

*The
Florida
Historical
Quarterly*

July 1988

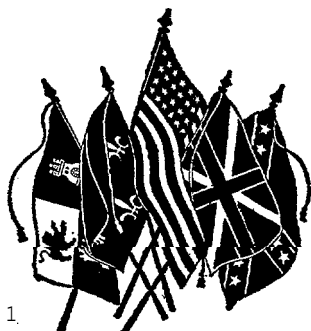
**PUBLISHED BY THE FLORIDA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY**



COVER

The building behind the Corwin Dock was originally constructed for the Ford agency. There was a dance hall on the second floor. When the photo was taken (c. 1918), the Chero-Cola Bottling Company occupied the first floor, and the Bradenton Yacht & Auto Club was on the second. Photograph courtesy of Manatee County Central Library and the Manatee County Historical Society.

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Volume LXVII, Number 1.

July 1988

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Tampa and DeLeon Springs, Florida. Printed by E. O. Painter
Printing Co., DeLeon Springs, Florida.

(ISSN 0015-4113)

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PEDRO MENÉNDEZ'S STRATEGIC PLAN FOR THE FLORIDA PENINSULA

by EUGENE LYON

IT is evident that perceptible interconnections linked the efforts of the several sixteenth-century explorers of North America. Professor Paul Hoffman has pointed out how legend and geographic surmise drew Europeans to the continent from the time of John and Sebastian Cabot and Juan Ponce de Leon to that of Walter Raleigh. The later adventurers were heirs of the wisdom or folly of their predecessors, from whatever nation or kingdom they might have come.¹

Among the motives which had brought them were indeed the shining lure of precious metals—the dream of finding another Cuzco or Tenochtitlán. But they also burned with the desire to build proprietary empires, earning the noble titles appurtenant to them. By creating trading and agricultural settlements, they hoped to replicate Castile, France, or England in North America. They sought passage through the continent to the Pacific and the East Indies. The Spaniards also expected to advance the Evangel among native Americans, check the ambitions of rival states, and promote the enlargement of their sovereign's domains.²

What then were the continental strategies of one of the most important of the Spanish conquest entrepreneurs, the one who

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1. See Paul E. Hoffman, "Leyendas Geográficas y Su Influencia en el Descubrimiento de la Costa Sureste de Norteamérica, Siglo XVI" (paper presented at the conference, España y América Durante la Época del Descubrimiento, Madrid, 1985). Also see Eugene Lyon, "Continuity in the Age of Conquest: The Establishment of Spanish Sovereignty in the Sixteenth Century," *Alabama and the Borderlands, from Prehistory to Statehood*, R. Reid Badger and Lawrence A. Clayton, eds. (University, AL, 1985), 154-61.
2. Eugene Lyon, "Spain's Sixteenth-Century North American Settlement Attempts: A Neglected Aspect," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 59 (January 1981), 275-91. For a comparison of French and Spanish colonization attempts, see Eugene Lyon, "Forts Caroline and San Mateo—Vulnerable Outposts," typescript plus exhibits (Fort Caroline National Memorial, 1982), 2-10.

made lasting foundation in North America, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés?³ How did these relate to the Florida peninsula?

By virtue of his *asiento*, or contract, with Philip II, Menéndez was created *adelantado* and required to explore a Florida of continental scope, which extended from the present West Florida panhandle around the Florida keys to Newfoundland.⁴ He had to build two or three fortified cities and populate them with settlers and slaves, and he was to spearhead the conversion of the Indians. Manifestly, Menéndez's eyes had first been directed elsewhere than the peninsula. He had originally planned his chief settlement at the Santa Elena area in present South Carolina, and he expected to control the Grand Banks (where ships from several nations came to fish for cod) in the name of the king. Somewhere between Newfoundland and the Chesapeake, Menéndez believed he would find a major waterway. This channel, he thought, led to another which traversed the continent to a point near the New Spain mines, debauching into the South Sea and opening the way to the Pacific islands and the riches of Asia.⁵ Since Menéndez had commercial and political connections in the city of Mexico, and held ship-licenses for the Vera Cruz trade, this was of direct interest to him.

Knowledge of René de Laudonnière's 1564 establishment at Fort Caroline on the River May (St. Johns River) reached Spain at the end of March 1565, after Menéndez's royal contract had

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3. For an analysis of Pedro Menéndez's career and characteristics, see Eugene Lyon, "Aspects of Pedro Menéndez the Man," *El Escribano* 24 (1987), 39-52.
 4. See the fourth item, "Agreement between Dr. Vázquez of the Council, in the Name of the King, with Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, March 15, 1565," from Archivo General de Indias (hereinafter AGI) Patronato (hereinafter PAT) 257, No. 3, ramo 3. The full *asiento* is generally discussed in Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida* (Gainesville, 1976), 43-63, with a special description of archival sources for the contract on page 4.
 5. Louis-André Vigneras provides a cogent description of the geographical beliefs of Pedro Menéndez in "A Spanish Discovery of North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* 46 (October 1969), 398-414. Menéndez describes his concepts of continental geography in a memorial evidently dating to early 1565, in AGI PAT 19, and in a letter dated at St. Augustine, October 15, 1565, from AGI Santo Domingo (hereinafter SD) 231. Menéndez had an indirect connection with the Zacatecas mines through his close friendship with the son of the New Spain viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco. Velasco's brother-in-law was Diego de Ibarra, the discoverer of the mines. For information on this relationship, see John F. Schwaller, "Nobility, Family, and Service: Menéndez and his Men," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (January 1988), 301.

already been signed. This news altered significantly the intentions of Philip II and Menéndez. Not only did the military urgency it generated change the expedition into a royal joint-venture through the addition of crown-paid troops, it also redirected Menéndez's efforts away from Santa Elena and towards the peninsula of Florida.⁶

As is known, after establishing a settlement at St. Augustine in September 1565, Menéndez rapidly and decisively expelled the French. First he captured Fort Caroline, which he renamed San Mateo. Next he killed the French leader, Jean Ribault, together with many of his followers, on the beachers of Matanzas, south of St. Augustine. Only then could Menéndez begin to explore Florida and proceed with its exploitation. But he still feared that Laudonnière, who had escaped, or some other Frenchman, might yet plant a base near enough to the Gulf Stream to endanger the return route of the Spanish fleets.

Pedro Menéndez was first and foremost a seaman. It was always his plan to defend and exploit the land by means of seas and inlets. Therefore, although he sought to establish agricultural and pastoral enterprise, Menéndez realized the need for forest resources for shipbuilding and naval stores. He described his schema in a statement to Philip II: "Fix our frontier lines here, gain the waterway of the Bahamas, and work the mines of New Spain." It was his purpose to anchor and defend his provinces by fortifying ports on their perimeter. In the same way, by means of waterways, he would advance into the trackless continent. He would span the southeast from the Gulf of Mexico, across the rich areas of Coosa, to Santa Elena. The adelantado had read the Cañete relation of the Soto entrada. He knew enough of the failed settlement of Tristan de Luna y Arellano at Pensacola to have heard rumors of the richer inland areas near Coosa and was aware of Angel de Villafañe's attempt to settle Santa Elena. French prisoners, including a pilot, had told him of the putative continental passage, and about a system

6. The late arrival of the news of the French fort in Florida is outlined in Lyon, *Enterprise of Florida*, 56. With regard to the adelantado's earlier orientation to the north of the peninsula, see Menéndez's memorial to the crown, written before negotiations began on his Royal asiento. From AGI PAT 19, it bears no date, but probably was written between February 1 and March 15, 1565.

of inland peninsular waterways. At his disposal he also had the services of Gonzalo de Gayón, a pilot with previous experience in Florida waters. From the diverse data he gathered in the course of his initial Florida experience, Menéndez began to evolve his strategy for the mastery of the continent.⁷

When it came, Pedro Menéndez's first peninsular exploration arose more out of necessity than design. He had sent his major vessel, *San Pelayo*, away from St. Augustine on September 10, 1565, to avoid its possible capture by Jean Ribault's ships. With it went the bulk of still-unloaded goods. After the actions against the French, the Spaniards at St. Augustine soon ran short of foodstuffs and munitions. It was incumbent upon Menéndez to go to Cuba and seek supplies for his colony.

Menéndez marched down the east coast to Cape Canaveral, while two small craft accompanied him by sea. After dealing at the Cape with French survivors who had fortified themselves there, Menéndez continued on southward, noting the communication afforded by the protected inland waterway of the Banana and Indian rivers. In the land of the Ais Indians, he proceeded to treat peace with the Nations. He left the bulk of his forces in Ais, together with some fifty French prisoners. After Menéndez departed, Fort Santa Lucía was built, probably in the Port Salerno-Jupiter area, called "Jega." Meanwhile, while sailing in a small craft to Havana, he realized that a strong inshore counter-current to the Gulf Stream enabled easy sailing southward along the Florida coast.⁸ From Cuba, Menéndez estab-

7. With regard to Pedro Menéndez the seaman, see Lyon, "Aspects of Pedro Menéndez the Man," 40-42. One of the best descriptions of Menéndez's plans for the economic development of Florida is found in his presentations to the Council of the Indies in late 1569, in the Archive of the Institute of Valencia de Don Juan (hereinafter ADJ), Envío 25-H, No. 162. Menéndez's statement about his conquest and settlement objectives is in his letter to the long dated at St. Augustine on October 15, 1565, AGI SD 231. He mentions his policy of perimeter settlement in his letter to Philip II sent from St. Augustine on October 20, 1566, from AGI SD 115. With regard to the French prisoners, see Eugene Lyon, "Captives of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 50 (July 1971), 1-24. The Cañete relation is summarized and its precis translated by the author in "The Cañete Fragment: Another Narrative of Hernando de Soto" (St. Augustine Restoration Foundation, 1982). One French prisoner's narrative of an upriver journey for more than sixty leagues undertaken in 1564 is in "El Fiscal con Guillermo Bruxarte y consortes . . .," from AGI *Justicia* (hereinafter JU) 882, No. 6.

8. Menéndez wrote from Cuba describing his journey to the Cape, the dismantling of the French fort, and the trip to Ais with the French prisoners in

bed a supply network for his Florida garrisons. The records of this supply are helpful in determining the life of the several posts built in south Florida and along the Gulf coasts.⁹

Menéndez's next voyage took him to southwest Florida in February 1566. There he was welcomed by Hernando Escalante Fontaneda and the other captives of the Calusa. Menéndez planned, and later did establish, a colony near the main village of the Calusa chieftain, Cacique Carlos. On this voyage he located a passage for major ships between the Dry Tortugas and Half-Moon Shoal, which would enable vessels to utilize prevailing winds and currents to save precious time on their voyage. This opening, known as the Cuchiaga passage, became vital for the homebound New Spain fleets on their way from Vera Cruz to Havana.¹⁰

Upon his return to St. Augustine in March 1566, Menéndez's explorations were delayed. He had first to deal with his mutinous soldiery; rebellions and desertions had almost destroyed the colony. Fort Santa Lucia had already been abandoned after

letters dated December 5, 1565, and January 30, 1566, AGI SD 115 and 168, respectively. See also the petition of Captain Juan Vélez de Medrano in the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Madrid (hereinafter AHP) 646, fol. 265-69, and his appointment as commandant of the Santa Lucía garrison at Ais in AGI JU 894, No. 8. With further regard to Santa Lucía, see also the "Merits and Services of Diego López," December 16, 1569, from the Woodbury Lowery Collection, I:2:414:265-90, microfilm in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

9. Three sources detail this supply in the first period of the Florida conquest: AGI *Contaduría* (hereinafter CD) 1,174; "Despachos que se hicieron," from AGI *Escribanía de Cámara* (hereinafter EC) 1,024-A; and Archivo de los Condes de Revillagigedo (hereinafter ACR) *Canalejas* (hereinafter CAN) 47, No. 5, image 293 in reel 106, microfilm at St. Augustine Foundation and the P. K. Yonge Library.
10. When Menéndez sailed from Cuba for Florida on February 10, 1566, it was "to discover if there were deep water and good navigation between (the islands of) Las Tortugas and Martires," Gonzalo Solís de Merás, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, translated by Jeannette Thurber Connor (DeLand, 1922; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 138. That Cuchiaga referred to the lower Florida Keys is borne out by the *Derrotero de la Costa de la Florida y Mimeres*. This is found with a letter of Governor Juan Maldonado Barnuevo to the crown dated at Havana on July 6, 1596, from AGI SD 99. Bernave de Salvatierra was marooned by the Dutch in the "Keys of Cuchiaga," and was ransomed in late 1627. See his declaration at Havana on August 4, 1627, from AGI CD 1112. Pilot Sebastián Rodríguez was seized by the viceroy of New Spain in Vera Cruz in 1638, and ordered to pilot a courier vessel through the Tortuga Passage, because he "knew the navigation of the Keys of Cuchiaga." See "Services of Sebastián Rodríguez," AGI SD 233.

starvation, Indian attack, and amid widespread rumors of cannibalism among the besieged Spaniards. After reasserting his authority at St. Augustine, Menéndez resumed his outreach program. Sailing northward amid the sea-islands, he passed through Guale and founded the city of Santa Elena, on present Parris Island, at Eastertide. He sent the Chesapeake Indian, Don Luis de Velasco, to his homeland by an expedition in August 1566. It was also his expectation that the voyagers to the Chesapeake, which he named the Bay of Santa Maria, and which the Indians called "Jacán," would also uncover the "secret of a river which goes to discharge in the South Sea on the route to China." The expedition, which only reached the Carolina Capes, failed in its mission, and returned directly to Spain.¹¹

Although Pedro Menéndez had expected eventually to build a south Florida settlement to check possible French moves into that area, events forced his hand; 128 of his mutineers fled San Mato in a stolen ship, sailing towards the Caribbean. They put into Biscayne Bay for water, and left twenty men stranded ashore. Later, when these men were captured and then pardoned, they formed the nucleus of Menéndez's *Tequesta* colony. Since one of the San Mateo mutineers was named Miguel de Mora, it is likely that this man gave his name to a geographic feature on Spanish maps and *derroteros* for many years. This was the Bocas de Miguel Mora, the shoal-studded inlet located south of Key Biscayne. When the Spanish fort was built near the mouth of the Miami River, Jesuit Brother Francisco Villareal arrived to establish a mission.¹²

After the mutinies, in the late summer of 1566, Menéndez undertook his own expedition up the St. Johns. He had to attempt to make peace with and among warring Indians in the interior of Florida. Upcountry he sailed in small craft, past Utina and Potano, to the land of Mayaca. There, probably near present Sanford, he found the way blocked by stakes the Indians had planted across the narrowing river. Unable to complete his exploration, Menéndez in the fall of 1566, sent Gonzalo Gayón

11. The mutinies are described by Eugene Lyon, "The Spanish Mutineers," *Tequesta* 44 (1984), 44-61. For a recounting of the 1566 expedition, see Vigneras, "A Spanish Discovery of North Carolina," in which Menéndez describes his hopes for the Passage in his letter of October 20, 1566.

12. Menéndez to crown, St. Augustine, October 20, 1566, AGI SD 168.

to Mayaca, via the east coast. Gayón entered the Mosquito inlet (present Ponce de Leon Inlet), established contact with the Indians at Nocoroco and other nearby towns, and ransomed several Frenchmen who had fled from Ribault's forces the year before. These in turn became interpreters for the Spaniards. Gayón could not, however, penetrate to the interior. Unable to pass back out of the inlet due to rough weather, he entered the upper Tomoka River system and made his way back to the area of Matanzas before returning to St. Augustine.¹³

By October 1566, Pedro Menéndez was able to write the king and furnish an appreciation of the wide geographic extent of the provinces of Florida. He told Philip II that he planned to interdict the northern codfishing trade off Newfoundland with a fleet of rapid small craft called fregatas, levying tribute upon foreigners who intruded upon Spanish jurisdiction to fish there. He went on to describe the Florida peninsula, and how he had learned that the upriver St. Johns connected with a great lake, thirty leagues around, where all the land was flat and the water collected. From this lake, Menéndez believed, navigable rivers flowed into the Gulf at the town of Cacique Carlos, and also reached Biscayne Bay. The planting of fort-missions at those exterior points would anchor this inland waterway route. To utilize the waterway, he would ship goods directly from Spain to Florida, transship them from the St. Johns to fregatas, well-protected against Indian attack. The cargoes would be carried to the Gulf exit, and be warehoused for shipment to Vera Cruz on Menéndez's galleons. Thus, his vessels would avoid the perils of the Florida Keys, and the swifter, safer passage would save time and money. Since Menéndez possessed ship-licenses for that trade, he would personally benefit. The river, which Menéndez first called San Pelayo and which later became the St. Johns, would also be the key to the conquest of the peninsula, serving as the highway into the interior for its pacification and settlement. Pedro Menéndez thus became the earliest proponent

13. Menéndez's upriver expedition is described by Pedro de Valdés in a letter to the crown from St. Augustine, September 12, 1566, AGI SD 168, and "Provanza hecha a pedimento de Gonzalo de Gayón," AGI SD 11. See also the Alvaro Mexía derrotero of 1604, which describes some of the areas traversed by Gayón, AGI SD 224. See also John W. Griffin and Hale G. Smith, "Nocoroco—A Timucuan village of 1605 now in Tomoka State Park," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 27 (April 1949), 340-61.

of an idea which would recur in the twentieth century as the Cross-Florida Barge Canal.¹⁴

Now his continental plan could take further shape. Once the Jesuit missions were fully functioning, and a colegio built in Havana to educate the sons of Indian elites, Pedro Menéndez would erect two outposts (mission-forts) spaced along the way to New Spain with settlers and soldiers to develop and protect them. Additional colegios would be established at those outposts. In the first attempt to discover and mark out this route, Menéndez sent Captain Juan Pardo on two entradas from Santa Elena to the Appalachians and beyond. Later, Menéndez applied for another royal conquest-contract, this time for Pánuco, which would cement the link between New Spain and Florida. This would provide a circum-Gulf route from Tampico to peninsular Florida.¹⁵

In the peninsula, Captain Pedro de Andrada made entradas into the Utina and Potano country in 1567. The last of these resulted in an ambush of his forces, in which many Spanish soldiers were killed by the Indians. Captain Andrada's men were only a part of casualties suffered in battles and skirmishes with the Timucua, Ais, and other Indian groups. In addition to the fort-mission of San Antonio de Padua near Carlos's village, the Spaniards had left another garrison on the west coast at Tampa Bay, near the Indian town of Tocobaga. Its soldiers were supplied from Havana.¹⁶

14. Menéndez to the crown, St. Augustine, October 15, 1566, AGI SD 115.

15. Menéndez's concept of a Jesuit colegio in Havana for the children of Indian caciques is expressed in a relation of the adelantado's visit to a foundation of the Society of Jesus in Seville in 1567, "Relatio Anonyma de visitatione quam Petrus Menendez Hispali missionariis Floridae fecit," Seville, December 16, 1567, in Felix Zubillaga, *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae* (Rome, 1946), 214-18. Also in *Monumenta*, is Menéndez's letter sent from Madrid to Father Francisco Borgia on January 18, 1568, in which he describes his plan to build the cross-continental mission-settlements. The best short treatment of the Pardo journeys is Chester B. DePratter, Charles M. Hudson, and Marvin T. Smith, "The Route of Juan Pardo's Explorations in the Interior Southeast, 1566-1568," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 62 (October 1983), 125-58. The new contract for Pánuco was granted by Philip II in an order given at Madrid on February 23, 1573, from AGI SD 2528.

16. "Lista de la gente de guerra . . . llamado los viejos," AGI CD 941, No. 1, contains the names of soldiers killed in the Potano ambush in August 1567. A list of the garrison at Tocobaga is included with other south Florida musters in AGI CD 941, No. 5, Account of Pedro Menéndez Márquez, together with some supply data. Other supply information is found in AGI

Menéndez decided to make still another effort to search out the cross-peninsular water route from the lower west coast. In early 1567, he sent Hernando de Miranda to explore the area for that purpose. At the same time, he planned to dispatch an expedition from San Mateo upriver on the St. Johns to make contact with those starting inland from the west coast.¹⁷

In the exploration and supply of Florida, the adelantado's nephew, Pedro Menéndez Marqués, played an important role. This son of Menéndez's brother, Alvar Sánchez, had served the adelantado for many years as a skilled seaman; now his uncle put his abilities to use in the Florida conquest as its chief explorer. Menéndez Marqués also acted as the enforcer when Indians had rebelled, bringing order to unruly areas. By 1567, he had been appointed regional governor over the south Florida colonies of Tequesta, Carlos, and Tocobaga.¹⁸

As the adelantado's nephew describes his duties: "In 1565-1569, I went by order of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés as his Lieutenant Captain-General of the discovery of the coast of said Florida, to reconnoitre and sound, see and discover the coast, shoals, rivers and ports, bays and coves which are in the said coast of Florida and, in conformity with the contract which His Majesty took, and to search for whatever captives who might be in the possession of Indians, and if there were any enemies fortified in the ports of the said coast. And in order to comply, he turned over to me four fregatas, two large and two small, with 150 soldiers and sailors of those whom he brought for his account in the said conquest of Florida, without counting other small boats which came and went, visiting the forts and going in the coast of Santa Elena, San Mateo and St. Augustine and the other presidios to Havana."

"In compliance with which, I have run the length of the coast from the Bay of St. Joseph, which is eighty leagues from the River of Pánuco, to Tocobaga once, and from Tocobaga to

CD 1174. The listing of García Martínez de Cos as commander at Tocobaga is found in "Memorial de las personas que han governado . . .," from AGI EC 154-A, fol. 122vo.-123.

17. Menéndez to crown, February 12, 1567, AGI *Contratación* (hereinafter CT), 5101.

18. Information on Menéndez Marqués's career is in his own testimony in AGI PAT 257, No. 3, ramo 20. His appointment as regional governor in south Florida was discussed at the cabildo meeting in St. Augustine, November 3, 1567, AGI EC 154-A, fo. 1311vo.

Santa Elena and Santa Elena to Tocobaga many times, and from Santa Elena to Jacán and from there to Newfoundland, where the district of the said adelantado ends, once— where I took possession of the land in many Indian towns, calling the caciques (together) before Rodrigo de Carreño, Notary Public of His Majesty. Since I did not have a cosmographer with me, nor any man who could draw a navigation chart, I did not mark on the charts any more than keeping it in memory, in order that it might be precisely marked and painted; I am giving it by memory by order of Sr. Don Juan de Ovando, President of the Royal Council of the Indies, to Juan de Velasco, Cosmographer and Chronicler of His Majesty, and give this certificate at the request of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés.”¹⁹

Clearly, then, the Reconocimiento of Menéndez Marqués, described in a fragment by Barcía, must have taken place before 1573, even though Barcía dates it to that year. It must have formed the basis for the Florida portion of López de Velasco's work, written down in 1574, but not published until 1894.²⁰

Although, in 1568, Philip II had effectively renewed Menéndez's Florida contract, things by that time were going poorly in peninsular Florida for the enterprise. Eventually, Indian hostility and sparse response of the native Americans to the missionaries resulted in the loss or closing of the Spanish posts at Santa Lucía, Tequesta, Tocobaga, and Carlos. As dissatisfaction about their Florida experience reached the highest levels of the Jesuit Order in Spain, the missionaries moved to re-establish themselves at Santa Elena.²¹

19. Certificate of Pedro Menéndez Marqués, Madrid, January 29, 1573, AGI EC 1024-A, piece 2, fol. 127. Menéndez Marqués's shipping activities are also described in "Despachos que se hicieron," AGI EC 1024-A, and ACR CAN 47, no. 5, image 293, reel 106.

20. Juan López de Velasco, *Geografía universal de las Indias* (original written 1571-1554; Madrid, 1894). See also the statement that Pedro Menéndez Marqués turned over his data to Lopez in AGI EC 1024-A, piece 2, fol. 127. See Andrés González de Barcía Carballido y Zúñiga, *Ensayo cronológico para la historia general de la Florida*, translated by Anthony Kerrigan (Gainesville, 1951), 157-60.

21. The Indian attacks upon Fort Santa Lucía and its loss are detailed in Lyon, *Enterprise of Florida*, 140, 150. For a description of the abandonment of the Tequesta mission, the massacre of the Spanish garrison at Tocobaga, and the troubles at Carlos, see Lyon, *Enterprise of Florida*, 201-03. Jesuit discontent with Menéndez and the progress of the Florida mission is summarized in the presentation made by Procurador General Gonzalo Esquivel before the Council of the Indies in Madrid, in ADJ, Envío 25-H, no. 167, repro-

The abandonment of the south Florida outposts was but a part of a dramatic northward shift within the Florida colony that led to the deemphasis of the Florida peninsula. In truth, this shift constituted a re-emergence of Pedro Menéndez's original plan for the colonization of Florida. Fort San Mateo, northern anchor of the St. Johns, was evacuated in 1569, signalling the end of Menéndez's development scheme for the great river. To replace it, San Pedro was built at Tacatacuru on Cumberland Island, demonstrating the enhanced importance of the sea-island passage to Santa Elena. Straining his resources to the utmost, Pedro Menéndez recruited, paid for, and sent large numbers of settlers to Santa Elena. By 1569, it had become the capital of Spanish Florida, thus affirming the long interest of Europeans in this part of the North American coast.²²

In 1569-1570, there came a pause in the dynamics of Florida settlement, brought about by the momentary exhaustion of Menéndez's resources. By stripping the garrisons of men in the summer of 1570, the adelantado denuded the Florida defenses and forced the king's hand. Finally, four major royal councils—state, treasury, Castile, and Indies—met to resolve the crisis in Florida. It was agreed, in November 1570, to establish a regular crown subsidy for the support of the Florida garrisons, which would supplement the private efforts of the adelantado on a regular basis.²³

With the royal subsidy, a new flowering of the Spanish colony at Santa Elena began. Pedro Menéndez brought his wife, his household, and his daughter and son-in-law, Don Diego de Velasco. Velasco was appointed to govern Florida from Santa

duced in Zubillaga, *Monumenta*, 441-46. Father Juan Rogel recounts his move to Santa Elena and evaluates the Jesuit mission in Florida generally in a letter to General Borgia dated at Havana, July 25, 1568, in Zubillaga, *Monumenta*, 317-28.

22. For detail of the settlement, expansion, and abandonment of Santa Elena, see Eugene Lyon, *Santa Elena: A Brief History of the Colony, 1566-1587* (Columbia, 1984). Earlier European interest in the area of Santa Elena, dating back to the first half of the sixteenth century, is detailed by Paul E. Hoffman in "The Chicora Legend and France-Spanish Rivalry in *La Florida*," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 62 (May 1984), 419-38.

23. The requisite documentation about the decisions of the king and his councils about the Florida subsidy is in a letter from Gonzalo de Esquivel to Francisco de Borgia, October 21, 1570, in Zubillaga, *Monumenta*, 454-56. The subsidy was granted by royal order in Segovia, November 15, 1570, AGI SD 235.

Elena. Based upon the Juan Pardo journeys and the fort-missions which had been established in the areas he explored, Menéndez planned to build his own estate near Guatari, in the Carolina Piedmont. This would support the tide of marquis, offered to him in his *asiento*. But the death of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in 1574 left his colony in less able hands. The inability of the Spanish to penetrate to richer soils in the interior of the continent reflected the failure of their government to reach an accommodation with the native Americans. Menéndez's other son-in-law, Hernando de Miranda, was unable to prevent the loss of Santa Elena to Indian attack in 1576. Although Pedro Menéndez Marqués, who followed him as governor, proved a vigorous and effective executive, he presided over the dismemberment of Santa Elena in 1587. Ironically, the Spaniards abandoned their northernmost post just as the English settlers under John White landed at Roanoke. The Pánuco contract for Florida Gulf coast expansion was allowed to lapse by Pedro Menéndez's heirs, and St. Augustine again, and permanently, became the Spanish capital of Florida.²⁴

Long after the death of Pedro Menéndez, however, a few echoes of his policy of geographic outreach still resounded. Governor Gonzalo Méndez Canzo hoped to enlarge Florida into modern Georgia, the oft-discussed land of Tama, and westward, but was unable in his brief tenure to carry out his plan. Early in the seventeenth century, expeditions touched at Pohoy below Tampa Bay. In 1680, a later governor expressed renewed concern over the possible link-up of Florida to New Mexico via "Gran Quivira." But no definitive actions were undertaken at the time. Yet Spanish influence over Guale and Apalache buttressed by, the Franciscan missionary expansion, continued for a time. Seventeenth-century Spanish establishments featured economic development in the Alachua savannah and in Apalache. Eventually, at the end of the seventeenth century,

24. For a history of the events of 1576 at Santa Elena, see Eugene Lyon, "The Revolt of 1576 at Santa Elena: A Failure of Indian Policy" (paper presented at the American Historical Association meeting, Washington, DC, December 1987). These matters, together with the change of government from semi-proprietary to a crown colony, are discussed by Lyon in "La Visita de 1576 y la Transformación de Gobierno en la Florida española," in *La Influencia de España en el caribe, la Florida y la Luisiana, 1500-1800*, Antonio Acosta and Juan Marchena, eds. (Madrid, 1983), 197-209.

facing the threat of French activities in the Gulf, the Spaniards resettled Pensacola.²⁵

Even though the efforts of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés represented the culmination of a century of effort by crown and conquerors to explore and hold North America, Menéndez never made good even that part of his plan for continental development which featured the exploitation of the Florida peninsula. Gradually forced southward by English settlements in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, his Spanish successors saw their territory shrink to the area south of the St. Marys River. Yet the Menéndez years had left their lasting mark upon peninsular Florida, and not only at St. Augustine, the nation's oldest continually-occupied city. One evidence of this occurred in the last decade of the sixteenth century. In Seville, December 30, 1593, a royal order was issued to Pedro Ambrosio Anderiz, cosmographer of the king, to upgrade the quality of the master navigation chart, the Padrón of the Indies, and create improved astrolabes.

Accordingly, instructions went out to fleet officials and several Indies governors to conduct mapping expeditions. In the instruction, traces that several earlier Florida explorers had left on the map of Florida were evident, together with Indian names. The expeditions were to survey points in "the Martyrs, Cuxiaga, Tortugas, coast of Carlos and Bay of Juan Ponce."

When the governor of Havana returned his report to Ambrosio, he described his expedition's voyage down the east coast of the peninsula. From Cape Canaveral, it had proceeded past Ais to Jega, to the Bocas de Miguel de Mora, where an astrolabe shot was taken on the Cayo de los Vizcainos. Passing old Tequesta, now called the Cabeza de los Martires, the Spaniards sailed along Key Largo, called the Cayo de doce Leguas, past

25. Governor Canzo's initiatives, which were not realized, are analyzed by Charles Arnade in *Florida on Trial* (Coral Gables, 1959), 8-22. A recent and definitive work on the Apalache peoples and the Spanish missions is John H. Hann, *Apalachee: The Land Between the Rivers* (Gainesville, 1988). Governor Pablo de Hita Salazar wrote the crown from St. Augustine, November 15, 1680, to discuss the opening of communication between the Bay of Espiritu Santo (Tampa Bay) and the "Kingdom of Gran Quivira . . . which borders New Mexico," AGI SD 226. Amy Bushnell has described the development of the Alachua savannah in "The Menéndez Marquex Cattle Barony at La Chua and the Determinants of Economic Expansion in Seventeenth-century Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 56 (April 1978), 407-31.

Matacumbe, and ended at Cuchiaga, where they landed to observe the sun again with their astrolabe. This rutter, or derrotero, listed only a few of the place-names fixed upon the Spanish maps by Pedro Menéndez and his followers during the period from 1565 to 1574, when the Florida peninsula was the subject of their active exploration. Few other traces remained of the Menéndez years, years of outreach, struggle, and vast expenditure of men and monies.²⁶

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26. See the documents connected with the royal order and the instruction, "Instrucion de lo que se ha de averiguar acerca del Padron de la carrera de las Indias," AGI CT *Indiferente General* 736. The derrotero itself was sent by Governor Barnuevo from Havana with a letter from the crown dated July 6, 1596, from AGI SD 99.

REBEL BEEF: FLORIDA CATTLE AND THE CONFEDERATE ARMY, 1862-1864

by ROBERT A. TAYLOR

FLORIDA supplied the Confederacy with thousands of head of cattle during the Civil War. Beef provided an important food source for soldiers in the lower South. Beef kept the Army of Tennessee from starving during the winters of 1863 and 1864, and meat sustained the defenders of Charleston while under Union siege. The Confederate Commissary Bureau had little difficulty supplying their armies with beef during the first year of the war, but by the beginning of 1862, it became increasingly hard to procure. To increase the number of available cattle, the Bureau awarded contracts to civilian agents to locate and bring in beef. A contractor system seemed natural for the wilderness that was Florida, where large cattle herds were known to exist. The state was expected to supply 25,000 head to the military by the beginning of 1863.¹

Confederate reverses in Tennessee in 1862 placed great strain on the army's ration system. General Braxton Bragg's abortive invasion of Kentucky can be seen in part as an effort to supply his troops from the richness of the area's agriculture. While in Tennessee his men had been able to subsist on that state's meat supply with ease, especially since little transportation was needed. The Bureau reported that two-thirds of the cattle being slaughtered for the army came from Tennessee, the remainder from Virginia and other places like Florida. If the armies could hold these areas there would be adequate meat in late 1862 and early 1863; if not, a serious crisis would occur.

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1. Mary E. Massey, *Ersatz in the Confederacy* (Columbia, 1952), 61; Charles P. Roland, *The Confederacy* (Chicago, 1960), 66; Richard D. Goff, *Confederate Supply* (Durham, 1969), 36; United States War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, DC, 1880-1901), Series 4, vol. 1, 873-75 (hereinafter cited as *O.R.*).

The loosely-knit organization of the military showed signs of inefficiency as army commissaries frequently competed with those contracted by the Bureau in Richmond. Such competition existed in middle Tennessee during the winter of 1862-1863, and made the gathering of needed supplies difficult.²

The year 1863 began with the thunder of massed guns as Union and Confederate armies battered and bloodied each other at the Battle of Murfreesboro. After an inconclusive three-day struggle, the Army of Tennessee began a retreat southward in the general direction of Chattanooga. The soldiers nearly starved along the 200-mile march, for the path of their retreat had been thoroughly scoured by Commissary Bureau agents who had removed, among other things, thousands of head of cattle. The main supply depot in Atlanta presented a gloomy picture of its available stocks, the bulk of which had been shipped to Lee's army in Virginia. Major John F. Cummings, commander of the depot, had 4,000 head of cattle on hand, but knew that they could not feed 40,000 hungry men for very long. All the provisions were already earmarked for the Army of Northern Virginia. Critical scarcity was fast approaching unless energetic steps were undertaken.³

Secretary of War James Seddon assured Joseph E. Johnston, the new theater commander in the west, that the Confederacy was being ransacked for army supplies. Any deficit in rations would be made up from other sources. Major Cummings, one of the best and most efficient commissaries in the Bureau, would be able to collect and ship the necessary food. Johnston had faith in Cummings's abilities, but faith alone could not feed hungry men. Bragg estimated that his men would need 400,000 pounds of meat to fulfill ration requirements just for the month of March 1863. Cummings forwarded only about 191,000 pounds, less than one-half Bragg's needs, and had little prospect of sending more. As supply officers pondered their options, it was known that Florida had large herds of cattle, some of which it had already been providing the military. More Florida beef was needed to help ease the shortage. If meat was not obtained, it

2. Goff, *Confederate Supply*, 37; Gilbert E. Govan and James W. Livingwood, *A Different Valor: The Story of General Joseph E. Johnston, C.S.A.* (Indianapolis and New York, 1956), 187.

3. *O.R. Series 1*, vol. 23, part 2, 680, 689; Thomas L. Connelly, *Autumn of Glory: The Army of Tennessee, 1862-1865* (Baton Rouge, 1977), 17.

would be impossible to feed the Army of Tennessee. The disintegration of a major Confederate field army hung in the balance.⁴

Governor John Milton issued a special message to Florida farmers, ranchers, and planters early in 1863. Production of all foodstuffs must be increased, he urged, for the war would not be ending in the foreseeable future, and the army must have a steady supply in order to prevail. As supply officers looked towards Florida's resources, there was a marked change in the relationship of the state's cattle trade with the Confederate military. Cattle smuggling would greatly expand in scope, and the open-market-contract system would deteriorate. Florida could no longer remain a secondary source if the needs of the military were to be met. A comprehensive system of commissary agents to maximize collection and shipment of cattle would be created, replacing the contractor operation. The state would now have a chief commissary officer who would control collection and distribution, and who would deal with both the Commissary Bureau and the supply officers in those armies operating in or near Florida. Commissary-General Lucius B. Northrop believed that when the system was in place there would be no part of the Confederacy that would not be providing the army with supplies. Such a network of energetic officers would mean that wherever Confederate troops moved all the supplies of the country would be tributary to their use.⁵

As April 1863 passed, the food situation in the Army of Tennessee showed some signs of improvement. Three thousand head of cattle, mostly from Florida, were on hand in Georgia. The cattle driving season had begun in Florida, and cows from the southern portion of the state began arriving at army supply depots. But events in the west would soon affect Florida's posi-

4. O.R. Series 1, vol. 23, part 2, 658, 702; Joseph E. Johnston, *Narrative of Military Operations, Directed during the Late War Between the States* (New York, 1874; reprint ed., Bloomington, 1959), 351.

5. George W. Randolph to John Milton, April 3, 1862, General Correspondence, John Milton Papers, Florida Historical Society Collection, University of South Florida, Tampa (hereinafter cited as Milton Papers); W. Buck Years, "Florida," *The Confederate Governors*, W. Buck Years, ed. (Athens, GA, 1985), 65-66; John E. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War* (Gainesville, 1963), 143; William W. Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 268-70; Thomas R. Hay, "Lucius B. Northrop: Commissary-General of the Confederacy," *Civil War History* 9 (March 1963), 7.

tion in the Confederate supply equation. Union forces moved steadily down the Mississippi, slowing to a trickle the flow of supplies from the Trans-Mississippi region. As the number of cattle swimming the river into the southern heartland decreased to almost none, Richmond urged that efforts to bring them over somehow be stepped up. The lack of Texas beef did not have a very great influence on the price of Florida beef purchased for the army. Beef delivered in Georgia sold for between eighteen and twenty-five cents per pound, and that price remained steady. In the case of beef, government attempts at price controls seemed to be having some influence.⁶

The new chief commissary agent of Florida, Pleasant W. White, had no sooner settled into his assignment when a blow was struck from which the South would not recover. On July 4, 1863, the garrison at Vicksburg surrendered to Union General Ulysses Grant, and the Mississippi once again flowed unimpeded to the sea. Union patrols ranged up and down the river and effectively stopped any attempt to move substantial numbers of cattle or other supplies across. The Confederate high command now had to depend even more on Florida beef to feed its soldiers. The loss of the Mississippi, coupled with the Union occupation of Tennessee, served to make the South's position even more precarious. It made it increasingly difficult for the Commissary Bureau to provide the needed rations.⁷

Joseph D. Locke, chief commissary of Georgia, estimated that Florida would have to ship 1,000 head of cattle per week to meet the needs of General Bragg and the forces at Charleston under General P. G. T. Beauregard. "This requisition," wrote Locke, "is indispensably necessary for the public interest."⁸ This urgency was underlined by a reduction in the meat ration of each soldier in July to one-quarter pound per day. The commissary-general publicly minimized the dangerous shortage, say-

6. O.R., Series 1, vol. 23, part 2, 759-60; Willard E. Wright, ed., "Some Letters of Lucius Bellinger Northrop, 1860-1865," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 68 (October 1960), 466, 471-74; *General Orders of the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, Confederate States Army* (Columbia, 1864), 76 (hereinafter cited as *General Orders*).

7. Paul Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War* (New York, 1965), 73-74.

8. Joseph D. Locke to Pleasant W. White, n.d., Pleasant W. White Papers, Box 1, Florida Historical Society Collection (hereinafter cited as White Papers).

ing that European peasants rarely saw meat and that the people of Hindustan never had any. But privately he reported that there were only thirty days worth of rations left for the entire Confederate army.⁹

By August 1863 cattle were being moved out of Florida in large numbers, but not the 3,000 head per week that the army had called for. Collecting and driving semi-wild bovines was an assignment that only experienced wranglers could handle effectively. Requests for detailing men who had experience working with cattle for duty in Florida had been granted in only a few cases. In spite of these obstacles, cattle were getting through. Between 1,500 and 2,000 reached Bragg's army from the depot at Madison, Florida, during the five-week period. August was traditionally the last month of the cattle driving season as trail conditions—heat, humidity, and a lack of water supplies—in Florida made it impractical to drive beef any considerable distance. But in 1863 this was not to be the case.¹⁰

On August 25 an urgent appeal from General Bragg arrived at White's headquarters in Quincy. The loss of supplies from Tennessee had deeply cut available stocks, and Georgia was unable to make up the differences. Troops in his army were suffering from a food shortage such as they had never known before. Could Florida help? White wasted no time in his response. He ordered an additional 6,000 to 8,000 head collected and forwarded to Georgia. White promised Bragg in a letter that he would try to ship 1,000 head per week, but the advanced season would make it very difficult to maintain that rate.¹¹

In Atlanta, Major Cummings did not believe that all was being done to secure and deliver Florida beef. His agents in the state told him that there was an abundance of cattle, "but the people are indisposed to sell them for our currency and drivers cannot be found." Many head of cattle could be had in Florida, but it would take a proper organization and an energetic approach to make them available. Cummings received authorization to secure cattle from the region himself, but he realized that he would need more men and the assistance of state offi-

9. John B. Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate States Capital*, Earl Schenk Miers, ed. (New York, 1961), 246.

10. White to John F. Cummings, August 25, 1863, White Papers, Box 2, Letterbook 1.

11. White to A. G. Summer, August 25, 1863, *ibid*.

cials.¹² White defended his methods of obtaining beef by making it clear that the heavy demand that had been placed upon him could only be met with cattle from the ranges south of Tampa Bay. The bulk of the state's cattle grazed there, and that was where White would be forced to go in the future. Only Floridians, it seemed, understood how to collect cattle on these southern ranges. They knew the ever-present dangers of the trail: snakes, sudden storms that caused stampedes, lack of water and grass, and sawgrass marshes that could cut both men and cow to pieces if they tried to pass through.¹³

The nagging food shortage contained to plague the Confederate troops near Chattanooga into the fall. Major White, forced by the gravity of the situation, accepted the dispatching of Cumming's men into Florida to find cattle. Captain Charles F. Stubbs was authorized by White to act as Cummings's agent and to receive beef for the Army of Tennessee or for General Beauregard's command, or both, as the case might be. The supply officers realized that it would not be possible to secure the cattle needed in depleted north or central Florida. Beauregard alone required 100 head per day for his men, a figure that exceeded all efforts in collections and herding. A lack of drivers also hampered operations. Cattle had to be driven all the way to the point of delivery, and in many cases there was no available manpower. In theory the beef could be transferred to cattle cars in Georgia capable of carrying them speedily to Savannah. Here they would either be diverted to Dalton, Georgia, via Macon and Atlanta, or continue directly to Charleston. Overland drovers usually followed the rails to the besieged city, while those herds earmarked for the Army of Tennessee plodded toward the main depot in Atlanta by the easiest roads or trails.¹⁴

While records are sketchy, it is evident that significant numbers of Florida cattle did make the trek northward. In the second half of September 1863, over 2,100 head were gathered in the Fourth Commissary District, an area covering most of north

12. *O.R.*, Series 1, vol. 30, part 4, 552.

13. White to Lucius B. Northrop, August 29, 1863; White to Locke, September 2, 1863; White to Summer, September 2, 1863, White Papers, Box 2, Letterbook 1; Joe G. Warner, *Biscuits and Taters: A History of Cattle Ranching in Manatee County* (Bradenton, 1980), 76-79.

14. Summer to White, September 2, 1863, White Papers, Box 1; George H. Dacy, *Four Centuries of Florida Ranching* (St. Louis, 1940), 52.

and central Florida; 1,420 were sent to Charleston and 706 were held to fill future requests. Curiously, the bulk of this district's beef went to Beauregard, even though the Army of Tennessee had been given priority on all Florida beef shipments. Florida cattle were getting to the front lines, but there was just not enough to meet even minimal needs.¹⁵

A new appeal for beef was made by the chief commissary of the Army of Tennessee on October 2. There was apprehension in Atlanta that White would fail to meet the army's urgent needs. Aware of this lack of confidence, White urged his district commanders to do everything in their power to increase purchases even if they had to neglect their other duties. Shipping cattle was "first and paramount for the next two months." Florida beef was all that was now available for South Carolina. Messages practically begging White to put every agency into motion to forward cattle through Georgia to Charleston began arriving at his headquarters. Major Henry C. Guerin, chief commissary of South Carolina, joined in placing all hopes of feeding his men on beef from Florida. "Our situation," he wrote, "is full of danger . . . from want of meat, and extraordinary efforts are required to prevent disaster."¹⁶

Tension between the various commands increased after yet another urgent appeal from the chief commissary of the Army of Tennessee for cattle. White responded that he could not have anticipated the concentration of troops in the greater Atlanta area, which made the large requisition necessary. He felt that if the army had taken him into its confidence, perhaps some of the shortages could have been avoided. White explained that he had gone to south Florida himself, where he had "ridden through mud and water by day and night among alligators and insects" to spur collections and driving. In this same combative spirit, he sent an inquiry to the commissary-general in Richmond asking why all the district commanders in Georgia had been promoted to the rank of major while his men in Florida had not been so advanced. "I suppose the reasons for

15. "Report on Commissary Stores," Fourth District, September, 1863, White Papers, Miscellaneous Correspondence.

16. Samuel Proctor, ed., *Florida A Hundred Years Ago* (Tallahassee, 1960-1965), October, 1963, 1; Johns, *Florida During the Civil War*, 191; White to John P. Baldwin, October 2, 1863, White Papers, Box 2, Letterbook 1.

this promotion," he wrote, "could be equally applicable to those in this state."¹⁷

Braxton Bragg, his army in the grips of a crippling food shortage, had little time for musing about advances in rank. He bitterly complained to Richmond that there were only a few weeks of scant rations left in the Atlanta depot. There had been no meat to issue for days, and he wanted immediate action from the commissary-general. Northrop caustically blamed Bragg for the crisis; by evacuating Tennessee he had abandoned its stocks of cattle and other supplies. If Bragg needed food for his army, he should take steps to recover Tennessee as soon as possible. Rumors flew through the ranks of the Army of Tennessee that millions of pounds of beef and pork were being stripped from Georgia and Florida for General Lee's use in Virginia while they were going hungry. Northrop assured the secretary of war that every effort was being made to feed all the gallant sons of the Confederacy. Bragg's army, dependent on Georgia and especially Florida, was suffering because the rail system in that area was not adequate to handle the volume of traffic needed to haul supplies to feed the troops.¹⁸

These arguments did little to ease the meat shortage in Georgia and South Carolina. Major Guerin had 40,000 soldiers and laborers to feed, and the cattle available in South Carolina were not one-tenth of what was needed. A commissary officer on leave from the Army of Tennessee told White of the suffering that he saw on a daily basis in the camps. The stock of beef and bacon was said to be exhausted; the army must now depend entirely on what could be gathered on a weekly basis. One officer recorded that "starvation stares us in the face; the handwriting is on the wall." General Beauregard's demands became even more desperate toward the end of October. To meet his needs, White reserved one-third of the cattle he had on hand for delivery to Charleston; 400 were deemed the minimum on which the forces defending the city could survive.¹⁹

17. White to Northrop, October 5, 1863; White to Locke, October 5, 1863, *ibid.*

18. *O.R.*, Series 1, vol. 30, part 4, 714-15; Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk*, 288; Connelly, *Autumn of Glory*, 114; Stanley F. Horn, *The Army of Tennessee: A Military History* (Indianapolis and New York, c. 1941; reprint ed., Norman, 1953), 282.

19. Henry C. Guerin to White, October 9, 10, 1863; Cummings to White, October 6, 19, 20, 1863, White Papers, Box 1.

When the beef was slow in arriving, a staff officer was dispatched to Florida to check the delay and get the cattle shipments moving quickly. When he arrived at the commissary headquarters at Quincy, he found that White was on an inspection tour of east Florida. A day later he met Major White, whom he believed to be a competent and hardworking soldier. Delays in shipping had not been caused by the presence of supply officers from Bragg's army as had been believed. The officer concluded that White's organization was new and not operating at full capacity; it was a wonder that he had been able to accomplish so much under the circumstances. The major returned to Charleston with the assurance that the promised one-third of all available beef would be forwarded to Beauregard.²⁰

All efforts aside, the lack of beef, especially Florida beef, may have had a direct effect on the military situation. The Army of Tennessee reeled from a series of battles fought around Chattanooga in November that culminated at the Battle of Missionary Ridge on November 25, 1863. The "miracle" of Missionary Ridge turned out to be anything but for the Confederates. After the center of their lines collapsed, Bragg's troops broke and fled in panic. They rallied near Dalton, Georgia, but only after the army had lost more than 6,000 men in the fighting. One wonders how much of this Confederate defeat was caused by the months of poor rations and little hope for better food. Perhaps the seeds of the defeat were not to be found in the Clan of the Union troops, but in the lack of Florida beef in the mess tins of the Confederates. The cliché about battles being lost for the want of a nail may be valid in this case.

A survey of available supplies did not bring much Christmas cheer to Florida supply officers. The projected amount of all types of meat which could be procured by the tax in kind, impressments, and purchases would meet minimal army needs only until May 1864. This was not only true for Florida, but the entire Confederacy. Speculators stood ready to reduce stocks even further. White reported speculator applications as being equivalent to the state's entire agricultural surplus. The parties making these requests also far out-bid the fixed schedule of prices so that commissary officers were forced to impress or get

20. White to Charles F. Stubbs, October 23, 1863; White to Baldwin, October 31, 1863, *ibid.*, Box 2, Letterbook 1; *O.R.*, Series 1, vol. 30, part 4, 717.

nothing at all. White asked the secretary of war for authority to remove such competition and let the government become the sole purchaser. Secretary Seddon agreed that the existing laws relating to speculation were flawed, but while they existed they must be obeyed.²¹

In late December 1863 the district commissaries reported that the cattle in their areas would not be able to survive the drive to the army depots; there was a lack of proper grazing along the trails. White ordered that no cattle be forwarded until they were in sufficient condition to stand a drive to the depot at Albany, Georgia, or to the railroad for shipment to Charleston. He had hoped to suspend all cattle operations till spring, but events changed his plans. Orders had come down from the Army of Tennessee for 20,000 head to be delivered as soon as possible. Such a figure was clearly impossible to meet, but White decided that Florida must send something to ward off added hunger in the army camps. "The cattle will arrive in bad condition," reported White, "yet I do not see how I can get along without them . . . we must continue the supply no matter how poor or how bad is their condition."²²

December saw a change in the command of Florida's largest beef customer. General Joseph E. Johnston replaced Bragg as commander of the Army of Tennessee on December 16. Johnston faced the task of leading an army that had undergone both defeat and months of near-famine. Secretary Seddon warned the new commander that he would have serious difficulties in providing the supplies required for the subsistence of his command. Seddon assured Johnston that the Commissary Bureau would be directed to aid in meeting his supply needs to the best of its ability. The general wrote a stinging reply in which he declared that under the present system he had to depend on "three majors in each state, none of whom owed him obedience." Johnston himself had no taste for logistical work, but believed that he should have the responsibility instead of a

21. White to Joseph Finegan, December 11, 1863; White to James Seddon, December 15, 1863, White Papers, Box 2, Letterbook 1.

22. White to B. French, December 23, 1863; White to Alonzo B. Noyes, December 27, 1863; White to Isaac Widgeon, December 18, 1863; White to Sumner, December 25, 1863, *ibid.*; James McKay to White, December 16, 1863, *ibid.*, Box 1.

number of officers "who had not been thought by the government competent to the duties of high military grades."²³

Johnston's remarks were not only unkind, but they showed an unusual lack of tact. These officers that he thought incompetent held the fate of his army in their hands. Florida beef was at that moment moving toward his supply bases at Albany and Quitman, Georgia, long after the cattle driving season should have ended. The government's order to continue driving until Christmas showed a lack of understanding of the conditions in Florida. Major White, on his own initiative, ordered those cows unable to continue the northern trip to be kept in pastures in Taylor and Lafayette counties where they would be held till the spring when they would be ready for General Johnston's men. This was not the act of an incompetent officer, and Johnston's outburst may only reflect the frustration of a proud man losing a war.²⁴

A year-end look at one of the Florida districts shows the extent of the shipment of beef to the Confederate armies. Charleston had received 5,679 head from the Fourth District in 1863, Savannah stockyards held 899, and the Army of Tennessee had received 3,564 head of beef cattle. The Fourth District, when the requisitions for units operating in Florida are included, had sent a total of 10,142 head of cattle. White estimated that around 30,000 head had been moved out during 1863; how many had been taken illegally was not known. The following year would not be as productive for only 20,000 head could be expected from the state at best. While the figures may vary, Florida was keeping a considerable number of Confederate soldiers fed, albeit poorly, and therefore in the ranks.²⁵

The continuing supply of Florida beef was just one of the problems that faced the embattled Confederacy in early 1864. Lee's army was suffering from its most acute food shortage of the war. Alabama reported that all its surplus would be needed by troops in that state and no more could be exported. Officials estimated that within three weeks time, the state of Georgia would be completely stripped of foodstuffs. However, Sherman

23. Johnston, *Narrative of Military Operations*, 263, 266.

24. White to Stubbs, December 30, 1863, White Papers, Box 2, Letterbook 1.

25. "Report of Beef Cattle," Fourth District, December, 1863, White to Northrop, February 4, 1864, *ibid.*, Box 1.

would still be able to find rations for his army later during his march through this same area. The shortage was debated heatedly in the Confederate Congress. On January 6, 1864, a Mississippi representative called for the speedy replacement of the commissary-general; if this incompetent remained in office after he had forfeited the confidence of Congress and the nation, he charged, the blame must be laid on President Davis himself. Davis, unconcerned, defended his old friend, General Northrop, calling him "one of the greatest geniuses in the South." If Northrop had the physical capacity, Davis declared, he would put him at the head of an army.²⁶

The supply of Florida beef was also coming to a halt as the last few cows arrived at the front. Those beeves that did make it were so lean that they provided very little meat. White put some of his idle drovers to work slaughtering and salting some of these cattle in Jackson County. The lack of barrels and boxes and the materials to manufacture them hampered the packing operation. White ordered it continued, however, in the hope that at least a few barrels of salted beef might be shipped northward. It was difficult to obtain even a few extra pounds with the swarms of agents from other organizations that were operating in the region. Agents of Georgia's Governor Brown, agents from the city of Savannah, commissary men from other states, and a legion from the Mining and Nitre Department and the railroad companies were buying all the beef and other products that they could get their hands on. None stopped to ask about the legality of this under a Florida law that forbade this type of activity. Florida commissary officers, however, had to compete with them and found it exceedingly difficult to purchase anything at all. Higher prices added to an already soaring inflation rate.²⁷

Florida's problems seemed inconsequential in comparison to those of South Carolina. General Beauregard took it upon himself to discharge the state commissary agent, Major Guerin.

26. "Proceedings of the First Confederate Congress: Fourth Session, 7 December 1863-18 February 1864," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 52 vols. (Richmond, 1876-1959), L, 196-97; Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk*, 326; Douglas S. Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants: A Study in Command*, 3 vols. (New York, 1946), III, 316.

27. *O.R.*, Series 1, vol. 35, part 1, 522; White to Cummings, January 6, 1864; White to Wilkinson Call, undated, White Papers, Box 2, Letterbook 1; Proctor, ed., *Florida A Hundred Years Ago*, January, 1964, 1.

Beauregard felt that Guerin lacked administrative ability, but what he really lacked was Beauregard's confidence. Northrop defended his subordinate with the charge that the general did not understand that Georgia and Florida had been called upon to send large quantities of beef to the Army of Tennessee that would have normally gone to Charleston. Had Beauregard's orders in regard to the management of supplies been followed, "it would have been impossible to keep up the supply of beeves from Florida as long as has been done." Guerin was reinstated by presidential order, but the commissary department in South Carolina remained under a cloud as long as General Beauregard commanded in the state. Florida was fortunate not to have such ego clashes in its supply system.²⁸

Richmond did not let up, however, on its demands for Florida beef during this time. Northrop decided that his plans could succeed only if the flow of beef continued non-stop. Surely, mused the commissary-general, a state so rich in cattle could spare another thousand or so until summer returned. Major White must have wearied of explaining to his superiors how all the cattle that could be safely moved had already been transferred. South Florida could possibly supply more, but the long trip from the range to the nearest railroad line would be far too much for the emaciated cattle. There were definite limits to Florida's potential as a cattle supplier, and for this season the limit had been reached. Even Governor Milton admitted that the supply was not as abundant in his state as he had supposed.²⁹

In the meantime, White sought the sort of military protection that the Confederacy's beef larder so clearly deserved. He sent several letters to General Beauregard, detailing the situation and the potential danger from Union forces. Beauregard sympathized, but was unable to send any troops. Those available units in north Florida ultimately confronted the Union forces in the Battle of Olustee on February 20, 1864. While it was not the only reason for the Olustee campaign, the desire to interdict the flow of cattle into Georgia was an important factor in General Truman A. Seymour's ill-fated march toward Lake City.

28. *O.R.*, Series 1, vol. 35, part 1, 508, 520.

29. Milton to Northrop, January 13, 1864, Milton Papers, Milton Letterbook; White to French, January 18, 1864; White to McKay, January 19, 1864, White Papers, Box 2, Letterbook 2.

The disruption of supply lines caused by the fighting could be seen in the privation of soldiers under siege in Charleston. The troops had been getting a little beef four days out of every ten, but in February no meat had been issued for several days. Major Guerin was not sure when the next beef rations could be issued. Commanders complained that front-line troops needed protein in the form of beef to be able to function under fire.³⁰

Guerin could only answer with the hope that they would be well fed on Florida beef as soon as possible. The summer's meat ration would have to come from Florida sources. "If that should fail," he wrote, "the privation, I fear will be greater." Major White was well aware that the army around Charleston often went without fresh meat. A similar fate awaited General Johnston's command. White desperately tried to head off the coming crisis by sending all the bacon and pork in the state to the front. The 2,500 Confederate troops in Florida could get along on short rations of stringy native beef for a while. "Let us send," White said, "to those who deserve it our best meat." His Commissary Bureau men would accept this added burden, White believed, because they were in the service from a sense of duty and not for mundane reasons.³¹

The Olustee campaign into the interior had a stinging effect on Floridians in and out of uniform; they now seemed more willing to come forward and help supply government forces. But there was one group of government charges that found little comfort or benefit in this renewed spirit. Union prisoners of war were on the bottom of a long list of people depending on the Confederate military for their food. On March 15, 1864, Captain H. M. Allen tried to secure 2,500 head of cattle to feed the 6,000 prisoners in his district which included Columbus, Georgia, and the new camp that came to be known as Andersonville. Allen could find no beef in his state, so he contacted White for help. The major had no ready beef to send, giving the poor quality of the cattle and the cold and continuous rains during the winter as reasons. None could be available before the end of April.³²

30. White to Call, February 2, 1864; White to Northrop, February 28, 1864, *ibid.*

31. *O.R.*, Series 1, vol. 35, part 1, 615; White to Widgeon, February 8, 1864; White to French, February 9, 1864, *ibid.*

32. White to Locke, March 12, 1864; White to H. M. Allen, March 30, 1864, *ibid.*; Allen to White, March 15, 25, 1864, *ibid.* Box 1.

As the time drew near for the 1864 cattle season to begin, doubts existed about Florida's ability to supply cattle on the same scale as it had the previous year. White himself thought that the number, while large, would not come close to the 1863 levels. The threats posed by the Union army and navy, pro-Unionists, deserters and draft evaders, and perhaps even the Seminoles, grew daily. The isolated and unprotected herds made easy and tempting targets. The Confederates could spare no regular troops for the vital ranges of south Florida, and soldiers detailed for droving duty had proved unpredictable. If the situation in the South was not stabilized, no cattle could be brought out. Supply officers knew the consequences of that for the armies, and in the end for the Confederacy itself.

Such conditions could not be allowed to continue if the needs of the Confederate army were to be met through another lean winter. White answered a query as to the number of cattle Florida could deliver in late October 1864; 300 to 500 per week were the best that could be expected. With luck the figure might be boosted to 1,000, but this would become difficult as winter grew near. Major Guerin complained that troops in South Carolina already faced shortages and could be supplied with any sort of meat only occasionally. Unrest gripped the city of Charleston as citizens of the lower classes grumbled about going without meat while the more elite groups had at least an occasional meal that included beef or a little pork. To stave off disaster, Guerin placed minimum requirements at 3,000 head per month and asked that the cattle be moved to Savannah as soon as possible.³³

White interpreted Guerin's request as an attempt to give him a direct order. He angrily replied that he was under the authority of the commissary-general, and that "no general can command me and I will obey no orders except from those to whom I report."³⁴ Three thousand head per month was not even remotely possible; all that could be spared would be sent into Georgia where Guerin could order his own drovers to collect them. Guerin, realizing that White's good will was essential to future shipments of Florida beef, quickly sent an apologetic note clarifying his statements. He had not intended to relay a

33. M. B. Millen to White, October 31, 1864; Guerin to White, October 31, 1864, *ibid.*

34. White to Guerin, November 2, 1864, *ibid.*, Box 2, Letterbook 2.

command but to convey a request; it was vital to have some idea of how much cattle Charleston could expect from Florida. White estimated 300 to 500 head a week if there was an uninterrupted flow from south Florida.³⁵

Cattle operations once again were forced to continue late into the fall of 1864, and about 500 head per week were crossing the Florida-Georgia border. One officer thought that the number would not vary unless "some raid of the enemy, or interference of our Commissary-General, or some unanticipated course breaks into our operations."³⁶ Drovers from Georgia received permission to cross into west Florida to gather such cattle as they could find. The Georgians, however, complained that the area assigned to them was inside Union lines. These men found few cows in the area, since the bulk of them had been removed or hidden by their owners. The 150 head they had collected did not satisfy them, and their commander, Colonel D. F. Cocke, was not a friend of White's due to an earlier incident. White had learned that Cocke had made personal investments in large numbers of south Florida cattle with the hope of gaining great profits. Major White warned Cocke that such purchases were unwarranted and might be illegal. The beef in question must be turned over to Confederate authorities, or Cocke would face the consequences.³⁷

As usual, much was expected from Florida during the winter months of 1864. One Confederate official believed that as many as 25,000 head could still be obtained there, which would yield 10,000,000 pounds of beef. To counter such optimistic pronouncements and to fend off congressional attacks, Northrop issued a report on the availability of the Confederacy's beef supply. Florida, he noted, had supplied large quantities of meat and planned to continue the flow of beef. Twenty thousand head might be possible, but claims that Florida could supply hundreds of thousands of cattle were not valid. "These marvelous accounts," wrote Northrop, "are believed to be idle, as this bureau has received accurate information of the number."³⁸

35. Ibid.

36. I. C. Clancy to Guerin, November 23, 1864, *ibid.*

37. White to D. F. Cocke, November 2, 1863, *ibid.*; Cocke to White, November 29, 1864, *ibid.*, Box 1.

38. Charles H. Wesley, *The Collapse of the Confederacy* (Washington, DC, 1937), 7; *Southern Historical Society Papers*, II, 99.

While Florida could still supply beef for the Confederacy in the future, the cattle season for 1864 came to a close in January 1865. The collection of cattle in south Florida ceased as of January 9. Two factors influenced the decision to call a halt to the trade: the position of Sherman's army had disrupted communications and made it unsafe to move any more beef northward into Georgia, and there was the continuing problem of forage shortages in the winter months.³⁹ Cattle moved again in the spring and continued until the end of the war. By war's end at least 75,000 head had been delivered to the government, while untold numbers had been traded covertly.⁴⁰ Despite the amount of beef exported from Florida for the use of the Confederate army between 1862 and 1864, the expectations placed on the state by those in charge of logistical planning were never met. The many senior Confederate officers who had served in Florida during the antebellum years, Commissary-General Northrop and Robert E. Lee included, should have been able to provide better information on conditions in the region. Supply officers there were forced to try to meet unrealistic requests for more and more cattle.

Need for Florida beef had greatly increased after the fall of Vicksburg and the re-organization of the Confederate supply system in 1863. Florida cattle were vitally important for the feeding of Confederate soldiers from Chattanooga to Charleston and giving them the nourishment to continue the struggle in the face of increasingly overwhelming odds. In the end, cattle from Florida could not keep Confederate troops free from the pangs of hunger. Florida beef managed only to prolong the contest, but not to alter its outcome.

39. White to McKay, January 9, 1865, White Papers, Box 2, Letterbook 2.

40. This estimate is derived from the 25,000 head of the Summerlin contract and the 50,000 White believed would be delivered by the end of 1864. Joe A. Akerman, Jr., *Florida Cowman: A History of Florida Cattle Raising* (Kissimmee, FL, 1976), 85-87.

VIGILANTE JUSTICE AND NATIONAL REACTION: THE 1937 TALLAHASSEE DOUBLE LYNCHING

by WALTER T. HOWARD

THE gruesome southern custom of lynching blacks no longer plagues the state of Florida.¹ Yet, between 1882 and 1945, this species of vigilantism was a persistent problem.² In the period 1889 to 1918, peak lynching years in the United States, nearly 200 blacks were executed in Florida.³ During the decade 1890-1900, seventy-four blacks were victims to lynch-law in Florida, and in the first ten years of the twentieth century, fifty-one met death in the same fashion. Forty-nine blacks were lynched between 1910 and 1917, and thirty-four between 1922

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1. The subject of Florida lynchings and vigilantism, directed against blacks, whites, and ethnic groups, has attracted much scholarly attention. See James R. McGovern, *Anatomy of a Lynching: The Killing of Claude Neal* (Baton Rouge, 1982); Robert P. Ingalls, "Lynching and Establishment Violence in Tampa, 1858-1935," *Journal of Southern History* 53 (November 1987), 613-44, "The Tampa Flogging Case, Urban Vigilantism," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 56 (July 1977), 13-27, and "General Joseph B. Wall and Lynch-Law in Tampa," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 63 (July 1984); Jerrell H. Shofner, "Murders at 'Kiss-me-Quick': The Underside of International Affairs," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 62 (January 1984), 332-38, and "Judge Herbert Rider and the Lynching at LaBelle," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 59 (January 1981), 292-306; McGovern and Walter T. Howard, "Private Justice and National Concern: The Lynching of Claude Neal," *The Historian* 43 (August 1981), 546-59; Howard, "'A Blot on Tampa's History': The 1934 Lynching of Robert Johnson," *Tampa Bay History* 6 (Fall 1984), 5-18, and "Vigilante Justice: Extra-legal Executions in Florida, 1930-1940" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1987).
2. During these years Florida vigilantes lynched some 260 black victims. For a discussion on Florida lynching statistics, see Howard, "Vigilante Justice," 1-3.
3. There were also lynchings in other southern states in this same period. Five other southern states executed more blacks than Florida: Georgia (360), Mississippi (350), Texas (263), Louisiana (264), and Alabama (244). Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, South Carolina, Virginia, and North Carolina lynched fewer blacks than Florida. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889-1918* (New York, 1969), 41, 53-56.

and 1929.⁴ Twelve blacks were executed during the decade of the 1930s, and three in the five-year period, 1940-1945, before this violence finally ceased.⁵ One of the most notorious of these tragedies occurred when vigilantes lynched two black teenagers, Richard Ponder and Ernest Hawkins, in Tallahassee during the summer of 1937.⁶

Authorities had accused the youths of a knife assault on a white policeman, the symbol of authority in the community. It was not unheard of for blacks to be lynched for such actions in small southern towns, even as late as the 1930s.⁷ Moreover, several aspects of this episode make it an instructive drama. Embarrassed state officials observed with consternation that this double slaying took place in the capital city, not in a rural village isolated in the piney woods of northwest Florida. Furthermore, newspapers in northern cities such as New York, Washington, Chicago, Baltimore, and Pittsburgh printed details of the lynching for a national audience to read. The 1937 Tallahassee incident also drew the attention of major anti-lynching organizations, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.), and the Association of South-

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4. Monroe Work, *Negro Year Book* (Tuskegee, 1942), 367. See also Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, "Southern Women Look at Lynching," 32, Governor David Sholtz Records, 1933-1937, Administrative Correspondence, Lynching File, Series 278, Box 278, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, Florida.
 5. Records of blacks lynched in Florida during the 1930s are in the files titled, "Lynching by Counties." Negro Collection, Files of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, Trevor Arnett Library, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia. There are also records of these incidents in the Lynching Files of the Administrative Correspondence Records of Florida Governors, Florida State Archives. See also Jessie Daniel Ames, *The Changing Character of Lynching: Review of Lynching, 1931-1941* (Atlanta, 1942; reprinted., New York, 1973), 36. For accounts of the three lynchings of the 1940s see Howard, "Vigilante Justice," 300-20.
 6. Florida led the nation with three lynchings in 1937. Other southern state records included Mississippi, two; Alabama, one; Georgia, one; and Tennessee, one. The most brutal lynching of the year occurred in Mississippi where two blacks were tortured with blow torches before they were killed. Frank Shay, *Judge Lynch: His First Hundred Years* (New York, 1938; reprint ed., Montclair, NJ, 1969), 250.
 7. The inclination of Floridians to take the law into their own hands and dispense punishment to blacks or whites who violated the community's honor has been discussed in several recent studies: Ingalls, "Lynching and Establishment Violence in Tampa, 1858-1935," 616-18, and "General Joseph B. Wall and Lynch-Law in Tampa," 51-70.

ern Women for the Prevention of Lynching (A.S.W.P.L.). This extra-legal execution also influenced wrangling over proposed federal anti-lynching legislation pending in Congress at the time.

The series of events leading up to the Tallahassee double lynching began on July 19, shortly after midnight, when two black youths, Richard Ponder and Ernest Hawkins, both eighteen and unemployed, forcibly broke into a local business establishment on South Adams Street in the downtown area. In the midst of the robbery, city patrolman J. V. Kelley surprised and captured them. With his suspects in custody, the police officer was enroute to jail when one of the prisoners attacked him with a knife. Fortunately, the wound was not fatal.⁸ The attackers left the seriously-injured Kelley at the scene as they fled into the darkness. Within the hour, however, Ponder and Hawkins were back in police custody.⁹

City, county, and state law officers expressed an immediate interest in the case. Tallahassee police Chief Gid Powledge, Leon County Sheriff Frank Stoutamire, and State's Attorney Orion C. Parker questioned the youths for several hours. The two suspects finally admitted to breaking and entering, but each accused the other of stabbing the police officer. Officials charged both with assault with intent to murder, as well as with breaking and entering. Ponder and Hawkins were locked up in the Leon County jail, recently constructed by the Public Works Administration.¹⁰

8. Kelley was immediately hospitalized and reported in fair condition later that morning, *Tallahassee Democrat*, July 20, 1937. Little is known about the two youths. Residents remember that they were two Tallahassee-born teenagers from the Smokey Hollow area, and that they were younger than eighteen years of age, perhaps as young as fourteen. Ponder and Hawkins are remembered as "mischievous" youths, but not as criminals, and there is no record of their involvement with the law prior to the alleged burglary. Interview with two Tallahassee blacks who recall the incident but wish to remain anonymous by Walter T. Howard, May 9, 15, 1988.
9. State's Attorney Parker compiled a detailed report of the entire incident upon the request of Governor Cone. Orion C. Parker to Fred P. Cone, August 4, 1937, Governor Fred P. Cone Records, 1937-1940, Administrative Correspondence, Lynching Files, Series 371, Box 40, Florida State Archives.
10. In 1927 the Florida legislature enacted a law which authorized the city of Tallahassee to confine its prisoners in the Leon County jail. Under this arrangement city police were given a key that permitted officers to enter the jail during all hours of the night. Officials believed that under these circumstances a night guard at the county facility was unnecessary. *Tallahassee Democrat*, July 21, 1937.

The two prisoners' stay in jail was brief. On July 20, at about 3:30 A.M., night guard Harry Fairbanks sat quietly reading a newspaper with his back to the door at the Tallahassee city jail. Suddenly, four masked men entered the station, captured him, and drove four blocks to the county facility.¹¹ There was no night guard on duty. Knowing that Fairbanks had the keys to the county prison, they ordered him to open the main entrance. Inside they told him: "We want the keys and we don't want any damn foolishness." Following these instructions, he opened the gun case that contained the county jail's keys. To reach the prisoners hidden in various areas of the jail, the gunmen used Fairbanks's knowledge of the key system. They forced him to unlock eight different doors enabling them to seize Ponder and Hawkins. Holding their terrified captives at gunpoint, the small group of kidnappers sped away in their automobile.¹²

Ponder and Hawkins were quickly lynched. At about 4:00 A.M., the kidnappers and their victims arrived at a destination just outside the city limits. There the men stopped the car and pulled the two youths out of the vehicle. They readied their small firearms, thirty-two and thirty-eight caliber hand guns. At this point, they turned one of the blacks loose and urged him flee for his life. After only a few steps, however, the gunmen cut him down with about fifteen or twenty rounds. As he lay bleeding from his multiple fatal wounds, the killers turned on the other captive and riddled his body with about fifteen or twenty shots. Then, as the bodies lay on the ground, the vigilantes lingered at the scene to paint threatening signs. These warnings admonished other blacks to "stay in their place" or they might be lynched also. Their task completed, the gunmen then drove away, leaving the remains of Ponder and Hawkins by the side of the road.¹³

About four hours after the abduction, a Leon County resident telephoned the sheriffs office reporting that he had come

11. According to Fairbanks, two of the men were dressed in "overcoats," the other two in "raincoats." All wore masks made of "bags" in which eye holes had been cut. *Ibid.*, July 20, 1937.

12. Parker to Cone, August 4, 1937, Governor Cone Records, Lynching File, Series 371, Box 40.

13. The details of this affair were described in two special reports to Governor Cone. Parker and Sheriff Stoutamire prepared lengthy formal accounts of this extra-legal execution. Parker to Cone, August 4, 1937; Frank Stoutamire to Cone, August 4, 1937, *ibid.* See also *Tallahassee Democrat*, July 20, 1937.

across the bodies of the men shot to death near his home. Responding to the call, Powledge, Stoutamire, and Parker proceeded out the Jacksonville highway to where the informant resided. There they spotted the bodies of Ponder and Hawkins, three miles east of Tallahassee on the edge of the right-of-way of State Road No. 1. Ironically, the remains were located only yards from the home of a Florida State Supreme Court justice.¹⁴

Local authorities in Tallahassee took the first investigative steps in the case. Upon official discovery of the bodies, the county judge convened a six-man coroner's jury and took testimony from several witnesses. Chief Powledge raised the possibility of police complicity in the lynching when he testified that only policemen and county law officers knew that Fairbanks, at the city jail, had a set of keys to the county facility.¹⁵

The testimony coming out of the coroner's inquest cast a shadow over Sheriff Stoutamire and his deputies. Some observers asked why the sheriff's office had not provided adequate security measures for its prisoners in this case. Others questioned the sheriff's judgment because he failed to foresee the possibility of vigilante action, and because he did not move Ponder and Hawkins to a safer jail in another town, or at least provide them with adequate armed protection.¹⁶

In an effort to answer persistent charges that the police might be implicated in the lynching, Tallahassee officials exhumed the bodies, removing several slugs for evidence. Test bullets fired from the guns of every city and county officer were also collected for comparison with those removed from the victims. In addition, the sheriff picked up four bullets near the remains of Ponder and Hawkins. On July 21, authorities sent all of their evidence to the Department of Justice in Washington, D.C. for examination. Explaining these steps, State's Attorney Parker declared: "If policemen are implicated we can establish it, and if they are not implicated the evidence will clearly exonerate."¹⁷

14. *Newsweek*, July 31, 1937, 9.

15. Stoutamire to Cone, August 4, 1937, Governor Cone Records, Lynching File, Series 371, Box 40; *Tallahassee Democrat*, July 20, 1937. Later that morning, after the coroner's inquest, sheriffs deputies buried the bodies in Tallahassee's black cemetery.

16. The sheriff was reported in the local press as declaring that neither he, nor his men, were guilty of any carelessness. *Tallahassee Democrat*, July 20, 1937.

17. *Ibid.*, July 22, 1937.



Leon County Sheriff Frank Stoutamire.

Meanwhile, allegations of police complicity and negligence in this case moved state leaders to act. Circuit Court Judge John Johnson wrote Florida Governor Fred P. Cone, stating that "there is something rotten in Denmark." He added that he and the governor should "try to find that rottenness," even if it implicated law officers.¹⁸

Under pressure to take some steps, the governor considered disciplinary action against Sheriff Stoutamire. However, when rumors circulated around Tallahassee that Cone might suspend the sheriff, prominent officials came to his defense. L. A. Wesson, mayor-commissioner of Tallahassee, wrote the governor: "The action of the persons responsible for the perpetration of this unwarranted and inexcusable act have caused the sheriff of Leon County considerable embarrassment." He also noted: "The government of the city has always considered and looked upon Mr. Stoutamire as one of the most efficient law enforcement officers in the state of Florida."¹⁹ Judge Johnson also wrote Governor Cone in support of the sheriff: "I have been officially associated with Mr. Stoutamire for more than ten years. I can assure you that he is one of the best, most efficient and straightest sheriffs in the state of Florida."²⁰ In view of these strong recommendations, the governor decided not to suspend Stoutamire.

His fate settled, the sheriff tightened security at the county facility. He arranged for a full-time night guard to work as a deputy sheriff at the jail and to be paid by the city so long as it kept prisoners there. Stoutamire also organized a security system in which only employees of his office would have keys to the county prison in the future.²¹ The sheriff asked the city

18. Judge John B. Johnson to Cone, July 24, 1937, Governor Cone Records, Lynching File, Series 371, Box 40.

19. Wesson also stated that "The city is cooperating with the sheriff in an endeavor to ascertain the identity of the guilty parties . . ." L. A. Wesson to Cone, July 26, 1937, *ibid*.

20. Offering Cone "friendly" counsel, Johnson stated, "I earnestly ask that you refrain from entering an order of suspension against Sheriff Stoutamire until you get the evidence that would sustain such a suspension. I ask this for three reasons: 1. If such a suspension was without competent evidence it would mean his re-election at the next general election, 1938; 2. It would mean that the state of Florida would have to pay his entire compensation during the period of suspension; 3. It would be a calamity to disrupt the sheriff's force at this time." Johnson to Cone, July 25, 1937, *ibid*.

21. *Tallahassee Democrat*, July 25, 1937.



Governor Fred P. Cone (1937-1941) in his office. Photographs courtesy of the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.

police to return their set of keys, and then sought to explain this step in a letter to the mayor-commissioner. He tactfully stated that he meant no criticism of the police, and he added, "I am responsible for all prisoners in the jail, and these developments have proven it is not wise and safe to permit any division of this responsibility."²² Finally, a federal prison inspector examined the Leon County jail and certified it as a safe place to lodge federal prisoners.²³

On August 1, 1937, test results from the United States Department of Justice arrived in Tallahassee. The Federal Bureau of Investigation reported in a telegram to Sheriff Stoutamire that sample bullets from the guns of Tallahassee policemen and Leon County deputies bore no connection to those that killed the lynch victims. Obviously eager to close the case, a relieved Stoutamire stated: "In my opinion there isn't much more we can do." Called back into session on August 3, the coroner's jury examined the F.B.I.'s report, but heard no additional evidence. The jury, as expected, concluded its proceedings and returned a verdict that Ponder and Hawkins had died by "gun-shot wounds inflicted by person or persons unknown."²⁴

The utilization of the F.B.I.'s facilities by Tallahassee officials was laudatory because local law enforcement in the South rarely sought federal aid in a lynching inquiry. Nevertheless, the probe into the murder of Ponder and Hawkins was limited in scope. The evidence indicates that investigators had not questioned law officers suspected of complicity in any great depth. Moreover, no one pursued the possibility that several policemen or deputies, using personal weapons, might have committed the crime and then fabricated convincing alibis. In addition, law officers could have informed third parties that Fairbanks had the keys to the county jail. Needless to say, investigating authorities did not aggressively explore these possibilities.²⁵

Indeed, these possibilities were not even mentioned in the public discussion of the murders in the local press. The *Tallahas-*

22. Stoutamire to Wesson, July 24, 1937, Governor Cone Records, Lynching File, Series 37 1, Box 40.

23. *Tallahassee Democrat*, July 25, 1937.

24. Stoutamire to Cone, August 4, 1937, Governor Cone Records, Lynching File, Series 37 1, Box 40.

25. The state's attorney never requested any indictments. *Tallahassee Democrat*, July 22, 1937.

see *Democrat* addressed the lynching in an editorial titled, "An Unfortunate Incident in the City's Record," which appeared July 20, 1937. This article articulated the community's embarrassment when it stated: "It does not promote the city's prestige in the eyes of the state and nation to adopt extra-legal means for the enforcement of justice." Tallahassee whites were obviously aware that their community had attracted national attention because of the double slaying. Nonetheless, this editorial appeared to excuse the lynching as understandable because the vigilantes had acted in response to an unsatisfactory criminal justice system. In fact, it emphasized an unsatisfactory criminal justice system and reflected the prevailing view in the local white community that the execution was a reaction to the "law's delay in dealing with Ponder and Hawkins." Furthermore, the editors even speculated that the Tallahassee lynchers may have been justice-seeking Southerners acting out their frustrations over what they considered to be the legal system's failure to convict and execute the black defendants in the Scottsboro cases being tried in Alabama courts.²⁶

Tallahassee, the capital of Florida, the seat of government in Leon County, and an educational center, seemed an unlikely setting for a lynching. Nevertheless, Tallahassee was still a small southern town of some 12,000 residents in 1937, and was perhaps the most isolated of all state capitals in the South in its proximity to heavily-populated areas.²⁷ It was also a very conservative community, still influenced by values and traditions of the Old South. The slave pews in the city's antebellum Presbyterian and Episcopalian churches called attention to the community's past experience with slavery.²⁸

Almost everyone in Tallahassee, white and black, must have understood why vigilantes murdered Ponder and Hawkins. Lynchers executed these men not merely to mete out punish-

26. *Ibid.*, July 20, 1937.

27. Tallahassee "lies 170 miles from Jacksonville, 200 from Pensacola, 240 from Tampa, 245 from Orlando, 460 from Miami, and 606 miles from Key West. It lies only 20 miles from the Georgia line." Hampton Dunn, *Yesterday's Tallahassee* (Miami, 1974), 27-28.

28. For a brief discussion of how deeply-rooted "Old South" traditions influenced the residents of Tallahassee during the 1930s, see Tom Wagdy, *Governor LeRoy Collins: Spokesman of the New South* (University, AL, 1985), 4-6, 11-12, 18-19. For a history of Tallahassee as an "Old South" community, see Bertram Groene's *Ante-bellum Tallahassee* (Tallahassee, 1971).

ment to two individuals, but to warn other blacks to "stay in their place." Indeed, white Tallahassee let blacks know in no uncertain terms what their place was in the town's life. During the 1930s whites were determined to keep the city's large black population of some 5,000 residents (about forty-one percent of the total) in a socially subordinate position.²⁹ Strict segregation and continuous discrimination characterized black life in the community. Various Jim Crow customs were practiced in regard to the town's schools, churches, parks, hotels, theaters, restaurants, and cemeteries.³⁰

Whites drew a tight line in the area of employment. Custom relegated most blacks to service occupations so that large numbers of the town's minority population were concentrated in lower-paid menial and unpleasant jobs.³¹ The white majority confined Tallahassee blacks to designated residential areas of town like "Frenchtown," around the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College campus, and Smokey Hollow. These neighborhoods appeared to be the most run-down and deteriorated areas of the city.³² Whites completely segregated Tallahassee blacks in the social realm, and they sought to perpetuate their inferior position by limiting physical contact between the two races. Thus, any blacks who assaulted a white man broke one of

29. United States Department of Commerce, *Fifteenth Census of the United States Population, Vol. III, Part 1* (Washington, 1930), 416.

30. In Tallahassee during the 1930s the southern caste system was the rule in race relations. The racial situation in Tallahassee on the eve of this lynching was typical of the segregation which existed in Florida in the early decades of the twentieth century. Racial segregation during the 1930s is documented in Polk's *Tallahassee City Directory* (Jacksonville, 1936). See also Wali Kharif, "The Refinement of Racial Segregation in Florida After the Civil War" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1983), 93. For an outline of the historical development of the southern caste system in Florida, see Jerrell H. Shofner, "Custom, Law, and History: The Enduring Influence of Florida's 'Black Code'," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 55 (January 1977), 277-98.

31. Black labor was crucial to Tallahassee's economy. Black women held most of the domestic service jobs in the city, and in the general urban labor category, black workers outnumbered whites almost ten to one. Florida State Planning Board, *Statistical Abstract of Florida Counties*, Leon County, n.d., n.p.; Charles S. Johnson, *Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties: Listings and Analysis of Socio-Economic Indices of 1104 Southern Counties* (Chapel Hill, 1941), 79.

32. Terry E. Lewis, "Frenchtown: A Geographical Survey of an All-Negro Business District in Tallahassee, Florida" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1966), 8.

the strongest taboos of prescribed interracial conduct and risked punishment.

The killers' violent act of lynching Ponder and Hawkins carried an unmistakable message to Tallahassee's black community. White Tallahasseans would not tolerate an assault by two black men on a white police officer, the uniformed representative of white authority. To make this clear, the lynchers left at the lynch scene a line of placards, hastily lettered in green paint on the side of pasteboard packing boxes. They read: "His last crime." "This is the beginning, who is next?" "This is your warning negros [sic], remember you might be next." "Warning, this is what will happen to all negroes who harm white people."³³

These intimidating threats and the lynching itself embarrassed and angered state leaders. Governor Cone, in particular, was surprised by this extra-legal murder because only one month earlier he had helped prevent a similar crime. At that time, he had called out the Florida National Guard to protect a black youth named Robert Hinds who had been threatened by a white mob.³⁴ Yet, he had taken no special steps to guarantee the safety of Ponder and Hawkins. Indeed, this incident surprised other state officials as well. A local judge who had collaborated with the governor in keeping Hinds out of mob hands, wrote Cone a letter explaining that he too had not seen the need for providing the two black prisoners with any extra protection.³⁵

33. All words in the sign were spelled correctly except for where "negros" appeared, and in several words the letter "s" was turned backward, *Tallahassee Democrat*, July 20, 1937.

34. Jane Cornell to Cone, May 19, 1937, Governor Cone Records, Lynching File, Series 371, Box 40. The governor confronted the lynching issue after only six months in office. On May 16, 1937, Sheriff Charles L. Robbins of Franklin County arrested Robert Hinds, a sixteen-year-old black, for allegedly assaulting and raping Mae Polous, a white woman. When Hinds came to trial in Tallahassee, Governor Cone called out the National Guard and stationed them around the Leon County Courthouse to avert a lynching. In the one-day trial of July 6, 1937, Hinds was found guilty, and he was electrocuted July 23, 1937. In her book on Jessie Daniel Ames and the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, Jacquelyn Dowd Hall inaccurately dates the day of Hinds's alleged attack on the girl as May 17, 1933, instead of May 16, 1937, and his execution as July 1935, instead of July 1937. See Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, *Revolt Against Chivalry: Jessie Daniel Ames and the Women's Campaign Against Lynching* (New York, 1979), 228.

35. Judge Johnson wrote Cone saying, "Governor these negroes were not charged with what is termed a lynching crime. After I heard that the two

The immediate, widespread response to the Tallahassee killings impressed Governor Cone. As soon as the papers carried the news of the lynching, letters and telegrams poured into his office. These messages, condemning the slaying, came from as far away as Chicago and New York.³⁶ One Jacksonville minister wrote a perceptive letter comparing the Tallahassee incident to the two most dramatic vigilante murders of the decade in Florida: the Claude Neal lynching in Marianna (1934), and the flogging of Joseph Shoemaker in Tampa (1935). He wrote that Marianna "and Tampa and other places (Tallahassee) have permitted things to occur which have certainly blackened the name of our fair state of Florida."³⁷

Florida editors also expressed concern about damage to the state's good name. The editors of the *St. Petersburg Times* seemed to feel that their community might be viewed as guilty by association in the eyes of the nation because of the Tallahassee incident: "Florida was disgraced again early Tuesday when an armed mob of masked men took two accused Negroes from the county jail at Tallahassee and riddled their bodies with bullets. Publicity attendant upon this incident will do the city (St. Petersburg) irreparable harm everywhere throughout the North in the areas St. Petersburg is so dependent upon the good will and respect of the people of its continued growth."³⁸ A *Tampa Tribune* editorial titled, "Murder in Tallahassee," declared: "We had hoped Florida might get through 1937 with a clean lynching record. Whatever the charge, they were entitled to a fair trial."³⁹

negroes had been arrested, and that they had confessed, it never crossed my mind that there would be any attempt to take them out and lynch them. I dare say that you would not have thought so." Johnson to Cone, July 24, 1937, Governor Cone Records, Lynching File, Series 371, Box 40.

36. Most of the correspondence to Cone was like the letter from the Reverend LeRoy Cooley, Penney Farms, Florida, which called "for the suspension of the officers involved." Another from Mrs. John Drake of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, informed the governor that if action was not taken against the lynchers, she would spend her winter vacation somewhere other than Florida. One man from New York City predicted that Cone would "go down in history as our greatest governor" if he could obtain convictions in this case. For other correspondence to Cone, see the telegram from the Chicago and Northern District Association of Colored Women, July 23, 1937; letter from Mrs. O. O. McCollum, n.d.; and the telegram from Hayden Crosby, July 21, 1937, *ibid*.
37. Albert Kissling to Cone, July 23, 1937, *ibid*.
38. *St. Petersburg Times*, July 21, 1937.
39. *Tampa Tribune*, July 22, 1937.

The *Miami Herald* stated: "All intelligent and loyal citizens of Florida deplore the lynching that took place in Tallahassee a day or two ago."⁴⁰ The *Miami Daily Times* called on the governor to prosecute the vigilantes because that would be "the only way of salvaging the reputation of the state."⁴¹

The public outcry over this lynching stirred the governor to announce: "I am going to do everything I can to get whoever did this!"⁴² He ordered the state's attorney and county sheriff to make a prompt and thorough investigation into the matter. However, he claimed that the slaying of Ponder and Hawkins was not actually a lynching; he referred to it as a simple "murder." This curious statement puzzled many observers. The governor knew that lynchings were messy affairs that created a bad press for the state; he may have wished to downplay the importance of this event by mislabeling it. His attempt to do so, however, was counterproductive and reflected the belief that he had not given much thought to the lynching issue. In light of what he had observed in Florida as a young man in the 1880s and 1890s, he apparently understood lynchings as ceremonial racial murders characterized by white mobs, manhunts, chases, torture, mutilation, and the public display of the victim's remains.⁴³ The Tallahassee double slaying was not that kind of ceremonial lynching. In this particular case a small group of armed men kidnapped Ponder and Hawkins from jail and then shot them to death in a vigilante-style execution conducted wholly outside the authority of the law.⁴⁴ This kind of extra-legal murder met all the criteria of a "lynching" as defined by anti-lynching organizations of the day and proposed federal anti-lynching legislation.

Governor Cone was well-known for his frequent intemperate remarks, and in this instance he committed one of his most

40. *Miami Herald*, July 22, 1937.

41. *Miami Daily Times*, July 21, 1937.

42. *Tallahassee Democrat*, July 21, 1937.

43. Richard M. Brown's *Strain of Violence: Historical Studies of American Violence and Vigilantism* (New York, 1975), 205-18, describes these ceremonial lynchings that were prevalent in the 1880s and 1890s. Cone himself committed a vigilante act as a young man when he shot and wounded a carpetbag Republican during the late 1880s as an act of political vengeance. He was never indicted or tried for this offense. Jerrell H. Shofner, "The White Springs Post Office Caper," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 56 (January 1978), 339-47.

44. Ames, *Changing Character of Lynching*, 36-37.

damaging and controversial blunders.⁴⁵ Indeed, national press coverage of the affair centered around his statement denying that the double slaying constituted a lynching. Newspapers in several large cities across the country, including New York, Washington, Chicago, Boston, St. Louis, and Atlanta, carried the governor's remarks, as well as the salient details of the incident.⁴⁶ The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* struck a skeptical note in an editorial that read as follows: "Governor Cone says, 'I'm going to do everything I can to get whoever did this! This looks like a lot of carelessness here by somebody'. Those are brave words, but if developments run true to form for the Deep South, nobody will be convicted of the lynching and nobody will lose his job at the jail."⁴⁷ Finally, on a coast-to-coast broadcast over N.B.C. radio, socialist Norman Thomas questioned Cone's ability to control the lynching problem when he was unable even to recognize this specific crime when it occurred.⁴⁸

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45. His most harmful and embarrassing gaffe occurred in New York City in October 1937, during a visit to the Florida exhibit at the World's Fair. On October 21, 1937, a delegation of representatives from liberal and religious organizations went to the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, where Cone was staying, to question him about the trial of Tampa policemen and klansmen accused of flogging Joseph Shoemaker to death. The discussion was heated, and the governor lost his composure and lashed out with a blanket threat to all political radicals who might come to Florida. He declared: "You go down there [Florida] and violate state laws and you'll be punished. You go down there advocating overthrow of the American government and you'll be rode out on a rail. I think a man ought to be hung on a tree if he advocates overthrow of the government." A Worker's Defense League lawyer pressed an irate Cone, and asked him if he "wouldn't go to the law" before resorting to railriding and hanging. The governor snapped back, "I'd go to you first if you came into my home and were trying to take something." Governor Cone's rash words in this case received widespread newspaper coverage. The *New York Times* reported that Mayor Fiorella La Guardia was so unhappy with the governor's injudicious remarks that he snubbed Cone and the Florida delegation when they came to visit him. The mayor sent word to Cone and the Florida group that he was too busy to see them. So the Floridians left a basket of grapefruit and returned to the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. However, as soon as they left, La Guardia received the Texas Christian University football team, and donned a ten-gallon hat for the benefit of photographers, *New York Times*, October 24, 1937. See also *New York Post*, October 23, 1937; *St. Petersburg Times*, October 24, 1937.
46. *New York Times*, July 21, 1937; *Washington Post*, July 23, 1937; *Chicago Tribune*, July 21, 1937; *Atlanta Constitution*, July 21, 1937; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 23, 1937; *Boston Herald*, July 23, 1937.
47. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 23, 1937.
48. Cone was informed of this broadcast in a telegram. J. H. Ingram to Cone, July 23, 1937, Governor Cone Records, Lynching File, Series 371, Box 40.

Cone's handling of the incident greatly disturbed the national black community. During the 1930s the N.A.A.C.P. made its campaign against lynching a top priority, and its leaders used the tactic of capitalizing on white abhorrence of the brutality of these crimes. They would, thus, publish results of their investigations in newspapers and disseminate them among liberal groups. In this way, they encouraged public support in favor of passage of federal anti-lynching legislation. In this particular instance, the N.A.A.C.P. promptly corrected the governor's erroneous definition of the crime when its assistant secretary, Roy Wilkins, sent a telegram to Cone. In it he stated, "*New York Times* today quotes you saying lynching of two Negroes in Tallahassee yesterday masked men who took them from city jail four blocks from state capitol was not lynching but a murder. This double killing [is] clearly a lynching since a group of men took over functions of government and meted out punishment without due process of law. N.A.A.C.P. urges you to use all forces at your command to speed apprehension, trial, and conviction of lynchers. Failure to act or perfunctory action will constitute additional proof states are unable or unwilling to punish these crimes and federal government therefore must act."⁴⁹ A number of black newspapers, including the *Chicago Defender*, *Baltimore Afro-American*, *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, and the *Atlanta Daily-World*, all derided the governor's irresponsible labeling of the double slaying, and lamented the fact that he had failed to prevent this lynching.⁵⁰ A sharp attack by the *Norfolk Journal and Guide* declared that "To Governor Cone, this state's 'Negro-baiting executive', the year's fifth and sixth lynchings were not lynchings but 'plain murder'."⁵¹ Finally, *The Crisis* asserted that Cone's inability to apprehend and try the Tallahassee vigilantes invalidated the argument of many Southerners that a federal anti-lynching law was unnecessary because state leaders could deter lynchings.⁵²

49. Telegram from Roy Wilkins to Cone, July 28, 1937, *ibid.*

50. *Chicago Defender*, July 24, 1937; *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 24, 1937; *Atlanta Daily-World*, July 24, 1937; *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, July 31, 1937.

51. The *Norfolk Journal and Guide* also ran an editorial that contrasted Cone's failings in this case to the success of the governor of Tennessee who took steps to prevent a lynching at about this time in his state. *Ibid.*, September 11, 1937.

52. *The Crisis*, January 1938, 13.

In contrast to the strident tones of the N.A.A.C.P. and the black press, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching responded rather mildly to Cone's blunder. In Florida, the Association and its allied organizations were very well-organized and active in the 1930s. By mid-decade the Florida Council of the Association had a membership of about 750 women and fifty men. Jane Cornell, leader of the Florida Council, wrote the governor: "We have experienced the handling of the threatened lynching of Robert Hinds and find ourselves convinced that you will carry out your determination to thoroughly investigate and punish the crime which has shocked the citizenry of the state. We have noted that you said 'this is a murder, not a lynching'. We presume you mean this only in the sense that all lynchings are 'murders'. The Tuskegee Institute and the Association of which I am an officer have both listed the death of these Negroes as 'Lynchings'. We would respectfully call your attention also to the fact that under either the Gavigan or the Wagner-Van Nuys bill, now pending in Congress, the Tallahassee deaths would be attributed to 'lynchings'."⁵³ Even in his response to Cornell's prodding, Cone never admitted his mistake.

Meanwhile the governor was aware of events in Washington. Ponder and Hawkins had been executed just a few weeks after the Wagner-Van Nuys anti-lynching bill had been introduced in the Senate.⁵⁴ The Tallahassee lynching provided Walter White of the N.A.A.C.P., leader of the anti-lynching crusade, with an opportunity to apply additional pressure on supporters in the Congress. He called the attention of his chief ally, New York Senator Robert Wagner, to the tragic event. Just days after the death of Ponder and Hawkins, Wagner promised to renew ef-

53. Jane Cornell to Cone, July 28, 1937, Governor Cone Records, Lynching File, Series 371, Box 40.

54. New York Congressman Joseph Gavigan's proposed bill (H.R. 1507) supported by the N.A.A.C.P. would invoke action by the United States District Court thirty days after a lynching, if state and local officials had failed to respond. Local officials found guilty of conspiring or cooperating with lynchings could be imprisoned from five to twenty-five years. The House passed the bill in April 1937. The Senate bill, Wagner-Van Nuys, carried the same penalties as the House proposal. Robert L. Zangrando, *The NAACP Crusade Against Lynching, 1909-1950* (Philadelphia, 1980), 141-43.

forts on the bill's behalf.⁵⁵ On July 27, the bill came before the Senate.⁵⁶

Some observers hoped that the Tallahassee lynching, along with other notorious southern executions, would prompt national and Florida officials to support federal anti-lynching legislation. This was not to be the case. In the summer of 1937, Walter White, as he had done through the 1930s again urged President Roosevelt to endorse the N.A.A.C.P. bill.⁵⁷ The administration, however, would lend no more support to the Wagner-Van Nuys bill than it had to earlier proposed anti-lynching legislation.⁵⁸ The president had not supported this kind of legislation because he needed the support of southern congressional leaders for the New Deal measures he considered vital for the country. Moreover, in July 1937, Roosevelt was too deeply involved in the controversy surrounding his Supreme Court reform bill to consider supporting the anti-lynching bill.⁵⁹

Florida's United States Senators, Claude Pepper and Charles Andrews, were no more disposed to support the anti-lynching cause than President Roosevelt. Senator Pepper knew about the Tallahassee tragedy, but spoke forcefully against Wagner-Van Nuys. In a brief speech from the Senate floor on August 12, 1937, he cited a few statistics showing that the number of lynchings had steadily declined every decade since the 1890s, and he asserted that with the return of prosperity this undesirable custom would die off on its own.⁶⁰ Pepper and Andrews both took a stand against the measure late in 1937, during a special session

55. *New York Times*, July 21, 1937; *Washington Post*, July 21, 1937; *Atlanta Constitution*, July 21, 1937.

56. Zangrando, *The NAACP Crusade Against Lynching*, 145.

57. *Ibid.*, 139-45, 154-58.

58. For an account of Roosevelt's attempt to distance himself from the bills, see McGovern and Howard, "Private Justice and National Concern: The Lynching of Claude Neal," 554-55.

59. McGovern, *Anatomy of a Lynching*, 115-24, see also James T. Patterson, *Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal: The Growth of the Conservative Coalition in Congress, 1933-1939* (Lexington, 1967), 156-57; and Nancy J. Weiss, *The National Urban League, 1910-1940* (New York, 1974), 265-66.

60. *Congressional Record*, 75th Cong., 1st Sess., August 12, 1937, 8756. This was the last piece of civil rights legislation that Claude Pepper opposed, although he continued to support the concept of white supremacy. See James C. Clark, "The 1944 Florida Democratic Senate Primary," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (April 1988), 365.

of Congress.⁶¹ Finally, when Southerners filibustered Wagner-Van Nuys early in 1938, Senator Pepper fully participated in this effort, and even read into the *Congressional Record* a protest telegram from Governor Cone that opposed the bill.⁶² Pepper and Cone were probably not surprised when, in late February 1938, the Senate became tired of southern obstructionism and buried the proposed legislation.⁶³

Although the 1937 Tallahassee double slaying failed to convince Senator Pepper and Governor Cone to support the anti-lynching bill, it did reveal something of the social dynamics behind one particular Florida tragedy. Tallahassee lynchers kidnapped Ponder and Hawkins from jail in the state capital, passed immediate judgment on their guilt, and summarily executed them on the outskirts of town. They were determined to demonstrate that blacks in Tallahassee should remain socially subordinate, and that no black men should escape white wrath if they attacked a white police officer.

Pending federal anti-lynching legislation did not deter Tallahassee lynchers who took the law into their own hands in this instance. Moreover, the authorities' failure to apprehend and punish the executioners did little to discourage other Florida vigilantes. In fact, in the two years following this double slaying there were four recorded lynchings in the state.⁶⁴

61. *Congressional Record*, 75th Cong., 2nd Sess., November 18, 1937, 131, and November 22, 1937, 208.

62. Governor Cone's telegram read: "Wired Senator McKellar today people of Florida composed of citizens from every state in the Union bitterly opposed to antilynching law. We do not think it wise at this time of international unrest to pass a sectional bill like this, which can do nothing but cause bitter sectional feeling, as everyone knows it is aimed at Southern people. You can state to the Senate that Florida as always will be loyal to our country and our flag, but we do not want a return to the shackles of Reconstruction days upon the backs of our people, and we appeal to you Senators, as loyal American citizens, not to pass this bill." *Ibid.*, 75th Cong., 3rd Sess., January 24, 1938, 974.

63. Zangrando, *The NAACP Crusade Against Lynching*, 152-53.

64. Suspected of committing an "unnatural" sex crime against a white child, J. C. Evans, black, was taken from a Santa Rosa County deputy sheriff and shot to death by a band of four men in October 1937. In August 1938, Otis Price became another black lynch victim when he was executed by a mob in Taylor County for allegedly raping a white woman. A white man named Miles Brown was lynched April 1, 1939, by a mob in Panama City because he had murdered a prominent local businessman. Finally, Lee Snell, a black taxi driver, was murdered by two men in Fort Lauderdale

Ponder and Hawkins were the eighth and ninth black lynch victims in Florida during the 1930s. According to a nine-year survey (1930-1939) conducted by the A.S.W.P.L. at the end of the decade, Florida was the most lynch-prone southern state during this period, having the most difficulty in forestalling its annual outbreak of mob violence. From 1930 to 1939, the only lynch-free "white" year in Florida was 1933. The next worst state, Mississippi, saw two "white" years; Georgia and Louisiana, each three; and the rest of the lynching states of the decade, at least four. In Virginia, there was only one lynching in the entire period. Florida was third, behind Mississippi and Georgia, in total number of individual victims, but first in chronological consistency.⁶⁵

Ponder and Hawkins were only two of eight blacks lynched in the South in 1937. Closely following such tragedies, *The Christian Century* reviewed the year's lynchings and declared that the "most ominous item" in regard to the slaying of Ponder and Hawkins, as well as the executions of the other black victims, was that "there was no single arrest, indictment, or conviction. The state and local authorities refused to act."⁶⁶ In the Tallahassee case, the town's white citizens, the state's attorney, and the governor protested bitterly at first, but then abruptly dropped the matter. In the final analysis, Tallahassee and Florida authorities did not vigorously support prosecution of lynchers when the victims were black. The 1937 Tallahassee double lynching stands as "an unfortunate incident in the city's record."

April 29, 1939, after he had accidentally hit and killed a white child with his taxi. For descriptions of these lynchings, see Ames, *The Changing Character of Lynching*, 36.

65. For a discussion of this A.S.W.P.L. survey, see *Miami Daily-News*, April 2, 1939.

66. *The Christian Century*, IV (January 12, 1938), 35.

APALACHEE COUNTERFEITERS IN ST. AUGUSTINE

Translation and Notes

by JOHN H. HANN

THE record of the criminal investigation into the counterfeit-
ing activity of two young Apalachee visitors to St. Augustine
is of significance for the light it casts on the acculturation of the
Indians, Spanish labor recruitment practices late in the mission
period, and the missions' influence. It provides interesting vign-
ettes as well of retail commercial life in St. Augustine and of the
role played by free blacks in that commercial life and of the
access of blacks to the governor.

This is one of three investigatory records attached to the 1694-1695 record of the visitation of the provinces of Apalachee, Timucua, Mocamo, and Guale. The translation was made from the copy of the visitation record that appears in the General Archive of the Indies, Escribanía de Cámara, legajo 157A, Stetson Collection of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. The title page is an unnumbered page that follows folio 192 (back). The text is contained on folios 193 through 205. The following is the format of the title page.

Florida year of 1695
Criminal Case
of the Office of Royal Justice
Against
Two Apalachee Indians
Concerning
Having Made Some Coins from Tin
and Deceived People with Them in
Order to Buy Food at Night

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In the city of St. Augustine of Florida on the twenty-ninth day of the month of May of the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-five, the señor don Laureano de Torres y Ayala, knight of the order of Santiago, governor and captain general of this said city and of its provinces by his majesty, stated that, when it was a little after nine at night, the captain, Chrispin de Tapia, a free pardo,¹ appeared before his lordship saying that, while he was in charge of a grocery store (tienda de pulperia) in this city about two weeks ago, that during the first watch an Indian came to it to buy a real's worth of rosquetes (a small sweet cake made in a spiral shape) and that, after his having given them to him, he left two coins that appeared to be half-reales.² And, after having gone out to the street, he returned to get another real's worth, leaving another two coins. And after he had put all four of them away together, a youth came in after a little while to get a half-real's worth of recaudo and that they give him back half [a real].³ And when he gave him one of those that the aforesaid Indian had given him because they were closer at hand, he returned it at once, saying that it was not silver. And, after having looked closely at it, he was undeceived and recognized that the said half-reals were of tin or pewter and he was forewarned for the future. And that the same thing having happened at this hour, with another Indian bringing him another two coins like the earlier ones in order to buy rosquetes, he had apprehended him and brought him in along with them [the coins] and the four earlier ones to the presence of his lordship so that he might provide the remedy that is appropriate. With respect to this, he ordered that the said Indian be put in prison in the principal guard house of this city, handing over the said

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1. A Spanish/Portuguese term for mulatto. Literally it means brown and seems to have been used generally for people whose Negro ancestry was more attenuated than that of the mulatto strictly speaking, i.e. the child of one white parent and one unmixed black parent.
 2. One real, one-eighth of a peso, was the official wage paid to Indians daily when they were required to work under the repartimiento on state projects or for soldiers to assist in the planting of their crops.
 3. In this form, the word recaudo does not exist in modern Spanish. It is meant to be recado, the most common meaning of which is "message." It can also mean "provisions," however, and when the above-mentioned youth appears in this testimony for a second time, it is clearly recado that he came to purchase, and he is then identified as "a little Indian boy" running an errand for a woman with a Spanish name.

Indian to its corporal and that I the present notary should have the said six coins in my possession until something else is ordered. And in order to look into the matter and to get to know who is the author, his excellency ordered that the said coins serve as the writ for beginning the process so that by the tenor of it they may receive his statement from the aforesaid Crispin de Tapia and from the rest of the persons who are appropriate and who may know about the case. And [this having been] done, his lordship reserves [his right] to proceed with the rest of the investigations that may be necessary for the proper administration of justice. And by this his auto his lordship so provided, ordered, and signed.

D. Laureano de Thorres y Ayala

And at once without delay on the said day and hour cited in the auto of this page, his lordship the said señor governor and captain general summoned the captain Chrispin de Tapia, a free pardo, to appear before him, from whom the oath was received by God and the sign of the cross according to the formality of the law and under the burden of it he promised to tell the truth. And having been questioned in accord with the auto cited, he said that about two weeks ago more or less one night between seven and eight an Apalachee Indian came to his store to ask for a real's worth of rosquetes and left two coins on top of the showcase that appeared to him to be half-real pieces. And he gave him the rosquetes and very shortly after having gone out into the street, the aforesaid Indian returned to ask for another real's worth with another two coins like the first ones. And he left and did not return again. And that sometime after this, having the four coins at hand on top of the showcase, a little Indian boy came to the store, whom Maria de Reina, a resident of this city, was sending to ask for a half-real's worth of provisions (recado) and that he was to receive the other half-real as change, because what he brought was a whole real. And the one testifying gave him one of the four that the said Indian had given him for the rosquetes. And the aforesaid little Indian boy returned after a short time, saying that the half-real piece that he had been given was not silver. And then he recognized that the coin that the said Apalachee Indian had given to him was not silver, but rather of tin or pewter. And after setting the four coins aside, he kept a close watch from then on until this night

when another Indian returned with another two coins in search of rosquetes, who is the one whom he brought into his lordship's presence. And, on recognizing that they were of the same metal as those that he has already spoken about, the one testifying apprehended the said Indian. And when he asked him who had given him those monies, he told him that an Indian named Andrés de Escavado, who serves Patricio de Monson, had given them to him so that he might buy rosquetes for him. And so that his lordship might apply a remedy for this, he brought the said Indian and the six coins that he has testified about. And he knows also that another Indian deceived a free morena⁴ with other coins of the same metal and that what he has stated is true under the oath that he has taken. He did not sign because of not knowing how. That he is seventy years of age more or less. His lordship the said señor governor signed it.

Thorres

And immediately without delay his lordship the said señor governor and captain general summoned Isavel de los Rios, a free morena, to appear before him, from whom the oath was received by God and the sign of the cross according to the formalities of the law. And under the burden of it she promised to tell the truth. And questioned according to the tenor of the auto that is at the head [of this process], she said that on the Saturday that is reckoned the twenty-first of this present month an Apalachee Indian came to her house at about seven in the evening to buy two real's worth of rosquetes and she gave them to him. And he paid for them in little pieces of tin or pewter, each one the size of a real, that she accepted because they seemed to be of silver. And, having looked at them closely on the following day, she saw that they were not, although they again seemed to be reals. Nevertheless, after having sold rosquetes for the house of the sergeant major don Nicolás Ponse de León and for the house of the corporal Ysidro Rodríguez, she experimented

4. Morena is another term used to designate various gradations of the mulatto and, like pardo, usually indicates an attenuated Negro ancestry. However, moreno does not necessarily indicate that one is a mulatto. It can mean simply "brunette" in the sense of one having dark hair or relatively dark skin or both. As used here with the qualification "free," it indicates one with some Negro ancestry.

whether she could pass the said two reals. And she was not able to because they returned them, saying they were of tin. And on the following night a little bit of a fellow (un pequatillo pequeno)⁵ who serves Patricio de Monson, came with a little piece of the aforesaid tin the size of a real to buy two reals' worth of sugar syrup (melado).⁶ And recognizing that they were not of silver, she took them away from him and along with them a little jar (ollita) that he was carrying to hold the syrup and a little blanket (una conguilla) and gave him a beating and threw him out the door. And later the said Patricio de Monson sent to ask for the blanket and little jar, saying that they belonged to an Indian of his. And the one who is testifying went to his house and she learned from the little knave (pecuatillo) that an Apalachee Indian named Andrés who serves the said Patricio de Monson, had sent the aforesaid little fellow (pecuata) to seek the two reals' worth of syrup with the little pieces of tin and that he had remained behind out in the street to see what happened, according to what the said little rascal stated. From this she presumes that on the first occasion when they deceived her with the two reals it was the same Indian of Patricio de Monson who sent for the syrup, And that what she has testified to is the truth under the oath that she has taken. She did not sign because of not knowing how. And that she is fifty-four years of age more or less. And his lordship signed it and ordered me the notary to receive the said coins or little pieces of tin that the one testifying exhibited and put them in together with the six antecedent ones so that they will remain always as exhibits.

D. Laureano de Torres
y Ayala

In the city of St. Augustine of Florida on the said twenty-ninth day of May of the said year at about ten at night more or less, his lordship the honorable don Laureano de Torres y Ayala, knight of the order of Santiago, governor and captain general of this said city and its provinces by his majesty, having seen

5. Pequata appears in Julian Granberry's Timucuan dictionary as meaning "servant, vassal, boy." It may still be of Spanish origin as Granberry included some Spanish words that the Timucua had adopted. Julian Granberry, *A Grammar and Dictionary of the Timucuan Language* (Horseshoe Beach, FL, 1987), 118.

6. Melado could also be rendered as "honey."

these antecedent statements and that it appears from them that an Apalachee Indian named Andrés Descovedo, who is serving Patricio de Monson, a soldier of this presidio, under contract, has been the author of the tin money that is mentioned in them, his lordship was ordering and ordered the issuance of an order of imprisonment against the aforesaid Indian, delivering it to an adjutant of this plaza for its execution. And similarly that the said Patricio de Monson was to be notified to search for the said Indian Andrés de Escovedo and to hand him over to the principal corporal of the guard and that, once this was carried out, he was to give an account of it to his lordship. And inasmuch as from the aforesaid statements the Indian appears to be cited who finds himself imprisoned because of the accusation and delivery Crispin de Tapia made of him⁷ = as likewise the little rascal that he cites, and to learn from them if he is a servant of the said Patricio de Monson. As all [of them] are unacculturated (bosales)⁸ it is necessary to name an interpreter for their language in order to take their statements and [those] of the rest of the Indians for whom this may be appropriate. Accordingly, his lordship was naming and named Joseph Belásquez, a soldier of this presidio, for the interpreter's post in this case. He was notified of it, accepted it, and took the oath. And by this his auto his lordship so provided, ordered, and signed.

Torres

The order was dispatched as commanded.

Before me

Alonso Solana

notary for the public and for the government

In the city of St. Augustine of Florida on the said day, month, and year, I the said notary made the auto known to Joseph Belásquez just as it is written. He, having listened to it and understood it, said that he was accepting and accepted the nomination as interpreter for the Apalachee language for what he was

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7. Rendition of this convoluted passage is tentative. Something may have been omitted, either deliberately or by accident, from this elliptical statement.
 8. Bozal in modern Spanish. This term was applied to unacculturated Negro slaves imported recently from Africa. It also means "novice" or "inexperienced."

ordered [to do] in this case. And he swore by God and the cross according to the law to perform the said duty faithfully and legally to the best of his knowledge and understanding. And he signed it, which I certify.

Josa Belasques adj.⁹

In the city of St. Augustine of Florida on the thirtieth day of the month of May of the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-five, his lordship the said señor governor and captain general ordered that Santiago appear and be brought into his presence; that he said that he was indeed so named, that he was native to the village of San Luis, one of those of the province of Apalachee. He is the same one that Crispin de Tapia brought into the presence of his lordship and whom he ordered to be held in the guard house. By means of Joseph Belásques, interpreter nominated for this case, the oath by God and the cross was received from him in accord with the law. And, having taken it and been given to understand the solemnity and the gravity of the oath, he promised to tell the truth. And, questioned in accord with the tenor of the auto that is at the head [of this process], he said that Saturday ten days ago he came to this city from the ranch (hacto) of the sergeant major don Francisco de Sigarroa to go to confession, as he did yesterday on Sunday. And that while he was in the house of his master at night, an Indian named Andrés de Escavedo, from his said village of San Luis, who serves Patricio de Monson, came to call for him and brought him out to the street and gave him two reals, one large and the other smaller, and indicated that he should go to a house where a man was and buy some rosquetes from him. And, having entered into the house, while the aforesaid Indian remained in the street, and having asked for the rosquetes and given the man the money, he grabbed him and brought him to the presence of his lordship. That he did not know for what reason other than having been told that that was not money and that it was like a patacon.¹⁰ The said Indian

9. Belasquez printed his signature rather than signing it in a cursive script. The manner in which it is written indicates that he was not accustomed to writing.

10. The rendition is tentative as the text is not very legible at this point. The Spanish appears to be "co mo po to co no." The patacon is a dollar, a silver coin weighing an ounce, cut with shears.

had tricked him and that he recognized that he had tricked him because, just as the man dragged him out into the street, he took off in flight from where he was waiting. And that he does not know anything else. And this is the truth under the oath that he has taken. He did not sign because of not knowing how. Neither did he know how to tell his age. From his appearance he seems to be from fifteen to sixteen years old. His lordship and the interpreter signed it.

Torres

José Belásques

In the city of St. Augustine of Florida on the thirtieth of May of the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-five, his lordship the said señor governor and captain general summoned a little Indian boy to appear before him, servant of Patricio de Monson, cited in the statement of Isavel de los Rios, free morena, who was named Andrés [and] native to the province of Apalachee. The oath by God and the cross was received from him according to the law by means of the said Joseph Belásquez. He explained the gravity and solemnity of the oath to him. And under the burden of it, he promised to tell the truth. And questioned in accord with the tenor of the auto which is at the head, and cited by the said Ysavel de los Rios, he said that he does not remember how many days it has been since, while being in the house of Patricio de Monson his master one night with Andrés, a contract Indian who serves his said master, the said Andrés gave him a [coin] that appeared to him to be a real and told him that he should go to fetch him some syrup. And grabbing a little jar (ollita), he went into the house of a Negress named Ysavel to get it. And after she had received the real and looked at it, she hit him with a little stick (rajadilla) and took the jar (olla) away from him. And he told her that the said Indian Andrés had sent him and that he did not know whether what the said Andrés gave him was silver or not. And on their showing him the real that he said that he brought, he recognized it and said that it was the same one that the aforesaid Indian had given to him and that what he has testified is true under the oath that he has taken. He did not sign because of not knowing how, neither did he know how to tell his age. From his appearance he seems to be from twelve to thirteen years old. And his lordship the said señor governor and captain general signed it.

Torres

José Belásques

In the city of St. Augustine of Florida on the thirty-first day of May of the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-five the señor don Laureano de Torres y Ayala, knight of the order of Santiago, governor and captain general of this said city and its provinces by his majesty, said that, inasmuch as he has been given an account by the corporal of the guard of the principal guard force of how Patricio de Monson, in fulfillment of the auto that was made known to him, had handed over an Indian named Andrés, his servant, who is the same one contained in these autos, being the doer, and that he had disseminated the coins of tin or pewter and that it is appropriate that his confession be taken. Accordingly, his lordship was ordering and ordered that the said confession be taken, putting the questions to him and the counterquestions that may be necessary and that may be appropriate for the better investigation and judging of the case. And by this his auto his lordship so provided, ordered, and signed.

Torres

In the city of St. Augustine of Florida on the thirty-first day of the month of May of the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-five, his lordship the señor don Laureano de Torres y Ayala, knight of the order of Santiago, governor and captain general of this said city and its provinces by his majesty, for the purpose of taking his confession, ordered a man imprisoned for this case to appear before him, from whom the oath was received by God and the cross in accord with the forms of the law by means of the said interpreter and under the burden of it he promised to tell the truth. The following questions and counterquestions were put to him. He was asked what his name was, where he was native of, what age and trade he has. He said that he was called Andrés de Escavedo, that he is Indian, native to the village of San Luis, one of the province of Apalachee, that he is twenty-three years of age more or less, that he has no other trade than to render service in what he is ordered to, as at present he is serving Patricio de Monson in his field. And this was his reply.

He was asked whether he knew why he was imprisoned. He said that he did not know, but only that the said Patricio de Monson,

his master, while he was confessing (confesante)¹¹ in his field this past night, came to it and brought him back and handed him over to the guard corp, where he is, and they placed him in the stocks, but that he has no news about what the reason for this is. And this was his response.

He was asked what money it was that (cropped word)¹² on the eve of Easter at night he gave to an Apalachee boy named Andrés that his said employer has in his house so that he would go to buy some syrup; and that which he gave to an Indian from his own place named Santiago, who serves the sergeant major Francisco de Sigaroa. He said that, having found a piece of a dish in the street that he well knew was not silver and that he carried to the field of his employer, being in the company of another Indian named Cosme from his place of San Luis, who is in the said field at present, they applied themselves to making some buttons from the aforesaid piece of plate. And as they had a little left over from what they had melted, they decided that the aforesaid Cosme should make a mold out of wood with a silver real piece that Cosme had. And they made some of the coins with it and others without a mold, making the crosses and rays with the point of a knife. And this was his reply.

He was asked how long ago it was that they began to make the said coins and how many there had been. He said that on the day of the most holy Ascension of the Lord they made some with the mold and afterward some with the knife and that the total was nine. And that they have been spent by the hand of the one confessing. And this was his reply.

He was asked whether he would recognize the said coins if he saw them. He said that he would. And on their being shown to him, he said that they were the same ones that he and the said Cosme made between them. And this was his reply.

He was asked whether he did not know that such a thing was evil and that he must be punished for it. He said that yes he knew, and that the devil deceived them into thinking of deceiv-

11. This may be a copyist's error as the word does not seem to make sense in this context.

12. In photographing this document, the photostater cropped the right hand margin of the page in places. It is possible that the words "on the" that have been inserted are what was deleted. The Spanish text on either side of the deletion is "que dinero fue el que le – bispera de Pasqua."

ing people at night and buying rosquetes and other things to eat. And that what he has testified to is true under the oath that he has made and under its burden he said that no other person whatsoever was involved in the manufacture of the said coins other than the one who is confessing and the said Cosme. He did not sign because he said that he did not know how. His lordship and the said interpreter signed it.

L. de
Torres

José Blasges

Before me
Alonso Solana

notary for the public and for the government

Auto

In the city of St. Augustine of Florida on the thirty-first day of the month of May of the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-five, the señor don Laureano de Torres y Ayala, knight of the order of Santiago, governor and captain general of this said city and its provinces by his majesty, said that, inasmuch as by the auto that is at the head, dated on the twenty-ninth of this present month and year, his lordship ordered an Indian named Santiago, of the Apalachee nation, placed in the principal guard house as a prisoner, who is the same whom Crispin de Tapia, pardo, brought into the presence of his lordship with the said tin coins with which he tried to deceive him, and, inasmuch as it is evident from the confession that they have taken in this case from Andrés de Escovedo, likewise an Apalachee Indian, that the said Santiago is not culpable, because the aforesaid Andrés de Escovedo gave him the coins so that he might go to deceive the said Crispin de Tapia; but, as the said Indian, Andrés de Escovedo, put blame on another Indian named Cosme, also Apalachee, a servant of Patricio de Monson, [one] of the two who made the said tin coins, having acted together with the intention of deceiving with them, all of which is manifest from the confession of the said Andrés de Escovedo, accordingly, his lordship was ordering and ordered that they should notify the principal corporal of the said guard corp that he should release the said Indian, Santiago, so that he may go free to serve his employer and [notify] the said Patricio de Monson that, at once

and without any delay, he shall go to look for the said Indian, Cosme, and deliver him in the said guardhouse. And that he should give an account to his lordship of having effected this. By this his auto he so provided, ordered, and signed.

Torres

In the city of St. Augustine of Florida on the thirty-first of May of the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-five, I the said notary made the auto of this page and the preceding one known to the captain, Francisco Romo de Urisa, principal corporal of the guard corps, and, having listened to it and understood it, in fulfillment of it he set Santiago, an Apalachee Indian, free from the prison in which he found himself as contained in the said auto. I certify.

In the city of St. Augustine of Florida on the said day, month, and year, I the said notary made the said auto with its contents known to Patricio de Monson in person; that he listened to it and understood it, I certify.

Auto

In the city of St. Augustine of Florida on the first day of the month of June of the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-five, the señor don Laureano de Torres y Ayala, knight of the order of Santiago, governor and captain general of this said city and its provinces by his majesty, said that, inasmuch as, in fulfillment of the auto of yesterday the thirty-first of May that was made known to Patricio de Monson, he has given an account to his lordship that the above-mentioned has handed over an Apalachee Indian named Cosme in the principal guard house, who was involved in the manufacture of the tin coins according to the testimony of Andrés de Escovedo, an Indian of his nation, and, [inasmuch as] it is appropriate for the verification of this case to make all the necessary inquiries, accordingly, his lordship was ordering and ordered that his confession be received from the said Indian, Cosme, putting the appropriate questions and counter questions to him. And by this his auto his lordship so provided, ordered, and signed.

Torres

In the city of St. Augustine of Florida on the first day of the

month of June of the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-five, his lordship the said señor governor and captain general summoned to appear before him an Indian imprisoned for this case for the purpose of taking his confession, from whom the oath was received by God and the sign of the cross in accord with the forms of the law by means of the said interpreter. And under the burden of it, he promised to tell the truth. For this purpose they put the following questions and counter questions to him.

He was asked what his name was, where he is native of, how old he is, and what he works at. He said that he was called Ajalap Cosme, that he is Indian, native to the village of San Luis, one [of those] of the province of Apalachee. He did not know how to say his age. From his looks he appeared to be twenty or twenty-one years old. And that his work is assisting with the tilling of a field with Patricio de Monson in the company of other Indians. And this was his reply.

He was asked if he knows why he was imprisoned. He said that he does not know. And this was his response.

He was asked if it was true that, while he was in the field of the said Patricio de Monson in the company of another Indian named Andrés de Escovedo, they set to work and founded false coins from a piece of tin plate with the intention of deceiving with them. He said that he did not know anything about what they were asking him about; nor does he know anything more than that in days past, while he was tilling in the field of his said employer, and while Andrés de Escovedo, an Indian from his village, was staying at the house, when the one confessing went to it, he found the said Andrés making reales in a little board (tablilla), and, on asking him what that was for, the said Andrés replied that it was for going to St. Augustine and because he wished to bring with him the wherewithal with which to buy something. And this was his reply.

He was asked if the said Andrés gave him any of the said reales that he stated he had made, and if he had bought anything with them and deceived any person with them. He said that he did not give him any and that it has been many days since he has come to this city; nor did he have any share in what Andrés bought with the reales. And this was his reply.

And, even though other questions and counter questions were addressed to him touching on this case, he said that what he has

declared is the truth and that he adds only that, on the occasion that he said that he found the said Andrés in the woods making reales, he ordered the one confessing to throw the plate that he had melted into the two molds that he had made out of wood. And, on making the first two, he gave them to the one confessing, and, on seeing that they were no good, he gave them back to him. And that he knows that the Indian Andrés made many reales. And that what he has testified to is the truth under the oath that he has taken. He did not sign because of not knowing how. His lordship and the said interpreter signed it.

Torres

José Belasges

Before me

Alonso Solana

notary for the public and for the government

Auto

In the city of St. Augustine of Florida on the first day of the month of June of the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-five, his lordship, the said señor governor and captain general, having seen the denial that the Indian Cosme makes in his confession about having been an accomplice and in league with the said Indian, Andrés de Escovedo, concerning the making of the tin coins with which they intended to deceive, as they did with Chrispin de Tapia and Ysavel de los Rios, his lordship ordered that they should be imprisoned. From the latter, with the necessary oath, let them repeat (?)¹³ their confessions and let them address all the questions and counter questions to them that may be necessary until the principal maker of the said coins is discovered. And by this his auto his lordship so provided, ordered and signed.

Torres

In the city of St. Augustine of Florida on the first day of the month of June of the year one thousand six hundred and

13. Here part of the verb may have been cropped off at the line's end on the right hand margin. The Spanish here runs thus, "con el juramento nesario se la / -elcan sus confesiones."

ninety-five, his lordship the said señor governor and captain general ordered Andrés de Escovedo and Ajalap Cosme, Indians native to the village of San Luis of the province of Apalachee, to appear before him for the purpose of resolving [the situation created] by the denial that the aforesaid Cosme makes in his confession of what the said Andrés deposed against him. The oath by God and the cross was received from them according to the law by means of the said Joseph Belásquez and under the burden of it they promised to tell the truth. And their two confessions that they have made in this case being read to them word for word, both and each one for himself said again (?)¹⁴ about the case [that] it was the truth and, although in this case they made,¹⁵ to each one by himself they addressed different questions and counter questions pertaining to the case, they repeated and reaffirmed the said [confessions] and they said that, under the burden of the oath that they have taken, nothing (?)¹⁶ occurred to them to add or subtract. They did not sign because of not knowing how. His lordship signed it and the said interpreter of (word cropped)¹⁷ and to what they have testified.

D. Laureano de Torres
y Ayala

In the city of St. Augustine of Florida on the first day of the month of June of the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-five, the señor don Laureano de Torres y Ayala, knight of the order of Santiago and captain general of this said city and its provinces by his majesty, having seen these autos said that because of the culpability that results from them against Andrés de Escovedo and Ajalap Cosme, natives of the village of San Luis of the province of Apalachee, he makes another charge against the above-mentioned and against each one by himself so that they may give their discharge within three days, from whom he was receiving and received this case to be tried with the two

14. Here and in the following line the rendition is tentative because of the convoluted and possibly elliptical nature of this construction.

15. A copyist may have omitted something here as the expression is so elliptical that it seems to defy decipherment.

16. The rendition here is tentative as only the "n" of what is presumed is "nada" survived the cropping.

17. The word "interprete" is followed by what seems to be the letters "deda." A portion of another letter is visible at the end of the line.

charges of proving and having proved with allusion (?)¹⁸ and citation for the sentence. And in view of the said defendants being inexpert and persons ill-equipped for being able to defend themselves in what may take place, his lordship was officially nominating and nominated the adjutant Bernardo Nieto de Carvajal, reformado of this presidio, as their defender. He was notified of it, accepted it, and sworn. And [this] done, the autos were handed over to him so that he may exercise his right and that which belongs to his clients without omitting any effort at all. That for its purpose, his lordship at once grants him full power and gives him the power that he may require.¹⁹ And by this his auto his lordship so provided, ordered, and signed.

Torres

In the said city on the said first day of June of this said year of ninety-five, I the notary made the auto of this page with its contents known to the adjutant, Bernardo Nieto de Carvajal, reformado in this presidio, who, in its fulfillment, took the oath before me by God and a cross in due form of performing his duty well and faithfully as defender of the natives whom the said auto mentions. And, although his profession is [that] of soldier, he will have the duty of doing everything that he is able to [for them] to the best of his ability and understanding. And, in agreement with this, he accepted it and swore, and signed it, which I certify.

Ber^{do} Nietto
de Carvajal

[In the visitation record the account of this inquiry ends at this point].

During the residencia for Governor Torres y Ayala one of the questions put to the witnesses was whether they knew that the governor had "handed down a definitive sentence against some Indians who made some coins of tin and against another

18. The rendition of this legal jargon is tentative, particularly with respect to the word "allusion." The Spanish is "elusion," a word that does not exist in that spelling.

19. The rendition here is tentative. The text is not very legible. It seems to be "su senoria le consede plena facultad y le da el Poder (?) quesar requiere." "Poder" might be read as easily as "Pider."

named Santiago for a murder he committed and whether they saw them being punished and serving as forced laborers.”²⁰ One of the witnesses, Captain Francisco Romo de Uriza, testified that “he knew with certain knowledge that the said don Laureano de Torres pronounced sentence against some Indians who had manufactured coins from tin. He condemned them to work as forced laborers in the royal works and to one of them he gave a sentence of whipping that was carried out.”²¹

20. Joseph de Zúñiga y de la Cerda, residencia for Governor Laureano de Torres y Ayala, November 16, 1700, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Escribanía de Cámara, leg. 157-A, folio 71, reel 27P of the residencia series of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History of the University of Florida.

21. Zúñiga y de la Cerda, residencia, folio 87.

FLORIDA HISTORY IN PERIODICALS

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BOOK REVIEWS

Flagler: Rockefeller Partner and Florida Baron. By Edward N. Akin.
(Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1988. xii. 305 pp.
Preface, prologue, illustrations, epilogue, notes, selected bibliography, acknowledgments, index. \$24.00.)

This excellent biographical study of Henry M. Flagler, a key figure in the creation and rise to prominence of the Standard Oil Company and the development of Florida's east coast, supercedes all previous works, including numerous articles and at least two books, devoted to Flagler's variegated career. Based upon research in an impressive variety of both manuscript and printed sources, it exhibits a comprehensiveness, sophistication, and detachment too often lacking in works of this genre. Written with grace and clarity, the volume provides a multi-dimensional portrait of an important and influential Gilded Age businessman. Its assessment of Flagler's business ventures and methods constitutes a highly significant contribution to American economic history. But in focusing on Flagler the business tycoon, the author, Edward N. Akin, does not neglect Flagler the man. Skillfully integrated into the work are passages that reveal much about his family, personality and style, motives and visions, three marriages, alienation from his only son, and devotion to the Presbyterian church.

Born in 1830, Flagler was the son of a Presbyterian pastor-missionary in New York and Ohio. Through the Harkness family, his mother's relatives, he launched his career in business in Ohio. Flagler first became acquainted with John D. Rockefeller in the 1850s because the Harkness family's grain trade was brokered through the commission house in Cleveland with which young Rockefeller was associated. Following the financial failure of his salt-producing venture in Michigan, Flagler moved to Cleveland shortly after the Civil War and became a partner in Rockefeller's oil refining business.

Flagler quickly became Rockefeller's most trusted adviser and intimate confidant. He excelled as a transportation negotiator, draftsman and enforcer of contracts, and communicator with Rockefeller on new ideas. Second in command

in the Standard Oil organization, he was highly skilled in behind-the-scenes dealings and was the most important participant in the company's struggle to dominate oil transportation as it had dominated oil refining. The great battle over the control of pipelines was Flagler's last major transportation fight as an active member of the Standard Oil company. What Akin makes abundantly clear in his treatment of Flagler's role was that the Standard Oil organization was not so much the creation of Rockefeller or any other individual as it was "an enlarged partnership, at least during its creative early years" (p. xii).

As Flagler detached himself from the Standard Oil giant, he turned his attention and energies to the development of the east coast of Florida, an area described as the last frontier east of the Mississippi River. If the acquisition of wealth had been his dominant concern, as the author indicates, Flagler would have remained active in Standard Oil. Something more was involved in his decision to focus on Florida: his desire to establish an enduring legacy independent of his contribution to Standard Oil, a contribution obscured by the singular identity of the company with the name of Rockefeller.

Entering upon a new phase of his career in 1885 at the age of fifty-five, Flagler first began to dabble in a few ventures in St. Augustine which ultimately led him to attempt to transform the city into the "Newport of the South," replete with a luxury hotel and other elements of a major winter resort easily accessible by rail. Pushing southward, he literally created Palm Beach, transformed Fort Dallas into the resort city of Miami, and linked Key West to the mainland by a railroad known as "the Eighth Wonder of the World." Ultimately Flagler created a conglomerate of railroads, resorts, land and steamship companies, and agricultural operations on Florida's east coast that comprised the Flagler System. If his Florida empire resembled a medieval fiefdom, he did not think of himself as a despotic baron but rather as a paternalistic, even indulgent, lord. Although Akin emphasizes his contributions to the development of Florida's east coast— from the establishment of a rail network and the attraction of settlers to the improvement of agricultural opportunities and the distribution of diverse forms of community assistance— he is also careful to note that in the process he acquired vast amounts of Florida's public domain, ran afoul of peonage laws, and exercised great influence over Florida politi-

cians who gave him and his projects preferential treatment, even changing the state's divorce law so he could marry for a third time. By the time of his death in 1913, Flagler had indeed created in Florida the legacy he so much desired.

In an era of mergers, leveraged buy-outs, deregulation, and public concern about new types of economic development, Flagler's story possesses an especial relevance. It is a story that Akin has told extraordinarily well and that contributes much to our understanding of business history, life, and society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and especially the development of the "Sunshine State."

University of Arkansas

WILLARD B. GATEWOOD, JR.

The Immigrant World of Ybor City Italians and their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985. By Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta. (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987. xiii, 368 pp. Acknowledgments, list of abbreviations, introduction, tables and illustrations, conclusion, bibliography, index. \$24.95.)

Recent studies of local history have immeasurably enlarged our understanding of the national past. At the same time, such studies have made it clear that America is not so much a smooth single sheet crafted from one fabric as a richly diverse quilt consisting of many pieces. Gary Mormino and George Pozzetta have contributed substantially to our understanding of Florida's diversity. In fact, of the many urban ethnic studies available, this may well be the most complete and convincing.

The authors' task is to examine the relationships between the immigrant Latin community in Tampa as well as Italian connections to other Latins. They accomplish this in a series of topical and chronological chapters, beginning with the small village in Sicily from whence sixty percent of Tampa's 1920 Italian residents originated. The poverty of their Sicilian village, as well as its increasing political radicalism and anticlericalism, bequeathed a profound legacy.

The Tampa where such immigrants entered was a newly-developed port town dominated by Henry Plant's railroad. When Martinez Ybor moved his cigar factory from Key West to

Tampa in 1885, it created an immense labor market for skilled workers. Hand-made Tampa cigars soon became the standard of the industry, and the rapid growth in demand both for cigars and the highly skilled Latins who rolled them, made Tampa's Latin workers among the highest paid craftsmen in America between 1885 and 1930. At first Spanish immigrants dominated management, and Cubans claimed most of the skilled jobs. But gradually Italians learned the trade, at first taking the lowest paid jobs, but then becoming skilled craftsmen.

Because they met initial resistance in cigar-making, many Italian males turned to other occupations, becoming fruit and vegetable peddlers, opening grocery stores, running dairies, or, during the Great Depression, running whiskey. Their wives and children often worked in the cigar factories, providing economic security.

Initially, all Latin immigrants faced essentially the same problems. They clustered together in Ybor City near their jobs and within an ethnic enclave. Negatively stereotyped by Anglo neighbors, they created their own newspapers, clubs, unions, stores, hospitals, and mutual aid societies. These important elements of community building were essential to Latin survival. The radical politics they brought from Cuba, Spain, or Italy was reinforced by bitter cigar strikes in 1899, 1901, 1910, 1920, and 1931. Fed by the "reader" or "lector" who read radical newspapers or novels while cigar-makers worked at their benches, a sense of class solidarity developed across ethnic lines which was rarely seen in American history. Although Cuban, Spanish, and Italian cigar-makers sometimes disparaged each other, the dominant theme of their history was mutuality.

Unlike many studies of ethnicity, this one moves beyond politics and economics to religion and social structure. Although men developed their social lives around ethnic clubs and mutual societies, these tended to exclude women. The Catholic church was not strong among Latins until after the 1940s because of its lack of social concerns, the strong tradition of European anticlericalism, and the dominance of Irish priests. Perhaps the authors could have better related to issues which they raise: the exclusion of women from ethnic clubs and the predominance of women in ethnic churches.

New technology which transforms the cigar industry during the 1930s, changes in use of tobacco from expensive cigars to

cheaper cigarettes, upward economic mobility after World War II, and urban renewal during the 1950s and 1960s transformed Ybor City and its Latin communities. The increasing prominence of Latins in sports, business, and politics, and the election of one of their own as governor of Florida, brought to an end many distinctive institutions: lectors, ethnic hospitals, mutual aid societies, radical unions, even Ybor City itself as a Latin neighborhood.

Like so many intensive studies of local events, this one will force historians to rethink many generalizations. They have maintained that the immigrant experience reinforced traditional values of family and church. Confronted by multiple challenges in their new homes, immigrants turned to familiar institutions. Big city political machines also played key roles in their socialization. Neither occurred in Ybor City. The authors discussed no machine which traded social services for votes; and Latins scorned the church in favor of mutual aid societies. Perhaps the authors do underemphasize the role of immigrant crime and political corruption (for instance, there is almost no discussion of prostitution and its links to either ethnicity or politics), but they do not ignore it (there are extensive discussions of *bolita* and violations of prohibition law). These are only minor flaws in an otherwise superb book. After pondering this work, the reader will probably wonder whether society is better for the homogenizing effects of our national melting pot. Certainly the colorful ethnic life of Ybor City contrasts to the bland sameness of the self-promoting "Sun Belt" Tampa. Whatever the conclusion, the reader will be grateful to Mormino and Pozzetta for giving us what is obviously a work of love and self-discovery. This extremely well-written and thoroughly researched book should become a model for historians exploring the South's urban ethnic complexity.

Auburn University

WAYNE FLYNT

The Economy of British West Florida, 1763-1783. By Robin F. A. Fabel. (University, AL, and London: University of Alabama Press, 1988. ix, 296 pp. Acknowledgments, appendices, notes, bibliographic essay, index. \$26.95.)

When Great Britain acquired La Florida in 1763, the government thought that the new territory had substantial economic potential: as a fishery, for naval stores, and as a source for lumber and provisions for the Caribbean sugar islands. That Florida had been an economic liability to Spain did not daunt Great Britain. In the Proclamation of October 1763, the British divided Florida into two colonies: East Florida and West Florida. Fabel's study is concerned only with West Florida, the area between the Apalachicola, Chattahoochee, and Mississippi rivers, and from the Gulf of Mexico north to thirty-two degrees twenty-eight minutes north latitude. The people who settled West Florida, for the most part, came because they wanted to make money, either by trading with the Spaniards and/or with the Indians. This study is concerned with their successes and failures.

Fabel divides his study into seven parts. He discusses immigration to the colony, noting the requirements and procedures to be followed for securing land grants. Since there were no official censuses for the colony, Fabel provides some population estimates.

Fabel contrasts the founding of Georgia, where slaves were initially excluded, with West Florida, where the slave trade became very important economically. The British were convinced that only blacks could labor successfully in the hot and humid climate. The merchant, John Forbes, echoed those same sentiments in 1804. In addition, Fabel indicates how owners employed their slaves, how rare it was for slaves to be emancipated, and the passage of slave laws for West Florida.

Trade with the Indians and with the Caribbean islands was another major source of revenue. The Indian trade dealt mainly in furs and skins, and Fabel provides examples of the many problems encountered in that enterprise. A brisk trade developed with the British islands such as Jamaica, but surprisingly none was established with Cuba. There was some trade with the French Islands. Although illegal, there was active trading with the Spanish in Louisiana and, to a lesser extent, with New Spain

(Mexico). Because the British enjoyed free navigation of the Mississippi River, trade with Spanish Louisiana was quite lucrative. In fact, some British merchants even lived in New Orleans and operated out of that port city. Occasionally, Spanish governors confiscated British ships and wares, but that only slowed the trade for a bit; it did not halt it permanently.

When one thinks of plantations in West Florida, cotton comes to mind. Not so for this era when the major crops were indigo and tobacco, with rice a distant third. Other plantation products included lumber (yellow pine, cypress, and oak), and naval stores, especially tar and pitch. Of course, there was some cotton. There were very few large plantations, and labor intensive products were scarce because of the small labor force.

Maritime activity was the key to economic success or failure in West Florida. Boats, not ocean products, were the lifeblood of the colony. A packet system was introduced in January 1764, which, until the outbreak of war, functioned reasonably well, bringing mail, passengers, and cargo to West Florida. After Spain entered the war against Great Britain in 1779, a convoy system replaced the packet boats. The last British convoy left Pensacola on February 25, 1781, just a few days before the Spanish "armada" left Havana for Pensacola.

Fabel concludes his study with an in-depth look at the Company of Military Adventurers, which planned to bring a large force of settlers to the Natchez area. While some immigrants came to West Florida under this plan, it never reached its potential.

This is the first attempt at a book-length investigation of the economy of British West Florida. The only criticism concerns the dates in the title of the book, 1763-1783. While Britain still held official claim to West Florida until 1783, they departed Pensacola, their last bastion in West Florida, in the summer of 1781. From May 1781, until 1783, there was no British economy in West Florida. In fact, there is little economic history in the colony after 1779. The book is well-organized and easy to follow. Although Fabel used some secondary material, much of the data are from contemporary newspapers, records of West Florida merchants, the colonial assembly, and British colonial office records. Occasionally statistics are spotty or non-existent, making it difficult to offer concrete conclusions in some cases. However, the appendices supplement statistics in the text. Appendix 4,

for example, contains considerable information about slave transactions. There is much new material in the book, even for specialists of the period. It is highly recommended to anyone interested in the British years in West Florida. It is an excellent study.

University of West Florida

WILLIAM S. COKER

Florida Folktales. Edited by J. Russell Reaver. (Gainesville: University of Florida Presses, 1987. xiv, 179 pp. Introduction, illustrations, notes, selected bibliography, index to motifs, index to tale types. \$19.50.)

As an ornithologist, I learned early that "development" is the ugliest word in the language. Next comes "overpopulation." The words have become fact, and the fact is depressing. Is there any respite, any way of reversing the wheels of so-called progress, of returning to simpler, more fundamental and elemental life? There is, and *Florida Folktales* has arrived not a moment too soon.

This is a handsomely presented paperback, edited by J. Russell Reaver and most engagingly illustrated by Larry Leshan with linoleum block-prints that convey the primitiveness and eeriness of many of the tales. A forty-five-page section of notes generously gives source and explanations where needed. There is a selected bibliography, and an especially interesting index of motifs.

The book is divided into motifs, or varieties of folklore, among them Tabu, Magic, Marvels, Deceptions, Ordaining the Future, and Mythology. There are marvelous ghost stories, including "The Haunted Jail," "The Music Lover," and "Room for One More." Many of the tales have historical backgrounds: "The Tallahassee Train," "The Haunted Kissimmee River," and "Wakulla Pocahontas." There is a remarkable account of Napoleon's nephew, Prince Murat, living in Florida and not particular about changing his clothes. He fed his guests buzzard which he cured by burying the birds several days before serving. The prince is designed as a "legendary hero!"

Animal stories are integral parts of every country's folklore. Reaver has gathered enduring back-country accounts of hunt-

ing and fishing that capture the fantasy and humor, ingenuity and imagination running through the entire collection. The snake with the frog and the moonshine; the minnows and white lightning; the deer, wild turkey, and bee tree; the bird dog with quail in a gopher hole; the coon hound and the ironing board; the buck with peach-tree antlers. These are tall tales from the primal swamps and pineywoods and are not to be missed.

So, if one is distressed by the sight of high-rise condos crowding out the mangroves, or a surging populace overflowing the peninsula, reach for *Florida Folktales*, because that's the way it was.

The book, of course, is far more than a placebo or a panacea. It is a fascinating assortment of local fact and fable told with vitality and insight, and, I must add, compassion. Fools and innocents abound, but few are singled out disparagingly as such. The style throughout emanates from the original narrators.

Reaver's stated effort has been "to remain faithful to the goal of revealing the Florida known only through its many tellers of tales." We should be exceedingly grateful to him for collecting and sharing them, and to the University Presses of Florida for their publication. And we should also be well aware that we live in a state with an exceptionally rich variety of folkloric culture. Nothing can ever change that.

Winter Park, Florida

MARJORY BARTLETT SANGER

Seminole History: A Pictorial History of Florida State University. By Martee Wills and Joan Perry Morris. (Jacksonville: South Star Publishing Company, 1987. Foreword, list of sponsors, index, photo credits, authors' acknowledgments. \$37.95.)

A number of picture book/narrative studies of cities and universities have appeared recently. An overdue addition to books on this order is *Seminole History: A Pictorial History of Florida State University*. Skillfully blending narrative and photographs, collaborators Martee Wills and Joan Morris have provided a sound and professional work. Burt Reynolds, an FSU alumnus, provided the foreword.

Present-day Florida State University dates from 1857, and the creation of the West Florida Seminary at Tallahassee. Orig-

inally a co-educational institution, the school grew slowly. There were only sixty-nine students thirty years after it was founded. A new era opened in 1905 when the Buckman Act provided for a state-supported womans college— the Florida Female College. Renamed Florida State College for Women in 1909, the school began to grow steadily. Another era began shortly after World War II; in 1947 the school was granted full co-educational status and was renamed Florida State University.

Developments from the institution's seminary beginnings to the present are capsuled in forty-four pages of text. Events occurring between its establishment before the Civil War and the 1920s are related in chapters I and II. Each of the following six decades are treated in separate chapters. Ably chronicled, the evolving story makes for entertaining reading. Obligatory and deserved tribute is paid to various presidents, administrative officials, and faculty. Florida State traditions— the Flying High Circus, the Pow Wow— and other lore associated with the university receive attention. The physical growth of the university is adroitly traced with a minimum of statistics and with enjoyable readability. Initially cloistered around the impressive gothic-styled Westcott Hall, the campus spread west. Unfortunately, as the authors intimate, the architectural motif common to Westcott, Dodd Hall, and other early structures, yielded to the staid, perhaps more serviceable buildings, erected on the campus in recent years.

On the whole, however, expansion can be equated with progress. Enrollment was approximately 6,000 by 1960. There was an excellent faculty, and many departments, especially music and science, were attracting nationwide renown. Providing more attention, or notoriety, depending on one's point of view, were the militant students of the late sixties and early 1970s. "Radical Jack" and other activists earned for Florida State the reputation as the "Berkeley of the South." In the meantime, the Seminole athletic teams were gaining prominence. By any standard, Florida State had quickly become a major university.

The final two-thirds of *Seminole History* is devoted to pictures. As with the narration, the sequence of photographs is laid out chronologically. Pictures of students, faculty, and campus buildings and scenes have been selected with great care. They are appropriate, effective, and effectively complement the text. Perhaps too much pictorial space is devoted to sports. There are

too many pictures of the football team and inexplicably, there is no photograph of FSU's highly-regarded band, the Marching Chiefs.

But these are minor points. Overall, authors Morris and Wills have done a service to Florida State University's students, alumni, and others interested in the institution and the history of higher education in Florida. A large void has been filled. The narrative scope of this work modestly belies the title; *Seminole History: A Pictorial History of Florida State University* is much more than a picture book.

Georgia Southern College

WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS, JR.

The Early Prehistoric Southeast: A Sourcebook. Edited by Jerald T. Milanich. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985. xviii, 448 pp. Sources, introduction. \$55.00.)

Ethnology of the Southeastern Indians: A Sourcebook. Edited by Charles M. Hudson. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985. xviii, 456 pp. Sources, introduction. \$50.00.)

A Choctaw Sourcebook. Edited by John H. Peterson, Jr. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985. xxiii, 320 pp. Sources, introduction. \$35.00.)

These are three in the publisher's twenty-one volume set reproducing in facsimile more than 375 articles on North American Indians. In addition to the three books on the Southeast reviewed here, the series includes volumes on the late prehistory of the region, the Creek Indians, and the Seminoles. Given the wide and diverse literature on the archaeology and ethnology of the Southeast, any anthology is perforce very selective.

The justification for volumes such as these presumably lies in bringing together scattered sources for both scholars and interested laymen. Inclusion of some readily available articles from such sources as *American Antiquity* can only be assumed to be for the sake of balance and the convenience of readers who do not have a research library available to them. Important works must be at least mentioned in an editor's introduction, but serious students might be better served by inclusion of only

the more obscure sources, even if at the expense of such classics as Eggan's 1937 article on southeastern kinship systems. On the whole, each of the editors of these three volumes has succeeded in bringing together basic but often difficult-to-obtain sources. Although both Milanich and Hudson give competent, succinct—even lively—overviews of the articles that follow, Peterson does more with his introduction by directing readers to many works not included in the anthology.

The early prehistory volume covers the period from first human occupation of the Southeast until about A.D. 1000. In less than four pages, Milanich deftly summarizes the periods of prehistory covered by the volume. The selections from the literature compiled fill in the details of the editor's overview through both integrative survey articles and reports on specific sites. Both temporal and geographical coverage are generally good, but the paleoIndian and early archaic periods could be better represented, particularly in light of the controversy over the finds at Vero and Melbourne, Florida, in the history of American anthropology, and in recognition of the recent, dramatic discoveries of Wilburn Cockrell at Warm Mineral Springs, Carl Clausen at Little Salt Spring, and Glen Doran at Windover Farms. Likewise, John Griffin's important work on Russell Cave, in Alabama, is barely noted in this volume. Despite these criticisms, Milanich has done an excellent job of putting together fundamental works—many with excellent charts, tables, and illustrations—that give the nonspecialist a satisfying overview of southeastern prehistory before the temple mound cultures of Mississippian times. (Presumably there will be in this journal a separate review of the series volume by DePratter covering the period immediately prior to the coming of Europeans, which marks the beginning of the period of the Hudson volume reviewed here.) Milanich's selections are also enlightening for what they reveal about the professional growth of archaeology in the American Southeast. Especially delightful in this regard is Wauchope's preface to his *Archaeological Survey of Northern Georgia* (unfortunately, the list of references cited therein has been omitted from this reprinting). Through Wauchope we learn that government bureaucrats of the 1930s were just as mindless as their latter-day counterparts, though, of course, the "bean counters" of WPA days were forced to take the "blunt instrument" approach in their diabolical schemes, lacking as they did the ultimate bureaucratic torture device, the Computer.

Hudson cogently divides his volume into standard ethnographic categories: "The Belief System," "Subsistence," "Social Organization," "Ritual," and "Recreation," plus a very useful introductory set of papers grouped under the rubric "Classification of Southeastern Cultures." Rather than attempting to sample systematically early ethnohistorical sources, Hudson wisely assembles syntheses and ethnographic reports dating from the 1890s to the 1970s. Hudson's preference for the past and, for lack of a better term, "traditional culture" as shown by his neglect of contemporary southeastern Indians, is evident in his introduction, wherein he writes always in the past tense, begging the question of the "ethnographic present" vs. the "ethnography of the present." Ethnically, at least some attention is given in the volume to all the major groups of the Southeast, but some are over-represented, i.e., the Cherokee. Others are greatly under-represented, e.g., the native peoples of Florida. Conversely, such works included as Witthoft's "Green Corn Ceremonialism in the Eastern Woodlands" appraise the wider ethnological context of southeastern tribal peoples. Though James Howard is cited in Hudson's introduction, unfortunately nothing is included from Howard's work on the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex and other topics in southeastern ethnology.

The Choctaw volume by its nature is very detailed and admits of some rather odd and obscure but nonetheless useful sources. Peterson has assembled a collection that covers a wide ethnographic spectrum, from snappy recipes for corn soup ("soak the corn for a short time or until the hull is loosened") to the Choctaw afterworld's delights (100 beautiful young women for every man) and tortures (ground thickly strewn with chestnut burrs that pierce the foot at every step). The selections span the periods from the beginning of sustained European contact to the early twentieth century (including at one extreme an archaeological report and an eighteenth-century census of Choctaw villages and, at the other, observations on the sad remnant of Louisiana Choctaw left after the often-overlooked, "second removal" of Choctaw in the early 1900s). It is unfortunate that Peterson did not put aside modesty and include at least one selection from his own work on the modern-day Choctaw. In doing so he would have brought a sense of closure to another incidental theme running throughout the collection: the emergence of the anthropological perspective. The rhetoric, romanticism, and the quaint cultural evolutionism of some au-

thors Peterson selects makes them serve not only as sources for Choctaw studies but also as documents for the study of intellectual history. At times the cultural distance that separates us from these ethnographers of an earlier era seems greater than that which separated them from their Choctaw subjects. It is all the more important, then, that the modern Choctaw should have been represented in this book, for we all share an alien world that neither the old-time Choctaw nor their observers could have comprehended, but which today's Choctaw leaders often understand with an acuity surpassing that of most latter-day ethnologists.

Florida State University

J. ANTHONY PAREDES

The Late Prehistoric Southeast: A Source Book. Edited by Chester B. DePratter. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1986. lxxiii, 548 pp. Sources, introduction. \$70.00.)

Chester DePratter's edited volume, one of twenty-one source books in *The North American Indian* series, contains twenty-three articles relevant to the archaeology of the southeast United States (including the Ohio River Valley). Some of the articles, all reprinted, are quite lengthy and might better be described as monographs. Contributions range from a 1788 letter by Noah Webster speculating that many of the earthworks found in the East were constructed by the sixteenth-century Spanish conquistador, Hernando de Soto, to a 1974 paper by Bruce D. Smith modeling animal use by the late prehistoric peoples of the Mississippi River valley.

Selection of reprinted materials is excellent. The nearly 200 years of scholarship represented span the history of New World archaeological enquiry, from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when prehistorians looked outside North America for the source of the Moundbuilders, through the turn of the century when it became apparent that those "lost peoples" were actually the prehistoric ancestors of living Native Americans. During much of the twentieth century, emphasis was placed on describing and recording data, outlining the who, what, where, and when of prehistory. It is from this descriptive phase that modern archaeology, with its focus on explanation, has emerged.

Perhaps the most valuable contribution in the volume is De-Pratter's introduction that places the articles in the context of the history of archaeology and chronicles our growing understanding of Native American prehistory. His perceptive narrative cites nearly 500 archaeological publications, providing a well documented framework for the overview. *The Late Prehistoric Southeast* is everything a source book should be.

Florida State Museum

JERALD T. MILANICH

The Historic Indian Tribes of Louisiana, From 1542 to the Present.

By Fred B. Kniffen, Hiram F. Gregory, and George A. Stokes. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987. xvi, 324 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, index. \$24.95.)

In recent years, the "forgotten people" of Louisiana— the Irish, Italians, Canary Islanders, Yugoslavs, and black groups— have begun to receive attention. In the study at hand, the forgotten people are the Native Americans, who, in the 1980 census, numbered a scant 16,040. The authors, Fred B. Kniffen, Hiram F. Gregory, and George A. Stokes, who are geographers and anthropologists, purport to tell only part of the story of the Louisiana Indians in the hope that it will generate greater interest in the tribes and their cultures.

The authors begin with an overview of the sixteenth-century Spanish explorers, then jump forward to the arrival of the French in the late seventeenth century. After introductory chapters that cover geography and climate, which are among the best written, the authors take the reader quickly through the prehistory of the tribes. About 1700, continuing European contact began, which exposed the natives to destructive warfare, disease, and enslavement. Tribes living in Louisiana or nearby at that time included the Caddo (Adai, Doustioni, Natchitoches, Ouachita, Yatasi), Atakapa, Chitimacha, Tunica, Koroa, and Yazoo; the Natchez-speakers (Natchez, Taensa, Avoyel); and the Muskogean-speakers (Choctaw, Houma, Bayougoula, Acolapissa, Mugulasha, Okelousa, Quinapisa, and Tangipahoa). Most of the smaller tribes soon declined and the Houma took in many of the survivors. The large Chitimacha tribe, however, continued to exist, but the related Washa and Chawasha disap-

peared. Meanwhile, the Spaniards rushed to the Nacogdoches area adjacent to Louisiana, which produced an impact on the neighboring Caddo tribes. Also in the eighteenth century, immigrant tribes, such as the Choctaw, entered Louisiana.

While several Louisiana Indian groups departed for Texas and Oklahoma after 1803, most of them did not. Among the new immigrant tribes, the Choctaws, who settled down in northern Louisiana, were the most numerous. These intruders produced a movement of many of the tribes within Louisiana. More disruptive, however, was the arrival of the numerous Americans, who seized the best agricultural lands and relegated the Indians to swamps, marshes, and infertile woodlands. The natives seemed to disappear. Despite the influx of the racially-mixed "Red Bones" later in the nineteenth century, the Louisiana Indians continued to decline. At times whole tribes, languages, and cultures vanished while remnants of other groups merged with the tribes that survived.

In the book's final portion, the authors include brief discussions on settlements, arts and crafts, dress, economic activity, tribal law, kinship, political organization, crises, religion, medicine, and warfare. A concluding chapter describes the Louisiana Indians today.

While the work is mostly pleasing and the authors achieve their stated purpose, several things bothered this reviewer. Rather than footnoting their sources, the authors provide an annotated bibliography at the end of each chapter, which, while useful, is not as helpful as specific page citations, particularly when a work has several volumes. Although the authors cite numerous studies from their own disciplines, a closer examination of historical works would have yielded more knowledge about the tribes after 1700. The authors also confuse the microfilm copies of the Santo Domingo papers, which Loyola University in New Orleans has had for many years, with the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, which are now being acquired by research centers in Louisiana and Florida. Finally, only in the most general way can this study be regarded as historical inasmuch as the authors only attempt a brief characterization of the tribes at a few stages in their history after 1700. Despite these objections, *The Historic Indian Tribes of Louisiana* appears well suited to the general reader and to anyone initiating an investigation of Louisiana's Native Americans.

La Salle, the Mississippi, and the Gulf: Three Primary Documents. Edited by Robert S. Weddle, Mary Christine Morkovsky, and Patricia Galloway, translated by Ann Linda Bell and Robert W. Weddle. (College Station, TX: Texas A & M Press, 1987. x, 328 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, list of plates, list of tables, bibliography, contributors, index. \$39.50.)

This work is largely due to Robert S. Weddle, whose studies on the discovery and exploration in the Gulf of Mexico have become the standard contributions to the tricentennial of the expedition and death of La Salle in 1687. The book itself is a tribute to the scholarship evoked by the tricentenary of a well-known and somewhat disputed man, especially about his character and personality. Most of us always thought that Parkman, Winsor, Joutel, Margry, Villiers du Terrage, Delanglez, Dunn, and others had long ago laid to rest the story of La Salle. But there are still many disputed and/or unknown or unverified facts and gaps, especially in La Salle's early life.

Three (really more) primary documents help to fill in some of these unknown facts and unsolved problems, but not all of them are resolved. Of the two Minet journals, the first is based on other sources and can be compared with three other primary accounts. The second journal, the more important one, is itself a primary source. Minet came from France to Mexico on the same vessel with La Salle, and later he returned to France on the *Joly*. The second journal, among other things, helps to verify (and Enriquez Barroto's diary even more so) Matagorda Bay, and the reason why La Salle missed the mouth of the Mississippi River. It also adds support for Bolton's location of La Salle's colony and his landing at Matagorda Bay on the Texas coast. The interrogation of the Talon brothers, who had deserted from La Salle, and lived among the Indians and later the Spaniards, before returning to France, adds to an understanding of La Salle as a lost explorer and also provides information on their lives among the Indians. The most important document in the volume is the Barroto diary describing the exploration along the Gulf coast in search of La Salle's colony.

Weddle has done excellent scholarly research, contributing greatly to the Spanish side of the story by his intensive work in foreign archives. He strangely overlooked, however, Robert Gil Munilla's excellent *Política Española en el Golfo Mexicano: Expediciones motivadas por el caballero La Salle*, published in 1955.

However, Weddle does suspect some of the work of Margry, which reminded this reviewer that years earlier Bolton had suggested this same idea to his seminar students.

The volume under review is for the advanced student and scholar and for libraries. Each of the primary documents is preceded by an introduction and translation, the latter, well-edited by qualified associate editors. In addition to the documents, the volume contains three article appendices on ethnological data, natural history, and on Karankawa linguistic data. There are also eighteen maps and plates, an index, and four tables. Robert S. Weddle, his associate editors, and the Texas A & M Press deserve high praise for making available this volume.

San Diego State University

A. P. NASATIR

"The Last of American Freemen": Studies in the Political Culture of the Colonial and Revolutionary South. By Robert M. Weir. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1986. xiv, 236 pp. Preface, index. \$25.95.)

Historical essays are an art form. At their best, they encompass the full range of current scholarship, an extraordinary knowledge of detail, which can then be combined into cogent arguments upon which others can build. Robert M. Weir is a master of the art, and it is fortunate that his essays on the colonial South have been provided in this easily accessible form.

This volume begins with the prize-winning essay, "The Harmony We Were Famous For: An Interpretation of Prerevolutionary South Carolina Politics," published in the *William and Mary Quarterly* in 1969, and concludes with the "South Carolinian as Extremist" published in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* in 1975. The eight essays are presented in their original form with the exception of "John Laurens: Portrait of a Hero," which appeared in *American Heritage* (April 1976), to which has been added the original footnotes.

Although the essays were published over a period of almost two decades and are already familiar to scholars of colonial America, their currency is striking. Weir's depiction of the emergence of an homogeneous colonial elite in South Carolina on the eve of the American Revolution— a central theme of the

"Harmony" essay and "The Scandalous History of Sir Egerton Leigh" (1969), as well as the legacy in the "Extremist" essay— has had a major impact on subsequent scholarship.

Weir's writing also reflects the "New History" in ways which are laudatory, if not always convincing. His essay, "Rebelliousness: Personality Development and the American Revolution in the Southern Colonies," published in *Southern Experience in the American Revolution* (1978), is a model of integration in terms of drawing upon studies from many disciplines. The psychological interpretation of rebellious children in revolt against their parent is not without merit, but remains nevertheless less convincing than his other finely crafted essays.

Weir's essay, "Who Shall Rule at Home: The American Revolution as a Crisis of Legitimacy for the Colonial Elite" (1976), was another foray into the world of social psychology, but seems more adept, perhaps because it deals with the more familiar question of status. Rounding out the group is Weir's study of "The Role of the Newspaper Press in the Southern Colonies on the Eve of the Revolution: An Interpretation," which deals with the influence of the southern elite on the colonial press. This remarkable collection of essays will have an influence on the way in which the colonial and revolutionary history of the South is viewed for years to come.

University of South Carolina

DAVID R. CHESNUTT

The Metaphysical Confederacy: James Henley Thornwell and the Synthesis of Southern Values. By James Oscar Farmer, Jr. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1986. vii, 295 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, index. \$28.95.)

The author of *The Metaphysical Confederacy: James Henley Thornwell and the Synthesis of Southern Values* has ploughed a deep furrow into the neglected field of antebellum intellectual and religious study. Until the last decade American historians have avoided the works of the southern intelligentsia, assuming that they were merely an unsuccessful attempt "to shore up a fatally flawed society" which had cut itself off from the liberal main currents of western thought. Professor Farmer takes exception to this judgment. He believes the southern thinkers faced these

currents with their own considered counterblast of conservative thought, a thought that synthesized in the 1850s providing vigorous support in the growing demand for an independent nation.

The subject of this work, the Reverend James Henley Thornwell, the leading Presbyterian theologian of South Carolina, is a natural for Farmer's interests and investigations. Thornwell's first pastorate was in Lancaster, S. C. Farmer is a member of the history faculty at the university there. Later Thornwell moved to Columbia and became a professor and eventually president of South Carolina College (now the University of South Carolina). Farmer did his graduate work at that institution. Resigning the presidency of the college in 1855, Thornwell occupied a special chair in theology at Columbia Theological Seminary and became probably the best-known Presbyterian clergyman in the South. He also edited the influential and widely-read *Southern Presbyterian Review*.

Unlike many of his Presbyterian brethren, Thornwell was not by birth a part of up-country Carolina gentry. Born in the Marlboro District in 1812, he was the second son of an English-born plantation overseer and a devout Baptist mother. The father's death when the boy was eight, forced James to get the basics of his education at a field school near his home. Frail, industrious, and studious, he became locally famous as a child scholar. His abilities brought him to the attention of two of Cheraw's leading lights, General James Gillespie, a wealthy planter, and William Robbins, a prominent attorney. These benefactors provided his schooling and sent him on to South Carolina College where he was graduated at the top of his class. Thornwell remained close to his patrons for the rest of his life. Despite the influence of the deistic freethinker, Thomas Cooper, then the controversial president of the college, Thornwell decided to enter the Presbyterian ministry. After a brief teaching career in Cheraw, he won a scholarship to Andover Seminary and with the help of his benefactors set out for Massachusetts.

Disappointed with the language curriculum, New School Calvinism, and with the social climate of Andover which he described as "peopled with a sad mixture of gentlemen and ploughboys," Thornwell moved to Harvard to concentrate in German and Hebrew. But ill health and the Unitarian domi-

nance of that institution caused him to transfer to Columbia Theological Seminary in South Carolina. Although he regarded the Harvard library excellent, Thornwell later remarked that he would "just as soon send a son to Columbia as to Cambridge." In 1835, when he was serving his first church in Lancaster, Thornwell married Nancy Witherspoon, the daughter of the town's leading citizen. The groom was twenty-two, the bride twenty-seven.

But Farmer is more concerned with Thornwell's thought than with his career. Thornwell and his Presbyterian colleagues in South Carolina drank deeply from wells of seventeenth-century Baconianism and the common sense philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment. This combination produced what they came to call Natural Theology—the quest for God through the medium of his handiwork. Without forsaking their belief in revealed religion, these scholars "reverenced nature as a *second book* of revelation." Nature order and beauty pointed, "to a supernatural Wisdom and directed the observer to a divine cause, thereby confirming and reinforcing the teachings of Scripture. Science, therefore, as long as it was properly understood and used, sustained Christianity." This was the basis on which Thornwell and his followers defended traditional Calvinist orthodoxy against Arminianism and challenged the contrary ideas of eighteenth-century deism, the New School Theology of the North, and the Roman Catholic polemics of their great adversary, Patrick Leach, the bishop of Charleston. In the 1850s this same combination of science and the Bible was used in the defense of the South's peculiar institution.

But Thornwell was not without his southern critics. His stern and uncompromising Calvinism, his hatred of church music, ceremony, Romanism, cards, and dancing made him suspect to the more Arminian Episcopalians. One such Episcopalian was the internationally respected political scientist Francis Lieber, Thornwell's colleague at South Carolina College. When a Thornwell enthusiast declared, "there has been no man like Thornwell since Calvin," Lieber, with wry humor, remarked, "I hope so."

On the matter of slavery, Thornwell, at first a moderate, gradually threw his weight on the side of the conventional defenders. Slavery was justified by Scripture, by the practice of the ancients, and by the Constitution. The consciences of the

slaveholding oligarchy were not riddled with guilt; they were satisfied with the institution they defended. Although there were inherent evils within the institution, they felt the world itself was not perfect, and the slaves, like the poor of the gospels, were with us always. Thornwell preached that it was a Christian's duty to be a benevolent, fair, and concerned master, and he favored giving the bondsmen the rudiments of an education.

As the secession movement gathered momentum in the 1850s Thornwell, a Whig and a unionist, eventually joined with the majority and declared an independent South a political imperative and a divine necessity. Thornwell cut himself off from his friend James Louis Petigru of Charleston who agonized about his isolation during the crisis of 1860 in a letter to a North Carolina friend: "The most deplorable part of our case here is the total absence of a minority and the general contempt for the consequences— what hope is there for the human race when there is no minority?"

There is an annoying error of usage in an otherwise well-written book. Farmer refers to the Reverend Thornton Stringfellow's pamphlet (p. 27) as "Reverend Thornton Stringfellow's pamphlet," omitting the article. Again in another reference to a clergyman (p. 70), "he applauded the reverend's 'keen sense of the ridiculous'." But this is a trivial matter. There is another criticism: the book has no bibliography. That, however, is not the author's fault. Farmer has a clear style, good organization, and a wonderful command of his research material. Thornwell's letters to and from the southern intellectuals of his day— James Louis Petigru, William Gilmore Simms, James H. Hammond, and Augustus Longstreet, to name a few, are one of the most fascinating aspects of the book. But where is the judicious Professor Farmer after his brilliant synthesis of the writings of southern theologians and writers? One gets the impression that when the chips are down, Thornwell and his contemporaries were decent, humane, learned, and devout men defending an anachronistic cause.

University of the South

JOSEPH D. CUSHMAN, JR.

Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World. By Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, James Leloudis, Robert Korstad, Mary Murphy, Lu Ann Jones, and Christopher Daly. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987. xxii, 468 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, note on sources, maps and illustrations, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth; \$12.95 paper.)

Like a Family is a result of an oral history project begun by Jacquelyn Dowd Hall as director of the Southern Oral History Program at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. From the beginning the project was a team effort, with the six authors and others making contributions. In 1978, North Carolina researchers began to capture the oral reminiscences of workers in various southern industries. In 1982, the authors decided to narrow the focus to textile workers, using earlier interviews as an important resource for this work. This is primarily a study of workers in the Carolinas, with the other textile states of the Southeast playing a supporting role.

The authors have written with some self-imposed limits. They concentrate on the workers' lives, discussing management decisions only as they affected workers. Since women and children predominated in the southern textile scene, the authors have consciously given proper emphasis to their lives and stories. In doing so, they provide an opportunity to view the world from the worker's perspective by allowing them, inasmuch as possible, to "become articulate" as their stories and commentary on the mill scene "drive" the narrative. The result is a pathbreaking study that has charted research questions that will be addressed for many years to come. Scholars in many areas of southern history—mainly labor, women's, and industrial—will find this work very worthy.

The narrative is divided into two chronological periods: the nineteenth-century beginnings of the southern textile industry to World War I, and from World War I through the Great Textile Strike of 1934. Part one concentrates on the workers' migration from countryside to the mill towns during the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century. The first wave of migrants, many female-headed households, fled the tenant farms for jobs which they hoped would provide a "family wage" to sustain them. The second wave occurred in the early 1900s.

The fact that textile owners had overbuilt allowed male-headed households to use the need for their labor as leverage to gain concessions from an industry that was rife with “cut-throat” competition. Mill owners responded in many cases with comprehensive company welfare programs.

Part two of *Like a Family* finds textile workers in a more precarious state. After World War I, as the agricultural depression in the South caused farmers and their families to flee to the textile villages, the mill owners took advantage of the situation by abandoning the welfare programs and using the stretch-out and wage cuts as means to survive in a world where demand for their products was steadily declining.

Throughout, the workers carved out an existence of their own, often at odds with the desires of the mill owners. Hall and her colleagues emphasize that the village community culture and social arrangements often spilled over into the mill, upsetting management plans to dictate the rules of the workplace. Although union activity was sporadic, worker displeasure with the system was constant, and it was reflected in absenteeism, alcoholism, and, most of all, by mobility—going back to the farm or applying for work at another mill.

After World War I, workers found it difficult to fight the onslaught of labor-saving machinery with their traditional methods of resistance. Strikes against individual mills occurred throughout the 1920s and culminated with the Great Textile Strike of 1934, the largest strike effort to that point in American labor history. The strongest part of this study is the discussion of these various strikes. With recently-discovered letters to the National Industrial Recovery Administration and other sources buttressing workers’ recollections, the authors’ depiction of the New Deal era is especially helpful.

Profusely illustrated and well-written, *Like a Family* should enjoy a wide readership. The authors have provided fresh insights into the lives of the South’s largest group of industrial laborers. Especially praiseworthy is the emphasis on the roles that the churches played, and kinship ties within the various communities. A note of caution must be expressed: the interviewees (fewer than 300), while painstakingly selected, may not be representative of so large an area as the “southern crescent” textile belt.

It is this reviewer's belief that *Like a Family* is a very important first effort to interpret the textile workers of the Piedmont holistically. What is missing—through no fault of the authors—is a synthesis; there is no significant body of secondary materials to synthesize. In fact, implicit throughout *Like a Family* is a call for monographs ranging from local studies of topics as diverse as the lives of black “yard workers” and the impact of migration on textile development. Evidence that such research is developing is apparent, particularly in the continuing work of students and faculty at North Carolina, Duke, South Carolina, and (even) the State University of New York at Stony Brook (the headquarters for the Research Consortium for the Southwide Strike of 1934). Hall and company have given us the proper beginning.

Mississippi College

EDWARD N. AKIN

A History of Neglect: Health Care for Blacks and Mill Workers in the Twentieth-Century South. By Edward H. Beardsley. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987. 384 pp. Preface, introduction, bibliographic essay, index, illustrations. \$34.95.)

The Civilian Conservation Corps during the New Deal paid some attention to the health of young men recruited to labor at protecting the nation's natural resources. In 1940 staff dentists reported so many tooth extractions among enlistees from the South that the agency's chief dentist suspected foul play. Were CCC dentists overdoing things to prove their indispensability? The chief ordered that all extracted teeth be sent to him, and during the first month 8,000 teeth came pouring in. As Beardsley reported the episode, the chief dentist, on examination, found the teeth to be “in shocking condition and concluded that every extraction was justified” (p. 161). Inherent in this small, sad tale lie two of the main conclusions Beardsley establishes in his superior monograph: the drastic consequences resulting from neglect of health care among the South's poor, and the key role of the federal government in forcing beneficial change.

A History of Neglect focuses on the health of blacks and of white cotton mill workers in the southeastern United States from the turn of the century into the 1970s. Beardsley limits his

sources to the Carolinas, progressive North Carolina, and laggard South Carolina, and to Georgia, positioned in between. Florida is mentioned twice: a health official is cited criticizing the unhygienic rituals of midwives, and the state is rebuked for placing federally-funded hospitals where they were not needed. The research for the book is broad, deep, and imaginative: state and federal documents, private manuscript collections, interview transcripts from WPA days, wide-ranging interviews conducted by the author. Perhaps dissertations might have provided additional details. Well-selected illustrations add to the impact of the text.

Beardsley buttresses objective developments with crisp narrative and abundant statistical evidence. He skillfully uses anecdotes and quotations from persons involved in his story to convey attitudes and feelings, which he properly deems central to the actions he chronicles. The author's own feelings are much involved. He suffers with those deprived of adequate medical care and treats sternly business, professional, and political elites who blocked better treatment for the poor of both races, and then, often grudgingly, finally yielded to improvements demanded by federal legislation.

Black health, declining during the early twentieth century, fell further in the Great Depression, some of the few advances prompted by World War I being curtailed. Black health institutions were termed by a black physician the medical equivalent of "old clothes for Sam" (p. 37). Whatever the measure of morbidity or mortality used, blacks suffered more than whites. In 1920, for example, the black death rate from malaria in the southern states was two to four times that for whites. Still, white mill hands fared almost as badly, at high risk both at home and work. Added to the continuing burden of malaria and hookworm came the rising threat of pellagra, while workers tended dangerous machines at a pace accelerated by the stretch-out in an atmosphere of high temperature and humidity, noise, and cotton dust.

Racism underlay resistance to efforts at health improvement undertaken by black civic crusaders and by corporations striving for reform from both within and without the region. Modest gains were made, especially in the expansion of medical services for blacks. State public health agencies and legislatures responded at different rates, South Carolina glacially, North

Carolina more readily. It was federal initiatives, however, briefly during World War I, more decisively during the New Deal and Great Society years, that brought enhanced health to the South's poor.

The range of benefits ran wide: free clinics, school lunches, expanded state health offices, postgraduate training for physicians, the building of new hospitals, food stamps, Medicaid. Southern states received a disproportionate share of federal money, but often accepted it grudgingly and failed to meet matching requirements. For this reason, Beardsley asserts, Medicaid in southern states might be termed "as much delusion as solution" (p. 306). Civil rights laws and campaigns brought greater racial equity in sharing the federal health largesse. White physicians, long adamant, finally yielded with some grace to integration of medical societies, medical schools, and hospitals. Mill owners, more to improve efficiency and profits than intentionally to enhance worker health, introduced air conditioning, curtailed noise, and reduced cotton dust, tardily acknowledged to cause byssinosis. The death rate for blacks continued to fall faster than for whites, although the black rate continued to exceed that of whites. And despite the statistical advance, the author observes, "a very large number of real black Southerners had gained very little in health since World War II. Many in fact remained in desperate straits, enduring conditions of hunger, malnutrition, and unattended disease more commonly associated with the world's underdeveloped nations" (p. 288).

Beardsley's account of considerable progress yet continuing poverty, improving but still inadequate health, is much more circumstantial, vivid, and moving than can be captured in brief summary. Replete with heroes of both races, presenting villains, too, some of them unwitting, the rich fabric of this book contains solid evidence of health neglect among the South's poor, finally giving way to growing concern, combined with judgmental interpretation that both enlightens and touches the reader's conscience.

Federal Law and Southern Order: Racial Violence and Constitutional Conflict in the Post-Brown South. By Michal R. Belknap. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987. xv, 387 pp. Preface, notes, photographs, bibliographical essay, index. \$35.00.)

Question: What kind of history is *Federal Law and Southern Order* – administrative? constitutional? or “new” legal-social-political? Answer: Ignore the question and profit from close attention to this commendable and significant history.

Federal Law is significant because it confirms from diligent and rigorous research that national and state officials who honor their oaths to support the Constitution can blunt race bigots. Conversely, *Federal Law* documents also that hypocrites in office like Andrew Johnson (ch. 1) and J. Edgar Hoover (p. 113 and *passim*) who insist that the nation has no duty to enforce race equality or only a meager one, or who deliberately obstruct efforts to perform that duty, have many advantages. These derive from America’s basic governing arrangements and cherished values, including constitutionalism itself, state-centered federalism, and political democracy, all coexisting with a racially and religiously diverse population concentrated unevenly in certain regions. In short, many caves shelter knaves and cowards.

Historian-lawyer Belknap is particularly well-equipped to weigh these complex, subtle, and dynamic matters. He begins with a close one-chapter look at the heritage of the nation’s “first Reconstruction” of the 1860s and 1870s at the miserable sequel of unpunished lynchings and other violence, and moves thence to the 1954 Brown decision. The remainder of *Federal Law* analyzes post-Brown violence, especially in the contexts of accountable elective and appointed officials and of private interest associations that goaded and hindered. Belknap wisely lets the impressive archival evidence he unearthed speak largely for itself. He does not moralize. But depressingly many knaves and, bless’em, a few heroes, did emerge from our “second Reconstruction.”

So, more than thirty (!) years after *Brown*, a fine scholar has given this illuminating insight into civil rights enforcement in our complex governing and constitutional system. Another question: why did no comparable insight emerge three decades after Appomattox? Belknap’s *Federal Law* generates some in-

triguing notions about this question, one to which scholars might devote attention.

Among these notions is this: That beginning around the 1890s a then-newish breed of Ph.D.-equipped historians and JD-armed lawyers began to drain the contextual realities out of the "first" Reconstruction. The historians' prideful socially-scientific reevaluations of the 1860s and 1870s encouraged views of Reconstruction violence as the unfortunate, but essentially unimportant, results of larger, primarily economic forces. In such depictions, civil rights activists were embarked on fools' errands, and enjoyed virtually no useful remedies for the unpunished violence they suffered.

A parallel clinical tendency existed in legal pedagogy and scholarship. In paper-chasing Langdellian law schools that burgeoned since the early 1870s, constitutional analyses became divorced from life, as Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., would complain, and burrowed instead into doctrinal caves. The 1873 *Slaughterhouse* decision opened the deepest cave in which unpunished racism and violence would flourish. In brief, the *Slaughterhouse* majority created a tragically context-less "twistory" about the thirteenth and fourteenth Amendments that artificially separated individuals' rights derived from federal citizenship from those due from state citizenship, trivializing the former. Generations of future lawyers and jurists, plus historians, until *Brown*, took *Slaughterhouse* at text value. Extreme legal formalists still do. By the late 1890s the lawyers' dedications to unreality made possible "separate but equal," "liberty of contract," and "fellow-servant" legal fictions. And few historians (or jurists) insisted on the kind of insights that Belknap provides into actual civil rights implementations.

Enough surmise. Suffice it now again to compliment Belknap on his Boswellian sculpturings of the Kennedys, Hoover, and a melange of congressmen, governors, judges, sheriffs, university administrators, and civil rights activists. And to add a hope that perhaps a parallel volume is in preparation, on race equality implementation elsewhere in our troubled yet improving nation.

The South is Another Land: Essays on the Twentieth-Century South.

Edited by Bruce L. Clayton and John A. Salmond. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1987. xiv, 216 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, bibliographical essay, index, notes on contributors. \$35.00.)

The South is Another Land: Essays on the Twentieth-Century South, an anthology edited by Bruce L. Clayton and John A. Salmond, brings together ten essays written by former students of Professor Richard L. Watson, Jr. Thus, this volume might be considered an informal festschrift for the distinguished Duke University historian.

In an all-too-brief four-page introduction, Clayton and Salmond present the volume's unifying theme, "that the South was another land, different— at its core, in its identity and its self-consciousness from the rest of the nation" (p. xi). Divided into four sections— "The Political Scene," "The World of Work," "The Way of the Land," and "The Search for the South,"— the book treats such varied subjects as the segregationist philosophy of North Carolina Senator Clyde R. Hoey; the career of the "dry messiah," Bishop James Cannon, Jr.; and sectional influences on the Labor Department during World War I.

While all of the essays are serious pieces of work based on extensive research, several are of particular interest. Winfred Moore's insightful contribution studies the tragic career of white supremacist statesman James F. Byrnes. In "Big Enough to Tell Weeds from Beans," Marion Roydhouse takes a fascinating look at the cultural values of women tobacco and textile workers in North Carolina. In "Miss Lucy of the C.I.O.: A Southern Life," John Salmond recounts the saga of Lucy Randolph Mason, a Virginia woman who never lost her identity as a "southern lady" through a long career (1937-1953) as a militant spokesperson and organizer for the C.I.O. Willard Gatewood's timely essay traces the largely-ignored story of the evolution controversy in the South during the years following the Scopes trial of 1925. In a perceptive and sensitive analysis, Gatewood points up the consistent strength of anti-evolution sentiment in the twentieth-century South. Burl Noggle, in the essay which deals most explicitly with the collection's stated theme, surveys the literary, photographic, and sociological probing of southern life and culture during the 1930s. Noggle compares the various activities

and perceptions of northern and southern intellectuals, nearly all of whom, it seems, were struck by the region's distinctiveness.

In the volume's most provocative essay, Bruce Clayton explores "The Mind of W. J. Cash," concluding that Cash was a "southern modernist" who had "a Freudian awareness of the centrality not of reason but of ego . . . a critical mind, rather than a tribal mind, a mind capable of living with ambiguity, irony, and paradox" (p. 171). Clayton's thoughtful comments on Cash ably complement the earlier efforts of Richard King, Daniel Singal, and C. Vann Woodward, though some readers may question Clayton's fixation with the "modernist" label.

Although the individual essays in *The South is Another Land* are generally impressive, the anthology nonetheless resembles a collection of high-quality but largely unrelated journal articles. After having chosen the challenging and important issue of southern distinctiveness as the volume's cornerstone, the editors fail to confront their theme in any significant way. Both the introduction and bibliographic essay border on the perfunctory and make no real attempt to discuss the collection in light of the rich historiographical debate over the issue of southern distinctiveness. Such an effort would have made the work a more useful counterpoint to *The Southerner as American*, edited by Charles Grier Sellers, Jr., in 1960.

Nevertheless, *The South Is Another Land* constitutes a well-deserved tribute to Richard Watson, whose influence has been literally far-ranging. Two of the contributors teach in New Zealand, one in Australia, and one in western Ontario. Such collaboration between American and British Commonwealth scholars can only benefit the sometimes parochial field of southern history.

University of South Florida

RAYMOND ARSENAULT

Hidden History: Exploring Our Secret Past. By Daniel J. Boorstin. (New York: Harper & Row, Publisher, 1987. xxv, 334 pp. Note to the reader, prologue, epilogue, acknowledgments, index, about the author. \$19.95.)

Daniel Boorstin celebrates America's openness to innovation. At the same time, he deplores the intrusion of new approaches to historical writing. He suggests that ideological and social scien-

tific approaches to historical analysis are essentially European imports. Boorstin believes that since America's great strength has been her freedom from doctrinaire politics and encrusted traditions, historical scholarship which relies heavily on the structured investigations central to the social sciences or which seeks to apply Marxist or other doctrinal insights to the American past is bound to be trivial and/or misleading. Historians, rather than whoring after the latest sociological fad, would be better served emulating the great amateur scholars, such as Gibbon and Macauley.

Boorstin's America is democratic, free from basic social conflict, and generally benign. Slaves, workers, women, and Indians are indeed largely hidden in *Hidden History*. Founding Fathers, wealthy philanthropists, path-breaking inventors, and sharp-witted advertising pioneers occupy center stage. Readers who need a refresher course in the consensus interpretation of American history prevalent a generation ago will find its essential outlines in these pages.

All of the essays, loosely grouped into broadly defined chapters, have appeared in print before. Alas, most of the choices are from Boorstin's more dated books, namely *The Genius of American Politics* (1953) and *The Image* (1961). New readers of Boorstin would be better advised to turn to his three-volume *The Americans* (1958-1973), books in which his celebratory view of the American past is grounded in fascinating detail. Absent this context, the many sweeping generalizations and ex cathedra judgments seem merely opinionated ruminations. Boorstin is a good stylist, and enough snippets of concrete information about inventions, political practices, and popular media are sprinkled throughout to make *Hidden History* worth an hour or two. But this is not Boorstin at his best and both individual readers and libraries would be well-advised to spend their \$19.95 on something else.

University of Florida

ROBERT H. ZIEGER

Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture. By Raymond William Stedman. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986. xix, 281 pp. Foreword, preface, author's note, acknowledgments, prologue, illustrations, bibliography, credits and permissions, general index, title index. \$14.95.)

Scholars with ethnographic interests have long been aware of the negative impact of stereotyping of Native Americans. While *Shadows of the Indian* contains little that is new on this topic, Professor Stedman does provide a richly detailed synthesis of how images were shaped by the media of popular culture, ranging from the captivity tales of the colonial era to the movies, books, and television shows of more recent times. In his examination, he offers substantial proof that the Indian of imagination was never the Indian of reality.

Dividing his work into seventeen chapters, organized largely on the basis of topics, he explores Indians as curiosities, as beautiful princesses of "Men Friday," as lustful creatures, as Noble Savages, as enemies, as vanishing Americans, and more. He also includes chapters on the problems that writers and other creative artists have had with "Indian Talk" and the issue of bloodlines. At times his approach is almost encyclopedic as he comments on book after book and film after film, all of which substantiates the pervasiveness of Indian stereotyping throughout America's history. After most chapters, he includes useful and supporting pictographic evidence. Stedman concludes his book with a chapter entitled "Lingering Shadows" in which he examines the continuing influence of the popular image of Native Americans and in which he frames questions designed to increase sensitivity to the problem. He asks, for example, whether Indians really talk like Tonto, whether Indians are portrayed as extinct species, or, most importantly, whether Indian humanness is recognized. The author correctly observes that "when people are seen as people, conscious or unconscious slights tend to disappear."

In this generally well-written book, Stedman captures the irony of white-Indian relations and the misperceptions that resulted. While some of his observations are insightful and cleverly stated, occasionally his attempts to inject humor detract from the importance of his topic. When he writes of "Hollywood's omnipresent, nondenominational 'Indian'," he concisely de-

scribes the "all-Indians-are-the-same-syndrome" which has long affected the uninformed; when he writes of screenplays produced on "forked typewriters," such cuteness has an intrusive and diminishing impact.

However, the major weakness of this work is the limited analysis of why the stereotypes developed and persisted. Professor Stedman is aware of the historical foundations of the stereotypes, but his analysis is never fully realized. He cites Shakespeare's play *The Tempest* with its Indian character Caliban as a reflection of Elizabethan attitudes and as an example of the "near-universality of the literary crime against the Indian," but he does not show how enormously important the twin concepts of racism and cultural nationalism were in creating and maintaining negative images of non-European peoples among the English. Or, he discusses at some length the pattern of conquest established by Columbus, but never deals with the psychological bases of stereotypes, such as the use of projection by Euroamericans. While the sources for a book of this type are admittedly unlimited, the author could have profitably drawn from Winthrop Jordan's incisive research on Elizabethan racism and its transmission to America, or Gary Nash's useful concept of "function" and how that influenced the Indian's relationship to whites, and ultimately the matter of image.

Yet, overall, the strengths of this volume outweigh its weaknesses. It is an interdisciplinary study that provides an excellent narrative look at the evolution of Indian stereotypes in the United States and how those stereotypes have shaped both public perceptions and governmental policies. *Shadows of the Indian* is a useful addition to the literature on Native Americans.

Pembroke State University

DAVID K. ELIADES

BOOK NOTES

Of Hampton Dunn's many books on Florida and his own special area of the state— the Tampa area— his latest, *Florida, A Pictorial History*, is one of his best. It is a handsome volume with its scores of pictures, most of them from the author's own collection. Some photographs are from other archives— the Library of Congress, the Florida State Photographic Archives, the Historical Association of Southern Florida, and private collections. The majority are black and white, but there are a number in color taken by Mr. Dunn. The Hampton Dunn Collection is on deposit at the University of South Florida. The first fifty-one pages cover Florida's history from the sixteenth century to 1900. Among its many rare photographs there is one of Geronimo and his band who were imprisoned on Santa Rosa Island in 1886, another of President McKinley and Governor Bloxham on the steps of the Capitol in 1899, and several early scenes of Miami, Sarasota, St. Petersburg, and Brooksville. Most of the book is devoted to the twentieth century, and the photographs record Florida's rapid growth and development, particularly the southern part of the state. There were many changes in Florida during the 1920s— the Boom Era— and the photographs, beginning with the Tin Can Tourist Camp at Gainesville to William Jennings Bryan holding his famous outdoor Bible class in Miami, document these historic events. Pictures of the Seminoles who were present at the dedication of the Tamiami Trail in 1928, of an ancient John D. Rockefeller, Sr., at Ormond Beach, of Frank Lloyd Wright on the Florida Southern College campus, inspecting some of the buildings which he designed, of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings working at her desk on her porch at Cross Creek, of air force cadets training at Miami Beach during World War II, of Governor Fuller Warren's wedding reception, of Charley Johns being sworn in as governor upon the death of Governor Dan McCarty in 1953, and of Mel Fisher showing some of the treasures retrieved from the *Atocha*, are only a few of the photographic delights assembled by Hampton Dunn. The foreword is by Governor Bob Martinez. *Florida, A Pictorial History*, was published by the Donning Company, and it sells for \$35.00.

Marjory Stoneman Douglas is one of Florida's best-known writers, and she is recognized nationally for her outstanding leadership role in the battle to save Florida's environment, particularly the Everglades. *The Everglades, River of Grass*, her most famous book, is the history of this unique and very special place. First published in 1947, Mrs. Douglas's book focuses attention on the need to preserve the Everglades. Her first sentence reads, "There are no other Everglades in the world . . . nothing anywhere else [is] like them." This is a beautifully written book, rich in folklore and history. It has gone through many printings and several editions over the past forty years. A revised edition has now been published by Pineapple Press, Inc., Sarasota. Randy Lee Loftis collaborated with Mrs. Douglas in the research and writing of this updated volume. The illustrations are by Robert Fink. This handsome new revised edition sells for \$17.95.

In 1986, the Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee, assembled a major exhibit on political cartooning in Florida. A catalogue for the exhibit was produced by the Museum (a Division of Historical Resources, Florida Department of State) and it was published by the Florida History Associates, Inc., with support from the Florida Endowment for the Humanities. Political cartooning first began in national newspapers at the end of the nineteenth century, and in Florida in 1901 in the weekly *St. Petersburg Times*. The artist, W. L. Straub, was also co-owner of the paper. The first of the daily cartoons appeared in the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union* on Sunday, February 15, 1903. Almost any political issue or personality could become a target for the cartoonist. National events, tourists, even sports events were popular cartoon subjects. Several Florida cartoonists have become nationally known, including Jim Morin (*Miami Herald*), Pat Crowley (*Palm Beach Post*), Ed Gamble (*Florida Times-Union*), Clay Bennett (*St. Petersburg Times*), Bruce Beattie (*Daytona Beach News-Journal*), Channing Lowe (*Fort Lauderdale News/Sun Sentinel*), Dana Summers (*Orlando Sentinel*), and Wayne Stayskal (*Tampa Tribune*). The illustrated exhibit catalogue, *Political Cartooning in Florida, 1901-1987*, may be ordered from the History Shop, R. A. Gray Building, Tallahassee, FL 32399; the price is \$6.00, plus \$1.50 for shipping.

The 1988-1989 *Florida Almanac* includes a variety of information and thousands of fascinating facts about Florida, including a chronology of historical events, a listing of lakes and rivers, the locations of forts, battlefields, archaeological sites, and national monuments, and a list of state agencies with addresses, post offices, and zip codes. All Florida landmarks on the National Register of Historic Places and a calendar of major sports events are just a few of the almost countless items in this combination guide, reference manual, atlas, and directory. Information on marriage license requirements, flood insurance, election statistics, official highway mileages, and the list of all Miss Florida crown holders in the Miss America contest are included, along with the Constitution of the state of Florida. There is an index so that this vast assortment of data can be located. *Florida Almanac* was edited by Del Marth and Martha J. Marth of St. Petersburg. It was printed by Pelican Publishing Company, Gretna, LA, and the price is \$11.95.

Indian Springs Cemetery is a compilation of gravesites in this historic Punta Gorda burial ground. A committee of the Charlotte County Genealogical Society, after doing a walking survey and checking available probate records and obituaries, listed all the known graves in the cemetery. The committee also interviewed family members and county employees to gather additional data. As much biographical information as could be secured is included with each entry. A number of prominent Floridians are buried in the cemetery, including Judge John Tilden Rose, Jr., who served in the Florida legislature. Virginia Taylor Trabue, whose husband, Colonel Issac Trabue, founded Punta Gorda, is buried there, as is Friederick Goldstein who moved with her husband, Efraem Goldstein, to Punta Gorda in 1886. For many years they operated a store in the community. Mrs. Goldstein may have been the first white woman to settle in Punta Gorda. Her son, Harry Goldstein, who changed his name to Cooper, is also buried there. Albert W. Gilchrist, later governor of Florida, surveyed the cemetery property, and the first plat was recorded December 14, 1886. The listings in *Indian Springs Cemetery* cover the period from December 14, 1886, to January 1, 1988. The volume was edited by Betsy Lambert; it was computer typed by Joyce Hoffman, and the maps were computer drawn by Loren Ralston, Jr. The price is \$21.75, and may be

ordered from the Charlotte County Genealogical Society, P. O. Box 2682, Port Charlotte, FL 33952.

Cemetery registries provide important information for researchers working in state and local history and for genealogists interested in compiling family histories. Emmett Bryan Howell of Mayo, Florida, compiled and published the registry of the thirty-three *Cemeteries Located in Lafayette County, Florida*. When the county was created in 1856, there were people already living in the area. The older cemeteries record graves dating to the 1860s. Veterans from all of the American wars are buried in Lafayette County cemeteries, including some men who were killed in Vietnam. Mr. Howell has included in his pamphlet directions on how to reach the cemeteries. Order from the Lafayette County Historical Society, Mayo, Florida 32066; the price is \$6.50.

Rentsch-Herold Families in America, compiled and edited by Mary Burney Matreyek, contains some Florida material. It covers the history of the Rentsch family who immigrated from Switzerland, and their descendants. One of these early settlers was Rudolph Rentsch, who, with a relative, Charles Stinson, arrived in Florida in the 1890s, driving, according to family tradition, a team of white mules. They worked first on a dairy farm at Miccosukee, near Tallahassee. Rudolph, who started using the surname "Herold," brought his wife, their child, and his wife's sister to Florida. Rudolph became a prosperous farmer and a large land owner in Leon County. He died in 1935, and is buried in the Pisgah Cemetery near the Pisgah United Methodist Church. This volume was published in a limited edition, and it sells for \$125.00. Order from Mrs. Matreyek, 1721 North Palm Avenue, Upland, CA 91786.

The Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida were published in twenty-three volumes between 1822 and 1845. These volumes are now rare, and where there are surviving copies the pages are battered, brittle, and discolored. A microfilm edition was produced, and it is available, but some of the pages were already so deteriorated when filmed that the images are almost illegible. Florida's six university law school libraries, together with the Florida Supreme Court Library and the

Florida Legislative Library, arranged with Archival Products, Des Moines, Iowa, to photoreproduce the original volumes of the Legislative Council acts. Michael J. Lynch, associate director of the Florida State University Law Library, supervised the project. The price for the twenty-three volume set is \$759.00, plus shipping costs. For information, contact Mr. Lynch or Edwin M. Schroeder at Florida State University Law Library, Tallahassee, FL 32306.

Bibliography of the Catawba was compiled and edited by Dr. Thomas J. Blumer, senior editor of the Law Division, Law Library, Library of Congress. He also edits the newsletter published by the American Indian Library, and is an authority on the Catawba Indians. His is the first comprehensive bibliography of the Catawba Nation of South Carolina, and it covers the period from the seventeenth century to 1985. There are 4,271 annotated and indexed entries in this compilation. The Catawba Nation, once a major southeastern Indian group, was decimated by diseases and wars. In 1763, the nation received a 144,000-acre reservation, but in the early years of the nineteenth century, the Indians began leasing their lands to white settlers. A treaty in 1814 abolished the leasing system, and deeded the land to South Carolina. The Catawba people argued that they had not received a fair settlement, and took their case to the courts for settlement in 1886. The matter of land ownership is still a contested issue in 1988. The Catawba are noted for the quality and beauty of their pottery. They are the only American potters living east of the Mississippi who have preserved their pre-Columbian technology. Dr. Blumer has written the introduction to this valuable work, and he provides an explanation of the scope of his bibliography. In addition to a listing of published books, the bibliography includes monographs, periodicals, newspapers, and manuscripts. Each entry includes author, title, source, date when printed, and a brief explanation of the contents of the item. It is the most comprehensive guide to Catawba materials available. Published by Scarecrow Press, Inc., Metuchen, NJ, in its Native American Bibliography series, it sells for \$55.00.

Fifty Southern Writers Before 1900, A Bio-Biographical Sourcebook, edited by Robert Bain and Joseph M. Flora, is the com-

panion volume to *Fifty Southern Writers After 1900*. While no Florida writers are represented, mainly because there were no major state authors before the twentieth century, several of those contributing essays to this volume are Florida scholars. Represented in this volume are most of the best-known southern authors—Edgar Allan Poe, William Gilmore Simms, Mark Twain, Kate Chopin, along with Mary Boykin Chesnut, Joel Chandler Harris, Grace King, Sidney Lanier, Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, Charles Henry Smith (Bill Arp), and William Wirt. The writings of these Southerners have figured prominently in the history of southern letters. George Percy and Captain John Smith, the earliest of the writers included, reported on nature and the Indians they found living in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Thomas Jefferson, the most important southern writer of his generation, is also included. While he published only one book in his life time, his writings include letters, papers, speeches, essays, and a posthumously published autobiography. Robert Munford and St. George Tucker were important writers of the Revolutionary War era. The most prolific antebellum southern writer was William Gilmore Simms, the author of some eighty books. These included a novel, *Vasconselos: A Romance of the New World* (1853), with Hernando De Soto playing a leading role. Simms's *Donna Florida*, published in 1843, tells the story of Ponce de León, and his *History of South Carolina* (1840) describes the Spanish and French explorers who were active in Florida and the Southeast. Simms's *The Lily and the Totem* recounts the history of the French Huguenots in Florida, and other Florida personalities and themes appear in his essays, stories, and poems. Sidney Lanier was hard-pressed for funds when the Atlantic Coastline Railroad Company invited him, in January of 1875, to write a travel guide to Florida. He was to be paid \$125 per month and expenses for a three-month tour of the state. He admitted embarrassment at having to undertake what he considered hack work in order to obtain money, but he later described his *Florida: Its Climate, Scenery, and History* as a "spiritualized guide book." Lanier's guidebook contains a wealth of factual information. It was reprinted in 1973 by the University of Florida Press in its Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series. *Fifty Southern Writers Before 1900* was published by Greenwood Press of New York and Westport, Connecticut, and it sells for \$75.00.

Joel Chandler Harris is by Professor R. Bruce Bickley, Jr., of Florida State University. First published in 1978, the University of Georgia Press, Athens, has now reprinted it in a paperback edition in its Brown Thrasher Books series. Harris is one of America's most beloved twentieth-century authors. His Uncle Remus Tales have delighted children and adults for many years. Born in Putnam County, Georgia, Harris worked as a typesetter, printer's devil, and later as editor of several Georgia newspapers— *Macon Telegraph*, Forsyth (Georgia) *Monroe Advertiser*, *Savannah Morning News*, and the *Atlanta Constitution*. His first Uncle Remus story was published in 1876, and then nearly every two or three years another volume appeared. Wren's Nest, his Atlanta home is one of the city's most popular house museums. Dr. Bickley evaluates Harris's writings, provides important biographical information, comments on the author's friendship with other major American writers, and evaluates his status as a regional and national author. *Joel Chandler Harris* sells for \$9.95.

HISTORY NEWS

Prizes and Awards

The Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History was awarded to Dr. Gary R. Mormino, University of South Florida, for his article, "Florida Slave Narratives," which appeared in the April 1988 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The presentation was made by Marcia J. Kanner, Miami, at the Florida Historical Society's annual meeting in Miami in May. The three judges were Dr. William S. Coker, University of West Florida; Dr. Edward N. Akin, Mississippi College; and Dr. Wayne Flynt, Auburn University. Professor Thompson was a well-known Florida and Southern historian and for many years a member of the Department of History, University of Florida. The prize was established as a result of an endowment created by Dr. Thompson's wife, Professor Irene Thompson, and his family.

The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Prize was presented to the late Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Florida State University, for his book, *Creeks and Seminoles: Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People*, published by the University of Nebraska Press. The presentation was made by Dr. Thelma Peters, Miami. The three judges were Dr. Fred Blakey, University of Florida; Dr. Eugene Lyon, St. Augustine Foundation at Flagler College; and Dr. Raymond A. Mohl, Florida Atlantic University. The prize memorializes Dr. Patrick, eminent Florida and Southern historian; former chairman of the Department of History, University of Florida; graduate research professor, University of Georgia; and editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

The Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award was given to Robert Hawk of St. Augustine for his book, *Florida's Army: Militia, State Troops and National Guard, 1565-1985*, published by Pineapple Press. The presentation was made by Dr. Tebeau. The three judges were Gwendolyn B. Waldorf, Tallahassee Junior Museum; Patsy West, Fort Lauderdale; and Jean Parker Waterbury, St. Augustine Historical Society. The prize honors Dr. Tebeau, professor emeritus, University of Miami.

The Florida Historical Society has established two new awards— the President's Prize— which recognize outstanding essays in Florida history submitted by graduate and undergraduate students working in Florida colleges and universities. The graduate student prize this year was shared by Jane Landers, University of Florida, and George Klos, Florida State University. The title of Ms. Landers's essay was "Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose," and Mr. Klos wrote on "Black Seminoles in Territorial Florida." The undergraduate student awards were presented to Milton O. Polk, University of South Florida (first prize), and Jack McClellan, University of North Florida (second prize). Mr. Polk's essay was "The Man, His Hammer, and His House: W. L. Straub, The *St. Petersburg Times* and the Creation of Pinellas County." McClellan's essay was "Hamilton Disston in Florida." The President's Prizes judges were Dr. Gary R. Mormino, Dr. Daniel L. Schafer, Dr. Raymond A. Mohl, Richard Matthews, and Richard Pittman.

Dr. Charlton Tebeau received the 1988 Dorothy Dodd Distinguished Service Award from the Florida History Confederation at the meeting of the Confederation in Miami, May 1988. Dr. Tebeau was recognized for his lifetime contributions to Florida history and especially to the history of south Florida. The annual award is named for Dr. Dorothy Dodd of Tallahassee, Florida, historian and former director of the Florida State Library. Dr. Dodd received the Confederation's inaugural award in 1987.

The Phi Alpha Theta book award committee presented its 1987 "first book in the field of history" prize to Dr. William S. Coker, University of West Florida, and Dr. Thomas D. Watson, McNeese State University, for their book, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Panton, Leslie & Company and John Forbes & Company, 1783-1847*, published by the University Presses of Florida. *Indian Traders* was also the winner of the Rembert W. Patrick Prize in Florida History presented by the Florida Historical Society in 1987.

Hampton Dunn, president-elect of the Florida Historical Society, was recognized April 22, 1988, by the Florida Teaching Profession/National Education Association for his history program television series, "Pulse 13 Historian," which are broadcast

over WTVT, Tampa. The program highlights people and events which have played an important role in the history of the Tampa Bay area and the surrounding counties.

The Georgia Historical Society announced its 1987 publication awards at its April 1988 meeting in Savannah. The E. Merton Coulter Award for Excellence in the Writing of Georgia History was given to Betty Wood for " 'Until He Shall Be Dead, Dead, Dead': The Judicial Treatment of Slaves in Eighteenth-Century Georgia," judged the best article published in a 1987 issue of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*. It appeared in the fall issue. The William Bacon Stevens Award is presented every two years to the most worthy article by a graduate student published in the journal. The 1986-1987 winner is Jonathan M. Bryant, for "Race, Class, and Law in Bourbon Georgia: The Case of David Dickson's Will," which appeared in the Summer 1987 issue. The Coulter Award is named for E. Merton Coulter, the eminent professor of history at the University of Georgia who edited the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* from 1924 to 1974. William Bacon Stevens was among the founders of the Georgia Historical Society and served as state historian from 1841 to 1847.

Florida History Fair

Final competition for the seventh annual Florida History Fair exhibit was held at the May 1988 meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Miami. The winners in the senior division were: Anna Benson, "Tuberculosis: A Frontier in Public Health" (B. T. Washington High School, Pensacola); Santosha Kuykendall, "The South African Frontier: Expansion and the Development of the Apartheid Ideology" (Pensacola High School); Jennifer Carl, "Adolph and I" (Pensacola High School); Donna Apostle, Benjamin Chi, and Daniel Ou, "The Reign of Terror: A Frontier of Republicanism" (Pensacola High School); and Jason Blizzard, "The Frontier of the Atomic Age: The Atomic Bomb" (Baldwin High School, Jacksonville). The winners in the junior division were: Cristi Cosson and Monyca Thomas, "The Florida Chautauqua" (Elizabeth Cobb Junior High School, Tallahassee); Jeremy DeGrove, "A Frontier in Revenue: State Lotteries" (Raa Middle School, Tallahassee); Lance Arteaga, John Hicks, and Steven Short, "The Triumphant Return of Lewis and Clark" (DuPont Junior High School,

Jacksonville); Jonathan Fleetwood, "Mandarin: Then and Now" (DuPont Junior High School, Jacksonville); and Chris Devinney, "Racial Segregation: A New Frontier" (DuPont Junior High School, Jacksonville). All of the winners received cash awards. Judges were Robert Bell of Tampa, and Jack Davis of the University of South Florida. Guy P. Harrison of the University of South Florida served as coordinator for the Florida History Fair. The Florida state winners competed in the National History Day event held June 12-16, 1988, at the University of Maryland. Cristi Cosson and Monyca Thomas, Elizabeth Cobb Junior High School, Tallahassee, won prizes in the national judging.

Publications

The Southern Historian, an annually-published journal focusing on all aspects and periods of southern history and culture, invites graduate students to submit original scholarly work for consideration for publication. A \$100 prize is awarded for the best article in each issue. For subscription and publication information, write the editor, Corley W. Odom, Jr., Department of History, Box 1936, University of Alabama, University, AL 35407.

The Southern Literary Series, Summa Publications, announces plans to publish books and monographs on all aspects of past and present southern literary experiences. The editors are interested in manuscripts from both well-established and beginning scholars relating to southern literary criticism, literary history, biography, poetics, drama, and folklore. Subjects from the colonial period to the present will be considered. Write to Summa Publications, Box 20725, Birmingham, AL 35216.

The editors of the *Directory of Jewish Archival Collections* are seeking published and unpublished inventories of collections documenting Jewish life, persons, and organizations in North America. Archivists and manuscript curators having relevant materials in their repositories are asked to contact Andrea A. Morgan, program officer, National Foundation for Jewish Culture, 330 Seventh Avenue, 21st Floor, New York, NY 10001.

The Public Historian invites authors and publishers of state and local history to submit recent publications for possible review. Areas of public history practice include, but are not limited

to, archives, museums, business, oral history, consulting, cultural resources, management, education and training, and public policy. The book review editors are particularly interested in books that might not be listed in traditional academic and trade catalogs. Museum exhibition catalogs, films, video tapes, and other formats are also welcome. Send review materials to the book review editor, *The Public Historian*, Department of History, University of California, Santa Barbara, CA 93106.

The Journal of Confederate History, a new quarterly journal devoted to the publication of scholarly articles on the Civil War, will consider essays dealing with all perspectives of the Confederacy— political, social, economic, and military. Contact John McGlone, Tennessee State Library and Archives, 403 Seventh Avenue, North, Nashville, TN 37219.

Southern Folklore, formerly *The Southern Folklore Quarterly*, will resume publication in the fall of 1988 under the editorship of Camilla A. Collins, a member of the Folk Studies faculty, Western Kentucky University. The journal will publish articles on the analytical, descriptive, comparative, and historical study of folklore, and on recent developments in the discipline, including the public sector and cultural conservation. Papers and inquiries on editorial policies should be sent to *Southern Folklore*, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, KY 42101.

In commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of World War II, a book based on the letters which women wrote to service personnel is planned. Anyone with letters or with pertinent information is asked to contact Judy Barrett Litoff, Department of History, Bryant College, Smithville, RI 02917, or David C. Smith, Department of History, University of Maine, Orono, ME 04469.

Carol Kammen, author of *On Doing Local History*, published by the American Association for State and Local History, is seeking information about what each state is doing to promote local history and local historians. She is also interested in grant programs, technical assistance, and other services. Contact Ms. Kammen at 16 Sun Path, Ithaca, NY 14850.

Forthcoming Meetings

The Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference will be held in Mobile, Alabama, March 9-11, 1989, under the sponsorship of the University of South Alabama. The theme of the conference is "American History of the Gulf Coast." Anyone interested in participating in the conference is invited to submit papers and/or suggestions for individual sessions. Proposals should be directed to Dr. George Daniels or Dr. Michael Thomason, Department of History, University of South Alabama, Mobile, AL 36688. The papers will be published in the *Gulf Coast Historical Review*. The University of West Florida and Pensacola Junior College are member institutions of the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference.

The Southern Historical Association will hold its fifty-fourth annual meeting at the Omni International Hotel in Norfolk, Virginia, November 9-12, 1988. For information, contact William F. Holmes, Department of History, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602.

The Southern Jewish Historical Society will hold its annual meeting in Birmingham, Alabama, November 4-6, 1988. For information, contact Samuel Proctor, Department of History, University of Florida, 4131 Turlington Hall, Gainesville, FL 32611.

The American Association of the History of Medicine invites the submission of papers on any subject relating to the history of medicine for its meeting to be held in Birmingham, Alabama, April 27-30, 1989. Papers must represent original work not already published or in press. Those interested should submit a typed abstract (300-350 words) and six copies to Judith Walzer Levitt, Department of the History of Medicine, 1415 Medical Sciences Center, University of Wisconsin, 1300 University Avenue, Madison, WI 53706. Deadline for submission is October 15, 1988. Biographical information is required: name, academic group, mailing address, work and home telephones, present institutional affiliation, and title. Meeting information is available from Bill Weaver, Box 700, University of Alabama, Birmingham, AL 35494.

The program committee of the Missouri Valley History conference, to be held March 9-11, 1989, in Omaha, Nebraska, invites papers and panel proposals on all fields of history, as well as interdisciplinary and methodological study. Submit proposals by November 15, 1988, to Professor Jerold L. Simmons, Department of History, University of Nebraska at Omaha, Omaha, NE 68182.

The Western History Association will hold its 1989 meeting in Tacoma, Washington. The program committee is inviting papers and proposals for sessions. Submissions by non-teaching historians and those not directly employed in history will be considered also. Proposals commemorating the passage of the 1889 Omnibus Bill are particularly encouraged. A brief summary of prospective papers and names of participants should be mailed by September 1, 1988, to Dr. John D. W. Guice, Department of History, University of Southern Mississippi, Southern Station, Box 5047, Hattiesburg, MS 39406.

The Oral History Association will hold its twenty-third annual meeting on October 19-22, 1989, in Galveston, Texas. Papers, panel discussions, media presentations, and workshop sessions are now being solicited. All subjects concerning oral history are welcome. Each proposal should include the presenter's vita, plus a two-page typed prospectus with thesis statement, methodological description, and relevant bibliographical information. Proposals must be submitted by November 30, 1988, to Michael L. Gillette, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library and Museum, 2313 Red River, Austin, TX 78705.

Announcements and Activities

Bettie Stockton, her son, William T. Stockton, III, and A. L. Waldo Stockton, Jacksonville descendants of William and Julia Stockton, presented an important collection of Civil War era letters to the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee. The letters, written between 1845 and 1869, were mainly between William T. Stockton, West Point graduate who served in Florida during the Second Seminole War and as colonel in the First Florida Cavalry Regiment during the Civil War, and his wife, Julia Elizabeth Telfair Stockton. The letters were transcribed and annotated by Herman Ulmer, Jr., of Jacksonville, and were pub-

lished by Mr. Ulmer under the title, *The Correspondence of Will & Ju Stockton, 1845-1869* (reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, April 1987, p. 513).

The Spain and America in the Quincentennial of the Discovery Prize competition is sponsored by the Program of Cooperation of the Spanish Ministry of Culture and the Universities of the United States. The prize is intended to diffuse knowledge of the endeavors of Spain in the New World and particularly the Spanish contribution to the independence and development of the United States. The competition is open to unpublished and published works written in Spanish or English submitted by either scholars or publishing houses. The jury considering the works consists of representative members of Spanish cultural institutions and American universities. The application period will close on October 12 of each year through 1992 inclusive. For additional information, write to the Cultural Office, Embassy of Spain, 2600 Virginia Avenue, N.W., Suite 214, Washington, D.C. 20037.

The Institute for Early Contact Period Studies at the University of Florida sponsored a conference, April 17-20, 1988, on the theme, "Rethinking the Encounter: New Perspectives on Conquest and Colonialization, 1450-1550." Scholars from the United States, Canary Islands, Puerto Rico, Canada, and Great Britain presented papers. The Institute, with funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities, engages in primary, historical, archaeological, and archival research directed toward the Fifth Centenary of the Columbus Voyages of 1492-1502. Of special interest to the Institute is the period of contact—1490 through the sixteenth century—between Europeans and Native Americans in the Circum-Caribbean area, including the Greater and Lesser Antilles, East Yucatan, east Central America, the north coast of Columbia and Venezuela, peninsular Florida, and the chain of the Bahama Islands. The Institute conducts field research in several of these areas and in Spain. In addition to its historical research and archaeological excavations, the Institute assists commemorated programs such as the De Soto Trail and Spanish Mission Trail projects in Florida. The Institute is inaugurating the publication of a Quincentenary series of books in cooperation with the University Presses of Florida. The director of the Institute is Dr. Michael Gannon, Department of History, University of Florida.

The St. Augustine Historical Society, with support from the Florida Endowment for the Humanities, sponsored a symposium in St. Augustine, April 7-9, 1988. The theme was "Clash Between Cultures: Spanish East Florida, 1784-1821." Presenting papers were Dr. Thomas Graham, Dr. Helen Hornbeck Tanner, Dr. L. David Norris, Bruce Chappell, Jane Landers, and Susan R. Parker. For information on the publication of the papers, write to the St. Augustine Historical Society, 271 Charlotte Street, St. Augustine, FL 32084.

Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, annually presents the Rembert W. Patrick History Lecture. Dr. Patrick, former chairman of the Department of History, University of Florida, and editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, was an alumnus of Guilford College. He was the author of many books on Florida and Southern history, including *Florida Under Five Flags*. His family endowed the Patrick Lecture as a memorial after his death in 1967. The 1988 lecture was delivered April 14, 1988, by Dr. Robert Byrnes, Distinguished Professor of History, Indiana University.

The Florida Folklore Society held its 1988 annual meeting, February 5-7, 1988, at the Circle F Ranch in Lake Wales, together with the Southeastern/Caribbean Chapter of the Society for Ethnomusicology. Dale Olsen of Tallahassee is president of the Florida Folklore Society. For information on membership contact Eric Larsen, secretary-treasurer, Box 146, White Springs, FL 32096 (904/397-2018).

Dr. Thomas Graham, Department of History, Flagler College, was the speaker at the annual meeting of the Jacksonville Historical Society, May 11, 1988. The title of his lecture was "Henry M. Flagler and His Hotel Ponce de Leon."

The Loxahatchee Historical Society Museum was dedicated March 27, 1988. The Society is integrating its new museum with its facilities at the Jupiter Lighthouse and the DuBose House Museum. The Museum will exhibit archaeological and historical artifacts and develop an educational setting for the study of local history. The building will provide a meeting place for community groups. Support for the building campaign came from the Loxahatchee Museum Guild, the MacArthur Foundation, the cities of Jupiter and Juno, Palm Beach County, and the state

of Florida. The building, designed by Peter Jefferson of Stuart, is patterned after the "Florida Cracker" wooden-framed vernacular style of architecture. It is located in Burt Reynolds Park on U.S. 1 in Jupiter.

An exhibit of *Audubon: The South Florida Prints* opened at the Historical Museum of Southern Florida, Metro-Dade Culture Center, Miami, in June 1988. It will run through September 25. The exhibit features approximately 100 of John James Audubon's best known prints, including thirty birds he painted during his travels through Florida. It represents the largest display of Audubon's work ever shown in Florida. Audubon began working on the "Birds of America" in approximately 1821. Ten years later, he completed the first of a four-volume set of what came to be known as the Double Elephant Folio. The complete set contains 435 prints and features 1,065 life-sized portraits of birds in their natural environment. About 200 sets of the "Birds" were completed; fewer than 150 have survived. The Historical Museum's Double Elephant Folio is the only complete set in Florida.

The May 1988 issue of the *Florida Aviation Society Newsletter* included information on the landing, June 17, 1942, of German spies at Ponte Vedra, a beach near Jacksonville. An article describing this World War II activity, "Nazi Invasion at Florida," by Leon O. Prior, was published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, October 1970. Mr. Prior, a retired special agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, testified against the saboteurs at their treason trials in Washington, D.C. He also guarded one of the spies.

The Southeastern American Society for Eighteenth Century Studies invites submission of publications for its annual literary competition. There is a prize of \$250 for the best article on any eighteenth-century subject published in a scholarly journal, annual, or collection between September 1, 1987, and August 31, 1988, by a member of SASECS or a person living or working in the SASECS area (which includes Florida). The interdisciplinary appeal of the article will be considered. Individuals may offer their own work or the work of others. Submit publications in triplicate, postmarked no later than November 10, 1988, to Dr. Barbara Brandon Schnorrenberg, 3824 Eleventh Avenue

South, Birmingham, AL 35222. The award will be announced at the SASECS annual meeting in Charleston, South Carolina, in March 1989.

The \$500 Julia Cherry Spruill Publication Prize, sponsored by the Southern Association for Women Historians, is awarded every other year for the best book or article dealing with southern women's history. Works published between January 1, 1987, and December 31, 1988, are eligible for the prize. Submission deadline is March 1, 1989. Send entries to Elizabeth Jacoway, 4 Dogwood Drive, Newport, AR 72112. The Willie Lee Rose Publication Prize is also sponsored by the Association. This \$750 prize is awarded every two years for the best book on southern history authored by a woman. The deadline for submissions to Dr. Jacoway is March 1, 1989.

The American Association for State and Local History announces the continuation of its grants-aid program for research in state and local history for 1988-1989. Grants are for amounts up to \$5,000. Contact Sheila Riley, Project, Coordinator, AASLH, 172 Second Avenue, North, Suite 102, Nashville, TN 37201 (615/255-2971).

To advance understanding of the roles that religious congregations play in American life, the Congregational History Project will award several dissertation fellowships for the 1989-1990 academic year. Applicants must be candidates for the Ph.D. or the Th.D. degree at North American graduate schools, and must have completed all pre-dissertation requirements by the time of application. The Congregational History Project is funded by a grant from the Lilly Endowment, Inc. For information and application forms contact Dr. James W. Lewis, Institute for the Advanced Study of Religion, 1025 East 58th Street, Chicago, IL 60637. Application deadline is January 1, 1989.

The Eastern National Park and Monument Association will award a \$1,000 prize each year to the author of the best article on American military history written in the English language and published the previous year in an American or foreign journal. The deadline is October 15, 1988. Contact the Peterson Award Committee, Eastern National Park and Monument Association, Constitutional Place, 325 Chestnut Street, Suite 1212, Philadelphia, PA 19106.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS. . .

1988

Sept. 14-18	American Association for State and Local History	Rochester, NY
Sept. 22-24	Florida Trust for Historic Preservation	Tampa, FL
Sept. 29- Oct. 2	Society of American Archivists	Atlanta, GA
Oct. 13-16	Oral History Association	Baltimore, MD
Oct. 19-22	Southeastern Archaeological Conference	New Orleans, LA
Oct. 19-23	National Trust for Historic Preservation	Cincinnati, OH
Nov. 4-6	Southern Jewish Historical Society	Birmingham, AL
Nov. 9-12	Southern Historical Association	Norfolk, VA
Nov. 11-12	Florida State Genealogical Society	Pensacola, FL
Dec. 28-30	American Historical Association	Cincinnati, OH

1989

March 9-11	Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Mobile, AL
April 6-9	Organization of American Historians	St. Louis, MO
May	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY- 87th MEETING	
May	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	

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The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is \$20.00; family membership is \$25.00; library membership is \$25.00; a contributing membership is \$50.00 and above. In addition, a student membership is \$15.00, but proof of current status must be furnished.

All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Dr. Lewis N. Wynne, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, FL 33620. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Wynne.

