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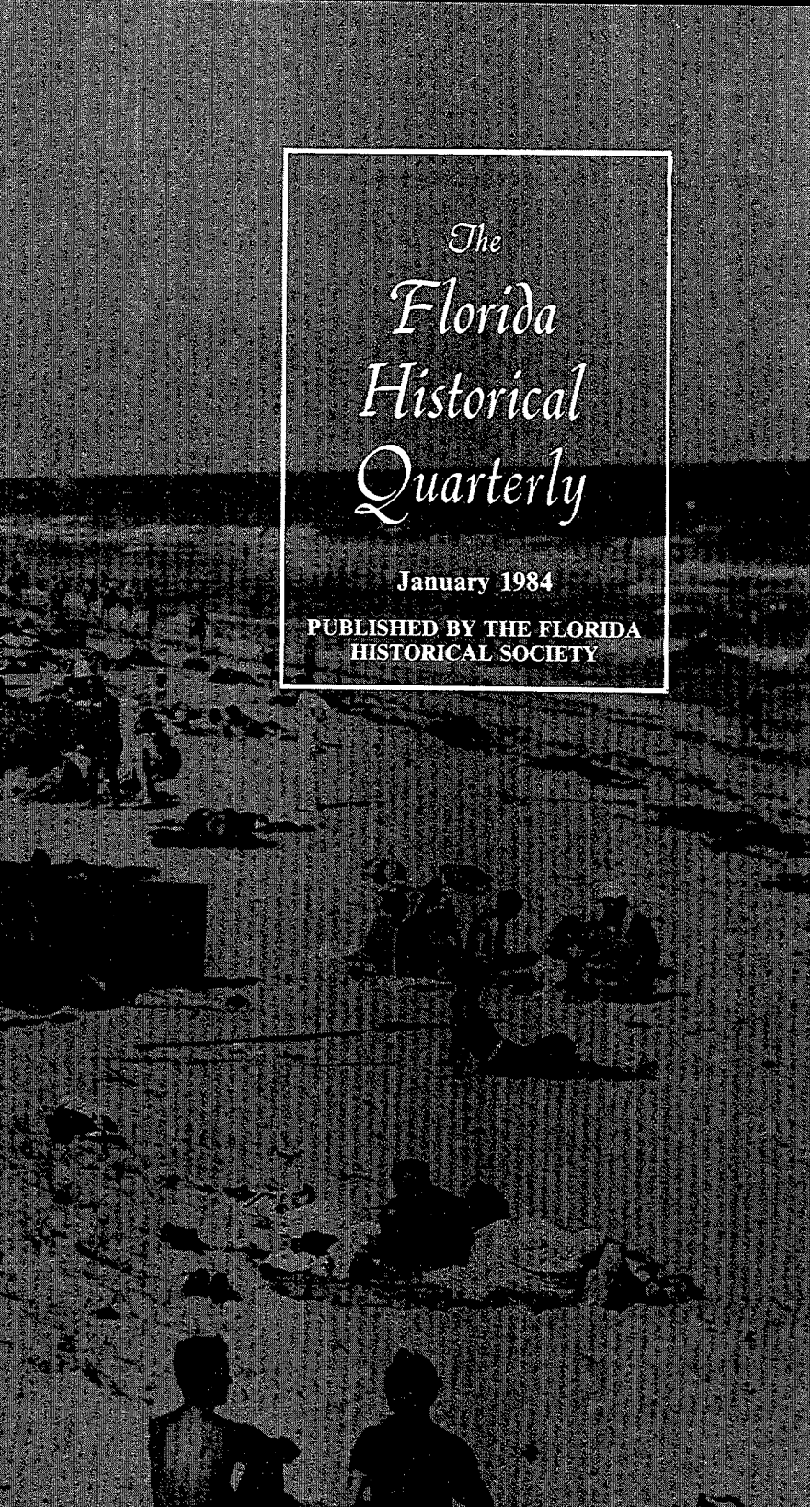

COVER

Looking north along Hollywood Beach in March 1935. This photograph was taken for the Hollywood Chamber of Commerce for a publicity brochure. It was reproduced as a postcard in 1939. The postcard is in the collection of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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SURVIVAL OF A FRONTIER PRESIDIO: ST. AUGUSTINE AND THE SUBSIDY AND PRIVATE CONTRACT SYSTEMS, 1680-1702

by WILLIAM R. GILLASPIE

THE last two decades of the seventeenth century were critical years in determining the eighteenth-century destiny of the entire breadth of the Spanish borderlands in North America. Overshadowing the outcome of the international rivalry over the continent were three changing tenets in international law during the last third of the seventeenth century. The first was Spain's acceptance of "freedom of the seas" in place of mare *clausum* (closed sea) whereby she had sought exclusivism of the waters adjacent to its territorial holdings. Another changing tenet, to Spain's advantage, was the European abandonment of "no peace beyond the line" (of demarcation) whereby aggressive acts committed in America would have no effect on peaceful relations among the European powers. Privateers had used this tenet to their advantage, as well as had Spain's rivals in Europe, and would continue to do so into the early eighteenth century. The third, and most significant change, was Spain's acceptance of a new tenet, *uti possidetis* (as you now possess), whereby "effective occupation alone gives valid title to colonial lands and the rights acquired by prior discovery are only effective if they are followed up by settlement."[1] Formalized by treaties, the most important was the Treaty of Madrid, signed in 1670. Under it Spain recognized the English settlements in America on the condition that they would not engage in contraband trade with the Spanish dependencies. The boundary between English Carolina and the Spanish Florida provinces was fixed on a line running due west from a point in Port Royal Sound approximately sixty miles south of Charleston.[2] By this time England and

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William R. Gillaspie is professor of history at Memphis State University, Memphis, Tennessee.

1. A. B. Newton, *The European Nations in the West Indies, 1493-1699* (London, 1933), 334-35.
2. At the time, Spain divided Florida into four provinces: Guale, located in

France posed the major threats to the former Spanish exclusivism, but England would prove to be the most successful in adjusting to this new tenet.

Lacking the population, and as a means of economizing, the Spanish crown continued using the presidio-mission system as a means to expand and defend the borderlands.[3] The twenty-year interim, 1680-1700, decided the state of preparedness of the Spanish borderlands as the War of the Spanish Succession (1700-1715) extended into North America where it was called Queen Anne's War. The most serious and dramatic extension of that war would be the siege of St. Augustine in 1702. Using the European war as an excuse, Governor James Moore, with his Indian allies, led an expedition from Charleston into Guale where he destroyed Franciscan missions en route to St. Augustine. St. Augustine was burned and looted, but Moore failed to take the Spanish fortress, the Castillo de San Marcos, which served as a final place of refuge for the Florida population. In an attempt to redeem himself, Moore again led expeditions into Florida, 1703-1708, with the Franciscan missions in Apalache as his principal targets. He virtually eradicated the few remaining missions and committed atrocities against the friars themselves.[4] During the two decades prior to the war and the siege of St. Augustine, uncertainties and potential crises loomed in northern New Spain and the lower Mississippi Valley regions. These years were crucial for the very survival of the eastern region of Spanish Florida with the presidio of St. Augustine as the bastion of the area's defense. The challenges of preserving the eastern borderlands appeared overwhelming.

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eastern Georgia and the islands off Georgia's coast; Timucua, in north central Florida and a portion of southern Georgia; Apalache, located in southwestern Georgia, southern Alabama, and the Florida panhandle extending from San Marcos westward to Pensacola; and Provincia Nueva, a scantily-populated province in southern Florida.

3. For the origin of the presidio, see Max L. Moorehead, *The Presidio: Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman, 1975), 3-26.

4. Charles W. Arnade, *The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702* (Gainesville, 1959), 14-61; Mark F. Boyd, "The Siege of Saint Augustine by Governor Moore of South Carolina in 1702 as Reported to the King of Spain by Don Joseph Zuniga y Zerda, Governor of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXVI (April 1948), 345-52; Michael V. Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870* (Gainesville, 1965), 75-76; Robert Allen Matter, "Missions in the Defense of Spanish Florida, 1566-1710," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* LIV (July 1975), 32-35.

The principal challenge was to provision Spanish Florida adequately, and the presidio of St. Augustine in particular. Theoretically, the subsidy system would have sufficed in meeting St. Augustine's needs. But, in fact, the more informal private contract system, interacting with the "annual" subsidy, helped meet the many deficiencies of the subsidy system. To further compound the problems, Spain was laboring under the reign of the inept and demented Charles II, the last of the Spanish Hapsburg kings.

Due largely to a depression in American trade, the economy of Spain steadily declined. In contrast, the economy in the major commercial centers of New Spain improved. More and more capital of the growing merchant elite remained in Mexico City while Havana had developed into the principal shipbuilding center in Spanish America.[5] Although Charles was incapable of governing, some members of the ruling class of aristocrats furnished leadership bordering on statesmanship.[6] This was especially evident during the years 1680-1691. Although sparse in numbers and their efforts sporadic and limited in success, they managed to stem the declining economy of Spain. They emerged as the precursors of the celebrated commercial reforms of the Spanish Bourbon king, Charles III. From 1691 until 1696 Spain operated under a councilar government. Between 1696-1700 the issue of succession overshadowed all else and there was virtually no viable government.[7] The policies and royal cédulas during this period were important but represented intent. In practice, it was left to the royal officials in New Spain, including Florida, to pursue, modify, or evade those decrees and the Laws of the Indies. This was due in part to slowness in communication, but to an even greater extent to the paradox found in the traditional and successful Hapsburg imperial policy of despotism and efficiency, in theory, and "liberty" and even license, in practice.[8]

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5. John Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs*, 2 vols. (New York, 1969), II, 193, 197; Richard Boyer, "Mexico in the Seventeenth Century: Transition of a Colonial Society," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, LVII (August 1977), 456-57, 463, 478.
6. As Charles was incapable of governing, the terms crown and royal cédulas will be used to identify the leadership of the Spanish government and its decrees with the king serving merely as its symbolic head.
7. Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs*, II, 247-53, 273-80.
8. For two brilliant analyses of the Hapsburg imperial policy, see Cecil Lionel Jane, *Liberty and Despotism in Spanish America* (New York, 1966), 43-63, and John Leddy Phelan, "Authority and Flexibility in the Spanish Imperial Bureaucracy," *Administration Science Quarterly*, V

One policy pursued consistently and upheld by the Spanish Hapsburg kings was the retention of Spanish Florida. Lacking bullion and advanced Indian populations, its vital role, aside from the crown's persistence in converting Indians, was based upon its strategic location. Located on the flank of the return voyages of the treasure fleets from Peru and New Spain, Florida provided a place of refuge for shipwrecked crewmen. The convoy system offered effective protection from pirates and privateers but not from the treacherous reefs and hurricanes so prevalent along the Bahama strait off the eastern coast of Florida. Single vessels and the coastal settlements and missions were the principal targets of the predators. The latter were usually of English or French nationality. The surprise midnight attack and sacking of St. Augustine in May 1668, by the English pirate Robert Searles, dramatically revealed the vulnerability of the presidio. The attack, linked with the signing of the Treaty of Madrid two years later, motivated the Queen Regent, Mariana, to order the replacement of the wooden fortress in St. Augustine with that of a permanent stone fortress. Using coquina extensively, the construction of the Castillo de San Marcos began in 1672, was substantially finished by 1687, and was officially completed in 1695.[9] In the meantime, the English from Charleston, in violation of the Treaty Line of 1670, were advancing steadily southward into Guale winning over Indian tribes at the expense of the Franciscan missionaries. In growing numbers the Indians were showing a preference of trade goods offered by the English traders over the religious persuasion and training and working the fields of the Franciscan frairs.[10] But the Spanish crown deemed the French as the principal threat.

(June 1960), 47-65. A more recent scholarly work, based almost entirely on manuscript sources, is supportive of their hypothesis. See Amy Bushnell. *The King's Coffer: Proprietors of the Spanish Florida Treasury, 1565-1702* (Gainesville, 1981), 138-40.

9. Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs*, II, 175; Clarence H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York, 1947), 325; Charles Gibson, *Spain in America* (New York, 1966), 102-03, 123; Verne E. Chatelain, *The Defenses of Spanish Florida 1565-1763* (Washington, D.C., 1941), 14, 59-75; Albert C. Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos* (Washington, D.C., 1942), passim; J. Leitch Wright, *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America* (Athens, 1971), 51-59.

10. Michael V. Gannon divides the history of the Florida missions into two periods: 1606-1675 as the "golden age," and 1675-1763 as the period of their "decline and ruin." The years 1702-1708 marked the nadir of the mission system. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 49-83; Charlton W. Tebeau,

The expeditions of Robert Cavalier La Salle, who reached the mouth of the Mississippi in 1682, and led a tragic follow-up expedition from France to the coast of Texas in 1684, motivated the Spanish crown to extend the presidio-mission system into Sonora, southwestern Arizona, and Texas.[11] The Spanish crown mistakenly believed that the lower Mississippi Valley was much closer in proximity to the lucrative silver mines of New Spain. Using a more direct assault on French hegemony, the Spanish crown ordered reconnaissance missions from New Spain and Florida to search out the French. At one point, 1689-1690, concern over the French was so great that Spanish officials in Mexico City and Madrid debated a proposal to abandon St. Augustine and concentrate on Pensacola as the focal point for defense. But wiser heads prevailed, pointing out that the English from Carolina posed a greater threat. The reconnaissance missions, nevertheless, led to the occupation and fortification of Pensacola Bay in stages, 1694-1698. The occupation of Pensacola was a joint undertaking entailing one of the rare instances of full cooperation between the viceroy of New Spain and the Florida governors. Spanish Pensacola, however, remained as an ineffective barrier to foreign encroachment. The French located further west and settled Biloxi in 1699. Although France and Spain were allies during the War of the Spanish Succession, the French took advantage of the confusion and occupied Mobile Bay in 1702. Spain tacitly acquiesced, and the French acquired Louisiana by Spanish default.[12] The presidio of St. Augustine would remain as the principal bastion for the defense of the Spanish southeast.

A History of Florida (Coral Gables, 1971), 52; Vernon W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier 1670-1732* (Ann Arbor, 1956), 30-46; Herbert E. Bolton and Mary Ross, *The Debatable Land: A Sketch of the Anglo-Spanish Contest for the Georgia Country* (New York, 1968), 28-68; Herbert E. Bolton, ed., *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia: A Contribution to the History of One of the Spanish Borderlands* (Berkeley, 1925), 149-70; John Francis Bannon, *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman, 1964), 133-49

11. Paige W. Christiansen, "The Presido and the Borderlands: A Case Study," *Journal of the West*, VIII (January 1969), 32; Herbert E. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer* (New York, 1960), 23, 29, 245; John Francis Bannon, *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier 1513-1821* (New York, 1970), 41, 65-67, 102; Bannon, *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands*, 120-22, 212-25; Herbert E. Bolton, ed., *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest 1542-1706* (New York, 1963), 311-422.

12. William Edward Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702: The Beginnings of Texas and Pensacola*

Unlike the more developed presidios in the Caribbean islands, where large numbers of civilians resided, the frontier presidio of St. Augustine was strictly a military town. But the population and size of St. Augustine far exceeded the mere frontier garrisons in the southwest. Its structure of government was simple. All power was theoretically vested in the governor who technically served under the viceroy of New Spain.[13] But in practice the governor acted independently of his superior in Mexico City. The governor's powers were not absolute but checked by two treasury officials, a treasurer and accountant, who were responsible for the collection of duties and the royal treasury. In addition to their fiscal responsibilities, the treasurer doubled as a supply officer, and the accountant served as a keeper and interpreter of the royal cédulas and the Laws of the Indies. The treasury officials served as a check on the powers of the Florida governor in much the same way as the *audiencias* (judicial and advisory bodies) functioned as a restraint on the viceroys.[14] The second in command was the sergeant major who possessed great but hidden powers. He succeeded the governor if the latter died in office or left before his successor arrived. The governors often complained of the sergeant major's excessive influence over the presidio's population and favored abolishing the position and letting the incumbent governor designate his interim successor.[15] The governors were

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(Freeport, N.Y., 1971), 31, 247-315; Charles W. Hackett, George P. Hammond, and J. Lloyd Mecham, eds., *New Spain and the Anglo-American West,* 2 vols. (New York, 1969), I, 81-102; Henry Folmer, *Franco-Spanish Rivalry in North America, 1524-1763* (Glendale, Calif., 1953), 143-44, 155-66; Laurence Carroll Ford, *The Triangular Struggle for Spanish Pensacola, 1689-1739* (Washington, D.C., 1939), passim; Irving Leonard, ed., *Spanish Approach to Pensacola, 1689-1693* (Albuquerque, 1939), I, 5-70.

13. *Recopilacion de leyes de los reinos de las Indias,* 4 vols. (Madrid, 1756), Libro 3, Titulo 2, Ley 6 (hereinafter *Recopilacion);* John Jay TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida 1700-1763* (Durham, 1964), 5-7; Gibson, *Spain in America,* 191.

14. Lillian Estelle Fisher, *Viceregal Administration in the Spanish-American Colonies* (New York, 1967), 28, 82, 98-100; TePaske, *Governorship of Spanish Florida,* 7; Gibson, *Spain in America,* 94; for a major contribution to the study of administrative functions of the treasury officials in Spanish America see Bushnell, *King's Coffer;* crown to treasury officials, December 30, 1692, Archivo General de Indias, 58-1-22/262, Seville, microfilm copies in the John B. Stetson Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville (hereinafter AGI); Diego de Quiroga to crown, June 8, 1690, AGI 54-5-13/8; Joaquin de Florencia to crown, June 28, 1694, AGI 54-5-19/131.

15. *Recopilacion,* Libro 5, Titulo 2, Ley 49; Luis R. Arana, "The Spanish

transient, *peninsulares* (born in Spain), and usually inexperienced. But the treasury officials, sergeant major, and company commanders, all of whom were *criollos* (those of Spanish descent born in America), formed a continuous corporate body and emerged as the nucleus of a criollo aristocracy. Although the royal officials' positions were not supposed to be hereditary, the Menéndez Márques family had monopolized the position of accountant. The family members were descendants of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, the founder of St. Augustine. Tomás Menéndez held the position of accountant from 1673 until his death in 1706. His son, Fernando, succeeded him as interim accountant. The crown confirmed his appointment in 1711, and Francisco maintained the position for another twenty years, during which time he solicited the crown to appoint his son upon his own death.[16]

As was the case of the other presidios of New Spain, Spain furnished the presidio of St. Augustine with its sole means of support through the payment of an annual subsidy paid by the viceroy of New Spain. The subsidy consisted of pay for the soldiers and supplies, including food, purchased by the soldiers from their pay. By the mid-1630s the annual subsidies for the presidios throughout the entire viceroyalty of New Spain had reached 400,000 pesos. The amount of the subsidy for each presidio depended upon its dotación (authorized strength). In 1678 the dotación of the presidio of St. Augustine amounted to 300 men with an annual subsidy of 48,000 pesos. By 1660 the subsidy rose to 67,000 pesos, but included the Franciscan friars, retired soldiers and other military "ineffectives," and soldiers' widows, many of whom were heads of families. The crown increased the dotación to 350 in 1679, and 355 in 1688, where it remained until the eighteenth century. By 1700 the subsidy reached 100,000 pesos, but about twenty-five per cent was designated as payment for back subsidies in the arrears. Interdependence between the subsidy and local enterprise was apparent. Without the subsidy the presidio

Infantry: The Queen of Battles in Florida, 1671-1702" (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1960), 37; Juan Marquez Cabrera to crown, June 28, 1683, AGI 54-5-11/107; Quiroga to crown, August 1689, AGI 54-5-15/70.

16. Juan de Ayala to crown, April 22, 1692, AGI 54-5-15/90; Francisco de Corcoles to crown, March 20, 1711, AGI 58-1-28/94; Francisco Menendez to crown, February 23, 1720, AGI 58-1-34/39 and July 16, 1722, AGI 58-1-34/37; Antonio de Benavides to crown, August 3, 1719, AGI 58-2-4/26.

of St. Augustine could not have survived.[17] Conversely, had the presidio been totally dependent upon the subsidy, the presidio would have expired.

The views of the state of conditions within the presidio during the twenty-year span, 1680-1700, were filled with contradictions. The terminology used by the sources to describe conditions at the presidio ranged from the extremes of "miserable," "poverty-stricken," and "critical," to "golden age" and "prosperity." Without exception, the governors used the former terms of adversity to describe conditions. They often exaggerated the plight of the presidio to justify infractions of the royal cédulas and the Laws of the Indies. But there was a contrast in the general economic conditions between the decade of the 1680s and that of the 1690s. In the decade of the 1680s the population increased, and the presidio enjoyed relative prosperity compared to earlier years. This was due in part to the influx of wealth and labor needed for the construction of the Castillo de San Marcos. The decade corresponded with the development of a booming cattle industry. The largest cattle ranch, called the *hacienda de la chua* (ranch of the sinkhole), was located in north central Florida near present day Gainesville. The family of Tomás Menéndez the accountant, owned and operated the ranch. But it took energetic force and perseverance of the governor to assure that much of the beef would be sold in St. Augustine and not shipped elsewhere. The Franciscan missions also helped sustain the presidio. Their Indian charges, especially in Apalache, produced mostly maize supplemented by vegetables, beans, and some wheat. But the residents of St. Augustine much preferred wheat and beef over the maize grown at the missions. Within the town of St. Augustine fruit, including oranges, lemons, limes, figs, and peaches, was available. To compensate for shortages of food contraband trade

17. *Recopilacion*, Libro 3, Titulo 9, Ley 7, 10; Jeanette T. Connor, trans. and ed., *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida: Letters and Reports of Governors, Deliberations of the Council of the Indies, Royal Decrees, and other Documents*, 2 vols. (Deland, 1930), II, 245; Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs*, II, 199-200; junta of war to crown, October 10, 1662, AGI 58-2-2/9; Benavides to crown, January 20, 1719, AGI 58-2-4/21; Arana, "Spanish Infantry," 20; TePaske, *Governorship of Spanish Florida*, 5-7; Theodore Corbett, "Migration to a Spanish Imperial Frontier in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: St. Augustine," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, LIV (August 1974), 416; Bannon, *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands*, 103.

with the English and Dutch traders, during both decades and into the eighteenth century, was a common practice.

By the 1690s a period of economic decline set in, and ranchers began smuggling out large quantities of beef and hides to Havana by way of the Suwanee River. The governors also complained that the Franciscan missions were becoming increasingly unreliable. The Franciscans were selling only a limited amount of their produce in St. Augustine at exorbitant prices and exporting larger quantities elsewhere in return for church ornaments. Whatever the discrepancies, at no time was there a sustained effort to establish permanent, enterprising settlements throughout the provinces, thus transforming Florida into a self-sustaining unit.[18] While a distinction can be drawn in the general economy of the two decades, in human and social terms living conditions remained fundamentally the same. During both decades a wide gap prevailed between the few elite and the many.

The few of the gentlemanly class, the *hidalgos,* included the governor, treasury officials, and officers (sergeant major and company commanders). Amy Bushnell has written amusing accounts of the pretentiousness which existed among the hidalgos. Preoccupied in their struggle to keep up appearances, lavish ceremonies became the most important order of business. The hidalgos made every effort to distinguish themselves from the plebeians and Indians. Above all special attention was given to wearing apparel. Possession of jewelry, expensive furnishings,

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18. For various perspectives among researchers on prevailing conditions and conflicting views over the periodization of the presidio's history, see Charles W. Arnade, "Cattle Raising in Spanish Florida," *Agricultural History,* XXXV (July 1961), 119-22; Bolton, *Debatable Land,* 76; Amy Bushnell, "The Menendez Marquez Cattle Barony at La Chua and the Determinants of Economic Expansion in Seventeenth Century Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* LVI (April 197S), 408, 423; Chatelain, *Defenses of Spanish Florida,* 76, 80, 158; Theodore Corbett, "Population Structure in Hispanic St. Augustine, 1629-1763," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* LIV (January 1976), 270; John R. Dunkle, "Population Changes as an Element in Historical Geography of St. Augustine," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXXVII (July 1958), 3-10; Michael V. Gannon, *"Conflictos Entre Iglesia Y Estado En Florida: La Administration Del Gobernador Don Juan Marquez Cabrera, 1680-1687."* in Antonio Acosta and Juan Marchena, eds., *La Influencia de España en el Caribe, la Florida y la Luisiana, 1500-1800* (Madrid, 1983), 211-34; Robert Allen Matter, "Economic Basis of the Seventeenth-Century Florida Mission," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* LII (July 1973), 24, 27, 36-38; Matter, "Missions in the Defense of Spanish Florida," 30-32; TePaske, *Governorship of Spanish Florida,* 7.

using expensive wax in place of charcoal, and the use of servants and slaves were recognized status symbols. Securing these expensive luxuries required a proliferation of graft and profiteering.[19] In contrast, most persons in St. Augustine lived in poverty.

Besides the native Floridian Indians, "who always lived on a bare subsistence level," historians identify the most needy as those who served as the labor force used to construct the Castillo. They included Indian conscripts, many of whom were brought in from Mexico, black slaves, convicts, and Mexican and Cuban "ne'er do wells." Most criollos, as well, experienced harsh living conditions. The widows and their families and the entire garrison of enlisted men existed under a relentless system of debt peonage. A newly-arrived vicar, Alonso de Leturiondo, described the "near-nudity of the soldiers in the Castillo, who have only *congas* [breechcloths] to cover their private parts, who wander in the streets begging for money, and look like men who have come forth from dungeons."[20] Real shortages of all supplies, including food, existed. Otherwise the numerous perilous sea missions and transatlantic crossings would have been unnecessary and never undertaken. The effectiveness, readiness, and fate of the St. Augustine presidio depended on the subsidy and private contract systems.

Each year the governor of Florida appointed a subsidy collector granting him a daily allowance ranging from two to four pesos. Upon his arrival in Mexico City, the collector presented the viceroy a certification denoting the authorized strength of the presidio. When the viceroy issued a warrant from the royal treasury the collector contacted merchants and purchased those supplies designated by the Florida governor and treasury officials. According to the Laws of the Indies, the viceroy and merchants were to sell the supplies at moderate prices. From Mexico City the supplies were transported to the point of embarkation at Vera Cruz. The Florida collector was required to wait until the collectors of the subsidy from Havana, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo had purchased their supplies and were ready to depart. From Vera Cruz they sailed in convoy, accompanied by a war vessel, until their arrival at Havana where they separated and sailed to their respective presidios. The most dangerous part of the mission was between Havana and St. Augustine. Pirates and

19. Bushnell, *King's Coffer*, 15, 21-29.
20. Gannon, "*Conflictos Entre Iglesia Y Estado*," 211-34.

privateers infested the area where they waited to pick off single vessels. Once in St. Augustine the balance of the subsidy not used for purchasing supplies represented the meager pay of the military personnel. The specie was locked in a chest from which only the governor could issue a warrant for its withdrawal. The treasury officials stored and maintained the supplies in the royal warehouse located within the Castillo. From their pay the soldiers purchased their food, clothing, and other needs from the treasury officials.[21] Theoretically, the subsidy was adequate, but in practice it failed to sustain the presidio.

Delays in collecting all or even a part of the subsidy from the viceroy constituted the major foible in the system. The excuses used by the viceroys were either the discovery of errors in the certification of the dotación or the inadequacy of a ship to transport the supplies back to St. Augustine. The viceroy lacked the hard specie to satisfy the requirements of the entire viceroyalty. It became a matter of priority. The viceroy's first concern was to supply the needs of those regions directly under his supervision. The delays became so lengthy that the Florida subsidy collector had to agree to only a part of the subsidy most of which was in the form of supplies. In many cases the supplies included superfluous items not included in the collector's instructions. The original price of the merchandise represented only a part of the total cost. By the time freight had been paid between Mexico City and Vera Cruz, and the voyage between Vera Cruz and St. Augustine, the cost of those goods reached an excessive level. Added to the freight was the cost of maintaining the collector. Enjoying the excitement of Mexico City, the collector was in no rush to return to an impoverished frontier province. The delays became so prolonged that the collectors of two separate subsidies could be found in Mexico City at the same time. The debts owed by the viceroy from previous subsidies mounted steadily. As early as 1662, the subsidies in arrears amounted to 202,654 pesos; by 1703, the debt had more than doubled to 456,959 pesos.[22]

21. By way of comparison, the pay scale, as of 1700, was governor, 2,750 pesos; treasury official, 1,470 pesos; sergeant major, 708 pesos; captains (depending on assignment), from 252 to 570 pesos; privates, 158 pesos. *Recopilacion*, Libro 3, Titulo 9, Ley 7, 10; crown to treasury officials, March 8, 1702, AGI 58-1-23/131; crown to Joseph de Zúñiga, March 8, 1702.

22. Quiroga to crown, June 8, 1690, AGI 54-5-13/8; Simon de Salas to crown, June 14, 1705, AGI 58-1-27/79; Council of the Indies to crown, January

Although the Hapsburg kings never sought to reform the elusive subsidy system, they did adopt measures enabling the Florida presidio to seek relief elsewhere. Since the presidio lacked sufficient hard specie with which to bargain, credit became essential. During the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the crown authorized two additional sources of supplies within the Caribbean, Havana and Campeche, and ordered their governors to extend credit. Goods purchased on credit meant lucrative profits in the form of high interest rates. For payment, the Havana merchants depended ultimately on warrants issued by the Florida governor from the subsidy. The Campeche merchants were authorized to collect directly from the viceroy, who subsequently deducted the amount of the warrants from Florida's subsidy before its release. The crown further authorized the presidio of St. Augustine to trade directly with the Canary Islands and Spain. Legally and illegally, the Canaries competed with Cádiz and Seville in providing St. Augustine with both supplies and recruits.[23] In the final analysis ultimate payment depended upon the private contract system.

The use of the private contract system illustrated the crown's dependence on the free enterprise system and profit-making, and its willingness to overlook the evasion of the well-intentioned and even altruistic Laws of the Indies and royal cédulas. The temptations of greed went unchecked. Speculation, kick-backs, bribery, fraud, and above all, price-gouging, became common practices. The crown regarded its overseas possessions as the personal kingdoms of the monarch, subject only to royal authority and scrutiny. But the king also regarded them as business investments and recognized that the development of free enterprise and profit-making would serve him well. The best interests of church and state could not be jeopardized, however. Consequently, theory and practice diverged. This dichotomy of the Hapsburg imperial policy extended throughout the breadth of the borderlands.

11, 1702, AGI 58-2-3/15; Quiroga to crown, June 8, 1690, AGI 54-5-13/8 and June 23, 1690, AGI 54-5-13/10, 11; Testimony relative to the payment of the subsidy for Florida, Joseph de Vaitia to crown, November 21, 1703, AGI 58-2-3/21; Corcoles to crown, April 24, 1714, AGI 58-2-4/5.

23. *Recopilacion*, Libro 3, Titulo 9, Ley 8, 9; crown to house of trade, June 5, 1673, AGI 58-1-22/1; treasury officials to crown, August 20, 1692, AGI 54-5-15/92; Salas to crown, June 14, 1705, AGI 58-1-27/79; Corbett, "Migration to a Spanish Frontier," 425.

In the case of the northern expansion of the presidio system in New Spain, the private contract system was used, and along with it appeared all of the above abuses. The problems arising in the system in that area were primarily economic and not logistic.[24] During the contraction of the southeastern frontier, with the very survival of the St. Augustine presidio at stake, the problems were both economic and logistic. Provisioning by sea involved great risks, both from inclement weather and the constant threat from pirates and privateers.

Juan de Ayala y Escobar was among the most active, successful, and daring of the Florida presidio's private contractors, and the only one to serve in the unofficial capacity of *procurador*.[25] Born in 1635, Ayala was assigned as a lieutenant of the Castillo de San Marcos in 1683. He had spent his early adult life as a seaman and commander of merchant vessels sailing in the Caribbean. By the age of forty Ayala owned his own frigate and held a commission of captain of sea and land. Envisioning an even greater opportunity in the military, he enlisted as a lieutenant and adjutant to the sergeant major of the Havana presidio. More seaman than soldier, Ayala commanded numerous reconnaissance missions in the Caribbean, acquainting the governors of Havana and St. Augustine with the activities and location of the privateers. His familiarity with the trade routes, harbors, and channels greatly enhanced his later activities as a private contractor.[26]

When transferred to St. Augustine in 1683, the energetic governor, Juan Márquez Cabrera, whose administration extended from 1680 to 1687, relieved Ayala of his responsibilities as lieutenant and utilized his services as a seaman and private contractor. On the surface, the appointment of Márquez Cabrera had

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24. Max L. Moorehead, "The Private Contract System of Presidio Supply in Northern New Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XLI (February 1961), 31-32; Moorehead, *The Presidio*, 201-03; Chharles W. Hackett, ed., *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya and Approaches thereto to 1773*, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1923-1937), III, 290-301.

25. The sources referred to the private contractors as *procuradores*. A *procurador* was a lobbyist assigned to the Spanish court representing a township in Spanish America. He was free to enlarge upon the directives of his-superiors. In contrast, a private contractor was charged to purchase supplies specified by royal officials. The official title and position of *procurador* did not exist in St. Augustine.

26. Junta of War to crown, March 15, 1687, AGI 58-1-20/30; 58-1-22/7; Marquez Cabrera to crown, June 28, 1683, AGI 58-1-26/79; memorial of Ayala to crown, March 29, 1703, AGI 58-1-27/A38.

reflected the more enlightened leadership in Spain; he was among Florida's most experienced governors. Because of his distinguished career and statesmanlike qualities, most recently as governor of the province of Honduras, the crown transferred Márquez Cabrera to St. Augustine. He was conscientious, stern, a reformer, and determined to enforce the laws. Yet he was flexible enough to bend the rules in order to meet the vital interests of the presidio and Florida provinces. Yet, this enigmatic authority was not able to modulate the intense and continuous opposition of the Franciscans, cattle ranchers, and eventually the sergeant major, Pedro de Aranda y Allevaneda.[27] By 1687, Márquez Cabrera abruptly and dramatically deserted his post and boarded a ship to Havana. As he was being rowed out to his ship, he threw his baton, symbol of the governor's authority, into the water and cried out, "There's where you can go for your government in this filthy place." Sergeant Major Aranda subsequently became interim governor of Florida.[28] During the administration of Márquez Cabrera, Ayala sailed on at least four local missions to Campeche and Havana, and made two transatlantic crossings to the Canary Islands and Spain.

Ayala secured contracts from individuals as well as the official contracts with the presidio officers. He used his own credit in addition to that of the Florida subsidy. Ayala returned from Campeche with cargoes consisting of serge, linen for the lining of coats, stockings, wooden buttons, and salt. From Havana he purchased powder, munitions, salt pork, maize, and flour. Before departing on one of his missions, in 1686, the treasury-officials were limiting each soldier and widow, including their families, to one pound of flour per day. It was under these circumstances that Ayala volunteered to undertake a relief voyage to Havana. In spite of the growing reluctance of the Havana officials to extend credit, Ayala, in full view of enemy ships, sailed for Havana and returned thirty-two days later with a cargo of flour. Based on the warrants issued by Governor Menéndez Cabrera,

27. Arnade, "Cattle Raising," 122; Chatelain, *Defenses of Spanish Florida*, 77, 126; Gannon, "*Conflictos Entre Iglesia Y Estado,*" 211-34; Bannon, *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands*, 138.

28. Bushnell, *King's Coffer*, 45, quoting Juan de Mendoza, declaration, 1687, in residencia of Antonio Matheos, Escribania de Camara, 156-E; Chatelain, *Defenses of Spanish Florida*, 77; Gannon, "*Conflictos Entre Iglesia Y Estado,*" 211-34; Antonio de Heredia to crown, March 21, 1689, AGI 53-6-4/7; Quiroga to crown, August 1689, AGI 54-1-26/1.

Ayala grossed 12,319 pesos from these local missions.[29] His transatlantic voyages were more lucrative.

In 1683 Márquez Cabrera and the treasury officials contracted Ayala's services to purchase lead, gunpowder, clothing, and wine in the Canary Islands. Before sailing he had obtained a contract from the governor of Havana as well. Leaving on June 28, 1683, Ayala returned to St. Augustine on April 28, 1685. Upon reaching Tenerife, in the Canary Islands, the governor contracted Ayala's services to transport goods from Spain. Purchasing a second vessel at Cádiz, Ayala sailed to Tenerife with olive oil, hemp, and gypsum. When he returned from the Canary Islands he delivered thirty-eight recruits to the Havana governor, and the supplies and munitions, as designated in the contract, to the Florida officials. Although prohibited, Ayala had purchased certain goods, illegally manufactured in the Canary Islands, and had returned with seven black slaves and two Franciscans without permission and license from the crown. After Márquez Cabrera issued a warrant to Ayala, totaling 22,920 pesos, the accountant, Tomás Henéndez, dutifully reported these infractions to the crown. The government responded by ordering the accountant not to "molest" Ayala "now, nor in the future . . . as he acted in good faith and brought aid, thereby alleviating the misery of the presidio's infantrymen."[30]

The major turning point in the opportunistic career of Ayala was his second mission to Spain, 1686-1687, as a private contractor and procurador. Once again, Governor Márquez Cabrera turned to Ayala to secure both supplies and reinforcements for the presidio. Due to the inroads being made by the English traders from Carolina, and the continuous coastal raids on the missions by the French pirate, Agramont, and his Indian allies, Márquez Cabrera instructed Ayala to solicit the crown to increase the dotación from 350 to 500 men. The governor noted that the effective strength of able-bodied soldiers had declined to 260. This was the lowest number of effective combatants between 1673 and 1699. An ulterior motive of Márquez Cabrera was to bring in

29. Quiroga to crown, April 28, 1685, AGI 54-5-15/16; treasury officials to crown, September 30, 1686, AGI 58-2-2/66; Quiroga to crown, April 18, 1692, AGI 54-5-15/89.

30. Márquez Cabrera to crown, April 28, 1685, AGI 54-5-15/16; House of Trade to crown, March 28, 1684, AGI 54-5-15/4 and April 4, 1684, AGI 54-5-15/6; crown to treasury officials, April 7, 1687, AGI 58-1-22/15.

more peninsulares as a counterpoise to the large majority of criollos and the firmly-entrenched criollo aristocracy.

Ayala departed in his frigate with pelts, acquired from the Indians, valued at 3,000 pesos with which to trade with Spanish merchants. This was the only commodity of exportable value from the Florida provinces. Encountering storms, which resulted in the damage and loss of most of the presidio's pelts, Ayala arrived in Seville in 1687, with skins valued at only 700 pesos. Ayala agreed not only to make up the difference, but to supply the presidio with 50,000 pesos on his own credit. Acquiring credit from the merchant guild *(Universidad de los cargadores a las Indias)* in Seville, Ayala agreed to repay the loan with interest after collecting the amount from the presidio's subsidies. As a consequence, the Spanish crown granted Ayala numerous privileges and concessions. In order to accommodate the men and supplies for the return voyage, the crown authorized and licensed Ayala to purchase a 150-ton ship for the presidio's use. This ship could subsequently be used by the St. Augustine presidio to transport the annual subsidies from New Spain. The crown further authorized Ayala to sell those supplies not needed in St. Augustine to the governors of Campeche and Havana. But the most significant concession was Ayala's exemption from paying the five per cent import duty, collected in St. Augustine, on the supplies he had purchased in Spain.[31]

Returning with two ships, Ayala transported arms and munitions to the St. Augustine presidio consisting of fifty arquebuses, twenty-four spears, eighteen molds for making shot for muskets and arquebuses, 2,400 pounds of lead sheets, 5,000 pounds of powder, 1,500 pounds of match cord, 2,500 pounds of copper used in the ladles for loading cannon, and 4,000 pounds of cannon balls for eight-, ten-, twelve-, and sixteen-pounders.[32] Non-military supplies included wine, olive oil, wax, serge, and linen. In meeting Márquez Cabrera's request for an increased dotación, the crown compromised. It authorized the formation of a third in-

31. Márquez Cabrera to crown, June 4, 1684, AGI 54-5-15/7; treasury officials to crown, September 30, 1686, AGI 58-2-2/66; Junta of War to crown, March 15, 1687, AGI 58-1-22/7; Arana, "The Spanish Infantry," 20; crown to House of Trade, May 9, 1687; AGI 58-1-26/121; Junta of War to crown, March 15, 1687, AGI 58-1-20/30; crown to House of Trade, March 22, 1687, AGI 58-1-22/10.

32. Crown to House of Trade, March 22, 1687, AGI 58-1-22/10; crown to Márquez Cabrera, May 26, 1687, AGI 58-1-22/31.

fantry company of 100 men to be recruited in Spain. In reality these were replacements for the ineffectives rather than reinforcements. The crown promoted Ayala to captain and designated him as the new company commander. Ayala agreed to purchase the provisions consumed by the recruits in transit. The crown ordered the treasury officials at Vera Cruz to reimburse Ayala with interest. When the convoy reached Havana, the governor retained twenty of the 100 recruits for his own use. At Vera Cruz the treasury officials paid Ayala 3,300 pesos, plus 264 pesos in interest, for provisioning the 100 men. From Vera Cruz he sailed to Campeche, back to Havana, and then to St. Augustine.[33] Ayala returned with the newly-appointed governor of Florida, Diego de Quiroga y Lossada. Quiroga promptly complained to the crown that some of the eighty new recruits were as ineffective as those whom they had been sent to replace.

Excluding the profits on goods Ayala sold in Havana and Campeche, Quiroga issued a warrant to Ayala totaling 50,312 pesos. From the royal treasury at St. Augustine, Ayala collected 1,787 pesos for freight charges on the arms and munitions transported to St. Augustine, 36,218 pesos for supplies he purchased in Spain for the soldiers' use, and 7,398 pesos for goods purchased for the clergymen. On his return voyage from Havana he had transported flour, maize, cassava, salt, tobacco, nails, and shoes, receiving an additional 4,909 pesos, including 350 pesos in freight.[34]

Throughout Quiroga's administration and that of his successor, Laureno de Torres y Ayala, Ayala continued to sail on numerous relief missions as a private contractor while conditions in supplying St. Augustine deteriorated. The greatest single disaster occurred in 1694 when an enemy ship captured the vessel Ayala had purchased in Spain and with it the annual subsidy of 1693.[35] Even before its seizure the outside sources for food

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33. Quiroga to crown, August 25, 1689, AGI 54-5-12/94; treasury officials to crown, February 1, 1689, AGI 54-5-15/65: Junta of War to crown, March 15, 1687, AGI 58-1-20/30, and March 11, 1687, AGI 58-1-22/7; crown to House of Trade, May 9, 1687, AGI 58-1-22/23; Council of Indies to crown, May 16, 1687, AGI 58-1-22/28; crown to House of Trade, May 17, 1687, AGI 58-1-22/29; crown to treasury officials of Vera Cruz, May 26, 1687, AGI 58-1-22/30.
34. Quiroga to crown, April 1, 1688, AGI 54-1-12/57; November 26, 1692, AGI 54-5-13/47.
35. Diego de Cordoba to crown, March 27, 1695, AGI 54-1-30/1.

and supplies were becoming increasingly difficult to secure on credit, and were lower in quality and higher in price. Flour sent from Vera Cruz often arrived in rotted condition while the freight and other shipping costs increased. Between 1685 and 1690 the expenditure for flour alone from New Spain totaled over 90,000 pesos. Flour from this source consumed almost twenty-five per cent of the total subsidy while thirty-five per cent was spent on freight and other shipping costs.[36]

Havana was a more logical source for food and supplies because of its closer proximity and lower freight charges. But the high interest rates demanded by the merchants absorbed the difference. Between 1686 and 1694 the St. Augustine presidio had incurred a debt of 11,447 pesos. As of 1695 the Florida officials had paid only 3,065 pesos on the debt. Due to the seizure of the subsidy ship in 1693, two years elapsed before the Florida officials paid anything toward reducing the debt. It required a royal decree before the Havana governor agreed to cooperate. Once again, the Florida governor, Torres, called upon the services of Ayala to solicit whatever supplies he could from Havana. On March 25, 1695, Ayala entered the Havana harbor in a mastless sloop. Within seven days the governor had loaded 385 bushels of maize and 450 pounds of powder aboard one of his own vessels and dispatched it to St. Augustine. After being furnished with another mast, Ayala sailed with an additional 128 bushels of maize and 450 pounds of flour.[37]

Securing supplies on credit in Campeche was equally difficult. The system of payment, unlike Havana's, depended upon the viceroy of New Spain. The viceroy frequently refused to honor the certifications presented by the Campeche treasury officials. Consequently, by the 1690s, royal cédulas were necessary before the Florida contractors could obtain anything on credit. Such a case arose in 1692 when the crown ordered the Campeche governor to allow the Florida presidio 8,000 pesos in credit. Governor Quiroga dispatched Ayala. The Campeche officials complied, but the total value of the maize, cakes of wax, and cotton cloth

36. Quiroga to crown, June 8, 1690, AGI 54-5-13/8.
37. Ibid., August 25, 1689, AGI 54-5-12/94; Severino Manzaneda to crown, September 1, 1693, AGI 54-1-28/28; Cordoba to crown, March 27, 1695, AGI 54-1-30/1; crown to Torres and treasury officials, May 29, AGI 58-1 22/384.

amounted to only 4,682 pesos.[38] Difficulties such as these merely enhanced Ayala's opportunities for personal gain and to profit from poverty. He simply applied the maxim of trade— to buy cheap and to sell dear— ironically coined by the presidio's namesake, the humanitarian, Saint Augustine. Ayala's opportunistic activities were flagrant during Quiroga's administration.

With private capital, relatives in Havana, and contacts in New Spain, Ayala was in the best position to bargain for and procure supplies. As commander of his own vessel, Ayala purchased goods on his own account at comparatively inexpensive prices, avoided freight charges, and sold directly to the soldiers and residents of St. Augustine. With the approval of Quiroga, Ayala deposited his goods duty free. Ayala rationalized that the royal concession of 1687 authorized him to avoid the import duties. In spite of the protests of the treasury officials, who correctly concluded that the 1687 concession applied only to goods shipped directly from Spain and the Canary Islands, Ayala enlarged upon his private enterprise. Using his house as a warehouse, he began selling goods to the soldiers and residents on credit. Once the collector returned with the subsidy, Ayala presented Quiroga with the signed notes of the soldiers and widows, and in return the governor issued him a warrant for the full amount payable from the royal treasury. The governor subsequently ordered the treasury officials to deduct the debts from the annual pay of the soldiers and widows.

Ayala's inventory was varied and profitable. It consisted of dry goods such as silk, fine linen, silk ribbon, and understockings for the wives and widows of soldiers, and beaver hats, sombreros, and soft leather for the men. But food was more profitable. From Havana he imported flour and maize, of better quality than that stored in the royal warehouse, and charged exorbitant prices. With Quiroga's permission he used the presidio's supplies and tools and laborers, supposedly assigned to finish construction of the Castillo, to help build another ship for his own use.[39] The treasury officials reported these infractions to the crown, and the latter ordered Quiroga to conduct

38. Treasury officials to crown, August 20, 1692, AGI 54-5-15/92; Quiroga to crown, April 18, 1692, AGI 54-5-15/89.
39. Edgar Salin, "Saint Augustine," *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, 15 vols. (New York, 1930), II, 315; treasury officials to crown, July 20, 1689, AGI 54-5-15/67; February 1, 1689, AGI 54-5-15/65.

an investigation of this misconduct. Using the formula of evasion, the governor avoided the main issues, wrote in generalities, and reminded the crown of Ayala's daring relief missions. "Such exploits," he wrote, "deserve favoritism and rewards."[40] The crown exonerated Quiroga and Ayala and instead chastised the treasury officials: "I severely reprimand and censure you for allowing the entry of goods without payment of duty and yielding to my Governor and Captain-general in the matter of not confiscating these goods. When you have knowledge of such fraud you are to act independently of the viceroys, presidents and governors. You are hereby warned that should this occur again you will be severely punished. You are to enter this cédula in your books so that your successors will be reminded of this." What concerned the crown was not the prohibited private sale of merchandise by an officer at exorbitant prices, but rather its entry without payment of duties. The king's purse had been cheated. The crown praised Ayala for his zeal in volunteering for dangerous missions.[41] It was a dispute over an appointee, in which Ayala went over Quiroga's head and corresponded directly with the crown, that led to a breach between Ayala and the governor.

Having already defended Ayala's commercial activities, Quiroga turned to the promiscuous improprieties of Ayala's personal life. In the course of returning from his first voyage to Spain in 1685, Ayala had moved his wife and ten children from Havana to St. Augustine. Then, after his second voyage to Spain in 1687, he transferred them back to Havana at the first opportunity, the governor charged, in order to "gain more freedom for pursuing his scandalous affairs with the women of St. Augustine." Moreover, Quiroga continued, since the administration of Márquez Cabrera, the governors had issued warrants on the royal treasury of St. Augustine, payable to Ayala, totaling over 89,128 pesos. From this, the governor declared, he could have easily paid the 60,000 pesos he owed his creditors in the Canary Islands and Seville.[42] It was not until Torres replaced Quiroga as

40. Crown to Quiroga, June 25, 1690, AGI 58-1-22/146; Quiroga to crown, April 18, 1692, AGI 54-5-15/89; Ayala to crown, April 22, 1692, AGI 54-5-15/90.
41. Crown to treasury officials, January 1698, AGI 58-1-22/425.
42. Ayala to crown, September 11, 1692, AGI 54-5-19/124; crown to treasury officials, December 30, 1693, AGI 58-1-22/298; Quiroga to crown, November 26, 1692, AGI 54-5-13/47.

governor that the crown responded to the charges. Concerned over the loose morals of its subjects, the crown reproved Quiroga for having permitted this "unlawful connection with women" and told Ayala to bring his wife and family back to St. Augustine or lose his position as company commander. Ayala abided by the crown's will.[43]

Ayala continued his relief missions as a private contractor, but his entrepreneurial activities within the presidio temporarily subsided during Torres's administration. It was during the latter's term of office that the visitation of Jonathan Dickinson, the shipwrecked Quaker, occurred in November 1696. Lulled into a false sense of security and peaceful coexistence between the Spanish and English, Torres unwittingly revealed to Dickinson the weaknesses of the presidio. Dickinson was an astute observer, noting in detail the exact locations of the sentinel houses. Under Spanish escort, Dickinson and his party journeyed to Charleston where he passed on this information to the English authorities before departing to Pennsylvania.[44]

Torres's governorship was only a temporary setback to Ayala who used the time to begin his ambitious quest for the coveted position of sergeant major, the highest military rank and potentially the most powerful position a criollo of the presidio could fill. This was the only position with enough hidden power to circumvent the authority of the governor. He petitioned the crown for the position in 1694. Although the Junta of War and Council of the Indies recommended Ayala for the vacant position, the crown selected the seventy-year old and chronically-ill Enrique Primo de Rivera. In order to solicit the position himself Ayala sought permission from the crown to sail to Spain on "personal business" in 1697. In 1699 the crown granted Ayala permission to make the voyage.[45] But the War of the Spanish

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43. Crown to Torres, October 22, 1693, AGI 58-1-22/294.
44. Jonathan Dickinson, *God's Protecting Providence, Man's Surest Help and Defense . . . Remarkable Deliverance . . . from the Devouring Waves of the Sea . . . and also from the Inhumane Canibals of Florida* (Philadelphia, 1699; reprint ed., New York, 1977), passim; Chatelain, *Defenses of Spanish Florida,* 80-82; 158-59.
45. Ayala to crown, January 21, 1694, AGI 54-5-19/129; Council of the Indies to crown, October 24, 1695, AGI 58-1-20/46; crown to Torres, November 23, 1695, AGI 58-1-22/337; Torres to crown, September 14, 1697, AGI 54-5-13/139; crown to Torres, June 30, 1699, AGI 58-1-22/491; Torres to crown, March 30, 1700, AGI 54-5-13/160.

Succession delayed his voyage until 1702. In the meantime, José de Zúñiga y Cerda had succeeded Torres as governor.

Anticipating and forewarned of James Moore's impending invasion, Zúñiga as his predecessors, turned to Ayala and dispatched him to Spain as his procurador and personal representative. Zúñiga instructed Ayala in writing to seek reinforcements (the effective strength had declined to only 249), arms and munitions, and a general reform of the subsidy system. Leaving St. Augustine in 1702, Ayala's ship was the only one to arrive in Spain from America in the year 1703, and was one of only four to depart Spain for America the following year.[46] It was during his absence that Moore's siege of St. Augustine occurred. When news of it reached the crown, Ayala's efforts to represent Zúñiga's pleas were greatly enhanced. When Ayala returned to St. Augustine, in the spring of 1705, the presidio population received him as a savior and "father of the poor."[47] His mission was a personal success, as well as one which would temporarily bring relief to the presidio. He returned as the new sergeant major and could again engage in his entrepreneurial activities on an even grander scale. Ayala would become the only hidalgo who could afford to wear velvet and a plume in his hat. He subsequently became interim governor in 1716. Upon the arrival of the crown-appointed Antonio de Benavides, the reform-minded governor briefly imprisoned Ayala and had him exiled to Havana in 1718. He also conducted an investigation of the contraband trade engaged in by Ayala and his predecessors. In 1731 when the crown dropped all charges against Ayala and the former governors, Ayala was dead. He had died in Havana in 1727, at the age of ninety-two.[48]

The Council of the Indies had advised the first Spanish Bourbon king, Philip V, that if the presidio of St. Augustine was lost, the English could "arbitrarily curtail all commerce from

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46. Arnade, *Siege of St. Augustine*, 10; Zúñiga to crown, March 24, 1702, AGI 58-2-3/16 and March 25, 1702, AGI 58-2-4/4, 41, 42; memorial of Zúñiga 1703, AGI 58-1-27/A6, 7, 9, 11; Alonso Carnero to crown, February 1703, AGI 58-1-27/A13; Henry Kamen, *The War of the Succession in Spain 1700-1715* (Bloomington, 1969), 178.
47. Salas to crown, June 14, 1705, AGI 58-1-27.
48. William R. Gillaspie, "Sergeant Major Ayala y Escobar and the Threatened St. Augustine Mutiny," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLVII (October 1968), 157, 164; memorial of Ayala to crown, March 29, 1703, AGI 58-1-27/A38; Junta of War to Ayala, June 12, 1703, AGI 58-1-23/226.

New Spain."[49] While the presidio of St. Augustine did survive, the early Bourbon reforms of the subsidy system, until 1750, were more symbolic than substantive. The sources of the subsidies were changed for more lucrative ones, but the abuses and delays were virtually the same as under the Hapsburgs. Conditions within the presidio deteriorated, and until the mid-eighteenth century, were as deplorable as ever.[50]

What success the Spanish crown enjoyed in meeting the threats to its borderlands, and the presidio of St. Augustine in particular, can be attributed to the disparities between theory and practice. Altruism gave way to pragmatism and expediency. Had not evasion of the laws, profiteering, corruption, and maladministration been commonplace, the presidio would have expired. With all of its shortcomings, the subsidy system, linked with the expediencies of the private contract system and contraband trade, stabilized conditions in St. Augustine to the point that at least it supplied the presidio with enough provisions to maintain its survival.

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49. Council of Indies to crown, November 11, 1713, AGI 58-1-30/25.
50. Gillaspie, "Sergeant Major Ayala," 153; TePaske, *Governorship of Spanish Florida,* 82-105.

SPANISH SANCTUARY: FUGITIVES IN FLORIDA, 1687-1790

by JANE LANDERS

HISTORIANS of slavery in colonial North America have frequently alluded to the lure of Spanish Florida for slave runaways from the English colonies of South Carolina and Georgia, and contemporary slave owners complained bitterly of the sanctuary provided in St. Augustine. They repeatedly charged the Spanish with deliberate provocation, if not outright theft. Nonetheless, few historians have addressed these issues from the perspective of Spanish Florida. The Spanish policy regarding fugitive slaves in Florida developed in an ad hoc fashion and changed over time to suit the shifting military, economic, and diplomatic interests of the colony, as well as the metropolis.

Although the colony of Florida offered little attraction in terms of wealth or habitat, the Spanish crown had always considered it of vital importance; initially, for its location guarding the Bahama Channel and the route of the treasure fleets, and later, as a buffer against French and English colonization. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Florida was a struggling military outpost, plagued by Indian and pirate attacks, natural disaster, and disease. Had it not been of such strategic significance, the colony might have been abandoned, but Spain would not give up its precarious foothold in North America, despite the costs.[1]

Spain had long claimed the exclusive right to possess colonies on this continent by virtue of the Alexandrine bulls. Her main rivals, France and England, denied this claim, instead basing colonization rights on the principle of effective occupation, and in the seventeenth century they made good their challenge. Dur-

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1. Robert L. Gold, *Borderland Empires* in *Transition– The Triple Nation Transfer of Florida* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1969), 5-8.

ing this period of Spanish decline, the British established a colony at Charles Town, Carolina, and Spain could do nothing to prevent it. The original charter for Carolina, however, actually included St. Augustine, and therein lay the grounds for serious boundary disputes. From 1670 forward, the Spanish and British contest for control of "the debatable lands" would flare up periodically in Florida itself, and in the larger European theater.[2]

One element in this conflict was the Spanish policy of granting asylum to slaves fleeing British masters. This policy, as with so many others, was not based on crown initiative, but rather, evolved as a response to unforseen circumstances. The governors of Florida first shaped this policy, the Council of the Indies, after review and analysis, recommended keeping it, and the crown ultimately adopted it. Although the king preferred to stress the humane and religious considerations involved, the statements of the governors and the council reflect the more practical political and military ramifications of harboring runaways. The fugitive slaves were to become pawns of international diplomacy, and yet they gained in the bargain, for in Florida they achieved the freedom for which they had risked so much.

In October 1687, the first known fugitive slaves from the English colonies arrived in St. Augustine. Governor Diego de Quiroga y Lossada's first report stated the group arrived in a boat from St. George, Carolina, and included two females and a nursing child.[3] English accounts gave the names of the male fugitives as Conano, Jesse, Jacque, Gran Domingo, Cambo, Mingo, Dicque, and Robi, and added that the child was three years old.[4] Governor Quiroga assigned two males to work for a blacksmith and the others to construction on the Castillo. The women worked as domestics, ultimately for the governor himself, and all the slaves

2. Charles Loch Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province 1763-1784* (Los Angeles, 1943; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 3.
3. Diego Quiroga to king, February 24, 1688, Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereinafter AGI), 54-5-12/44, in Irene A. Wright, "Dispatches of Spanish Officials Bearing on the Free Negro Settlement of Grace Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, Florida," *Journal of Negro History*, IX (April 1924), 150. The governor's initial report to the king stated that only six males, two females, and a nursing child had come in the group, but all subsequent reports change that to read eight males. Most secondary sources do not mention the presence of a nursing child in the group which is a significant oversight. An escape by boat with a small child would presumably be more difficult, indicating close family bonds.
4. Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority--Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York, 1974), 50.

were paid for their labor, indicating an ambiguity about their legal condition.[6]

Although an English sergeant major arrived the following fall to retrieve the fugitives, the governor refused to hand them over on the grounds that they had received religious instruction and converted to Catholicism, had married, and were usefully employed. The slaves also purported to fear for their lives, and so the governor offered to buy them. Thus, a fugitive slave policy began to evolve which would have serious diplomatic and military consequences for Spain. The governor and the royal treasury officials repeatedly solicited the king's guidance on the matter, and on November 7, 1693, Charles II issued a royal cédula detailing for the first time the official position on runaways, "giving liberty to all . . . the men as well as the women . . . so that by their example and by my liberality others will do the same."[6]

The provocation inherent in this policy increasingly threatened the Carolinians, for by 1705 blacks outnumbered whites in that colony, and there were chronic fears of slave uprisings. Although Charleston and St. Augustine had on occasion made agreements for the mutual return of runaways, these apparently were ineffective. In 1722 a joint committee of the South Carolina Assembly met to discuss the problem anew and suggested increasing the reward for capturing fugitives.[7] They also considered "a law . . . to oblige all Persons possessing Spanish Indians and Negroes to transport them off the Country."[8] Slave owners from South Carolina charged that successful fugitives even returned from St. Augustine, in the company of Spaniards and Indians, to carry off more slaves.[9]

In March 1725, two more groups of fugitive slaves arrived in St. Augustine, requesting baptism and freedom. The current governor, Antonio de Benavides, sent emissaries north, but the

5. Royal officials of Florida to king, March 8, 1689, AGI 54-5-12/74, Wright, "Dispatches of Spanish Officials," 151-52.
6. Royal decree, November 7, 1693, AGI 58-1-2/74, John B. Stetson Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville (hereinafter SC).
7. Wood, *Black Majority,* 304.
8. Ibid., citing journal of the South Carolina Upper House, December 12. 1722, microfilm BMP/D, 487, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia. Wood gives additional references to slaves escaping to St. Augustine from the same source on June 22, 23, and December 6, 14, 1722.
9. Wood, *Black Majority,* 305.

British balked at the proffered payment of 200 pesos per slave, claiming it was insufficient. Governor Benavides reported that "the English will never be satisfied" except by the return of their slaves.[10] Despite British intimations of war, the Council of the Indies recommended against returning the escaped slaves. It was not unmindful of British concerns, however, nor of the vulnerable position of the garrison settlement of St. Augustine. The council acknowledged that the residents feared the English and their Indian allies might invade to recover their slaves by force of arms, that slaves who fled their masters had actually committed a theft of themselves and should properly be returned to their owners, that the Spanish policy might lure great numbers of runaways to Florida who only simulated a desire to convert, and that the British were dependent upon their slaves and had just cause for complaint.[11]

While the Council of the Indies deliberated, Arthur Middleton, the acting governor of Carolina, complained to London that the Spanish, in addition to "receiving and harboring all our runaway Negroes," had "found out a new way of sending our slaves against us, to Rob and Plunder us; . . . they are continually fitting out Partys of Indians from St. Augustine to Murder our White people, Rob our Plantations and carry off our slaves."[12] In retaliation for such raids, Colonel John Palmer of the South Carolina Assembly led a raid against St. Augustine in 1728. Blacks fought bravely in the defense of the Spanish settlement, and in appreciation Governor Benavides freed them and abolished the St. Augustine slave market. Benavides suggested to the council that the freed slaves be sent north to foment revolt and that payment be made to them for English scalps. Although the council rejected this proposal, the incident lends credence to Governor Middleton's accusations.[13]

10. Antonio de Benavides to king, November 2, 1725, AGI 58-1-29/84, Wright, "Dispatches of Spanish Officials," 165.
11. Council of the Indies to the king, April 12, 1731, AGI 86-5-21/33, Wright, "Dispatches of Spanish Officials," 166-72.
12. Wood, *Black Majority*, 305, citing Arthur Middleton to London authorities, June 13, 1728, in W. Noel Sainsbury, comp., "Records in the British Public Records Office Related to South Carolina, 1663-1782," 36 handwritten vols. 1895, XIII, 61-67, South Carolina Department of History and Archives, Columbia.
13. John J. TePaske, "The Fugitive Slave: Intercolonial Rivalry and Spanish Slave Policy, 1687-1764," in Samuel Proctor, ed., *Eighteenth-Century Florida and Its Borderlands* (Gainesville, 1975), 7.

On October 4 and 29, 1733, Philip V issued two new cédulas which officially amended the crown policy on fugitives, but which, in fact, regularized much that was already standing practice. The first cédula prohibited any future compensation to the owners of fugitives.[14] Although the crown had released funds to reimburse the owners of the first fugitives, Governor Quiroga disbursed these monies to his troops before the English could collect.[15] The English subsequently rejected the payment offered by Governor Benavides, and when several groups of Carolinians tracked their slaves to St. Augustine, the Spanish forced them to leave with neither slaves nor payments.[16] There is no evidence that the crown ever bore the expense of paying for any other than the first known runaways, and even in that case official reports noted that the labor performed by the slaves on royal works more than offset the cost of their purchase.[17]

The king's second cédula commended the valor displayed by the fugitives during the English attack of 1728 and reiterated Spain's offer of freedom to all who fled the cruelty of English masters. It stipulated however that fugitives would be required to complete four years of service to the crown prior to being freed. Although this cédula is the first to specify a required indenture, it only legitimized a policy that had been in effect for nearly half a century. It should be noted that the period of indenture was actually not as long as many required in the English colonies. The king also specifically forbade the sale of fugitives to private citizens, but despite the prohibition, some runaways continued to be reenslaved in St. Augustine. Such a group petitioned Governor Manuel de Montiano for their freedom in March 1738, and he granted it over the heated protests of their Spanish owners.[18] In gratitude the freedmen vowed to be "the most cruel enemies of the English" and to "spill their last drop of blood in defense of the Great Crown of Spain and the Holy Faith."[19]

14. Royal decree, October 4, 1733, AGI 58-1-24/256, SC.
15. The royal officials of Florida to king, May 20, 1690, AGI 54-5-12/101, Wright, "Dispatches of Spanish Officials," 154-55; Royal decree, November 7, 1693, AGI 58-1-26/127, SC.
16. Wood, *Black Majority*, 312.
17. Quiroga to king, June 8, 1690, AGI 54-5-12/108, Wright, "Dispatches of Spanish Officials," 156.
18. Manuel de Montiano to king, May 31, 1738, AGI 58-1-31/59, Wright, "Dispatches of Spanish Officials," 172-74.
19. Fugitive Negroes of the English plantations to king, June 10, 1738, AGI 58-1-31/62, Wright, "Dispatches of Spanish Officials," 175.

Governor Montiano restated the crown's offer of freedom to escaped slaves from the English colonies in a *Bando* issued in 1738, and in the same year he established a settlement for the fugitives, called Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, about one-half league north of St. Augustine. He provisioned the settlement and assigned Don Joseph de León to instruct the new residents in Christian doctrine and Sebastián Sánchez to teach them to farm. Montiano reported that twenty-three men, women, and children had arrived from Port Royal on November 21, 1738, and had been sent to live in Mose.[20] These may have been part of the group of nineteen slaves belonging to Captain Caleb Davis and "50 other slaves belonging to other persons inhabiting about Port Royal" that "ran away to the Castle of St. Augustine" in November 1738.[21] Captain Davis attempted to recover his slaves in St. Augustine, but the Spanish blocked his efforts, and he later reported that the blacks laughed at him.[22]

The War of Jenkin's Ear led to a new outbreak of hostilities between Spain and England, and in 1740 General James Oglethorpe commanded British troops in an attack against St. Augustine and Mose. The settlement of Mose had to be evacuated, but once again blacks helped defend St. Augustine and the governor subsequently organized a black militia which was maintained throughout the first Spanish period.[23]

Mose was re-established in 1748, but four years later, the interim governor, Fulgencio García de Solís, complained that most of the residents of Mose did not want to stay, and that although their pretext was fear of Indian and English attacks, their real motive was simply a desire "to live in complete liberty." He was forced to oblige them to stay, applying "light" punishments to some, and more severe punishments to the persistently disobedient. He did not specify what these punishments were, but it is evident that the "freed slaves" of Mose were not free to choose

20. Montiano to king, February 16, 1739, AGI 58-1-31/62, Wright, "Dispatches of Spanish Officials," 176-77.
21. Wood, *Black Majority,* 306.
22. Ibid., 306-07, citing J. H. Easterby and Ruth S. Green, eds., *The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, 1736-1750,* 9 vols. (Columbia, 1951-1962), I, 596, and "The Journal of William Stephens," in Allen D. Candler and Lucien L. Knight eds., *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia,* 26 vols. (Atlanta, 1904-1916), IV, 247-48.
23. John J. TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida, 1700-1763,* (Durham, 1964), 141.

where they would live. The governor justified his actions on the basis that Mose was vital to the defense and to the agricultural provisioning of St. Augustine, although he admitted that recurrent illnesses among the blacks prevented the latter.[24] To assuage the fears of the residents, Mose was more heavily fortified in the following years. Cannons were installed, a regular guard of Spanish cavalry was provided, and the black militia was reorganized.[25] Mose survived through the first Spanish period, but when the Spanish left Florida at the end of the Seven Years' War, the Mose residents went with them. Evacuation statistics vary as to whether seventy-nine or ninety-nine free blacks sailed out of East Florida to resettle in Havana, but there is no record that any chose to stay behind.[26]

The fugitive slaves from the English colonies had not escaped all tribulations when they fled to Spanish Florida. The incoming residents were forcibly segregated in Mose where they were subject to debilitating illnesses and to attacks by Indian and British raiders. They served as a kind of early warning system for St. Augustine. The Spanish themselves acknowledged that most residents wanted to leave and live in St. Augustine, although life there was fraught with many of the same hardships encountered at Mose.

Although living conditions were less than ideal, and liberty less than total, the fugitives, nonetheless, made important gains in Spanish Florida. They had achieved de jure freedom, had been welcomed into the Roman Catholic church and given access to its sacraments, and had borne arms in their own defense, proving their military competence. The benefits had not accrued solely to the freedmen, however. The Spanish crown had claimed new souls for the Holy Faith, as was its charge. Religious instruction was conscientiously provided to the former slaves, and careful records were kept on the number of conversions and baptisms.[27] The in-

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24. Fulgencio García de Solís to king, December 7, 1752, AGI 58-1-33/25, Wright, "Dispatches of Spanish Officials," 187.
25. TePaske, "Fugitive Slave," 9.
26. Gold, *Borderland Empires,* 67.
27. Melchor de Navarrete to the Marques de la Ensenada, April 2, 1752, AGI 86-6-5/114, Wright, "Dispatches of Spanish Officials," 185. In this correspondence, Navarrete reported the baptism of fourteen fugitive slaves living at Mose listing the names as follows: francisco Xavier, Rosa Xaviera, Juan Josseph, Juan Manuel, Antonio Josseph, Ana francisca, fran^{co} Xavier, otro fran^{co} Xavier, Maria de Loretto, Micaela, francisco

habitants of Mose had also provided added manpower for the Spanish in a variety of useful occupations, and had rendered valuable military services in defensive, as well as offensive, operations against Spain's enemies.

The foremost of these enemies, England, occupied Florida only until 1784, but during this interregnum, there was no haven for blacks in the colony. Encouraged by a generous land policy, the British established rice, indigo, cotton, and sugar plantations around St. Augustine. These were manned by large numbers of slaves. Planters like John Moultrie and Frances Levett transported blacks into the province from South Carolina and Georgia, although the terms of their grants required settlement by white Protestants. Richard Oswald, in 1767, imported Negroes directly from Africa to labor on his Mount Oswald plantation.[28] White immigration did not proceed as rapidly as black, and during the British occupation, blacks outnumbered whites, approximately two to one. This ratio became even further skewed when the British were forced by the course of the American Revolutionary War to evacuate Charleston and Savannah. Many of the loyalist refugees brought their slaves with them to East Florida, adding somewhat over 8,000 blacks to the population.[29]

At war's end, the Treaty of Paris returned Florida to the Spanish, and news of the cession exacerbated problems of slave control and encouraged notorious banditti to raid plantations for slaves and other "moveable" property. Disputes over the ownership of slaves would continue for years and plague not only the departing British but the incoming Spanish administration. Georgians and South Carolinians would contend that the British had stolen their slaves, and loyalists would level similar charges against their accusers. The British army had on a number of occasions promised freedom to blacks joining their ranks, and while many had responded voluntarily to this offer, others were impressed. Some slaves had taken advantage of the wartime chaos to run away from bondage, and others made their break during the British evacuation of East Florida in 1784.

Xavier, Josseph, Juan, Maria Angela. After 1735 religious data on blacks were recorded in a separate book of pardos in the St. Augustine parish registers.

28. Mowat, *British Province*, 67.
29. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., "Blacks in British East Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LIV (April 1976), 427.

Neither official commissions nor private suits were very successful in sorting out the complicated property claims arising from this confusion, and it was left to the new Spanish governor, Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes y Velasco, to settle matters as best he could. Realizing that quick action was necessary to prevent further theft of slaves, and also desiring to somehow control the blacks he considered to be vagrants, Zéspedes issued a controversial proclamation on July 26, 1784.[30]

This edict prohibited any ships from taking on passengers of any color or status who did not have a license signed by Zéspedes. Should any person be caught trying to ship out slaves, those blacks would be forfeit. Zéspedes also wanted an accounting of the blacks in his province. Any persons having "in their power" Negroes, free or slave, for whom they had no title, was required to register them. Finally, all Negroes or mulattoes without a known owner, or papers attesting to their free status, were ordered to present themselves within twenty days, clarify their status and obtain a work permit, or be apprehended as slaves of the Spanish king.[31]

The outgoing British governor, Patrick Tonyn, was alarmed by these requirements and felt they violated the provisions of the peace treaty. He solicited an opinion of his chief justice, James Hume, who outlined the British objections: the peace treaty of 1783 gave all individuals, regardless of color or status, full rights to withdraw from Florida; most slaves were held without virtue of titles, and it was unfair to require owners to produce them; and the slaves who had been freed for service in the British military had no documentary proof and by their illiteracy might not know to secure such.[32]

These British opinions only served to antagonize Zéspedes. He answered that he sought only to protect the property of British citizens from theft and restore law and order, and that he had no desire to impede emigration from East Florida. He maintained that his decree was aimed primarily at "the strolling vagrant Blacks with which this province abounds . . . a pest to the

30. Joseph Byrne Lockey, ed., *East Florida 1783-1785: A File of Documents Assembled and Many of Them Translated* (Berkeley, 1949), 21.
31. Proclamation of Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes July 26, 1784, in Lockey, *East Florida 1783-1785*, 240-41.
32. James Hume to Patrick Tonyn, July 26, 1784, Lockey, *East Florida 1783-1785*, 328-30.

public tranquility."[33] He added, "many Blacks are now beheld passing through the Town with cheerful countenance, who before lurked dismayed in solitary corners, and are now acknowledged free people under the respectable signatures of your Excellency and General McArthur."[34]

Despite the controversy engendered by the proclamation, Zéspedes had his way. The blacks who managed to find out about the new requirements of the Spanish governor, came in to present themselves. Apparently word of the decree spread for the declaration of Juan Gres, a free mulatto from South Carolina, stated that he was a foreman on a ranch near Julianton on the St. Johns River, twenty-eight miles from St. Augustine. He presented himself, his free mulatto wife, and their two sons to the Spanish authorities as required.[35]

A collection of 251 of these declarations have survived. One hundred and fifty simply state the name and race of the presenting slaves who showed papers proving their free status. Of these, eighty-eight are signed by General Archibald MacArthur, commander of the Southern District after the evacuation of Charleston, twenty-one are signed by Governor Tonyn, one by Tonyn's aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Colonel William Brown, and one by Major Samuel Bosworth. The remaining thirty-nine are unsigned. The more complete declarations contain varying amounts of information on the fugitives, including their previous owners, family connections, occupations, reasons for running away, and information on their work contracts in St. Augustine. Those who made these declarations may not be representative of all who ran to Spanish Florida, for unknown numbers of fugitives remained outside St. Augustine in Indian or maroon communities. Nor are there any figures on how many runaways to Florida were re-enslaved by the Spanish or by others along their escape route. Nevertheless, when virtually nothing else is known about them, these declarations are a valuable source of information about blacks in the second Spanish period. Moreover, although scholars

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33. Patrick Tonyn to Lord Sydney, December 6, 1784, Enclosure 3, 2, Remarks on Hume's Opinion, Lockey, *East Florida,* 339.
34. Zéspedes to Tonyn, August 6, 1784, Lockey, *East Florida,* 335.
35. Statement of Juan Gres, Census Returns, 1784-1814, bundle 323A, microfilm roll 148, East Florida Papers, Library of Congress, microfilm copies in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville (hereinafter EFP).

like Gerald Mullin, Michael Johnson, and Daniel Meaders have examined colonial newspaper notices on runaways and have provided information on this group of slaves, their data is derived from the accounts of white masters. These declarations represent the fugitives' own accounts, although they are recorded by Europeans. By piecing the fragments together with those gleaned from other sources, one may form a more precise description of a group that comprised "the backbone of East Florida's labor supply" and approximately one-third of the population of St. Augustine after 1784.[36]

An examination of the declarations reveals that some scribes apparently took pride in their penmanship, others did not. Many of the documents are hard to read; two pages had the top portions destroyed. Some of the fugitives' names were missing in part, and in two cases the gender could not be determined. Racial categories of Negro, mulato, and mestizo were entered after almost every name, but if no description of race was included the person was presumed to be Negro. If no direct statement indicated the person escaped as part of a group, he or she is listed as running alone. Fugitives' accounts of former masters, reasons for running away, occupations, and legal status are accepted as being accurate although that may not be true in every case.

The Spanish notaries recording these statements at times doubted their veracity. One complained that he believed Billy, former slave of Benjamin Kenel of Charleston, lied, because he presented a certificate of freedom that had "no formality, whatsoever" and further, that the handwriting was abominable.[37] When Abram, former slave of James Baxall of Charleston, gave his statement, the notary interjected that "everything he says hereafter forms a group of contradictions of which you can credit not one." Abram stated that he had escaped some years before from Mr. Baxall, but that a Mr. William Penn, since departed from the province, claimed ownership of him. Penn's agent, a Dr. Scott, then attempted to sell Abram at auction, but no one would buy him because Dr. Scott could not produce a bill of sale.[38] There is a certificate signed by Governor Tonyn, December 18, 1784, sup-

36. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., "Blacks in St. Augustine, 1763-1845," typescript at Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board office, 2.
37. Statement of Billy, Census Returns 1784-1814, bundle 323A, roll 148, EFP.
38. Statement of Abram, ibid.

porting Penn's statement that he transported Abram to St. Augustine from South Carolina, was obliged to leave him when he departed for New Providence, and that Abram was pretending to be free. Tonyn authorized Dr. Scott to attempt to retake Abram, but apparently he was not successful because Abram presented himself to the Spanish sometime in 1787 or 1788.[39]

Certain data from these declarations are less controversial, and yield information about the demographic characteristics of the fugitive population. In this group numbering 251– 165 were male, eighty-four female, and the gender of two could not be ascertained. Almost twice as many males as females presented themselves. The majority of the group, 206, were Negroes, and twenty-four males and twenty females were listed as mulattoes. The only direct reference to possible miscegenation between blacks and Indians was one female, Lucy Black, listed as mestiza followed by the notation black Indian. One cannot tell how many of those listed as Negroes were born in America, and how many were African-born. Only one runaway, Charles, formerly the property of Mr. Drayton of Charleston, stated that he was "brought to America before the last war."[40] However, Jacob Steward, a free black who emigrated to New Providence, stated that he owned a house in which "Negro rites in the style of Guinea" were celebrated.

The ages of adults were not given, but those of children up to the age of fourteen were listed usually as estimates. A total of fifty-five children were presented. Moreover more than half of the slaves presenting themselves (128) were part of a group. Thirteen groups consisted of husbands and wives and ten groups included a mother, a father, and their children. Seven of the units consisted of a mother and her children and five units of a father and his children. One sister and brother appeared without their parents. There were also fugitive groups who ran together from the same owners, but who were apparently not related. Unless a specific relationship was stated, it is assumed that none existed.

The numerous groupings suggest that fugitives sought to maintain family or friendship ties, even in flight. The largest of the family groups consisted of Bacchus, Betty, and their seven

39. Certificate of Patrick Tonyn, December 18, 1784, ibid.
40. Statement of Charles, ibid.
41. Statement of Jacob Steward, ibid.

children. The two parents are listed as field hands, as are their three children– Andrew, Isaac, and Sally. The ages of these children are not given, but they were probably adolescents. The younger children were Bacchus, age 9; Betsy, age 7 or 8; Kitty, age 5 or 6; and Grace, age 2. Bacchus stated the family fled to escape the bad treatment of their owner, Mr. Cameron of Savannah. In St. Augustine the family, with the exception of Isaac, hired themselves out to Leonardo Roque, an Italian wine merchant. Isaac hired out to the innkeeper, James Clarke.[42]

Although most of the fugitives did not list their occupations there was a wide variety of work skills among those who did. Most were field hands, but there were also carpenters, hostelers, domestics, cooks, seamstresses, laundresses, and manservants, and some said only that they were soldiers or sailors for the British. There were several hunters and fishermen, one overseer and a ranch foreman, and one said he owned an aguardiente shop. Another was a butcher who planned to leave with the British as soon as he completed butchering his cattle.[43]

It is not known if all continued in their former occupations in Spanish Florida, but they were required to hire themselves out and obtain a license when they registered. Apparently the contracts were for a year, but there are numerous notations indicating that the fugitives changed employment frequently, and apparently of their own volition. Particular contracts may have varied, but there are few details. Those of Small and Moris, two slaves who ran to escape the ill-treatment of their owner, William Day of South Carolina, stipulate that their respective renters, James Clarke, and Francisco Amer, dress and feed them and in all else treat them as free.[44] No reference to wages appears in the declarations. Some of the most prominent persons in the colony hired the fugitives. Among these were the governor, his secretary, Captain Carlos Howard, Juan Leslie, of the firm of Panton, Leslie and Company, and the wealthy planter, Don Francis Philip Fatio.

Men of influence also attempted to re-enslave some of these runaways. Lieutenant Colonel Jacob Weed of the Georgia Assembly advertised in December 1786, for the recovery of Prince, described as "6 feet high, strong built and brawny, a carpenter by

42. Statement of Bacchus, July 5, 1789, ibid.
43. Statement of Guillermo, ibid.
44. Statements of Small and Moris, July 7, 1788, ibid.

trade, 30 years of age . . . talkative," his wife, Judy, "a smart, active wench," and their children, Glasgow, "about 8 years of age, a well looking boy of an open countenance and obliging disposition," and Polly, "6 years old, lively eyes and gently pitted with the small pox." Weed had been making arrangements to return this group to the original owners from whom they had been stolen by the British, and he believed that Prince had "carried them off with him to Florida to avoid a separation from his family to which he is much attached."[45] It is not known what transpired the next three years, but Prince presented himself to the Spanish on January 9, 1789, without Judy, Glasgow, and Polly. Prince hired himself out for one year to Francisco Pellicer, who was also a carpenter.[46]

The efforts of one prominent loyalist family to recover their slaves dragged on for more than four years. Major Henry Williams, formerly of North Carolina, fought for the British in North Carolina and Georgia, as did his father and brothers. After the evacuation of Savannah, the family moved to East Florida and Henry established a homestead of 500 acres on the St. Johns River.[47] Williams reported that slaves belonging to himself and to his brother, William, had departed the day after Christmas 1784. His notice stated that the runaways included Molly, an "old wench," and "Reynor, wife to Hector and Sam, for they both have her to wife." The date of this notice was May 6, 1785, yet there is a bill of sale for Reynor [Reyna] dated March 17, 1785, showing that William Williams had sold her to Lewis Fatio for twenty pounds sterling. In 1788 Hector, Sam, and Reyna presented themselves to the Spanish, William Williams submitted several memorials to Governor Zéspedes requesting their return.[48]

Hector's statement said that he and his two companions had accompanied Major William Williams to East Florida in Hector's

45. Letter of Alexander Semple to McFernan, December 16, 1786, To and From the United States, 1784-1821, bundle 10809, roll 41, EFP.
46. Statement of Prince, January 9, 1789, Census Returns 1784-1814, bundle 323A, roll 148, EFP.
47. Wilbur H. Siebert, ed., *Loyalists in East Florida 1774-1785; The Most Important Documents Pertaining Thereto,* 2 vols. (Deland, 1929), II, 277, 366-67.
48. Runaway notice by Henry Williams, May 5, 1785, and bill of sale by William Williams, March 17, 1785, Papers on Negro Titles and Runaways, 1784-1803, bundle 359; roll 167, EFP; memorial of William Williams to Zéspedes, March 5, 1788, Census Returns 1784-1814, bundle 323A, roll 148, EFP.

own boat. He claimed the blacks lived as free persons in East Florida as a consequence of their military service. Sam's statement confirms their free status and military service. Yet, when Major Williams prepared to evacuate East Florida, he claimed them as his slaves, and they ran away from him. According to Sam's statement, he was the former property of Henry Alexander of South Carolina, and Hector and Reyna claimed that they had belonged to Diego Devaux. Hector and Sam both identified Reyna as Hector's wife.[49]

On March 5, 1788, Major Williams submitted a petition to Governor Zéspedes for the return of Sam, Hector, Reyna, and Cesar, whom he said ran from him in December 1784, and who were to be found on Fatio's Florida plantation. Zéspedes remembered dealing with the same matter at the time of the British evacuation. He supported Sam and Hector's accounts of their legal status, saying they had never been slaves of Williams, but rather of a Mr. Alexander and a Mr. Devaux. Williams appealed the decision and offered to present bills of sale for the slaves, but once again the governor denied the claim, noting that such items were easily forged.[50] By this time Williams had settled in New Providence in the Bahama Islands, and he finally submitted a claim to the British government for "a Negro woman slave" valued at forty pounds sterling. Henry Williams, also in New Providence, submitted a claim for Sam, a carpenter, valued at fifty pounds, and Cesar, a field hand, valued at forty pounds. There is no record the Williams brothers ever received compensation, and Hector, Reyna, and Sam hired themselves freely to Fatio.[51] In this long and complicated case the Spanish governor consistently supported the claims of the slaves to freedom.

The governor, however, never granted the fugitives absolute equality. On January 15, 1790, he issued a decree approving Manuel Solana's action in forcing free blacks from some land they were cultivating, for "no free black is permitted to cultivate lands, or live in the country side, unless it is with a white man,

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49. Statements of Sam and Hector, Census Returns 1784-1814, bundle 323A, roll 148, EFP.
50. Decree of Zéspedes, March 7, 1788, ibid.
51. Siebert, ed., *Loyalists in East Florida*, II, 277, 281; statements of Sam and Hector and Reyna, Census Returns 1784-1814, bundle 323A, roll 148, EFP.

and with a formal contract and my approval of the conditions."[52] Finally, on May 17, 1790, even the possibility of limited freedom was denied new fugitives, for the king bowed to pressure from the United States government and abandoned the century-old policy of sanctuary for fugitive slaves. The king suspended the cédulas which had been the basis for that policy, and ordered that notice of the change in policy be widely circulated to discourage any further immigration by fugitives.[53] On August 23, 1790, the royal order was forwarded to South Carolina and Georgia to be published in their *gazettes.*[54]

United States Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson in a letter to the new governor of Florida, Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, expressed his pleasure with the new Spanish policy, and called it "essential" to the good relations between their two nations. Jefferson also wrote that United States Collector of Customs James Seagrove had been appointed to represent the United States in all matters concerning the capture and return of fugitives.[55]

Seagrove's initial proposals called for close cooperation between Spanish and American authorities, but he found the Spanish less dedicated to the pursuit of runaways than he would have liked, despite Governor Quesada's repeated assurances of friendship. Seagrove's correspondence suggests that the Spanish governor found the fugitives a bother, and that American slaveowners were doubtful the king's orders were actually being honored.[56]

The fact that Seagrove's own slave, Will, was able to escape, not only from Seagrove's house on the St. Marys River, but from his subsequent captors, seems to indicate deficiencies in the whole effort. Seagrove complained to Quesada that Will had been seen "sculking" around the plantation of John McQueen and that McQueen's slaves were harboring him, but apparently Will remained at liberty.[57]

Ending the official sanctuary in Florida did not resolve the

52. Decree of Zépedes, January 15, 1790, Census Returns 1784-1814, bundle 323A, roll 148, EFP.
53. Royal decree in letter from Luis de las Casas to Zéspedes, July 21, 1790, Letters from the Captain General, 1784-1821, bundle 1C, roll 1, EFP.
54. Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada to Leonard Marbury, August 23, 1790, To and From the United States 1784-1821, bundle 10809, roll 41, EFP.
55. Thomas Jefferson to Quesada, March 10, 1791, ibid.
56. James Seagrove to Quesada, December 17, 1790, and August 9, 1791, ibid.
57. Seagrove to Quesada, August 9, 1791, ibid.

American runaway problem, nor did it fully quiet the border conflicts between Spain and America. Fugitive slaves continued to find shelter in Seminole or maroon settlements outside the reach of Spanish control, and Americans continued their raids into Spanish territory to attempt to recapture them.

Meanwhile, the fugitives who had settled in St. Augustine and had been declared free did not lose this status, but they were less welcome in Spanish Florida than their predecessors had been in earlier years. Whereas runaways in the first Spanish period had been sequestered in Mose, with great pains taken to ensure their proper spiritual development, the fugitives in the second Spanish period lived among the Spanish citizenry, and there was more concern about controlling them. Governor Zéspedes had complained about the problem of black vagrants, "roving this City robbing and even breaking open houses" and declared that their "bad way of life . . . ought to be prevented."[58] He had required registration and work permits for all freed slaves. Quesada also sought to control "the multitude of foreign blacks" by once again ordering them to enter the service of a propertied person within one month of his issuance of a "Proclamation of Good Government" on September 2, 1790.[59]

Fugitives in the first Spanish period had benefited from the international rivalry between England and Spain. The Spanish in Florida harbored and freed them because they had fled the control of Spain's enemy, and because they sought baptism in the "true" faith. The Spanish knew that the slaves were vital to the economic interests of their British competitors in North America and that each fugitive represented a loss to the English and a gain for Spain. These fugitives were also a military asset to the Spaniards attempting to hold Florida in the face of British aggression.

By 1784, however, the fugitives did not enjoy the same leverage with the Spanish, who now viewed them as a source of constant trouble. Not only were they blamed for a variety of social ills, but their presence invited raids by angry American planters. More over, the new government of the United States seemed determined to protect the property rights of its citizens. There was

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58. Fernández to Zéspedes, August 2, 1784 and Tonyn to Zéspedes, September 24, 1784, Lockey, *East Florida,* 360, 340.
59. Proclamation by Quesada, September 2, 1790, Proclamations and Edicts, 1786-1821, bundle 278013, roll 118, EFP.

little chance of dislodging this neighbor and thus little to gain by antagonizing it by encouraging the flight of American slaves. The usefulness of the fugitives as pawns in international diplomacy had ended, and recognizing that fact, Spain ended their sanctuary in Florida.

"THE LITTLE AFFAIR": THE SOUTHWEST FLORIDA CAMPAIGN, 1863-1864

by RODNEY E. DILLON, JR.

THE southern half of Florida played a unique and significant, if often underrated, role in the Civil War. The Federal occupation of the Charlotte Harbor-Caloosahatchee River area in late 1863 and early 1864, though a small-scale operation compared to military activities elsewhere in the country, proved to be one of the most important campaigns in the region. Taking place between the Union stronghold in the Keys and Confederate possessions at Tampa and points north, this campaign highlighted many elements characteristic of the struggle in south Florida. Despite the isolation of the area, and the small number of men involved, it had a marked impact on the course of the war throughout the state.

Fort Taylor and other military installations at Key West and Fort Jefferson in the Dry Tortugas were the only bases in the South, besides Fort Pickens at Pensacola and Fortress Monroe in Virginia, to remain in Federal hands throughout the war. They provided the North with an important advantage in the southernmost extremity of the country.[1] During the first half of the war, effective Federal use of these bases set patterns which ultimately gave the Union virtual control over the southern peninsula. From the outbreak of hostilities, Confederate sympathy in Key West, then Florida's second largest city, was vigorously suppressed by Federal military and civil authorities on the island.[2] In 1862, Key

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1. Dorothy Dodd, "Florida in the War, 1861-1865," in Allen Morris, comp., *The Florida Handbook, 1961-1962* (Tallahassee, 1961), 261.
2. William H. French to George L. Hartsuff, May 8, 1861, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1880-1901), ser. I, vol. I, 411-12 (hereinafter *O.R.);* Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West, the Old and the New* (St. Augustine, 1912; facsimile ed. Gainesville, 1973), 94, 220-21; Christian Boye to Frank Henry Boye, September 23, 1862, Boye Family Papers, possession of Mrs. F. B. Waters, Winter Park, photo-

West, which had served the United States as a naval base for forty years, became the headquarters of the East Gulf Blockading Squadron. Though small in numbers, the squadron was responsible for the blockade of the entire Gulf coast of Florida, the Atlantic coast south of Cape Canaveral, and the upper Caribbean.[3]

By 1863, the Confederate mainland of south Florida was feeling the effects of the Federal blockade. The closing of sea trade to the otherwise isolated region brought severe economic hardships, which were compounded by the wartime labor shortage and desperate Confederate taxation measures.[4] This situation, by the middle of the war, had resulted in desertion, conscription evasion, and rising Union sentiment among many of south Florida's approximately 7,000 inhabitants.[5] At the same time, the state and Confederate governments, concentrating their efforts on events of greater magnitude elsewhere, had left the region virtually defenseless. Other than scattered local guerrillas, the only Confederate force in south Florida in 1863 was a small garrison at Tampa, comprised of under 100 men.[6]

In spite of these unfavorable conditions, south Florida assumed new importance as a prime source of Confederate food supplies in the second half of 1863. The fall of Vicksburg and subsequent severence of the cattle-producing trans-Mississippi region in July made south Florida beef particularly valuable. By December, an estimated 2,000 head of cattle were being driven from the state each week to supply the hungry southern armies.

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copies in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Box 27, University of Florida, Gainesville.

3. Gideon Welles to William W. McKean, January 20, 1862, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion,* 30 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1894-1927), ser. I, vol. XVII, 56 (hereinafter *O.R.N.);* Stanley L. Itkin, "Operations of the East Gulf Blockading Squadron in the Blockade of Florida, 1862-1865" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1962), 1-3.
4. Dodd, "Florida in the War," 292-95; John F. Reiger, "Deprivation, Disaffection and Desertion in Confederate Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XLVIII (January 1970), 279, 283-84.
5. John Milton to George W. Randolph, October 5, 1862, *O.R.,* ser, I, vol. LIII, 258; Reiger, "Deprivation, Disaffection and Desertion," 288; John E. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War* (Gainesville, 1963), 160-61.
6. Milton to Judah P. Benjamin, March 5, 1862, *O.R.,* ser. I, vol. VI, 402, Robert E. Lee to James H. Trapier, March 13, 1862, ibid., 406; Theodorus Bailey to Welles, October 24, 1863, *O.R.N.,* ser. I, vol. XVII, 571, Thomas R. Harris to A. A. Semmes, October 18, 1863, ibid., 576.

Half of these came from middle and south Florida.[7] Southern Florida also served as a vital source for other commodities, including salt, sugar, hogs, and blockade-run goods.[8]

Although Federal forces held a strategic advantage in south Florida, and the resources produced there were extremely vulnerable, no serious Union efforts to occupy the mainland had been made. During the first two and one-half years of war, Federal attacks had been limited to naval bombardments and temporary shore expeditions.[9] The only Union base in the region, other than those at Key West and the Tortugas, was the small refugee camp at Egmont Key in the mouth of Tampa Bay.[10] In December 1863, however, as the area's significance as a Confederate supply source and the value of local Unionists and other refugees to the Federal cause became apparent, the nature of the war in south Florida began to undergo a striking change.

The catalyst for this change was the arrival at Key West, on December 2, of Enoch Daniels, a refugee from the Charlotte Harbor area. Daniels had journeyed to the Union stronghold to urge armed Federal support for the raising of a volunteer refugee force which he felt could "occupy and conquer the country between Charlotte Harbor and Tampa, Bay." He believed that if the refugees who had fled to Key West could be mustered into service, armed, supplied, and backed by approximately 100 northern troops, they could encourage Unionism in southwest Florida and gather a force sufficient to break up cattle drives in the area.[11]

Though sparsely populated, the region encompassing Char-

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7. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War,* 190-91; Daniel P. Woodbury to Charles P. Stone, December 23, 1863, *O.R.,* ser. I, vol. XXVI, part 1, 873.
8. Maxwell Woodhull to Charles Steedman, October 7, 1862, *O.R.N.,* ser. I, vol. XIII, 369; C. McClenaghan to H. C. Guerin, October 29, 1863, *O.R.,* ser. I, vol. XXVIII, part 2, 461-62, John K. Jackson to S. Cooper, August 12, 1864, ibid., vol. XXXV, part 2, 606-08; Alfred Jackson Hanna and Kathryn Abbey Hanna, *Lake Okeechobee, Wellspring of the Everglades* (Indianapolis, 1948) 75.
9. By December 1863, Tampa had been bombarded by Union naval forces on four separate occasions: April 13, 1862, June 30-July 1, 1862, March 28-April 2, 1863, and October 16, 1863. Federal shore expeditions landed at several points along the south Florida coast in 1862 and 1863, including the Pinellas peninsula, Jupiter Inlet, the Manatee, Miami, Hillsborough, and Peace rivers, and several locations on the Indian River.
10. John W. Stafford, "Egmont Key: Sentinel of Tampa Bay," *Tampa Bay History,* II (Spring/Summer 1980), 22; Walter Keeler Scofield, "On Blockade Duty in Florida Waters, Excerpts From a Union Naval Officer's Diary," ed. by William J. Schellings, *Tequesta,* XV (1955), 62-64.
11. Bailey to Woodbury, December 2, 1863, *O.R.N.,* ser. I, vol. XVII, 593.

lotte Harbor and the Caloosahatchee River was one of the most strategic in southern Florida. The mouths of these two bodies of water lay approximately ten miles from one another, connected by Pine Island Sound and sheltered from the open Gulf by a string of islands including Gasparilla, Cayo Costa, Captiva, and Sanibel. From this protected estuary, several major rivers, including the Peace, the Myakka, and the Caloosahatchee, penetrated deep into the interior. The value of the region as a point of access between the Gulf and the inland prairies made it a natural target for Federal occupation. Thus Daniels found the Union command at Key West extremely receptive to his proposal.[12]

Rear Admiral Theodorus Bailey, commanding the East Gulf Blockading Squadron, conferred with Daniels the same day that the refugee arrived, and expressed his approval of the venture. Furthermore, Bailey heartily recommended the plan to Brigadier General Daniel P. Woodbury, commander of the Federal District of Key West and the Tortugas. If the general wished to follow Daniels's basic proposal, Bailey added, the blockading squadron would furnish necessary transportation and support for the expedition.[13]

Woodbury, too, was enthusiastic, and almost immediately began to set the plans in motion. On December 14, he informed department headquarters in New Orleans that between 200 and 800 Confederate deserters and conscription evaders were hiding in the woods between Charlotte Harbor and Lake Okeechobee. Woodbury felt confident that "many of these men would join the forces of the United States should a military post be established in their neighborhood," and he announced his intention to establish such a post at Charlotte Harbor. From this base, he hoped to break up cattle drives and launch additional expeditions inland and up the Gulf coast.[14]

Nineteen refugees in Key West were quickly enlisted for this venture, and Woodbury felt sure that many more would join them if guaranteed that their first Federal service would be within the state. The men comprising this little band dubbed

12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Woodbury to Stone, December 14, 1863, *O.R.*, ser. I, vol. XXVI, part 1, 855-56.

themselves the Florida Rangers, and Enoch Daniels was unofficially appointed their captain. In the following days, the number of new recruits rose to twenty-nine. A sergeant and six privates from the Forty-seventh Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, at that time the only regiment stationed in the Keys, were assigned to duty with the Florida Rangers. The entire group was then placed under the command of Lieutenant James Meyers of the Forty-seventh Pennsylvania. Upon arrival at Charlotte Harbor, the expedition was to receive additional reinforcement from naval forces blockading that body of water.[15]

On December 16, Admiral Bailey supplied Lieutenant Meyers's command with muskets and cartridges, and sent them aboard the steamer *Sunflower*. The following day, the *Sunflower* sailed from Key West, bound for Charlotte Harbor.[16] In his final instructions to Meyers, General Woodbury outlined the initial goals of the expedition: to encourage Union men to enlist, to recruit able-bodied Negroes for United States service, and to supply Federal troops and blockading vessels with cattle. Once eighty local Unionists had enlisted in the Florida Rangers, he added, that unit would be officially organized as a company. According to Woodbury, few, if any, regular Confederate troops were active south of Tampa, but, the general emphasized, "guerrillas and unauthorized men calling themselves regulators occasionally scour the country to drive away cattle and to enforce the conscription." While Woodbury authorized the seizure of property belonging to inhabitants who aided the Confederacy, he stressed that no attempts at revenge must be taken, and that no peaceful citizens, particularly women or children, should be disturbed.[17]

At the mouth of Charlotte Harbor, the transport *Sunflower* was greeted by the bark *Gem of the Sea,* which was blockading the area. To Lieutenant Irvin B. Baxter, commander of the *Gem of the Sea,* was entrusted the duty of landing Meyers's force on one of the harbor's many islands, preferably Useppa Island, and providing them with all possible protection and assistance. Within

15. Ibid., Woodbury to Nathaniel P. Banks, December 17, 1863, 874; Bailey to Robert Handy, December 16, 1863, *O.R.N.,* ser. I, vol. XVII, 604.
16. Bailey to Handy, December 16, 1863, *O.RN.,* ser. I, vol. XVII, 604, Bailey to Edward Van Sice, December 16, 1863, ibid., 605.
17. Woodbury to Banks, December 17, 1863, *O.R.,* ser. I, vol. XXVI, part 1, 874-75.

days, boats from the bark peacefully landed Meyers and his men at Useppa Island.[18] Strategically, Useppa was an ideal point from which to launch the expedition. Situated near the mouth of the harbor, in the upper reaches of Pine Island Sound, it provided ready access to the Gulf, larger islands nearby, and most points along the mainland.

Meyers's men immediately set up camp on the island and prepared for action. On December 23, General Woodbury reported that they were ready to "commence a nucleus of operations" on the mainland. If their efforts were successful, Woodbury planned to join them with a full company from the Forty-seventh Pennsylvania and establish a more permanent base on the mainland.[19]

The refugees and northern soldiers on Useppa Island and the crew of the *Gem of the Sea* lost no time beginning their "nucleus of operations." At one o'clock on the afternoon of December 24, a launch and a cutter left the Federal ship with fifteen men, arms, and eight days' provisions aboard. At Useppa Island, the two small vessels embarked Enoch Daniels and fifteen refugee rangers. On December 25, the little group proceeded up Charlotte Harbor, arriving at the mouth of the Myakka River at 5:30 in the afternoon. A forward party of five refugees, led by Daniels, came ashore and scouted the mainland for one and one-half miles. The rest of the force then landed, set up camp, posted pickets, and placed breastworks to protect their boats. Once the camp was secured, Daniels and his fifteen men started inland, to scout "through the country for recruiting." Before leaving, the refugee leader had made arrangements with Acting Ensign John H. Jenks, commander of the landing party, to return to the camp within seven days. Jenks, with his fourteen Federal sailors, remained behind to guard the camp.[20]

Within a half hour after their arrival, the Federal force sighted a large fire, apparently a signal, on the east side of the Peace River, several miles distant. Fifteen minutes later, a second fire, on the west side of the Peace River, was reported. The fol-

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18. Woodbury to Stone, December 23, 1863, *O.R.*, ser. I, vol. XXVI, part 1. 873; Bailey to Irvin B. Baxter, December 16, 1863, *O.R.N.*, ser. I, vol. XVII, 605.
19. Woodbury to Stone, December 23, 1863, *O.R.*, ser. I, vol. XXVI, part 1, 873.
20. John H. Jenks to Baxter, December 31, 1863, *O.R.N.*, ser. I, vol. XVII, 611, Baxter to Bailey, January 2, 1864, ibid., 610.

lowing day, with no word from Daniels's party, Jenks's command reconnoitered the area for several miles and marked the shoreline with stakes, set in three feet of water. The next day, December 27, passed quietly until 7:30 in the evening, when a shot, probably fired by Confederate guerrillas, aroused the Federal camp. The Union pickets were doubled, and the seamen remained armed and on alert throughout the night, but no attack came.[21]

After leaving the camp on the evening of the twenty-fifth, Daniels's refugee party had scouted the wilderness for ten miles to the north, and camped for the night in a hammock. On the twenty-sixth, they continued their journey, but still encountered no people. On the morning of December 27, Daniels sent four of his men to Fort Hartsuff, a small settlement on the Peace River approximately forty miles northeast of Charlotte Harbor. Later in the day, the remainder of Daniels's command joined them there. At nightfall, the entire party proceeded a few miles west to Horse Creek, where they camped for the night. Shortly after their arrival, a heavy rainstorm swept the area, completely obliterating their trail.[22]

While Ensign Jenks and his sailors guarded their camp at the mouth of the Myakka, and Enoch Daniels's refugees made their way inland, Lieutenant Meyers's force manned the base at Useppa Island, and the *Gem of the Sea* guarded the entrances to Charlotte Harbor. On December 26, the Gem of the Sea was joined by the sloop Rosalie, which had sailed from Key West. Two days later, on the twenty-eighth, the *Rosalie* arrived at the mouth of the Myakka to provide further protection for the Union force there. The sloop arrived at her destination at four o'clock in the afternoon, and anchored in a covering position eighty yards from the Federal camp.[23]

At six o'clock that evening, Jenks's men again sighted two fires, which they estimated to be three or four miles distant. Two hours later, Confederate scouts fired on the Union pickets, then withdrew, and the camp was again placed on alert. Near mid-

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21. Jenks to Baxter, December 31, 1863, *O.R.N.*, ser. I, vol. XVII, 611-12.
22. Enoch Daniels to James Meyers, January 2, 1864, U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Department and District of Key West, 1861-1868, Record Group 393, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereinafter R.G. 393).
23. Peter F. Coffin to Baxter, December 31, 1863, *O.R.N.*, ser. I, vol. XVII, 613-14.

night, the anxious Federal sailors spotted a figure waving a torch approximately three-quarters of a mile away. The unidentified figure continued to signal for some time before his torch was extinguished, and darkness and quiet again fell on the camp.[24]

The mysterious signals sighted by Ensign Jenks's men appear to have been connected to a series of events which confronted Enoch Daniels's party. Daniels left his command at the Horse Creek hammock early on the morning of December 28, and proceeded to the nearby home of a Union sympathizer, where he hoped to obtain information on Confederate guerrilla activity. The man informed him that he knew of no substantial Confederate force in the area, although seven men were herding cattle and intended to drive them to a cattle pen in the vicinity that night. Planning to surprise and capture the cattle drivers, Daniels posted guards near the pen at dusk, and then lay down to rest. Within an hour and a half, he was awakened and informed that the sentinels had vanished. After a night of examining the abandoned picket posts and consulting with his informant, he concluded that the missing men– six in all– had deserted and joined the Confederate cattle drivers. The informant expressed fear that the Confederate party, apprised of Daniels's activities by the deserters, would try to intercept and attack his column. Accordingly, as December 29 passed, Daniels broke camp and began the march back to Ensign Jenks's encampment.[25]

Back at the mouth of the Myakka, Jenks's men spent the morning of the twenty-ninth cleaning and preparing their arms and scouting the surrounding countryside. Although unaware of the events which had faced Daniels's party the previous night, they were sufficiently alerted by the gunshots they had heard and the signals they had seen to worry about the safety of their camp. At noon, Jenks and the Rosalie's pilot took a launch one and one-half miles upriver and located a suitable site to which the camp was subsequently moved. By four o'clock in the afternoon, construction of the new camp was completed, and the *Rosalie* was repositioned, in shelling range, 200 yards offshore. During the afternoon, the *Rosalie* was supplied with beef and venison by the sloop *Matilda*, manned by three local refugees.[26]

24. Jenks to Baxter, December 31, 1863, *O.R.N.*, ser. I, vol. XVII, 611-12.
25. Daniels to Meyers, January 2, 1864, R.G. 393.
26. Jenks to Baxter, December 31, 1863, *O.R.N.*, ser. I, vol. XVII, 611-12, Coffin to Baxter, December 31, 1863, ibid., 613-14.

At approximately eight o'clock in the evening, the Federal sailors heard noises from the palmettos near the old camp site. Shortly thereafter, they sighted a fire in the same direction. Believing that it might be a signal from Daniels attempting to return to the original camp, Jenks ignited his own signal fire, and sent two men in a boat to investigate. Unable to ascertain the source of the fire or the noises, the men returned, and the Federals, suspecting a trick, exercised "every precaution . . . to avoid a surprise." The noises of rustling bushes, voices, and the sound of dogs were heard periodically throughout the night.[27]

The constant vigilance of Jenks's command, as the camp was surrounded by signals and noises for four nights, was not in vain. Between four o'clock and 4:45 on the morning of December 30, Jenks's pickets discovered figures moving in the darkness through the tall grass toward the camp. The pickets challenged the intruders twice, but received no answer. Ensign Jenks himself then challenged them and received the reply that they were Daniels's men. Jenks ordered them to halt, advance one at a time, and give the countersign. At this, the approaching party, an estimated thirty to forty men, rose in a semi-circle and opened fire with shotguns and Colt revolving rifles fifteen yards from the picket line. Fire was especially heavy on the Federal right, as the attacking Confederates attempted to cut the Union sailors off from their boats. The pickets returned the shots, then fell back, continuing to fire for about five minutes. Outnumbered, the Federal seamen retreated to the shore, where Jenks signalled the *Rosalie* for support. His men continued shooting for a few minutes as the *Rosalie* opened shrapnel and canister fire on the attackers. Amidst the flying projectiles, Jenks ordered his men to man their boats and shove off.[28]

At the time of the Confederate attack, Daniels's party was nearing the river, and had stopped to rest and make coffee. Realizing that the attacking Confederates stood between them and the boats, and believing that they could be of little assistance to the beleaguered sailors, they retreated to a hammock, where they remained hidden throughout the day.[29]

Despite the heat of the little battle, only one Union seaman

27. Jerks to Baxter, December 31, 1863, *O.R.N.*, ser. I, vol. XVII, 611-12.
28. Ibid., Coffin to Baxter, December 31, 1863, 613-14.
29. Daniels to Meyers, January 2, 1864, R.G. 393.

received a direct shot, being hit in the leg. By the time Jenks's party left the shore, the Confederates had advanced to within fifteen yards of their boats. The boats came alongside the *Rosalie* as the sloop continued to fire, driving the Southerners back from the shore and into the brush until they were out of range. The *Rosalie* fired shells toward shore periodically until daybreak. The Union vessel had been struck several times, and several of her crewmen had been grazed by Confederate shots. Ensign Jenks later estimated that at least six or eight Confederate guerrillas had been killed or wounded.[30]

As dawn broke over the scene of the fighting, Jenks returned to shore with his two boats and collected the remaining equipment from his camp. Since Daniels had not returned, the ensign believed that he and his men had been captured. At about three o'clock p.m., having delivered a launch with the wounded sailor to the *Rosalie,* Jenks and the remainder of his command boarded their boats and returned down the harbor, On his return voyage, he reported seeing Confederates, "who saluted us with yells," on several points of the mainland. The *Rosalie* also made her way back to the mouth of Charlotte Harbor, anchoring overnight off Pine Island, and returning to the *Gem of the Sea* at 7:30 on the morning of December 31.[31]

Almost immediately, the captain of the *Gem of the Sea,* Lieutenant Baxter, reprovisioned the *Rosalie,* the launch, and the cutter, and ordered the expedition back to the mouth of the Myakka. They were ordered to remain there for six days or until Daniels's party reappeared. On the morning of January 1, 1864, the three vessels returned to the *Gem of the Sea,* this time with Daniels and five of his men. The refugees had returned to the camp site on December 31, and finding it evacuated, had scouted the area and awaited the return of the boats. In addition to the six men who had deserted on the night of the twenty-eighth, precipitating the Confederate attack, four of Daniels's men had become separated from the party and failed to return.[32]

30. Jenks to Baxter, December 31, 1853, *O.R.N.,* ser. I, vol. XVII, 612-13, Coffin to Baxter, December 31, 1863, ibid., 614.
31. Jenks to Baxter, December 31, 1863, *O.R.N.,* ser. I, vol. XVII, 612, Coffin to Baxter, December 31, 1863. ibid., 615, Baxter to Bailey, January 2, 1864, ibid., 611.
32. Baxter to Bailey, January 2, 1864, *O.R.N.,* ser. I, vol. XVII, 611; Woodbury to Stone, January 22, 1864, *O.R.,* ser. I, vol. XXXV, part 1, 460; Daniels to Meyers, January 2, 1864, R.G. 393.

When word of the skirmish at the Myakka River reached Key West, Admiral Bailey warmly commended the men who had been involved in the "little affair." "Although the skirmish was unimportant, either in number or results," he remarked, "the vigilance, skill, and bravery displayed . . . give sure promise of brilliant success whenever occasion shall offer."[33] While the fight took on nowhere near the proportion of a major battle, Bailey may have underestimated its importance, for it had a significance all its own. To be sure, it had ended, like other Union raids and expeditions against the mainland, with the withdrawal of Union forces, but the commitment to permanent Federal occupation and continued refugee organization had not been abandoned.[34]

During the first week of 1864, General Woodbury prepared to launch the second phase of the southwest Florida campaign— the establishment of a permanent base on the mainland. Despite the recent setback at the Myakka River, northern and refugee troops under Lieutenant Meyers remained encamped on Useppa Island, and the *Gem of the Sea* continued to patrol the mouth of Charlotte Harbor. An event which must have cheered these men in the first days of the new year was the return of the four refugees from Enoch Daniels's command who had become separated from their fellows and stranded on the mainland during the Myakka River skirmish. These four had traveled inland along the northwest bank of the Peace River until they came upon a small schooner. Seizing the vessel, two crewmen, and four and one-half bales of cotton, they sailed out to the entrance of the harbor.[35]

Meanwhile, in Key West, General Woodbury was readying one full company of the Forty-seventh Pennsylvania to accompany him to southwest Florida for the purpose of establishing a Union army base. Although department headquarters in New Orleans could not spare additional men for this mission, they did order 500 muskets with ammunition and accouterments sent to Key West on January 2, 1864. Three days later, the army schooner *Matchless* and the navy steamer *Honduras* sailed for the main-

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33. Bailey to Charles H. Rockwell, January 18, 1864, *O.R.N.*, ser. I, vol. XVII, 614-15.
34. Woodbury to Stone, January 22, 1864, *O.R.*, ser. I, vol. XXXV, part 1, 460-61.
35. Ibid., 460.

land with General Woodbury and the Pennsylvania company aboard.[36]

Because of the unexpected resistance met by Ensign Jenks's landing party at the Myakka River, Woodbury decided to land this second expedition several miles to the south, and the two vessels arrived at the mouth of the Caloosahatchee, near Punta Rassa, on January 7. That night, Woodbury sent his men twelve miles upriver to occupy Fort Myers. The general hoped that under the cover of darkness the Union soldiers would surprise any guerrilla force or pro-Confederate inhabitants who might attempt to destroy the abandoned Seminole War fort to prevent it from falling into Federal hands. This was a wise precaution. When the Union soldiers arrived, they captured three men who "had made preparations to burn the buildings."[37] Two of the men, George Lewis and a Mr. Griffin, were known blockade runners. At the time of their capture, they were reputed to be serving as Confederate Indian agents and supervising the trading of cloth, tobacco, lead, and rifle caps for hogs with the Seminoles. Lewis and Griffin were held at Fort Myers until January 16, when they were transported to Key West and imprisoned at Fort Taylor.[38]

As soon as Fort Myers was secured, the small detachment of soldiers and refugees at Useppa Island under Lieutenant Meyers joined the new force there. Most of the fort's buildings, constructed by the United States Army during the 1850s, remained in excellent condition. In succeeding weeks, those structures needing renovation were repaired, and new ones were built. While the fort was being enlarged, the Federal soldiers scoured the surrounding countryside in search of cattle, refugees, and evidence of Confederate activity. A nine-man party scouted the north bank of the Caloosahatchee for several miles on January 17. Although they found no cattle, they captured four barrels of turpentine belonging to the prisoner Griffin which had been hidden in an old shed. On January 20, a detachment of twenty men marched upriver to old Fort Thompson, now LaBelle,

36. Ibid., 460-61; Stone to Woodbury, January 2, 1864, ibid., 451; Bailey to Thomas R. Harris, January 4, 1864, *O.R.N.*, ser. I, vol. XVII, 620.
37. Woodbury to Stone, January 22, 1864, *O.R.*, ser. I, vol. XXXV, part 1, 460-61; Bailey to Welles, January 6, 1864, *O.R.N.*, ser. I, vol. XVII, 621.
38. Woodbury to Stone, January 22, 1864, *O.R.*, ser. I, vol. XXXV, part 1, 460-61; Woodbury to William H. Gausler, January 16, 1864, R.G. 393.

where they located three suspected Confederate guerrillas. As the Union force approached, the men escaped from the house where they had been staying, and ran for the woods. The Federal soldiers opened fire, and two of the fleeing men fell, but they quickly regained their feet and disappeared into the brush. As darkness was falling, the Federals soon abandoned their pursuit. January 23 brought the seizure of a small, weathered sloop and eight bales of cotton at Griffin's camp on the Caloosahatchee, east of Fort Myers, by a scouting party of fifteen men in three boats. One week later, the Federal refugees posted a picket at Fort Denaud, approximately twenty miles east of Fort Myers, and set flags of truce to reassure the Indians. Cattle pens were also erected at several points east of Fort Myers.[39]

Encouraged by the successful establishment of a base on the mainland of south Florida, the Federal commanders optimistically began drawing up plans for future operations in that region. On January 19, Admiral Bailey at Key West notified the United States Navy Department that his expectations for recruiting refugees had "not been justified." Still, he reported, "3,000 to 5,000 men embarked in steamers of light draft would undoubtably insure to us the possession of the whole [Florida] peninsula."[40] General Woodbury, who returned to Key West on January 19, also held hopes for substantial reinforcements and subsequent large-scale movements. On January 22, he informed department headquarters that with 1,000 infantrymen, 200 cavalrymen, and light-draft steamer transports, he could launch a "moveable attack upon the most assailable parts of the coast and adjacent land," breaking up the coast guard, aiding the escape of refugees and fugitive slaves, and destroying salt works and contraband trade too far inland to be reached by blockading vessels. With 4,000 infantrymen and 1,000 cavalrymen, Woodbury added, he could occupy Tampa and one or two points to the north, sending troops into northern Florida to destroy the railroad and break up cattle driving there.[41]

The reinforcements necessary to carry out such grandiose plans were not forthcoming, and south Florida refugees had not rallied

39. Woodbury to Stone, January 22, 1864, *O.R.*, ser. I, vol. XXXV, part 1, 461; Richard A. Graeffe to Woodbury, February 1864, R.G. 393.
40. Bailey to Welles, January 19, 1864, *O.R.N.*, ser. I, vol. XVII, 631.
41. Ibid.; Woodbury to Stone, January 22, 1864, *O.R.*, ser. I, vol. XXXV, part 1, 461.

to the Union cause as rapidly as had been expected. Still, the Federal presence and the deteriorating economic situation brought about a steady shift in the course of events. By 1864, vast quantities of cattle continued to be shipped from the state while many Floridians were on the verge of starvation. Many of these cattle were seized by hated government impressment agents. On January 12, the probate judge of Hernando County, north of Tampa, informed Florida Governor John Milton that cattle drivers from the state's Fifth Commissary District had "stripped the county of every beef steer that they can find, from two years old and upward, and are now taking the cows, many of which have been known to have calves."[42] The situation was probably much the same in other areas of the fifth district, which encompassed southwest Florida.

The worsening economic and supply situation which plagued Florida naturally led to increased dissatisfaction and desertion. On January 23, the *New York Times* described the large number of refugees and deserters in Florida: there were "nearly enough refugees in St. Augustine and Fernandina to make a regiment."[43] Economic hardships and the resulting breakdown of morale affected south Florida as well. Governor Milton reported on January 29, that deserters were concentrated in several parts of the state, including the stretch of southwest Florida between Tampa and Fort Myers. Whereas, in the past, deserters had usually hidden out alone or in small groups, the governor reported that they were now organizing themselves into large, strong bands.[44]

By early February, fifty-two deserters, evaders, and Union sympathizers had arrived at Fort Myers and enlisted in the Federal army. These new recruits, as well as the old Florida Rangers, were organized into a company of the Second Florida (Union) Cavalry, under the command of Captain Henry Crane. Crane, a Tampa man, had been placed in command of the company at the suggestion of General Woodbury. The general felt that the original refugee commander, Enoch Daniels, though an able scout, was not the right man to lead a large contingent of

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42. P. G. Wall to Milton, January 12, 1864, *O.R.*, ser. IV, vol. III, 48.
43. Samuel Proctor, ed., *Florida A Hundred Years Ago* (Coral Gables, January 1964), 4, quoting *New York Times*, January 23, 1864.
44. Proctor, ed., *Florida A Hundred Years Ago*, January 1964, 4.

troops. Before joining the Florida Rangers in December, Crane had served over a year with the Federal navy. Admiral Bailey characterized him as "a refugee from Florida, of a far superior stamp to the greater part of those who have come over to us . . . well known and popular among the people of Lower Florida."[45]

The refugee company took an active part in local campaigning. On the night of February 2, forty men from the Second Florida, led by Captain Crane, were attacked by a small party of mounted Confederates after building a cattle pen at Twelve Mile Swamp, east of Fort Myers. The attackers fired twenty to thirty shots and wounded one Union sentinel before vanishing into the brush. Despite this encounter, the refugees continued their reconnaissance the following day, and reported sighting a group of approximately forty uniformed Confederate horsemen.[46]

The Second Florida Cavalry was more successful in succeeding weeks. On February 13 and 14, the company skirmished with Confederate guerrillas near the Peace River, killing one, wounding four others, and capturing twenty-two horses. A number of Confederate supplies were destroyed, and the only Federal casualty was one man slightly wounded. Nearly a week later, on February 20, the refugee cavalry again engaged guerrillas near the Peace River. This time, two "Rebel Spies" and twenty horses were captured, and a "notorious Rebel chief named Underhill" was killed. The Second Florida suffered no losses.[47] The refugees of the Second Florida Cavalry inspired enough confidence that when the Forty-seventh Pennsylvania regiment was transferred from south Florida in late February, responsibility for maintaining a Federal foothold on the mainland was entrusted to the company. Although General Woodbury gave Captain Crane the option of retreating to an island in Charlotte Harbor or Tampa Bay should such duty prove unsafe, the refugees garrisoned Fort Myers unaided until fresh northern troops arrived in April.[48]

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45. Woodbury to Stone, February 19, 1864, *O.R.*, ser. I, vol. XXXV, part 1, 485, December 23, 1863, vol. XXVI, part 1, 73-74, Bailey to Woodbury, December 18, 1863, ibid., 875-76; Bailey to Welles, December 17, 1863, *O.R.N.*, ser. I, vol. XVII, 605-06.
46. Woodbury to Stone, February 19, 1864, *O.R.*, ser. I, vol. XXXV, part 1, 486.
47. "Record of Events, A Company, 2nd Reg't, Florida Cavalry," April 15, 1864, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780s-1917, Record Group 94, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
48. Woodbury to Stone, February 19, 1864, *O.R.*, ser. I, vol. XXXV, part 1,

Regular Federal troops from the 110th New York Infantry and the Second United States Colored Infantry reinforced Fort Myers in the spring, but the additional forces requested by General Woodbury and Admiral Bailey for the capture and occupation of Tampa and other key points along the Gulf coast never arrived. Still, active Union campaigning in southwest Florida and the increase in Confederate desertion and evasion brought approximately 140 refugee recruits to Fort Myers by May. Recent arrivals were promptly organized into a second company of the Second Florida Cavalry.[49] One early southwest Florida settler explained the situation when he wrote, nearly forty years later, "The people were poor, they were not able to move and maintain their families. If they joined the Confederate army they would have to move their families. They could go to Fort Myers and join the Federal army and be with their families."[50]

By spring, Fort Myers had become a depot for stock raided from Confederate commissary officials and cattle drivers throughout the Charlotte Harbor-Caloosahatchee valley region. The situation was serious enough that on May 23, Governor Milton lamented the refugees' and deserters' "many depredations" in the southwestern portion of the state, "the principal source of meat supply for the Confederate forces."[51] Despite the concern of state officials, and the formation of a Confederate cattle guard unit, deserters and Union details drove cattle down the Caloosahatchee valley to Fort Myers and Punta Rassa throughout the summer. Cattle traffic at the landing at Punta Rassa, where the herds supplied Federal blockading vessels, was so busy that Union troops constructed a wharf and a large barracks there.[52]

486; Bailey to J. N. Quackenbush, April 16, 1864, *O.R.N.*, ser. I, vol. XVII, 682, Bailey to Charles H. Rockwell, April 16, 1864, ibid., 683.

49. John Wilder to Mary F. Wilder, April 2, 1864, Wilder to Eben Loomis, August 7, 1864, Wilder-Loomis Family Papers, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut, photocopies in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Box 47, University of Florida, Gainesville; Woodbury to William Dwight, May 12, 1864, *O.R.*, ser. I, vol. XXXV, part I, 390; Van Sice to Bailey, May 8, 1864, *O.R.N.*, ser. I, vol. XVII, 694, Bailey to Quackenbush, April 16, 1864, ibid., 682, Bailey to Rockwell, April 16, 1864, ibid., 683.
50. Francis C. M. Boggess, *A Veteran of Four Wars, the Autobiography of F. C. M. Boggess* (Arcadia, 1900), 67.
51. Proctor, ed., *Florida A Hundred Years Ago*, May 1964, 3, quoting Milton to Stephen R. Mallory, May 23, 1864.
52. Karl H. Grismer, *The Story of Fort Myers* (St. Petersburg, 1949), 82.

While Federal and deserter raids hurt Confederate supply efforts, another Federal objective— use of southwest Florida as a launching point for expeditions northward— was also realized. On May 6, 1864, the two companies of the Second Florida Cavalry from Fort Myers, along with a detachment of black troops from Key West and naval support, captured Tampa.[53] The town was abandoned by the Federals within days after its seizure, but Union forces based at Fort Myers and Punta Rassa operated freely along the Gulf coast until the end of the war.

Although such operations were generally successful and beneficial to the Union war effort, initial plans to expand the southwest Florida campaign into a full-scale invasion of the state were never carried out. Numerically, the campaign remained a small affair. The exact number of participants is difficult to gauge, since both pro-Union refugees and pro-Confederate guerrillas often emerged from and then faded back into civilian life, and sometimes changed their allegiance as well. Available evidence indicates, however, that no more than 200 Federal troops were active on the southwest Florida mainland at any one time between the initial landing at Useppa Island in December 1863 and the skirmishes around Fort Myers in February 1864. Confederate forces involved in the campaign were probably somewhat smaller. Skirmishes fought during this period were lively, but rarely involved more than a handful of combatants.[54]

The significance of the campaign lay in the fact that, despite the small numbers involved, it had such a tremendous impact on the Charlotte Harbor-Caloosahatchee region and on the state as a whole. In southwest Florida, the sometimes stagnant and often monotonous situation of Federal blockade and intermittent raids became an active struggle for vital supplies, territory, and the minds and hearts of the inhabitants. The establishment of a Federal presence on the mainland, and the interruption of the cattle supply hindered Florida's, and ultimately the Confederacy's, abil-

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53. Woodbury to Dwight, May 12, 1864, *O.R.*, ser. I, vol. XXXV, part 1, 389-90, Stark Fellows to H. G. Bowers, May 10, 1864, ibid., 390-91; Van Sice to Bailey, May 8, 1864, *O.R.N.*, ser. I, vol. XVII, 694.
54. Ibid.; Jenks to Baxter, December 31, 1863, *O.R.N.*, ser. I, vol. XVII, 611-12; Woodbury to Stone, February 19, 1864, *O.R.*, ser. I, vol. XXXV, part 1, 485-86; Graeffe to Woodbury, February 1864, R.G. 393; "Record of Events, A Company, 2nd Reg't, Florida Cavalry," April 15, 1864, R.G. 94.

ity to wage war. The Federals never mustered a sufficient force to occupy any sizable portion of the lower peninsula, or to crush Confederate resistance there completely, but their activities around Charlotte Harbor and the Caloosahatchee River in the closing days of 1863 and the early weeks of 1864 proved to be a turning point in the Civil War in south Florida.

MURDERS AT KISS-ME-QUICK: THE UNDERSIDE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

by JERRELL H. SHOFNER

THE last weekend of November 1932 was exceptionally cold and unexceptionally dull at Cedar Key until flames began shooting from the city jail about four o'clock on Monday morning. The fire was the final act of one of the most senseless and brutal murders ever committed by a Florida law enforcement official and the beginning of an international dispute which enabled Mussolini's fascist government to chastise the United States for its violation of civil rights and human decency.

Cedar Key had been a quiet community even before the Great Depression of the 1930s. Once an important railhead and the source of cedar timber, it had declined in the early twentieth century as pencil manufacturing companies cut out the native cedar and the railroad lost out to larger ocean-going vessels and motor trucks. During the depths of the depression there was little economic activity at the island town. Although generally noisy and boisterous in port towns along the Gulf coast, the Greek sponge fishermen from the Tarpon Springs fleet who put into Cedar Key when the weather was bad were welcomed by most town officials and the general population. This was especially true of Bertie Lee Skinner and Nadine Fine whose house on the outskirts of Cedar Key at the railroad station known as Kiss-Me-Quick was a dependable source of bootleg beer and whiskey. As waitresses in a Tarpon Springs restaurant several months earlier, the two had become acquainted with some of the sponge fishermen. After a disagreement with their employer and a brush with the law, they had left Tarpon Springs, eventually returning to Cedar Key. Some of their maritime acquaintances liked to visit their house there when they were in port.[1]

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1. *Tarpon Springs Leader,* Noovember 29, December 6, 1932, *Tampa Tribune,* December 2, 1932; J. C. Adkins to Henry L. Stimson, January

One Cedar Key resident who strongly disagreed with his neighbors about the fishermen was sixty-seven year old T. W. Brewer, the longtime justice of the peace, who was apparently enamored of Bertie Lee Skinner. As justice of the peace, he was the most powerful local law enforcement official in the town, a situation which was soon to become most unfortunate for the community and especially its Greek visitors. Known in the community as a "moonshiner" himself, Brewer had also become a heavy drinker in recent months, according to other town officials. He had also made it known that he did not like the Greek fishermen. He had repeatedly threatened violence toward them, and had frequently urged local youths to attack them with rocks.[2]

On Sunday, November 27, Judge Brewer had spent the morning and early afternoon driving back and forth through Cedar Key and the nearby countryside, drinking whiskey from pint bottles which he had obtained from local bootleggers. He was accompanied at various times by G. N. Livingston, a fourteen-year-old resident of Kiss-Me-Quick, Nadine Fine, and Thomas Booth. A relative of Fine's by marriage, Booth was apparently an unemployed drinking companion of Judge Brewer's. Booth's last encounter with the law had occurred during the previous summer when he had assaulted another man with a knife.[3]

About mid-afternoon, after Brewer had consumed at least two pints of liquor, he and Livingston were driving along the road when they saw several Greek sailors emerging from Bertie Lee Skinner's house. After abusive verbal threats, he drove by them and fired several shots into the ground near their feet. He and his companions then continued their carousing until well into the evening. With Nadine Fine, Livingston, and Booth in the car, he overtook three other sailors walking toward town from Kiss-Me-Quick. After a discussion between Brewer and Booth about whether the sailors should be arrested, Booth said that he would do so if Brewer would deputize him. Brewer complied, and they stopped the car near the three men. The three– Johnannon

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10, 1933, Secretary of State Papers, Box 70, Series 278, Record Group 102, National Archives (hereinafter cited as SSP/RG no.)

2. Thomas Booth deposition, December 2, 1932, SSP/RG 102; interview with Quitman Hodges, Cedar Key, June 27, 1982; *Tampa Tribune*, December 1, 1932.

3. *State* v. *Booth*, June 1932, Circuit Court Records, Levy County Courthouse, Bronson.

Stathis, Theodorus Smarkos, and George Georgiu– were all acquainted with Booth and apparently assumed they were being offered a ride on the cold night. But, when the car stopped in Cedar Key, Judge Brewer announced that they were under arrest for being "drunk and disorderly." Brewer, with a revolver, and Booth, with a blackjack, took the three men to the local jail, a small wooden structure with no facilities for protection against the cold. What happened at the jail did not become clear until the following morning.[4]

After taking Booth and Fine home, Brewer and Livingston continued to drive until about 4:00 A.M. when they noticed a fire in the direction of town. As they approached it became clear, according to Livingston, that the jail was burning and many of the townspeople were fighting the fire. They were also trying to open the jail door in response to the screams of one of its occupants. Although it was later revealed that the keys to the jail were in his pocket, Judge Brewer did not produce them when asked.[5]

With most of the Cedar Key residents and more than fifty sailors from the port-bound fleet present, State Attorney J. C. Adkins of Gainesville convened a coroner's jury on Monday afternoon. After hearing several witnesses, the jury ordered the arrest of T. W. Brewer and Thomas Booth, and adjourned to meet again in Bronson on Wednesday.[6]

Astounded by the news emanating from Cedar Key, the close-knit Greek community at Tarpon Springs rallied immediately. Thirty residents, including Abe Tarapani, city commissioner, and Costas Tuluamaris, a prominent community leader, went to Cedar Key and later to Bronson to follow the inquest. Dr. Theo Tsangeiris of Tarpon Springs, joined at his request by Dr. C. A. Gavin of Otter Creek, demanded and received authority to conduct independent autopsies of the charred bodies of the three sailors. Tarpon Springs City Attorney Archie Clements joined them.[7]

The testimony of seventeen witnesses convinced the jury that

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4. Thomas Booth deposition, December 2, 1932, SSP/RG 102.
5. G. N. Livingston deposition, December 2, 1932, SSP/RG 102.
6. Adkins to Stimson, January 10, 1933, SSP/RG 102.
7. *Tampa Tribune,* November 30, 1932; *Tarpon Springs Leader,* November 29, 1932.

the three men had been arrested for no reason other than that Brewer was drunk and had a grudge against them, that two of them had crushed skulls and knife wounds and were probably dead before the fire, that gasoline had been thrown on the outside of the jail from a can which had come from inside Brewer's car, and that the third man had burned to death in the fire. Indictments for first-degree murder were returned against Brewer and Booth.[8]

While the Greeks were burying their dead at Tarpon Springs, Philip Licata, the Italian consular agent at Tampa, went to Bronson as a representative of the Italian government. The reason for Italy's interest in the case subsequently became a matter of dispute, but Licata set in motion a series of events which soon involved the United States on the unsavory side of an international incident.[9]

Like most of their neighbors at Tarpon Springs, the three dead men were natives of the Dodecanese Islands. Johannon Stathis, age twenty-seven, had migrated to the United States in 1920; Theodore Smarkos, thirty-four, had arrived in 1919; and George Georgiu, forty, had left his homeland in 1914. Inhabited by Greeks, the Dodecanese Islands had been part of the Turkish Empire until they were transferred to Italy by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. The treaty was the basis of Italy's claim that they were Italian citizens, while the United States argued that only those Greeks actually residing on the islands in 1923 had come under Italian jurisdiction.[10]

While denying that the Italian government had jurisdiction, the United States recognized a strong moral responsibility and took an active interest in the matter. When the Italian charge d'affaires at Washington notified him of the Cedar Key murders, Secretary of State Henry Stimson asked Florida Governor David Sholtz for a report of "the circumstances surrounding the death" of the men.[11] Sholtz referred the matter to State Attorney Adkins who supplied the secretary of state with a full report, including

8. *Tarpon Springs Leader*, November 29, December 6, 1932; Adkins to Stimson, January 10, 1933, SSP/RG 102; Adkins to Doyle Carlton, December 10, 1932, January 10, 1933, Box 52, P68-02, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee. Hereinafter cited as FSA.
9. *Tampa Tribune*, November 30, 1932.
10. Cordell Hull to Royal Italian Ambassador, November 10, 1936, SSP/RG 102; *Tarpon Springs Leader*, November 29, 1932.
11. Stimson to Governor, January 5, 1933, SSP/RG 102.

copies of the depositions of all the witnesses. He also quickly added that the people of Levy County had cooperated in every way to bring about justice, that the two men were indicted for first-degree murder, and a trial was scheduled for the next regular term of court in April.[12]

Apparently under continuing pressure from the Italians, Stimson asked Governor Sholtz if a special term of court might be possible before April. At Sholtz's request, Judge A. V. Long agreed to hold a special term in Levy County on March 7. Brewer and Booth were found guilty of first-degree murder and sentenced to life imprisonment.[13] The citizens of Levy County and the officials of the state of Florida had acted with dispatch to see that justice was done and had cooperated with the national government in trying to assuage the anxieties of the Italian government. Having inherited the problem from Henry Stimson when the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration took over on March 4, 1933, Secretary of State Cordell Hull must have been relieved when he was able to notify the Italian ambassador that the two murderers had received life sentences.[14]

Secretary Hull was not finished with the matter, however. In early September the Italian consul at New Orleans wrote Governor Sholtz in Tallahassee asking that the state "pay an indemnity to each one of the families of the three murdered persons" and that the amounts "not be inferior to the sum of ten thousand dollars." Without commenting on the state's liability in the matter or the embarrassed condition of its treasury, the governor notified the consul that he was powerless to "extend the relief sought" unless the legislature should pass a special act authorizing such an expenditure.[15] Refusing to accept "the administrative exigencies and budgetary difficulties of the State of Florida" as reason for not paying the claims, the consul again asked the secretary of state to intervene.[16]

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12. Adkins to Stimson, January 10, 1933, ibid.
13. Stimson to David Sholtz, February 9, 1933, Adkins to Sholtz, February 20, 1933, ibid.; *State* v. *T. W. Brewer and Thomas Booth,* March 1933, Records of Circuit Court, Levy County Courthouse; Hull to Sholtz, March 16, 1933, Box 52, P68-02, FSA.
14. Hull to Sholtz, March 31, 1933, Box 52, P68-02, FSA.
15. II Console di S. M. il Re D'Italia to Sholtz, September 11, 1933, and Cary D. Landis to J. P. Newell, September 26, 1933, ibid.
16. Royal Italian Embassy to Secretary of State, October 16, 1933, SSP/RG 102.

The Florida constitution prohibited borrowing, and the state was so hard-pressed for funds during the 1930s that it was hardly able to keep its schools open without assistance from the national government. Governor Sholtz was much more concerned with relieving the effects of the severe economic depression than in placating the Italian government. And, of course, under the federal system of the United States, the national government had no authority to compel payment.

The Italians were arguing that the three dead men were Italian citizens by virtue of the Lausanne treaty of 1925 and that the state of Florida was liable for their deaths because they had occurred at the hands of local officials. Unable to get the state to pay the indemnities, the State Department pointed out to the Italians that, according to legal precedent, the state was not liable. There was a lengthy list of court decisions holding that states were not responsible for acts of their officials even when they were acting in their official capacities. It was further shown that states were sovereign and could not be sued without their statutory consent. Beyond that, it was argued that the Lausanne treaty specifically limited Italian authority to those persons living on the Dodecanese Islands at the time of the treaty. All of the murdered men had immigrated before that time.[17]

Although they had shown at least to their own satisfaction that the state of Florida was not liable for indemnity to the deceased persons' families, officials at neither the state nor national level were pleased with the situation. The State Department felt that "there is a strong moral obligation . . . to pay indemnity to the families of these men as the record shows the murders were brutal and unprovoked." State legislative members, especially those from the area around Tarpon Springs, were also unhappy with the situation. During the 1935 biennial legislative session, the state was too hard-pressed for action, but as the depression began easing somewhat in the late 1930s, several bills were introduced authorizing payment of the indemnities. By that time, however, Governor Sholtz had been succeeded by Governor Fred P. Cone from rural northern Florida and a staunch guardian of the public purse. When the 1939 legislature finally authorized payment of $3,500 each to Georgiu's mother and the wives of Stathis

17. State Department Memorandum, October 30, 1933, Secretary of State to Royal Italian Ambassador, November 10, 1936, ibid.

and Smarkos, Cone vetoed all three measures. Ten days later the legislators passed the bills over the governor's veto, and the survivors of the three men finally received about a third of the sum which the State Department had earlier agreed was "moderate considering the circumstances."[18]

Former Justice of the Peace T. W. Brewer apparently died in prison. Thomas Booth was paroled in August 1944.[19] Their depraved deeds had embarrassed the people of Cedar Key, Levy County, and the state of Florida, and put the United States in the dubious position of having to explain its conduct to a government whose disregard of civil rights was widespread. But within legal, constitutional, and financial restraints imposed upon them, almost everyone involved did what they could to show their disapproval of the murders, to see that justice was served, and, albeit in a limited way, to indemnify the aggrieved families of the murdered men.

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18. *Tampa Tribune,* May 19, 1939.
19. Inmate Records, Division of Corrections, Tallahassee.

DIARY OF KENA FRIES

edited by JEAN YOTHERS AND PAUL W. WEHR
translated by MARGARETA MILLER

IN 1870, a few Swedes led by Dr. William A. Henschen and his brother Esaias settled on Henry S. Sanford's lands lying on the south shore of Lake Monroe. Other Swedes were not long in following them to central Florida. Sanford, in need of labor for the development of his new town and the care of his groves, employed Henschen as his agent to return to Sweden to recruit immigrants. In May 1871, Henschen returned with the first of two groups of Swedes. Many of their countrymen, hearing of the Swedish colony at New Uppsala near Sanford, came and established themselves in the nearby communities of Piedmont (an area just south of Apopka), Forest City (lying between Apopka and Altamonte Springs), and the Lake Jessup settlement, now Oviedo. Kena Fries's father was one of those who immigrated to central Florida.

John Otto Fries, born in Uppsala, Sweden, on September 29, 1838, was the third son of Elias Magnus Fries, a well-known botanist, whose forebears came from Friesland. His mother's family claimed as an ancestor the famous Linneaus, Karl von Linne. John was graduated from the University of Uppsala in 1857, and immediately began graduate study in Stockholm, receiving degrees in geology and civil engineering in 1860. For the next ten years he was employed by the Swedish government, and it was during that time he served as a member of a geological observation party which traveled to the Arctic Circle. It was for this service, perhaps, that the Royal Geological Society of Sweden bestowed upon him honorary membership. Sometime after 1860 he married, and his wife Christina bore him two daughters, Christina (Kena) on October 31, 1867, and Eva in late 1870 or early 1871.

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In the later months of 1871 John took temporary leave from his wife and young daughters and immigrated to the United States, undoubtedly with the intention of establishing himself in Florida before sending for them. Why John chose Florida as his destination is difficult to determine, but the possibility of his hearing about, or even speaking with, Henschen, also a graduate of the University of Uppsala, when the latter was recruiting workers in the vicinity of Fries's hometown might have aroused his interest in the area. After landing in New York City, John boarded the *San Salvador* for Savannah, and from there he sailed on the *Dictator* to Jacksonville. On December 24 the riverboat *Starlight Jacksonville* carried him to Mellonville, a settlement which had sprung up on the grounds of old Fort Mellon and is now a part of Sanford.

Two days later he and four others hired George Lewis to carry them in a wagon drawn by four mules the approximately twenty-four miles to Orlando. The party left Mellonville at 9 A.M., and did not arrive in Orlando until evening. Fries spent the next three days inspecting homesteads in the Orlando area, but he did not find any to his liking and returned to Mellonville. He eventually located on the old Cook's Ferry road which crossed the St. Johns River at the mouth of Lake Harney.

Count Nicholas Wassielief, an exile from Russia who was then living in the Geneva area, encouraged John to take up surveying. He was quite successful in that profession, surveying the routes for the Tavares, Orlando and Atlantic Railroad and the Oviedo, Lake Charm, and Lake Jesup Railroad and serving as deputy United States surveyor and Orange County surveyor. It was while holding the latter position in 1890 that he drew a map of Orange County. It was, perhaps, one of the best county maps in the state at the time, for it marked rivers, roads, railroads, schoolhouses, churches, and post offices, and located and named many homesteads.

In his letter of April 7, 1873, John described his experiences in Florida to his wife and children who were still in Sweden. The next year he homesteaded 160 acres between lakes Gem and Bath south of Oviedo on the old road to Geneva. It was there that his family was reunited with him, and it was there that the fifteen-year-old Kena began her diary. When John was appointed Orange County surveyor in September 1883, he and his family moved

into three rented rooms in Orlando so he could be nearer his office. In the spring of 1884 the four of them moved into the more comfortable quarters of their new home where Matilda Olsen, another Swede, joined them as their live-in servant in 1885.

After the disastrous freezes in the winter of 1894-1895, John moved to Titusville and became Brevard County surveyor. This left Kena and her mother alone in the home in Orlando, for Eva had returned to Sweden in 1894 to marry. In 1900, through the efforts of John M. Cheney, superintendent of the census for the second district of Florida, Fries was appointed special agent to take a census of the Seminole Indians living in Florida, which was completed in September 1900. He was assisted in this task by Archibald A. Hendry. Although John was absent from Orlando for many years, he was living at home when his wife Christina passed away in January 1917. Despite his eighty-one years, he helped take the census for Orange County in 1920. John Fries died in January 1931, and Kena was now alone.

The diary of Kena Fries is in the collections of the Orange County Historical Museum in Orlando. The greater part of the manuscript reflects the daily life of a lively Swedish immigrant girl living in central Florida 100 years ago. Margareta Miller, the Swedish-born translator, remarked that there are "numerous references to Swedish customs such as making new clothes for May First, making Easter decorations out of egg shells, growing parsnips." The later entries added sporadically until 1937 reveal the author's growing loneliness and preoccupation with the past.

The translation is as exact as Kena Fries's grammar and style permitted, and the punctuation follows that found in the manuscript. The various spellings of the same given and family names appear in the translation just as Kena had written them. Before 1900 either Jessup or Jesup was acceptable, although the former is used now exclusively. Jessup is the spelling for the lake and the settlement. Jesup, however, appears in the name of the railroad company as it was chartered.

The first two pages contain inscriptions written in English. On the first appears: "Kina Fries, From her sister Eva Fries, Oviedo, March 12, 1883." On the second is the poem:

> "He who drinks from Gods gold chalice
> Of art, or music, or rhythmic song

Must sift from his soul the chaff of Malice
And weed from his hearth [heart] the roots of wrong."

The entries begin on the third page.

Monday, March 12, 1883. Eva has given me this beautiful book, so I had better write as well as I know how. My other book is all complete. Today Eva was at school and received the best marks.[1] Emmanuel was so mad he would not talk to her all the way home.[2] Though probably Jenny Holtzclaw will get the big prize which is a golden pen, probably made of brass.[3] There is a new girl at school called Maggie Argo, Eva likes her just about as well as JZ, poor JZ is in a bad way, they owe Martin 60 dollars and now they have to do the washing themselves.[4] Today I put a hen on thirteen eggs and I hope that all of them will hatch. I have also been out milking twice today, and I have finished the comforter I was making for Mamma and I think that is fairly good, for me that is. Then I practiced the piano for an hour. Pappa has been to Orlando today, and he brought home quite a few things, little and big, among them a book, and also dates and taffy, it is so much fun getting these things when Pappa comes home. Yesterday Mrs. Brock and Mrs. King were here.[5] Mrs. King is thinking of getting her piano down. Then I will go and visit with her. Now it is very late and cold, I wonder if winter will never end. If I don't go to bed now I won't wake up in time for milking and I am so sleepy that I can't write neatly.

Wednesday, March 14, 1883. Today I have been churning butter and washing dishes all day long. This evening Eva brought home my part in Cinderella. I am the Baroness and I shall have to be very harsh on Cinderella. I believe Eva is drawing a map of

1. The schoolhouse was about one mile northeast of the Fries's residence on the road to Geneva.
2. Emmanuel was the son of J. E. and Johanna Okerlund. They were Swedes who had moved to the area in 1882.
3. Virginia was the nine-war-old daughter of J. C. and Martha F. Holtzclaw.
4. Maggie was the daughter of James E. and Lisa Argo who moved to Oviedo from Georgia. J. Z. was the twelve-year-old daughter of Mrs. J. L. Brewster, a widow who operated the Brewster House on the north shore of Lake Charm.
5. Mrs. Martha Brock's first husband died in the Civil War. She later married Meredith Brock and settled in the Lake Jessup area in 1868. Mrs. King was the wife of J. H. King, the son of Martha Brock by her first marriage. Mr. King represented Orange County in the Florida House of Representatives in 1908-1909.

the southern states. This morning I did not wake up until nine o'clock and that must not happen tomorrow. Wiley Lee is going by coach to Minnesota and there he will be learning about meat.[6] He made a fire that burned down the wooden fence and much more, some people say it was not he who did it. Both Mrs. Fox and Mrs. Tom Lawton had babies, both boys, I hope they will live.[7] Emanuel will handle the mules instead of Wiley.

Saturday, March 17, 1883. Today we are going to the Lees for "candy pulling" [written in English] it is probably Wiley's good-bye party.[8] Pappa stayed home both today and yesterday. We are expecting Charlie Ack [?] how sincerely good and kind he is to us. Yesterday I was in school to rehearse my piece and I thought they were carrying on like they were crazy, laughing and talking and shrieking like wild ones. All the children except for Eva, Jessie, Maggie Argo and Emmanuel were allowed to read their pieces out of books and they could not even read it properly. Mrs. Lindsay, JZ, Emma Larson, Julia Lee, Eva, and I received an A.[9] Now I must stop because I have so much to do before we go to the Lees. I have to help Mamma tidy up and bake and iron and starch and I don't want to be late.

Monday, March 19, 1883. Now Pappa has left to survey land and we are alone again. All the candy turned into sugar at the Lees and we have been asked to come in two weeks instead. Eva is ill again and cannot go to school. [Illegible] has a new bolt of calico. Yesterday Pappa and Mamma and I went to church for a temperance meeting and we had a picnic in the woods and then we stayed with the Sommervilles while Pappa went to the Youngs.[10] Eva was at home. We have two new cows, one is named Betsy and

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6. Wiley was one of the nine children of James H. and Laura Lee. The family came to the area in 1874 from Hamilton County, Florida. Mr. Lee served continuously as Orange County commissioner from 1895 to 1911.
7. Mrs. Fox was the wife of George Fox. Mrs. Tom Lawton was the second wife of Thomas, son of A. B. and Narcissa Lawton of near Thomasville, Georgia. Tom's brother Alex had moved to Orange County about 1869, and the other members of the family followed. Tom owned a store at what was known as Lawtonville and served as postmaster at Lake Charm from September 1886 to May 1887, when the office was closed.
8. The Lee's residence was on the south shore of Lake Charm.
9. Emma was the thirteen-year-old daughter of Peter and Mary Larson who lived approximately one-half mile northeast of the schoolhouse. Julia Lee was Wiley's sister.
10. Wallace and Cayrina Sommerville had two children, Jane and James, ages twelve and ten respectively. W. B. Young was a Physician.

the other one Droupe, that's a funny name. Eva has stopped writing journals, a dozen would be enough to tire anybody out, but the last one was to be so romantic.

Tuesday, the 20th, 1883. Now I have been out milking with Mamma. Last night first Mrs. Akerlund was here, then Emanuel came, they had supper and left.[11] Then came Mrs. Nilson and she had supper too, we had both washes and custard left from breakfast.[12] I got a lot of "advertizing books" and paper. Eva does not go to school but is home ill. Yesterday we planted my garden, onions, radishes, turnips, peppers, tomatoes, cauliflowers, and parsnips. Now it will soon be Easter and I shall borrow a magazine from Miss Ella and make [illegible] and such things from egg shells, and soon it is Mamma's and Pappa's wedding day so I shall have to get some presents ready.[13] I am finishing Mamma's foot stool. I should write to Gertrud soon, I have received a letter and book marks, two I believe it is, but I am in such a hurry.[14]

Friday, March 23, 1883. Eva has found my journal.

Saturday, March 24, 1883. I did not have time to write more yesterday so I must do it today instead. Yesterday was Good Friday. Today is Easter Eve. I now have fever every night so I shall not be allowed to eat Easter eggs. I had such pretty shells, but Pappa threw them to the chickens and I don't know what will happen. I shall bake some lemon pies today. Eva washed her dolls' clothes the other day, but I shall not be allowed to do that however much I want to. Miss Ella has now come home from the Lees where she has been the whole week, and she has been hanging around all day though she says she is in such a hurry more so than anybody else. She ought to be as busy as Mamma, Mrs. Nilson and then she would probably say that it would be impossible to do everything. It is impossible to like her. Rosa and

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11. Akerlund is a misspelling for Okerlund.
12. Elias and Ida Nelson immigrated to the United States from Sweden in 1875, and settled in the Lake Jessup community.
13. Miss Ella was the twenty-six-year-old unmarried daughter of J. D. and M. E. Jackson who resided in Longwood.
14. Gertrude was one of the daughters of Ingram Fletcher. Calvin Fletcher, Ingram's father, was the founder of that prominent Indianapolis, Indiana, family. When Ingram and his daughters visited Orange County in the early 1880s, the daughters stayed at the Brewster House. He and his family moved to Orange County in 1884. He was appointed postmaster at Orlando in 1890.

Eddie or Stella were here for the milk just now.[15] Pappa brought home lemons from Jacobs it is very nice to get them.[16] Gustav and Sten have not returned yet.[17]

April 1, 1883, Sunday evening. Now I have a lot to write about. Yesterday we went to the Lees for "candy pulling," and it turned to sugar again and then they gave up. Wiley left last Friday. Gustaf and Sten brought home 40 or 43 head of cattle so now they have nearly a hundred. Mrs. Nilson and Gustaf were here tonight. I had four Easter eggs and now the fever is gone. Eva has started a new diary, she is incurable in that way. Mrs. Lindsay will not put on Cinderella. Mrs. Farnell was here last Friday. Yesterday, Mrs. Farnell caught a big hare that we had for dinner today. Tommy Farnell is so scared of me that he cries whenever he hears my voice. Now we have a swing between the trees, we will see how long it lasts. The "Potato" cow screams something terrible. Yesterday we had a letter from Aunt Sanna. Tomorrow Pappa will go to Orlando. Now I had better stop. Eva is reading just now when I finish she will start playing the piano.

April 8, 1883. Yesterday we had a picnic with White the Young's boarder. Last Tuesday Mamma and I went to the Svenssons and we had a lot of fun, now the fever has returned. My blind hen had 9 chicks and Isabella had 10. Eva and Emanuel met a drunk man last Tuesday. Here is now a person who seems to want to stay forever, his name is Garrick or something like that, it's an ugly name and he is so unpleasant he only reads sitting in the rocking chair with his feet on the organ bench or on the table and seems to think he owns everything, anyway we cannot play or be around him, it is almost like not having a home or any room. Yesterday we had a small "candy pulling" instead of the picnic. Pappa brought home candy twice this week.

Thursday, April 24, 1883. Now a long time has passed since I wrote in my journal. Eva is mean always reading it. Today we went to Jacobs place and it was fun, they have such a big lake called Pickle.[18] Garitt left yesterday but he left his trunk so I suppose he will be back. I think I will start another journal since Eva can always find this one, but the other one is in the attic and

15. Rosa, ten, Eddie, eight, and Estella, six, were the chidren of A. P. and N. E. Farnell.
16. It is impossible to learn whether this was P. J. or W. C. Jacobs.
17. These were sons of Elias and Ida Nelson.
18. Both Jacobs lived on the north shore of Lake Pickle, now called Pickett.

she will never find that one since she has not seen it. Yesterday we went fishing but we did not catch any trout. Mamma has finally got a dresser and Eva looks through my chest and things. Anderson and Miss Ella are here today. Tonight Eva and I will go fishing. I gave Eva a rod.

Friday, April 25, 1883. Yesterday Garritt came for his trunk so now the parlor looks right again. I picked blackberries yesterday and filled nearly a whole milk can from one single bush. My old hen has cramps and Mamma has given her pepper and vanilla, I hope she does not die, and yesterday Lillie had a fish bone stuck in her throat so I nearly lost both my pets.[19] Pappa went to Deltona yesterday. We are making new dresses for May first they are white and a work of art, now I have to tidy up. It is so much fun to be well again.

Monday, May 8, 1883. Today we started to do homework. Uncle Matte is dead he died from pneumonia poor Aunt Eva and her many children. It was good that he did not die from delirium. Aunt Sera wrote nearly 22 pages. I could probably write a lot but I promised Eva to write her journals in the big book and how surprised she will be tomorrow when she receives it [illegible]. Mamma is churning butter and washing dishes, hope we soon get a letter from Pappa.

Friday, May 19, 1883. Last Tuesday was my names day and I received a "lace fichu," a scarf, money for a crochet hook from Eva and four balls of yarn from Mamma and the other day when Pappa came home two materials for dresses, one beautiful lawn dress and one calico piece and a pair of boots.[20] Mamma said that we ought to have saved but Pappa would not hear of it. Today Pappa is in Orlando for the town meeting. I gave Mamma a knife holder and a funnel, Eva gave Mamma a sugarbowl and "a preserve dish" of glass. Last Sunday we went to the Nilsons in the afternoon and had ice cream that Gustaf had made. Mr. and Mrs. Wright were there and then they came back with us and had watermelon and then they went home.[21] Yesterday we went to Tuskaville for dinner it was a real vegetable dinner consisting of squash, cucumbers, tomatoes, corn, lettuce, cabbage, [illegible],

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19. Kena must have loved animals, for in his letter of April 7, 1873, her father included numerous remarks about the animals near his home.
20. A lace fichu is an ornamental, three-cornered cape.
21. The Wrights lived about one-half mile west of Lake Pickett.

ochra, and peaches for dessert.[22] We went down to Brantleys wharf and looked at the large garden.[23] Sosy is a real "chatterbox" and Jack is so cute poor little ones who don't have a father or do not know where he is. Mrs. Lindsay was not at home, Mrs. Wright is so pleasant, [illegible]. Mrs. Sward from Sanford is here she is such a nice and pleasant person.[24] This morning came [illegible] and said they would go home with him. He brought them here but he has not taken care of them since, she has two little children, Carrie and Edith or "Bojan" her name is really Ingeborg. Carrie has a big doll called Salle [illegible]. Eva has picked berries tonight. Mamma has found and read my journal and said it is poorly written, with spelling like that of a kitchen maid, it was not exactly pleasant. Now I have fever and have had it for three nights but I do not wish to tell mamma for then she would be so sad but I will take the last iron pill tonight, I think mamma thinks I am strange.

Friday, August 17, 1883. Now it is so long since I wrote the reason is that my journal was lost but I shall try to think of everything that happened. Charlie was shot on July 19, I think, he was sick in the evening on the Thursday and we went to the Nilsons and Mamma and Sten went down to shoot him but Sten couldn't do it so Mamma and Granstrom took care of him during the night and then he was shot in the morning.[25] Poor Charlie he was probably in awful pain. We were so sad and so was Pappa when he came home. Lee's little Fido who was running around here went with Pappa to Orlando and other places then he was sick and died. On the Sara day [namesday] I received a box for hairpins and money for a crochet needle. On the Christina day I got a slip, soap, hair oil, lace, a thimble, a comb, a pair of boots, that was really a lot. For Mamma's birthday I made dinner, fried chicken with cabbage, potatoes, and pie and melon pudding and coffee, in the afternoon, we had invited Mrs. Nilson and we had coffee and cookies and waffles and little iced cakes, we did not get to the store so instead I made candy and it came out very good. Once we

22. This was a small settlement northwest of Oviedo on the road to Sanford. The general area is known today as Tusckawilla.
23. The wharf was the westernmost shipping point for river steamers on the south shore of Lake Jessup. It was about a mile north of Tuskaville.
24. L. Sword was among the first group of Swedes to arrive in 1871 to work on Henry Sanford's lands.
25. Olaf Granstrom was a Swede living in the area.

had an ice cream festival and the ice cream was wonderful and we had a beautiful night, two kinds of cake. Another time Mrs. Akerlund was here and I was making ice cream but I spilled everything on the ground so I felt very sad. Then came Mrs. Aulin and Emma and they stayed for a whole day.[26] Now Mrs. Aulin is away she left two weeks ago. Today two weeks ago Herber was buried and today Mrs. Lawton [illegible] I don't think she cared so much for Mrs. Lawton. Frida has two cute little puppies, Eva calls them Rover and Clover and now we have a big dog called Dan or Dandy he is black. One night five turkeys were lost so now we only have 8. Now I must stop. Eva found my journal just now. Eva probably would not find it interesting she has found an old journal that I wrote in 1878 it is funny she says. Emmanuel is here now. Eva was in my journal again. "Oh, how beautiful are Walborg and [illegible]" she has written she is so poetic she is a genius. Mrs. Aulin has lent us the Home Circle and her organ book. Now I have to stop I had a letter from Elizabeth.[27]

Saturday, August 25, 1883. Today is the Lovisa day Eva's only namesday she does not count Eva for that is on Christmas Eve. From Mamma she received two pairs of stockings, a Swiss apron, with lace, a lace collar a fine soap, a beautiful little brush, a bag of candy and dates from me a fan and a handkerchief with lace around it. She also received a bone box from Mamma I think she liked the fan best but I would have liked the brush best. Mrs. Larson and Hilda were here yesterday, now they have gone to Mrs. Ella to buy grapes. Mrs. Ella is very stingy she only sells us grapes she never gives us any but she gives to other people, I don't like her. Emmanuel is a clerk in the store now. Eva has drawn a man sitting at the parlor table, he looks like Akerlund. Hurrah for Eva Thora Lovisa Fries.

August 26, 1883. Sunday. Now Pappa has gone to Orlando and we are alone today. Next time Pappa comes home we will move. Now the land has been cleared in Orlando. This morning we got

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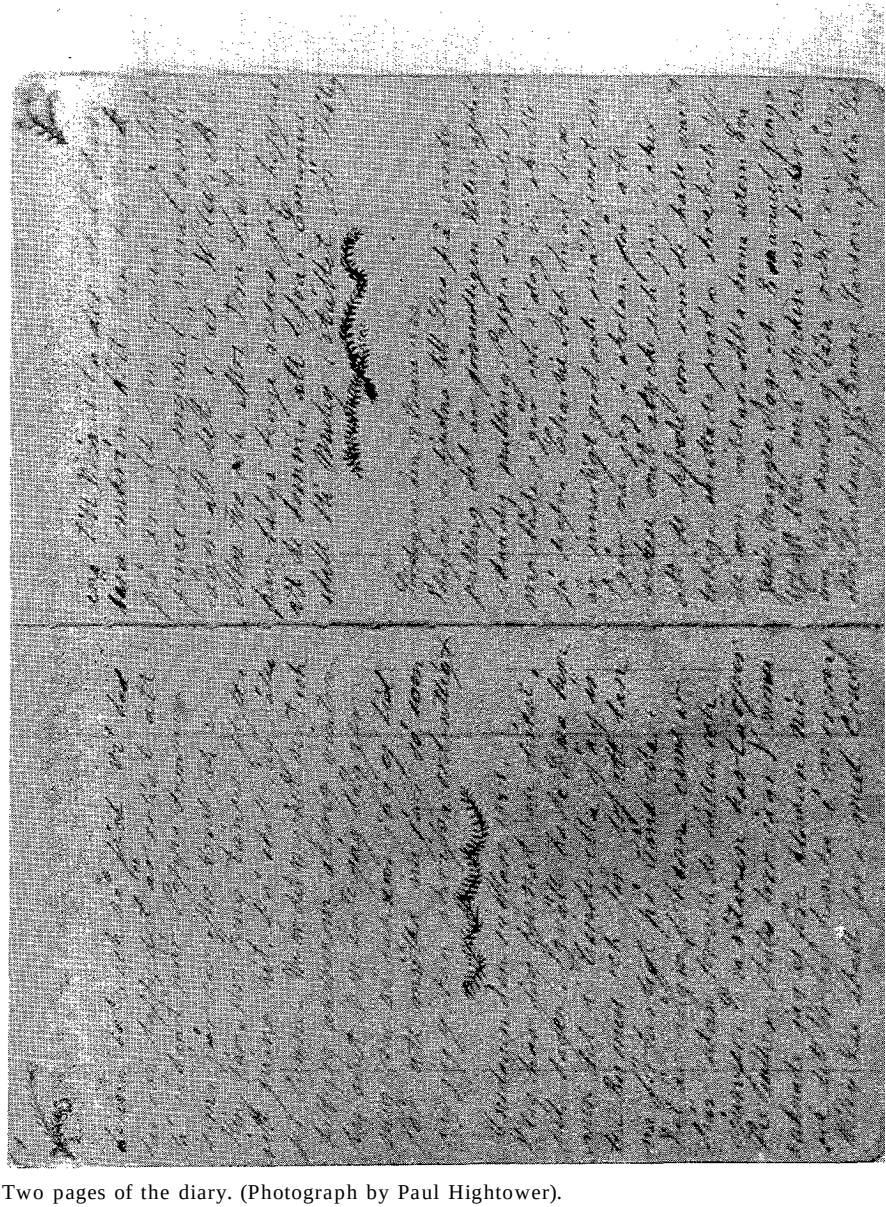
26. Mrs. Aulin's husband Andrew was educated at the University of Uppsala and immigrated to the Lake Jessup area around 1870. A few years after his arrival he married Lona Lawton. He managed a store in Oviedo and served as postmaster from 1879 to 1882 and from 1883 to 1889. He also served as county commissioner but attended only one meeting. He is credited with selecting the name Oviedo for the community.
27. Elizabeth was another daughter of Ingram Fletcher.

Kena Fries as a young woman. (Photograph courtesy of Orange County Historical Museum, Orlando).



Two pages of the diary. (Photograph by Paul Hightower).

a letter from JZ she wants us to come and stay three to four days and Mrs. Lindsay wants us to come to Tuskavilla next Tuesday. I would like to go to Mrs. Svenson Monday or Tuesday, we are in such a hurry now making the lawn dresses it is just terrible the way I write.

August 29, 1883, Wednesday. It has rained the whole morning. It is not so late, only ten in the morning, they have not come from Tuskavilla to pick us up but I didn't really expect it so I am not sad I don't think we can go to JZ tonight. I don't want to leave mother alone at home. Yesterday I broke mother's glass pitcher, but I hope I will be able to buy a new one. Ragtag will have kittens soon. I wonder if Eva has read my journal lately. Now I shall try to make a pretty ornament. . . .

September 3, Monday, 1883. We have a new month now. We will move in two weeks. We went to Brewster Wednesday night and stayed until Friday night, it was quite nice but JZ is very false. Julia Lee went home with us and stayed until Sunday night. She and Eva found a soft shell turtle.

Friday, September 7, 1883. I cannot write more now Eva has read my journal. Ragtag has had kittens but they were drowned. Now I am making a night gown for Eva, I shall give it to her on the Thora day, and I am making a white jacket of Pique for Mamma, this week we have made four linen dresses with many pleats it isn't quite finished but the week isn't over yet. Mr. Jimmie Mitchell was here this morning, Mrs. Mitchell is dying, poor people, I played for him, I am learning Napoleon's march, it is very difficult. Nickolina was expected home the day before yesterday.[28] Last night she had coffee with Mrs. Nilson.

[Many of the entries on the next several pages are either illegible or unintelligible. The sense of the few bits and pieces that can be put together relate to the family's move to Orlando, various crises of the pets, Eva's serious illness in April 1884, the move that spring to the family's new house, the first French lesson, various needlework projects, and the father's illness in the summer of 1884.]

Tuesday, August 15, 1884. Katy is dying so we had to lock her up so that she would not bite. Pappa wanted to kill Katy for everybody said she was dangerous. Mamma's birthday was not like

28. Nicolina was a daughter of Elias and Ida Nelson. The two remained friends, for she wrote to Kena from Oviedo on July 9, 1895.

other years. I gave her a pillow, a tray, a motto, "Simply to thy cross I cling."

Thursday, June 14, 1888. I just found this and read the old diary or "journal," as we used to call them. Four years have passed since I wrote in this book. Much has happened in this time period, both happy and sad. But this is enough.

Thursday, December 10, 1888. I did not get any further in June. This evening I got this book out about my childhood. We were certainly very happy. My dear Mamma and Papa [note spelling] who did everything they could. I wonder if my Swedish spelling is better now. Soon it is Christmas. I remember the last Christmas in the old place so well. I wonder if we will sell it or keep it. Now it is a dear old place, with its many memories. I have been too hasty. Let me try to live more in the present– and "Ad majorem gloriam Deus."

Sunday, October 17, 1889. Soon it is a year ago that I wrote in this book. Eva has since come home from Sweden.[29] I have just come home from Asheville. Oh, how grateful I ought to be from year to year for still having my dear ones. I wonder how it will be next time I look at this old book.

Monday, September 22, 1890. When I cleaned up my closet I found this old book again. All is well, may it stay that way next time I find this book. The summer has passed in peace and quiet. Papa has been to New York and several other places. The day after tomorrow I start my school with a salary of forty dollars. 98% on my certificate, may I succeed and may I enjoy my money.[30] I shall stop now for how long. . . . . oh, nobody knows. How little I knew when I started to write this book over seven years ago.

Jan. 14, 1907. Today Mama found this book and we have read it laughing and crying at the same time. Mama is almost offended that anybody could have found it poorly written, with poor spelling. It is nearly 17 years ago that I last wrote in this book,

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29. Eva was in Sweden in January 1888, but when she went there cannot be determined.

30. Kena attended St. Joseph Academy in St. Augustine in 1886. In September 1890, she was appointed teacher for the school in the Swedish settlement of New Uppsala near Sanford. The patrons of the school were not pleased with the appointment and petitioned the superintendent for another teacher. He refused their request, but how long Kena remained at the school is unknown. In June 1892, she was appointed teacher in the Miranda school but declined the position.

and how grateful I am that I still have all four alive. Eva is married and has four boys.[31] I am at home with my dear Mama. We shall see next time we find this journal if we have Papa at home for good, and everybody well and happy.

May 6, 1908. Again I find "my journal." Papa is [illegible], half at home, mostly gone, but registered here for election. Mama has aged a lot– Eva and the children in good health. If I only could relive my life since I started this book. Mama says, "God save me from starting over"– Hope all will be well next time I find this book.

March 29, 1909. Not quite. [These two words were written in English.] Not quite a year ago but as always everything is a mistake, never can I do as I want to and should. Found my journal this time up in the attic. In an attic it was started many years ago.

Sept. 24, 1910. Ever the same wish to "do it all over." Oh, if I could only be pleased with myself. God bless Papa, Mama, Eva and "Jinks" 16 years last Wednesday.

December 19, 1919. Nine years have passed since I found my "old journal" last time. Mama, dear "beloved Mama, my mama, my mama," has left forever "her Kina."[32] Old Papa I have been allowed to keep, but he has aged a lot, starting to "fail" but still very much like he was. This will be the third Christmas without Mama. The memories from childhood are the most precious part of Christmas now. May Papa spend many more Christmases with me and Jinks, even he is graying now.

February 6, 1936. Today I found my book in the old doll chest. Papa has now been with dear little Mama for more than five years.[33] I have been a "cripple" since December 19, 1925, alone and helpless, but God and Eva have helped me. [In this passage the old spelling and turn of phrase were used– most of the entries from adulthood reflect the writer's knowledge of the Swedish spelling reform.]

April 19, 1937. Quite unexpectedly I found my old book. The years pass, the older one gets the faster they pass by, and the

31. Eva signed a contract to teach at the Oviedo school in May 1891, for six months at $55 per month. In June 1892 and 1893, she was appointed teacher at the Formosa school. On October 4, 1894, in Stockholm, Sweden, she married Count Einar Lonnberg, a professor of science at the University of Uppsala.

32. Christina Fries, John's wife, died on January 4, 1917, at the age of seventy-two.

33. John Otto Fries died on January 7, 1931, at the age of ninety-two.

evening hour of life approaches. Mama, Papa, and little Madie are waiting.

This is the last entry Kena made in her diary. Shortly thereafter she began writing an account of the early days of Orlando and vicinity which was published under the title *Orlando in the Long, Long-Ago . . . . . And Now* (Florida Press, Orlando, 1938). It seems she undertook the task because she needed money, for it is said she used the income from the sale of the book to pay for a new roof on the old family house. She died on January 16, 1945, and lies buried next to her parents in Greenwood Cemetery in Orlando.

FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

This list shows the amount and variety of Florida history research and writing currently underway, as reported to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Doctoral dissertations and masters' theses completed in 1983 are included. Research in Florida history, sociology, anthropology, political science, archeology, geography, and urban studies is listed.

Auburn University

Robin F. A. Fabel (faculty)– "Economic Aspects of British West Florida" (continuing study).

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, St. Augustine

Randall G. Copeland, C. Craig Frazier, and Terry Wong– "Architectural Data, Castillo de San Marcos" (research completed).

Kathleen A. Deagan– "Excavation at the Castillo de San Marcos" (published).

John C. Paige– "British Construction and Repair at the Castillo de San Marcos, 1763-1784"; "National Park Service Construction and Repair Since 1933" (publications forthcoming).

Daytona Beach Community College

Peter D. Klingman (faculty)– "Neither Dies Nor Surrenders: A History of the Republican Party in Florida" (publication forthcoming).

Charles Polk (faculty) and Peter D. Klingman– "Essays on the State of Education in Florida" (continuing study).

Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Florida Department of State

David E. Ferro and Elizabeth Monroe– "Restoration of the Art Glass Dome on Florida's 1902 Capital" (publication forthcoming).

Duke University

Clarence G. Newsome– "Mary McLeod Bethune in Religious Perspective: A Seminal Essay" (Ph.D. dissertation completed, 1982).

Flagler College

Thomas Graham (faculty)– "A History of the St. Augustine Historical Society, 1883-1983" (continuing study).

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University

James H. Ammons (faculty)– "Federal Aid Allocations to Florida Cities" (continuing study).

Barbara Cotton (faculty)– "Home Demonstration Programs Among Blacks in Jacksonville, Florida: 1915-1965" (continuing study).

Theodore Hemmingway (faculty)– "Booker T. Washington's Visit to Florida, 1890" (continuing study).

Oliver Jones (faculty)– "The Politics of Neglect: Black Floridians During the Hoover Administration, 1927-1933" (continuing study).

Aubrey M. Perry (faculty)– "Psychosocial Analysis of Black Voting Patterns Within the State of Florida: 1870-1954" (continuing studies).

Larry E. Rivers (faculty)– "James Hudson: Preacher and Civil Rights Activist, 1955-1965," "Haitian Refugees in Florida, 1969-1981"; "The Slave Family in Middle Florida, 1830-1860"; "Reconstruction in Leon County, Florida, 1865-1877" (continuing studies).

Florida Atlantic University

Donald W. Curl– "Mizner's Florida: American Resort Architecture" (publication forthcoming).

Donald W. Curl with Fred Eckel (faculty)– "Lost Palm Beach" (continuing study).

Yetta Decklebaum– "Little Haiti: The Evolution of a Community" (master's thesis in progress).

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

Raymond A. Mohl (faculty)– "Metropolitan Growth and Political Change in Miami, 1940-1982" (continuing study).

Florida Southern College

J. Larry Durrence (faculty)– "Role of the Southern Association of Women for the Prevention of Lynching in Florida" (continuing study).

Paige Alan Parker (faculty)– "Participation of Blacks in Local Government in Florida" (continuing study).

Florida State Museum

Jerald T. Milanich, Marvin Smith, Robert Wilson, and William Goza– "The DeSoto Route in Florida" (continuing study).

Florida State University

Michelle M. Alexander– "The Paleoethnobotany of the Fort Walton Indians of Leon County, Florida: High Ridge, Velda and Lake Jackson Sites" (master's thesis in progress).

William P. Athen– "Archaeological Resources of the Big Cypress National Preserve" (master's thesis in progress).

David Brewer– "A Progress Report on the Work Conducted in the Search for the *Fox* and Some Proposals for Further Research" (continuing study).

William R. Brueckheimer (faculty)– "The Quail Plantations of the Southeast" (continuing study).

F. Deane Chapman– "The Ethnic Identity and Assimilation of an Alabama Creole Community" (master's thesis in progress).

David J. Coles– "Florida Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865" (continuing study); "Olustee, the 1864 Campaign for Florida" (master's thesis in progress).

Juanita W. Crudele– "Chattahoochee, Florida: From Frontier to Twentieth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

James M. Denham– "Dueling in Territorial Middle Florida"

(master's thesis completed, 1983).

Glen H. Doran (faculty)– "Elemental Analysis of Prehistoric Florida Ceramics" (continuing study).

Glen H. Doran and Bruce J. Piatek– "Archaeological Resources of the Naval Live Oaks, Gulf Islands National Seashore" (continuing study).

Charlotte Downey-Anderson– "Desegregation and Southern Mores in Madison County, 1956-1980" (master's thesis in progress).

John Ehrenhard (faculty) and Glen H. Doran– "Elemental Analysis of Historic Bricks in the Southeast" (continuing study).

Robert L. Hull– "Black Religion in Florida to 1890" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Judy Hellmich and Claudia Holland– "A Pictorial Essay of the WPA in the Southeast United States" (continuing study).

Richard E. Johnson– "The Historical Geography of the HMS *Fowey*" (continuing study).

James P. Jones (faculty)– "History of Florida State College for Women" (continuing study).

Rochelle A. Marrinan (faculty)– Report of Archeological Findings: Assessment of Proposed Roadways and Parking Areas (107 Package) Canaveral National Seashore, Volusia County, Florida (continuing study).

Felix R. Masud– "The Cuban Refugees as Political Weapons, 1959-1965" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Janet Snyder Matthews– "History of Sarasota and Manatee River, 16th-19th Centuries" (master's thesis in progress).

David B. Mock, Robert G. Stakenas, and Kenneth Eaddy– "History of Vocational Education in Florida" (continuing study).

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

J. Anthony Paredes and Kenneth J. Plante (faculty)– "A Reexamination of Creek Indian Population Trends: 1738-1832" (publication forthcoming).

Bruce J. Piatek– "A Regional Research Design for the Prehistoric Archaeological Resources of Escambia and Santa Rosa Counties, Florida" (master's thesis completed).

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

William Warren Rogers and Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty, University of Central Florida)– "Trouble in Paradise: A Pictorial History of Florida During the Depression" (publication forthcoming).

Russell K. Showronek– Testing and Evaluation of the HMS *Fowey* Shipwreck Site, Biscayne National Park (continuing study).

Charles J. Stevens– "Demographic Variation and Ethnic Differentiation: A Comparative Demographic Analysis of the Poarch Creek Indians and their Neighbors in the 1900 United States Census of Selected Precincts of Escambia and Monroe Counties, Alabama" (master's thesis completed, 1983).

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

Robert Taylor– Everglades National Park Cultural Resource Inventory Interim Report, Season 2 (continuing study).

Richard Vernon– "An Archaeological Research Design for Northeast Florida" (master's thesis in progress).

Kenneth Wild– "Fort Crevecoeur: A French Outpost in Spanish Florida" (continuing study).

Maurice Williams– "The Castillo de San Marcos: A Cross-Cultural Test of the Determinants of Artifact Patterning" (master's thesis completed, 1982).

J. Leitch Wright, Jr. (faculty)– "Creeks and Seminoles: The Final Years, 1775-1840s"; "Black Seminoles" (continuing studies).

George Mason University

William S. Willis (faculty)– "Francis Philip Fatio (1724-1811): Pioneer Planter in East Florida" (continuing study).

Hillsborough Community College

L. Glenn Westfall (faculty)– "Lithographic Process used in Cigar Label and Poster Advertisement"; "Tampa's German Community and German Club" (continuing studies).

Historic Key West Preservation Board

Sharon Wells– "Sloppy Joe's Bar: The First Fifty Years" (publication forthcoming); "Tavernier: An Historical Survey" (research completed).

L. Glenn Westfall– "Key West: Cigar City U.S.A." (publication forthcoming).

Historic Pensacola Preservation Board

Linda V. Ellsworth– "Pensacola Creoles, 1860-1970"; "West Florida Vernacular Architecture" (continuing studies).

Alan Gantzhorn– "The Socialist Party in Pensacola, 1900-1934" (continuing study).

Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board

Amy T. Bushnell– "Eighteenth-Century East Florida Ethnography"; "Biographical and Demographical Data Base for St. Augustine, 1565 to 1821"; "A Magic Lantern History of St. Augustine and East Florida from 1503 to 1845"; "The King's Standard: The Governors of the Spanish Florida Provinces, 1565-1702"; "Father Paiva's Demonic Game"; "Governor Fernandez de Olivera's Letter to the Crown in 1612" (transcribing and translating); "Women of the Parallel Politics: Spanish and Hispanized Indian in Seventeenth-Century Florida" (continuing studies). "The Noble and Loyal City, 1565 to 1668" (publication forthcoming).

Robert H. Steinbach, Amy T. Bushnell, Jimmy Smith, and Stanley Bond– "St. Johns County Archaeological and Architectural Site Survey" (continuing study).

Historical Association of Southern Florida

Dorothy J. Fields– "Black Archives, History and Research Foundation of South Florida" (continuing study).

Arva Moore Parks– "Coconut Grove"; "Coral Gables"; "Mary Barr Munroe, Resident of Coconut Grove" (continuing studies).

Thelma Peters– "A Look at Miami Society, 1896-1910" (continuing study).

Sandra Riley – *Homeward Bound: A History of the Bahama Islands to 1850 with a Definitive Study of Abaco in the American Loyalist Plantation Period* (published 1983).

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

Patsy West– "Photographic History of the Seminoles and Miccosukees"; "Seminoles in Tourist Attractions" (continuing studies).

Hong Kong Baptist College

Barton Starr (faculty)– "Loyalists in East Florida" (continuing study).

Howard University

Roy Alonza Jackson– "Registration and Party Affiliation: A Case Study of Black Floridians" (Ph.D. dissertation completed, 1982).

Jacksonville Historical Society

Dena Snodgrass with Hershell Shepard, AIA– Research on the history and architectural field survey of the plantation house at Kingsley plantation (continuing study, for Florida Department of Natural Resources, Division of Recreation and Parks).

Jacksonville University

George E. Buker (faculty)– "Navigational Projects in Territorial Florida" (continuing study).

Joan S. Carver (faculty)– "Women in Florida Politics" (continuing study).

George Hallam (faculty)– "History of Jacksonville University" (publication forthcoming); *Belles, The Standard Bearer* (published 1983).

Louisiana Collection Series, Birmingham, Alabama

Jack D. L. Holmes– "Spanish Coast Guard Activities Along Florida's Gulf Coast"; "Spanish, French, and British Cartography of West Florida"; "Spanish-Choctaw Relations, 1770-1800"; "Spanish-Seminole Relations, 1787-

1805" (continuing studies). "The Historical Contribution of Juan Ponce de León in the Age of Discovery"; "Spanish Canary Island Immigration to Louisiana: Valenzuela"; "Merced Vidal: Black Female Trouble-Maker or Courageous Pioneer?"; "West Florida and the Eastern Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase: Sharp Real Estate Deal or International Grand Larceny?" (research completed). "Do it! Don't do it!: Spanish Laws on Sex and Marriage"; "French, Spanish, and Mexican Forest Policies"; "Spanish Influence, Alabama-Louisiana"; "The Value of the Arpent in Spanish Louisiana and West Florida"; "Research Guides to Spanish Borderlands Documents Concerning the U.S." (publications forthcoming).

Jack D. L. Holmes with William S. Coker (faculty, University of West Florida)– "José Gabriel y Estenoz's Historical Description of Louisiana and Florida (1806)" (continuing study).

Louisiana State University

Paul E. Hoffman (faculty)– "Spanish and French Exploration of the Southeastern Coast, 1521-1587" (continuing study).

Paul E. Hoffman and Charles Hudson (faculty, University of Georgia)– "Juan Pardo Document" (transcription and translation completed).

Mississippi College, Clinton, Mississippi

Edward N. Akin (faculty)– "Henry M. Flagler, A Biography" (continuing study).

Rollins College

Jack C. Lane (faculty)– "History of Rollins College" (publication forthcoming).

Texas Technological College

Jack L. Bilbo, Jr.– "Economy and Culture: The Boom-and-Bust Theatres of Pensacola, Florida, 1821-1917" (Ph.D. dissertation completed, 1982).

University of Central Florida

Thomas D. Greenhaw (faculty)– "British Military Presence in Florida, 1941-1945"; "German Prisoners of War in Florida During World War II" (continuing studies).

Edmund F. Kallina (faculty)– "Claude Kirk Administration" (continuing study).

James D. Prahlow– "Lutheranism in Central Florida, 1870-1941" (continuing study).

Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty)– "Naval Stores Industry in the Southeastern United States"; "Black Laborers in the Forest Industry of the Southeast"; "History of Jackson County, Florida" (continuing studies); "The Black Press in Florida" (research completed).

Paul W. Wehr (faculty)– "History of Orange County"; "Will Wallace Harney"; "Exclusion of Hannibal Square from Corporate Limits of Winter Park" (continuing studies).

University of Florida

Elizabeth Alexander, Bruce *Chappel*– "*Calendaring* of the Vicente Sebastian Pintado Collection West Florida Spanish Documents" (continuing study).

Jaimey D. Barry– "The Creation and Development of the Florida State Board of Health, 1889-1940" (master's thesis in progress).

Fred Blakey (faculty)– "A Biography of John Henry Winder"; "American Florida: The First Forty Years, 1821–1861" (continuing studies).

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

Bruce Chappel– "A History of the Diego Plains in the Second Spanish Period" (continuing study).

Jeffry Charbonnet– "Reform Politics in Alachua County, Florida, 1927-1973" (master's thesis in progress).

William C. Childers (faculty)– "Garth Wilkinson James and Robertson James: Abolitionists in Gainesville During Reconstruction" (continuing study).

David Colburn (faculty)– "St. Augustine, 1964: Community in Racial Crisis" (publication forthcoming).

Kathleen A. Deagan (faculty) – *Spanish St. Augustine: The Archaeology of a Colonial Creole Community* (published 1983).

Kathleen A. Deagan and Charles Ewan– "Excavations at the Ximenez-Fatio Site in St. Augustine" (continuing study).

Michael V. Gannon (faculty)– "The Story of Florida: A Short History from Spanish Times to the Present" (continuing study).

Lawrence Gordon– "Florida Blacks in the Depression Era: The Case of Palm Beach, Broward, and Dade Counties" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Patricia C. Griffin– "Tourism and Festivals: St. Augustine, Florida, and Bala, Wales" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Nancy Gustke– "Frank H. Taylor: Nineteenth-Century Art Journalist" (master's thesis in progress).

E. A. Hammond (faculty, emeritus)– "History of the Medical Profession in Florida, 1821-1875" (continuing study).

Earl Ronald Hendry– "David Levy Yulee: A Biography of Florida's Railroad Pioneer-Politician, 1810-1886" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Kenneth W. Johnson– "Environment and Prehistory in the Southern St. Johns Region of Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Sidney Johnston– "History of E. O. Painter Printing Company" (master's thesis in progress).

John Paul Jones (faculty)– "History of the Florida Press Association, 1879-1968" (continuing study).

Stephen Kerber– "Park Trammell of Florida, A Political Biography"; "Ruth Bryan Owen: Florida's First Congresswoman" (continuing studies).

Jane Landers– "Race Relations in Spanish St. Augustine" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Wilma L'Engle– "Biography of Congressman Claude L'Engle" (master's thesis in progress).

Eugene Lyon (faculty)– "The Conquest of Spanish Florida, 1568 to 1587"; "The Spanish Presence in North America" (continuing studies).

Kevin M. McCarthy (faculty)– "A Cultural, Literary, and Historical Tour of Florida" (continuing study).

William McGoun– "South Florida Archaeology" (Ph.D. dis-

sertation in progress).

William H. Marquardt (faculty)– "Archaeological Survey of Joccelyn Island, Lee County" (continuing study).

Jerald T. Milanich (faculty), Ann S. Cordell, Brenda Sigler-Lavelle (faculty), Vernon J. Knight, Jr. (faculty, University of Alabama), and Tim A. Kohler (faculty, Washington State University)– "McKeithen Weeden Island– A Prehistoric People in North Florida" (publication forthcoming).

Jeffrey Mitchem– "The Safety Harbor Culture-Tampa Bay" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Steven Noll– "Feeble-Minded in our Midst: A Study of Florida Farm Colony, 1915-1940" (master's thesis in progress).

George Pozzetta (faculty)– "Ethnic Interactions in Tampa, Florida, 1885-1935" (continuing study).

Samuel Proctor (faculty)– "Florida Slave Interviews"; "History of the University of Florida, 1853-present"; "Florida's Civil War Governors"; "History of the Miami Jewish Community" (continuing studies).

Catherine Puckett– "Natural History and Folklore of the Suwannee River" (master's thesis in progress).

Donna L. Ruhl– "Ceramic Technology Analysis of Sherds from Fort Center" (continuing study). "Prehistoric Maize Agriculture in the Lake Okeechobee Basin" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Richard Scher (faculty)– "Southern Political Culture" (continuing study).

Helen Smith– "Immigrant Women in Ybor City: 1900" (master's thesis in progress).

Paul Weaver– "The History of Preservation in St. Augustine" (master's thesis in progress).

Brent Weisman– "Cultural Ecology in the Withlacoochee Cove" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Arthur O. White (faculty)– "William N. Sheats: A Biography, 1851-1922" (continuing study).

Patricia R. Wickman– "Material Legacy of Osceola" (master's thesis in progress).

Robert Wilson– "Prehistoric Settlement Patterns of the Belle Glade Culture" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

University of Georgia

Charles M. Hudson, Jr. (faculty), Chester B. DePratter, and Marvin T. Smith (University of Florida)– "The Explorations of Hernando de Soto, Tristan de Luna, and Juan Pardo in the Southeast" (continuing study).

University of Houston

Randolph J. Widmer– "The Evolution of the Calusa: A Non-Agricultural Chiefdom on the Southwest Florida Coast" (Ph.D. dissertation completed, 1983).

University of Miami

Tom Fleishman– "The Perception of Blacks in Miami by the White Press, 1896-1930" (student research in progress).

Paul George (faculty)– "A History of Mount Sinai Medical Center"; "A Study of Homocides and Suicides in Dade County in the mid-1920s"; "The Ku Klux Klan in Miami in the 1930s" (continuing studies).

Robert M. Levine (faculty)– "Patterns of Ethnic and Racial Segregation in the Settlement of the City of Miami" (continuing study).

Robert M. Levine and Mark D. Szuchman (faculty)– "Jewish Immigrants to Cuba, 1920 to 1961" (film in progress).

University of Missouri

Antonio F. Holland– "Nathan B. Young: Black Educator" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

University of North Florida

James B. Crooks (faculty)– "Jacksonville History, Progressive Period" (continuing study).

Daniel L. Schafer (faculty)– "History of British East Florida" (continuing study).

University of South Carolina

George C. Rogers, Jr. (faculty) and Lawrence S. Rowland (faculty, University of South Carolina at Beaufort)–

"History of Beaufort County, South Carolina" (continuing study).

Michael C. Scardaville and Karen Harvey– "St. Augustine Revisited: A New Look at Old Places" (continuing study).

University of South Florida

Tom Ankersen– "Coping with Growth: The Emergence of Environmental Policy in Florida" (master's thesis completed, 1983).

Charles Arnade (faculty)– "An Architectural History of Pasco County" (continuing study).

Ray Arsenault (faculty)– "Ethnicity and Migration to Post World War Two Florida" (continuing study).

Eirlys Barker– "Yellow Fever in Tampa" (master's thesis in progress).

Nancy Hewitt (faculty)– "Tampa's Working Women, 1880-1945" (continuing study).

Robert Ingalls (faculty)– "Vigilantism in Tampa, 1880-1940" (continuing study).

Steven Lawson (faculty)– "The Groveland Rape Case: Florida's Little Scottsboro" (continuing study).

Gary Mormino (faculty)– "Ethnic Interaction in Ybor City" (continuing study).

Gary Mormino and Anthony Pizzo – *Tampa: The Treasure City* (published 1983).

Darryl Paulson (faculty)– "Desegregating the University of Florida Law School"; "Standing in the Schoolhouse Door: Claude Kirk and Manatee County School Desegregation" (continuing studies).

Cathy Bayless Slusser– "A Professional Opinion: A History of the Hillsborough County Medical Association, 1895-1970" (master's thesis completed, 1983).

Bonnie Stark– "A History of the Johns' Legislative Investigation Committee" (master's thesis in progress).

University of Tampa

James W. Covington (faculty)– "Federal and State Relations with the Seminoles in Florida Since 1858"; "The Coming of the Chicago Cubs to Tampa in 1913" (continuing studies).

University of Texas, Austin

Linda D. Vance (faculty)– "May Mann Jennings: Florida's Genteel Activist" (publication forthcoming); "Women in Conservation" (continuing study).

University of West Florida

Judith A. Bense (faculty)– "Gulf Coast Archaeology"; "West Florida Pre-history"; "Alabama-Tombigbee Waterway" (continuing studies).

William S. Coker (faculty)– "Indian Tribes of the Southeastern Borderlands: Panton, Leslie and Company and John Forbes and Company, 1783-1847" (publication forthcoming).

William S. Coker, Francisco de Borja Medina, and Lucien Delson (faculty)– "The Battle Orders for the Siege of Pensacola, 1781" (continuing study).

William S. Coker and Jerome F. Coling (faculty)– "Atlas of Colonial West Florida" (continuing study).

Dean DeBolt (faculty)– "Florida Place Names Gazetteer"; "Florida Postal History" (continuing studies).

Lucien Delson– "Andrew Jackson and The Battle of Pensacola, May, 1818: A Reappraisal Based Upon the Spanish Documents" (continuing study).

Jane G. Dysart (faculty)– "Social Characteristics of Pensacola Before 1860" (continuing study).

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

Nancy T. Gilliam (faculty)– "The Legal Profession in West Florida" (continuing study).

Donald E. Henningsen (faculty)– "Florida's Coastal Zone Planning and Development" (continuing study).

James R. McGovern (faculty)– "Black Eagle: The Life of General Daniel 'Chappie' James, Jr." (publication forthcoming).

Thomas Muir, Jr.– "W. A. Blount: A Biography" (master's thesis in progress).

George F. Pearce (faculty)– "He is Laying The Sins of the L & N At Mr. Blount's Feet: William Alexander Blount's

U.S. Senatorial Campaign, 1910-1911" (continuing study).

James A. Servies (faculty)– "Bibliography of Florida through 1945"; "History of Printing in Florida" (continuing studies).

Valdosta State College

Fred Lamar Pearson, Jr. (faculty)– "Spanish-Indian Relations in Florida"; "The Beatification of the Georgia Martyrs" (continuing studies).

Consulting and/or Research Historians

David J. Ginzl (Jacksonville)– "Structural Change in Florida Banking" (continuing study).

Mildred L. Fryman (Tallahassee)– "Papers of the Florida Surveyor Generals to 1908" (continuing study).

BOOK REVIEWS

Selected Letters of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings. Edited by Gordon E. Bigelow and Laura V. Monti. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1983. 414 pp. Preface, introduction, chronology, photographs, index. $30.00.)

This selection of 191 letters culled from more than 1,000 in the Rawlings collection at the University of Florida covers the period from 1918, when Marjorie Kinnan was twenty-two and fresh out of college, to 1953, two months before her death of a cerebral hemorrhage at age fifty-seven. The letters are judiciously edited; editorial comments are spare and non-intrusive; and the chronology is particularly helpful. Entries are regrettably sparse for the early years, 1918-1931. The years 1931 to 1937 are represented almost entirely by letters to Maxwell Perkins, Rawlings's editor at *Scribner's*, but these letters to Perkins are more than adequate to give the reader an excellent sense of the writer's literary and emotional life during what was both professionally and personally the most extraordinary period of her development.

In 1928 Rawlings, who had spent her life in Washington, D.C., and in the North, took her first trip to Florida. Within a few months she had settled in the rural northern "scrub," having purchased a house and orange grove in Cross Creek. Her affinity for the land and the people were immediate, as was the effect of the new environment on her writing. A ten-year veteran of the pinkslip brigade of writers, she experienced a veritable literary apotheosis at Cross Creek, and by the end of 1930, she had sold two stories about the Florida scrub and its denizens to *Scribner's Magazine* and had come to the attention of Perkins. He was not only editor, but friend and mentor to such young literary lions as Ernest Hemingway, Thomas Wolfe, and F. Scott Fitzgerald.

Rawlings was a superb letter writer– lively, personal, generous in sharing her thoughts, and straightforward in voicing her opinions. It is little wonder that the fortunate recipients of her letters chose to keep them. Were there no biographies of Rawlings available, these letters alone would present a remarkably complete picture.

She writes about the breakup of her first marriage and the conflict she felt over entering into another after eight years of lonely but artistically satisfying independence at Cross Creek. She had wanted children– preferably boys– and in her later years seems to have bestowed upon a succession of cats the affection and concern she would have given a child. One sees a radical and, unfortunately, unexplained shift in her attitude toward blacks from unexamined racism to staunch liberalism. One enjoys her decidedly earthy humor as much as she obviously did herself. She infers that for a substantial part of her life she suffered from ill health, and one observes from her letters a steadily-advancing emotional malady, a sense of desperation whose source even the usually perceptive Rawlings cannot explain but whose symptoms – excessive drinking, impulses to suicide, conflicts with her second husband– she openly shares with her correspondents.

As a writer, she was the quintessential agonist, and her letters are rich in reports of her struggle to find the right voice, the proper approach, the appropriate atmosphere in her work. Her mood, even in her most productive period, swung wildly between elation and despair; and since she wrote successfully for only about a decade, much of her writing experience was anguished.

In their Introduction, the editors suggest that the curve of Mrs. Rawlings's professional career can be related to her geographical environment and that once she abandoned Cross Creek– first for St. Augustine and its environs and then for an old farm in upstate New York– some vital force went out of her writing. It is clear that her physical surroundings had a strong effect on her work. But from these letters it appears that equally strong was the effect of her psychological environment. The pull between her need to be loved, and with the man she loved, and her need to be independent and absolutely absorbed in her work was a conflict she seemed neither able to resolve nor to use creatively in her writing. Her best work was done not just when she was at Cross Creek but when she was physically and emotionally alone– her creativity filling the vacuum in her soul. She left Cross Creek primarily to be with her second husband, and it seems evident that her inability to reconcile the problem of being both a good wife and a good writer filled up what otherwise would have been her "well of creativity." Referring to the people of the Florida scrub, she once wrote to Max Perkins, "I like to

see people bucking something solid, instead of their own neuroses." Unfortunately, Marjorie Rawlings seems to have fallen into just that mundane trap once she remarried and left the life of stubborn self-reliance she had enjoyed at Cross Creek.

University of Florida JIM HASKINS

The Seminole World of Tommy Tiger. By Harry A. Kersey, Jr. and Voncile Mallory. (Tallahassee: Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Florida Department of State, 1982. viii, 145 pp. Preface, illustrations, classroom activities. $3.95, paper.)

Forest in the Sand. By Marjory Bartlett Sanger with drawings by D. D. Tyler. (New York: Atheneum, 1983. xi, 145 pp. Foreword, illustrations. $10.95.)

These two recent works about Florida were written for older children but in the case of *Forest in the Sand,* for adolescents as well. Both are also concerned with Florida history and in taking the reader through a year in the life of a "native" Floridian– a Seminole Indian boy and the Big Scrub of the Ocala National Forest.

The Seminole World of Tommy Tiger traces the growing awareness of nine-year-old Tommy Tiger of his cultural heritage, his roots. Tommy is a contemporary Seminole; his family lives on the Hollywood Reservation; he goes to school with a majority of non-Indians; he is, essentially, a modern American child. But beginning with a question that he asks himself one day in class– "What *did* he know about the Seminoles?"– Tommy starts a year-long search for answers. During the course of the year, he attends a tribal council meeting with his father; visits his friend, Billy Tigertail, at the Big Cypress Reservation in the Everglades; takes part in a "field day" of Seminole folklore and folkways at Brighton Reservation. All the while he is busily taking notes on what he has seen and heard about the old ways so that he can help his teacher prepare an Indian week at his school the next year. The book ends with Tommy's directing this project and a series of activities that the reader can explore in his own classroom.

Harry Kersey's and Voncile Mallory's intentions in the book are laudable, and the result is surely adequate. The book succeeds in providing the reader with basic information about a number of important people, events, and practices of Seminole history and lore, all presented within the immediate experience of the books main character. However, there is something missing in the book– a spark of imagination or style that can ignite either the characters (like the medicine man, Josie Billie) or the history that is presented, making them burst into credible life. Unfortunately, this literary alchemy does not take place, and *The Seminole World of Tommy Tiger* ends up reading like a routine, didactic school text rather than a dramatic, inspired recreation of this world for the modern child. It is a start in the retrieving of this world for the modern reader, but it must also be seen as a challenge to others to return to this subject in order to discover and express the vitality that is there.

Such limitations are not present in Marjory Bartlett Sanger's *Forest in the Sand*, a naturalist's calendar of life in the Big Scrub. From the opening pages the reader knows at once that he or she is in the hands of a masterful stylist, a most competent scholar, and a keen observer of natural events. Effortlessly, seamlessly, poetically, Sanger introduces the reader to the beginnings, the "spring" of the history of the Big Scrub, weaving together the lore of the Indians (whose name for "the forest in the sand" is *Ocala* or "water's edge"), excerpts from the narratives of the early explorers (Bartram, Romans, Audubon), and the prehistoric facts themselves: "Through geologic eons, the long, flat peninsula of Florida has been under water at least four times. Over its sunken surface, at best little more than a sandspit extending from the southeastern states, the restive Atlantic met the calm Gulf. Fish swam through trees that trailed their branches like kelp and their hanging moss like mermaids' hair. Laden sea turtles searched in vain for a dry beach on which to bury their eggs . . . and across the limestone, across the trees and moss, the waves and currents moved in and out, leaving their drifts of seaweed and sediment, fishbone and carapace, the flotsam and jetsam of the deep."

In order to take the reader through a cycle of the seasons in the forest, Sanger focuses on one family of scrub blue jays, as they nest and raise their young over the course of a year. This centering of our attention allows Sanger to introduce a richness of

memorable ornithological and botanical detail, and it also leads her to a discussion of the relationship between these particular birds and the rest of the forest which sustains them. Like the ripples from a pebble dropped in a still pool, Sanger moves outward from this center, touching the folklore, myth, and science that are all a part of our knowledge of the scrub. The result is a superbly rendered portrait of this complex and compelling natural phenomena. While Sanger's prose may be somewhat difficult for slower or younger readers, because it does not do children the disservice of writing condescendingly "down" to them, it is well worth any effort. Sanger is among our best writers about nature, and our children should read her. Indeed, her writings should be a model for how school texts should be written. She finds the story in the facts of life around her. Through her eyes and her writing we all, children and adults alike, may learn to see the natural world as alive and full of wonders.

University of Florida JOHN CECH

La Salle and His Legacy, Frenchmen and Indians in the Lower Mississippi Valley. Edited by Patricia K. Galloway. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1983. xiv, 260 pp. Introduction, illustrations, bibliography, contributors, index. $20.00.)

This volume is composed chiefly of papers presented at the 1982 annual meeting of the Mississippi Historical Society which focused its attention on René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle's seventeenth-century expedition into the lower Mississippi Valley. There are fourteen essays in *La Salle and His Legacy*. Contributors include archeologists, ethnohistorians, and historians. The work is divided into three sections: the first deals with aspects of the expedition itself and its immediate impact; the focus of the second is the germination of French colonial policy in the borderlands; and the third somewhat deals with French and Indian interaction.

The essays are sufficiently different so as to require separate summaries. In a short, informative piece Carl Brasseaux, archivist-historian at the University of Southwestern Louisiana, summarizes La Salle historiography. The editor, Patricia Galloway, a

French linguist now working in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, has contributed an essay on the exegesis of extant contemporary French documents relating to the La Salle voyage. The Harvard archeologist Jeffrey Brain uses existing archeological data to resolve apparent inconsistencies in the documentary record regarding La Salle's brief visit with the Natchez Indians. A secondary theme of this essay is Brain's critique of John Swanton's Natchez scholarship. The final article in this section was written by Louis De Vorsey, an historical geographer, and discusses the somewhat dubious impact of La Salle on subsequent French cartography.

In part two James Cooke of the University of Mississippi has written a seminal piece on French perception of the lower Mississippi Valley and the problem this posed in getting craftsmen or the gentry to emigrate voluntarily. Glenn Conrad discusses economic and institutional problems that France encountered in seeking to develop a New World empire. This section ends with separate essays detailing the reaction of Spain and England to French initiatives by Jack Holmes and William Coker, respectively.

In the final section Kennith York, a Mississippi Choctaw and graduate student at the University of Minnesota, has an abbreviated essay on the Mobilian trade language, arguing like James Mooney earlier, that it was derived from the Choctaw language. Patricia Galloway has another textual analysis piece. This one deals with Henri de Tonti's two letters to Pierre Le Moyne Iberville from his tour among the Choctaw and Chickasaw in the late winter of 1702. Ian Brown, an archeologist at the Peabody Museum, presents the preliminary findings of the Lower Mississippi Survey. This group has been studying the proto and historic Natchez Indians for several years. In concluding essays Samuel Wilson, historical architect and French colonial military historian, and Carl Ekberg, an historian at Illinois State University, discuss the construction and subsequent history of Fort Rosalie and French fortifications at English Bend, respectively.

As expected the essays vary in quality of scholarship. Several suffer because of duplication of material. Galloway, for example, discusses documentary sources of the La Salle voyage at length, and then the reader is given at least some of the same material in the subsequent paper by Brain. Editorial control should have

been exercised and would have helped alleviate this problem. Galloway's attempt to develop ethnography material from expedition correspondence would have succeeded better if she had used other contemporary documents, particularly missionary correspondence. Her critique of Swanton's work in French colonial documents is an important contribution and hopefully will be followed by other studies. Kennith York's piece seems to be somewhat inapropriate since this subject has been treated by Emmanuel Drechsel and James Crawford. It also seems inappropriate to present preliminary research findings in a published work as Brown has done, although this is an accepted practice among archeologists.

Aside from some editorial problems and specific reservations about certain articles, *La Salle and His Legacy*, is a valuable book, and it is hoped that the scholarship shown here on the Indians of the lower Mississippi Valley will result in additional works.

National Park Service MICHAEL G. SCHENE
Denver, Colorado

Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789, Volume 9, February 1-May 31, 1778. Edited by Paul H. Smith, Gerard W. Gawalt, Rosemary Fry Plakas, and Eugene R. Sheridan. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1982. xxviii, 844 pp. Editorial method and apparatus, acknowledgments, chronology of Congress, list of delegates to Congress, illustrations, index, advisory committee. $19.00.)

At a time of retrenchment and uncertainty in documentary publishing, the Library of Congress continues to issue a volume of *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789* every ten months and has now reached the middle of 1778. The careful planning of this series and the strong institutional position of the Library of Congress, as well as Paul H. Smith's judgment and energy as editor, account for this success. Also critical, as Smith reminds readers in the acknowledgments, has been the generous cooperation of the other Revolutionary era documentary projects and the help, of hundreds of libraries and individuals in locating some

21,000 documents for this series. This marshaling of human and scholarly resources, in behalf of a project of transcendent scholarly and educational importance, should be a model for public history in the future.

The most important topics in this volume include the reports of a congressional committee dispatched to Valley Forge to study first-hand the deplorable condition of the army, a complicated dispute between Washington and another committee on the subject of prisoner exchanges, and documents relating to the Franco-American treaty. Compared with the last several volumes in the series, there are few long, elegant letters dealing broadly with the nature of Revolutionary politics– a reflection of the harried state of business in Congress during British occupation of Philadelphia. There are two notable exceptions: Thomas Burke's long, passionate defense of Washington and justification of his own tempestuous role in the debate over prisoner exchanges and an extraordinary letter from Henry Laurens to William Livington, dated April 19, 1778. Burke concluded, "I confess that I am warm in my Temper and feel a Zeal with I doubt not often transports me too far." Readers of Burke's many letters in this series can only respond "amen" to that confession and also be grateful that his zeal compelled him to write so forcefully and intelligently about the issues facing Congress and the new nation. Laurens's letter, which opens with a hilarious comment on "excuses for delinquency in epistolary correspondence," makes the description of a debate over half pay for Continental officers into an appraisal of Revolutionary motivation. The officers pointed to their sacrifices and the deterioration of their estates during their absences; critics responded that people throughout society were suffering and asked why everyone should be taxed simply to "pamper the Luxury of their fellow Citizens many of whom will step out of the Army into the repossession of large acquired and inherited Estates" and others "who have acquired immense fortunes by purloin & Peculation under the Mask of patriotism." While Laurens held all the participants in this debate in contempt, the terminology attributed to them suggests that issues of "contract," "virtue, " "consent," and "liberty" were at stake. The very character of the republic seemed to hinge on the remuneration of the officers: "it would lay the foundation of a standing Army, of an Aristocracy . . . it would have a tendency to waste the Army by

discouraging the Militia & yeomanry in general." Even filtered through Laurens's cynicism, it was a moment of ideological drama.

University of North Carolina, Greensboro ROBERT M. CALHOON

James Henry Hammond and the Old South, A Design for Mastery. By Drew Gilpin Faust. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982. xviii, 407 pp. Acknowledgments, abbreviations, illustrations, appendix, bibliographical essay, index. $27.50.)

South Carolina's James H. Hammond and his descendants are the subject of two important recent books. Not long ago, I had the privilege of reviewing Carol Bleser's *The Hammonds of Redclifle* in this journal (July 1982). Professor Bleser's book is a brilliant edition of family letters among four generations of Hammonds. Now we have Drew Gilpin Faust's prize-winning study of the Hammond patriarch, where the author's mastery of source material, keen understanding of life in the Old South, and profound insight about people have combined to create one of the major biographies in the literature about the region. Her volume, which adorns the Southern Biography Series which the Louisiana State University Press has under way, won the John F. Landry Award for 1982. This is recognition well-deserved, allowing Professor Faust comfortably to assume a place with such previous distinguished recipients of this prize as John Hope Franklin and George Tindall.

It seems incongruous that there should be two such fine recent books as Professors Faust and Bleser have written about so unlovely a person as James H. Hammond, whose life discloses the wages exacted for the sins of pride, selfishness, lust, and injustice. As it turned out, Hammond's most memorable feat was his leaving an abundance of manuscripts that reveal so much about himself, his family, and his region. Otherwise, he was a superficially handsome but basically unattractive individual whose public and private careers were ultimately failures and a cause of distress and confusion to many.

With skill and understanding, Professor Faust unfolds the

story of James Hammond, which requires that she tell of the plight in his state, region, and family. It is the latter portion of the book, the tale of Hammond at home, which is most revealing about the character of the man. Uttering one of the most moving lines in the Hammond drama, James's wife, Catherine, said: "With everything to make us happy there are few families less so" (p. 330). Catherine had brought wealth to her marriage, while James had carried talent and a host of various unpleasing qualities. These enabled him to convert a life overflowing with opportunity into a tragic muddle, as he imposed shame and misery on his wife, children, and other relatives, despite an undoubted affection for them.

Professor Faust recounts it all. Hammond's life extended from 1807 to 1864, during which he served for a time as governor of South Carolina and, briefly, as United States senator; as successful planter, particularly at his enormous estate, Redcliffe, on the Savannah River; as mercurial foe and then belated defender of the Union; and as exponent of a southern slaveocracy. While Professor Faust is emphatic in stating that Hammond's life and hopes were founded upon illusions about himself and a structured antebellum southern society, she is cautious in drawing inferences about Hammond's personality. The facts are presented, including Hammond's cruel treatment of his wife, his notorious sexual playtime with his nieces while he was governor, and his liaisons with slave women. However, Professor Faust chooses to discuss these in such a reasonable, straightforward manner, as she does Hammond's public affairs and the events of his era, that there is about the author's style something perhaps overly cool and impartial.

Even so, any person interested in the South's history must read this book for there is something to be learned from the sordid, shameful, and sometimes inexplicably stupid behavior of the subject. Hammond himself may have proved of little personal significance, but the manner of his life and his ideals disclose much about southern society. A design for mastery may have been Hammond's goal for himself and his region, but neither he nor his civilization had the requisites for it. Professor Faust says: "Hammond identified himself and his life with the myths of the Old South, even as they crumbled around him." This book describes the personal and family cost brought by this mistake.

Virginia Historical Society PAUL C. NAGEL

Lucy Audubon, A Biography. By Carolyn E. Delatte. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982. xiii, 248 pp. Preface, photographs, epilogue, bibliography, index. $15.95.)

Biographies of women generally fall into two categories; women whose achievements in traditionally male spheres have made them noteworthy and women whose husbands (or occasionally sons) were famous. Works of the second or "woman behind the man" type focus on the heroic supporting efforts of the woman. Carolyn E. Delatte's study, *Lucy Audubon, A Biography,* is a significant departure from this pattern. Not fully a biography, the work is rather an examination of an early nineteenth-century marriage in crisis and an attempt to understand the stress of social norms on the unconventional Lucy and John James Audubon.

Delatte traces the Audubons' troubled union from their courtship in rural Pennsylvania through their struggling years of shop keeping in frontier Kentucky. This period of their marriage was plagued by economic adversity and the constant naturalist explorations of Audubon. Lucy found herself and her two young sons dependent on the good will of relatives and friends. Her English upper class background left her poorly prepared for the financial crises which followed the family. During this period Lucy learned the great influence of wealth on her social position and the incongruities she felt were psychologically devastating. Her young husband was so driven by his personal goals that he seemed nearly oblivious to the problems faced by his wife and children. Following a move to Louisiana, Lucy put her own skills to work to support herself and her sons and to finance Audubon's search for a publisher for his drawings. This separation, Lucy on a West Feliciana plantation and her husband in England, brought their union to its ultimate crisis.

Probably the greatest stress on their marriage came from the Audubons' failure to conform to the newly evolving images of men and women during the first half of the nineteenth century. The separation of home and the workplace brought by the Industrial Revolution emphasized the domestic duties of women and the economic functions of men. Lucy was never comfortable with the role of provider that her husband's artistic ambitions forced upon her. Once he achieved some success, Audubon was distressed by the independence his wife had developed. The

Audubons faced not only an internal struggle over these issues, but also the critical opinions of their neighbors and Lucy's family.

Delatte does an admirable job piecing together portraits of the communities and individuals who influenced the Audubons through the early years of their marriage. She utilizes a wide variety of sources which adds to the narrative. This effort compensates somewhat for the paucity of evidence the author has on Lucy Audubon herself and limits both the chronological scope and depth of the analysis. In the absence of extensive journal entries, Delatte finds it difficult to understand the motivations and emotions of her subject which seem critical to the analysis. The study is filled with the author's extrapolations needed to fill in the gaps in the narrative and draw assumptions about Lucy's reactions. And the powerful thread of romantic love that binds the Audubons through all the adversity remains unexplored.

While Delatte interjects discussion of social norms and the growing influence of "the cult of domesticity," the study suffers from the failure to integrate these themes into the narrative. Several major works on women's lives in antebellum America are omitted from the bibliography, most notably, Nancy Cott's *The Bonds of Womanhood.* Greater consideration of these issues and recent theoretical contributions to the analysis of women's roles would have advanced this work from an interesting narrative to a pathbreaking biographical study. Unfortunately, Delatte limits her work within more traditional boundaries.

University of Florida CHERYLL ANN CODY

Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South. By Bertram Wyatt-Brown. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982. xxiv, 597 pp. Preface, list of abbreviations and short titles, notes, index. $29.95.)

The ambition of *Southern Honor* is great: to reshape our understanding of the social landscape of the Old South by placing at its center the ethical system of honor, defined as that "cluster of ethical rules, most readily found in societies of small communities, by which judgements of behavior are ratified by community consensus," evaluations based upon "family integrity,

clearly understood hierarchies of leaders and subordinates and ascriptive features of individuals and groups . . . such biological determinants as race and color, gender, bloodlines, physique and physical skill, age and inherited position." This system is deemed very ancient, even primal, once common property, but during the nineteenth century ebbing in New England while persisting in the South. Upon such logic the central issue of southern history ceases to be race relations or class differences, because honor is a shared transaction among whites of all degree. In turn, though Wyatt-Brown only hints at this, the Civil War is made to hinge upon not Southerners' desire to own slaves but "the continuity and social utility (as Southern whites thought) of moral rules often at war with the secular and evangelical ethics of the dynamic North." Wyatt-Brown has arrived at such conclusions by a variety of intellectual influences: the anthropology of Julian Pitt-Rivers and Clifford Geertz; the history of Wilbur Cash, which placed hedonist white men at the focus of southern society; the ethnic enthusiasms of Forrest McDonald and Grady McWhinney, whose Celtic swineherds are said to have feuded and snuffled pork from Peebles to Tuscaloosa; the Social psychology of Emile Durkheim's disciples, notably Kai Erikson. Such a combination is interesting, not to say bizarre.

The book has strengths: a use of legal history as offering insight into social ritual; a sensitivity to recent feminist historiography; a discussion of gamblers, amateur and professional; a stern desire to skirt the elite and dwell upon the middling and lower orders; a use of comparative evidence from other cultures and the North, the latter so often a very imprecise presence in southern historical narrative; a thorough scholarship, both in secondary writing and archives; a fondness for the telling anecdote.

Yet I am driven to conclude the book a failure. These objections arise immediately, though not alone. Its exposition has a vagueness about chronology almost comic. To quote Tacitus on the ancient Germans to elucidate Milledgeville would be absurd, were it not quaintly reminiscent of Herbert Baxter Adams. The reader is wafted from the forests of Dacia to the hollows of the modern Ozarks with a freedom that, to put the best face upon it, betrays a brave historicist spirit. Secondly, I cannot share Wyatt-Brown's faith that the system of honor has, in essence, vanished. There is all about us precisely those characteristics, defined above

and in his preface. We may have lost the word, honor, but not the fact that values are enforced by public judgment and ritual, themselves internalized. How could it be otherwise? Only if you believe with Wyatt-Brown that modern society has become so fragmented and respectful of individual meanings that, to use a phrase that slips ominously into his exposition, it grants "space." I cannot see that modern society is any less authoritarian than the Old South that Wyatt-Brown finds so bleak and reprehensible. Thirdly, he makes much distinction between the public ethics of the South and the private evangelicalism of the North, yet recent historical writing seems to find in the Old South the very evangelical individualism that Wyatt-Brown concedes there only grudgingly. This last objection is a symptom of a wider inability in Wyatt-Brown to see evidence of modernization in the Old South, which he prefers to keep a Celtic fossil, dueling, gambling, oppressing.

All this one might balance against the book's strengths, to arrive at moderate praise, were it not for a special problem with *Southern Honor*. I cannot remember having found a book so difficult and slow to read. It is not that Wyatt-Brown writes muddily. He has a brisk polemical style that is more agreeable than not. Nor does he have recondite analytical propositions that the reader must eke out. Nor was it that he offers a catharsis, too bracing for the morally timid reader. What made it painful was the spectacle of an author, writing *in extenso* about a culture he so obviously despises. His Old South is a unrelievedly miserable place: miserable for slaves, miserable for women, miserable for young men, miserable for old men. The gloom is so deep that his epitome for this culture is a murder, brutally committed and brutally punished. Such a vision, while powerful, is too narrow to be persuasive.

University of Arkansas MICHAEL O'BRIEN

The Social Gospel in the South, The Woman's Home Mission Movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1886-1939. By John Patrick McDowell. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982. x, 167 pp. Acknowledgments, bibliography, index. $20.00.)

In 1921, Will Alexander, a leading civil rights activist and founder of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, claimed that "the Woman's Missionary Council of the M.E. Church, South, was the most progressive and constructive religious group in the South." John McDowell asks the question, "What had these Methodist women done, and what factors permitted such noteworthy accomplishments?" His answers contribute significantly to our understanding of the history of southern religion and southern women. The image of the South as a bastion of religious fundamentalism, political conservatism, racism, and anti-feminism still overwhelms evidence of more progressive religious, political, racial, and sexual attitudes. McDowell notes that historians have rarely aided the cause of progressive Southerners in promulgating a new image, having emphasized the narrow theological concerns of southern churches and the limited social, intellectual, and political opportunities of southern women. Exceptions can be found in the works of Donald Mathews, Anne Firor Scott, and Jacquelyn Dowd Hall. McDowell follows in their footsteps.

Claiming that at least some southern Methodist women took the Social Gospel of the late nineteenth century seriously and acted on its reformist tenets, the author traces both the emergence of women's home mission work in the 1880s and its gradual expansion over the next half-century. The Woman's Home Missionary Society was initally established to raise funds for the construction and repair of parsonages in the West. By the 1900s, however, it extended its services to urban immigrants, factory workers, the rural poor, and blacks. The society's leaders fought for child labor legislation, day care centers, anti-lynching laws, civil rights, public health services, and world peace. In this transition– from charitable workers within the church to social reformers in the larger society– southern Methodist women followed the path trod by their northern sisters in the previous century. In *Religion and the Rise of the City*, a study of the New York City mission move-

ment in the mid-1800s, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg traces the politicization of pious women from almsgivers to moral reformers. Those northern mission women who chose to work with prostitutes faced considerable opposition from church leaders and other women. Similarly, those southern Methodist women who pursued interracial work did so in the face of church and community opposition. Both North and South, progressive women who sought to aid oppressed groups under the banner of Christianity soon found themselves fighting, at least partially, for their own rights.

While McDowell draws little on the historiography of northern women, he provides important information on the South which will allow for future comparisons. For instance, southern women's struggle for federal legislation on child labor flew in the face of not only the interests of businessmen but of the state rights credo of politicians. McDowell also adds considerably to our knowledge of interracial work while detailing the struggle of white Christian women to overcome their own and their community's racist assumptions.

The impact of mission work on the larger community is less successfully analyzed than the policies and views of Methodist women leaders. We learn far too little about the implementation of mission programs at the local level. However, McDowell should inspire further work in this area, having revealed in his own study an oft-neglected, progressive tradition among southern religious women.

University of South Florida NANCY A. HEWITT

The Georgia-South Carolina Boundary: A Problem in Historical Geography. By Louis De Vorsey, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1982. xii, 219 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, maps, tables, epilogue, bibliography, index. $20.00.)

The course of the lower Savannah River is characterized by islands, shoals, and a shifting channel. It is also the border between the states of Georgia and South Carolina, with the result that the precise location of that border has long been open to debate. The problem of the location of the boundary is confounded by the terms and terminology of the acts by the British

crown creating the two colonies and by subsequent interpretations of those acts. Several attempts to reconcile differences in interpretation are themselves liable to various readings.

Debate over the exact location of the boundary intensified in 1976 when President Ford signed amendments to the Coastal Zone Management Act of 1972 that made available large federal grants to coastal states affected by new or expanded energy production. Money would be granted under a formula based largely on the amount of newly-leased (for petroleum and natural gas exploration) continental shelf acreage adjacent to the state plus the amount of oil and gas actually produced there. A minor shift in the location of the boundary at the mouth of the Savannah River could result in a substantial difference in continental shelf ownership as that line is projected out into the Atlantic Ocean.

The governors of the two states realized that a legal solution of the dispute was needed. Representatives of the states met to deal with the immediate situation while each state prepared its legal case. The state of Georgia believed that interpretations of the boundary location possibly made by the United States Geological Survey on its maps of the river were incorrect. In October 1977, the United States Supreme Court received a complaint from the state of Georgia, with South Carolina the defendant, arguing Georgia's position on the boundary location question.

The state of Georgia acquired the services of Professor De Vorsey, a historical geographer at the University of Georgia, to help develop its case. Professor De Vorsey had previous experience in the preparation of evidence in cases involving the location of coastal boundaries and coastal land ownership. The dust jacket of this book identifies him as a forensic geographer. He is surely the best known of the small number of researchers involved in this specialized vocation/avocation.

The South Carolina-Georgia Boundary is a detailed account of the evolution of the boundary question. It includes a full discussion of the many statements defining the location of the boundary. Descriptions of the river, the location of the channel, the distribution of shoals and islands, and man-made modifications such as dredging and dike construction form the core of the work. The book focuses on the period before 1900, although a discussion of recent developments in the dispute, plus the full

text of Georgia's petition to the Supreme Court, is included as an introduction.

Professor De Vorsey is a thorough researcher, and his work is filled with fine detail. Many of the descriptions are quoted at length, and a full bibliography is provided. A number of maps, including a full color reproduction of a critical 1955 United States Geologic Survey topographic map of the area, are printed. Most of the maps are reproductions of historic works. Their presentation is carefully integrated into the book, and they are a valuable contribution to the study.

This is probably not a book for the casual reader. The large volume of supporting material is sometimes difficult to master, and the book reads slowly. However, the serious student of Georgia and South Carolina history, of southern history more generally, or of the nature and problems of boundary identification will find this a valuable contribution. The reader might wish that De Vorsey had chosen to include more material from the current century, but that is probably a relatively minor quibble. I was at first somewhat concerned that the nature of his involvement in this question might have biased his investigation. Fortunately, that does not seem to have been the case. Professor De Vorsey must be applauded for his effort.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill JOHN W. FLORIN

Southern Enterprize: The Work of National Evangelical Societies in the Antebellum South. By John W. Kuykendall. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1982. xv, 188 pp. Foreword, preface, bibliography, index. $25.00.)

The much-neglected field of religion in the Old South has attracted deserved attention during the past decade. Historians have examined the religious symbols of the South, the evangelical leaders of the region, and the crises faced by the major demoninations. Now John W. Kuykendall approaches the topic from a "somewhat different angle" (p. xiii) by examining the activities of national interdenominational benevolent societies. A description and analysis of the operations of national evangelical organ-

izations in the slaveholding South provides both a national scope and a southern focus to the study which transcends the narrow limits of religious history and assumes a place in the broader field of antebellum southern history.

The second and third decades of the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of a plethora of voluntary religious associations aimed at preparing the nation for and hastening the arrival of the millennium. The "Big Five," as the principal benevolent societies came to be known, consisted of the American Education Society, the American Bible Society, the American Sunday School Union, the American Tract Society, and the American Home Missionary Society. The distinctive aspect of these associations was their pronounced concern "with the propagation of the gospel rather than the pursuit of some specific social reform" (p. 14). Representing the major denominations and claiming national support, the "Big Five" expected to regenerate Americans and American life. To this end they sent agents and missionaries across the nation.

The history of the "Big Five" is divided into four periods corresponding to the "fortunes of the societies . . . and . . . the receptivity of southern society to their efforts" (p. 21). The four periods follow through a cycle of exploration, expansion, curtailment, and renewal of activity. The most fascinating period was the last when the Tract, Bible, and Sunday School societies managed to salvage their organizations from the wreckage of the late 1830s and then grow into stable associations able to withstand continuing antimission sentiments, denominational strife, and religious and national schism. Fearless and foolhardy agents even continued their good works during the Civil War, crossing lines of combat when necessary. Regardless of their heroic ability to survive within a nation polarized by the issue of slavery, Kuykendall concludes that the benevolent organizations failed because they neither achieved their stated goals of saturating the region with Bibles, tracts, and Sunday schools, nor did their activities produce substantial results.

Drawing upon the official statements of the five benevolent societies, the correspondence between the national offices and the agents and missionaries in the field, and recent historical studies Kuykendall has provided a balanced and perceptive study. There are some unfortunate shortcomings to this work, one of which is

the absence of any tables. It would be most helpful to have a table or two depicting the numbers of agents each society fielded during the various periods under discussion. Only by combing through the footnotes can one discover that at its peak of operation the Home Missionary Society merely had forty-eight or 6.4 per cent of its total number of workers in the South and that thirty-five or seventy-three per cent of those agents were located in the states of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri. A chart could detail the changing fortunes of the "Big Five" and show in which states the societies were most active.

Southern Enterprize is a fine study warranting the attention of all historians of the Old South. The author leaves a number of questions unanswered, and there are a few seeming contradictions. Nevertheless, Kuykendall is to be commended for introducing a new angle from which to view both southern religion and the sectional crisis.

Cape Coral, Florida R. LYN RAINARD

All Clever Men Who Make Their Way: Critical Discourse in the Old South. Edited by Michael O'Brien. (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1982. 456 pp. Introduction, editorial note, acknowledgments, index. $35.00.)

In his *All Clever Men Who Make Their Way: Critical Discourse in the Old South,* Professor Michael O'Brien has undertaken the formidable task of demonstrating that the Old South has an intellectual history as worthy of consideration by scholars as that of New England. He contends that the universally accepted thesis that educated Southerners were too preoccupied with defending the institution of slavery to turn their minds to other subjects is entirely erroneous, and that this interpretation came to be accepted by scholars because they had not examined the writings of southern thinkers. O'Brien believes that students of American thought have given high praise to the intellectual accomplishments of New Englanders while ignoring the works of their counterparts below the Mason and Dixon line because the writings of New Englanders were readily accessible and those of Southerners were very difficult to obtain.

The author agrees with the general view that antebellum Southerners published relatively few books, but insists that this scarcity of bound volumes does not prove that Southerners were failing to put pens to paper. Instead, according to O'Brien, they were publishing their thoughts in essay form in literary periodicals, using pseudonyms that concealed their identities from the reading public of the time as well as from modern scholars. They published, he found, in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, the *Southern Quarterly Review*, *De Bow's Review*, in religious publications such as the *Southern Presbyterian Review*, and in such agricultural publications as the *Southern Agriculturist* and the *Southern Cultivator*. Although O'Brien does not make this point, southern writers also were contributors to both northern and southern newspapers.

In publishing this collection of writings by a few southern authors, Professor O'Brien attempts to demonstrate that Southerners were thinking along the same lines as writers in England and New England by making samples of their writings available to modern readers. Most of his selections have not previously been reprinted, and were to be found only in the scarce originals. Some of the essays were by authors that have only recently been identified. By making these works available he hopes to attract other intellectual historians and literary scholars into his hunt for buried southern intellectual treasure.

While deciding which selections to incorporate into his anthology, the editor had to limit his choices, of course, to writers whose identities were known. Within that limitation, he selected his list of writers almost at random in order to provide a maximum of variety. Thus, he admits, his selections are not necessarily representative of southern intellectuals as a class. Consequently, some of his authors are well known today, while others are unfamiliar. Hugh Swinton Legare, Thomas Roderick Dew, George Frederick Holmes, Charles E. A. Gayarre, and James Henley Thornwall are familiar figures to all students of the Old South, while Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve is no stranger to students of southern educational history. James Hervey Smith, Jesse Burton Harrison, Henry Augustine Washington, James Warley Miles, Frederick Adolphus Porcher, Louisa Susannah McCord, John Holmes Bocock, and Richard Henry Nisbet are generally unfamiliar.

The topics of the essays included in this volume vary widely, and few are on peculiarly southern subjects. To cite a few examples, Smith wrote on "Sismondi's Political Economy," Harrison on "English Civilization," McCord on the "Enfranchisement of Women," and Nisbet on "American Authorship and Nathaniel Hawthorne." In the opinion of the reviewer O'Brien is to be commended for not including a selection from the pen of Mary Boykin Chestnut.

The editor is not likely to achieve his goal of gaining recognition for intellectuals of the Old South from intellectual historians or literary critics, but he has succeeded in demonstrating convincingly that Southerners of the era of slavery were not living in an intellectual vacuum. O'Brien's own introductory essay in which he discusses the literary history of the South is an important contribution to southern intellectual history, and his biographical sketches of his writers are skillfully done.

As he obviously intended, this anthology will be of much greater interest to serious students of the southern mind than to the casual reader.

Florida State University JOHN HEBRON MOORE

The Confederate Navy in Europe. By Warren F. Spencer. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1983. xii, 268 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. $19.95.)

Under international law a neutral nation is obligated to prevent violations of its neutrality regardless of its own interior or local law. With the outbreak of the American conflict in 1861, Great Britain and France assumed this responsibility when each announced its neutrality. The procedures employed by the two nations to enforce this state varied due to their different political and judicial systems, but Professor Spencer contends that both governments were consistent in their efforts to maintain their neutrality throughout the war. Spencer's interpretation challenges the more common view that England and France vacillated in their enforcement of neutrality until after the North's victories at Antietam, Gettysburg, and Vicksburg. Many believe that the North's successes caused the Europeans to stiffen their vigilance to protect their neutrality.

European involvement began with Confederate Secretary of the Navy Stephen R. Mallory's strategy of utilizing cruiser commerce-raiding to destroy northern shipping on the high seas, which also might draw off some of the blockading vessels from the South's coasts, and employing ironclads to challenge the blockade. The first task required fast vessels propelled by steam and sail capable of remaining at sea for extended periods of time. The second mission needed the recently developed iron-plated ships for its execution. To obtain both types of vessels Mallory had to turn to British and French shipyards.

Throughout the war southern agents schemed to circumvent international law so as to purchase or build ships for the Confederate Navy. Northern diplomats and agents spied upon and reported the South's plans in an effort to thwart Mallory's strategy. Meanwhile, the host governments expended energy to preserve the delicate balance between international and local law in order to protect their neutrality with minimum dislocation to their nationals' rights.

Professor Spencer's narrative develops three themes: the diplomatic and internal legal maneuvering by Great Britain and France in their efforts to maintain neutrality; the background, personalities, and achievements of the three major Confederate agents, James D. Bulloch, Lieutenant James H. North, and Commander Matthew Fontaine Maury; and James Bulloch's evolution of a concept of naval strategy which might have succeeded. In spite of these seemingly abstract subjects, Spencer's narrative is lively, informative, and thought-provoking. One does not have to be a specialist in diplomacy or in naval strategy to enjoy this book.

The author made extensive use of archives on both sides of the Atlantic in his effort to understand all of the happenings in Europe. Although he relied heavily upon the writings of the Confederate agents themselves, he also incorporated studies by contemporary scholars. His only apparent weakness in research is the lack of material relating to the northern agents in Europe who worked so assiduously to destroy the South's plans. His handling of northern efforts is based upon the activities of Charles Francis Adams, United States minister in London, and John Biglow, United States minister to Paris. Spencer ignores, in both his text and his bibliography, the exploits of northern

agents such as Henry Shelton Sanford, Ignatius Pollaky, John M. Forbes, and William H. Aspinwall.

The Confederate Navy in Europe is a significant work which should appeal to those interested in diplomacy and naval strategy as well as the legion of Civil War buffs. The indepth study of Bulloch, North, and Maury in Europe lifts this book above the humdrum and provides the reader with rare insight into a neglected theater of the Civil War.

Jacksonville University GEORGE E. BUKER

Black Politicians and Reconstruction in Georgia, A Splendid Failure. By Edmund L. Drago. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982. xii, 201 pp. Preface, photographs, appendix, bibliography, index. $16.95.)

During the years following America's Civil War, Georgia freedmen attempted to expand their community's economic, social, and political boundaries in ways that disappointed and shocked their old masters. After March 1867, when the Federal government granted the freedmen the right to participate politically in the reconstruction process, they outraged white sensibilities by actually approaching the ballot box to support their own community leaders in contests for convention and legislative seats. Edmund Drago devotes his study of Reconstruction Georgia to a careful examination of those black politicians. Consequently, he provides students of the era with a necessary and important supplement to the existing literature that explains the nature of black leadership in the state and why it provided its constituency with only "a splendid failure."

Drago places his discussion of black politics within the broader context of the freedom experience and the development of the new economic system by devoting two chapters to the topics, the latter one including an enlightening case study of black life and labor in Dougherty County in southwest Georgia. However, the author's major contribution lies with the development of his chosen theme. Thirty-seven black delegates sat in the constitutional convention of December 1867, and from 1868 to 1872 thirty-two black men tried to exercise political power in the state

legislature and Congress. Made up of a black elite that was less affluent and of humbler origins than their South Carolina and Louisiana counterparts, the state's black leadership was no more or less ethical than its white counterparts. However, most black politicians were aware of the needs of their race and were committed to black Georgia's well-being. Twenty-five, or sixty per cent, of the legislators and delegates whose occupations the author identified were men of the cloth who found politics a "natural extension of their ministry." According to Drago, ministers "became the unchallenged political and social leaders of black Georgia" (p. 21). And herein lies the source of the freedmen's political failure.

Schooled in the art of compromise, a necessity for the preachers' survival during slavery time, the black minister-politicians were too patient, too conciliatory, and too trusting in their dealings with white Georgians. After all, they supported a poll tax for educational purposes that the state's ex-masters eventually used to disfranchise the freedmen. Furthermore, they lacked the skills necessary for representing effectively their laboring constituency. The fact that their white Republican friends contributed to their expulsion from the state legislature suggests their inability to convince even their own allies of their political importance.

Black legislators also lacked the political influence necessary for helping other blacks win county and municipal offices, which suggests a problem inherent in concentrating on political expressions of leadership. One wonders about the foreman, artisan, and musician who stayed in the fields and helped their less experienced friends, who had recognized their leadership in their antebellum pre-political community, work out their new status. Still, the author has accomplished what he set out to do. We should all benefit from his scholarship.

Black Abolitionist Papers Project PAUL A. CIMBALA
Florida State University

Cotton Fields and Skyscrapers, Southern City and Region, 1607-1980. By David R. Goldfield. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982. xiv, 232 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, photographs, bibliographical essay, index. $20.00.)

David R. Goldfield, the R. L. Bailey Associate Professor of American History at the University of North Carolina in Charlotte, in this brief history of southern urbanization argues a straight-forward thesis: the southern city, rather than being a distinctive environment set apart from the countryside, has been closer to the plantation than to cities in the rest of the nation. Pinpointing three features that he believes have dominated the history of the South– rural life-style, especially as shaped by staple agriculture, race, and a colonial economy– Goldfield concludes that the same three things have made southern cities distinctive.

Not only scenery and rhythm defined the southern city as rural, Greenfield suggests, but "a homogeneous rural population of predominantly Celtic origin has dominated southern cities" (p. 4), and such southern rural bulwarks as family and religion found hospitable soil there. He accounts for the South's bleak record in education, health, and housing for the poor primarily because of the dominance of rural values that place low priorities on investments in those areas. "The mingling of southern rural values and southern biracialism to produce a lethal formula for regional and urban debility," he maintains, "is evident in the priority of child labor over child education; in the fear of educating blacks; in the view of disease as a religious judgment and of unhealthfulness as a factor of race; and in the notion that housing is an individual or family concern for white and for black" (p. 7). The grim conclusion is that southern biracialism restricted urban development by abusing the city's most valuable resource, which was the labor and intelligence of its population.

After the briefest glance at the scanty urbanization that occurred in the colonial South, Goldfield describes the paradox of urbanization without cities in the antebellum era. What he means is that while large cities were few and far between in the Old South, the urban place with under 4,000 people was more characteristic of the South than of any other region. That, he explains, was consistent with the relatively low level of functions that

southern towns performed in support of staple-producing agriculture.

That Goldfield has an essentially gloomy and negative account of urbanization in the period from 1861 to 1920 comes as no surprise. The South by the latter date was, in fact, relatively less urban and less prosperous in comparison with other regions than it had been in 1860. Although matters grew worse in the agriculturally depressed 1920s and 1930s, Greenfield depicts, as his final chapter is entitled, "a kind of sunlight" breaking through during and after World War Two. By 1960 the South was an urban region, with over half of its population living in towns or cities. With the old biracial system crumbling, one-crop agriculture fast receding in importance, and the most blatant aspects of the colonial economy ending, one might hope that a better day had at last arrived. If so, Greenfield chooses not to emphasize it, for he ends his perhaps overly condensed, unfootnoted survey with various warnings about and criticisms of the contemporary southern scene. "Sun Belt sophistry," he notes, "has replaced the New South Creed as the prevailing rhetorical ruse in the region and, like its philosophical predecessor, has obscured the region's economic and social problems" as well as "masked the extent and quality of urbanization" (p. 192).

Duke University ROBERT F. DURDEN

Region, Race, and Reconstruction, Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward. Edited by J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982. xxxvii, 463 pp. Contributors, introduction, tables, C. Vann Woodward bibliography, index. $25.00.)

This splendid collection of essays is a worthy tribute to the career and work of C. Vann Woodward, Sterling Professor of History Emeritus at Yale University. Edited by J. Morgan Kousser and James McPherson, the volume contains an introduction, fifteen essays, and a bibliography of Professor Woodward's published writings.

The essays are organized around the themes of "Region, Race, and Reconstruction" which dominate the mainstream of Wood-

ward's work. Essays focusing on the South as a region have been written by Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Steven Hahn, Robert Dean Pope, Daniel T. Rodgers, and Willie Lee Rose. Race is the subject of pieces contributed by Charles Dew, Tilden G. Edelstein, Robert F. Engs, Barbara J. Fields, and Louis Harlan. Reconstruction, as a process and a problem in American history, is examined by Thomas C. Holt, William McFeely, Lawrence N. Powell, Vincent P. DeSantis, and J. Mills Thornton III.

All of the work in this festschrift is of an extremely high caliber, and some of the essays undoubtedly will provoke further scholarly debate. This is especially true of the articles written by DeSantis, Fields, Powell, and Thornton. These pieces focus on subjects which continue to be hotly debated in southern history. Examining the issues that surrounded the removal of troops from the South in 1877, Vincent P. DeSantis places President Hayes at the center of this process. In doing so, he sheds new light on an old problem and suggests another way of looking at a historical perennial. "Ideology and Race in American History" is a bold piece by Barbara Fields which chides American historians for according "race a transhistorical almost metaphysical status that removes it from all possibility of analysis and understanding." This sweeping generalization is only one of many that makes Fields's essay both provocative and controversial. What is disturbing about the article is its author's presumption. Readers will learn that race is an ideological construct which derives its meaning from a specific context. Furthermore, that ideologies change through time because they possess the ability to reshuffle the "contradictory and inconsistent elements" of which they are comprised. Scholars familiar with the work of Ira Berlin, David Brion Davis, Carl Degler, and Winthrop Jordan will find these observations old hat. Fields, for all her brashness, tells us nothing new, even, for example, when she moves from the general to the specific as in her analysis of the meaning of the slogan "white supremacy." Although clever, this discussion of white supremacy raises one question which Fields does not answer. That is, what did it mean for blacks that poor whites were only willing to accept "temporary alliances" with them? Were these really alliances or were they nothing more than a variation on a theme in postbellum southern history: the manipulation of the black vote for partisan ends.

Finally, the essay by Lawrence N. Powell, "The Politics of Livelihood: Carpetbaggers in the Deep South," is an important contribution to our understanding of this much-maligned group. Powell argues that the Northerners who became carpetbaggers were motivated both by civic-mindedness and the need to earn a living. Space limitations will not allow me to do justice to the complexity of Powell's argument, but this essay represents an important development in Reconstruction historiography.

The essay by J. Mills Thornton III, "Fiscal Policy and the Failure of Radical Reconstruction in the Lower South," suggests that southern small farmers' dissatisfaction with the Republican party was fueled by more than an unhappiness with the northern party's racial policies. "Racism," Thornton says, "cannot serve, however, as an all-purpose explanation for small farmers' electoral behavior." Why not? Certainly if a call for "law and order" can serve as an explanation for voting behavior in the twentieth century, taxes and the issue of taxation could be a nineteenth-century code word for racial oppression.

Together these stimulating essays comprise a fitting tribute to the scholarship of C. Vann Woodward.

Wesleyan University CLARENCE E. WALKER

The War Within: From Victorian to Modernist Thought in the South, 1919-1945. By Daniel Joseph Singal. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982. xvi, 453 pp. Preface, introduction, coda, notes, bibliography, index, acknowledgments, photographs. $27.00.)

In this long-awaited study of twentieth-century southern intellectual history, Daniel J. Singal presents a masterful account of the transition from Victorian to Modernist thought in the interwar years. Entitling his study *The War Within,* Singal keeps his focus on the "sweat and agony" and the "great psychic anguish" that generally accompany the process of intellectual change, for he argues that "/t/o leave out this inner warfare would be to omit an important part of the story and to oversimplify the process of intellectual change."

Never intending to produce an encyclopedic narrative of

southern intellectual history, Singal intends instead "to chronicle and in part explain the process of cultural transition in the region." Singal's main concern is not the South per se, however, but Modernism, for he hopes above all "to establish the fact that there is, indeed, a basic pattern beneath the various forms of intellectual endeavor in the twentieth century, that literature and social science and political thought have not proceeded autonomously, but that an underlying matrix of culture and experience unites them at the deepest level." The South, therefore, is of interest to Singal primarily because, "although the battle between Victorian and Modernist culture raged throughout Western society, nowhere can it be seen with greater clarity than in the American South."

Singal describes Victorian thought as being characterized by a "radical dichotomy" between civilization and savagery, between the animal and the human. The impulse of the Victorians was to strive for purity in all things, to refuse resolutely to accommodate the presence of evil or conflict within the "perimeter of civilization." Within the context of southern thought, Victorianism led to the near-universal acceptance of the "Cavalier myth" of southern aristocracy and innocence, and the consequent inability to accept responsibility for, or even to perceive, the evils inherent in southern life. The Modernists, on the other hand, launched a rebellion against the rigidities of Victorian thought, intentionally breaking down the barriers between savagery and civilization "in an effort to make man whole again." According to Singal, the Modernist mode of thought is characterized by "the recognition of man's irrational nature, the acceptance of an open and unpredictable universe, the notion of conflict as inherently virtuous, the tolerance of uncertainty, and the drive toward probing criticism." Singal demonstrates and examines all of these attributes in his compelling analysis of southern writers and social scientists.

Singal advances his argument in three stages, dividing his subjects into categories he labels as post-Victorians, Modernists "by the skin of their teeth," and Modernists. The post-Victorians—U. B. Phillips, Broadus Mitchell, and Ellen Glasgow— all sought to free themselves from the traditional, chauvinistic view of southern history in an effort to view their region's problems objectively and scientifically. But all of them, according to Singal, failed to achieve their goals and had their final accomplishments crippled

because the old Cavalier myth remained firmly entrenched in their minds. Singal argues that those who were barely Modernists, on the other hand, produced the richest insights and contributions, largely because of the tension between the competing sets of values in their psyches. Describing Howard Odum, William Faulkner, and the Nashville Agrarians, Singal writes: "Straddling two cultural eras, theirs was an unparalleled opportunity to view the South with fresh eyes, using the conceptual tools made available by the social sciences and the perspectives afforded by Modernist literary culture in bringing to light facets of southern society previously ignored." Finally, Singal argues that those who were fully Modernist viewed the South with detachment and objectivity, but they lacked the scope and the solidity of their predecessors. William Terry Couch, Rupert Vance, Guy B. Johnson, Arthur Raper, and Robert Penn Warren usually limited themselves to temporary solutions to immediate problems rather than seeking universal truths, and thus their writing lacked the grand sweep, and the tragic vision, of an Odum or a Faulkner.

Singal argues that by 1941, with the appearance of Wilbur J. Cash's *The Mind of the South*, Modernism had triumphed as the dominant mode of thought in southern literary circles, and that by mid-century "Cash's South of conflict and depravity was, ironically, coming to enjoy the mythological status that had once characterized the innocent and genteel South of the nineteenth century." The battle had been won, Modernist thought had triumphed, and the years after the 1950s would witness a "noticeable drop in the intensity of intellectual activity in the region." A need remains, however, for an energizing new synthesis, and Singal suggests that the South may be able to play a leading role in producing new patterns of thought, In Singal's words: "Having freed the individual from the old moral code and reinstated the animal part of his being, Modernist culture may have reached its furthest limits. A new source of guidance has to be found. Surely the South, with its acute sense of loss of the old certainties, will have a role to play in that quest."

This is an exciting book, and one that is sure to be hailed as a major contribution to our understanding of the southern past. *The War Within* reflects hours and years of tenacious research, deep thought, and rigorous analysis, and because Singal writes with clarity and force, he is able to shine great beacons of light

where there had only been darkness before. Singal not only provides engaging, insightful analyses of each of his southern thinkers, he also demonstrates convincingly that the thinking of each of his subjects does reflect, to a greater or lesser extent, the "basic pattern" that he had discerned beneath all of Modernist thought. In short, *The War Within* is a triumph for the author and an adornment for the profession, and it is a book that should be read by anyone with a serious interest in twentieth-century southern history.

Newport, Arkansas ELIZABETH JACOWAY

Nearby History, Exploring the Past Around You. By David E. Kyvig and Myron A. Marty. (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1982. xiii, 300 pp. Preface, photographs, appendices, acknowledgments, picture credits, index. $15.95.)

American historians have come a long way from the days at the end of the nineteenth century when their field was not considered an appropriate topic for study. Unfortunately, early in the twentieth century, academic and nonacademic historians split over the role and importance of local or community studies. As Myron Marty and David Kyvig explain, academicians "held to the notion that they were serving society and culture by concentrating on national history. Many came to scorn nonprofessionals, whose approaches and interests differed from their own, and they tended to dismiss local history as uncritical, unscientific, and inaccurate, which indeed was often true, and of little importance, which was very short-sighted." Each went his separate way.

In the past two decades American historians have started to rething their discipline. The college- or university-based historian no longer approaches only the broad questions or only studies the rich, the powerful, and the well-educated. The advent of the "new social history" since the 1960s finds historians investigating the roles of the common man and woman, ethnic and racial minorities, and the non-elite. At the same time academicians are studying "history from the bottom up," and increasing numbers of non-academic historians are taking to heart earlier criticisms of

their work, are adopting more stringent, analytical methods for their research, and are breaking out of the stranglehold which left much of their work short-sighted and insular.

As both of these groups work to redefine their goals, Kyvig and Marty have produced a volume which helps all of us bridge the gap between "professional" and "non-professional" history. *Nearby History: Exploring the Past Around You* presents a simplified approach to local historical research utilizing published and unpublished documents, oral history, visual documents, buildings, and artifacts. Throughout their discussion, the authors refer to "nearby history," rather than genealogy, local history, or community studies. Their goal is to "include the entire range of possibilities in a person's environment" and not to limit history to a concept of place or of relationships or to a discussion of objects. By trying to break old stereotypes of local history and local historical research, Kyvig and Marty "seek to increase the effectiveness of research and writing about the history of people and places nearby. To this end we aim to help our readers understand the nature and purposes of nearby history, realize the importance of caring about it, and know how to research and write or tell about it." The authors provide a series of questions, some of which might provide a new way of approaching a topic for some researchers. The book also provides a broad bibliography, suggesting additional useful readings, and the constant admonition to link the particulars with the universals, to place the event or people in a broader context.

Historians of all types– teachers or students, professional or amateur– will find this volume useful. For some it will clarify procedures, for others it will give insight into the research process, for still others it will provide reassurance that all their work has been well-done and worth-while. Some seasoned practitioners might be put-off by the need to devise new terminology– nearby history, traces, latent and manifest events– somewhat akin to devising public history, as though giving a new name will spawn instant respectability. Basically, this is what the best of local historians have been doing for years. Overall, the authors and the publisher, the American Association for State and Local History, deserve recognition and thanks for producing this fine volume.

Historic Pensacola Preservation Board LINDA V. ELLSWORTH

Mississippi Choctaws at Play, The Serious Side of Leisure. By Kendall Blanchard. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981. xv, 196 pp. Preface, tables, illustrations, photographs, appendices, references, index. $15.95.)

This monograph is an important contribution to the literature, for it is an initial attempt by an anthropologist to use sport and recreational games as a vehicle for undertaking a general ethnography. The book presents an excellent example of how specific socio-cultural activities reflect more generalized cultural patterns and behaviors. Thus, the text is not only an ethnographic study of how Mississippi Choctaws spend their leisure time in team-oriented sports, but also how these sports encapsulate Choctaw values, ideology, and behaviors. Games fulfilled many functions in traditional Choctaw culture, including the resolution of inter-village and inter-tribal conflict. Blanchard reviews these traditional functions, and offers comparisons with contemporary sporting events, which are primarily adopted from western culture.

One of the significant aspects of this book is the author's use of emic methods (ethnoscientific, cognitive methods) in his fieldwork. Although he admits to using a modified approach– principally by verifying information empirically– this extended presentation of the Choctaw Indian's perspective is commendable. Inclusion of this data alone makes this text a valuable investment for those interested in American Indian research. Thus far, few scholars have displayed this sensitivity to the Indian's viewpoint.

The concepts underlying the research, and a theoretical framework for the study, are presented in the initial chapter. Despite the scope of his knowledge of the existing literature, Blanchard judiciously chooses his references to support his views. In the second chapter, the author examines Choctaw sport in its historical dimension, with emphasis on the traditional stickball game. I was intrigued by the delineation of historical periods and the emphasis placed on women's sports. The third chapter focuses on the relationship of sport to Choctaw identity, using as examples contemporary stickball, basketball, and softball. Comparison with recreational activities of black and white populations in the region illustrates the distinctive adaptations Choctaws have made of western sports. The clever use of projective

tests for eliciting Choctaw responses and subsequently comparing these responses to Anglo perceptions is one of the highlights of the book.

In chapter four, "The Economics of Choctaw Sport," Blanchard begins to examine the concept of recreational activities as a part of general Choctaw culture. The following chapter treats the relationship of sports to social organization in general, specifically kinship structures and political behavior. The chapter on "Sport, Myth, and Ritual in Choctaw Society," contains the most extensive reporting of his informants' comments concerning the potential supernatural dimension of games. Blanchard reviews the types of ritual specialists and how the Choctaw use their expertise in assuring the successful outcome of a game. The domain of witchcraft continues to flourish in Choctaw culture, and he discusses the extent to which this option presently operates.

In a few instances, I do not completely agree with Blanchard's perceptions. For example, in my research among the Mississippi Choctaw, I find evidence of the maintenance of the traditional matrilineal system to be more obvious than he suggests. Further, my experience with native medicine men or doctors and their relationship to the field of witchcraft differs somewhat from his presentation. Both of these inherently difficult areas beg for further research, but my observations are not meant to detract from the value of Blanchard's contribution.

As anthropologists and historians we need to examine more fully the creative processes as a part of cultural behavior. Since recreation derives from the word create, the context of play provides an excellent domain for pursuing further research. For example, what are the parameters of individual creativity (or innovation) in team sports? Since Blanchard suggests that rules for games are not as crucial to Choctaw natives as to their Anglo counterparts, this culture appears to be an advantageous field situation for studying aspects of creativity. We may hope that he will pursue this investigation.

The information presented here does have potential application beyond our academic horizons into the broader spectrum of human experience. As Blanchard observes, the working hours for most Americans are diminishing, which is likely to continue in the future. Perhaps we can learn something of value from the Choctaw who take their leisure-time pursuits seriously, or who

may be said to "work at" play. Since sport may fulfill societal functions which we have traditionally associated with work, we need to investigate the usefulness of these ideas for mainstream American society.

University of California, Los Angeles DAVID E. DRAPER

BOOK NOTES

The publication in 1903 of *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian, Civil and Spanish-American Wars,* with all its errors, discrepancies, and omissions, provided a vital research tool for historians of Florida and southern history. The book mainly lists the roles and rosters of the volunteer militia groups and the organized Florida regiments that were involved in the Civil War. There is some limited data also on navy units. Many war records had disappeared by the beginning of the twentieth-century; insects, humidity, and fire had taken their toll, and many others had disappeared with the passage of time. Confederate veterans were particularly anxious to save the surviving records. The R. E. Lee Camp in Jacksonville had collected a number of muster roles, but these had been destroyed in the great fire which devastated the city in May 1901. Representative Augustine Long of Bradford County introduced a bill in the Florida legislature in 1903 which provided support for the compilation of a history of Florida soldiers serving in the military engagements of the nineteenth-century. The act, which was signed by Governor Jennings on May 14, 1903, appropriated $5,000 to finance the research and to publish 1,000 copies of the completed volume. F. L. Robertson of Suwannee County, former bill clerk of the Florida Senate, was hired as compiler. The book was published under the supervision of the Board of State Institutions. It was found that military records relating to Florida men who had participated in the Second Seminole War and the Mexican War were almost nonexistent, although a search was made for material in the United States War Department's Record and Pension archives. A few records of the Third Seminole War were located, and these were published in *Soldiers of Florida.* Records of the organization of troops by state authority in 1860 and 1861 were also sparse. It was believed that many of these had been destroyed after the Civil War to prevent them falling into the hands of the Federals who were occupying Tallahassee. To secure needed information, thousands of letters were mailed to Confederate veterans throughout the state asking for personal data. Later, printed forms were distributed. These provided his-

torical detail for many of the units when nothing else was available. The plan was to publish the volume and to distribute copies free to colleges, seminaries, schools, and public libraries throughout Florida and then to "exchange for similar publications from other States." Remaining copies would then be sold to the general public in an effort to retrieve the original investment. Governor Williams S. Jennings, in his preface to *Soldiers of Florida,* acknowledges the "imperfect record," but notes that "the surest way to correct an error and reach the truth is to publish to the world the evidence at hand, then, those in possession of the information will come forward and correct the errors that may exist." It was hoped that a revised edition could be published later, but this never happened. A few copies of *Soldiers of Florida* have survived. Most are in libraries, and not always available to historians, research scholars, and genealogists who need the information the book contains. Original copies are almost impossible to purchase. However, now the problem of availability has been resolved with the publication of a facsimile edition by Richard J. Ferry, of Macclenny, Florida. *Soldiers of Florida* may be ordered from Mr. Ferry, P. O. Box 446, Macclenny, FL 32063. It sells for $24.95. A major problem in using *Soldiers of Florida* was the lack of an index. However, some years ago, Dr. Dorothy Dodd, former state librarian, of Tallahassee, took on the arduous task of indexing sections of the volume relating to the Civil War. This index has not been published. A typed copy is available in the Florida State Library, Tallahassee, and the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

While beautiful buildings and homes designed by Addison Cairns Mizner are located across the country from New York to California, he is mainly identified with South Florida, particularly the Palm Beach and Boca Raton areas. Arriving in Florida in 1918 with Paris Singer, heir to sewing machine millions, Mizner quickly became "the most talked about architect of the 1920s." Singer wanted him to design a hospital in Palm Beach where American officers could recuperate from their war wounds. This building never opened as a hospital, but was converted to the Everglades Club which became the hub of social activity for Palm Beach society. Both the design and decor of the building

were immediate successes, and everybody, it seemed, wanted to employ Mizner. Mrs. Edward Stotesbury, wife of a J. P. Morgan partner, engaged him to build El Mirasol, one of Palm Beach's most opulent palaces. He built other great mansions for American millionaires. One, El Salano, was intended to be his own home, but he sold to it Harold Vanderbilt. It is now owned by Yoko Ono, John Lennon's widow. Everyone who could afford it wanted a house built by Mizner, or at least one in the Mizner style—Spanish with a touch of Mexican mission. When Mizner found that he could not get a particular type of building material that he wanted, he manufactured his own. First it was roof tiles, and then decorative iron, floor tiles, and Woodite. The latter was a mixture of plaster, fiberous materials, and wood shavings along with a binding substance. It could be treated like regular wood and enabled Mizner to build at low cost elaborate ceiling and door panels. He manufactured furniture, produced stained and leaded glass windows, and developed imitation marble. The Mizner Industries became a major operation. He was an expert in the art of antiquing buildings, both inside and out. The millionaires of Palm Beach wanted not only houses to live and entertain in but places to shop, and so Mizner designed Worth Avenue, one of the world's most beautiful shopping streets. Via Mizner, Via Parigi, Patio Marguery, and the surrounding piazzas, patios, and plazas house exclusive stores, boutiques, galleries, and restaurants. Not all of Mizner's buildings were grand mansions. On a somewhat more modest scale he designed "cottages" on Brazilian and Chilean avenues in Palm Beach. All were on the "right" side of the lake except for the house he designed for his chief engineer, Carl Riddle. Mizner developed office and apartment complexes, the Embassy Club (now the home of the Society of the Four Arts) in Palm Beach, and the Golf and Polo Club south of Palm Beach. He was also responsible for the Boynton Woman's Club, Riverside Baptist Church in Jacksonville, and the Casa Coe da Sol, an important private residence in St. Petersburg. During the summer and fall of 1925, Mizner announced his plan to develop Boca Raton on a stretch of sand and scrub tropical growth. It would include a 100-room hotel, a boulevard wide enough to accommodate twenty cars abreast, and a grand canal modeled after the Botafogo in Rio de Janeiro. The hotel opened on February 6, 1926, with 500 guests for the reception. It was ob-

vious to any discerning observer that the great Florida land boom was collapsing, and that Mizner's dream would never be fulfilled. But his career was not over yet. A number of private residences were built in Boca Raton before he went bankrupt. Many Mizner buildings have been demolished, but some still remain. The residence that he built for William Grey Warden in Palm Beach has been converted into handsome condominium units. La Guerida, which he built for one of the Wanamakers, is owned by the Kennedy family. It was famous during the 1960s as the Palm Beach White House. Addison Mizner is also remembered for some of the important architects who were associated with him. These include Lester Geisler, who designed the Hialeah race track, and Bryon Simonson, who later laid out most of Hilton Head. Mizner is also recognized as the architect of the Cloister Hotel at Sea Island, the Foerderar Mansion in Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, the Casa Serena ranch near Colorado Springs, and several properties on California's Monterey Peninsula. All of this Mizner history is related in *Addison Mizner Architect to the Affluent, A Sketchbook Raisonne of His Work.* The 194 black and white sketches are by William Olendorf, and the text is by Robert Tolf. This volume was published by Gale Graphics, 1700 East Las Olas Boulevard, Fort Lauderdale, FL 33301, and the price is $30.00.

In his first autobiographical volume, *Like I Saw It, The University Years,* Angus McKenzie Laird covered his family history, his own early education, and his years at the University of Florida, first as a student and then as a professor. He has now published a second volume, *The Merit System Years,* covering the nineteen years that Laird directed this important activity for the state of Florida. In 1941, enrollment at the University of Florida began declining because of the war crisis, and Laird agreed to teach one-half time and devote the remaining time to supervising the Merit System for the State Board of Health and the Florida Crippled Children's Commission, each an independent agency. Throughout the war period, he continued to teach while also visiting the agencies which he supervised. He traveled by bus, usually at night. Laird's book not only provides information on an important government activity during a time when there was much growth and change taking place in Florida, but

provides personal accounts of people that he knew and worked with and events which he encountered. This kind of information is difficult, often impossible, to find in official archives. The section, "Governors of the Merit System," describes the role that Florida governors, beginning with Millard Caldwell, played in the System. In his preface to *The Merit System Years,* Professor Laird credits the interview that he did for the University of Florida's Oral History Program as the catalyst which "stirred me to life. . . . I decided to give my autobiography the highest priority." Since the concentration is on the Merit System, much has not been covered. Perhaps a third volume will be forthcoming which could record the other experiences and activities in Mr. Laird's rich and eventful life. *The Merit System Years* is published by St. Andrews Press, 507 Plantation Road, Tallahassee, FL 32303. It sells for $15.00.

Charles S. Miley came to Fort Pierce in 1914 and served as reporter and editor of the *Fort Pierce News Tribune,* as it was known after 1920, until his retirement in 1976. During this period of more than six decades Miley was a careful observer of the people of the Indian River area and the many changes that were taking place as a flood tide of people moved in. He recorded in his columns the impact, as he saw it, of two world wars, the land boom of the 1920s, the Depression era, and the arrival of the space age. *Miley's Memos* is a collection of short sketches dealing with the people, environment, education, the religious, social, and cultural institutions, Indians, transportation, and politics. The volume was published by the Indian River Community College Historical Data Center, Fort Pierce. It includes pictures, maps, and statistical data.

The Peace River Valley in southwest Florida is one of the most beautiful and productive areas of the state. Robert Lee Thompson, in his book *Peace River Valley, The Puritan's Utopia,* describes the river and its environs, the early settlement of the area, and its major industries– fishing, cattle, citrus, and phosphate. Seventeen chapters describe thirty-two communities in the Valley, most of which date from early nineteenth-century settlements. Fort Meade, Mulberry, Bartow, Bowling Green, Zolfo Springs, and Arcadia are among these early pioneer communi-

ties. Events occurring in the Valley during the Third Seminole War in the 1850s are described in Mr. Thompson's book, together with the importance of the cattle industry during the Civil War. Of importance also is the biographical data on families and individuals. A selected bibliography is included. *Peace River Valley* sells for $17.95, and it may be ordered from Patricia D. Robertson (Thompson's daughter), Route 3, Box 98, Morganton, NC 28655.

The History of Davie and Its Dilemma was written by Victoria Wagner. It is based on interviews with some of the early settlers still living in the community, and on materials furnished by persons who have connections with Davie either through their own lives or that of their families. Davie is in Broward County. It is located on the edge of the Everglades, some ten miles west of the Atlantic Ocean and the so called "Gold Coast." It was first named Zona by workers returning from the Panama Canal Zone who thought the terrain was similar to what they had left. The Everglades drainage program, developed during Governor Broward's administration, made the settlement of Davie possible. The town was renamed for R. P. Davie, a Colorado millionaire, who, in 1906, had purchased 27,500 acres of Everglades land. He sent out brochures advertising "The First Improved Town in the Everglades," and settlers arrived, attracted by the cheap land, climate, and rich soil. Zona was renamed Davie in 1916. Mrs. Wagner's monograph, which was published by Nova University/New York Institute of Technology Press in its Community Service Series, traces the history of the town from its earliest beginnings to the present. Agriculture, education, religious institutions, the hurricanes of 1926 and 1947, and the Seminole Indians are some of the topics she touches on. There is also material on Broward Community College and Nova University. The volume includes pictures, a bibliography, and an index. Order from NYIT University Press, Fort Lauderdale, FL; the price is $4.50.

Florida's Golden Galleons, by Robert F. Burgess and Carl J. Clausen, was first published in 1976. It recounts the exciting story of the Spanish treasure fleet which was destroyed by a hurricane on July 24, 1715. Ten ships, 700 lives, and a great treasure were lost. Florida Classics Library has reprinted this volume,

and it may be ordered from the publishers, Box 1657, Port Salerno, FL 33492. The price is $9.95.

Of Sky and Earth, Art of the Early Southeastern Indians is a catalog prepared for an acclaimed exhibit of objects from the prehistoric Mississippian Culture held at the High Museum of Art in Atlanta, Georgia, in the fall of 1982. The catalog was prepared by Roy S. Dickens, Jr., director of the Research Laboratories of Anthropology at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, with contributions by Charles Hudson of the University of Georgia, and Roy C. Craven, Jr., director of the University of Florida Gallery. The Florida State Museum, the Jacksonville Museum of Arts and Sciences, and the University of Florida Gallery loaned objects for the exhibit. The catalog describes the 161 items in the exhibition and illustrates eighty-nine of them, twelve in color. *Of Sky and Earth* may be ordered from the University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, TN 37996. It sells for $9.95.

The World of the Southern Indians, by Virginia Pounds Brown and Laurella Owens, includes brief accounts of the prehistoric Indians, those living in the region at the time of European contact in the sixteenth-century, and of the more contemporary Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, Cherokees, and Seminoles. There is information also on some of the smaller and less well-known tribes. A guide to Indian sites in seven southeastern states are listed, together with a selected bibliography and index. This book will be useful to students, teachers, and librarians. Beechwood Books, Box 20484, Birmingham, AL 35216 is the publisher, and the book sells for $15.95.

Adventures in the Unknown Interior of America is a recent paperback edition of the Cabeza De Vaca narrative manuscripts as translated and edited by Cyclone Covey. Professor Covey's material was published in 1961. This present edition, published by University of New Mexico Press, includes an epilogue written by William T. Pilkington. It sells for $6.95.

Football Powers of the South, edited by Lawrence Wells, features the major football schools in the area– Florida, Georgia;

Alabama, Auburn, Florida State University, Tennessee, Louisiana State University, Vanderbilt, Texas, Southern Methodist University, Arkansas, and the University of North Carolina. The earliest photograph in the University of Florida section is the 1899 football team at the Florida Agriculture College in Lake City. There are also pictures of many of Florida's football greats including Goldy Goldstein, Carl "Tootie" Perry, Dale Van Sickle, D. K. "Dutch" Stanley, Walter Mayberry, Chuck Hunsinger, Jimmy Kynes, Doug Dickey, Carlos Alvarez, and Steve Spurrier, the Gator's only Heisman Trophy winner. The earliest FSU pictures date to 1902 and 1904 when the institution was known as the West Florida Seminary. Its first victory was against South Georgia Military Institute. Pictures of its players and coaches since 1947 are included. Order from Yoknapatawpha Press, Box 248, Oxford, MS 38655, the price is $17.95.

The University of Alabama, A Pictorial History, by Suzanne Rau Wolfe, includes more than 600 illustrations, many appearing for the first time. The volume is divided into time spans, beginning with the founding years, 1818-1831, through its formal opening in 1831, to the present. The University was destroyed in April 1865 at the close of the Civil War when its four buildings and library were burned. Most of the volume is devoted to the years after the war, particularly the development of the modern University since 1903. Published by the University of Alabama Press, the volume sells for $30.00.

When *Cherokee Dance and Drama* was first published in 1951, one year after the death of the noted American ethnologist, Frank G. Speck, it was recognized as an important contribution to the understanding and knowledge of the religious, social, and medical history of the Eastern Cherokee band. It was the work of Speck and Leonard Broom in collaboration with Will West Long. The latter lived in the Big Cove community, a cultural conservative enclave of the Qualla Reservation in western North Carolina. This new edition includes a foreword by Professor Broom, the only surviving member of the trio. It was published by the University of Oklahoma Press in its Civilization of the American Indians series; the price is $14.95.

The Parkman Dexter Howe Library of New England Literature was acquired by the University of Florida Library in 1981. This great collection of first printings and manuscripts covers the period from 1620 to 1960. The acquisition of the Howe Library included an agreement to publish a catalog of the collection and material memorializing the collector and honoring the donors who had made the purchase possible. *The Parkman Dexter Howe Library, Part I,* is the first publication in this series. The general editor is Sidney Ives, librarian for rare books and manuscripts at the University of Florida. This descriptive catalog of the earliest New England items is by Roger E. Stoddard of the Houghton Library at Harvard University. Orders for this book may be addressed to 531 Library West, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611. The edition is limited to 500 copies. The price is $20.00 each; add $1.50 for shipping charges.

HISTORY NEWS

Historic American Building Survey

The Historic American Building Survey is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary. Since 1933, HABS has been documenting the architectural heritage of the United States, producing and collecting measured drawings, professional photographs, and written data. HABS was organized both to preserve buildings through documentation and to provide work for architects during the Depression era. In Florida, the HABS program was begun in Miami and St. Augustine. Fort Dallas in Miami and the Castillo de San Marcos and the Fatio House in St. Augustine were documented in the 1930s. HABS renewed its activities in Florida under the direction of Professor F. Blair Reeves and his colleagues and students in the College of Architecture, University of Florida. With the help of students, a windshield survey inventoried significant and historic architecture in the area between Lake City and Pensacola. Students from the University of Florida and University of Miami then began documenting buildings of all types in the St. Augustine, Pensacola, and Key West areas. In the period 1972-1976, with support from the Florida Bicentennial Commission, the cities of Jacksonville, Fernandina Beach, Tampa, and Pensacola developed HABS programs in their own communities and produced valuable documentary material. A traveling exhibit of Florida's historic architecture, largely composed of HABS photographs, was cosponsored by the Florida Bicentennial Commission and the Florida Association of American Institute of Architects during the 1970s. To celebrate HABS's fiftieth anniversary Professor Reeves and students from the University of Florida organized an exhibit of HABS photographs in the Old Capitol, Tallahassee in the fall of 1983.

Society of Florida Archivists

The Society of Florida Archivists, Inc., was organized in Daytona Beach, May 5, 1983. Twenty-one people attended this first annual meeting, and elected Carla M. Kemp, archives supervisor of the public records section of the Florida State Archives, Talla-

hassee, as president. Gerard Clark, Florida State Archives, is vice-president and president-elect, and Ann G. Foshee, Robert L. Strozier Library, Florida State University, is secretary-treasurer. Rebecca Smith, curator of research materials, Historical Association of Southern Florida, and Larry Stallings, director of library and college archives, Florida Southern College, are the members of the executive board. The Society issued its first newsletter in October 1983. Annual membership is $10.00. For information, write Society of Florida Archivists, Florida State Archives, Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Department of State, Tallahassee, FL 32301.

Announcements and Activities

During the fifth annual meeting of the Florida Trust for Historic Preservation in Miami in November, Secretary of State George Firestone presented six awards in three categories. For distinguished service in the field of preservation, Albert C. Manucy of St. Augustine was recognized for his important work over the years "illuminating the structural and artifactual heritage of St. Augustine." Honors also went to the state of Florida for its restoration of the Old Capitol and to Shephard Associates, the project's architect. The city of Coral Gables was recognized for its efforts to preserve the Biltmore Hotel. The three awards in the category of outstanding restoration for adaptive use went to the Alamo at Jackson Memorial Hospital in Miami and to Shepard Associates, the project's architect; to the Ponce de Leon Inlet Lighthouse Preservation Association, and to Russell and Axon, engineers project architect; and to Alex and Marlene Lancaster for their restoration of the de-Canizares/Lancaster House, Sarasota, for use as law offices.

Secretary of State George Firestone has appointed the following as members of the Historic Florida Preservation Advisory Council: Olive D. Peterson, Fort Pierce; Harry Cunningham, Naples; Robert G. Graff, Tallahassee; J. Earle Bowden, Pensacola; Katherine Horn Dickenson, Boca Raton; Clarence F. Frazier, Jacksonville; Dr. Roy Hunt, Gainesville; Jane Jennewein, Tampa; and Donald D. Slesnick, Coral Gables.

Dr. Donald W. Curl, Florida Atlantic University, has received a research grant from the American Association for State and Local History to study architecture and society in Palm Beach in the period 1872-1941. Dr. Harry A. Kersey, Jr., Florida Atlantic University, is the recipient also of an AASLH grant to interview Florida Seminole elders regarding their New Deal era experiences and to assess the impact of federal policies on the tribe's acculturation.

Frank and Ann Thomas have recorded a third volume of original Florida songs. The lyrics are based upon events in Florida history and the state's cracker culture. For information write the composers at Box 1271, Lake Wales, FL 33853.

The following matching grants-in-aid have been awarded from federal funds allocated to Florida by the JOBS Act: to the city of Lakeland, to aid in the restoration of Lake Mirror Promenade; University of Tampa, to aid in restoring the minarets and cupolas of the Tampa Bay Hotel; Junior Service League of St. Augustine, to rehabilitate the St. Augustine Lighthouse keeper's cottage; Dade Heritage Trust, to aid in restoring Dr. James Jackson's medical office; Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, for restoration of the George W. Barkley House; Boca Raton Historical Society, to restore the old city hall; Gulf Coast Heritage Association, for restoration and preservation of the Osprey Archaeological and Historic Site; city of Eustis, to restore the Clifford Taylor House; Franklin County school system, to restore the auditorium at Chapman Elementary School; Key West Art and Historical Society, for rehabilitation of East Martello Gallery; East Hillsborough Historical Society, to rehabilitate Plant City high school; Metropolitan Dade County Park and Recreation Department, to construct an environmental control system at Vizcaya; and the Arts Assembly of Jacksonville, to preserve the Florida Theatre.

The Florida Aviation Historical Society and the Greater St. Petersburg Chamber of Commerce, on January 1, 1984, commemorated the seventieth anniversary of the flight of the *Benoist*, the world's first scheduled airline flight which took place on January 1, 1914, between St. Petersburg and Tampa. There was a reenactment of this flight at the waterfront in St. Petersburg. Members

of the families of the original participants of the flight were present.

The Tampa Historical Society held its annual banquet at the Palma Ceia Golf and Country Club on the evening of December 7. Marjory Stoneman Douglas of Coconut Grove was the guest speaker. She was also presented with the D. B. McKay Award for her notable contributions to Florida history and to the preservation of the Everglades and the Florida environment. The authors of *Tampa, The Treasure City,* Dr. Gary Mormino and Tony Pizza, were present to autograph their book. This volume was published by Continental Heritage Press in cooperation with the Tampa Historical Society.

The T. T. Wentworth, Jr., Museum Collection was formally transferred, in October 1983, to the state of Florida through the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board. The Wentworth collection is the largest and richest relating to Pensacola, Escambia County, and West Florida in the state. It is being catalogued by Norman Simons, curator of the Pensacola Historical Museum, and Russell Belous. It is planned that the Pensacola City Hall will become the location for the collection.

The St. Augustine Historical Society held an autograph party on November 20 in the Oldest House gardens to honor the authors of *The Oldest City– St. Augustine, Saga of Survival.* Contributing to this volume were John W. Griffin, Amy Bushnell, Jean Parker Waterbury, Daniel L. Schafer, Patricia C. Griffin, George E. Buker, Thomas Graham, and Robert N. Dow, Jr. The cartography is by Charles S. Coomes and the cover design of the soft-cover edition is by Joseph S. Mark.

The Norton Gallery of Art, West Palm Beach, held a symposium, "The Sun and The Shade: Florida Photography, 1885-1983," on December 3, 1983, in conjunction with an exhibition of the same title. Speakers and topics included Joan Morris, "The Florida Photographic Collection: Images of the Early Twentieth Century"; Marion Post-Walcott, "The Farm Security Administration and My Work in Florida"; Jack B. Moore, "The Burgerert Brothers, Artists in the Marketplace"; Jerry Uelsmann, "Florida

Photography: Process and Perception"; and Patsy West, "Seminoles: The Positive Image."

The Alachua County Historical Commission has published the first map in its Historic Tours series. It covers the communities of Melrose, Waldo, and Earlton. The maps are marked, and there is a picture of each historic site, together with a short description of the property. Maps are free and will be distributed at various public places in the county. Members of the Alachua County Historical Commission include Helen C. Ellerbe, chairperson, Melanie Barr, Mark Barrow, Merlin Cox, Marinus Latour, Horace Leland, Jack Opdyke, Bill Warinner, and Wayne Wells.

The North American Society for Sport History will hold its twelfth annual convention on the Shelby campus of the University of Louisville, May 19-21, 1984. Those interested in sport history are invited to attend. For information write Ronald Smith, 101 White Building, Penn State University, University Park, PA 16802.

Phi Alpha Theta, the history honor society, will hold its annual Florida conference March 24, 1984, at Barry University, Miami. The conference will consist of student papers at both the undergraduate and graduate levels, with prizes awarded to the best papers. Society student members are invited to submit papers.

Florida College Teachers of History annual meeting will be held March 15 and 16, 1984, at Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach. Proposals for papers or panels may be submitted to Joseph E. Taylor, Division of Social Science, Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, FL 32015.

The Department of History, University of Florida, will host a conference for Florida high school history teachers, June 11-15, 1984. It will feature seminars provided by the history department faculty. Twenty teachers will be accepted. Conference participants will earn two credits toward recertification. There will be an honorarium for each participant. The registration fee is $15.00. For information, contact Dr. Robert Hatch, Department of History, 4131 GPA, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611.

A conference on Migration and Ethnicity in post-World War II America will be held at the University of Florida, April 26-28, 1984. It will examine the impact of migration of ethnics to the Sun Belt (especially Florida) on ethnicity. Identities, institutions, and migration patterns will be among the topics discussed. For information write Dr. George Pozzetta, Department of History, 4131 GPA, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611.

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GREAT EXPECTATIONS. . . . . .

1984

March 15-16	Florida College Teachers of History Meeting	Daytona Beach, FL
March 24	Florida Maritime Heritage Conference	Silver Springs, FL
March 24	Phi Alpha Theta State Conference	Miami, FL
April 4-7	Organization of American Historians Meeting	Los Angeles, CA
April 20-21	Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Pensacola, FL
April 26-28	Migration and Ethnicity Conference	Gainesville, FL
April 27-29	Florida Anthropological Society Meeting	Palm Beach, FL
May 3	Florida Historical Confederation	Fort Myers, FL
May 4-5	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 82nd MEETING	Fort Myers, FL
June 11-15	Florida History Teacher Workshop	Gainesville, 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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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. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should be directed also to Mr. Camp.