida and the University of Tennessee, who have been examining shell mounds in the area, have determined that there has been human life there since about 3,500 B.C. Contact between the natives and the Spanish was frequent from the beginning of recorded history. Fisherman caught, salted, and loaded their catch, and according to local lore pirates sailed the nearby waters. But Pine Island remained relatively isolated until recently. There were no railroads

or roads in the area and no bridges connecting the island with the mainland. Hamilton Disston, a steel manufacturer from Philadelphia, arrived in the area in 1881. His purchase of 4,000,000 acres of "swamp and overflowed land" for $1,000,000 from the state was the largest transaction in Florida history to that date. Drainage canals began to be dug, the area was developed, and Northerners were attracted by the tropical climate and the exotic vegetation. Plans were announced to develop Pine Island into a major resort area and to build an elegant hotel. Much of the planning took place in the St. James Hotel in Jacksonville which had been built by Jeremiah Rockwell Campbell of Boston. In 1885 he and his associates organized the St. James on-the-Gulf Company to build a "large city" on Pine Island. This development is the subject of the book, *St. James City, Florida, The Early Years* by Priscilla Brooks and Caroline Crabtree. A town was laid out, and construction began on a hotel, the San Carlos, with lumber shipped down from Maine. Pierre Lorillard was an early guest, and the Duke of Sutherland arrived on his seagoing yacht, the *Sans Peur*. Many of the visitors came to fish, and the area was famous for tarpon. Edward Everett Hale preached a sermon in St. James City, and Henry Ford and Thomas Edison were visitors. St. James City never really became a city. The threat of yellow fever, periodic freezes that penetrated even into south Florida, the depression of the 1890s, the Spanish-American War, and the lack of a railroad hampered growth. Pine Island remained remote until the 1950s. Changes have been rapid in recent years. There are roads now on Pine Island, and a bridge joins the island to the mainland. People are moving in, attracted by the beauty of the water, the abundant bird life, and the quiet and peaceful environment. *St. James City, Florida's* attractive drawings are by Anna G. Plante. The book may be ordered from Caroline Crabtree, Route 1, 5348 Areca Drive, St. James City, Florida 33956. The price is $7.00.

Iron Horse in the Pinelands, Building West Florida's Railroad: 1881-1883 is a centennial history with chapters by Jesse Earle Bowden, John H. Appleyard, Woodward B. Skinner, E. W. Carswell, Thomas Muir, Jr., and James A. Servies, all of whom have been identified with the writing of the history of Pensacola and west Florida. The volume was edited by Virginia Parks and

was published by the Pensacola Historical Society. Photographs, a list of sources, and an index is included. The volume describes the life and work of William W. Chipley, a native of Georgia, who moved to Pensacola in 1876. He was as important to the development of railroads in west Florida during the post-Reconstruction era as Flagler was for the Florida east coast, and Plant for the Gulf coast area. Earle Bowden points out in his essay, "The Colonel from Columbus," that Chipley was called "Major Octopus." It was an apt description, as this book shows. Chipley was not only a major force in the development of the Pensacola & Atlantic Division of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, but he also played a powerful role in Florida politics. In a historic battle for a seat in the United States Senate, Chipley lost, one of the few defeats that he suffered in his lifetime. *Iron Horse in the Pinelands* is not only the history of Chipley and the railroad; it also details the activities of many of his associates, including Fred DeFuniak, Daniel F. Sullivan, and William A. Blount. The book may be ordered from the Pensacola Historical Society; the price is $4.95.

The World's First Airline, the St. Petersburg-Tampa Airboat Line, by Gay Blair White, is a brief history of the air operation that lasted only three months but which brought national attention to the Tampa Bay area. It also showed the potential for commercial flying. There were about 9,000 people living in St. Petersburg in 1914. Winter tourists came by train into Tampa and then traveled across the bay on the daily steamers. Thomas W. Benoist, who had begun manufacturing airplanes in St. Louis, and Percival E. Fansler conceived of the idea of establishing a commercial line that would carry freight and passengers the twenty-three miles between Tampa and St. Petersburg. A contract was signed on December 17, 1913. It was the first airline agreement ever drawn up in this country. In return for a cash subsidy from the city of St. Petersburg and its businessmen, Benoist Aircraft Company agreed to maintain two daily scheduled flights between St. Petersburg and Tampa for six days a week. The first flight was schedule for January 1, 1914. In the huge crowd that jammed the pier area to watch the takeoff that day was Will Rogers. The airboat took off without mishap, and twenty-three minutes later it landed in Tampa. The *Tampa Tribune* carried

the headline, "First Commercial Air Ship Line in World Inaugurated." On January 8, Mrs. L. A. Whitney made the flight; she was the first woman ever to fly on a scheduled airline. A second airboat arrived in February, and service was extended to Manatee, Bradenton, Sarasota, Pass-a-Grille, and Tarpon Springs. Tourist season drew to a close in St. Petersburg in April in those days, and the airboat line ceased its operation at that time. Later, the pilot, Tony Jannus, returned to St. Petersburg, and in a plane called *The Florida* he took passengers on sightseeing flights about the city. In 1947, a commemorative flight sponsored by the National Aeronautic Association was made over the same route and at the same time of day that Jannus had first piloted his airboat across Tampa Bay. *The World's First Airline* was edited for publication by Warren J. Brown. It may be ordered from Aero-Medical Consultants, 10912 Hamlin Blvd. W., Largo, Florida 33540. The price is $5.00.

Letters written by Confederate soldiers whose homes were in the Chattahoochee Valley of Alabama and Georgia are included in the volume *In the Land of the Living.* The editor was Dr. Gerald Ray Mathis, a history professor at Troy State University, until his death in 1981. His associate in this project was Douglas Clare Purcell, director of the Historic Chattahoochee Commission of Alabama and Georgia which commissioned the volume. Many of the letters are being published for the first time, and include correspondence of many soldiers who were not particularly literate. In one, written from Pensacola on May 12, 1861, Barrancas Barracks is spelled "Beran cas barrix." One of the best letter writers was Lieutenant Stouten Hubert Dent of Eufaula, Alabama. He was entranced with Pensacola. A tour of the Navy Yard, convinced him that it was "more like visiting a watering place than being on a Military Campaign." He decided that "details about mud and bad roads and bad treatment is all stuff." He addressed his letters to his wife: "My own Sweet Darling," "My own Darling Wife," "My Sugar Plum," and "My Precious Darling." His letters included not only details about the day-to-day happenings in camp, but also comments on the fighting in the area. Beginning November 22, 1861, the Federals shelled for two days Confederate positions at Forts McRea and Barrancas. "None of our men were killed in the Navy Yard," Dent reported.

"Not much damage done in there so far. A few mules were killed." In another letter he confided, "Generally I am glad the fight has opened. I did not want to go home and say that I had not fired a gun at the enemy. I think now that I will have plenty to talk of when I go home." Other writers described the hardships, loneliness, pain, and horror of the war which dragged on for four years and which became the bloodiest conflict in American history. Maps of the campaigns add to the value of this useful volume. The Chattahoochee Valley men participated in all of the major campaigns of war– Shiloh, Stones River, the Valley, Bull Run, Chancellorsville, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, Atlanta, Sherman's march to the sea, and Virginia. There is also an index. Troy State University Press, Troy, Alabama, published *In the Land of the Living.* It is selling for $21.50.

Tomorrow Is Another Day, The Woman Writer in the South, 1829-1936 is by Anne Goodwyn Jones. Published by Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, it was the winner of the Jules Landry Award for 1980. It focuses on seven white southern women, all professional writers– Augusta J. Evans, Grace King, Kate Chopin, Mary Johnston, Ellen Glasgow, Frances Newman, and Margaret Mitchell– and tries to show how their writings were affected by the attitudes, traditions, and way of life in the South. The myths, mores, and folkways of the South did influence these women and their writings. Ellen Glasgow was one of the South's most important writers. She became a good friend of Marjories Kinnan Rawlings of Cross Creek, Florida, and this relationship is described in *Tomorrow is Another Day.* In 1939 she invited Mrs. Rawlings to visit her in Richmond, and from that encounter there emerged an active correspondence between the two women which continued until 1945 when Mrs. Glasgow died. Their letters reveal much about feelings and attitudes of these two important women writers. While Mrs. Rawlings was not a born Southerner, her books and stories are about Florida, and she has come to be recognized as one of the best and most lyrical interpreters of the southern wilderness scene. The paperback edition of *Tomorrow Is Another* Day sells for $12.95.

Southern Poor Whites: A Selected Annotated Bibliography of Published Sources was compiled by J. Wayne Flynt and Dorothy

S. Flynt. It fills an important need in southern historiography by listing and annotating 1,455 books, monographs, and articles relating to urban and rural poor whites. Several of the items listed deal with poor whites in Florida. The biblography has been divided into eleven chapters. The first section lists bibliography and general references. The remaining ten chapters focus on economics, education, folk culture, health, migration/urbanization, mountain poor whites, politics, race relations, religion, and women. Author and subject indexes are included. Published by Garland Publishing, Inc., New York & London, the price is $40.00.

The Book of Accessions, Georgia Depositories, 1973-80 was compiled by Phinizy Spalding who gathered his information from material previously published in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* and *Georgia Archives.* Collections of pertinent materials from twenty Georgia universities, colleges, public libraries, and government agencies are included. Some are specialized libraries like the Richard B. Russell Memorial Library at the University of Georgia which contains the private papers, films, tapes, and memorabilia of Senator Russell. The Martin Luther King, Jr., Center for Social Change in Atlanta is another specialized library whose holdings are included in this volume. The Center contains the records of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Congress of Racial Equality. The Georgia Historical Society has one of the most important collections in the Southeast. It includes manuscripts and boks on Georgia and the South covering the period from the eighteenth century to the present. Professor Spalding has provided an introduction to this volume which is both perceptive and entertaining. He has also included a very useful index. The paperback edition sells for $6.50, and it may be ordered from the Georgia Historical Society, 501 Whitaker Street, Savannah, GA 31499.

Beginning with Christopher Columbus, Italian immigrants have come to America for many reasons, but mainly because they believed that the new world held great promise for them and their families. Many Italian immigrants have arrived in Florida over the years. At the beginning of this century they were re-

cruited to work for Henry Flagler on the construction of the Florida East Coast Railroad. Others worked in the vegetable fields and citrus groves, and still others– men and women– were employed in the cigar factories in Ybor City and West Tampa. Italian Americans have become one of the richest and most influential of America's ethnic groups. Images, *A Pictorial History of Italian Americans* documents this history of Italians in the United States and shows the major contributions which they have made to the country's development. This handsome volume was prepared and published by the Center for Migration Study of New York, Inc., with support from the National Endowment for the Arts and the Giovanni Agnelli Foundation of Turin. Order from CMS, 209 Flagg Place, Staten Island; New York, New York 10304; the price is $29.95.

Using Local History in the Classroom, by Fay D. Metcalf and Matthew T. Downey, was published by the American Association for State and Local History. University and college departments of history throughout the United States are aware that courses in state and community history have great appeal and attract large numbers of students. This is particularly so if the professors are trained historians, knowledgeable about their subject, and are able to impart to their students the excitement, color, and importance of historical community events and personalities. Teachers will find many valuable suggestions in this volume to improve the writing and research skills of their students. There are ideas on how to utilize oral history interviews, photographs, architecture, newspapers, public records, and family histories as resources in developing individual and class projects. A variety of out-reach programs are suggested; and local resources such as museums, archives, and libraries are listed. Teachers are encouraged to utilize these resources to supplement activities in the classroom. The book sells for $17.50 ($13.50 to AASLH Members).

Florida Parks, A Guide to Camping in Nature, by Gerald Grow, provides information on more than 200 Florida parks. The book has been divided into five sections: Northwest, North, Central, West, and Southeast. Parks and recreational areas are listed alphabetically, and there is information about the hours the camps are open, available housing and camping facilities,

charges, recreational activities, and restrictions. Among the general information about camping, there is data on snakes, wildlife, insects, and water hazards. There is also an index. Published by Longleaf Publications, Tallahassee, *Florida Parks* sells for $9.95.

Discover Florida: A Guide to Unique Sites and Sights is by Robert Tolf. The illustrations are the work of William Olendorf. The book is divided into geographic regions with pertinent information about historic places, museums, forts, state parks, and other places of interest. There is also restaurant information which adds to the usefulness of this attractive guide. The paperback sells for $9.95. It is published by Manatee Books, 1700 East Las Olas Boulevard, Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33301.

Many excellent cookbooks contain not only recipes, but also much local, regional, ethnic, social, and cultural history. So it is with the *North Hill Cookbook.* It was compiled by the North Hill Preservation Association of Pensacola as one of the publications in the series authorized by the Gálvez Commission of the City of Pensacola in its commemoration of the two-hundreth anniversary of the Battle of Pensacola which was celebrated May 3-10, 1981. It was within the boundaries of the North Hill Preservation district that the Battle of Pensacola was fought in 1781, which resulted in the defeat of British forces by the Spanish under General Bernardo De Gálvez. A short sketch of Gálvez and his activities in Pensacola was written by local historian Woodward B. Skinner to be included as a preface to the cookbook. The emphasis, however, is on mouth-watering food. Recipes typical of the Pensacola area are listed, including smoked mullet, gazpacho, and fraises au Curaçao. The recipe for Papa's stuffed tomatoes (p. 9) was brought to the United States, and then to Pensacola, from Toulouse, France, in the early 1900s. The Rosasco sisters, whose ancestors settled in Pensacola in 1885, have contributed two prized Italian recipes. There have always been a variety of ethnic and national groups living in Pensacola, and so it is no surprise that the *North Hill Cookbook* includes information on German, Spanish, Cuban, Italian, Greek, French, and Jewish food. There are also many recipes for preparing food which is considered southern. "Pokey's" brunswick stew, crab gumbo, Aunt Em's hush puppies, gopher stew, pecan pie, and shrimp

creole all sound delectable. There are recipes associated with Pensacola personalities like Dr. Quina's quail casserole. Hopkin's Boarding House is a famous Pensacola tradition, and so its recipes like the ones for broccili casserole, sweet potato soufflé, and stewed okra and tomatoes are in the cookbook. The price is $14.00. Order from the Association, 427 West Lee Street, Pensacola, Florida 32501.

Early American Cookery was originally published in 1896 under the title, *Ye Gentlewoman's Housewifery*. It provided recipes for "breads, buns and beverages, soups and sauces, herbs, cakes and custards, pastry, puddings, preserves and pickles, meats, mushrooms, mackerel . . . and more." The "more" included "Sundry Salutory Remedies of Sovereign and Approved Efficacy, and Choice Secrets on the Improvement of Female Beauty." There is information on everything from making candles, caring for bees, cooking for the poor, extinguishing fire in female dresses, hints for the gentlewoman at the table, dying cloth, preparing herbs, taking care of wooden floors, making black ink, distilling water, knitting, picking blackberries, to the warming of beds with hot coals in a warming pan. The author of this delightful cookbook was Margaret Huntington Hooker whose family owned a winter home on the St. Johns River in Mandarin, Florida. Charles and Mary Duncan also lived there, and it is their grandson, John E. Duncan, who has published this reprint of *Early American Cookery*. Mr. Duncan has also written a sketch of Mrs. Hooker which he titles, "A Woman of Good Taste." Calvin and Harriet Beecher Stowe and their three children were also residents of Mandarin when the Huntingtons and Duncans lived there, and the families were good friends. They joined together in the effort to build and sustain an Episcopal church in the community. Later a window for the church was dedicated as a memorial to the Stowes, and it was Margaret who suggested the design that was later incorporated into the window by the famous artist, Louis Comfort Tiffany. Unfortunately, the window was destroyed by a hurricane in 1964 which wreaked great havoc in Mandarin. The church was also badly damaged. *Early American Cookery* is a fun book to read. Order from Saint Johns-Oklawaha Rivers Trading Company, Box 3503, DeLand, Florida 32720; the price is $6.95.

HISTORY NEWS

1983 Annual Meeting

The eighty-first meeting of the Florida Historical Society will be held in Daytona Beach, on May 6-7, 1983. The program committee includes Dr. Eugene Lyon, chairman (Box 3621, Beach Station, Vero Beach, FL 32960); Dr. Amy Bushnell (Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, Box 1987, St. Augustine, FL 32084); Dr. William R. Adams (Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board); Dr. Paul S. George (1345 S.W. 14 Street, Miami, FL 33145); and Mildred Fryman (323 Meadowbrook Lane, Tallahassee, FL 32304). They invite anyone interested in reading a paper to correspond with them immediately. Dr. Peter Klingman of Daytona Beach Community College will be in charge of local arrangements. Local and area historical societies and preservation groups will serve as host organizations. The Florida Historical Confederation will hold a workshop in conjunction with the annual meeting beginning May 5, 1983.

Annual Awards

J. Leitch Wright, Jr., of Florida State University, was selected as the 1982 winner of the Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award for his work *The Only Land They Knew, The Tragic Story of the American Indians in the Old South.* This study was published by the Free Press, a division of McMillan Publishing Company, Inc., New York. Judges were Steven L. Lawson, University of South Florida; Jerrell H. Shofner, University of Central Florida; and William S. Coker, University of West Florida. The award memorializes Professor Patrick, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and secretary of the Florida Historical Society.

Dr. John Sugden, Hull County, Humberside, England, received the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize for 1981-1982 for his article, "Southern Indians in the War of 1812: The Closing Phase." It appeared in the January 1982 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly.* The prize is given annually for the best article appearing in the *Quarterly,* and is presented at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society. The judges for

this year's award were Janice Borton Miller, Tallahassee Community College; Linda Ellsworth, Historic Pensacola Preservation Board; and Eugene Lyon, Vero Beach, Florida. The prize was made possible by an endowment established by Mrs. Arthur W. Thompson of Gainesville. Dr. Sugden has recently completed his doctorate at the University of Sheffield.

Florida History Fair

Final competition for the first annual Florida History Fair was held May 7, 1982, in conjunction with the meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Fort Lauderdale. The overall theme for the Fair was "Florida and Its People." The finalists who were selected from 8,000 participants brought their projects to be displayed at the meeting. First prize winner was Todd Snowden, 7th grade, Workman Middle School, Pensacola. His project was "The Ferry at Ferry Pass," and his teacher was Sandra Mayne. Carl Cartwright, 7th grade, Ferry Pass Middle School, Pensacola won second prize for his diorama of "The Old Bagdad Sawmill." His teacher was Cynthia Crutchfield. Third prize winners were Sharon Bingham and Heather Walton, 4th grade, Aloma Elementary School, Winter Park, for their display, "Florida Commerce and Industry." Their teacher was Betty Windsor. Other entrants in the Florida History Fair included Alvina Chu, Reed Patillo Elementary School, New Smyrna Beach (Debrah Beacher, teacher); 7th grade class, Ormond Beach Junior High (Melinda Tammer, teacher); 4th grade class, Blackner Elementary School, Orlando (Janet Drake, teacher); Gregory Rogolino, Fort Pierce Central High School (Don King, teacher); Donna Marie Eprifani and Anne Marie Griffin, Fort Pierce Central High School (Don King, teacher); Chelsea Jones, Gainesville Academy (Elizabeth Nancarrow, teacher); and Farrell Rogers, Westwood Middle School, Gainesville (Elizabeth Smith, teacher). The Florida History Fair was funded by grants from the Florida Historical Society and the National History Day (with funds from the National Endowment for the Humanities). Its sponsorship will be a continuing responsibility of the Florida Historical Society.

Wentworth Foundation Grant

William M. Goza, former president of the Florida Historical

Society and executive director of the Wentworth Foundation, Inc., presented a check for $1,000 on behalf of the Foundation to the Florida Historical Society at its meeting in Fort Lauderdale. These annual gifts from the Wentworth Foundation are designated for the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The Wentworth Foundation has been very generous in its support over the years to the Florida Historical Society and to many other historical, anthropological, and cultural organizations. The Foundation provides scholarships for undergraduate and graduate students at a number of Florida colleges and universities. The recipients are known as Wentworth Scholars. It has supported several archeological projects sponsored by the Florida State Museum, and it was instrumental in the University of Florida acquiring the Howe Collection of American Literature. The Foundation also supports the project of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, of calendaring its vast collection of Spanish borderland documents and manuscripts.

Announcements and Activities

The Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board has completed the restoration of the de Mesa-Sánchez House and has opened the building to the public as part of its interpretive program in the Restoration Area. After several years of research and physical restoration, the house has been returned to its appearance in the 1830s. It features several rooms furnished to interpret the Florida territorial period (1821-1845). A slide-tape presentation describes the research and restoration of the property, and an exhibit shows how the changes in the house and its owners reflect cultural change in St. Augustine in the years 1763-1837. The first documented owner of the house was Antonio de Mesa from Mexico, who served as a customs official in St. Augustine during the last years of the first Spanish period. Archeological evidence confirmed the size of the original one-room house. The building passed through several owners during the British period (1763-1784), including the indigo planter Joseph Stout, who enlarged it slightly. Juan Sánchez, a ship caulker and Spanish businessman, greatly enlarged the structure during the second Spanish period. By 1837, the house had reached its present L-shaped, fifteen-room size, and was covered with a pink-painted stucco which has now

been reapplied. Final additions were probably made by James Lisk, a carpenter from upstate New York, who likely never lived in the house.

The Fort Lauderdale Historical Society has recently received 38,500 negatives from local photographer Gene Hyde to be added to its collection of negatives and photographs. Mr. Hyde earlier donated 145,000 negatives to the Society. When the collection is finally sorted and indexed, it will represent one of the largest photo-documentation archives in Florida.

The Florida State Genealogical Society will hold its annual conference at the Ramada Inn, West Palm Beach, November 12-13, 1982.

The Historical Association of Southern Florida has announced a campaign to raise the funds necessary to acquire an original folio volume of the *Birds of America* by John James Audubon. The original engravings were issued between 1827 and 1835 in a limited edition which includes about thirty bird portraits that Audubon painted in Florida during his visit, November 1831-May 1832. It was during his tour of Florida at that time that Audubon observed the wildlife of St. Augustine, Key West, Indian Key, and the Dry Tortugas. The May 1982 issue of *Update,* the monthly journal published by the Historical Association, includes two articles relating to Audubon. "The Florida Keys" contains abstracts from Audubon's *Ornithological Biography* describing Sandy Key as he observed it April 26-29, 1832. Another article is by Kathryn Hall Proby whose book, *Audubon in Florida,* was published by the University of Miami Press in 1974. The title for her article is "Retracing Audubon on Florida's Keys." In this issue of *Update* is also an article, "Lost in the Everglades," by Earl DeHart, which describes the journey of John W. King and two fifteen-year-old boys who became lost for two weeks in the Everglades in 1917.

The South Carolina Historical Society is producing microfiche copies of its manuscript holdings, of manuscripts owned by other organizations and individuals, and of out-of-print publications. A total of 3,878 fiche are now available. The price for each

fiche is $1.50, with discounts for large orders. The entire group of approximately 200,000 pages sells for $2,500. A catalog is available from the South Carolina Historical Society, Fireproof Building, Charleston, SC 29401. Order microfiche from the Reprint Company, P. O. Box 5401, Spartanburg, SC 29304. The Charleston Historical Society's printed publications are also available through this firm.

The Southeastern American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies invites submissions for its annual essay competition. An award of $150 will be given for the best essay on an eighteenth century subject published in a scholarly journal, annual, or collection between September 1, 1981, and August 31, 1982, by a member of SEASECS or a person living or working in the SEASECS area, which includes the state of Florida. Individuals may submit their own work or the work of others. Essays must be submitted in triplicate, postmarked no later than November 1, 1982, to Professor Bertram H. Davis, Department of English, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL 32306. The 1982 award winner will be announced at the SEASECS annual conference in Birmingham, March 17-19, 1983.

Publications

The Spring/Summer 1982 issue of *Tampa Bay History* includes articles on the history of Ruskin, Florida, the utopian settlement named for John Ruskin, the famed nineteenth-century English Socialist. "Socialism and the Sunshine: The Roots of Ruskin, Florida," is by Lori Robinson and Bill De Young. Other articles are "Boca Grande: The Town the Railroad Built," by Geanne P. Reidy, and "'Wish You Were Here': A Photo Essay," by Hampton Dunn. The Memoir, "The *Tribune*'s First Woman Reporter," is by Lucy Fulghum O'Brien, and the notes include "The Daring Escape of Judah P. Benjamin," by Michael G. Schene, and "Prosperous Palmetto," reprinted from the July 27, 1897, issue of the Tampa *Morning Tribune.* Area funeral home records, compiled by Denise Kelley and Randy Bobbitt, are in the geneaology section. *Tampa Bay History is* published semi-annually by the Department of History, University of South Florida, Tampa. Dr. Steven F. Lawson is managing editor, and correspond-

ence concerning subscription, book reviews, and other editorial matters should be sent to him.

Hampton Dunn, editor of the *Sunland Tribune,* published by the Tampa Historical Society, is soliciting articles for the twelfth anniversary issue of the journal. Subjects may relate to business, personages, buildings, or events of importance to Tampa and the Tampa Bay area. Articles must be typed and should include footnotes and a list of sources. Send articles and photographs to Hampton Dunn, *Sunland Tribune,* 245 South Hyde Park Avenue, Tampa, FL 33606.

The *Center for the Study of Southern Culture* at the University of Mississippi has assumed editorial responsibilities for publishing *Perspectives on the American South: An Annual Review of Society, Politics, and Culture.* Volume 3 is scheduled for publication in the summer of 1983. James C. Cobb and Charles R. Wilson, the co-editors, are soliciting papers from scholars in the social sciences and the humanities. *Perspectives on the American South* is an interdisciplinary collection of articles that are both scholarly and appealing to a lay audience. Its focus is upon the social-cultural study of the South. The editors are interested in comparative studies of the South and other societies, examinations of southern ethnic and cultural groups, and studies of the relationship of the region's cultural to its social setting. Deadline for submission of manuscripts for volume 3 is November 1, 1982. Manuscripts and inquiries should be sent to the Center, University of Mississippi, University, Mississippi 38677.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS. . . . . .

1982		
Sept. 21-24	American Association for State and Local History	Hartford, CT
Oct. 6-10	National Trust for Historic Preservation	Louisville, KY
Oct. 7-10	Oral History Association Workshop and Colloquium	San Antonio, TX
Oct. 13-17	American Society for Ethno-History	Nashville, TN
Oct. 27-29	Southeastern Archaeological Conference	Memphis, TN
Oct. 28-30	Florida Trust for Historic Preservation	Jacksonville, FL
Nov. 3-6	Southern Historical Association	Memphis, TN
Nov. 19-21	Southern Jewish Historical Society	New Orleans, LA
Dec. 27-30	American Historical Association	Washington, D.C.
1983		
May 5	Florida Historical Confederation	Daytona Beach, FL
May 6-7	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 81st MEETING	Daytona Beach, FL

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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The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is $15; family membership is $20; a contributing membership is $50. In addition, a student membership is $10, but proof of current status must be furnished.

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