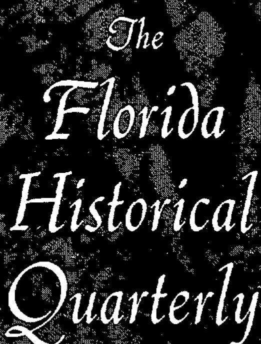

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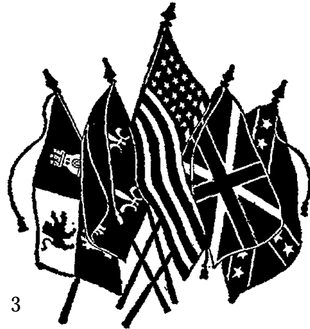
COVER

Corner of the Courthouse Square, University Avenue, Gainesville, Florida. This ca. 1906 postcard was published by the Hugh Leighton Company of Portland, Maine, and is from the collection of Dr. Mark V. Barrow, Gainesville. The monument, now in Evergreen Cemetery, Gainesville, is a memorial to the troops from Alachua County who died in the yellow fever epidemic of 1888.

The Florida Historical Quarterly



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SIBLING STEWARDS OF A COMMERCIAL EMPIRE: THE INNERARITY BROTHERS IN THE FLORIDAS

by THOMAS C. KENNEDY

MARQUIS JAMES, in his biography of Andrew Jackson, alluded to John Forbes and Company, a firm which had succeeded Panton, Leslie and Company in 1804, and asserted that members of the Forbes enterprise "remained the actual rulers of Florida." Among its members in 1804 were James Innerarity and his brother John. Of the latter, Marquis wrote: "Like a white shadow, John Innerarity glided through the weaving labyrinth, never on the losing side."[1] Another scholar contended that individuals connected with both companies "were influential with the governments under which they lived, and exercised unmeasured control over the Indian tribes with which they dealt."[2] Both judgments may incline somewhat toward hyperbole, but they also give some inkling as to why these firms, which operated in the southeastern Spanish borderlands in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, have been the subject of substantial scholarly research and writing.[3]

The activities of James and John Innerarity were most pronounced in the period of John Forbes and Company, during which the brothers, especially John, sometimes came under severe censure. During the course of the War of 1812, for example, a British officer complained bitterly, "The Mayor of Mobile [James Innerarity] has a brother in this town [Pensacola]. His name is [John] Innerarity. I have found him a great scoundrel

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1. Marquis James, *The Life of Andrew Jackson, Complete in One Volume* (Indianapolis, NY, 1938), 321.
2. Thomas M. Owen, comp., "West Florida and Its Attempt on Mobile, 1810-1811," *American Historical Review* 2 (July 1897), 701n.
3. The most recent and comprehensive study of these companies is William S. Coker and Thomas D. Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Panton Leslie & Company and John Forbes and Company, 1783-1847* (Pensacola, 1986). See 382-94 for an extensive listing of published and unpublished works dealing with both firms.

. . . [and] a great traitor."[4] In 1821, in the midst of a legal dispute involving Forbes and Company, Andrew Jackson informed Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, "the arts, the influence, the wealth, the power of no individual, not even of [John] Innerarity himself, could any longer obstruct the pure channels of justice."[5] With these "mixed reviews" in mind, this study proposes to examine the careers of James and John Innerarity and the legacy they bequeathed, as stewards of a commercial empire, to the history of the Gulf coast in the early nineteenth century.

Their story begins in the revolutionary/independence period of the United States in the late eighteenth century, and revolves around the person of the Scotsman William Panton. This merchant has been described as "a typical late-18th century British entrepreneur with special gifts for reaping personal gain from the demands of high politics."[6] The Scotch Innerarity clan became joined with Panton's family in 1776 when William's sister, Henrietta, married John Innerarity. Of their five children, two were sons born in Scotland: James (b. August 18, 1771), and John, Jr. (b. November 11, 1783). Both would follow their father to the New World in association with Panton, Leslie and Company, and then John Forbes and Company.[7]

In 1792 John Innerarity, Sr., was stationed at one of his brother-in-law's trading posts at San Marcos de Apalache in East Florida. Panton soon realized that his brother-in-law was not the best person for managing the store. John Innerarity, Sr., apparently agreed and soon returned to his family, established residence in London, and engaged in a series of commercial ventures that were not very successful. But relations between Innerarity and Panton remained cordial. For a time, Innerarity served as a guardian for one of Panton's nephews (William

4. Quoted in David H. White, "The John Forbes Company: Heir to the Florida Indian Tribe, 1801-1819" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alabama, 1973), 154-55. Edward Nicolls's title for James Innerarity was inaccurate; in March 1814 James was elected by the town commissioners of Mobile to be their president. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 284n.
5. *American State Papers: Documents, Legislative and Executive of the Congress of the United States,* 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1832-1834), II, Class X, Miscellaneous, 801.
6. Thomas D. Watson, "Merchant Adventurer in the Old Southwest: William Panton, the Spanish Years, 1783-1801" (Ph.D. dissertation, Texas Tech University, 1972), iv.
7. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders* 18.

Lumsden in England) and became involved in the care and education of a son (Alek) and nephew (David Tate) of Alexander McGillivray. McGillivray, chief of the Creek Indians, was extremely crucial in promoting Panton's trade relations with Indian tribes in the Spanish-held Floridas in the decade after 1783. In addition, John Innerarity, Sr., was an important go-between for Panton with London firms involved in trade and insurance matters with Panton, Leslie and Company. On occasion, he even purchased Irish and English lottery tickets for his brother-in-law in America.[8]

James Innerarity arrived in West Florida in 1796 to begin his apprenticeship as a Panton, Leslie and Company clerk. For a few years he was stationed at the store at San Marcos de Apalache where his father had worked. One of the more vexing episodes James encountered occurred in 1800, namely, the return of William Augustus Bowles who, with a party of Indians, had participated in the seizure of the St. Mark's trading post in 1792. This Maryland-born Loyalist had sought to challenge both McGillivray's leadership among the Creeks and Panton's trade relations with the Indians. In 1799, following his escape from Spanish captivity the previous year, Bowles once again appeared among the Creeks. Early in 1800 he led a band of Indians in attacking and capturing the St. Mark's store and fort, only to be driven out by Spanish warships and troops. James duly reported to his uncle, William Panton, the inventory of the St. Mark's store after Bowles's attack, as well as noting the continuing pre-

8. Ibid. Marie Taylor Greenslade, "John Innerarity, 1783-1854," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 9 (October 1930), 90-91. (Mrs. Greenslade was the great-granddaughter of John Innerarity, Jr. Peter A. Bannon, *The Southern Indian Trade* [Montgomery, AL, 1935], 33n.). William Lunsden to William Panton, June 17, 1797, Cruzat Papers. References to the Cruzat papers in this article are from chronologically arranged copies held in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL. The originals are in the collections of the Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida, Tampa. John Innerarity, Sr., to Panton, September 24, 28, 1798, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 14 (October 1935), 116-18. John W. Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman, 1938), 24. Michael D. Green, "Alexander McGillivray," in *American Indian Leaders: Studies in Diversity,* edited by R. David Edmunds (Lincoln, 1980), 48, 51. John Innerarity, Sr., to Panton, January 8, July 20, 1798, March 12, 1799, Greenslade Papers. References to the Greenslade papers in this article are from chronologically arranged copies held in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. The originals are in the collections of the Florida Historical Society Library.

sence of "that vagabond" in the vicinity. Bowles was soon captured by Spanish authorities– a capture in which John Forbes assisted– and died in 1805 as a prisoner at Morro Castle in Cuba. One measure of Panton's increasing confidence in his nephew's ability and judgment was demonstrated when, in an 1801 codicil to his 1793 will, he appointed James Innerarity to be one of his executors. A sister of Panton subsequently granted both Innerarity brothers the power of attorney in settling Panton's estate.[9]

John Innerarity arrived in Florida in January 1802, nearly a year after William Panton's death (February 26, 1801). In 1804 their uncle's firm was reorganized as John Forbes and Company. Also in that year James became a partner, conducting most of his business affairs from the Mobile store. His brother John began his apprenticeship as a clerk at the main post in Pensacola where he would become a partner in 1812. He also resided in a fine house that his uncle had constructed in Pensacola until the dwelling burned in 1848.[10]

The documentary record reveals more about John Innerarity, Jr.'s background than that of his older brother. In his early teens he had attended school in Banff, Scotland, in preparation for attending the University of Edinburgh. In an enthusiastic letter to his mother in 1799, John was especially proud of the progress of his studies in French, arithmetic, and geography. He was also looking forward to his father's return from America and expressed concern about his brother's well-being there. In addition, he lamented the negative impact upon his uncle's trade of the on-going conflict between England and France. In re-

9. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 114-17, 151-56, 231-33, 240-42. James Innerarity to Panton, March 1, 1800, Cruzat Papers. James Innerarity to Panton, July 5, 1800, Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Floridas, legajo 1, expediente 12, in Elizabeth H. West Papers, box 7, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. For a scholarly assessment of Bowles's career, see J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *William Augustus Bowles: Director General of the Creek Nation* (Athens, 1967). Panton's will, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 14 (October 1935), 128-29. Magdalene Panton and others to James and John Innerarity, May 12, 1802, Greenslade Papers.

10. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 230n, 250. Robert S. Cotterill, "A Chapter of Panton, Leslie and Company," *Jomnal of Southern History* 10 (August 1944), 278n. Thomas D. Waton and Samuel Wilson, Jr., "A Lost Landmark Revisited: the Panton House of Pensacola," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 60 (July 1981), 278. Greenslade, "John Innerarity," 42.

sponse to a letter from his younger brother, James indicated his pleasure with John's educational achievements, particularly in his "much improved writing and in the study of Latin." By 1800, a London partner of the firm, John Leslie, wrote to Panton about how his nephew John, "a very smart intelligent youth," would be joining him shortly. And while John's mother "could not help shedding tears" at the prospect of her youngest son leaving for the Floridas, "the lad himself betrays no repugnance to the voyage, but rather on the contrary."[11]

The interval between the dates of arrival in the Floridas for James and John Innerarity were not altogether auspicious. That is, from 1796 to 1803 Panton, Leslie and Company encountered many problems which would test the mettle of the young merchants. In addition to the threats to the Indian trade posed by William Augustus Bowles, there were growing challenges to the firm's existence from the government of the United States and competition from American traders, expecially after the Treaty of San Lorenzo (1795), whereby Spain granted Americans free navigation of the Mississippi River and rights of deposit at New Orleans. Further pressures included the unstable international scene in which European rivalries involving England, France, and Spain spilled over into the New World in ways that jeopardized the company's foreign commerce. The combination of these threats, challenges, and pressures found William Panton seriously considering a possible agreement with the United States, and even the idea of withdrawing from the Florida trade altogether.[12]

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11. John Innerarity to Mrs. Innerarity, June 30, 1797; James Innerarity to John Innerarity, September 3, 1798, Greenslade Papers. Robert Leslie to Panton, 1800, quoted in "John Innerarity," 90-91. The almost fatherly tone of James's 1798 letter seemed to anticipate the nature of the relationship which would continue between the brothers for years to come. On rare occasions, James would chastise his younger brother in a father-to-son fashion, as when he objected to the way John handled some property matters. James Innerarity to John Innerarity, December 18, 1829, Greenslade Papers. He also expressed disappointment in John's apparent reluctance to have one of his daughters marry James's son, William Panton Innerarity, named in honor of his uncle. James Innerarity to John Innerarity, December 27, 1840, "Will of James Innerarity," May 26, 1812, Greenslade Papers.
12. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 203-25. Mark F. Boyd, "Events at Prospect Bluff on the Apalachicola River, 1808: An Introduction to Twelve Letters of Edmund Doyle, Trader," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 16 (October

Panton's death in 1801 thus coincided with a time when his company's influence among Indians in the Spanish borderlands had weakened somewhat. Moreover, the Napoleonic Wars, in conjunction with policies of the Jefferson and Madison administrations toward the Louisiana Territory and the Floridas, further reduced John Forbes and Company's ability to serve as an instrument of Spain's Indian and commercial policies in an effort to retain the Floridas.[13]

Nevertheless, dealings with Indians continued to be an important aspect of the activities of the Innerarity brothers in behalf of John Forbes and Company. Increasingly, however, there was a linkage between the trade and debts owed by various Indian tribes, some of them preceding Panton's death. A major tactic for recovering these debts was through land cessions in which John Forbes and the Innerarity brothers played significant roles. In 1803, for example, John Forbes made a proposal, witnessed by James Innerarity, with Choctaw Indians for the cession of land on the Mississippi River to the United States which would pay the firm $150,000. This offer, however, was repudiated by the Indians. A more successful arrangement of land in lieu of debts estimated at more that $66,000 was tentatively negotiated by Forbes with leaders of the Seminoles in 1804. James Innerarity had received the consent of the Spanish governor of West Florida, Vicente Folch, to conclude this land grant within Spanish territory. Along with another Forbes Company agent, William Hambly, James was now charged with the responsibility for completing the deal. But Innerarity initially encountred some difficulties owing to rumors spread by Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, the United States agent among the southern Indians. Hawkins had told Indians that the intention of the Forbes firm, once the land was in their possession, "was to settle the country with a set of vagabonds from Georgia and South Carolina who would make continued encroachments on the Indians and would soon complete their ruin." Innerarity was able

1937), 61. Panton to John Forbes, September 22, 1800, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 15 (July 1936), 66. Watson, "Merchant Adventurer," 264-65, 303-04. John Innerarity, Sr., to Panton, Januray 8, 1798, Greenslade Papers.

13. Ibid., 321-22. Michele Scott, "International Intrigue on the Florida Frontier: The Panton, Leslie Company, 1783-1805" (master's thesis, University of South Florida, March 1976), iv-v.

to reassure a couple of important Seminole chiefs that this was not the case. Rather, he argued, the company planned "to settle the land principally with people from the Bahamas, and from the other English, Spanish and French colonies, but of whatever nation they might be, none but good men should be admitted." In addition to securing consent for the cession of land, Innerarity also promised to price the company's goods as moderately as possible. But he also reported "that I would give credit to no one whatever." He informed his partner, "with everything they were very well pleased, and particularly the last arrangement, which however some of them wanted to break . . . but were refused."[14]

This 1804 agreement, which was approved by Upper Creek and Lower Creek factions, as well as the Seminoles, did not resolve all debt collection or land cession issues with the Upper Creeks, some of whose chiefs were disappointed that they had not been consulted with regard to the land grant negotiated by James Innerarity. Further, as one of the company's partners, William Simpson, indicated in 1805, new talks should be entered into with the Upper Creeks to secure acceptance of the principle of cash payment of debts owed to the company. In this instance, John Innerarity played an important role in resolving the issue by 1812, the year he became a full partner in John Forbes and Company.[15]

For a week in late October of 1812, John Innerarity held a series of discussions with the chiefs and head-men of the Upper Towns of the Creek Nation. Also in attendance were some American agents, including Colonel Benjamin Hawkins. Unlike his somewhat antagonistic role in the talks that James Innerarity held in 1804, Hawkins, on this occasion, behaved more in the fashion of an attorney pleading the case of Forbes and Company. After a few days, the negotiations became bogged down over the question of the interest to be paid on the claims against the Indians. The total claim was $40,000, of which a bit more than half, $21,916, represented the principal. Over and over

14. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 246-54. James Innerarity to William Simpson, September 24, 1804, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 10 (October 1931), 102-06. Boyd, "Events at Prospect Bluff," 61-63.
15. William Simpson to James Innerarity, February 28, 1805, Cruzat Papers. John Innerarity to Simpson, March 11, 1812, Greenslade Papers.

the spokesmen for the Indians objected to the payment of the more than $18,000 in interest. Their contention was that they did not understand what this custom and concept of interest among white people meant, and that "there was no word for it in their language." Just as often John Innerarity remained inflexible, trying to impress upon them that he "could not renounce the interest as it was as sacred as the principal." In view of the Creeks' determination on this point, Innerarity proposed to cancel fifty percent of the interest or, alternatively, to write-off $10,000 of the interest. These appeals to reasonableness and compromise, however, did not sway the chiefs. Indeed, their principal spokesman, Big Warrior, told Innerarity that if he "talked anymore about interest they would not settle with me." Finally realizing that he would have to accept the proverbial half loaf rather than none, Innerarity consented to an agreement on November 1, 1812. According to its terms, the chiefs promised to pay only the principal, in cash, by November 1814.[16]

From 1804 to 1809, agents of the firm had also labored diligently to collect debt payments from other tribes, namely the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee. By late 1812, of a total of $200,000 in claims against the Indians, the company had collected nearly all of this sum through cash payment or land grants. The diplomacy of James and John Innerarity was thus vital in reaching agreements with the Seminoles and Creeks involving about $30,000 of the total. However, in addition to the debt problems, frequent disagreements over other issues– such as the price of the company's goods, the location of American trading posts in areas once monopolized by Panton, Leslie and Company, and the value of deerskins– produced many strains which "contributed to disaffection between John Forbes and Company and its customers."[17]

Sandwiched between the debt agreements concluded with Indian tribes by James in 1804 and John in 1812, both brothers experienced more happy events in their personal lives, namely, romance and marriage. In 1806 John married Marie Victoria

16. "A Journal of John Innerarity, 1812," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 9 (October 1930), 67-89. William S. Coker, ed., *John Forbes's Description of the Spanish Floridas, 1804* (Pensacola, 1979), 8. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 270-71.

17. Ibid., 272.

Coulon de Villiers, the daughter of Jean Marcos Coulon de Villiers, captain of the Region of Louisiana. Three daughters and a son were born of this union. Since his wife-to-be was not versed in English, John made good use of his earlier studies by conducting the courtship in impeccable, if sometimes florid, French. In a love letter, for example, he wrote: "There was something so winning, so touching, the kindness of your heart, your exquisite sensitiveness, all your amiable qualities made the most profound impression on my heart. . . . Alas! what would life be for me without YOU."[18] The depth of John's affection and wedded bliss was further demonstrated during the occasion of the newlyweds' first separation about six months after their wedding. Writing from Mobile he detailed the sorrow of not being with her, but he also expressed his happiness at being "the object of the love of a virtuous woman," who was the "partner of my fate [and] friend of my heart."[19]

Possibly inspired by the connubial bliss of his younger brother, James married Heloise Isabelle Trouillet on August 6, 1808, in Mobile. The collected correspondence of the Inneraritys do not contain, for James, ardent love letters comparable to those of his brother. But James and Heloise did have five children before his wife's death about 1820.[20]

The personal happiness that the brothers enjoyed as a result of marriage and parenthood must be balanced against the day-to-day problems they encountered stemming from their affiliation with John Forbes and Company. One of the most trying periods of their lives, a period which would be a catalyst for the firm's eventual demise as a factor in the Indian trade of the Gulf coast region, was the War of 1812 and its aftermath. It was a time, moreover, when the many years of strong ties with Spain increasingly were weakened.

Four months after the War of 1812 officially began, the Innerarity brothers, though nominally subjects of Great Britain, applied for, and were confirmed as, naturalized citizens of

18. Greenslade, "John Innerarity," 92, 94. John Innerarity to Mmme. Marie Victoire Coulon de Villers, 1805 (?), Greenslade Papers.
19. John Innerarity to his "Beloved Victoire," April 28, 1807, Greenslade Papers.
20. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 329n.

Spain.[21] Their senior partner, John Forbes, was encouraged to follow their lead.[22] These citizenship decisions were not based on an overwhelming sense of political loyalty to the Spanish crown. It was a pragmatic attempt to use Spain's official neutrality in the Napoleonic Wars for the commercial benefit of the firm.[23] Indeed, in the decade before the War of 1812 began, and as the pressures of American settlers and traders on the lower Mississippi Valley increased, company partners and agents realized the necessity for adjusting to the probability of a greater American presence in the Floridas. In this regard, in 1803 John Leslie wrote John Forbes from London that, given the renewal of Anglo-French hostilities, the United States-French negotiations concerning the Louisiana Territory, and the uncertain status of West Florida, it might be appropriate, in order to protect company property in Mobile, for some members of the firm to become American citizens.[24] A few years later, James Innerarity expressed concern to a partner about the possibility of "impending hostilities" between the United States and Spain, but optimistically thought "the prudence of Jefferson will prevent him from involving his country in war at the moment when peace appears about to take place in long distracted Europe."[25]

During the first term of James Madison's administration, however, events occurred which posed potential threats not only to the interests of Forbes and Company, but to the physical security of some of its members. Taking advantage of Spain's domestic unrest and simultaneous revolts in her New World colonies, beginning in 1810 there were some Americans who, without specific authorization from the United States government, tried to seize Spanish territory in the Floridas.

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21. Ibid., 276. "Naturalization Papers of John and James Innerarity," October 6, 1812, Cruzat Papers.
22. James Innerarity to John Forbes, April 24, 18 13, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 11 (October 1932), 89. John Forbes to James and John Innerarity, January 12, 1814, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 13 (April 1935), 236.
23. White, "The John Forbes Company," 92-93; Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 273.
24. John Leslie to John Forbes, September 21, 1803, *Florida Historical Quarterly,* 13 (October 1934), 105-06, 108-09.
25. James Innerarity to Simpson, October 23, 1806, Forbes Papers. References to the Forbes Papers in this article are from copies in the John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola. The originals are in the collections of the Mobile Public Library, Mobile, Alabama.
26. White, "The John Forbes Company," 124. Isaac J. Cox, *The West Florida Controversy,* 1798-1813 (Baltimore, 1918), 358-436.

The possibility that West Florida might be conquered was perceived as so great that the Spanish governor, Vicente Folch, at one point made an offer (later withdrawn) to have the United States annex the province. Both James and John Innerarity, though not averse to continuing to live under Spanish rule, were nonetheless sensitive to the growing inability of Spain to retain the Floridas by military means. They were equally sensitive to the possible ill-effects this might have on their business affairs. In November and December of 1810, for example, an American judge in the Mississippi Territory, Harry Toulmin, exchanged letters with James Innerarity about some of the leaders of the American insurgents. Also discussed was their takeover of Baton Rouge, their threat to Mobile, and the possibility of a transfer of the Floridas to the United States. Furthermore, in January 1811, James corresponded with Colonel James McKee who had served as an American agent to the Cherokees and Choctaws. After referring to a recent proclamation by President Madison for taking possession of the Floridas, James criticized some of the rebel leaders, labeled them as "firebrands," and singled out one Joseph Pulaski Kennedy whose schemes, Innerarity was pleased to note, had been thwarted. But he was especially worried about the implications for the company's future beacause of a bill introduced into the United States Senate calling for merger of the Mobile region with New Orleans. If approved, he remarked, New Orleans "will feel us as a tumor wasting her body and whose progress she will endeavor to retard. As we must be commercial rivals, she can never feel an interest in our prosperity, therefore it is unjust to subject us to her legislation."[27]

Meanwhile, from Pensacola the younger Innerarity wrote to John Forbes, enclosing copies of letters he had exchanged with Judge Toulmin. The correspondence, he believed, "will convey to you some idea of our danger." John also expressed the hope that an American force at Fort Stoddert might "save us from our impending danger" and "renew and enforce the claims of

27. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 277. Harry Toulmin to James Innerarity, November 15, 1810; James Innerarity to Toulmin, November 22, 1810; James Innerarity to James McKee, January 22, 1811, *American Historical Review* 2 (July 1897), 701-05. Toulmin to James Innerarity, December 13, 1810, Greenslade Papers. Cox, *West Florida,* 448, 582-84.

the U.S. to the Perdido [River] Boundary, as the Spanish Government is no longer in a situation to contest this point." He also reported that "numbers of Americans keep flocking in here without any apparent business, and circulate exaggerated reports of the strength of the invading force." He further related that a young American recently had made a declaration, under oath, to the commnandant of Pensacola about a force of more that 500 rebel Americans who "intend reducing this place before they attacked Mobile." According to this declaration, moreover, members of the American force made threats against the company and John Forbes personally, stating "that they would neither respect our persons, nor property and that they would set fire to our premises." While remaining somewhat skeptical of this report, John Innerarity was still intending to take "all measures of precaution." Nevertheless, he had to confess his limited power and thus "must trust to the timely interference of the American Government to the obstacles which the insurgents will obviously have to contend with in their progress." Yet, despite this alarmist assessment of what he characterized as "our deplorable political situation," Innerarity then went on to remark that "our business still goes on favorably." This was followed by a generally dispassionate discussion of such routine matters as the arrival of a shipment of slaves consigned to the company and how he met "with few difficulties in my course."[28]

The seeming ambivalence in John Innerarity's letter to John Forbes suggested one of the fascinating aspects of the fortunes of the company in the years prior to the War of 1812; that is, the firm generally was able to conduct business in a profitable way by sometimes shipping its goods on neutral American merchant ships during the first few years of the Napoleonic Wars. Then the policies of economic coercion pursued by the Jefferson and Madison administrations against England and France often benefitted Forbes and Company in its trade relations.[29]

The official beginning of war between the United States and Great Britain in June 1812, however, confronted the company and its employees with the severest challenges to its operations

28. John Innerarity to John Forbes, November 29, 1810, Cruzat Papers.
29. Thomas Forbes to James Innerarity and William Simpson, June 10, 1805, Cruzat Papers. Adam Gordon to John Innerarity, September 8, 1810, Forbes Papers.

since the 1790s. In particular, British military strategy along the Gulf coast merged with the discontent of many Indians against the United States to serve as catalysts, not only to the eventual removal of Spain from the Floridas, but to the decline of Forbes and Company as a significant factor in the economic and political life of the Floridas.

It was not until early July 1812 that James Innerarity learned about the possibility of war between the United States and England. Writing from Nassau in the Bahamas to his brother John in Pensacola, James indicated that he had recently received a letter from a Mr. Moodie informing him that the House of Representatives had approved a declaration of war, and that "a majority of 2 voices in the Senate in favor of the war is also calculated on." In that event, he added, "all your energy and activity, and policy will be required to guard our interests during the first period of the hubbub; if we get through that with safety things will go smoothly afterwards."[30]

On July 11, 1812, James wrote to an uncle in England about the difficulties he was continuing to encounter in regard to land grants, the Indian trade, and litigation over the estate of his uncle, William Panton. In one passage, however, he presented a litany of past woes which soon would be superceded by the adverse consequences to Forbes and Company of the War of 1812: "From the period of Mr. Panton's death to this moment we have been in the prosecution of the recovery of the outstanding [Indian] debts, engaged in continual warfare with our neighbours in the American territory, in which our only gain has been that of exciting a degree of odium that has occasioned not only great detriment to our affairs, but has on more than one occasion put the safety of our persons and property in imminent hazard."[31]

A little more than two weeks later in a letter to the same uncle, James indicated that, in view of the United States-British conflict, he was planning to return immediately to West Florida. He was convinced that the American government intended to seize that province "as they have done with east Florida, both provinces having long been objects of their ambition." James

30. James Innerarity to John Innerarity, July 5, 1812, Greenslade Papers.
31. James Innerarity to Mr. Craik, July 11, 1812, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 10 (April 1932), 186.

also believed that "our firm will in consequence as British subjects be placed under arduous circumstances." He was particularly uncertain about the ability of Forbes and Company to retain its property in the Floridas, and he thought that the only option might be to have "one of our members becoming a citizen of the U.S. and sheltering the whole under his name."[32] James's prediction about "arduous circumstances" and property matters were right on the mark. Nevertheless, during the course of the war, the company in general– and the Innerarity brothers in particular– often experienced more threats and vexations from the British and some Indians than from Americans.

One prominent American not hostile to the firm was Brigadier General James Wilkinson. He had been involved in various intrigues in the lower Mississippi River Valley since the 1780s. In the early 1800s, Wilkinson befriended John Forbes and once assisted Panton, Leslie and Company in the collection of its Indian debts. In March 1813, the general's son, Captain James B. Wilkinson, wrote a letter to James Innerarity in which he commiserated with him about Forbes's difficulties with respect to the way American officials in East Florida were handling a dispute over slaves belonging to Forbes and Company. He also extended his own and his father's regards to Forbes for the general "has a most exalted esteem and friendship for him."[33]

Two weeks later, James Innerarity reported to Forbes that General Wilkinson, commanding more that 1,000 American troops, took possession of the fort and city of Mobile on April 15, 1813, "without any fighting or disturbance. Everything," he added, "has remained quiet since, no one is molested in person or property and the Civil Government is about to be organized." But James still conveyed a certain amount of anxiety toward the future. For, despite his efforts to remain politically neutral dur-

32. Ibid., July 27, 1812, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 10 (January 1932), 136-38. Despite President Madison's repudiation, before June 1812, of the presence of American occupation forces in parts of Spanish East Florida, they remained there well into 1813. William S. Coker, "John Forbes and Company and the War of 1812 in the Spanish Borderlands," in W. S. Coker, ed., *Hispanic-American Essays in Honor of Max Leaon Moorhead* (Pensacola, 1979), 62.

33. Arthur P. Whitaker, ed., *Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas With Incidental Reference to Louisiana* (Deland, 1931), xii, xliii, 222n. Coker, "John Forbes and Company," 66-67. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 196-97, 245-46, 277-78.

ing these events, and although "our new authorities shew me a fair face," he added: "I know Malignity is in the hearts of many of them." General Wilkinson, however, was excepted "entirely from this suspicion." Moreover, in his brief encounters with Wilkinson, James noted, the general had expressed high regard for Forbes and a desire to promote Forbes's "interest if it lay in his power." But Innerarity believed that the general's "power of conferring benefit or doing injury is now over," a judgment confirmed by Wilkinson's departure for New Orleans by mid-May of 1813.[34]

Despite James Innerarity's concern in March 1813 that "a change of government would heap fresh difficulties on us," the company's business affairs at Mobile did not suffer a sharp reversal.[35] Indeed, about one-third of the supplies used by United States Army forces in Mobile during 1813-1814 were purchased from John Forbes and Company. In addition, the army rented space in the firm's warehouse and several homes from the company for housing army officers. Building supplies were also purchased to renovate or construct forts in the area. The establishment of an American customs house at Mobile did require the payment of duties on company goods coming through that port, but this was more an inconvenience than a significant financial setback.[36]

A greater potential threat to the security and fortunes of the firm about this time was the possibility of an Indian attack against the company at both Pensacola and Mobile. In a long letter to his older brother dated July 27, 1813, John Innerarity described how he had wanted to prevail upon the Spanish governor, Mateo Manrique of Pensacola, not to furnish a delegation of Creek Indians with any ammunition. Invited into the governor's office while the Indians were in attendance, John Innerarity was informed that, if he did not supply the Indians with the ammunition they were seeking, "they would tear down your lofty house" and that part of the Indian lands granted to Forbes and Company would have to be returned. Innerarity did send some presents to the fiercely anti-American/pro-British war-

34. James Innerarity to John Forbes, April 24, 1813, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 11 (October 1932), 88-89.
35. James Innerarity to John Innerarity, March9 , 1813, Greenslade Papers.
36. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 278-79.

riors such as blankets, tobacco, and salt. But this only made them furious. "They then came to the house much enraged . . . expressed the utmost contempt for the presents, and clamorously demanded ammunition." Innerarity was able to deflect their hostility somewhat by showing he had no powder in his warehouse and could not spare any of the lead he had on hand.[37]

Shortly after, a company of Spanish troops, commanded by Captain Cardoso, confronted the Indians at the Pensacola store. The officer "told the Spanish interpreter to order McQueen [a chief of the Creeks] out of the house"; the order was complied with after Captain Cardoso brandished his sabre in the chief's face. "McQueen," Innerarity continued, "now seemed quite submissive, shook me by the hand, told me he was my friend, said that the town [of Pensacola] had got alarmed for nothing, that he nor none of the others intended to do any harm until they crossed the Spanish limits" into American territory. The governor then criticized a few of the chiefs for their behavior. But Innerarity was not pleased by the governor's engaging in "milky discourse, instead of threatening to punish them severely for their audacity and insolence, as everybody round him advised him to do."[38]

John informed his brother James that "McQueen and his party said they would not injure anything belonging to us, but that you must leave Mobile and come here with your family, for it was their intention to take Mobile at an appointed time." John skeptically characterized this threat as "balderdash" and later in the letter stated that he thought "the danger is greatly magnified," adding sarcastically that "the only danger that I conceive is to be apprehended from the sun during these intolerable heats." Possibly there was more than a touch of false bravura in that remark for he had already indicated his apprehension about Governor Manrique giving the Indians ammunition with which "they will spill much innocent blood." And so he did not discourage James from coming to Pensacola, noting that he was "very anxious to see him on many accounts."[39]

John Innerarity's apprehensions, as it turned out, were justified. The very day he penned this lengthy letter to his brother

37. John Innerarity to James Innerarity, July 27, 1813, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 18 (April 1940), 249-54.
38. Ibid., 255-56.
39. Ibid., 257-58.

the first battle of the Creek War, which the Indians won, had taken place at a site near Mobile. The fundamental causes of the conflict stemmed from the anger of a dissident faction of Creeks known as "Red Sticks" against the policies of the United States government and the encroachment of American settlers on their lands. During the winter of 1814, James Innerarity informed John Forbes in Nassau that the Indians had suffered some severe setbacks. As a result he anticipated a quick end to the Creek War, after which he was confident the company could engage in "a free commerce exteriorly . . . and an interior trade with Tennessee."[40] In March 1814, General Andrew Jackson did indeed defeat the Indians decisively in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, after which "more than a thousand Red Sticks sought refuge in the swamps of northwest Florida."[41]

But whatever sense of relief might have been felt by the Inneraritys as a result of Jackson's victory was short-lived. Soon after, the British, as a part of their southern campaign against the United States in the War of 1812, decided to enlist these dissident Indians as allies. The clearest and most present danger to the interests of John Forbes and Company revolved around the activities of a British captain, George Woodbine. In May 1814 he appeared with two warships at the mouth of the Apalachicola River. On board Woodbine had guns, ammunition, and other supplies that he planned to give to members of the Red Sticks faction. The company's Prospect Bluff trading post in the vicinity, under the management of William Hambly and Edmund Doyle, was thus threatened by this British-led, hostile Indian force. Indeed, the company store lost about 300 head of cattle, several horses, and at least nine slaves who escaped to seek refuge with Woodbine.[42]

The Inneraritys soon learned of these depredations. In a memorandum dated June 24, 1814, James indicated his desire to have Hambly "maintain his post with firmness and not remove but at the last extremity and then to Fort St. Marks." As for why James felt it necessary that the company hold on to the post at Apalachicola, he was optimistic that "the war will have

40. John K. Mahon, *The War of 1812* (Gainesville, 1972), 231-44. James Innerarity to John Forbes, February 17, 1814, Greenslade Papers.
41. Coker and Watson. *Indian Traders,* 280-81.
42. Ibid.

in its results a beneficial effect on our interests by raising the value of our lands." On the possibility that the Seminoles might "take up the hatchet," he believed (perhaps recalling the Battle of Horseshoe Bend) that they could "hope for no better fate" than the Upper Creeks.[43]

James Innerarity's expectations and hopes notwithstanding, the ability of the Forbes Company's traders to hold on to the store at Prospect Bluff was considerably lessened by Woodbine's actions. Moreover, at this time a number of Indians were suspicious that members of the company deliberately had tried to keep the Indians from allying with the British and to prevent them from receiving goods sent by the British.[44] These suspicions created an atmosphere in which Edmund Doyle was convinced, as he explained to John Innerarity, "that a party has been selected for some time to kill Hambly and myself."[45] About two weeks later he expressed a desire to be rid of any further responsibility in behalf of the company. "As affairs are now come to such a crisis that neutrality cannot longer be supported," he wrote, "I will again repeat my request of sending some person to take charge of the place."[46]

Captain Woodbine's activities with the Red Sticks and some escaped American slaves were part of the larger British strategy to keep a sizable American force occupied on the Florida frontier to relieve pressure on Canada. In pursuit of this strategy, the capture of Pensacola, Mobile, and New Orleans was also contemplated. The latter objectives must have crossed the minds of the Inneraritys, for in July 1814 James wrote to John, "I fear that Great Britain will empty out the vials of her wrath upon us," although he still had some "hopes of an equitable peace."[47] The following month a force of more than 100 British troops arrived in Pensacola under the command of Colonel Edward Nicolls who believed he had secured a promise from John In-

43. James Innerarity, "Memorandum for my Brother," June 24, 1814, Greenslade Papers.
44. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 280-81.
45. Edmund Doyle to John Innerarity, July 4, 1814, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 16 (April 1938), 261-63.
46. Doyle to John Innerarity, July 16, 1814, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 17 (July 1938), 55.
47. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 283. Mahon, *War of 1812,* 345-47. James Innerarity to John Innerarity, July 12, 1814, Cruzat Papers.

nerarity to cooperate with the British.[48] This, however, was not to be the case. As military events unfolded along the Gulf coast, both John and his brother acted in ways that were distinctly favorable to the American cause.

In order to capture Mobile and New Orleans, the British planned to use Pensacola as a staging ground to seize the American-held Fort Bowyer on Mobile Point, a strategic site that would control communications between the two towns. The colonel revealed his plan to attack Fort Bowyer to Govern Manrique at Pensacola. Perhaps the British officer was counting on Spanish neutrality and anti-American sentiment in assuming the governor would maintain a discreet silence about this privileged information. He did not. Manrique passed this information on to Father James Coleman, his confessor and parish priest at Pensacola. The clergyman, in turn, told John Innerarity about this impending military action. Since Forbes and Company had property near Mobile Point (at Bon Secour), as well as the more extensive holdings at Mobile itself, Innerarity understandably was concerned about losses to company interests beyond those already sustained at Prospect Bluff. Accordingly, in a sort of southern variation on the North's earlier Paul Revere exploit, John Innerarity engaged a man by the name of McVoy to ride to Fort Bowyer and warn the American commander there that "the British were coming."

Nicolls learned of this breach of military intelligence soon enough to make an effort to apprehend McVoy, but the attempt failed. Nevertheless, the British were still determined to carry out the assault. This decision, similar to Nicolls's indiscretion in confiding his secret plan to Governor Manrique, called into question his powers of prudent judgment. In late August 1814, Andrew Jackson had anticipated a British assault on Mobile within a month. Thus measures were taken to make Fort Bowyer more secure even before McVoy arrived at Mobile Point. And, while British naval and ground forces outnumbered the Americans by four-to-one, the fort was successfully defended in September 1814. During the attack Colonel Nicolls sustained several wounds, including the loss of one eye. Understandably, if not entirely consistent with all the factors involved, Nicolls

48. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 284.

would remark testily more than two years later that his defeat was due entirely to the treachery of John Innerarity whom he characterized as a "villain." But company interests still were not completely safe. During the retreat, the British and their Indian allies raided the Forbes Company store at Bon Secour which resulted in estimated losses of $5,890.[49] The site of anxiety for the Innerarity brothers now shifted to neutral Pensacola where Andrew Jackson planned to replace the British as occupiers of the capital of Spanish West Florida. Word about the approach of General Jackson and some 7,000 troops in early November 1814, was accompanied by rumors, according to John Innerarity, that the general would permit his soldiers to engage in a twenty-four hour pillage of the city. In the face of Jackson's imminent arrival, the British commander decided to evacuate Pensacola. This was accompanied by a brief, limited naval bombardment, plus the blowing up of Fort Barrancas and its powder magazine where some of the gunpowder was the property of Forbes and Company. But other company property and buildings were left untouched. Moreover, after the British left and the Americans entered the city, "instead of the massacre and pillage which was anticipated," John was pleased to report that "Genl. J. and his army have obtained for themselves a lasting name for their humanity and good order. . . . Not a single excess was committed." In a similar vein, Jackson's chief engineer, Major A. L. Latour, would write that the Spaniards in Pensacola "expressed their admiration and astonishment at being better treated by the Americans, who seemingly had entered the town as foes, than by their British allies and friends, who used them cavalierly."[50]

Although Jackson soon departed Pensacola, for the balance of the War of 1812 company interests at Mobile and Pensacola would not be directly threatened by the British. However, company losses as a result of British actions at Prospect Bluff, Bon Secour, and Pensacola would lead to acrimonious charges by the

49. Ibid., 285-86. Coker, "John Forbes and Company," 71-74. William S. Coker, "The Last Battle of the War of 1812: New Orleans, No, Fort Bowyer!" *Alabama Historical Quarterly* 43 (Spring 1981), 49-53.

50. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 287-88. John Innerarity to James Innerarity, November 10, 1814, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 9 (January 1931), 127-30. Arsene L. Latour, *Historical Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814-15* (Philadelphia, 1816), 49.

Innerarity brothers against Colonel Nicolls and Captain Woodbine for their roles in causing damage to company interests. With Colonel Nicolls in mind, James angrily wrote his brother: "Time was when the name of an Englishman was honorable, now it is a term to designate a man capable of everything that is low, vile, base, villainous, atrocious." This sentiment was equally shared by his younger brother.[51]

Before the Inneraritys could hope to secure compensation from the government in London, however, military engagements between British and American forces along the Gulf coast would have to end. In this regard, James would play a role similar to his brother's earlier assistance to Americans in the first battle of Fort Bowyer, September 1814. The Treaty of Ghent which represented the diplomatic conclusion of hostilities was signed on December 24, 1814. But the delay in trans-Atlantic communications did not bring an immediate halt to hostilities in North America, including what traditionally has been regarded as the last significant military engagement of the War of 1812, the American victory at the Battle of New Orleans on January 8, 1815.[52]

By 1814, not only had James Innerarity long been in charge of the company store at Mobile, but in March of that year his well-respected status in the community was confirmed when the town commissioners elected him their president. In August 1814, James received a communication from Vincent Gray, an American merchant at Havana, Cuba. In it Gray outlined British plans for conquest in the Gulf coast region, including New Orleans. In the same month Gray also dispatched letters to Governor W. C. C. Claiborne of Louisiana and Secretary of State James Monroe containing similar information, which they conveyed to Andrew Jackson after James Innerarity had received his letter. Moreover, when James received word from his brother detailing the arrival of Colonel Nicolls's force at Pen-

51. James Innerarity to John Innerarity, November 18, 1814, Greenslade Papers. John Innerarity to James Innerarity, November 29, 1814, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 9 (January 1931), 130.
52. Professor Coker has argued persuasively that while a second battle for Fort Bowyer (February 7-11, 1815) was not comparable in magnitude to the Battle of New Orleans, it, and not Jackson's victory, "was the last battle of the War of 1812, and the British won that battle." Coker, "The Last Battle," 62.

sacola, James decided to seek an audience with General Jackson in Mobile on August 27, 1814. The purpose was to share with him the news from his Havana informant. Jackson was sworn to keep Innerarity's identity secret, and would later describe James Innerarity as "a gentleman . . . of high respectability" who wanted me "to prevent the country from conquest." Thus forewarned, and after frustrating possible British control of Mobile and Pensacola, Jackson eventually was able to mount a formidable and successful defense of New Orleans against an equally formidable British sea and land assault. Of this recently discovered secret mission of Innerarity, Professor William S. Coker asks: "Is it too much to suggest that the Scotman's son, James Innerarity, should be entitled to a small share of the glory for having prevented what might otherwise have been a disaster for the United States?"[53] One might add that, however inadvertently, James Innerarity also may have contributed in some measure to Andrew Jackson's election to the presidency.

However, neither the Inneraritys nor other members of John Forbes and Company would reap much glory as a result of the War of 1812. Despite the satisfactory settlement before 1815 of most of the Indian debts, "the war had practically eliminated the company's Indian trade, from which great profit had derived during its earlier years." Further, wartime depredations in which the British had participated resulted in substantial losses to the firm, estimated by John Forbes to be more than $100,000.[54]

The Inneraritys diligently tried to secure British restitution for these losses. On occasion it appeared as though the brothers might prevail in having their claims honored. For example, shortly after the war they seemed to have found a sympathetic champion in Captain Richard Spencer of the Royal Navy. They believed that not only would Colonel Nicolls be punished for his actions, but financial compensation would be awarded.[55] The

53. William S. Coker, "How General Andrew Jackson Learned of the British Plans *Before* the Battle of New Orleans," *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 3 (Fall 1987), 85-93.
54. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 297.
55. Doyle to Captain Spencer, April 6, 1815, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 17 (January 1939), 237-42. James Innerarity to John Innerarity, April 13, 1815, Cruzat Papers. "Documents Relating to Colonel Edward Nicolls and Captain George Woodbine in Pensacola, 1814," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 10 (July 1931), 51-52.

captain was given the task of settling claims against Britain on the part of Pensacola residents, as well as assisting in the return of slaves such as those lost by Forbes and Company at Apalachicola. But despite numerous appeals and detailed statements throughout 1815 documenting the company's losses, many factors conspired to prevent financial compensation. In October 1815, in a mood of bitter sarcasm, James wrote to John: "The 1/40th of [the Duke of] Wellington's reward for cutting the throats of a few thousand Frenchmen would nearly pay us for his countrymen's plunder. Suppose you address a petition to him on the subject?" As late as May 16, 1854, John Innerarity would make another futile deposition concerning losses sustained at Pensacola under the orders of Colonel Nicolls in August of 1814.[56]

This effort to secure British compensation for losses sustained during the War of 1812 was only one of the many frustrations encountered by Forbes and Company in the five years after the conflict. There were other problems and new difficulties which pointed toward the further ebb of the fortunes of the firm. For about two and one-half years after the war's end, the Innerarity brothers oscillated between moods of hope and despair. On the one hand, there were times when they were rather optimistic about various matters, including the prospect of purchasing new land in West Florida, the possibility of establishing a store at St. Stephens or Fort Claiborne in American-held territory, the reopening of the store at Prospect Bluff (Apalachicola), the expansion of non-Indian trade, and even the potential benefits of American annexation of all of West Florida. On the other hand, James was depressed by such things as another Indian war involving "the turbulent Seminoles," and financial difficulties at Mobile, of which he complained: "I am bare to misery and nothing, nothing coming in." Toward the end of 1815, after reflecting on various business problems, he informed his brother that he was experiencing "many sleepless hours overcome with horrors [about the state of the company's

56. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 290-91. "Narrative of the Operations of the British in the Floridas, 1815," Cruzat Papers. Statement of John Innerarity, March 1815, Greenslade Papers. James Innerarity to John Innerarity, October 4, 1815, Greenslade Papers. John Innerarity Deposition, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 10 (July 1931), 53-54.

books] when others rest. I know not how your philosophy bears it, but I fear it will make me a complete hypochondriac."[57]

James's concern about Indian unrest was amply justified in the First Seminole War (1816-1818), which finally sounded the death knell for the company's trade relations with Indians. During this period of turmoil, the Innerarity brothers had reason to worry about an attack by American insurgents upon Pensacola. Once more they feared that their lives as well as property might be placed in jeopardy. In the aftermath of an attack by American troops upon a fort held by dissident Negroes in the vicinity of the company's trading post at Prospect Bluff in early August 1816, James and John exchanged a series of letters in which they conjectured about an insurgent assault upon Pensacola. Not until early 1817, however, did James become sufficiently alarmed to advise John to send to Pensacola his wife and children, valuable personal property, and the company's books. Nevertheless, John was supposed to remain there to safeguard the company's property. About this time, John Forbes in Cuba wrote to John Innerarity about the atmosphere of anxiety in Pensacola, but hoped that the past failures of the insurgents would continue and thus guarantee the safety of the place. In reply, John noted that martial law had been established. Much of the letter, however, was devoted to a discussion of Forbes's intention to withdraw from the firm. This prospect so discouraged John Innerarity that he was prepared to consider the possibility of "*one general* sell off," after which he and James would also move to Cuba. Yet, he realistically concluded that "it is a consumation rather devoutly to be wished than expected."[58]

57. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 302-03, 312. James Innerarity to John Innerarity, June 20, 1815. James Innerarity to John Forbes, August 12, 1815, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 12 (January 1934), 127-30. James Innerarity to John Innerarity, October 4, November 4, 25, 1815, Greenslade Papers.

58. John Innerarity to James Innerarity, August 13, 1816, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 12 (July 1933), 37-38. John Innerarity to James Innerarity, August 14, 1816, ibid. 11 (January 1933), 140-41. James Innerarity to John Innerarity, December 13, 14, 1816, January 14, 15, February 9, 10, 12, March 5, April 11, 1817, Greenslade Papers. John Forbes to John Innerarity, February 28, 1817, Greenslade Papers. John Innerarity to John Forbes, May 24, 1817, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 12 (July 1933), 84-86. In the spring of 1817 James, in a letter to his younger brother, allowed as how Matanzas, Cuba, (where John Forbes resided) is "paradise," but he could not expect to clear up their business matters in the Floridas for another two to three years. "I would to God we were clear, " he added, "for my

The feared invasion of Pensacola by American insurgents did not materialize. But by late 1817 and early 1818, events had transpired in connection with the First Seminole War which would find Andrew Jackson, however unintentionally, once again coming to the rescue of the interests of Forbes and Company. In 1817 Jackson invaded the Floridas for the purpose of chastising Indians and other adventurers who were threatening lives and property in, and slightly north of, the Floridas. Suspected of inciting the Indians were the Englishmen Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert Ambrister, plus a War of 1812 nemesis of the Inneraritys, George Woodbine. Not only did the depredations threaten company property and trade with the Indians in the Apalachicola area, but two company employees– Edmund Doyle and William Hambly– were held as prisoners for three months. Arbuthnot and Ambrister were apprehended by Jackson and, after a general court martial, were executed.[59]

Since hostile Indians still in the vicinity of Pensacola required pacifying, and since John Innerarity informed Andrew Jackson that the Spanish governor of West Florida had prevented the company from shipping goods to an American fort, in May 1818 the general was determined to occupy Pensacola again. The day after the Indians evacuated Pensacola, Spanish forces were defeated by Jackson's army. The Spanish would reoccupy the city in February 1819, at which time John Innerarity's father-in-law, Lieutenant Colonel Marcos de Villiers, was commissioned to take charge of the Spanish fort at San Marcos de Apalache. While there he also served as the Forbes Company agent, in addition to engaging in the slave trade for himself and his son-in-law.[60]

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part I would at this moment give up my hopes of profit to be quit of my responsibilities and retire on my wife's undoubted property." James Innerarity to John Innerarity, April 7, 1817, Greenslade Papers.

59. Doyle to John Innerarity, January 28, 1817, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 17 (April 1939), 312-15; Doyle to John Innerarity, June 3, 1817, ibid., 315-18; Doyle to John Innerarity, June 17, 1817, ibid. 18 (July 1939), 61-63; Doyle to John Innerarity, July 11, 1817, ibid. 18 (October 1939), 135-38; Doyle to James Innerarity, August 17, 1817, ibid. 139-40. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 313-23. Robert F. Crider, "The Borderlands Floridas, 1815-1821: Spanish Sovereignty Under Siege" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1979), 242.

60. Crider, "Borderlands Floridas," 248-49. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 324-26.

These developments occurred at a time when negotiations were taking place between the United States and Spain that would result in Spain's eventual removal from the Floridas. This prospect was viewed in an ambivalent fashion by the Innerarity brothers. As Spanish military power became less effective in the Gulf coast region, and as British power seemed to jeopardize the company's interests, the Inneraritys were not opposed to limited American military intervention that benefitted Forbes and Company. Moreover, after 1815 they occasionally seemed reconciled to the inevitability of American annexation of the Floridas. But as negotiations toward this end progressed, they became apprehensive about the continued possession of lands that had been acquired by the company and its members during the period of Spanish rule. Indeed, they even discussed the idea of petitioning the Spanish minister, Luis de Onis, who was engaged in talks with Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, to validate their land claims.[61]

The primary concern was that the United States, in a treaty of cession, would refuse to recognize all Spanish land grants in the Floridas approved after April 11, 1802. Such a provision would necessarily jeopardize the legal status of the company's grants. Musing about this possibility, James Innerarity described the United States as a "villainous government" which would force King Ferdinand VII of Spain to "turn robber and annul all grants to his subjects since 1802. The President and all heads of departments," he added, "are of course parties to this nefarious measure." James also used the occasion of this letter to endorse criticisms of Secretary Adams "for his unjustifiable, horrible defense" of Andrew Jackson's incursions into the Floridas.

Even after receiving word that the treaty of cession had been concluded, James speculated about the possible difficulties, both in Spain and the United States, of securing its ratification. Should it not be ratified, or even if ratification was greatly delayed, he believed the United States would simply take possession of the Floridas by force. In that event, Pensacola would be

61. James Innerarity to John McDonough, September 1, 1816; McDonough to James Innerarity, November 5, 1816; James Innerarity to John Innerarity, April 8, 18 17, Greenslade Papers.
62. James Innerarity to John Innerarity, February 13, 1819, Greenslade Papers.

a primary objective, an act which would be supported, he contended, by "that hot-headed unprincipled scoundrel John Quincy Adams." Should that come to pass, James urged John to settle his affairs and come to Mobile.[63]

James Innerarity's suspicions and fears proved to be groundless, for the treaty of cession of 1819 validated all Spanish land grants in the Floridas before January 24, 1818. Seemingly, the titles to all the company's lands were secure. As it turned out, however, the Inneraritys underwent many years of exasperating litigation in United States courts contesting their legal rights to land grants known as Forbes Grant I and Forbes Grant II. Nor were their problems made any easier by John Forbes's retirement from the firm in 1818, and his death on the island of Cuba in 1823. By 1835, the Supreme Court had upheld the legality of the Inneraritys' sale of Forbes Grant II. But Forbes Grant I would become entangled in a series of court cases into the twentieth century. In 1923, the Florida Supreme Court finally settled the issue when it rendered the decision that the lands in Forbes Grant I had never legally belonged to John Forbes and Company, whether under Spanish, United States, or Florida law.[64]

The transfer of control over John Forbes and Company to the Innerarity brothers in 1818, plus the formal transfer of the Floridas to the United States in 1821, did not halt all commercial activities of the firm. But by 1821, trade dealings, largely with Americans, were pretty much confined to Mobile and Pensacola. Moreover, commerce absorbed less and less of the brothers' energy to the point where, as has been aptly suggested, "litigation became the partners' most important occupation after 1821."[65]

In addition to the above-cited land grant cases, the Innerarity brothers became enmeshed in numerous law suits or legal problems stemming from the claims made by heirs of William Panton, Alexander McGillivray, and other partners who had been associated with Panton, Leslie and Company or John Forbes and Company. Perhaps the most fascinating, however, was the Vidal Case of 1821-1822. Though involving a pittance

63. James Innerarity to John Innerarity, February 13, September 6, December 27, 1819, Greenslade Papers.
64. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 327-29, 353-55, 361-62.
65. Ibid., 365.

of money in comparison to other cases, it received a great deal of publicity at the time, created a minor dispute between the United States and Spain, and resulted in a confrontation between John Innerarity and Andrew Jackson.

The last-mentioned aspect of the case was surprising if only because the two men had been reasonably cordial acquaintances since 1814. And, as demonstrated in the Fort Bowyer incident of that year, John Innerarity was not reluctant to engage in actions that could serve the interests of the United States, Jackson, and, of course, Forbes and Company. Indeed, Jackson was sufficiently impressed by John Innerarity's good reputation in the Pensacola community that, days after the general assumed command as governor of West Florida (July 17, 1821), he appointed Innerarity to the town council of Pensacola.[66] Within a month, however, this cordial relationship would become somewhat strained because of the Vidal case.

In August 1821, Mercedes and Caroline Vidal of Pensacola, daughters of Dr. Nicholas Maria Vidal, brought to the attention of Governor Jackson their contention that the Forbes Company owed them money from the estate of their father who had died in 1806, and for whom the company had served as executor. The suit became a matter of bitter controversy in part because of John Innerarity's procrastination, from 1817 to 1821, in turning over to the Spanish authorities of West Florida the records from Vidal's estate. The Spanish governor of West Florida on the eve of the formal transfer of the province in 1821 was Colonel José Callava who also refused to surrender to American officials the relevant documents he had received from Innerarity. When Jackson, through his emissaries, ordered Governor Callava to release the papers to him (an order of which John Innerarity was aware), Innerarity, according to Jackson's later written account, is supposed to have exclaimed: "The die is cast!" It was this alleged provacative statement which elicited Jackson's pugnacious remark about how not even John Innerarity could "obstruct the pure channels of justice."[67]

Shortly after this encounter, Colonel Callava, joined by Innerarity, was escorted under armed guard for an audience with Andrew Jackson. The interview required simultaneous English-

66. Ibid., 330.
67. Ibid., 331-36. *American State Papers,* 801-02, 829, 850-53.

Spansh translation, in which Innerarity assisted. Forcefully, Jackson continued to demand delivery of the papers bearing on the Vidal sisters' accusations. The failure to do so would lead to the imprisonment of Callava and other Spanish officials. Since there was no immediate compliance, the day after the meeting Jackson ordered the seizure of the Vidal papers from Callava's home. Jackson also removed John Innerarity from the town council of Pensacola, informing him that his replacement would be a person "better disposed to execute the laws and support its dignity." In addition to antagonizing Jackson for his role in defending Callava, Innerarity was also ordered to appear before the American governor to answer questions about other matters relating to Pensacola. Failure to appear and answer the questions, Innerarity was warned, would be perilous to him. Innerarity did not fail to keep the appointment.[68]

After additional judicial proceedings it was determined that Forbes and Company would have to pay the Vidal heirs $2,027.19, although some scholars have concluded that the Vidal heirs owed John Innerarity $157. Possibly the best and most authoritative conclusion is that of Coker and Watson: "It is doubtful . . . that the [Vidal] heirs ever received so much as a penny from the money Innerarity was obliged to pay."[69]

Despite the vicissitudes and controversies the Innerarity brothers experienced once they were obliged to live under American rule, the more than two decades of life remaining to both were not years of unrelieved woe and lack of personal happiness or accomplishment. James, for example, continued as the surviving partner of John Forbes and Company headquartered at Mobile from 1830 until his death at that city in 1847. But during the years from the 1820s to the 1840s he also lived on a plantation in Cuba, where he met Laura Manuall Centeno, by whom he apparently had five children out of wedlock.[70] Further, while he had often criticized the leaders and policies of the United States, toward the end of his life he seemed reconciled to the outcome of past events and favorably optimistic about America's destiny when he wrote his younger brother that he had "full confidence in the fortune of the U.S."[71]

68. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 337-42.
69. Ibid., 349.
70. Ibid., 329n.
71. James Innerarity to John Innerarity, May 8, 1842, Greenslade Papers.

As for John Innerarity, in 1830 he purchased most of the remaining Forbes and Company property in Pensacola for his own use, thereby ending the firm's official activities there. In addition to enjoying the company of his family, including the marriage of two of his daughters to Americans and the third to his nephew, William Panton Innerarity, he continued to maintain a prominent social and economic status in Pensacola. A unique achievement and responsibility was his appointment, in 1830, as the vice-consul of France, for which service he was awarded the Cross of the Legion of Honor in 1846. Moreover, according to a great-granddaughter, during the course of his association with Forbes and Company, "he became well-versed in law, was a great linguist, spoke nine living languages, and learned several Indian dialects."[72] Finally, as a measure of his determination, and shortly before his death at Pensacola on May 16, 1854, he once more tried to have the British government pay for losses sustained by Forbes and Company during the War of 1812.[73]

Thus, in the more than four decades the Innerarity brothers were associated with Panton, Leslie and Company and its successor, John Forbes and Company, they shared in a number of momentous events and changes in the Old Southwest of the United States. Though each began his business apprenticeship in the New World at the relatively young age of eighteen, both quickly matured in carrying out responsible, and sometimes dangerous, assignments in behalf of the commercial empire primarily founded by their uncle. They entered the business at a time when their uncle's firm, coincident with declining Spanish power in the lower Mississippi Valley, was beginning to lose some of its near monopoly of the Indian trade in the Old Southwest. Moreover, after their uncle's death in 1801, and during the first decade and a half of the nineteenth century, many events conspired to complicate the commercial endeavors of the Inneraritys and other employees of Forbes and Company. These included: European rivalries spilling over into North America, various intrigues along the southern frontier, and Indian uprisings along the border between the United States and

72. Greenslade, "John Innerarity," 94.
73. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders,* 329.

the Spanish Floridas. While the two brothers could not prevent the ultimate decline of the company's fortunes, especially after the War of 1812, through perserverence, intelligence, and adroit dealings with friend and foe alike, they were able to uphold successfully the company's interest for many more years. In this sense, James and John Innerarity were indeed good and faithful stewards of their uncle's commercial empire in the Floridas.

"GIVE US TWENTY-FIVE YEARS": FLORIDA SEMINOLES FROM NEAR TERMINATION TO SELF-DETERMINATION, 1953-1957

by Harry A. Kersey, Jr.

IN the years immediately following World War II, the nation experienced an ultra-conservative reaction to the social and economic policies fostered during Franklin D. Roosevelt's unprecedented four-term presidency. Beginning in the late 1930s a coalition of conservative Republicans and southern Democrats set out to scuttle those aspects of the New Deal which they found most inimical to their ideology. When the Republicans regained control of the Congress in 1946, it signaled the beginning of a concerted effort to dismantle all but the most essential governmental spending programs. One of the federal bureaucracies singled out for annihilation– it did not enjoy the support of a powerful national constituency and therefore became politically vulnerable– was the Bureau of Indian Affairs. A national voice was raised to withdraw federal services to Indians and discontinue the special relationship which had existed between the federal government and tribes since the First Congress passed the initial Indian trade and intercourse act in 1790.

On August 1, 1953, the Eighty-third Congress adopted House Concurrent Resolution 108, which expressed the sense of Congress that elimination of services should become a fundamental element in national Indian policy. Interestingly, this so-called "termination policy" drew the support of political liberals who desired to free Indians from abusive federal paternalism, as well as from conservative assimilationists who would have them brought into the mainstream of American society. As James E. Officer has pointed out, "nowhere in the resolution do we find any mention of the word *termination* that has come to carry such ominous portent in more recent times. Rather, the tone of the document is one of emancipation and equalization:

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'To end the wardship status of the Indians and to grant them all their rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship.'"[1]

In one sense Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier, that colorful and abrasive architect of a New Deal policy granting indirect self-government to tribes, had been too effective in promoting the view that Indians could conduct their own affairs. When analyzing the rapidly declining fortunes of American Indians in the 1950s Vine Deloria concludes, "at least part of the blame for this state of affairs could be attributed to John Collier. His optimistic characterization of self-government had led some members of Congress to believe that Indians were making considerably more progress than was actually occurring on the reservations."[2] The idealistic Collier was, of course, premature in his assessment; moreover, the war years had a devastating impact on the reservations, and tribes were still keenly dependent upon government health, education, and development programs during the 1940s and 1950s. Nevertheless, representatives and senators on both sides of the aisle took him literally at his word and opted to terminate the federal relationship with many tribes.

Specifically, H.C.R. 108 designated certain tribes to be "freed from Federal supervision and control and from all disabilities and limitations applicable to Indians," including the Flathead of Montana, Klamath of Oregon, Menominee in Wisconsin, Potowatomie of Kansas and Nebraska, the Turtle Mountain Chippewas in North Dakota, and all of the Indian tribes and "Individual members thereof" located within the states of California, New York, Texas, and Florida.[3] Although this list was considerably shorter than previous compilations of tribes considered ready for termination that had been presented to Congress, it included at least one group that had not appeared before: the Seminoles of Florida.

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1. Kenneth R. Philp, *Indian Self-Rule* (Salt Lake City, 1982), 114.
2. Vine Deloria, Jr., and Clifford M. Lytle, *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty* (New York, 1984), 191.
3. U. S. Congress, joint hearing before the subcommittees of the committees on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Termination of Federal Supervision Over Certain Tribes of Indians,* 83rd Cong., 2nd sess. on S. 2747 and H.R. 7321, Part 8, Seminole Indians, Florida, March 1 and 2, 1954 (Washington, DC, 1954), iii.

The question is why such a small, isolated, impoverished group, numbering barely 900 members, was included on the federal "hit list" for termination together with larger, more developed tribes. Again it was James Officer who noted "while the Seminole of Florida were introduced to the roster as a congressional 'add-on,' the legislators omitted a number of others perhaps– I might suggest cynically– because of the reluctance of particular congressmen to have their constituents singled out in this fashion."[4] The implication is that the Florida congressional delegation either actively sought to have the Seminoles listed in H.C.R. 108, or at least acquiesced in their inclusion. If this were the case, how had they arrived at such a decision?

In none of the prior Bureau of Indian Affairs compilations had there been any consideration of terminating services to the Florida tribe. In 1947, the Senate Civil Service Committee, investigating ways to cut government expenses, had inquired of William Zimmerman, acting commissioner of Indian Affairs, when tribes would be ready to operate without assistance. Zimmerman was asked to classify the tribes in three basic categories: those which could succeed without federal assistance immediately, those which would be ready for withdrawal of federal services within a decade, and those which for the foreseeable future would need federal assistance. The Florida Seminoles were listed in the third category.[5] Again in 1952, as a result of House Resolution 698 in the Eighty-second Congress, the commissioner of Indian Affairs was requested to provide a list of tribes, bands, or groups of Indians then qualified for full management of their own affairs. The bureau sent out a questionnaire to all agencies, and the results appeared in House Report No. 2680, Eighty-third Congress, Second Session, 1954. A listing of tribes was made with their readiness to be relieved of federal support; a "no" indicated that in the opinion of local BIA offcials the group was not qualified to handle their own affairs immediately. The list showed "Seminole of Florida: NO."[6]

It appears that most likely the placement of the Seminoles on this list was orchestrated by Florida Congressman James A. Haley, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Indian Affairs.

4. Philp, *Indian Self-Rule,* 115.
5. Lyman S. Tyler, *A History of Indian Policy* (Washington, DC, 1973), 164.
6. Ibid., 170.

The aggressive Haley, from Sarasota, was an accountant who had managed the estate of circus magnate John Ringling. He later married Aubrey Ringling and became managing vice-president of the Ringling Brothers Circus.[7] In 1945, a number of circus officials were placed on trial in the aftermath of the tragic 1944 Hartford, Connecticut, circus fire in which 168 individuals perished. Haley received the stiffest sentence of one-year-and-a-day. Upon being released, he was welcomed as a local hero in Sarasota, winter home of the circus, and became president of the reorganized Ringling Brothers and Barnum & Bailey Circus. In 1952, Haley was elected to represent the Seventh, later Eighth District, one of the most conservative constituencies in Florida. He served in the House from the Eighty-third through Ninety-fourth Congresses. His arrival in Washington coincided with Republican control of Congress. Haley was appointed to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. In 1954 he became chairman of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs.

It was rare for an Easterner to serve in this position which was usually reserved for representatives from states with large Indian populations. Nevertheless, Haley filled the position with distinction. Even Deloria, the outspoken critic of federal Indian policy, recalls that when the Kennedy and Johnson administrations attempted to open reservations to unlimited outside development "the House Subcommittee on Indian Affairs refused to authorize a blanket lease and insisted on hearing each tribe present its reasons why it should be allowed to lease its lands for the longer term. On the other hand the Senate Indian subcommittee generally favored long-term leasing, and Secretary Udall encouraged this manner of using Indian lands. . . . Had Haley not stood firm against the policies of the Democratic administrations, there might be few Indian reservations today in the hands of Indians."[8] However, Haley was an ardent fiscal conservative who subscribed to the philosophy underlying termination. A former colleague in the Florida delegation is of the opinion that Haley had the Seminoles from his own state subjected to the same close scrutiny that he was demanding for other tribes.[9]

7. Henry Ringling North and Alden Hatch, *The Circus Kings* (New York, 1960), 321-31.
8. Deloria and Lytle, *The Nations Within,* 196-97.
9. Interview with Paul G. Rogers, by Harry A. Kersey, Jr., March 23, 1988, SEM 197A, University of Florida Oral History Archives, Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville.

A termination bill for each tribe identified in H.C.R. 108 had to be introduced in both the House and Senate, and for the first time in history the two conservative-dominated Indian subcommittees sat in joint session to consider the bills. This would forestall efforts to kill the legislation by assuring that language in both versions was identical, thus eliminating the necessity for a conference to reconcile differences and further delaying the process. Additionally, conference committees had traditionally been the place where compromises were struck and tribes were able to kill bad legislation. On January 18, 1954, a group of termination bills was introduced by Representative A. L. Miller of Nebraska, chairman of the House Indian Subcommittee. One bill, H. R. 7321, "provide for the termination of Federal supervision over the property of the Seminole Tribe of Indians in the State of Florida and the individual members thereof, and for other purposes."[10] A companion measure, S. 2747, was introduced in the Senate. The bills had been drafted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and were identical in content. They were submitted to the speaker of the House and president of the Senate with a request for immediate action.[11] A joint subcommittee hearing on the bills was scheduled for the spring of 1954.

The joint subcommittee hearing on H. R. 7321 and S 2747 convened on March 1, 1954, with Senator Arthur V. Watkins of Utah, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, presiding.[12] Florida was represented on the joint subcommittee by Haley and Senator George Smathers. Another member of the Florida delegation, Representative Dwight L. Rogers of West Palm Beach, was also in attendance. After appropriate introductory remarks, the hearing focused on the termination bill's impact on the Indians. The key provision of the bill would have the secretary of the interior transfer, within three years, all property of the tribe to a corporation established by the tribe or its elected trustees for liquidation or management. The proceeds of such liquidation or management were to be vested in those Seminoles whose names appeared on the official tribal

10. Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service, *Digest of Public General Bills With index,* 83rd Cong., 2nd sess., no. 7, Final Issue 1954 (Washington, DC, 1954), 7321.
11. U. S. Congress, *Termination of Supervision,* 1030.
12. Ibid., 1027.

roll. After the lands were disposed of, the secretary was to publish a proclamation in the Federal Register declaring that the federal trust relationship to the affairs of the tribe had terminated. However, the BIA cautioned that "wide differences of opinion were expressed as to the length of time that Federal supervision should be continued."[13] Further underscoring this concern, over twenty witnesses testified at the hearing or had their statements entered into the record, with all but three being definitely opposed to immediate or near-term termination of federal supervision for the Florida Seminoles.

Among those to be heard was a delegation of eight Seminoles who had been elected by their people. It was established that they represented approximately sixty percent of the Florida Indian population, most of whom resided on the federal reservations, but also a number of traditional Mikasuki-Seminoles who remained off-reservation. This faction included over 600 of the 900 Seminoles in Florida, and these people would be most directly affected by the termination of federal services and protection. A prepared statement from the delegation was entered into the record; it made the plea "we, the Seminole Indians of Florida, request that no action be taken on the termination of Federal supervision over the property of the Seminole Indians for a period of 25 years," and stated the reasons why termination should not take place.[14] There was an overall lack of formal education in the tribe which meant that the Seminoles needed time to develop a leadership cadre which could administer their property. They were fearful that their lands, particularly the pasturage, were not sufficiently developed to become income producing, and if they could not meet the tax obligations, the property would by lost. The general state of Seminole health was poor, and the delegation recognized that the people had much to learn about proper sanitation, infant care, disease prevention, etc., which could come about only if public health services were continued. Better housing was also needed on the reservations, along with council houses to help develop a community spirit to the Indian settlements. The reservations such as Big Cypress still had much acreage that needed to be drained

13. Ibid., 1037.
14. Ibid., 1038.

before the land would be acceptable for pasturage or agricultural uses. This could best be achieved through federal cooperation with state drainage and conservation projects in Florida. In conclusion, the Indians stated that "during the past 20 years our advancement has been rapid, but we need guidance for a longer period and we look to the Federal Government for continuance of their supervision."[15]

This Seminole position was affirmed by a number of prominent individuals, all of whom agreed in principle that the Indians could ultimately become self-sufficient and stand on their own, but felt that it would take much longer than the three years proposed in the legislation. Among those arguing the Seminole cause was Mrs. Frank Stranahan of Fort Lauderdale. She had been actively involved in Indian work since the turn of the century and had founded the Friends of the Seminoles, Inc. Although she was ill at the time and unable to attend the hearings, her long-time friend Congressman Rogers entered a statement expressing her concern that "this hard work of 50 years will lose all its meaning and morale building, if we permit our Government to withdraw all their protection."[16] Moreover, Mrs. Stranahan had pursued the issue with officials in Washington, expressing concern over the pending legislation. As early as October 1953, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Glenn Emmons wrote to her that termination was desirable– but conceded there were differing estimates on how long supervision should continue. Senator Smathers promised, "I am keeping in close touch with developments on this matter, and want to assure you that I shall continue to protect the welfare of the Indians on every hand."[17]

William C. Sturtevant, a highly regarded anthropologist with the Smithsonian Institution who had conducted field work among the Florida Indians, estimated that 625 were opposed to termination and 275 were in favor, but he also cautioned, "the Seminoles are so divided into factions that it will be impossible to turn the tribal property over intact to a tribal organization.

15. Ibid., 1039.
16. Ibid., 1131.
17. Glenn L. Emmons to Mrs. Frank Stranahan, December 17, 1953, box 8, file I– Indian Federal Agencies 1915-1951; George Smathers to Stranahan, December 13, 1953, box 8, file 4– Indian Legislation 1951-1957, Stranahan Collection, Fort Lauderdale Historical Society.

. . . I would say that for this tribe at least, termination of Federal supervision at this time would cause reat hardships."[18] The outspoken Bertram Scott, executive secretary of the activist Seminole Indian Association, stated, "I really do not know why this bill was ever drawn concerning the Seminole Indians . . . but if there was ever a tribe that is not ready to go on its own, and will not be for some time, it is the Seminole Tribe of Florida." Senator Watkins replied, "I will admit that it is not nearly as strong a case as the cases that have been made for other Indian tribes."[19] Florida Congressman Rogers also entered a statement in support of prolonging the federal trusteeship over the Seminole lands and people, and suggested that the Secretary of the Interior be required "to hold a referendum on this question of eleamosynary corporate existance for the tribe."[20] There were also many statements by other citizens to the effect that the Seminoles were still unable to conduct their own affairs without a significant amount of federal support and guidance. Under questioning from Haley and Smathers, Kenneth A. Marmon, the federal Indian agent who had served in Florida for over a decade, offered the opinion that few Seminoles could speak English well enough to manage their own affairs and that perhaps seventy-five percent of them would vote against termination if given the opportunity.[21]

There were, however, both Indians and non-Indians who spoke in favor of the bill. Essentially, this group held that the culturally conservative Mikasuki-Seminole families living along the Tamiami Trail west of Miami would be better off without any federal interference in their affairs. It was their contention that these traditional people– collectively known as the Trail Indian– should immediately be given title to their lands and receive certain direct economic benefits from the federal and state governments. This position had eloquent advocates in attorney Morton Silver and spokesman Buffalo Tiger, both of whom represented the General Council of the Mikasuki-Seminoles. Larry Mike Oseola, an articulate Indian entreprenuer claiming to represent a group of seventy-seven Trail

18. U. S. Congress, *Termination of Supervision,* 1137.
19. Ibid., 1108.
20. Ibid., 1131.
21. Ibid., 1151.

Indians, spoke out for immediately ending government control of Seminole affairs, while another attorney, O. B. White of Miami, submitted a statement calling for termination of government supervision and the establishment of a charitable corporation to handle Indian lands. The confusing and often contradictory testimony highlighted not only the political division that existed between the on- and off-reservation Seminole factions, but also the fragmentation within the Trail Indian camps. It was understandable, therefore, when Senator Smathers declared, "Mr. Chairman, I do not know where we are. I came up here to find out what was going on, and we succeeded in getting me even more confused about this bill than I was when we started."[22] By the time the hearings concluded the following day, it appeared that a number of subcommittee members shared Smathers's confusion and were beginning to have doubts about including the Florida Seminoles on the termination list. No action was taken on the Seminole bills during the remainder of the session, and Spessard Holland, Florida's other United States Senator, wrote Mrs. Stranahan, "I feel that the Interior and Insular Affairs Committees of the House and Senate were wise in not reporting out the bill which would remove the Seminoles from the guardianship of the Federal Government, and I know careful consideration will be given to the desires of the Seminoles by these committees prior to any such action in the future."[23]

Following the congressional hearing that spring, Stranahan, Scott, and other Seminole partisans continued their intensive lobbying against federal plans to withdraw services from the tribe. Throughout they emphasized that no matter what the outcome on the termination issue, additional lands should be secured for the Seminoles. They were also concerned with the unconventional tactics of Morton Silver and the Trail Indians who were claiming a separate existence from the main body of Seminoles. In December 1954, Commissioner Emmons made a trip to Florida and met with all major Indian groups, including the Mikasuki General Council on the Tamiami Trail, to hear their claim of independent nation status. This was a position

22. Ibid., 1093.
23. Spessard Holland to Stranahan, October 28, 1954, box 8, file 4– Indian Legislation 1951-1957, Stranahan Collection.

that had first surfaced at the hearing in Washington when a Mikasuki delegation presented their so-called "Buckskin Declaration" (the message was inscribed on a hide decorated with egret feathers) to a representative of President Eisenhower.[24] In this document the Mikasuki General Council set forth their desire to continue a traditional life-style free of government interference. In effect they demanded to deal directly with a representative of the president rather than of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. When President Eisenhower replied that he was sympathetic to Indian concerns, but rejected "independent action" and urged them to work through conventional channels, the Mikasukis developed a position that they were an independent nation with a political existence separate from other Seminoles. Following four days of consultation in Florida, Commissioner Emmons gained what he believed was a better picture of the Indian factions. While not denying that the General Council represented a sizeable minority of the Seminoles, he knew that it would not be a simple matter to resolve their claims for land and recognition.[25] Thereafter, the BIA focused its efforts on economic and social development of the Seminole reservations with an eye to possible future termination.

When the Eighty-fourth Congress convened in January 1955, the sentiment for termination remained strong, and there was still a possibility that the Seminole termination bill would be reintroduced. This fear was renewed when the House Subcommittee on Indian Affairs scheduled additional hearings to be held in Florida. On April 8, 1955, Representative Haley, who had assumed the chairmanship of the subcommittee, presided at a day-long session in Clewiston, a town located approximately equidistant from the Brighton and Big Cypress reservations. Many of those who had testified at the Washington hearings in

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24. "Buckskin Declaration of Miccosukee Seminole Nation, March 1, 1954." A copy of this document is included as Appendix A to a memorandum from Leonard Ware to M. M. Tozier. November 14, 1958. File-12058-1957-Seminole-077, Bureau of Indian Central Files 1940-57, Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, DC (cited hereafter BIACF, RG 75, NA).
25. Merrill M. Tozier, "Report on the Florida Seminoles, December, 1954." File-17148-1952-Seminole-077, Part 1-A, BIACF, RG 75, NA. Tozier was the BIA information officer who acccompanied Commissioner Emmons to Florida and made extensive notes on the meetings. This report was compiled from those notes.

1954 were again present. Haley began by recalling that a year earlier he had brought another subcommittee to Florida to investigate Seminole problems. Although there were no public hearings, there were still several matters that required further study and clarification. "We hope to gather information," he stated, "which will help in preparing termination time schedules, if termination is desirable, information which will guide our thinking on the question of State trusteeship, and on the timing and basis for State assumption of welfare, law and order."[26] The latter issues were particularly important since Florida was one of several states that would claim civil and criminal jurisdiction over offenses committed by or against Indians under the provisions of Public Law 280 which had been passed in 1953.[27]

Following Haley's statement, long-time subcommittee member A. L. Miller of Nebraska noted the presence of Congressman Paul G. Rogers who had been elected to replace his recently deceased father, Dwight L. Rogers. The new congressman from the Sixth District welcomed the subcommittee saying, "I think we are very fortunate to have this committee take the time when the rest of the members of Congress are taking a vacation, to come down here because they are interested, deeply interested, in the conditions of our Indians."[28] Rogers was invited to remain, and he played a limited role in the proceedings.

Perhaps the most significant testimony was that of several local officials– a superintendent of schools, three county commissioners, and a county attorney– all of whom agreed that they would expect the government to reimburse the expenses of education, road maintenance, and to provide medical and welfare services to the Indian population. Haley asked one of the officials whether, in his opinion, "any termination bill or any attempt to terminate the trusteeship or supervision over the Seminole Indians would only come after, you might say, the present young generation has reached adulthood and had received from the Government or from somewhere the thing that

26. U. S. Congress, House, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Seminole Indians, Florida,* 84th Cong. Pursuant to H. Res. 30, April 6 and 7, 955, serial no. 8 (Washington, DC, 1955), 2.
27. *67 U. S. Stat.,* 588.
28. U. S. Congress, *Seminole Indians,* 3.

we, as Americans, all think a child should have– a good education?"[29] The official responded in the affirmative. Another witness was Agnes Denver, a married Seminole living with her family in Utah. She was one of the first Seminoles to complete high school at the Cherokee Indian School in North Carolina and represented an acculturated element of the tribe. She unequivocally stated, the "Seminole Indians are not ready to be terminated."[30]

The following day the subcommittee hearing was reconvened at the camp of Jimmie Tiger on the Tamiami Trail. The first person to testify was Buffalo Tiger speaking for the Mikasuki General Council which was headed by traditional leaders including the old medicine man Ingraham Billie. Buffalo Tiger quickly made it clear that the Trail Indians were not a party to the $50,000,000 claim which a group of reservation Seminoles had filed with the Indian Claims Commission in 1950. "We don't want a claim for money," he stated, "we want a claim for land."[31] He was followed by Morton Silver who clashed with the subcommittee members on a number of points. Some of the congressmen, still upset by the "Buckskin Declaration" delivered to the president while the Washington hearings were in session, became aware of Silver's tactics in behalf of his Indian clients. In the course of occasionally hostile questioning, it was revealed that Silver had moved to quash the Seminole claim before the Indian Claims Commission, and he had publicly proclaimed that his clients had a legal right to most of southern Florida. Moreover, it was Silver's opinion that the Mikasuki General Council was really the legitimitate representative of all Florida Indians. In his zeal to establish their claim of sovereignty, Silver had advised the Mikasukis that they might be able to take their case before the United Nations.

Silver's was an extreme position, and even Buffalo Tiger took exception to his claim that the General Council spoke for other Seminoles throughout the state. When Mrs. Stranahan spoke, she stated, "I am like the Indians, I don't know who owns this land out here." She said that she had not heard of Silver's claim that the Indians owned most of south Florida until it was

29. Ibid., 18.
30. Ibid., 7.
31. Ibid., 45.

disclosed in the newspapers the previous month. She firmly declared, "I don't believe that. I never did tell them that."[32] In his testimony the previous day, Bertram Scott of the Seminole Indian Association criticized the Miami attorney. Scott told the comittee, "the Silver business is a serious matter . . . he has caused no end of trouble here."[33]

Evidently the tenor of this hearing was enough to convince anti-termination forces that they had won their case. On April 20, Scott informed Commissioner Emmons that he had written to Congressman Haley asking that a bill be introduced to transfer submarginal lands at the Brighton Reservation to the Seminole Indians, noting that the "termination bills of the last session contained provisions for such transfer, but fortunately those bills never saw the light of day. There will be no such bills introduced into the present Congress, we presume, at least none affecting the Seminoles."[34] Haley's bill transferring some 30,000 acres of land from the Department of Agriculture to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and officially creating the Brighton Reservation was signed into law July 20, 1956.[35]

No Seminole termination bill was introduced in the Eighty-fourth Congress or ever again, thanks in great part to the strong opposition of Floridians such as Ivy Stranahan, Bertram Scott, Dwight Rogers, as well as the reservation Seminoles. Furthermore, the great discrepancies in information presented by witnesses– estimates of the number of Seminoles who spoke English ranged from ten to 600– must have convinced the congressmen that the great majority of Florida Indians were not ready to manage their own affairs and did require a form of federal trusteeship for some time to come. Certainly the statements and subsequent actions of Smathers and Haley indicate that they had adopted an anti-termination stance and probably moved to stifle termination legislation. It remained for the anthropologist Oliver La Farge to place the affair in its proper perspective: "Of the bills introduced under the Resolution, those to terminate the Flatheads, Turtle Mountain Chippewas, and Florida Seminoles

32. Ibid., 74.
33. Ibid., 37.
34. Bertram D. Scott to Emmons, April 20, 1955, File- 163-1955-Seminole-050, BIACF, RG 75, NA.
35. 70 *U. S. Stat.,* 581.

were killed in committee. Opposition from the tribes concerned was strong and well presented, the states they lived in also opposed the bills; the legislation was obviously ill conceived. The Turtle Mountain Chippewas are strong contenders for the title of the most destitute Indians in the United States; the Florida Indians have only recently had universal schooling and retain a large group of members who speak no English. It is difficult to conceive on what basis these two tribes were ever marked for termination."[36]

Having narrowly averted termination, a number of the progressive reservation Seminoles began to consider seriously a formal organization to protect their economic and social gains. The Seminole people in Florida were eligible for legal organization of a government and business corporation under Section 16 of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934.[57] This was the fundamental legislation of the Indian New Deal. It required that tribes not voting against inclusion would be covered by the provisions of the act, provided that at least thirty percent of the adults participated in the balloting. In 1935 a small group of twenty-one Seminoles had voted in favor of the IRA, but because of a liberal interpretation of the rules during Commissioner John Collier's administration, that number was deemed sufficient to quality the Indians for future benefits of the act.[38]

The IRA allowed one-third of a tribal group to petition for federal recognition through issuance of a constitution and bylaws and a corporate charter. Those documents would then be submitted for ratification by a majority vote of all adult Indians living on the reservations. Thus, the IRA was a vehicle primarily for use by reservation Indians; those living off-reservation could participate in the planning and drafting of a constitution and charter, but their reservation relatives retained ultimate political control over adoption. The drive to gain support for tribal organization was spearheaded by Sam Tommie, Billy Osceola, Frank Billie, and Bill Osceola, with the endorsement of Superin-

36. Oliver La Farge, "Termination of Federal Supervision: Disintegration and the American Indians," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 311 (May 1957), 44.
37. 48 *U. S. Stat.,* 984.
38. Harry A. Kersey, Jr., " 'A New Red Atlantis': John Collier's Encounter with the Florida Seminoles in 1935, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (October 1987), 143-45.

tendent Kenneth A. Marmon. Theirs was a coalition which included both Mikasuki and Muskogee-speaking leaders from the Dania, Big Cypress, and Brighton reservations, all of whom were devoutly Christian and some became Baptist lay ministers. Most also had a high economic stake in the continued development of the beef cattle industry on their reservations which required continuing technical supervision and financial support from federal and state authorities. This formidable combination of aggressive, Baptist-supported political leaders, coupled with entrepreneurial skill, further exacerbated the rift between the traditionalists and progressive elements. In June 1955, Peru Farver, head of the Tribal Affairs Branch of the BIA, was in Florida for "a discussion with the reservation groups of Seminole Indians under the jurisdiction of the Seminole Agency regarding a group organization and a social-economic program . . . leaving the Tamiami Trail group to live as they wish."[39] Initially, it was thought that the reservation Indians should organize with a state charter, but this plan was abandoned in favor of seeking a constitution and by-laws along with a federal corporate charter.

The plan to organize the reservation Seminoles stalled until Commissioner Emmons again visited Florida in April 1956, and took an active role in moving the issue forward. He had been strongly urged to do so in numerous letters from Superintendent Marmon, Mrs. Stranahan, Bertram Scott, and the anthropologist Ethel Cutler Freeman, all of whom supported tribal organization.[40] Emmons agreed and wrote to Stranahan, "like you, I believe that the early establishment of a tribal orgnization will be the key to additional progress along many lines."[41]

39. Peru Farver to Emmons, June 6, 1955, File-17148- 1952-Seminole-077, Part 1-A, BIACF, RG 75, NA.
40. The ethnologist Ethel Cutler Freeman played an active role in keeping the commissioner of Indian Affairs informed of Mikasuki-Seminole viewpoints during this period. See Freeman to Emmons, November 10, December 13, 1956, March 3, April 6, 1957, File-163-1955-Seminole-050, Part 3, BIACF, RG 75, NA. For a limited biographical sketch, see clipping from *The Morris* (New Jersey) *Observer,* October 15, 1955, included with letter Tozier to Freeman, January 6, 1956, General File-1956-Seminole-147, BIACF, RG 75, NA.
41. Emmons to Stranahan, April 10, 1956, File-10530- 1955-Seminole-070, BIACF, RG 75, NA.

Meanwhile, the Trail Indians had split into at least three major factions, each of which would follow a separate path toward recognition by state and federal authorities. By the fall of 1956, the Mikasuki General Council had dismissed Morton Silver as its attorney and Buffalo Tiger as spokesman.[42] At the same time Commissioner Emmons dispatched an experienced BIA tribal government specialist, Reginald W. Quinn, to work with the Seminoles.[43] Between February 27 and March 12, 1957, Quinn consulted with many white Floridians, and then he and other government officials conferred with the Indian people in open meetings on the reservations to explain what was involved in organizing.[44] They covered such items as the IRA, inherent tribal rights of self-government, and the need for having tribal spokesmen with authority to act. Quinn and Superintendent Marmon recommended that a committee be selected to work out a constitution and charter, but the Indians selected a large, unwieldly group. At Quinn's suggestion, a smaller group of Seminoles voted to have a board of directors write a constitution. This group, comprised of seven individuals, represented the tribal factions: Mike Osceola, the trail group; Billy Osceola and John Henry Gopher, Brighton Reservation; the Reverend Bill Osceola and Jack Willie, Dania Reservation; and Jimmie Oseola and Frank Billie, Big Cypress Reservation.[45] Because of the dominant role played by Quinn and Marmon in both the selection process and the actual writing of the documents, one writer charged that this committee was a "puppet" of the Bureau of

42. Mikasuki General Council to Governor LeRoy Collins, October 25, 1956, File-10530-1955-Seminole-070, BIACF, RG 75, NA. A detailed account of the involved negotiations between the Mikasuki-Seminoles and the government which eventuated in federal recognition for the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians is found in James W. Covington, "Trail Indians of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 58 (July 1979), 37-57.
43. R. T. King, "The Florida Seminole Polity, 1858-1978" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1978), 163.
44. R. W. Quinn to Homer B. Jenkins, March 26, 1957, File-12058- 1957-Seminole-077, BIACF, RG 75, NA. This seventeen-page memorandum to the chief of the Tribal Programs Branch (hereafter cited as Quinn Report) detailed the events which transpired during his visit to the Seminole Agency from February 27 through March 12, 1957. During this period the reservation Seminoles formed a committee to write their constitution and corporate charter.
45. Ibid., 4.

Indian Affairs.[46] Nevertheless, it was a positive step in the direction of securing long-term economic and political stability for the Seminoles.

Despite reported attempts by Morton Silver and Buffalo Tiger to disrupt the meetings and obstruct the committee's efforts, Quinn and the constitutional committee completed its work and scheduled meetings on March 7-11 to present the results. Again, Silver and Tiger attempted to intervene but without success, while pro-organization proponents such as Mrs. Stranahan and Deaconess Bedell, the Episcopal missionary, as well as Bertram Scott and Robert Mitchell of the Seminole Indian Association attended some of the meetings to show their approval. At each of the meetings the Seminole people unanimously accepted the work of the constitutional committee.[47] The documents were then forwarded to Washington for review by the BIA legal department. When Stranahan made inquiry about the status of the matter in May, Commissioner Emmons informed her that "steps are now under way to give the people an opportunity of voting in the near future on a proposed constitution and charter under the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act . . . as for the 'Trail Indians,' the position we have taken is that they are entirely free either to join the proposed organization or abstain, as they wish."[48]

On June 11, 1957, a corporate charter was issued to the Seminole Tribe of Florida, Inc., and it was ratified August 21, 1957, "by a vote of 223 for, and 5 against, in an election in which

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46. King, "Florida Seminole Polity," 164. See also, R. T. King, "Clan Affiliation and Leadership Among the Twentieth-Century Florida Indians," *Florida Historical Quarterly* (October 1976), 145-48.
47. Quinn Report, 4.
48. Emmons to Stranahan, May 1, 1957, File-l63-1955-Seminole- 050, BIACF, RG 75, NA. Robert D. Mitchell, president of the Seminole Indian Association, also complained about the delay writing: "the tribal trustees also want to know what has become of the organization papers they signed. Mr. Quinn, when he was here urged immediate organization." Mitchell to Emmons, June 7, 1957. But the commissioner responded, "Assistant Secretary Ernst on July 11 approved the proposed constitution and charter for the Seminoles and simultaneously authorized Superintendent Marmon to proceed with arrangements for a tribal referendum. The election date has now been set for August 21." Emmons to Mitchell, July 25, 1957, File-8542-1957-Seminole-224, BIACF, RG 75, NA.

at least 30 percent of those entitled to vote casts their ballots."[49] The Seminole Tribe of Florida, Inc., was now a federal corporation with rights of perpetual succession. Management was vested in a five-member board of directors. All enrolled members of the tribe were to be members of the corporation and share equally in any per capita distribution of profits. A constitution and by-laws of the Seminole Tribe of Florida was also ratified August 21 "by a vote of 241 for, and 5 against."[50] The Tribal Council became the governing body for the tribe, replacing the traditional council of elders that had functioned within the busk groups. A chairman was to be elected at large, while each reservation selected its own council representatives. The constitution was later amended to clarify some structural weaknesses; for example, while tribal membership was initially granted to anyone whose name appeared on the Agency rolls regardless of their blood quantity or place of birth, the 1963 revision established the basic criteria for enrollment as "any person of one-fourth (l/4) or more degree of Seminole Indian blood."[51] An additional feature of both the charter and constitution was that the chairman of the Tribal Council would be an ex officio member of the board of directrors, and the president of the board would sit ex officio on the Tribal Council. This would assure basic communication between the two bodies of tribal government. A former commissioner of Indian Affairs recently commented on potential conflicts inherent in such a structure: "the only tribe that does have two separate organizations is the Seminole Tribe of Florida. They have an elected tribal government and the elected board of directors for their chartered corporation. This worked until bingo arrived. The chartered corporation, which runs the bingo operation, has millions of dollars, but the elected tribal government does not have any money. This has caused some political confusion. It is not yet clear whether the chartered corporation will appropriate

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49. U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Corporate Charter of the Seminole Tribe of Florida, ratified August 21, 1957* (Washington, DC, 1958), 11.
50. U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Constitution and Bylaws of the Seminole Tribe of Florida,* ratified *August 21, 1957* (Washington, DC, 1958), 11.
51. U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Amended Constitution and Bylaws of the Seminole Tribe of Florida* (Washington, DC, 1967), 1.

money to the government or whether the government will tax the corporation."[52]

Despite the conflicts which would inevitably occur in the early years of tribal organization, the experience of founding a new tribal government had a profound impact on those Indians involved in the process. They learned quickly from their government mentors and, as implied in the following account, moved rapidly away from the old consensual form of governance. According to Bill Osceola, one of the original constitutional committee members, "one day this man came and said, 'my name is Rex Quinn, I come to help you write and set up the Constitution and By-Laws and Corporate Charter, I am an Indian.' He was an Indian from far north. This was the opportunity we were waiting for, a teacher to help us with the writing and setting up the Constitution and By-Laws and Corporate Charter. We met with Mr. Quinn and with our people and let them know who he was and why he was there. He said he needed a committee to work with. The people selected a committee and I was one of the committee to work with Mr. Quinn. He instruct us how to go about writing and setting up a Constitution & By-Laws and Corporate Charter. He told us which the other Indian tribes uses and which is good and which is not good. Some tribes have only the Tribal Council. He recommended to us that it would be good to have Corporate Charter, which meant we would have two governing bodies. He kept teaching us until everyone understood the program and then to the people on the reservations and explained to them what was happening. We went to Tamiami Trail, but the people there were not interested in organizing. Just the reservation people were interested in organizing the tribe. Three people were against the organization in voting and accepting. The tribal organization was finish [sic] and the election of the officers was on."[53]

After a little over three decades of self-government the Florida Seminoles have achieved a degree of political and economic independence which far exceeds the predictions of tribal leaders during the congressional hearings– yet, that was

52. Philp, *Indian Self-Rule,* 85. This assessment was made by former Commissioner Robert L. Bennett.
53. Seminole Tribe of Florida, *20th Anniversary of Tribal Organization 1957-1977,* memeographed pamphlet (Hollywood, FL, n.d.), 11.

the turning point. Back from the brink of termination, the reservation people were determined to take a firm stand to protect their future. Billy Osceola, a Baptist lay minister and cattle owner who was to become the first elected tribal chairman under the new governmental structure, set the tone when he told the congressmen, "these Indians want more time to get better education in that period of 25 years. At that time the Indians want to take over; they don't want to turn it over to some other organization. They want to control it. They want to handle their own affairs."[54] In one respect this marked the beginning of the end for Seminole acquiesence to federal paternalism. Perhaps the truest measure of a growing spirit of Seminole self-determination could be sensed in a confident response given by Laura Mae Osceola. When challenged on how far she thought her people could be expected to progress, her retort was prophetic: "In twenty-five more years they won't need your help. We will be giving you help!"[55]

And they have.

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54. U. S. Congress, *Termination of Supervision,* 1119.
55. Ibid., 1122.

FROM CAN'T TO CAN'T: THE NORTH FLORIDA TURPENTINE CAMP, 1900-1950

by ROBERT N. LAURIAULT

THE dark slides like a tight glove over the solitary woods camp, and no man's light affronts the majesty of the night sky. An insipid stirring of the warm evening air sets a single pine bough to swaying. Overall, stillness reigns– silence but for the monotony of a distant chuck-wills-widow and the earnest chant of frogs from some distant bog beyond the gloomy line of slash pines– the trees that make of the camp an island in a shadowy, evergreen sea.

And so in a shared flash of tortured dreams the summer night passes as the camp grabs these moments of respite between the blind-bright, sweat-grinding days. It is four o'clock, and the heavy air is rent by the woodsrider's cast-iron bell. The ten thousand and first day has begun.

The women are first to rise, grumbling and muttering beneath their breath at the morning damp. A building crescendo of their exhortations bidding the younger men to relinquish their moss mattresses is heard down the row of wooden shanties. The older couples are already about their business in unspoken acquiesence to the day's inevitable demands.

The wood stove is lit, and the scent of burning lighter pervades the shack. Lard is spooned into an iron skillet, and coffee is put on to boil while on the other side of the single partition the man forces his body into gum-stiff overalls and heavy leather shoes. The worn, broad-brimmed hat is last, and his outfit is complete.

A hoe cake sizzels in the pan alongside a measured slab of white bacon. The woman cracks two eggs, compliments of a squad of anemic hens already scratching in the dust beneath the raised house. The man eats quickly. He hears the shouted commands of the driver of the two mules as the wagon rolls heavily

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down the camp street picking up the hands on the run. The woman hurriedly stuffs cornbread, a sweet potato, and a mason jar of pot licker from last evening's greens into a cloth lunch sack. With brief words of affection she watches as her man, still shedding the webs of sleep, lunges into the morning dark toward the sound of snorting mules, creaking wagon, and aborted phrases of acknowledgment. An old man, thirty years in "turpentime," lets roll a resonant laugh. Day breaks as the mules pull the dippers toward the first man's drift. The woodsrider is "studyin' " on his six crops– 60,000 boxes on 60,000 trees.

Surely such a scene was repeated innumerable times across the great belt of pine forest from North Carolina to Texas through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But it was on the coastal plains of Georgia, Florida, and the other Gulf states that the turpentine industry with its attendant methods of labor control lasted the longest. There also it attained the form which assured its place in the dismal history of labor exploitation.

The camp was the still; it was the company store known always as the commissary; it was the manager's home; but most essentially it was the quarters– the home, be it permanent or temporary, of those whose lives were inextricably bound to their work in the way of the tenant farmer, the lumberman, and the miner. Whatever else the turpentiners did besides work was done within the precinct of work– in sight of the tall pines they bled for a living, beneath the roofs of the company shanties, under the sharp eye of the woodsrider who held a control over their lives difficult to imagine outside of slavery.

But such generalities hold true only for the earlier period of this study. As one advances through time, exceptions become numerous– especially for certain geographical areas. In fact, there exist two pairs of discrepencies: the first is that between the period prior to World War II and the post-war era. The second contrast is found between the camps west of the Suwannee River (plus the northern tier of counties) and those to the east of the river.[1] Accordingly, two camps will be examined, each representative of these two extremes– and, as will be seen, a third camp, as well.

1. Labor conditions in central and south Florida camps were as bad as anywhere. This article does not treat the camps in those parts of the state.

For the first period a camp (within a cluster of camps) located in Dixie County, Florida, owned and operated by the Putnam Lumber Company of Wisconsin, was selected for study. Ample information is available about this camp as a result of a federal investigation of peonage in the state. The camp was redolent of conditions widely reported in other camps of the area in the pre-World War II era. A camp in St. Johns County near St. Augustine has been selected as representative of the post-World War II period.[2]

The third camp is the Camp at the End of the Mind. This, the generic camp, is a composite of all those places for which there are written descriptions. It reflects an assemblage of the published and unpublished record of workers' stories and opinions about their lives in the turpentine industry. The Camp at the End of the Mind is not so brutal as some of the earlier period nor so bucolic as many which come after. The Camp at the End of the Mind is an acknowledgment that the neat periodizations of the historian do not often fit the historical record; too many blurred or grey areas confront the researcher to allow for pat categories. The Camp at the End of the Mind could be earlier or later because the slow pace of technological change within the industry made for a commonality over time rare in this century. Such a camp might be found anywhere in north Florida, for these broad-brush categories are shot through with exceptions. The Camp at the End of the Mind, then, is an attempt to distill the essential elements of camp experience from the historical record that one might reify and resurrect these camps as comprehensible places.

The historical importance of naval-stores activities has not been well documented, and even an elementary knowledge of its operation is no longer well known. Naval stores production began almost immediately upon the arrival of the English colonists who chopped deep gashes into the trunks of pine trees

2. The St. Johns County camp, the McFarland place, still operating in 1984, was the subject of a research project on the history of naval stores conducted by the editorial office, University of Florida Institute of Food and Agricultural Sciences (IFAS), University of Florida, Gainesville. A master video tape was produced. The tapes containing research data and photographs are catalogued by color code. The master and research tapes are in the University of Florida Oral History Archives, Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville.

growing in Virginia and the Carolinas and periodically gathered the crystlized gum resin from the ground at the base of the tree. Such crude methods gave way by the eighteenth century to the use of wooden boxes constructed to catch the resin and thus keep it free of dirt. The industry flourished throughout the eighteenth and the first three quarters of the nineteenth centuries– particularly in North Carolina. The resin was used principally as a means of sealing hulls and protecting rigging from the weather. The absence of any method of conservation led to the destruction of the virgin coniferous forests of the Carolinas, and the industry moved steadily southward into Georgia.[3]

Meanwhile, in Florida the Spanish had developed a small naval stores industry in the early eighteenth century, and with the coming of the British in 1763, production increased substantially. The second Spanish period (1783-1821), however, saw a decline in the industry that lasted until the late nineteenth century when large-scale production got underway.[4] By 1900 Florida was responsible for 31.8 percent of the naval stores production of the United States, and between 1905 and 1923 the state held first place in total naval stores output.[5]

While the early industry was centered around the production of resins, by the twentieth century turpentine had become the primary product in demand, and for the first few decades of the century the resins were discarded. Turpentine's uses were many; among them were its use as a thinner in paints, as a pharmaceutical, and surprisingly as flavoring in lime sherbert. By World War II the demand for resin had increased once again– this time as a sizing agent in paper used to facilitate the holding of ink print, as a catalyst for synthetic rubber, and as an additive in the manufacture of nylon, axel grease, and soap. The modern industry developed more refined methods of extracting turpentine from rosin (the dark residue of resin) as well as from pine stumps through a sulphuric chemical process.[6]

Throughout the period of maximum production (ca. 1900-1940), technological change was minimal and was limited to two

3. IFAS master tape; Stanley C. Bond, Jr., "The Development of the Naval Stores Industry in St. Johns County, Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* 40 (September 1987), 189.
4. Bond, "Development of the Naval Stores Industry," 189.
5. Ibid.
6. IFAS video tape, green 3.

significant advances. First, a new method of collection was introduced that lent greater efficiency to the operation. The Herty System substituted small clay cups which looked like flower pots (without the hole in the bottom) for the cumbersome wooden boxes. The cup, which was used with a system of metal gutters to direct the flow of resin, continued to be referred to as a "box." The second innovation was the application of sulphuric acid to the face of the tree in order to stimulate and maintain the flow of resin. The introduction of acid, which came into wide use after World War II, reduced the work force as the trees needed to be streaked (renewing of the wound above the box) only half as often as before.[7] Otherwise, the tools, the methods, the animals, and the character of human labor were essentially the same as in earlier years. The hands were divided into squads, though an individual would serve in different squads with the change of seasons. The chipping squad, for example, was responsible for streaking the trees. This activity, lasting from the middle of March until the middle of November, had to be done about once a week before the use of acid and about every two or three weeks thereafter. The chippers used a tool called a hacker. The pulling squad worked in the late fall after regular production had ceased. Its task was to pull the crystallized resin off the old faces (the series of horizontal cuts made in the trunk of the tree) with a long-handled scraper. The dipping squad, the chief production arm, visited the boxes about every eight days or more depending on the age of the tree and the length of time it had been tapped. The workers poured the cups into a dip bucket weighing up to fifty pounds when full which was carried from tree to tree. When the bucket had been filled, the dipper carried it back to a mule-drawn wagon somewhere in his drift (a given area of forest for which each worker was responsible). The wagon carried two fifty-five gallon barrels. When the barrels were filled, the wagon was driven back to the still to be unloaded. Wagons continued in use in some camps until the 1950s. The resin was steam-melted out of the barrels on the second floor of the two-story stillhouse and allowed to flow into a great vat heated by a wood-fired oven below. The woodsrider was the overseer and was responsible for the

7. IFAS master tape.

entire operation of a smaller camp. He answered only to the manager (or in a few cases an overrider in a large camp). He was responsible for about six crops, each crop containing 10,000 boxes. It was his duty to ride horseback through the woods each day and to check every box to see that the cup and gutters were properly mounted, that the tree had been recently streaked, and that brush was cut and raked away from the tree bases as fire was an obvious hazard.[8]

While chippers, dippers, pullers, and ordinary still workers were almost always black, woodsriders were generally white, although this situation may not have prevailed for the later period in the eastern districts. A strict racial caste system was a hallmark of the camps of western and extreme northern Florida, including the Putnam Lumber Company camps of Dixie County where conditions reflected the most draconian excesses of Jim Crow associated with the last years of the nineteenth and the first three decades of the twentieth centuries.

Where the Florida Gulf coast makes its great, arching sweep toward the south to begin forming the western side of the peninsula, land and sea blur, and seasonal swamp and marsh extend inland for thirty to fifty miles. The land is heavily wooded with both hard and softwood species, and the region remains one of the last great game preserves of the eastern United States. As late as the 1920s, county formation in the area was incomplete, Dixie having been formed from Lafayette in 1921, and adjacent Gilchrist carved out of Alachua in 1927. The remoteness of the region persisted well into the twentieth century, and the area was characterized as a frontier in Florida Writers' Program reports as late as 1936.[9] The population of the Dixie County seat, Cross City, was still only 1,500 by the time of that report, and no other significant settlement existed in other parts of the county at the time. On the western edge of Cross City the separate community of Shamrock maintained its individual identity as a milltown, home of the Aycock and Lindsay turpentine distillers. Buried several miles deep in the surrounding pine forest

8. IFAS video tape, white 2.
9. "Report on a Trip to Cross City" in "Turpentine Camp at Cross City" (Federal Writers' Project, Work Projects Administration, typescript, 1936), 1, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

was the Blue Creek camp, one of many operated by the Putnam Lumber Company which held over 300,000 acres in the region. The manager of Blue Creek between about 1905 and 1922 was W. Alston Brown, known as Captain Brown by local residents ("captain" was the title generally accorded white men who supervised black gang labor). Brown was assisted by his brother Mose in running the camp. An accidental exposure to the extremes of the debt peonage system associated with the turpentine camps at that time led to the prolonged legal crusade of Gainesville District Attorney Frederick C. Cubberly whose investigations provide a description of life within the Blue Creek camp.

Interviewing some forty-three witnesses, including white camp guards and former black workers, federal special agents were able to brook local noncooperation and provide evidence which eventually brought Brown to trial on charges of murder and peonage, although the outcome of the trial is unclear. The depositions paint a repelling picture of life at Blue Creek and the surrounding Putnam camps. The company provided employees with shanties and a commissary that carried virtually everything deemed necessary for life in the camp, including furniture. Workers were required to make all their purchases from the commissary, and, indeed, it would have been difficult for them to have done otherwise as they were almost without exception prohibited from ever leaving the camp on the basis of supposed debts owed to Brown.[10] The camp was surrounded by barbed wire, and one or two guards patrolled the perimeter regularly.[11] After supper the hands were locked-up in their shanties. Men, women, and children were often whipped for any sort of infraction, real or imaginary.[12] Two especially striking aspects of camp life that reveal Brown's control over the workers and their families were the gambling and prostitution operations.

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10. Affidavit of Sam Miller and others taken by John Bonyne and E. J. Carter, federal special agents, Cross City, Florida, April 24-30, 1922, 1, Frederick C. Cubberly Papers, box 41, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.
11. Affidavit of Mollie Squire taken by John Bonyne, Savannah, Georgia, June 1, 1921, 1, ibid.
12. Many witnesses testified to this effect according to material in the Cubberly Papers. See also Jerrell H. Shofner, "Forced Labor in the Florida Forests: 1880-1950," *Journal of Forest History* 25 (January 1981), 21.

The regular work week lasted from six o'clock Monday morning until noon on Saturday. Saturday was the monthly payday, and a worker might receive money at that time. Many workers reported that they had no idea on what basis they were paid nor what debts they owed. The hands, including the women, were then required to enter the gambling house where Brown controlled the games, making and changing the rules at whim. If a worker ran out of money to gamble, Brown would toss them a handful of bills charging the amount to their purported debt. Anyone who refused to gamble was whipped. Gambling continued until six on Monday morning. This was a weekly occurrence held without regard to payday.[13] Another device that Brown employed to steal from the workers in a place where money itself had little meaning, was the sale of Liberty Bonds during World War I. Few of the depositioners report receiving bonds, but many were charged with their purchase.[14]

Brown also contrived to turn the women in the camp into prostitutes. This feat was accomplished by issuing what were termed "cross-time" slips. If Brown wanted a certain man to have sex with a certain woman, he gave the man a slip to take to the woman who was then to sleep with him and fill out the slip according to the length of time the two spent together. The woman then brought the slip to Brown who would read its value and return some part of its worth to the woman, holding some back supposedly to be applied to her debt. If any black man requested to have sex with any black woman in the camp, Brown saw to it that he had the opportunity, providing he had the money to pay Brown for the service. If the woman objected, she was given fifty lashes. If she was married and her husband objected, he was confined to the stockade. On occasion, new men came into the camp and chose married women with whom they stayed for months at a time while the husband languished behind bars.[15]

Another bizarre and highly macabre feature of Blue Creek was the camp cemetery. All hands were buried there, and for

13. Affidavit of Lizzie Bush taken by Bonyne, Trenton, Florida, November 11, 1921, 1, and the testimony of numerous other witnesses, Cubberly Papers.
14. Affidavit of Rena French taken by Bonyne, Cross City, April 24-30, 1922, 4, ibid.
15. Ibid.

those who died a natural death, the company furnished a headstone inscribed with their name, former address, and their length of service with the company. For those who died as a result of whippings or beatings, a board with the admonition to all that such would be their fate inscribed upon the wood sufficed. Newcomers to the camp were given a tour of the cemetery for their immediate edification.[16]

In order to promote the closest sort of daily control over the workers, Brown utilized informants who reported any word said against him. While weapons were forbidden in the camp (though sharp tools served nicely in the many fights that broke out), guns were issued to a cadre of Browns "pets" who were authorized to shoot and kill anyone who attempted escape. These men, picked from among the black labor force, were also charged with the special duty of looking out for government men and warning Brown of their approach. The guards were also enmeshed in the debt system, for if anyone did manage to cut the barbed wire and swim the mile-wide lake beyond to freedom, that person's debts had to be assumed by the errant guard.[17]

Since no informed person would have sought employment under Captain Brown, the company was only able to maintain its work force by virtue of the labor legislation existing in Florida during the period 1891-1942, and by the related convict leasing system that continued into the 1920s.

The Florida labor statutes of 1891 set a precedent that permitted the development of peonage in certain Florida industries. The law stated that anyone who accepted "money or other personal property" on a promise to perform "service" and then "abandons the service of said hirer without just cause" was "guilty of a misdemeaner" and was subject to "fine or imprisonment of up to one year."[18] It was common practice for employers in the turpentine and lumber industries to offer new employees a small advance, either in cash or in credit at the commissary, for living expenses until payday. By means of nefarious bookkeeping practices such debts were never paid off. It then became

16. Ibid.
17. Ibid. Topographic maps of the area for the period do not indicate any mile-wide areas of open water, but there were many seasonal marshes.
18. *Laws of Florida,* 1891, chapter 4032, 57-58.

a crime to leave the employ of the company, and if an escape was made, a friendly sheriff was generally on hand to return the offending party for a small gratuity. The escapee would then be charged with fraud and fined or given a six-month sentence. In any event, the worker would either owe his fine to the company, which would obligingly pay it off, or he would be sentenced to a work gang that quite often was leased by the state or county to the same company from which the worker had first run away. There was no escape.[19]

In addition virtually to legalizing peonage, federal statutes notwithstanding, and authorizing the convict leasing system, the 1907 Florida legislature passed additional laws to ensure an adequate labor supply for the state's forest industries. The 1907 law declared vagrants to be persons over the age of eighteen without means of support and those who "remain in idleness."[20] Thus, nearly anyone deemed idle could be arrested, summarily charged and convicted, and dispatched to the nearest lumber or turpentine camp where his debts would inevitably mount.

In addition to these methods, Brown, for one, would entrap relatives seeking to learn the fate of a husband or son. Such occurrences were facilitated by censoring mail to and from the outside. Outgoing letters were addressed by Brown himself, and any mail that got out not addressed in his handwriting was never answered, thus leading one to suspect that the postmaster, like many other local residents who saw their interests as one with the camp, was in collusion with Brown.

In August 1921, Georgia Jones received the following letter from her son at Blue Creek presumably mailed with the approval of Brown:

Cross City, Fla.
Aug. 9, 1921

My dear Mother:

I will write you a few lines to let you hear from me. Mother I would have written you before now but I could not ever get

19. Shofner, "Forced Labor in Florida's Forests," 15. See also Shofner, "Mary Grace Quackenbush, A Visitor Florida Did Not Want," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 58 (January 1980), 273-90, and "Postscript to the Martin Tabert Case: Business as Usual in the Florida Turpentine Camps," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 60 (October 1981), 161-73.

20. *Laws of Florida,* 1907, Chapter 5720, 234.

> paper to do it with. Been down here working in water for four days and now my feet have done got water poison and I aint been able hardly to walk– an Willie is gone I dont know where he is. I am sick from wading in this water. I want to leave here and I want you and Ma to try and send me two dollars if you can get it so I can leave from this place, that is the only way that I can get away from here is walk. They will put me in jail so try to get $2.00 for me. I will leave here I am in Taylor [Dixie] county where people is bad. I am sick and my foot is awful sore an no one to help me but you all. So send it this week if you can and let Ma help you get it so Good By– Send it to Cross City, Fla., put my name on it and put it in care of Capt. Brown. I am on his place sick and you must not register the letter you must put the money in the letter if you dont they wont give it to me.[21]

There is no extant description of the Blue Creek camp, but a description of another Dixie County camp a decade later may provide some idea of what Blue Creek was like. "It is on a broad sand elevation, against a dark jungle of cabbage palms and hardwoods; the other three sides are boggy pine woods. The light pine shacks are set in rows forming a horseshoe, with a mule stockade at the far end and the commissary at the entrance, along with the plain, neat house of the commisary keeper and his family."[22] The commissary is described as a "small frame one-room building." It contained a "simple counter and shelves"; the stock was "well-rounded' and included groceries, patent medicines, dry goods, and household items. The white operator, who was also the woodsrider, sold women's hose for sixty cents and handkerchiefs for five.[23] This description suggests an order and regularity incompatable with the image of Blue Creek, yet the writer described many of the same abuses that had occurred at Blue Creek and other Dixie County camps since 1910 or even earlier.

The brutal regimen at Blue Creek and the Putnam Lumber Company camps of Dixie County was not exceptional in the

21. Affidavit of Georgia Jones taken by H. P. Wright, Jacksonville, Florida, September 7-8, 1921, 1, Cubberly Papers.
22. "Trip to Cross City," 5-6.
23. Ibid.

Florida backwoods.[24] While some of Alston Brown's more psychopathic practices may have been unique to Blue Creek and environs, the imprisonment and physical abuse of labor was common, as is indicated by secondary sources. Frederick Cubberly's first exposure to peonage and kidnapping occurred in Levy County in 1901.[25] The famous Clyatt case, which established Cubberly as a vigorous prosecutor of peonage cases, occurred in that county five years later. While the defendants were Georgians, United States Attorney John Eagan's investigation led Cubberly to write that incidents of the kidnapping of labor for the purposes of peonage "are almost every day occurrences in this locality [Levy County]."[26]

In 1924, Orland Kay Armstong, head of the Department of Journalism at the University of Florida, conducted an investigation of debt peonage in the state's turpentine industry. He concluded that "most of these men sentenced to the gang were recruited under misrepresentation; were forced to work under intolerable conditions; were caught and held under warrants that assert a misdemeaner under an unconsitutional law, and sentenced without a semblance of a defense for fraud."[27]

In west Florida's Calhoun County, a 1925 case, also prosecuted by the tenacious Cubberly, led to the conviction– unusual for the day– of five white men who had aided a certain Mood Davis, turpentine operator, in beating four blacks who had at-

24. Shofner provides evidence for peonage and murder at a number of central and south Florida sawmills and turpentine and lumber camps. Given the nature of these forest industries, many camps were in remote areas such as the Big Bend region of the Gulf coast, the lower Apalachicola River basin of west Florida, and the Kissimmee Valley of south-central Florida (Holopaw in Osceola County, for example). Shofner, "Forced Labor in Florida's Forests," 22.
25. Rosewood, the scene of the Rosewood massacre, is also located in Levy County. For an account of the murder of an unknown number of blacks in 1923 see Gary Moore, "Rosewood Massacre," *The Floridian,* Sunday magazine section of the *St. Petersburg Times,* July 25, 1982, 6-18. John L. Williams, a retired black woodsrider of Alachua County, confused the name of this town with the Blue Creek camp, calling the camp Rose Garden. The Rosewood massacre is a part of the oral tradition of local black residents. Elvin Brooks, Sr., interviewed by author, Grove Park, Florida, April 16, 1987. Pete Daniel, *The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South: 1901-1969* (Urbana, IL, 1972), 5.
26. Daniel, *Shadow of Slavery,* 5.
27. New York *World,* November 24, 1929, cited in Walter Wilson, *Forced Labor in the United States* (New York, 1933), 98.

tempted escape from Davis's camp.[28] In the previous year, T. W. Higgenbothom beat to death Martin Tabert, a North Dakota farm boy, in a Madison County camp. Because the victim was white, the case captured national atterntion.[29] The investigation of the Tabert case led to further disclosures of abuses in the area. State Senator T. J. Knabb, it was revealed, was involved in peonage at his turpentine camp in Baker County, and thirteen years later his brother, William Knabb, was also implicated on a peonage charge. Through the late 1930s William Knabb operated a camp employing "several hundred black workers" that, according to one Florida historian, "was as repressive as any reported in the state since the turn of the century."[30] There, guards manned all roads from the camp, workers were held against their will at the pay rate of fifty cents to one dollar per day, the employees were forced to buy from a commissary which doubled outside prices, spies were employed to inform on their fellow workers, and beatings were commonplace. In 1937, William Knabb was finally brought to trial in a peonage case by another turpentine operator from Alachua County whose own brother was beaten by Knabb's henchmen in an attempt to pick up some laborers from the camp. The chief witness for the defense was proven to have perjured himself, but nevertheless, the Jacksonville jury acquitted Knabb and his codefendants.[31]

Numerous investigations over the years from 1901 until the 1950s turned up an increasing mass of evidence supporting the view that conditions in many of Florida's turpentine camps were a national disgrace.[32] Blue Creek was no exception– not in terms of its conditions, nor in terms of redress– for after Alston Brown was finally removed from Blue Creek and brought to

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28. Daniel, *Shadow of Slavery,* 140-41.
29. For a discussion of the Tabert case, see Noel Gordon Carper, "The Convict Lease System in Florida, 1866-1923 (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1964), 330-80. Also see Noel Gordon Carper, "Martin Tabert, Martyr of an Era," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 52 (October 1973), 115-31.
30. Shofner, "Forced Labor in Florida's Forest," 23. See also Carper, "Convict Lease System," 361-66.
31. Shofner, "Forced Labor in Florida's Forests," 24.
32. Carper, "Convict Lease System," chapters V-XI. For the later periods, see Shofner, "Forced Labor in Florida's Forests." These investigations led to the abolition of leasing state prisoners in 1919, and of the county leasing system in 1923. Peonage continued, however, in various forms for many more years.

trial, his replacement was none other than T. W. Higgenbothom, the man who had beat the North Dakota boy to death a year earlier. Within another year Higgenbothom had killed at least one black worker at Blue Creek, another crime for which he was not convicted.[33]

Fortunately, conditions were not everywhere so uniformly grim as in the western counties and those along the Georgia border. Life was hard in the turpentine camps of northeast Florida, but the sources indicate that the general mistreatment of labor was probably relatively less common in the camps along the St. Johns River and in the surrounding eastern counties, even in the period prior to World War II. The IFAS tapes containing oral interviews with approximately twenty former workers and their relatives, along with owners, managers, and their families support this view, as do oral interviews conducted by the author.[34]

At the McFarland camp in St. Johns County, respondents gave no sign that any regime other than the traditional southern form of patron clientism, a kind of benign neglect disrespectful of human dignity in favor of condescending paternalism, ever existed in the quarters.[35] In addition to the taped interviews and many field shots of the contemporary McFarland place, the IFAS tape collection includes a number of still photographs that reveal much about these past conditions. The following summary of the material conditions in the St. Johns camps is based on these photographs, video tapes of oral interviews with those who experienced life in the camps some forty years ago, and on oral interviews conducted in Alachua County by the author.

Camp housing was of wood frame construction on raised brick piers. Each house had a fireplace. Houses were arranged in widely spaced rows, and trees were often absent, probably having been sawed for the lumber to construct the cabins. Heat must have been a problem for the women at home during the day under the low, gabled tin roofs. Photographs indicate that much time may have been spent on the tiny porches or in the

33. Shofner, "Forced Labor in Florida's Forests," 22.
34. This study is preliminary; more extensive research is anticipated in connection with a portion of the author's doctoral dissertation on forced labor systems in Africa and the Americas.
35. IFAS master tape.

yard, if shade trees were present. Outhouses were located to the rear of each dwelling. The company houses were generally referred to in retrospect as shanties or huts.[36]

When new, the shanties probably provided adequate basic shelter, although without screens the insects must have been nearly intolerable in certain seasons. Without proper maintenance however– and there is no evidence of company maintenance– the wooden structures must have suffered from rot and warping. One respondent describes how she could watch the sunrise through the open cracks in the walls and that paper and cardboard stuffed between the boards would only be washed out by the rain.[37]

Other structures in the camp included the commissary, the still, the company office, the woodsrider's house, and occasionally a church and a juke (bar). The commissary was often a well-constructed frame building arranged as any corner crossroad store. The still was nearly always a large two-story affair, open at both ends with sheds attached on either side. Around the still extensive, substantially constructed loading docks and ramps were built upon which heavy barrels of turpentine and resin were rolled. A brick chimney pierced the tin stillhouse roof for the emission of woodsmoke from the large ovens below.

Nutrition in the camps seems to have been generally adequate. Most houses had gardens producing summer and winter vegetables. All the respondents reported meat in their diet with one exception.[38] The commonly reported foods included corn bread, sweet potatoes, beans, peas, corn, collards, mustard greens, eggs, chicken, pork (in the form of white bacon), and some beef. Rice, tomatoes, squash, and pork roasts were more frequently reported by whites in the supervisory ranks, though the roast was reserved for holidays.[39] Fish was an important dietary supplement for all. Emaciated children or those with bloated stomachs are not evident in the photographic

36. IFAS video tapes, white C, orange E, green 6, white 1.
37. Ibid., white 3. The house she describes may not have been a company house.
38. Ibid. Jessie May Henderson states, "We didn't know what fresh meat was hardly." John L. Williams reported that the family bought one pound of lard and one pound of meat per week, ibid., white 2.
39. Ibid., green 7; see also orange B, white 2 and white 3.

record. As one respondent put it, "Whether we owed the company or not– we et."[40]

The men and women in the photographs seem relatively well-clothed. The men are wearing overalls with long-sleeve shirts underneath. Another feature is the felt hat. In one photograph, only the foremen wear snakeboots. The few women in photographs are in dresses or skirts and blouses. The managerial staff in another photograph wear ties with jackets or sweaters and hats perhaps donned for the occasion.[41]

The workday lasted from "can't to can't: that is from can't see in the morning to can't see at night."[42] One white respondent, a woodsrider, in an ambiguous note of racial tolerance, said he worked such long hours it got to where he "couldn't remember what color his wife was."[43] Wages were based on piecework. During the depression years of the 1930s, one truck driver earned thirty dollars monthly, about the same wage a fast man could earn hanging boxes in 1906.[44]

Camp life was not rich in entertainment. The long hours and exhausting labor precluded virtually all other activity excepting the headlong rush to town on paydays once a month. There the frustrations of what for many must have seemed a pointless existence emerged in drunkeness, gambling, and fighting.[45] There were occasional softball games and dancing, sometimes only to the accompaniment of hand-clapping.[46]

Unlike farm children, the youngsters of the woods camp had much free time. Few attended school as the distance was too great, and the desire to go was often lacking. Instead, they played together, black and white alike, catching minnows and tadpoles in the drainage ditches and seeking minor misadventures which often resulted in difficulties with the adults. Both black and white women watched the children.[47]

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40. Ibid., white 2 (John L. Williams interview).
41. Ibid., orange K.
42. Ibid., yellow E (Alan Neese interview).
43. Ibid., green 5 (Andrew Woodard interview).
44. Elvin Brooks, interview by author; IFAS master tape.
45. IFAS video tape, green 6 (Austin Tilton interview): yellow F (Nettie Ruth Brown interview); white 2 (John L. Williams interview).
46. Ibid., white 3 (Jamie Lee King interview); green 9 (Mrs. Reed interview); orange R.
47. Ibid., yellow F (Nettie Ruth Brown interview).

Together with their child rearing duties, camp women boiled the gum-stiff clothing, canned, cooked two meals a day, and nursed the sick and injured. On occasion quarrels would erupt among the women, often in sympathetic response to the Saturday fights among their men. Sometimes the women's arguments ended in bloodshed as they resorted to the use of case knives or tatters (a three-sided tool used to sharpen a chipper's hack).[48] Now and then this violence was turned on their men. One respondent remembered being led by the hand by a young girl to her mother's home to find the husband's severed head lying in the yard while the lady of the house rocked placidly on the porch.[49]

But life in a northeast Florida woods camp was not characterized by daily violence. There were only the inevitable punctuations of violence, perhaps symptomatic of an awareness that even the rest of the South's working class was passing them by, leaving them in the dust of a depression that elsewhere, by the early 1940s, was nearly over.

And what of the Camp at the End of the Mind? What can one say of this camp which lies perhaps somewhere in the pine flatwoods of the interior of Florida? What can one say of its gradual evolution toward an accomodation with the contemporary world outside– of its slow decline and simultaneous convergence with modernity? What would the turpentiners have to say for themselves?

Perhaps they would speak of the falling demand for the product, of the loss of credit from the factorage houses, of the shanties standing vacant but for rats and snakes and chimney swallows. But some would also proudly insist that their lives were not so bad, that they generally got enough to eat, and that most of the boys got along all right. They might remember that the captain had to get after one or two of the hands for fighting now and then, that sometimes a man might run off, but with only babbits in his pocket he would inevitably return to the camp commissary, the only place he could spend them. They would tell of their hopes for their children and of difficulties in getting them to the distant school. The turpentiners knew they were different. They knew they were on the bottom of the socio-

48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.

economic ladder. They probably sensed that there would be no jobs in tupentining for their children– but their children's concerns would be the worries of the future– they had time to think only about the present.

Two questions arise in regard to the changes observed in the camps over time and place. Why were conditions generally worse west of the Suwannee River and why did overall conditions improve despite a declining industry? The answer to the first question may lie in the local geography of the region. What is today referred to in tourist brochures as the Big Bend area has always been out of the main stream of commerce and settlement. The remote quality of the area lent itself to rough and ready approaches reminiscent of the Old West, and such conditions gave rise to an economic regime characterized by direct methods of labor coercion. In addition, the remote area was far from the scrutiny of the public eye. The St. Johns River district, on the other hand, was athwart the major north-south lanes of commerce along Florida's east coast. By the 1940s, the area's proximity to the expanding population center and military hub of Jacksonville, as well as the sizable tourist cynosure of St. Augustine, led to the introduction of cosmopolitan influences and a more viable free-labor market.

As to the second question pertaining to the improvement of labor conditions in the face of a declining industry, it must first be noted that the opposite trend might have been expected. After all, gradual decline in a given industry has typically resulted in a worsening of the terms of labor in accordance with falling profits and deteriortating terms of credit, among other factors. In the case of turpentine, however, camp life improved markedly during and after the World War II era, while simultaneously the demand for turpentine and resin gradually declined. The direct cause of improved labor conditions was the gradual modification of the state's labor laws. These changes made it increasingly difficult for the lumber and turpentine interests to secure the cooperation of the state in ensuring a plentiful yet impotent labor pool. Repeal of the old laws was partially the result of a weakening forest industry lobby in Tallahassee and, at a broader level, of the growing hegemony of national interests accelerated by World War II. In any event, it is inconceivable that given the supraregional rationalization of the United States' postwar economy, the more coercive aspects of

the system could have been maintained for many decades more. For north Florida the last vestiges of forced labor and the process of primitive capital accumulation had been eliminated, and fully advanced relations of production in the form of mechanized pine plantations and centralized distilleries could now take their place.

TOM MORENO: A PENSACOLA CREOLE

by WILLIAM S. COKER

A recently published volume about the Moreno family of the Gulf coast contained a picture and brief note about Tom Moreno who died in Pensacola, September 23, 1942.[1] Tom reportedly was over 100 years old at the time of his death, but he could have been as young as eighty-three or as old as 105 depending upon which source one used (see table). An article by Gary R. Mormino, which was published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly,* called attention to an interview with Moreno conducted by Modeste Hargis in 1937 as part of the Work Projects Administration, Federal Writers' Project.[2] The Moreno interview, was one of four that Hargis did with blacks living in Pensacola.[3]

There is a picture and a brief reference to Tom as the slave of Francisco Moreno among the Moreno family papers. Further research questions whether Tom was a slave, and, if so, whether he ever belonged to Francisco Moreno. In his interview he does not admit that he was a slave, and his daughter, Annie Reese,

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1. The date of Moreno's death is not officially recorded, but according to Mrs. King, he died in Pensacola on the date given and is buried in Magnolia Cemetery in Milton. See also Regina Moreno Kirchoff Mandrell, in collaboration with William S. Coker and Hazel P. Coke, *Our Family: Facts and Fancies, The Moreno and Related Families* (Pensacola, 1988), 84.
2. Gary R. Mormino, "Florida Slave Narratives," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (April 1988), 408-09.
3. The Hargis interviews, "Interviews with Colored People Who Live in West Florida" (Florida Historical Society collection, University of South Florida Library, Tampa) include Joe Youder (age eighty-six), May 27, 1937; Thomas Moreno (age ninety-six), June 1, 1937; Alex Thompson (age eighty-six), June 4, 1937; and Richard Lindsay (age seventy-nine), July 6, 1937.

Differing ages and dates of birth for Thomas Moreno and Nancy Jackson Moreno.[4]

Year	*Age*		*Birth*		*Occupation*
		Thomas			
1870	22		[1848]		Laborer
1880	42 [32]		[1848]		Carpenter
1895	43 [47]		[1852]		Carpenter
1900	42 [52]		2/1858	[1848?]	Carpenter
1910	61		[1859]		Carpenter
1937	96		[1841]		Carpenter
1942	105		[1837]		Carpenter
		Nancy			
1880	35		[1845]		Wife
1895	45 [50]		[1850]		None
1900	36 [55]		10/1863	[1845?]	Washerwoman
1910	58		[1852]		None

emphatically stated, "he was never a slave."[5] During the conversation with Hargis, Tom referred to Don Francisco Moreno but not by name. He described Moreno's chest of gold and paints a rather fanciful story about the chest; he talked about Francisco's three wives and his great fear of cemeteries.

Francisco Moreno was born in Pensacola in 1792. He married the first of his three wives, Josefa Lopez, in 1815. Three children were born of that marriage. Josefa died in 1820, and Francisco soon after married her sister, Margarita Eleutaria. The couple had twelve children born between 1822 and 1846.

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4. Information on age and occupation for the years 1870, 1880, 1900, and 1910 from manuscript returns of Ninth U. S. Census, 1870, Schedule I, Pensacola, Escambia County, FL, 69; Tenth U. S. Census, 1880, Schedule I, Pensacola, Escambia County, FL, 12; Twelth U. S. Census, 1900, Schedule I, Pensacola, Escambia County, FL, 197A; Thirteenth U. S. Census, 1910, Schedule I, Pensacola, Escambia County, FL, 5577B, on microfilm, John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola. Age and occupation for 1895 in Sidney Phoenix Thomas, Jr., *Early Vital Records of Pensacola, Florida 1891-1899: Births and Deaths,* Special Publication No. 4 (Pensacola, 1988), 140. The 1937 age and occupation was noted in the Moreno-Hargis interview. The 1942 record of Moreno's age is in a letter from his daughter, Annie Reese, to the editor of the Pensacola Journal, August 12, 1959, Leora Sutton collection 86-1, box 5, folder 74, John C. Pace Library. The numbers in brackets are probably more accurate ages.
5. Reese to editor, Pensacola *Journal.*

Thomas Moreno (1841?-1942). Date of photograph unknown. Courtesy of Pensacola Historical Society.

Margarita died in 1851, and a year later Francisco married seventeen-year-old Mentoria Gonzalez. She also gave birth to twelve children between 1853 and 1871. Francisco engaged in various enterprises during his nearly ninety years as a resident of Pensacola. He owned large tracts of land in and around Pensacola, served as the Spanish consul there from 1836 to 1865, reportedly opened the first hotel in the city (the Hotel de Paris),

and loaned money from the chest he kept under his bed. Francisco was often referred to as the "king of Pensacola." He also owned many slaves which was surprising for someone who lived in town and who was not a large-scale planter. In 1850, Francisco owned twenty-one slaves ranging in ages from three to seventy years old; in 1860, he had thirty slaves from one to sixty years of age.[6] Although the slaves are not identified by name, any one of the several young males could have been Tom. When freedom finally came with the end of the Civil War, three of the freedmen remained with the Moreno family: Old Mose, Uncle Dick, and Teresa.[7]

According to his family, Tom's father was named Chico Moreno. Although he talks about his mother in his interview, she, like Francisco Moreno, is never mentioned by name. He intimates that he accompanied the Union soldiers to Mobile Point, and perhaps witnessed the siege of Fort Morgan. Tom moved to Philadelphia for several years sometime after the Civil War and then tried his hand at seafaring, but he returned to Pensacola and was there when the 1870 census was recorded. He was classified as a laborer.[8] In 1876, Tom was under contract with George W. Wright and Co. of Pensacola, a lumber company, to operate a lathe. Fifteen months later he "mutilated" his hand on the lathe and blamed the company for failing to keep the machine in safe operating condition. He sued for $5,000, but the court did not find in his favor.[9] Tom became a carpenter, a trade he continued the rest of his life. His sons, John and Ernest, were also carpenters.[10]

About 1875, Tom married Nancy Jackson. Although she was born in Florida, both her parents were from Virginia.[11] By 1895, eight children were born of this marriage. These include John, Thomas, Annie, Ernest, Matilda, Pearl, Frank, and one child

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6. Manuscript returns of Seventh U. S. Census, 1850, Schedule II (slaves), Pensacola, Escambia County FL, 133B; Eighth U. S. Census, 1860, Schedule II (slaves), Pensacola, Escambia County, FL, 6, on microfilm, John C. Pace Library.
7. Francisco died in 1883, Mandrell, *Our Family: Facts and Fancies, The Moreno* and *Related Families,* 31-96.
8. Ninth U. S. Census, 1870, 69.
9. *T. Moreno* v. *Wright and Dorr,* case no. 1878-6137, filed February 4, 1878, Escambia County Circut Court.
10. Twelfth U. S. Census, 1900, 197A; Thirteenth U. S. Census, 1910, 5577B.
11. Thirteenth U. S. Census, 1910, 5577B.

for whom no name is recorded. One can trace the family residence in Pensacola from Nineteenth Avenue and Second Street in 1893, to Wright Street (near Bayou Texar) in 1903, to East Chase Street in 1910. Tom and his family resided at 608 East Chase Street for many years. About 1939 or 1940, the family moved to 1115 North Sixth Avenue and was living there when Nancy died on November 18, 1940, and Tom two years later.[12] They are buried in Magnolia Cemetery, Milton, Florida. In 1988, the family included three grandchildren, three great-grandchildren, fifteen great-great-grandchildren, thirty-three great-great-great-grandchildren, and six great-great-great-great-grandchildren, for a total of sixty people.[13]

In the interview with Tom, Miss Hargis classsified him as "creole." A number of blacks in Pensacola considered themselves creoles and segregated themselves from the rest of the black population.[14] Pensacola creoles were a distinct group in the community and literally created their own particular classification. According to the normally accepted criterion, there was only one way for Tom to have been a creole; he had to have some Spanish (or Caucasian) blood which was possible. On the other hand, if he had been raised by the Morenos, he might have considered himself a creole because of the Spanish heritage acquired through his association with the family. His interview notes his affection for things Spanish and especially Spanish cooking.

TOM MORENO'S INTERVIEW WITH MODESTE HARGIS, 1937

"I was born in 1841 in Pensacola, Fla. I was christened in the Episcopal Church.

12. Pensacola city directories for 1893-1894, 1903, 1910, 1911, 1919-1920, 1927-1928, 1931, 1940, and 1942, Special Collections, John C. Pace Library. See also Reese to editor, Pensacola *Journal.*
13. Information provide by Moreno family members.
14. Ruth B. Barr and Modeste Hargis, "The Voluntary Exile of Free Negroes of Pensacola," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 17 (July 1938), 3-4; Linda Ellsworth, "Pensacola's Creoles: Remnants of a Culture," 1-16, unpublished manuscript in the files of the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, Pensacola. See also D. C. LaFoy, "A Historical Review of Three Gulf Coast Creole Communities," *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 3 (Spring 1988), 6-19.

"The Lord has been very good to me," he said. "I have lived to see grown up great grand daughters. I have been married seventy-one years and I have traveled many places.

"All the old Spanish people had Claret wine by the barrels. You didn't see drunk people on the streets in those days. There was pitchers full at the dinner table. Childrun was raised on it. The chillun in those days– people didn't care which way they went. They let them run loose fat as little pigs. They didn't have no doctor every time they had something wrong with them. Every morning they gave them a teaspoon of dogwood, cherry bark, and whiskey and let 'em go.

"I didn't fool with all these doctors. Taint good for nothing all these medicines. If I can get my roots, I'll get 'em. I gather Queen's Delight, wild sage, sassafras, catnip, peppermint and prickley [sic] pear. That prickley [sic] pear, you see it over yonder in the corner of my garden, is the most valuable thing I got. It's worth thousands of dollars if you know how to use 'em. It's going to make the hair grow, and the finest kind of a hair tonic. I also makes medicine of it, but I'm not going to tell you how.

"One time I was recommended to build a home for a white lady here. She spent so much money on herself, more than a thousand dollars and still couldn't get herself cured. One day she said to me, 'Moreno, if I had a gun, I'd blow my brains out. No, mam, Don't do that. Self murder is one sin that the Lord doesn't forgive.' She had heard that I made medicines. She asked me. 'Moreno, are you in the habit of telling everything you know?' As I says, 'no, mam, why?' She told me that she had thought my medicine would help her. I fixed her up two boxes. I only charged her $7.50. She was cured and she was so happy that she did her work right along.

Spanish Cooking

"When a Spaniard was doin' his cookin' and you come along a block away, you would want to go right in there. He used plenty of garlic, pepper, onions and tomatoes. You couldn't stand their coffee. It was so strong. I used to work for a captain here. Every morning I parched and ground coffee by hand. It all came in boatloads from Cuba and they used the very best, not with any chickory [sic]. The captain was a Frenchman from New Orleans. I used to pack the coffee into the pot. I'd put a small amount of boiling water on it and let it sweat out. It would

seep out just like poison and the captain would drink a small cup of it.

"Bananas and plantains came in. In Cuba and in old Pensacola they used to have bum boats peddling things.[15] Oranges and figs grew all around Pensacola. I hang irons on my trees to keep them from freezing. My mother belonged to a very rich lady who lived in Holmes Valley, ten miles from Vernon. She set them free and went to California. Her brother in law, Baker, stole the colored folks and took them to the slave market in Pensacola. He sold them for $900.00. I was not born yet. When the lady in California, I don't remember her name, heard about it, she came right away. She took us all back and Baker lost his $900.00. I was then born. She held me in her arms all the time. She took us to a hotel out in East Pensacola and kept us there a while. After that she made Baker the gardeen [guardian] over us to see that nobody got us.[16]

"There was a selling of slaves in the public square. They used to kidnap the colored people and then sell them very cheap for slaves. They picked out the good looking daughter and married her. Colored people had to have gardeens. They paid the slaves $5.00 and the gardeen got the rest.

"At the Navy Yard in Pensacola they treated them well. You couldn't whip a slave here. But some places they was mean as dogs. The worst place ever I went was a place near Sparta, Alabama, just above Brewton. I got off the train at sundown. There was one man that had about a hundred slaves. He had a large log in front of the house and it had two rings driven into it. They was made fast to those and lashed and then he made the bullhide sing. It kept on until ten and eleven o'clock at night. He bathed them in blood and then rubbed them down with salt and pepper. I got out of that town the next morning. I couldn't stand it.

15. Bumboats were used to peddle provisions, etc., to vessels in port or anchored off shore.

16. For the appointment of gar-deens (guardians) for "Free People of Color" in Pensacola, see Barr and Hargis, "The Voluntary Exile of Free Negroes of Pensacola," 9-14. Francisco Moreno was appointed guardian of Isabella and Maria Durant (p. 13). A search of the Escambia County deed books, wherein appointments of guardians are recorded, did not reveal any reference to a guardian named Baker, nor any free blacks named Moreno for whom guardians had been appointed. Thus, if Tom is correct in his statement about Baker as a guardian, perhaps this is recorded somewhere other than Pensacola or Escambia County.

"When the slaves was bad, their massa gave them a note that they couldn't read, and he would carry this note to the jailer who would give him a whipping. Then he would say, 'Now you go home and be a good boy.'

"I was sitting in my yard on Aragon Street when the first gun was fired. The first Florida Regiment fooled them all. They made out as if they were on Jeff Davis's side and they were all on Abe Lincoln's side. So many of the soldiers were buried on Santa Rosa Island. Then they left Pensacola and went to Fort Morgan where they fought eight days and nights without ceasing. I was old enough to ride the horses and I stayed with them till just before the end of the war. I came back to Pensacola Navy Yard and then went to Philadelphia and stayed four years. My brother never did come back. He went to Maine.[17] I returned to Pensacola, shipped out and went to sea, landing at Cuba. There I found mo' war. We loaded the ship with sugar and syrup. We went to Matanzas and Mount Tanimar. Then I went to Boston, but I got off the ship. She was going to the strait and I didn't want to go. I shipped on another vessel to Mobile. I came back to Pensacola and went to Molina to work in the mill. Ayer was one of the first to have a big mill up there.

"In those days Milton was called Scratch Ankle. Floridatown was nothing but a settlement. There was a cotton factory at Arcadia and mills at Bagdad. In traveling we used to go across Carpenter's Creek, where there was a fording place. There wasn't any bridge across Bayou Texar like there is now.

"Jacob Kelker owned piles of land around Floridatown. He still owns some. The creek there is called Jacob's Creek for him. My wife is a cousin of the Kelkers. I remember all the Spaniards and a few of the English who were here. One of them used to sit on his porch and cry, 'Jesus Christ was a dark complected man and had very large eyebrows.' He had his coffin made long before he died and every morning he used to git in it and say, 'Here restes [?] in Heaven. Oh, I wish I were dead.' All day Sunday the people had cock fights. Sometimes they had duels.

"There was two kinds of money, for the Spaniards, gold and silver. One of the old Spaniards [Francisco Moreno?] found a chest full of gold near Baylen Street. He took it to the blacksmith

17. His brother's name was John, and according to Tom's daughter, Annie Reese, he never returned to Pensacola. Reese to editor, Pensacola *Journal.*

shop and told the smith, 'You open dis chest. I pay you.' The next day when he came back the chest was there full of gold. The smith met him in the door with a hammer and said, 'I kill you. You make me out tief, stealing gold.' And the Spaniard had to beg for his life. He paid the smith for opening the chest. He loved gold so that when he loaned money, or sold land he wouldn't take checks or bills. Every bit of it had to be paid in gold.

"He had three wives, but he was so afraid of dying that when his wives died, he wouldn't go any nearer the cemetery than Alcaniz and Intendencia Street. 'I go there soon enough,' he say. Every evening he used to ride in a hack. He told the driver not to go near the cemetery. He was reading one day and when he looked up they were in the gate of the cemetery. Not one cent would he pay the driver.

"In the Spanish American War I was following my trade as a carpenter. I helped to build the large lighters. During the World War, I helped build ships at the shipyard. They used to call me and tell me to come work at the navy yard and I could have a home on the reservoir long as I lived, but I never would go.

"Before Witherspoon came to Pensacola everybody was one big family, and whites and colored worked together for the good of everyone.[18] We used to make from $6.00 to $10.00 a day. But Witherspoon sold the colored people out. He promised them all kinds of things and after he left the colored women had to pull grass in the parks.

"There is one white man who is burning in the bad place for trying to take my land from me. I was working at Point Washington at the mill. I heard that he was trying to get my land so I come back in a hurry. When I came back, my friend, Wright, said, 'Have you any money?' A little bit. 'Then get a lawyer.' I did, but there wasn't much in the case except what I said. Then the jury went out and hardly stayed ten minutes. They came back and said, 'We find that this man has a title deed to the land.'

18. Witherspoon cannot be positively identified. There is a George W. Witherspoon noted in the 1885-1886 Pensacola directory. He was listed as pastor of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and as a city commissioner for Pensacola.

"The meanest man that was ever in Pensacola was Sam Pollard. He lied and he stole. One day he went up to Jo Shierra [José Sierra] and said to him 'My wife can't take care of the goose. I sell them to you cheap, for $3.00 a dozen.' Shierra said, 'All right, you bring them goose here.' When Sam brought them he told Shierra, 'You better be careful. You better watch. People steal you goose.' That night Shierra sat up until four o'clock watching. He went in to get his coffee. When he came back half of the geese were gone. When he met Pollard that day, Pollard ask him 'How dem goose?' The next night the rest of them disappeared.

"He stole a fine western cow and took her across the other side of the bayou, and hid her in the bushes. When Hutchinson came to look for the cow and found her, Pollard said, 'That not you cow. That my cow.' Hutchinson said, 'I don't want to send you to jail or to kill you, but if you don't drive that cow across bayou, I'll shoot you down. Mind, no tricks now.'

"While they were fording the Bayou, Pollard caused the cow to trip and upset Hutchinson in the Bayou. Hutchinson got up and said, 'You hurt that cow? I'll kill you.' She wasn't hurt. Pollard ended up by gettin' lynched.

"There was haunted houses all round Pensacola. You didn't never know when you was going to get in one. I'm going to [tell] you the truth, I remember the house that I used to live in. Me and my wife lived in one half and a woman had the other half. It was on the short street [Bru]. That woman on the other side was tormented but she just moved out and wouldn't tell us there was ghosts. One night I was lyin' in the bed and something come walkin' and walkin' and just worried me to death. Somethin' tall and thin and white come in the room and stood over me and my wife. The dishes would rattle and me and my wife both went out of the window. That must have been the house where the sailor was murdered and there was blood all over this house. I had a dog that Gam Bell gave me. One night he hollered an awful holler and I haven't seen that dog till this day.

"There was a house by Escambia Bridge. Every night when the moon was bright as day, there would be a crunching on the oyster shells and the tallest man I ever seen or heard of would walk about. They wanted me to follow him but I wouldn't do it. One time a woman followed him and went to a certain spot where she dug up a jar of gold. Anybody born with a caul over

the eye can see spirits. When you die, your body is in the cemetery. Your soul and spirit are not. They are in the wind, everywhere.

"There weren't pirates right in Pensacola. They were on the peninsula and the island. There's a graveyard on the island. You can't find it but one time. When you go back, it will be gone. Near Forty-nine Point there was a hole in the ground. They tried and tried but they couldn't get to the bottom.

"If you spend the night at that place on the island, I'll guarantee you can't sleep. You'll hear guns and shooting, horses runnin' and commands given same as in war. The noise was terrible. At Town Point, if you go over there any night at twelve o'clock and anchor your boat, you'll hear the most beautiful music that nobody knows where it comes from. Town Point was really treasure ground.

"There was once a young man who, when he was a good lad of a boy, about eighteen or nineteen years old, killed another fellow with a Barlowe knife. In those days the courts would keep after you for years and years, especially if you'd killed a person. One day years later this man wrote a note at his office on Palafox Street and killed himself. In the note he said that the man he killed had come for him and said to him, 'Get yourself ready. It's time for you to go with me.'

Yellow Fever

"The last big fever we had was in 1882. I seen them die like sheep. it used to always be fever and smallpox, but it isn't that way now.

"There was one old colored man who wanted his daughter to marry a white man so bad that he offered $10,000 to any white fellow who would marry her. He had more money than he had sense."

FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

This list shows the amount and variety of Florida history research and writing currently underway, as reported to the *Florida Historical Quarterly.* Doctoral dissertations and master's theses completed in 1987 are included. Research in Florida history, sociology, anthropology, political science, archaeology, geography, and urban studies is listed.

Auburn University

Robin F. A. Fabel (faculty)– "The Narrative of Pierre Viaud as History" (continuing study).

David J. Stanhope– "Trade in British Mobile" (master's thesis in progress).

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University

Larry E. Rivers (faculty)– "Slavery in Gadsden County, Florida, 1823-1861"; "Medical Practices in Middle Florida, 1824-1861"; "Slaveholding in Hamilton and Madison Counties, Florida, 1824-1861"; "The Tobacco Industry in Gadsden County, Florida, 1823-1861" (continuing studies).

Florida Atlantic University

Donald W. Curl and Fred L. Eckel (faculty) – *Lost Palm Beach* (published).

Donald W. Curl and John Johnson – *Boca Raton: An Illustrated History* (published).

Raymond A. Mohl (faculty)– "Race and Ethnicity in the Miami Metropolitan Area, 1896-1986" (publication forthcoming); "Interstate 95 and the Black Community in Miami"; "The Urbanization of Florida" (continuing studies).

Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research

Charles Ewen– "Soldier of Fortune: Hernando de Soto in the Territory of Apalachee, 1539-1540" (publication forthcoming).

B. Calvin Jones– "San Pedro y San Pablo, Seventeenth-Century Apalachee Mission" (publication forthcoming).
B. Calvin Jones and Charles Ewen– "Archaeology of the de Soto Site" (continuing study).
B. Calvin Jones and Gary Shapiro– "Nine Mission Sites in Apalachee" (publication forthcoming).
John H. Hann– "Juan Baiva, Prototype of Colonial Florida's Spanish Friar"; "Missions of Western Timucua (continuing studies); "Translations of the Apalachee Portions of the de Soto Chronicles and the Cabeza de Vaca Accounts";"Mission to the Calusa" (translations); "Summary Guide to the Missions of Florida" (publications forthcoming).
Gary Shapiro and John H. Hann– "Documentary Image of the Council House of Spanish Florida Tested by Excavations at the Mission San Luis de Talimali" (publication forthcoming).

Florida Division of Historical Resources

Brent Weisman– "Archaeology of Mission San Martín de Timucua, Columbia County" (continuing study).

Florida Historical Society

Lewis Nick Wynne (faculty)– "Still They Sail: Shipbuilding in Tampa During W.W. II"; "Punishment, Profits, and Public Opinion: The Convict Lease System in the South, 1865-1910" (continuing studies).
Lewis Nick Wynne and John Belohlaveck (eds.)– "Divided We Fall: An Examination of Confederate Leadership" (publication forthcoming).

Florida Museum of Natural History

Kenneth W. Johnson– "Aboriginal Settlements in Early Spanish Period North Central Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
William Marquardt (faculty)– "Culture and Environment in the Domain of the Calusa" (publication forthcoming); "Archaeology of the Calusa Indians and their Prehistoric Ancestors" (continuing study).

William E. McGoun– "Archaeology of South Florida, An Overview" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)– "Archaeology of the Hernando de Soto Expedition in Florida and its Impact on Native Peoples"; "Archaeology of the Santa Fe Mission" (continuing studies).

Jeffrey M. Mitchen– "Redefining Saftey Harbor: Late Prehistoric/Protohistoric Archaeology in West Peninsular Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Claudine Payne– "Political Transformation within Chiefdoms: The Prehistoric and Historic Apalachee of Northwest Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Donna L. Ruhl– "They Could Not Live on Bread Alone: A Paleoethnobotanical Analysis of 16th and 17th Century Coastal Spanish Mission Sites in La Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Rebecca Saunders– "Archaeology of the Santa Catalina and Santa Maria Spanish Missions, Amelia Island" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Florida Southern College

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

Florida State University

Frank W. Alduino– "Prohibition in Tampa, 1880-1932" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Tim Barton– "Ethnohistorical Researches of Cemeteries in Leon County, Florida" (master's thesis in progress).

Neil B. Betten and Edward F. Keuchel (faculty)– "Homicide and Capital Punishment: Jacksonville, 1870-1920" (continuing study).

Kathryn Holland Braund– "Political, Economic, and Social Impact of Trade with the British on the Creeks, 1763-1783" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

James H. Denham– "Crime and Criminal Justice in Antebellum Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

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

Glen H. Doran and David N. Dickel (faculty)– "Windover (8,000 year-old burial pond) Archaeological Research Project, Titusville" (continuing study).

Mary Louise Ellis– "Benjamin Chaires, Entrepreneur of Territorial Florida" (continuing study).

Judith E. Fandrich– "Revision: A New Look at St. Johns II Subsistence" (master's thesis completed).

Anne G. Foshee– "Exploitation of Forest Resources in Early Florida" (master's thesis in progress).

Miriam Freeman– "The Early Decades of Florida State College for Women" (master's thesis in progress).

Peter P. Garretson (faculty)– "General William Wing Loring: A Florida Pasha in the Egyptian Army, 1869-1879"; "Pasha Loring's Dispatch to Khedive Ismail Following his Defeat at the Hands of the Ethiopian Army at the Battle of Gura, 1876" (continuing studies).

Peter P. Garretson and David Coles– "Life of General William Wing Loring" (continuing study).

Bruce Grindal (faculty)– "Religious Life and Experience in North Florida" (continuing study).

Susan Hamburger– "The Development of the Horse Racing Industry in Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); "Survey of Leon County Quail Plantations"; "History of Hospitals in Tallahassee"; "Letters of the Family of George Fairbanks in Civil War Florida" (continuing studies).

Diane Harney– "Rhetoric of the Pepper-Smathers Election" (master's thesis in progress).

William Hickey– "Key West Salvagers before the Civil War" (master's thesis in progress).

Susan Hortenstine– "Historical and Ethnographic Study of a Rural Methodist Church in Leon County, Florida" (master's thesis in progress).

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

Ric Kabat– "The Administration of Albert Waller Gilchrist" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Edward F. Keuchel– "Oral History of the First Twenty Years of Florida State University" (continuing study).

Edward F. Keuchel and Joe Knetsch– "Surveying the Arredondo Grant in Columbia County, Florida" (continuing study).

Susan Losh (faculty)– "Cohesiveness and Commitment in Florida Churches" (continuing study).

Rochelle A. Marrinan– "Mission San Pedro y San Pablo de Patale" (field school, continuing study).

William Warren Rogers (faculty) – *A History of Foshalee Plantation* (published); "A History of Tallahassee Capital City Bank" (continuing study).

William Warren Rogers and Mary Louise Ellis – *A Pictorial and Narrative History of Tallahssee, Florida* (published).

Brian Rucker– "Manufacturing in the Pensacola Area to 1860" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Mark Sannino– "Italian Immigrants in Florida" (master's thesis in progress).

Robert Taylor– "Florida's Economic Contribution to the Confederacy" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Raymond B. Vickers– "Florida Banking in the 1920s" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Sally Vickers– "Ruth Bryan Owens" (master's thesis in progress).

Lynn Ware– "History of the Apalachicola River, 1800 1865" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Roderick Watters– "Senator Gwynn Cherry" (master's thesis in progress).

Linda D. Wolfe and Elizabeth H. Peters– "History of the Freeranging Rhesus Monkeys (Maccaca Mulatta) of Silver Springs" (published, 1987).

Historic Keys Preservation Board

Love Dean – *Reef Lights: Seaswept Lighthouses of the Florida Keys* (publication forthcoming of revised edition with new material).

Joan and Wright Langley– "Aviation History of Key West" (publication forthcoming).

Wright Langley and Sharon Wells– "Harry S. Truman's Little White House" (continuing study).

Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board

Valarie Jackson Bell– "An Eighteenth-Century High Status Residential Site in St. Augustine"; "Three Sixteenth-Century Burials in St. Augustine" (continuing studies).

Stanley C. Bond, Jr. – *Excavations and Monitoring on St. George Street, St. Augustine, Florida* (published).

Stanley C. Bond, Jr., and Susan R. Parker– "Investigations of the Sabate Plantation: A Nineteenth-Century Minorcan Farm"; "St. Johns County Historical, Archaeological, and Architectural Report" (continuing studies).

Christine Newman and Bryan Guevin– "City of St. Augustine Archaeological Preservation Ordinance" (continuing study).

Christine Newman and Bruce Piatek, in collaboration with the city of St. Augustine– "Archaeological Investigations of the Rosario Redoubt" (continuing study).

Historical Association of Southern Florida

David Blackard, Patsy West, Daniel O. Markus, Rebecca A. Smith, Tina Bacuvalas, and J. Andrew Brian– "Indians of Florida" (exhibition forthcoming).

Miguel Bretos, Rebecca A. Smith, Tina Bacuvalas, Daniel O. Markus, and J. Andrew Brian– "Cuban Florida" (exhibition forthcoming).

Tina Bucuvalas– "South Florida Forklife" (continuing study); "Shell Monuments: Tourist and Folk Art in South Florida" (publication forthcoming).

Tina Bucuvalas and J. Andrew Brian– "Tropical Traditions: Folklife in South Florida" (exhibition forthcoming).

Robert S. Carr, William S. Steele, Amy Felmley, and J. Andrew Brian– "The Cutler Site: Archaeology in South Florida" (exhibition forthcoming).

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

Joseph H. Fitzgerald, Rebecca A. Smith, and J. Andrew Brian– "Routes of Discovery: Charting the New World" (exhibition forthcoming).

Paul S. George, Tina Bucuvalas, Rebecca A. Smith, Daniel O. Markus, and J. Andrew Brian– "South Florida Tourism" (exhibition forthcoming).

Arva Moore Parks– "Dade County" (continuing study).

Thelma Peters– "Buena Vista"; "Personal Travels in the West Indies" (continuing studies).

William S. Steele– "Military History of the Joe Robbie Dol-

phin Stadium Site"; "Major General Thomas S. Jesup's South Florida Campaign" (publications forthcoming).

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

Hong Kong Baptist College

J. Barton Starr (faculty)– "The Loyalists of British East Florida, 1763-1783" (continuing study).

Jacksonville University

George E. Buker (faculty emeritus)– "Jacksonville: The Janus Port, A History of the Port of Jacksonville, 1562-1988" (continuing study).

Joan Carver and Wynn Teasley (faculty)– "City Council Voting Patterns: Jacksonville and Pensacola" (continuing study).

Louisiana State University

Paul E. Hoffman – *A New Andalucia and a Way to the Orient: A History of the American Southeast During the Sixteenth Century* (published); "Encounters between European Hopes and New World Realities, The Case of Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón, 1526" (published).

National Park Service

John W. Griffin– "The Archaeology of Everglades National Park: A Synthesis" (publication forthcoming); "The History of Florida Archaeology"; "Highlights in the History of Florida Archaeology"; "Changing Perspectives on the Spanish Missions of La Florida"; "The Archaeology of Flagler County" (continuing studies).

Saint Leo College

James J. Horgan (faculty)– "Centennial History of Saint Leo College" (publication forthcoming).

State University of New York

Susan L. Clark– "Franklin W. Smith's Poured Concrete Formula in Moorish Revival Buildings in St. Augustine" (master's thesis in progress).

Stetson University

William J. Dreggors and Steve Hess– "A Pictorial History of West Volusia County, 1870-1940" (publication forthcoming).

Evans C. Johnson (faculty)– "An Oral Biography of J. Ollie Edmunds, President of Stetson University (1948-1967)" (continuing study).

Tallahassee Community College

Fred Akers – *John Frederick Mathews: Educator, Scholar, and Member of the Harlem Renaissance* (published).

University of Central Florida

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

Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty)– "Naval Stores Industry in the Southeastern United States" (continuing study).

Jerrell H. Shofner and José B. Fernandez (faculty)– "A His–tory of Florida" (continuing study).

University of Florida

Ignacio Avellaneda– "De Soto's Men: The Survivors of the Florida Conquest" (publication forthcoming).

Arch Frederic Blakey (faculty)– "Civil War Papers of the Bryant-Stephen Families" (continuing study); "Florida" (published in the 1988 *World Book Encyclopedia).*

Everett W. Caudle– "King Cotton Comes to North-Central Florida: A Study of the Forces Shaping Emigration in the Late Antebellum Era"; "'We Have a Duty to Perform': The Florida Black Codes of 1865-1866" (completed studies); "The Social Role of the Militia in the Antebellum South" (master's thesis in progress).

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

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

James C. Clark– "The Pepper-Smathers 1950 Senatorial Primary" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

David R. Colburn (faculty)– "Florida's Governors Confront the *Brown* Decision: The Process of School Desegregation, 1954-1970"; "The Roaring Twenties in Florida" (continuing studies).

David Dodrill– "The Gulf American Land Corporation and the Building of Cape Coral, Florida, 1957-1969" (master's thesis in progress).

Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. (faculty)– "The History of the Florida Historical Society"; "Railroads of North Central Florida"; "Biography of David Levy Yulee" (continuing studies).

Michael Gannon (faculty)– "A Quincentenary History of Florida"; "The Administration of Florida Governor Juan Marquéz Cabrera, 1680-1687"; "German-United States Warfare in the North Atlantic, 1941-1942 (U-Boats off the Florida Coast)" (continuing studies).

Patricia S. Garretson– "Culture and Community in Late Antebellum Alachua County" (master's thesis in progress).

Patricia C. Griffin– "Tourist Influence on Public Ritual in St. Augustine, Florida: 1821-1987" (Ph.D. dissertation completed); "An African Slave in St. Augustine" (continuing study).

Kermit L. Hall (faculty)– "History of the Federal District Court of Florida" (continuing study).

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

Yael Herbsman (librarian)– "Jewish Life in Florida, 1854-1900" (continuing study).

Sherry Johnson– "Women in St. Augustine in the Second Spanish Period" (master's thesis in progress).

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

Patricia Kenney– "LaVilla, Florida, 1865-1910: A Community in Transition" (master's thesis in progress).

Jane Landers– "Race Relations in Spanish St. Augustine, 1784-1821" (Ph.D. dissertation completed); "Jorge Biassou: Black Caudillo in Spanish St. Augustine, 1796-1806"; "Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose: Free Black Town in First Period Spanish Florida" (continuing studies).

Robert Lauriault– "A Pilot Statistical Study of Damaging Freezes on Land Tenure in Five Florida Citrus Producing Counties, 1885-1985" (continuing study).

Eugene Lyon (faculty)– "The Spanish North American Conquest by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, 1568-1577" (continuing study).

Kevin McCarthy– "Contemporary Florida Authors" (continuing study).

Susan R. Parker– "Anglo-American Settlers of the St. Johns and St. Marys River Basins During the Second Spanish Period" (master's thesis in progress).

George Pozzetta (faculty) and Randall Miller, editors– *Shades of the Sunbelt: Essays on Ethnicity and Race and the Urban South* (published).

Samuel Proctor (faculty)– "Essays in Southern Jewish History" (continuing study).

Michael R. Scanlon– "At-large Elections in the Progressive Era in Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Susan Sowell– "History of Archer, Florida" (master's thesis in progress).

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

University of Georgia

Charles Hudson (faculty) and Jerald T. Milanich– "Hernando de Soto and the Florida Indians" (publication forthcoming).

University of Miami

Greg Bush (faculty)– "Behind the Magic City: Urban Development and the Redemption of Leisure in Miami, 1896-1930" (continuing study).

Paul S. George (faculty)– "A Jewel In The Wilderness: A History of Fort Lauderdale from Early Times To 1911";

"An Enduring Covenant: Temple Emanu-El, 1938-1988" (research completed); "A Guide To the History of Florida"; "Reaching for Utopia: The Liberty Square Housing Project, 1937-1987"; "'Land By the Gallon': The Progresso Land Lottery, 1911" (publications forthcoming); "A History of Tourism in Florida"; "Florida During World War II" (continuing studies).

Paul S. George, Charlton Tebeau, and Wright Langley– *Hurricane History: A Pictorial History of the University of Miami* (publication forthcoming).

University of North Florida

James Crooks (faculty)– "After the Fire: Jacksonville in the Progressive Era" (publication forthcoming); "Jacksonville Renaissance Since City-County Consolidation in 1968" (continuing study).

Daniel Schafer (faculty)– "Slaves and Free Blacks in Duval County, 1821-1861" (publication forthcoming); "A History of British East Florida" (continuing study).

University of South Alabama

Amy Turner Bushnell (faculty)– "Colonial Florida, 1556-1763: The Domain and Economy of a Captaincy General"; "Short Like a Spaniard: Caste Perceptions in Colonial Florida, 1565-1763"; "Spanish Southeast Mission Towns" (continuing studies).

University of South Florida

Ray Arsenault (faculty) – *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream, 1888-1950* (published); "Cultural History of Florida" (continuing study).

Marylaire Crake– "Women's Clubs in Tampa, 1900-1930" (master's thesis in progress).

Jack Davis– "Race Relations in North Florida's Black Belt" (master's thesis in progress).

Nancy Hewitt (faculty)– "Working Women in Tampa, 1885-1945" (continuing study).

Robert P. Ingalls (faculty) – *Urban Vigilantes in th New South: Tampa, 1882-1936* (published).

Gary R. Mormino (faculty)– "Biography of Claude Pepper";

"A Social History of Florida, 1492-1992" (continuing studies).

James Todd– "The W.P.A. in Hillsborough and Pinellas Counties" (master's thesis in progress).

University of Tampa

James Covington– "The Negro Fort"; "The Seminole Indian Murderers of Daniel Hubbard"; "History of the Seminole' Indians of Florida" (continuing studies).

University of West Florida

William S. Coker (faculty)– "The Effect of the Reign of Charles III upon La Florida"; "West Florida During the Reign of Charles III" (publications forthcoming).

Mary Dawkins– "St. Michael's Catholic Church, 1820-1860" (master's thesis in progress).

Jane Dysart (faculty)– "Antebellum Pensacola" (continuing study).

Wendell L. Grifith– "The Royal Spanish Presidio San Miguel de Panzacola, 1753-1763" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

Tom Muir– "William Alexander Blount" (master's thesis completed).

George F. Pearce (faculty)– "A History of Pensacola, 1860-1900" (continuing study).

Valdosta State College

Fred Lamar Pearson (faculty)– "Spanish-Indian Relations in Florida, 17th Century"; "The Guale Indian Revolt" (continuing studies).

Consulting and/or Research Historians

Anthony Q. Devereux– "The New World Policies of Ferdinand, Isabella, and Charles I as Shown in the Life of Juan Ponce de Leon" (continuing study).

Mildred Fryman– "Activities and Role of the Office of the Florida Surveyor General" (continuing study).

George W. Wertz and Yvonne Yniestra Wertz– "Silas Dinsmoor" (continuing study).

Patricia Wickman– "Following in the Footsteps of Osceola: A Photographic Journal"; "Jewish Mosaic: The Story of the Jews in Florida, 1821-1990" (continuing studies).

University Presses of Florida, Forthcoming Publications

Patricia Nassif Acton – *Invasion of Privacy: The Cross Creek Trial of Marijorie Kinnan Rawlings* (published).

Charles P. Bennett – *Twelve on the River St. Johns.*

George R. Bentley – *From Tiny Acorns: The Episcopal Diocese of Florida, 1892-1975.*

Marion S. Gilliland – *Key Marcos Buried Treasure: Archaeology and Adventure in the Nineteenth Century.*

Harry A. Kersey, Jr. – *The Florida Seminoles and the New Deal 1933-1942.*

Kevin McCarthy – *Florida Stories.*

Francisco Morales Padron, ed. – *The Journal of Don Francisco Saavedra 1780-1783,* translated by Aileen Moore Topping.

David Scheinbaurn – *Miami Beach: A Photographic Essay.*

BOOK REVIEWS

Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings: Sojouner at Cross Creek. By Elizabeth Silverthorne. (Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press, 1988. 374 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, photographs, bibliography, and index. $19.95.)

In September of 1936, Maxwell Perkins, the famous editor at Scribner's, wrote to his protégée Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings in the North Carolina mountains where she was recovering from the malaria she had contracted at her Cross Creek, Florida, farm, to ask if she could interrupt her work on the manuscript of *The Yearling* to visit another of his writers, F. Scott Fitzgerald, in nearby Asheville. Fitzgerald was suffering not only a dislocated shoulder and a broken clavicle, but also feelings of despair and an inability to write. In addition, he was drying out from too much drinking. Rawlings complied, and during a long afternoon together she and Fitzgerald shared, along with a bottle of sherry and generous quantities of port, various insights on life and the difficulties of writing. To Perkins she wrote that from personal experience she understood "the feeling of cosmic despair" that Fitzgerald suffered, but unlike him she always expected the crest of the wave to have a consequent and inevitable trough, whereas Fitzgerald had expected the crest to last forever.

As the Elizabeth Silverthorne biography, *Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, Sojourner at Cross Creek,* reveals, Rawlings suffered to an even greater degree than Fitzgerald from a sense of cosmic despair, a lack of faith in her writing abilities, a continuing problem with alcohol, and major battles with illness and injuries. In the Silverthorne biography, Rawlings is the shuttle that weaves together national and international literary and political figures over two decades into the rich tapestry of Florida history. Brief vignettes chronicle this interweaving: Marjories's home in the orange groves at Cross Creek is a regular stopover on Robert Frost's annual visit to Florida. Rawlings joins her dear friend Margaret Mitchell at the world premiere of "Gone With The Wind." Rawlings meets Ernest Hemingway aboard a yacht in Bimini. Years later, she and Norton Baskin, her second hus-

band, take Hemingway and his soon-to-be third wife, Martha Gellhorn, home to their Crescent Beach, Florida, cottage after a chance encounter at Marineland. Zora Neale Hurston and she share literary and personal moments in the days when society required Hurston to use the "service entrance" and at a time when Marjorie was enraged because another black woman had been arrested for swimming in the ocean at "restricted" Crescent Beach. A Rabelaisian evening with Thomas Wolfe and Maxwell Perkins ends at 4:30 A.M. in New York's Fulton Street fish market with Wolfe screaming a diatribe against suicide. Rawlings writes of Wallace Stevens: "He spent the evening at Cross Creek being disagreeable and obstreperous, got drunk, and read his poems with deliberate stupidity."

Silverthorne also includes Rawlings's encounters with national and international political figures. Rawlings sleeps in the Lincoln bedroom when Eleanor Roosevelt invites her to the White House. In the spring of 1949, "a nice young man" interviews Rawlings, and years later she is startled to recognize him as Whittaker Chambers, supplying evidence against Alger Hiss to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Fifteen months before his death, Jan Masaryk, the Czechoslovakian foreign minister, and Marcia Davenport spend the Christmas holidays at Cross Creek.

Florida celebrities are abundant in the biography. A long-term correspondence with Marjory Stoneman Douglas and a friendship with Verle and Edith Pope are but two examples. Marjorie's experiences with Ross Allen on a rattlesnake hunt in Big Prairie are likewise included. Projects such as Rawlings's unfinished works on Zephaniah Kingsley and on Ellen Glasgow both will probably yield great historical treasure to future researchers.

Regrettably, the publishers removed Silverthorne's footnotes, limiting the book for scholarly use. However, the volume is thoroughly researched with assistance from a number of archives and libraries, as well as interviews with Norton Baskin and relatives who provided the author with remembrances, letters, and pictures. Though offering no unique insights into Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings's personality or writings, the chronological form of this personal biography of the 1939 Pulitzer Prize winning author makes for very easy reading.

Florida Community College EDNA SAFFY

Creeks and Seminoles: Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People. By J. Leitch Wright, Jr. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1987. xv, 383 pp. List of maps, series editor's introduction, preface, list of abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. $35.00.)

In this final publication of well-known Florida historian, J. Leitch Wright, the multi-themed course of Creek and Seminole history receives a new interpretation asserting the existence of two opposing "ethnic factions" within this population. According to Wright, from the time of the American Revolution until well after the Civil War, major events in the lives of all these people were determined by the opposition that developed between the "true Muskogees," or real Creeks, and the "non-Muscogees," composed of Hitchitis, Alabamas, Yuchie, Shawnees, and the Maroon or Negro towns associated with them. Considered as a whole, the two factions are called the "Muscogulge People," a redundant term of questionable utility since "Muscogulge" alone translates "Muscogee people."

It is doubtful that this particular two-faction hypothesis will be acceptable to anyone familiar with Creek society, but the exposition would have been far less muddled if the author had been content to use the serviceable, if imperfect, term "Creek confederacy" instead of "Muscogulge" to describe the assortment of Indians, whites and blacks, refugees, and tribal fragments that lived in the Creek country. Aside from the ethnic faction concept, which should be disregarded, the material in *Creeks and Seminoles* includes interesting and detailed information about aspects of trade, significant periods of hostilities, the extended removal experience, and a fine discussion of the interaction among black communities affiliated with the Indian towns, enslaved blacks, and fugitives.

In his view of southeastern Indian history, Wright has a second but subsidiary theme, the role of the early British Indian traders in introducing western European views and values, along with their aggressive commercial activities, that effectively gained control of the Indian population. Wright calls these traders the "Goose Creek men," referring to the early geographic base for the southern Indian trade near Charleston. He contends that the Indians perceived Georgians as the heirs of the Goose Creek men, and characterizes Andrew Jackson as the last of the category. In the chapter entitled "Manifest Destiny," the

author sees American domination of the Creeks, accomplished in large measure by Indian agent Benjamin Hawkins, as the precursor of American rule over Hawaiians and Samoans.

The historical developments discussed in *Creeks and Seminoles* cover the rivalry of Spanish, French, British, and American governments in the Southeast, but highlight the continuity of events commencing with the Creek War of 1813, a military adjunct to the War of 1812, when Jackson carried out his initial campaign against the Creeks. The author points out the direct connection between the Creek War and the conflagration known as the First Seminole War that broke out in 1818. He makes clear the vital point that the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842, even more than the earlier hostilities, was as much a Creek civil war as an American army operation against Florida Indians. Slave-holding Creeks had as much interest in maintaining their black labor force, and recovering fugitive slaves, as the American plantation owners. Opposition naturally developed between the wealthy slave-holding Creek elite of Georgia and Alabama and the Florida towns that provided refuge for large numbers of black fugitives.

Wright estimates that prior to the beginning of removal, the combined population of the Creeks and Seminoles, their Indian allies, whites or "Indian countrymen," and the black constituency, together totaled 55,000 to 60,000 people. The Third Seminole War, 1855-1858, occurred after the relocation of most of the Creeks and Seminoles, voluntarily and involuntarily, either in the Indian territory or in Mexican Texas and adjoining provinces. But many fled to secluded sections of Florida and Alabama, some becoming identified as blacks and others emerging later to join kinfolk in Oklahoma.

For anyone exploring the field of Creek and Seminole history, this book should not be the first source consulted. A more realistic introduction can be found in William Sturtevant's essay, "Creek into Seminole," in *North American Indians in Historical Perspective,* edited by Eleanor B. Leacock and Nancy O. Lurie, and Michael D. Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal, Creek Government and Society in Crisis.* The best perception of the individual Creek towns and their offshoots that came to comprise the Seminoles is found in Richard Sattler's unpublished dissertation on the Seminoles completed at the University of Oklahoma in 1987. The Indian communities in Florida had their origin in

Creek towns, not in tribal entities, though it is important to be aware that the Hitchiti language as well as Muskhogean dialects were spoken in Florida Indian towns.

Wright apparently completed this book before he had gained a real understanding of Indian society and the diversity of minorities that existed in every Indian community. He was conspicuously in error in believing that most of the Shawnee lived in the Creek country and that his ethnic factions constituted a moety system.

The illustrations feature not only Indian leaders, but unusual items gleaned from manuscript sources. There are two sketch maps of Florida locations, the Panton, Leslie warehouse on the upper St. Johns River, and Bowlegs town on the Suwannee. The three maps prepared for the publication are too small and restricted in information to be satisfactory. The map of white settlements has the legend "New Switzerland" (Francisco Fatio's plantation on the lower St. Johns River) at the position on the Atlantic seacoast approximately corresponding to New Smyrna.

The Newberry Library HELEN HORNBECK TANNER

Apalachee: Land Between the Rivers. By John H. Hann. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1988. xiii, 450 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, tables and illustrations, appendixes, glossary, bibliogrpahical essay, bibliography, index. $36.00.)

John Hann's outstanding study of colonial Apalachee is a treasure chest for researchers, especially scholars already familiar with the basic history of Florida's first Spanish period. The exhaustive details provided in his text, superb appendixes, and invaluable bibliographic essay and bibliography fill a void in colonial Florida's history which hitherto focused mainly on the conquistadores and the eastern part of the peninsula because of the Spanish preoccupation with that area, notwithstanding Apalachee's eventual predominant economy, population, and evangelical activity. A comprehensive glossary and pertinent maps, sketches, and tables aid in following and understanding the meticulous text. Periodic summaries also help readers grasp

the essence of their preceding minute discussions. Appendix 1 "Chronology for San Luis and Apalachee," is a splendid brief introductory summary of Apalachian history for the newcomer in the field and a valuable refresher for the veteran.

Concentrating on the Apalachee Indians and their relations with the Spaniards during the seventeenth century, Hann also touches on the prehistoric natives and their contacts with the conquistadores and portrays their post-mission story through the end of the first Spanish era, to 1763-1764. By synthesizing available historical and archaeological data, Hann admirably succeeds in his stated purpose of exploring the Apalachee culture, government, language, and population trends, as well as the establishment and growth of Spanish Florida's northwestern Christian missions, Spanish-Indian acculturation, mission economy, native demoralization, the destruction of the missions, and the extinction of the Apalachee as a distinct people.

Some repetitious narration in the text perhaps is inevitable when discussing such interrelated topics in separate chapters. Especially in Hann's treatment of the Indian ball game, Colonel Moore's letters reporting his assualt on Apalachee, and the various lists of missions, villages, and population in great detail in both the text and appendixes do we find considerable, questionable repetition. In the interest of brevity some of the detailed coverage in the text could be reduced to references in the pertinent appendixes.

Though Hann strives for objectivity, his conclusions on the Franciscan treatment of the Indians and the lack of Indian complaints against the friars (chapter 11) do not appear to weigh adequately several significant factors, among which are the missionaries' condemnation of themselves by strenuously objecting to various governors' decrees prohibiting their mistreatment of the natives– to them an essential tool in their evangelical work. Also, the successor to Rebolledo, one of Hann's "suspect" governors, backed Rebolledo's version of his feud with the religious. Likewise, not only Governor Cabrera's successor, but also the Franciscan commissary general of the Indies, the crown, and in 1688, after Cabrera's abdication, Visitor General Father Machado, all supported Cabrera's charges against the Franciscans. Significantly, the stated lack of Indian complaints against the friars could have been due to their fear of their religious mentors (or concern for their salvation). Even Bishop Calderon

during his 1675 visitation reported the Indians to be "in such subjection" to their priest "that they obey his orders without question."

Hann's meticulous translations and exhaustive, well-reasoned analyses reemphasize the historian's dilemma and show again that definitve conclusions often remain noble objectives when dealing with sources as inconsistent, contradictory, biased, and sketchy as those used. As Hann admits, much speculation and estimation necessarily govern conclusions about such items as mission locations, populations, and casualties, among others. However, Hann also shows that coordinated archaeological effort clarifies, even resolves, some of the conflicts and fills in missing pieces of the puzzles. Further, as Hann hopes, *Apalachee* provides inspiration and fertile source for current and future scholars in the field– the greatest contribution of his monumental book.

Seattle, Washington ROBERT A. MATTER

Navy Gray: A Story of the Confederate Navy on the Chattahoochee and Apalachicola Rivers. By Maxine Turner. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1988. xv, 357 pp. Preface, prologue, illustrations, epilogue, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. $24.95.)

A river system a little over 300 miles long running from the small industrial town of Columbus, Georgia, to the even smaller seaport of Apalachicola, Florida, is the locale for Maxine Turner's study of the Confederate Navy's attempts to thwart the Union Navy's blockade throughout the Civil War. This is a microscopic slice of the Confederate States of America. Her historical arena is even more unusual in that it contained no great battles to determine the war, no dashing sea chases to enliven the narrative, nor any devious plots to promote blockade-running. Yet *Navy Gray* does contain an interesting perspective of how the two navies struggled, one to overthrow and the other to enforce, the most significant strategic naval policy of the war, the blockade.

Opening with a history of the Apalachicola-Chattahoochee river system, Turner develops her contention that here is a

model of the Confederacy embodying the essence of the South. Columbus, surrounded by plantations, had the established industry, and Apalachicola had the seaport to export cotton and import the manufactured items necessary for this society. Her narrative of the people of this region, especially the leisured and educated class, demonstrates her complete familiarity with local sources. It is an excellent opening to bring the reader up to the war.

According to Turner's research, the Union blockade of the port of Apalachicola was not effective, but was made more so by the actions of the Confederacy. That is, the deep draft blockaders could not approach the port, and there were too few ships to watch all of the shallow water channels leaving that port. But the defenders enabled the blockade to operate successfully because Confederate troops were needed elsewhere. Then the area's cotton was needed inland which caused the flow of traffic to be reversed, and, it moved upriver to the rail system for internal distribution. Finally, most of the unprotected people of the port fled inland to escape the blockaders. Thus the United States Navy's blockade succeeded, and the major effort of the Union sailors during the war was to try to relieve the boredom of anchoring off a backwater port.

Navy Gray's thesis is that the officers of the Confederate Navy desired to serve the Confederacy and to fight for the cause they believed in, but they were hamstrung by lack of organization, the political demands of national and state organizations, and the economic wrenching caused by secession. All of this hampered the construction of ships needed to break the blockade. Then too, the Confederate Army constructed obstructions along the Apalachicola River to keep the Union Navy out, which also kept the Confederate Navy in! To this add the vagaries of nature, such as the rising and falling of river waters at the most inappropriate times, and it becomes apparent why the Confederate Navy on the Chattahoochee and Apalachicola rivers was inative and ineffective.

Turner does not write about abstract societal organizations; she writes of the men who labored to construct the ships to break the blockade. Her knowledge of local sources enabled her to narrate an interesting story of this small corner of the Confederacy. This is an intriguing view of naval matters upon a relatively unknown river system. However, one comes away with

the feeling that the core of southern industrial might was to be found at the Columbus Naval Iron Works and the Confederate Navy Yard in Columbus, Georgia. Only after perusing several other works on the Confederate Navy, where the naval facilities at Columbus, Georgia, were but briefly mentioned, was this reader brought back to a more accurate historical perspective. This is a tribute to Maxine Turner's *Navy Gray.*

Jacksonville University GEORGE E. BUKER,
Professor Emeritus

Tropical Splendor: An Architectural History of Florida. By Hap Hatton. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987. xii, 210 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs and illustrations, credits, select bibliography, index. $40.00.)

The reader is warned by the first sentence in the Introduction: "This is a book about surreal real estate, about a land where buildings are fun and fantastic." Fair enough. This beautifully designed and illustrated volume presents a copious assortment of buildings spread from St. Augustine to Seaside, from Key West to Pensacola, well, not quite to Pensacola or innumerable other real places. But forget serious inquiry; heed the warning and enjoy the tropical splendor.

The text is written as a series of anecdotes placed within an historic context. The style is informal and is intended for the general public. Most chapters begin with a general historical background of the chapter topic, and the theme is developed with detailed descriptions of certain events and individuals associated with notable architectural examples illustrating the theme. Although the chapters are arranged in rough chronological order, each chapter is essentially a self-contained essay.

The book begins with a brief chapter of the first 300 years and quickly turns to Flagler, Plant, and Deering; frame vernacular structures; major figures in the Florida Boom of the 1920s; and the work of several major architects from Frank Lloyd Wright and Henry Klutho to Philip Johnson and Architectonica. The focus then turns to the "folk architects" responsible for such curiosities as Coral Castle and Solomon's Castle and the "personal fantasies" realized in Frederic Bartlett's Bonnet

House, the Bok Tower, Marjorie Merriwether Post's Mar-A-Lago, and several other remarkable sites. The final chapters address the camping trailer and mobile home, roadside attractions including Disney World, and the historic preservation movement in Florida.

As a whole, the book brings together in a handsome and easily read format selected aspects of Florida architecture that are interesting and unique. More a tour guide and introduction to major trends and sites than a history, it does not pretend to be definitive. Nevertheless, many areas of the state, particularly in the north and west, will feel slighted, and many readers may question the selection and emphasis of topics and the lack of a clear relationship between them. The final chapter dealing with the historic preservation movement in Florida is inadequate. This criticism, however, will not lessen the value of the book as a useful guide for the general public and as a quick though undocumented guide for the specialist.

University of Florida HERSCHEL E. SHEPARD

The Evolution of the Calusa: A Nonagricultural Chiefdom on the Southwest Coast of Florida By Randolph J. Widmer. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1988. xv, 334 pp. Preface, tables and figures, summary and conclusions, references cited, index. $18.95.)

Those readers who select this book expecting a culture history on the Calusa as depicted by the several available sixteenth-century Spanish narrations might be surprised to discover that they are reading an anthropological and environmental review of the prehistory of southwest Florida. Widmer has researched the subject well. He presents the Calusa through the most current relevant social and economic anthropological theories and squarely sets their development within the confines of environmental determinism. The development of the Calusa's complex society, which includes hierarchal leadership and organized labor for mound construction and warfare, occurs within a non-agricultural subsistence system, a rare occurrence in North America because chiefdoms generally evolve as an aspect of agricultural development. Widmer convincingly demonstrates that

the abundant marine resources of southwest Florida's coast accounts for the area's complex cultural development.

Widmer mines the available archaeological data, despite its current deficiencies, with intellectual persistence and combines it with a wealth of environmental data to reconstruct a diachronic view of south Florida that acknowledges, in particular, the importance of sea level changes, with concurrent subsistence pattern shifts, and the dynamics of a changing environment in regard to cultural adaptation and processes.

His chapter on a summary of the history of archaeological research in southwest Florida is excellent because Widmer gleans the most significant contributions of archaeologists like Cushing, Hrdlicka, and Goggin and provides light on aspects of their work that other scholars have not appreciated or have ignored. If there is any shortcoming to this chapter, it is only that the contributions and extensive recent field work of the Southwest Florida Archaeological Society is not included, largely because their data is still unpublished.

In his chapter outlining the area's prehistory, Widmer carefully reviews the data and critically assesses the area's prehistoric chronology, doing a good job of establishing the Archaic period or "Pre-Glades periods" roots of Calusa subsistence, noting that only the absence of pottery appears to separate the Pre-Glades and the Glades periods general material culture. In fact, based on environmental data Widmer theorizes that Calusa adaptation did not occur until 2,700 B.P. (ca. 700 B.C.), and that the environmental causes of this development occurred just after the sea level stand of 5,000 B.P. when the optimal estuarine environment with its plentiful marine life began to develop in southwest Florida. According to Widmer, the full level of chiefdom complexity was achieved by 800 A.D. and continued to the time of European contact.

One of the limitations in this book's weighty theoretical approach is that Widmer sometimes forges the available archaeological data beyond its limits and constructs hypotheses without adequate proof. One example of this is his interpretation of the voluminous data from the four-year archaeological survey of the Big Cypress Preserve. Although this extensive survey of 394 archaeological sites used minimal sampling techniques that were particularly biased against locating discrete features such as human burials, Widmer concludes that human

burials are rare in Big Cypress sites and omits mention of the several sand burial mounds located in the area. In addition, drawing from other sources, he fails to note the relatively common occurrence of human burials uncovered in Everglades black dirt middens which he describes as being "exceptions." Despite these deficiencies, Widmer's case for the secondary resource value of the south Florida Big Cypress interior in contrast to the primary value of the coastal zone is convincing.

The reader with an archaeological and environmental bent can only find satisfaction with Widmer's book. It is an important contribution to the archaeology of south Florida, and his explorations of the environmental effects on cultural development will be welcomed by interested scholars and students alike.

Metro-Dade Historic Preservation Division ROBERT S. CARR
Miami, Florida

Treasures of the Chipola River Valley. By H. L. Chason. (Tallahassee: Father and Son Publishing, 1987. 239 pp. Dedication, foreword, maps and illustrations, glossary, bibliography. $24.95.)

It is difficult to provide an overall assessment of this book. Chason's purpose in writing *Treasures of the Chipola River Valley* appears to be an attempt to illustrate and classify the many chipped stone spearheads he has recovered from the Chipola River. He makes an admirable effort to accomplish his goal, but he creates, in my opinion, a great deal more confusion and complexity than is necessary.

A brief history of the Chipola River is provided, but a sizable portion of the book is devoted to personal accounts of the river and the changes it has undergone throughout Chason's lifetime of seventy-plus years. One reads of smart dogs he has owned and birds he has befriended. He laments the passing (as a result of timber cutting, row cropping, silting, and pollutants) of many of the animal species in the area, particularly birds. Then, however, he proudly recalls the number of quail he has killed.

My major objections to the *Treasures of the Chipola River Valley* are twofold. First, Chason confesses that he is not an ar-

chaeologist– not even an amateur archaeologist. Having excused himself in this manner, he proceeds to classify all of the points he has recovered from the Chipola by comparing them to pictures he has seen in reference works from around the United States. Chason is definitely a "splitter" instead of a "lumper" when it comes to nomenclature. He would have the reader believe that he has found stone spearheads that originated in California, New York, and the Plains area. All of the illustrations, however, fall easily within a range of variation for typical Florida points. He does not seem to take into account the fact that individual skills in knapping, stone quality, or reworking will often result in a specimen that deviates from the "ideal" type but could still be classified as that type. It is difficult to determine if Chason is suggesting that the points actually came from those far away places or if the idea about their shape diffused into Florida. The only way to find out if the material originated from a source outside of Florida is to conduct elemental analysis. Most of all the illustrations are of very high quality, and I believe they would have been of more value if they had not been accompanied by what may prove to be erroneous information. Second, Chason has done what most amateurs do and that is recover only the spearheads from the river, leaving other equally informative specimens behind because they are uninteresting to the collector. Surviving artifacts made of durable materials, like stone, are only a small portion of the cultural inventory made and used by former inhabitants. By selecting only portions of what remains, i.e., the "perfect" points, amateur collectors make it even more difficult to interpret past behavior. The author says he made an appointment with an archaeologist to obtain assistance. It is too bad the archaeologist did not show up. I hope it was not I.

Chason attempts to flesh out the past by writing several short stories, which he clearly labels as conjecture, to explain the circumstances surrounding some of the specimens he has found. These accounts of caches, foreshafts, large spear points, broken points, and the alligator jaw prop are well written and could stand alone as fiction. As the saying goes, "it's anybody's guess," and his guess is as good as another. He speculates about events that are unknowable but dismisses other problems as unknowable that might have answers if the proper data had been collected.

There are several subjects discussed by Chason that clearly demonstrate that he did not consult the proper individuals or sources for accuracy. Examples include his comments about weathering, a definition of chert (flint), and six-foot tall Indians. He says that BP is a time period from any given time in the past to the present. BP stands for "before present," and before present is 1950 when radiocarbon analysis became available. There are other problems with chronology as well, like associating birdstones and boatstones used with the atlatl to kill elephants. The atlatl was not present during Paleoindian times, and birdstones and boatstones did not occur at least until the Middle Archaic about 6,000 years ago.

The book has few typographical errors, but the misspelling of Folsom, Bolen, and Duval should be noted since these are the names of well-known projectile point types. The physical appearnce of the book is beautiful, but the contents perpetuate pothunting and the glory of collecting that make an archaeologist shudder. You cannot tell a book by its cover.

University of Florida BARBARA A. PURDY

A Creek Sourcebook. Edited with an introduction by William C. Sturtevant. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985. 780 pp. List of sources, introduction, references, illustrations. $110.00.)

A Seminole Sourcebook. Edited with an introduction by William C. Sturtevant. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985. 856 pp. List of sources, introduction, references, illustrations. $130.00.)

Two hundred and fifty years after Juan Ponce de León first claimed La Florida for the Spanish crown in 1513, the native societies of coastal South Carolina and Georgia and all of Florida had disappeared. Cusabo, Guale, Apalachee, Timucuans, Calusa, Tequesta– none of these peoples were able to survive in the face of Spanish, French, and English efforts to colonize the New World. Disease and warfare reduced their populations beyond the ability of survivors to accommodate the European presence and maintain their ethnic identity.

In the interior of the southeastern United States, a region of large and dense native populations at the onset of the colonial period, some aboriginal groups did survive. Geographically removed from the Spanish missions and the coastal European settlements, the ancestors of modern Cherokees, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole peoples underwent many cultural changes, including the consolidation and confederation of remnant populations, in order to maintain group identity. All of these groups continue to exist as ethnic entities today.

In two sourcebooks William Sturtevant has assembled much of the previously published anthropological literature on two of these Native American groups, the Creek and the Seminole peoples. The respective articles provide an overview of the cultural changes that occurred as Creeks and Seminoles adjusted to the greatly reduced populations and the new cultural and natural environments from colonial times to the present.

A Creek Sourcebook contains twenty-two articles, some monograph length, that provide an interpreted culture history of the Creek Indians from the formation of the Creek Confederacy (ca. 1700) up to the present. Works on Creek archaeology, ethnography, and linguistic studies by such scholars as Charles Fairbanks, Albert Gatschet, Frank Speck, John Swanton, and Mary Hass are included with firsthand observations of William Bartram and George Stiggins. These sources, when combined with Swanton's four monographs on the Creeks published in the 1920s *(Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors, Social Organization and Social Useages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy, Religious Beliefs and Medical Practices of the Creek Indians,* and *Myths and Tales of the Southeastern Indians)* provide a scholarly overview of the Creek peoples, past and present. Because of their length, however, Swanton's classic studies are not included in the present volume.

Particularly interesting are the four articles by J Anthony Paredes focusing on emerging ethnic identity among modern Creeks in southeast Alabama. Initially stimulated by the University of Florida's Southeast Indian Oral History Project, Paredes's ongoing studies offer informative perspectives on Native Americans of which those of us interested in past cultures often are unaware.

Though not intended as a companion volume to the Creek sourcebook, Sturtevant's *A Seminole Sourcebook* is enhanced when

the two are consulted together. The people referred to as Seminole are the descendants of Muskogee and Hitchiti Creek-speaking peoples who moved southward into Florida in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Today they reside in Oklahoma (the Seminole Nation) and Florida (the Seminole Tribe of Florida, the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida, and other Mikasuki-speakers).

The nineteen articles in the Seminole sourcebook (again, some are monographs) recount the emergence of the Seminole out of the Creeks and their subsequent history vis-a-vis Spain, Britain, and the United States. Sturtevant's own paper, "Creek into Seminole," is an excellent overview of the development of the Seminole and Miccosukee up to the present.

Within the volume there are studies of Seminole archaeology, physical anthropology, and material culture. Many Florida Seminoles were removed to Indian territory in the nineteenth century, an emigration dictated by federal policy and enforced by military actions. Sources on those Seminoles, today residents of Oklahoma, are also included.

As sourcebooks both of these collections succeed aimirably. Anyone interested in learning about the Creek or the Seminole peoples will find a wealth of information. Other related pertinent materials are cited in Sturtevant's introductions to the volumes. Hopefully both of these high-priced books will find their ways into libraries where they will fulfill the task envisioned for them: providing easily accessible source materials to teachers, students, and other lay and professional scholars.

Florida Museum of Natural History JERALD T. MILANICH

Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America. By Francis Jennings. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1988. xxiv, 520 pp. Maps and illustrations, notes, appendix, bibliography, index. $27.50.)

Empire of Fortune concludes Francis Jennings's trilogy, "The Covenant Chain," which treats Euro-American colonial relations with the Amerindians, more particularly Anglo-Iroquois relations. As indicated by its subtitle, this volume focuses upon the Anglo-French-Indian struggle from the 1750s to 1763, with

clear intent to show that "The American Revolution began with the Seven Years War" (p. 138).

Jennings's first stated aim is to illuminate the role of Indians caught between warring European empires and American colonists; he treats the Indians in great detail, fully redressing the imbalance in favor of Europeans that generally characterize American histories. That in itself is welcome, refreshing, and important. The war is presented in episodic detail and slashing generalization that is sometimes enlightening and other times just aggravating, in any case limited to the American scene— which the Seven Years' War was not. The rising spirit of colonial independence receives its share of praise, for Jennings sees it as the morally proper response to a sinister British scheme to establish a military despotism over the colonists. Interesting to note is that that dastardly plot seems to have begun on the battlefield of Culloden (Scotland, 1746) under the aegis of Butcher Billy, duke of Cumberland. Finally, the author does full justice to the pacific efforts of Pennsylvania and British Quakers whose Indian diplomacy did much (far more than that of Sir William Johnson) to enable the Anglo-Americans to win the war. For these reasons, the book will interest colonial historians. Jennings says nothing of Florida or the old Southwest— though he might have done so.

Empire of Fortune will attract attention for other reasons as well, for Jennings is a bloodthirsty revisionist whose chief victims are safely dead: Francis Parkman, a "stupidly vicious" mysogynist who wrote "novels, miscalled histories"; Lawrence Gipson, whose "adulation of the British Empire . . . embarrasses even an anglophile" (pp. 125-26, 171).

When he turns on the English participants in the narrative, Jennings becomes truly frenetic. Bedford and Halifax (who dared to sneer and were "notorious") are "champions of the royal prerogative"; Cumberland "contrived" the Seven Years' War; George III's "minions" enjoyed "full control of Parliament," and "there is no doubt of the king's direct, personal complicity" in the repression of Englishmen on both sides of the Atlantic (pp. 114, 125, 469). Lord North's normal ministerial duty to the king makes him an "informer"! References to John Wilkes and Tom Paine are supposed to validate such views. Wolfe engaged in terrorism at Quebec; Amherst urged germ warfare at Fort Pitt. On the other hand, Indian cannibalism and

scalping are but cultural foibles, and Native American duplicity constitutes shrewd "rationality" (pp. 402, 446). It is regrettable that the book's virtues should be smeared with diatribe which is justified by the author as candor and honesty (p. 481). Francis Jennings finds it highly gratifying; his readers may be allowed their own opinions.

Auburn University ROBERT R. REA

South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution. By Robert Stansbury Lambert. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1987. x, 352 pp. Preface, maps, abbreviations and acronyms, bibliography, essay on methods and sources, index. $29.95.)

The author has presented the clearest overview of the Loyalists in South Carolina during the American Revolution that has been published. Dr. Lambert spent almost twenty-five years in research and writing. His thoroughness in research and scrupulous care in writing have made this work not only the definitive study of South Carolina Loyalists, but also obligatory reading for anyone wanting to study the military history of the Revolution in South Carolina, as well as to understand what a great achievement it was for South Carolinians to establish a new republic after such a savage civil war and to join the new United States. I have learned more from this book about the period 1776 to 1789 than I have learned from any other book in a long time.

The device that the author has used to bring all into focus is a detailed description of the organization of the Loyalist militia which paralleled to a great extent the patriot militia system. Two maps (pp. 109, 114) pin the commanders of the Loyalist regiments to their respective geographic contexts. Zacharias Gibbs, Daniel Plummer, Patrick Cunningham, and Daniel Clary organized the region west of the Broad River; Richard King and John Cotton, Ninety Six District; Mathew Floyd, John Phillips, and James Cary, between the Broad and Catawba-Wateree; John Fisher, the Orangeburg District; Henry Rugeley at Camden and William Henry Mills at Cheraw; along the coast, James Cassells and Elias Ball above Charleston and

Robert William Powell, Robert Ballingall, and Nicholas Lechemere, below Charleston. The chaos of skirmishes has thus been brought under control, most importantly for the backcountry which is the crucial landscape for what Lambert has called the "Second Revolution" (May 1780-December 1782).

A further helpful simplification is achieved by reference to the concept of a "hinge." "It is useful to think of the British position in the South Carolina backcountry as a whole, composed of two parts joined by a kind of hinge, with one part facing North Carolina and the other facing Georgia to the west." The "hinge" itself was "most vulnerable to a sudden blow . . . where the two frontiers converged along the upper Broad River and its tributaries eastward to the Catawba" (p. 132). Kings Mountain was near the "hinge," and there the American tide turned on October 7, 1780.

The author also stumbles upon the key to the social history of the backcountry and to the whole South in the antebellum period by pointing out that on both sides the leaders of the militia units were chosen because of "their local standing" rather than "military talent or experience" (p. 108). Provincial troops were organized by authorizing a prominent Loyalist to raise and command a unit (p. 149). "Basic to the whole idea of organizing provincials was that an 'influential' person, usually some one of wealth and standing, could persuade men of local influence to serve as officers" who in turn would "be able to recruit effectively for the ranks of their battalions and companies" (p. 150). The leading neighbor was the only refuge amid the chaos of a civil war. This was a patriarchal society.

The savage and tragic nature of the war in South Carolina was much like the fighting among the clans of Scotland. Massacres were almost commonplace. Tarleton's massacre of Buford's troops, the burning of Hill's ironworks by Christian Huck, the justice meted out to the Loyalists after King's Mountain, the vengeance exacted by Thomas Brown on his Whig prisoners at Augusta– all these "fixed the character of the war in the state." And yet in less than ten years a new state had been formed out of such elements. One has to read Lambert's book in order to comprehend the greatness of the achievements in 1787, 1788, and 1789.

I could find only one error, on page 186, where the name of the man who took protection should have been Henry Mid-

dleton, not his son, the signer Arthur Middleton. The form of indentation for entries in the index makes it most difficult for the user to find the particular entry one wants.

University of South Carolina GEORGE C. ROGERS, JR.

Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways in the Old South. By Grady McWhiney, with an introduction by Forrest McDonald. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1988. xliii, 290 pp. Preface, prologue, illustrations, notes, appendix, index. $25.95.)

Until the 1940s historians of the Old South virtually ignored the white masses. The last Frank L. Owsley sought to fill this absurd lacuna with *Plain Folk of the Old South* (1949), his capstone work. *Plain Folk* was flawed, but combined with narrower student studies, it was a propitious start on a very large subject. Unfortunately the "Owsley School" was shortlived. From the 1950s through the early 1970s historians were preoccupied with rewriting the history of plantation slavery. At last, beginning in the mid-1970s Grady McWhiney and Forrest McDonald undertook the white plain folks' story anew. In conference papers and articles they portrayed the wanderings and economies of ordinary Southerners, especially herdsmen. *Cracker Culture* is the culmination of this collaboration.

"Culture" studies (whether accomplished by anthropologists or historians) are usually static, and so is *Cracker Culture.* Following McDonald's long prologue on white Southerners' "ethnic" background, there are chapters on "Settlement" and "Heritage" which lodge immigrants in the American Southeast. Then the book becomes topical in organization, with chapters on "Herding," "Hospitality," "Pleasure," "Violence," "Morals," "Education," "Progress," and "Worth"– all of which assert continuity in southern "ways" from the mid-eighteenth century to the Civil War. White north Floridians may or may not be charmed by inclusion of their ancestors in this scheme.

Readers of McDonald's and McWhiney's previous writings were forewarned that their project was empatically ethnographic. Most white Southerners are "Celtic." (Yankees are "English.") Celtic ways were set in stone already when ancient Greeks and Romans described them as nomadic, drunken, musical,

filthy, lazy, immoral, and suicidally warlike. When seventeenth- through nineteen-century Englishmen observed the Irish, Scots, Welsh, and the Cornish, they were the same Celts. Transported to America, such folk moved every other year, lived in windowless log houses, ranged hogs and cattle in the woods, raised a little cotton but more corn for whiskey, shot and stabbed each other over matters of "honor," worked as little as possible, despised bourgeois values (including organized worship), and finally, waged suicidal war against their cultural enemies, the Yankees.

Owsley's plain folk were rustic and clannish, but on the whole they were a respectable sort who, despite a few slaves here and there, resembled antebellum northern farming people. More recent studies (e.g., by Edward L. Ayers and James Oakes) have also demonstrated the erosion of white Southerners' premodern "culture of violence" throughout the antebellum era. The spread of evangelical Christianity in particular is thought to have hastened convergence of southern and northern ways. But McWhiney adamantly rejects middle class respectability and the diachronic. His chapters on "Morals," "Education," and "Progress" are dedicated to the negative; and "Worth" is a celebration of static premodernism.

So *Cracker Culture* is a preverse Lamarckian work: early acquired behaviors triumph over environment. Thus Southerners hated sheep and made poor milk and cheese because Celtic ancestors did the same. Sheep-eating wild animals and a climate too hot for dairying (before electrical refrigeration) are of no significance. And descendants of scofflaw Celts inevitably jaywalk in Dallas today.

Static ethnographies are typically based upon outsiders' observations, and so is *Cracker Culture.* McWhiney has employed the censuses and Southerners' diaries here and there. Mostly he relies upon travelers' accounts. Chapters juxtapose Yankees' hostile observations of the white South with Englishmen's equally prejudiced views of Ireland and Scotland. The paradox is that McWhiney agrees with bigoted outsiders.

The objective of this strange volume is unambiguously missionary; in "a nation in which slurs based on race, ethnicity, or religion have become strictly taboo," McWhiney writes, "it is still acceptable to lampoon Crackers as a group" (p. xv). This is sadly true, but unlike Owsley (who had a similar mission), McWhiney

relishes a species of racial pride in the slurs themselves. One is reminded of the 1950s southern comedian, "Brother Dave" Gardner, who proposed a National Association for the Advancement of White Trash. *Cracker Culture* might have been a handbook for the NAAWT, but there is no room for humor in a crusade.

Miami University JACK TEMPLE KIRBY

Banking in the American South from the Age of Jackson to Reconstruction. By Larry Schweikart. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987. xiv, 367 pp. Acknowledgments, list of abbreviations and short forms, introduction, tables, notes, appendix, bibliography, index. $35.00.)

In this study, Professor Schweikart presents a thorough review of the early banking history of the South until the end of the Civil War. He notes that there was considerable difference in attitudes toward banking in the "Old South" states of Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Louisiana from those of the "New South"– Tennessee, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, and Mississippi. He does not include Texas and West Virginia in his study.

The Old South states were more commercial minded than those of the New South and more influenced by foreign contacts. In neither region was there a banker class as such, and there was frequent upward mobility by bank employees. Nor did planters dominate banking. In fact, in most areas, the author says, planters needed the endorsement of a reputable factor to cash or discount their notes.

As for the Panic of 1837, the author generally supports Peter Temin's thesis that the British increase in interest rates in 1836, rather than Jackson's Specie Circular, caused the panic, "but many specifics should be revised when dealing with the South" (p. 64). Banks in the Old South, with no large-scale state involvement, weathered the depression better than those of the New South. Some New South states witnessed the total collapse of their financial systems because of their regulatory policies. He explains these. Also, after the panic, "hard money" men tended to dominate the Democratic party.

Professor Schweikart discusses the different types of banks in the South, chartered and unchartered. Many states experimented with state-owned banks. Those in the New South sooner or later ran afoul with financial difficulties. By contrast, the Bank of the State of South Carolina was operated successfully throughout its existence. But all state-owned banks encountered political opposition.

In dealing with public policy and banking regulations, the author discusss these issues state by state, often bank by bank. He concludes that throughout the South Jacksonians' policy responses to banking had run the gamut, "from opposition to the national bank . . . to oppsition to private banks but not state banks, to opposition to all banks, and finally to the acceptance of private banks but not state banks" (p. 40). By the 1850s the Democrats had dropped banking as a political issue.

From state to state there was a variety of opinion regarding banks and their regulation. Both political parties moved toward centralization of banks, with the Whigs generally preferring power in the legislature rather than the executive department. In some cases there was little difference between Whig and Democratic policies. The economic division in southern society between plantation agriculture and commerce and industry did not always follow party lines.

In delving into banks' investments and credits, the author says that the South did not lack for capital, that banks greatly aided in the development of railroads, and, to a lesser extent, manufacturing, but bankers generally did not intend to generate an industrial revolution in the South. In noting reasons for the failure of industry to make a greater inroad in the South, the author overlooks the fact that northern industry was too well established for successful southern competition during the latter's "industrial crusade" of the 1840s.

On the eve of the Civil War, southern banks, with some $61,000,000 capital, were doing a creditable job in every state except Arkansas, Mississippi, and Florida. Bankers were loyal to the Confederacy and aided the cause as best they could. However, loyalty, taxes, inflation, wartime destruction, and the Republican National Bank Act effectively buried them.

This book is filled with valuable statistical charts and tables, many vignettes about individual banks and bankers, but the detail is difficult to absorb. Moreover, the author is repetitious in

places, and at times his language is not clear enough for the general reader to grasp easily. This study, however, will be highly useful for specialists in economics and economic history and will serve as a fine reference tool for others.

Clemson University ERNEST M. LANDER, JR.

Judah P. Benjamin: The Jewish Confederate. By Eli N. Evans. (New York: The Free Press, 1988. xxi, 469 pp. Prologue, photographs, epilogue, notes, selected bibliography, acknowledgments, index. $24.95.)

In his delightful personal history of Jews in the South entitled *The Provincials* (1973), Eli N. Evans of North Carolina gave us the first and most important view thus far of the southern Jewish experience as it had evolved over two centuries. With that volume, Evans moved the Jews of the South a bit closer to the center of southern social, economic, and political life and away from the periphery of things. Yet his history remained highly impressionistic and unscholarly.

Fifteen years later, he has presented us with a brilliantly written and scholarly biography of Judah Philip Benjamin (1811-1884), the enigmatic "brains of the Confederacy," whose life as a Jew and as a political leader of the Confederate States of America, despite five previously published volumes about him, remained (in the spirit of Winston Churchill) "an enigma wrapped in a mystery." In 400-plus pages, Evans has lessened the enigma and crystallized the mystery, but not entirely. A host of contradictions remain regarding Benjamin who, in Evans's opinion, "achieved greater political power than any other Jew in the nineteenth century– perhaps even in all American history."

Evans fully grounds Benjamin in Judaism. Benjamin's father was one of the leaders of the Reformed Society of Israelites in Charleston, and the boy was apparently confirmed at the age of thirteen. Yet to Benjamin, Judaism was a great burden, "an inhibition to advancement, a restraint upon success." He reportedly asked his mother why she named him Judah. "You might as well have written Jew across my forehead," he is supposed to have informed her. Benjamin's position as a slave owner is freely

admitted, but Evans paints Benjamin as a humane slave owner who hated the cruelty of the plantation overseer and never believed that "slavery reflected the divine order of things." Yet at the height of the Civil War he wrote to a friend about his plans for a Confederate Emancipation Proclamation so that the freed slaves could take up arms for the Confederacy. In the letter, however, he still referred to slaves as "that inferior race."

Perhaps the strangest contradiction may be found in Benjamin's friendship with the president of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis. After an illustrious career as a brilliant lawyer and one of the first two Jewish members of the United States Senate (the other United States senator was Florida's David Levy Yulee), Benjamin served throughout the existence of the Confederate government as its attorney general, secretary of war, and secretary of state. He became President Davis's closest and most trusted advisor.

Yet at the end of the Civil War, when Jefferson Davis wrote his two-volume memoir of that conflict, he mentioned the name of Judah P. Benjamin only once, and that only in recalling that he had invited Benjamin to become attorney general. Why the slight? I believe the answer lies in the position of the Jews within nineteenth century southern society, a position which allowed them to service the widely spread economic needs of the region as peddlers and storekeepers but which had its boundaries as well. Southern Jewish businessmen represented a numerically and politically powerless substitute for the independent middle-class feared by the plantation owners as a potential rival for economic and political power. They fit very well the political and social pattern established and maintained by the southern planter elite and were grateful for its religious and economic benefits.

A similar kind of relationship was maintained between Benjamin and Davis. The latter, as Eli Evans tells us, "had values that were shaped by the Deep South, where the ideal of manhood was a military career and a plantation," and where "men were to be ordered and were duty-bound to obey." For Benjamin the Jew, values were shaped "in a tradition of ideas" where men were to be "persuaded, cajoled, manipulated by self-interest and negation." Both men needed the other's abilities in a time of crisis. Yet, whereas Davis was a true Christian son of the South and was revered as such, sitting and suffering in a prison

for two years after the war had ended, Benjamin was seen as a Jewish "bird of passage," trading his position as southern statesman for an escape to England and a role as a leading international lawyer.

In a semi-feudal society such as the antebellum South, "place" (roots) and a sense of belonging were paramount. No matter how important to that society and its leadership, the Jew was seen as the eternal stranger, as having no roots in that society. Such was the position of Gerson Bleichroeder, the Jewish banker, who for thirty years was an intimate of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck and the symbol of wealth in Bismarck's Imperial Germany. "Iron Chancellor" Bismarck omitted Bleichroeder's name from the first two volumes of his memoir and only mentioned him once, as someone's emissary. Perhaps the truth of this position came from the words of the English attorney general at the banquet marking Judah Benjamin's retirement from the bar. "We were proud of his (Benjamin's) success," the attorney general stated, "for we knew the strength of the stranger among us."

In *Judah Benjamin: The Jewish Confederate,* Eli Evans has moved us even closer to understanding the nature of Jewish life in the South. But he has opened only one further window to that experience. The remaining windows that will reveal southern Jewish life in its full complexities still await their historians.

American Jewish Archives Abraham J. Peck
Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion

Gettysburg: The Second Day. By Harry W. Pfanz. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987. xx, 601 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, maps and illustrations, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $34.95.)

This book devotes almost 450 pages of text to the events of a three-hour period, together with some necessary preliminary activities. We watch thousands of men, organized into hundreds of infantry and cavalry regiments and artillery batteries, gather on a complex piece of terrain for one of the single most important days of the Civil War. The work is therefore of massive proportions, bristling with detail down to the regimental level

and sometimes below. The geographical descriptions are extremely precise. The actors are not only generals and colonels, but often privates and sergeants whose reconstructed actions and words the author has assembled from action reports, diaries, memoirs, correspondence, and other contemporary and postwar sources.

On its way to becoming a Civil War classic, this book may well overwhelm all but the hardiest of readers. There are a number of interesting but noncrucial asides, like the page-and-a-half pre-Gettysburg history of the Irish Brigade. Maps, especially in the first eight chapters, are insufficient to support a pattern of description of terrain features that at times distinguish specific buildings on a farmer's property. As for troop movement and placement, the same detail that conveys a sense of realism is also at times nonproductive in helping the reader to understand larger issues and questions.

In several major areas the book is highly successful. First, by analyzing information available to army and corps commanders and reconstructing their decision-making processes, the author furthers our understanding of why the battle progressed as it did. Second, this book makes very clear not only how much specific information we have lost, but also how much officers on the spot did not know, see, hear, or understand. In a book that strives for completeness of detail, it is significant that "probably," "perhaps," "might have," "must have," "ought to have," and their grammatical relatives get used so frequently when explaining the behavior of participants. Third, the reader clearly appreciates the difficulties, particularly fatigue and anxiety, that both armies faced in this battle, and understands the things that encourage men to fight well or poorly.

As for the most important areas of controversy surrounding the battle, the book for all its exhausting detail does not substantially alter prevailing views. Lee's headquarters did not function as efficiently as it might have; Longstreet was reluctant and did not move as rapidly as Lee hoped; the attack could not have gotten started very much before it actually did; there was no likelihood of a Confederate morning assault; and the Confederate plan as designed did not fit the realities of Union strength and deployment. On the Union side, Meade's generalship was competent and decisive if not brilliant; he and Dan Sickles did not communicate as clearly as they should have; Sickles was

aggressive and decisive, but foolish and headed for disaster in occupying the controversial advanced position on the left; and Meade had no intention of withdrawing on the second day, and therefore Sickles "spoke rot" in accusing Meade of such an intention and in attempting to shift blame for the Third Corps' debacle to Meade. Most of these points were well established before this book, and if they continue to be questioned afterwards it will only be because aficionados hate to give them up.

The author is uniquely qualified to write this volume. Following graduate work in Civil War studies at Ohio State University, he pursued a career as a historian with the National Park Service which included ten years as a park historian at Gettysburg. His awareness of the available source material, to say nothing of his intimate knowledge of the field and the battle, is evident. The book is important and enduring. However, it perhaps should not be the reader's first book on Gettysburg, nor should it be a priority choice if one's reading time for Civil War studies is limited.

California State University, Northridge JAMES E. SEFTON

"Fiction Distorting Fact": Prison Life, Annotated by Jefferson Davis. Edited by Edward K. Eckert. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1987. lxxii, 168 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations and photographs, author's note, appendix, bibliography, index. $39.95.)

Five weeks after Confederate authorities had abandoned their capital at Richmond, President Jefferson Davis was captured by Union troops in south Georgia. Federal officials imprisoned Davis at Fort Monroe, Virginia, charging him with treason against the United States. Davis spent over two years in confinement until the weakness of the government's case and popular clamor, both in the North and South, forced his release.

A significant factor in this clamor was the publication in May 1866, of a book entitled *Prison Life of Jefferson Davis* under the name of John J. Craven, a United States medical officer. Serving as Davis's physician for six months in 1865, Craven became the ex-president's principal confidant at Fort Monroe. The physician, in fact, developed a strong respect for his patient, and

through his book apparently intended to publicize the harsh treatment undeservedly imposed upon a kindly, intelligent prisoner. In so doing, *Prison Life* helped sway public opinion and effect Davis's release.

It was not long, however, before rumors spread that the real author of the book was not Dr. Craven, but one Charles G. Halpine, a New York journalist active in Democratic politics. Based on the careful research of David Rankin Barbee (published 1951) and William Hanchett (1969), historians have concluded that Halpine was the author, a "ghost," who approached Craven with the idea for the book and who used the doctor's diary or notes on Davis's confinement. Halpine's aims, as Professor Hanchett noted in his article in the *Journal of American History,* were pecuniary and political. Prison exposés made sensational (and profitable) literature, but Halpine's main motive was to publicize Davis's imprisonment as part of a discreditable Republican program of Reconstruction. Halpine even wrote President Johnson, claiming his book would be "the most powerful campaign document ever issued in this country."

Halpine's skewed motives made *Prison Life* highly questionable as a true account of Jefferson Davis's imprisonment. The ex-president himself highlighted the generous fictionalizations of the book when he entered marginal annotations in his copy. While recognizing the impact of the work, especially in establishing his prestige in the South as a popular "martyr" of the Lost Cause, Davis reacted bitterly to Halpine's fabricated dialogue and exaggerated descriptions. In the margin beside Halpine's colorful account of the ex-president's shackling– Union authorities imprudently had him manacled for five days after his arrival at Fort Monroe– Davis wrote "ficton distorting fact," "coloring laid on," and "gross misrepresentation."

The chief benefit of Edward Eckert's *"Fiction Distorting Fact"* is thus a new edition of Craven's [Halpine's] *Prison Life,* together with Jefferson Davis's significant commentary from his personal volume, which reposes in the Tulane University Library. With the publication of this edition, no longer will historians be able to take Halpine's work at face-value. Verbatim use of the prominent shackling episode– as Burke Davis employed it in *Long Surrender* (1985)– will especially be evidence of careless scholarship.

In a lengthy and not particularly cogent introductory essay, Eckert reviews the details of Davis's not inhumane confinement and the controversies surrounding *Prison Life.* Some of his observations of Davis (e.g., "liked to play the role of martyr") are unsupported. His attempt to place the ex-president in the context of the "Lost Cause myth" seems strained by apparent indecision over Davis's role as either scapegoat or martyr. Moreover, in stating that Davis's "transformation from defeated rebel into martyred hero . . . was immediate," Eckert overlooks the lapse of roughly two decades between Davis's imprisonment and his lionization by Confederate memorializers– an acute point made recently by Gaines Foster's *Ghosts of the Confederacy*

The editor's essay, however, is at worst no more than a temporary irritation which does not detract from the historiographical significance of bringing into print Jefferson Davis's annotations of *Prison Life.*

Atlanta, Georgia STEPHEN DAVIS

From Slave South to New South: Public Policy in Nineteenth-century Georgia. By Peter Wallenstein. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987. xii, 284 pp. Maps, figures, tables, acknowledgments, introduction, essay on primary sources, notes, bibliography, index. $27.50.)

This book traces the history of taxing and spending policies in Georgia during th century ending in 1915. Professor Wallenstein has described and analyzed the differnt kinds of taxes levied, who paid the highest and lowest taxes, the sources of both tax and nontax income, and how monies were spent and who were the chief beneficiaries. Throughout the book, he deals with race and class in ralation to the costs and benefits of government. This may sound like a dull exercise, but that is not the case. Wallenstein's study is both interesting and highly significant. A study of fiscal policy reveals a great deal about political power and a people's economic and social priorities.

One of the main objectives of the Georgia state government before the Civil War was to keep taxes low. This goal was achieved much of the time because of the large amounts of nontax income from the federal government and profits from

a state-owned bank and the Western and Atlantic Railroad also owned by the state. By 1860, for instance, income from the Western and Atlantic reached $450,000, more than was derived from all state taxes. The heaviest tax levies were on slaveholders, because of the tax on slaves, and large landowners along with town residents. Residents who owned the most property paid the most taxes. Yeoman farmers enjoyed light tax burdens. The main discriminatory tax was on free blacks. As revenues increased, especially in the 1850s, Georgia lawmakers did not cut taxes, but increased spending for transportation, education, and social welfare programs such as care for the blind, the deaf, and the insane.

During the Civil War, expenditures on social welfare and education were cut, but even then taxes had to be raised to meet the needs of Georgia soldiers and their families. Georgia levied an income tax on manufacturers, and a sales tax, and in general derived an increasing amount of revenue from wealthier citizens.

After 1865 both taxes and spending increased. By the 1870s rural and town real estate provided more than sixty percent of state tax revenues. This compared to only about thirty percent in 1860. Although the state continued to receive some nontax revenue, it was proportionately much less than before the war. In the years following the Civil War, state revenues depended more heavily on the propery tax with a greater amount being paid by north Georgia farmers and towns people throughout the state. Black Belt planters paid relatively less because of the loss of their slaves which had been taxed before emancipation.

Expenditures also rose sharply after the Civil War. Education, transportation, and debt service placed heavy demands on the budget, as did the growing social welfare institutions. The expansion of education and social welfare for blacks also required more funds. Despite the proportionate underfunding of social walfare and education for blacks, they did begin to benefit from state spending in the postwar years in a most significant way.

Extensive research, clear presentation, and careful judgments characterize *From Slave South to New South.* It is a book that will be of interest and benefit not only to historians, but to economists and political scientists. One persistent theme emerges from this book. State governments will spend to the

limit of their revenues. If we can judge by nineteenth-century Georgia, spending on social and welfare programs will usually have a higher priority than tax cuts. That was the political reality in the nineteenth century, and it is in the twentieth.

University of Georgia GILBERT *C.* FITE

Official Images: New Deal Photography. By Pete Daniel, Merry A. Foresta, Maren Stange, and Sally Stein. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987. xii, 196 pp. List of abbreviations, preface, introduction, notes, photographic sources and credits, list of contributors. $24.95.)

James Agee observed in *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* that the camera was "the central instrument of our time." During the 1920s and 1930s technological advances made available the compact Leica camera, extra fast lenses, and flashbulbs; wire services were perfected that transmitted photographs instantaneously; and the popular picture magazines *Fortune, Time, Life,* and *Look* hit newsstands. Virtually every government office and embassy made use of photography. These so-called official images did not simply document the activities of agencies, but promoted their interests and facilitated certain changes. In a format alternating layouts of photographs with analytical essays that place the images and agencies in historical context, four scholars take a look at some of the New Deal's best publicity machines.

Maren Stange finds that the Farm Security Administration was dedicated to preserving the decency and dignity of rural people, but it actually facilitated the entry of agribusiness– mechanized methods, chemicals, and large scale operations– into the countryside and recorded the exodus of farmers from the land. FSA was a self-censoring agency that shied away from controversial subjects like exploitation and rebellion. The United States Department of Agriculture also used photography to transmit images of progress and break down distrust of the federal government. Well dressed, attractive, and attentive farmers were rolled out for USDA cameras. Pete Daniel refers to these upbeat and orchestrated portrayals as "command performances." While the USDA appeared as a friendly advisor, Daniel argues, in a continuation of the case that he made in his

award winning *Breaking The Land,* technology and government programs transformed agriculture from "labor-intensive to capital-intensive operations, from small to large farms, from a way of life to a way of business" (p. 41). The Civilian Conservation Corps played on images of Paul Bunyan and the spirit of Abe Lincoln. Although CCC photographs projected a bucolic vision of America, Stange discerns that the agency practiced racial quotas, operated segregated camps, and eased machines into the garden. Sally Stein concludes that National Youth Administration photographs placed a disproportionate emphasis on wholesome activities and challenging opportunities, and pictured young people as enjoying themselves and advancing toward the American Dream. Where NYA programs were more advanced than officials were prepared to acknowledge, the commitment to social change was toned down with racially segregated and sexually segmented photographs. And Mary A. Foresta observes that photographers for the Works Projects Administration's Federal Art Protect had a wider latitude to select and edit projects. FAP encouraged photographers to explore creative impulses such as Alexander Alland's photomurals, and produce works that "educated, entertained, and inspired" (p. 155).

These essays suggest research opportunities in the photograph archives of other government agencies– the Tennessee Valley Authority, Army Corps of Engineers, Rural Electrification Administration, Civil Works Administration, and the Social Security Administration. These treatments also whet our appetite for further and more detailed studies such as Maren Stange's forthcoming monograph, "Symbols of Ideal Life: Social Documentary Photography in America, 1890-1950." *Official Images* underscores that the fireside chats, filmstrips, and photography exhibits of the New Deal were part of, in the phrase of the late Warren Sussman, "a culture of sight and sound" that radio, movies, and photography were bringing to America.

University of South Florida, Tampa ROBERT E. SNYDER

Tall Betsy and Dunce Baby: South Georgia Folktales. By Mariella Glenn Hartsfield. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987. xii, 190 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, appendices, bibliography, index. $17.95.)

The rich and colorful folklore of Georgia has begun to gain the attention of the reading public. Until recently, however, readers have had access to an abundance of material largely about north Georgia, thanks to the prolific Foxfire organization. South Georgia has gone begging. This volume by Mariella Glenn Hartsfield is one of a very few serious efforts to present the folklore of that vast section of the state south of Atlanta.

She has selected fifty folktales which ring true to the venacular of southwest Georgia, where Ms. Hartsfield collected her material. There are some ghost and witch tales with new twists and some familiar "Numskull" stories. The humor related to churches is particularly helpful, because Ms. Hartsfield, perhaps unconsciously, captures the meaningful milieu of rural religion, including that of the vanishing Primitive Baptist faith. Her collection of "Courting and Marriage" and "Tall Tales" may contain less colorful material about backwoodsmen than Augustus B. Longstreet incorporated in his antebellum *Georgia Scenes,* but Hartsfield's tales ring with more truthfulness than the politically-motivated renditions of Judge Longstreet.

The more serious and specialized reader who wants to know how the volume relates to other folklore will be surprised, no doubt pleased, with her painstaking efforts to relate the material to the themes and motifs in American and international collections. She has done her homework, including obviously careful research in folklore archives, local histories, and Stith Thompson's six-volume *Motif-Index of Folk Literature.* The folktales themselves comprise only one-third of the volume, and the apparatus, unfortunately, may discourage the general reader who might otherwise find the volume most satisfying.

Mariella Glenn Hartsfield is the chariman of the humanities division at Bainbridge Junior college, and she conducts research in her backyard, as it were. She feels strongly about her community. She acknowledges that cultural isolation sometimes creates an image of "narrowness" to the outsider, but she effectively counters that perception as she searches out the sources of tradition that span time and place.

She is eager to identify the advantages of life in southwest Georgia in her introduction– "a most exquisitely beautiful land and people, a people strong in their faith and courage, deserving to be emulated by generations to come." However, as her collection demonstrates, she pays little attention to traditions from the black community which surely has many folktales worth preserving. Let us hope that her next volume will correct this imbalance. She certainly reveals in this fine volume the empathy and accuracy needed for the task of preserving and presenting the folk heritage of all of the people of her region.

Georgia Southern College DELMA E. PRESLEY

BOOK NOTES

Freelancing Through the Century: A Memoir by William G. Carleton was edited by Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., who also wrote the introduction. Carleton enrolled as a student at the University of Florida in 1923 and retired from its faculty in 1961. During his long career as a student, teacher, and administrator, he touched the lives of thousands of students, and he was the friend and advisor of scores of Florida political personalities, including Claude Pepper and Fuller Warren. His manner and personality, both in and out of the classroom, and his eloquence as a speaker earned him the title "Wild Bill." He took great pride in this description and regarded it as a token of affection. Carleton was extremely popular on campus, and his "American Institutions," "International Relations," and "Political Parties" courses were always oversubscribed and often had to be scheduled for the University Auditorium. He was recognized by both faculty and his students as one of the university's most influential teachers. He was also a skilled administrator, serving for many years as chairman of the freshmen social sciences program. Carleton was a productive scholar with several books and monographs and more than 200 articles published in a variety of American and foreign periodicals, encyclopedias, and anthologies. His most significant book, *The Revolution In American Foreign Policy,* was often used in college and university classrooms. He was called on frequently to speak to college audiences and before civic groups and state and national meetings. He delivered many Phi Beta Kappa addresses and lectured at the United States Naval War College. In his introduction, Professor Doherty notes: "Bill Carleton was not a modest man and he thought well of his own abilities. He was basically a friendly and outgoing man, but he could not abide being bored and was rarely seen on the faculty cocktail circuit. He loved conversation with interesting people but often dominated it." Carleton lived modestly. As Doherty describes him, Carleton was "a close man with a dollar, but he was extremely generous in giving his time, encouragement, and advice to those for whom he had respect or affection." His memoirs include not only autobiographical information, but his reflections and comments on many subjects– politics, American

foreign policy, the University of Florida, his friendships with Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, sex, his association with Claude Pepper, his college friendship with Hoagy Carmichael, his love of jazz music, visits with Ambassador Joseph Kennedy's family in Palm Beach, and his longtime friendships with C. Vann Woodward, Manning J. Dauer, and other notables. Only a few people knew that Carleton was writing his memoirs, and it was not until after his death that anyone saw the manuscript. Unfortunately, he had not completed it when he died in Gainesville on October 30, 1982. A teaching auditorium on the University of Florida campus is named for Carleton, and the University awarded him an honorary degree in June 1976. The William G. Carleton Scholarship Fund has been established at the University of Florida Foundation, and it is this office that is distributing the published, *Freelancing Through the Century: A Memoir by William G. Carleton.* Anyone making a contribution of at least $25.00 to the Carlton Scholarship Fund will receive a copy of the book. Contact Jim Palincsar, University of Florida Foundation, P.O. Box 14425, Gainesville, FL 32604 (904-392-1691). Cleve Miller of Jacksonville did the portrait of Carlton that is reproduced on the front cover. The book was designed by Sam Gowan, University of Florida Library.

Cypress swamps are located as far north as Delaware and Illinois, and east from Texas, along the Gulf coast, into South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. John V. Dennis, the author of *The Great Cypress Swamps,* describes in vivid detail these large and beautiful tracts and notes the diversity of plant and animal life that they nourish. He uses the term "swamp" to include both the open land and bodies of water found within the borders of the swamp proper. For instance, while lakes and marshes make up a sizable share of the Okefenokee Swamp in Georgia, there are also open areas with only a few trees growing. In the Florida Everglades, there are more open areas than wooded ones, and the Glades are sometimes referred to as "River of Grass." Two great ecosystems dominate the swamps of south Florida: the Everglades, east and south of Lake Okeechobee and covering some 4,000,000 acres, and the Big Cypress Swamp, west of the Everglades and covering about 1,500,000 acres. The Everglades National Park, established in 1947, and the Big Cypress Swamp National Preserve, created in 1974, safeguard large parts but

not all of these natural areas, including cypress and pine woods, wet and dry prairies, hardwood hammocks, and mangroves. Dennis also describes the Suwannee River which begins in the Okefenokee Swamp and flows for 265 miles through a portion of south Georgia and then diagonally across the top of Florida to the Gulf of Mexico. Seventy-one large springs and three major tributaries feed the Suwannee. Among other Florida rivers which are described are the Aucilla, Wacissa, Wakulla, Ochlocknee, Apalachicola, Choctawhatchee, Yellow, Blackwater, Escambia, and Perdido. The full-page color photographs were taken by Steve Maslowski who specializes in wildlife and conservation subjects. *The Great Cypress Swamps* was published by Louisiana State University Press, and it sells for $29.95.

The building that the Coconut Grove Playhouse now occupies in Coconut Grove, Florida, opened as a motion picture house, January 3, 1927. Its style was Spanish rococo like most of the architecture of buildings in south Florida constructed during the Florida Boom era. It was described as one of the most luxuriously appointed movie theaters on the Florida east coast. In 1940, Kate Smith broadcast her national radio show from the theater, and during World War II the building was used for Air Force classes. In 1955, George Engle, who owned the Florida Pharmacy, one of Coconut Grove's best known businesses, purchased the property and invested $1,000,000 in rehabilitating it for stage productions. He hired Alfred Browning Parker, the renowned architect, to supervise the work. When the theater reopened in 1956, Walter Winchell described it as "the leading showplace in Dixie." But the opening production, Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot,* starring Tom Ewell and Bert Lahr, was a disaster. The first night's audience was so bored that many left before the play ended. The harsh reviews in the local papers the following day resulted in many people demanding a refund on their tickets. *Waiting for Godot* was followed by another dismal failure, Tennessee Williams's *A Streetcar Named Desire,* with Tallulah Bankhead in the lead role. Not all the productions that first season or in the following years were bad; most were well received and financially successful. Some of the world's best known entertainers performed on the Coconut Grove Playhouse stage. Local talent was also employed. The Florida writer and historian, Marjory Stoneman Douglas, had a part in the play, *The Solid Gold Cadillac.* During the 1959-1960 season, Margaret

Truman played in *The Happy Time,* and President and Mrs. Truman attended one performance. In 1977, the Playhouse became a state theater, joining the Asolo in Sarasota as one of Florida's official theaters. In December 1982, Jose Ferrer, the famous actor, director, playwright, and producer, was appointed director, and he was responsible for several successful productions. He was succeeded by Arnold Mittelman. *Broadway by the Bay,* by Carol Cohan, recounts the thirty-year history of the Coconut Grove Playhouse. It was published by Pickering Press, 2665 S. Bayshore Drive, Suite 601, Miami, FL 33133, and sells for $11.95.

Glimpses of South Florida History is a collection of short historical articles by Stuart McIver that were published in the weekly Fort Lauderdale *News/Sun-Sentinel,* beginning with the newspaper's first issue, October 2, 1983. Mr. McIver is the author of several Florida books, and he serves as coeditor of *Update,* published by the Historical Association of Southern Florida. The articles in *Glimpses of South Florida History* describe the people and the events that have played roles in the history of this ever-changing area of the state. With each article there is a historical photograph. The foreword is by Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, and the preface was written by John Parkyn, editor of *Sunshine* magazine. *Glimpses of South Florida History* was published by Florida Flair Books, Miami, and it sells for $19.95.

Florida: Images of the Landscape is a collection of color photographs by James Valentine, a well-known naturalist and photographer. Each photograph is accompanied by quotations from eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century writers and naturalists, including William Bartram, John James Audubon, John Muir, Archie Carr, Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, Wallace Stevens, Marjory Stoneman Douglas, and Rachel Carson. The volume is divided into six geographic areas: northern Florida, Gulf coast, central Florida, Atlantic coast, southern Florida, and the Keys. There are beautiful photographs of birds, animals, marine life, flowers, limestone formations, rivers, lakes, beaches, shells, shrubs, and trees. The foreword is by Senator Lawton Chiles, and Marjorie H. Carr has written the preface. *Florida: Images of the Landscape* was published by Westcliffe Publishers, Inc. 2650 South Zuni Street, Englewood, CO 80110; it sells for $35.00.

Boone's Florida Historical Markers & *Sites,* compiled by Floyd Edward Boone, contains the text of over 700 historical markers and plaques which are posted along roadways and highways, on buildings, and in parks and other public places throughout Florida. Boone has separated the markers by county and listed them alphabetically. Not only are the official state markers included, but also those erected by local historical societies, chambers of commerce, city and county governments, and other organizations. Included are 205 photographs. This is a useful historical guide book. It was published by Rainbow Books, Moore Haven, FL 33471, and it sells for $29.95.

Will McLean is one of Florida's best known folklorists and folk singers. He has composed hundreds of songs and poems that he has sung and played at concerts, festivals, and celebrations throughout Florida. Most of his music relates to the history and environment of this state. For instance, "Hold Back the Waters," describes the tragedy of the September 1928 hurricane that swept across south Florida drowning some 4,000 people when water from Lake Okeechobee engulfed nearby communities. The Dade Massacre, Fort Desoto, Florida Green Turtles, and the Florida Seminoles are some of the subjects of his poems and songs. Included also is the poem, "Ballard of Will McLean," by Jack Turner. A few of his more than 3,500 compositions are included in the monography, *'cross the shadows of my face: Florida Folk Songs and Stories.* This booklet, edited by James Cook, may be ordered from Florida Sand, P.O. Box 187, Belleview, FL 32620. It sells for $8.00. There is also a sixty-minute cassette recording, "Premier Works of Will McClean," which sells for $12.00. It may also be ordered from Florida Sand.

Sarasota Origins, the publication of the Historical Society of Sarasota County, includes seven articles: "Federal Naval Raid on Sarasota Bay, March 23-27, 1864," by Jere Parker; "Pioneering at Bee Ridge," by Marian Hobson Gruters; "John Hamilton Gillespie," by Lillian G. Burns; "Thoughts from Early Settlers" and "The Bay Bridge," by Jere Parker; "Tracking the Sarasota County Courthouse," by Myrtle Lane; and "The Earliest Sarasotans," by Marion Marable Almy. The cover artist is Betty Jane Oelerich, and the logo design is by D. A. Gordon Dart. The Historical Society of Sarasota County was founded in 1960 and

was reincorporated in 1981. The Society plans to publish additional volumes of original articles relating the history of the Sarasota area. *Sarasota Origins* may be ordered from the Society, Box 1632, Sarasota, FL 34320; the cost is $10.60 plus $1.00 postage.

Children and Hope is the history of the Children's Home Society of Florida. It was founded by the Reverend D. W. Comstock in Jacksonville in 1902, but its greatest growth occurred under the leadership of Marcus Charles Fagg, whom most people called Daddy Fagg. Comstock helped organize the Society when someone left an infant on his doorstep, and he found that neither of the two orphanages then in Florida would accept a child under three. When Fagg arrived in Jacksonville in 1910, the state's population was only 752,000. Jacksonville was the largest city with 57,699 people. Social legislation affecting children was minimal– there was no juvenile court system, child labor law, or compulsory education law. The convict lease system was in full force, and in 1909, Florida became the last state to hang a child publicly. When Fagg took over the Society, there was no cash, and it was in debt. Mrs. Arthur Cummer of Jacksonville worked with Fagg to secure the funds needed to develop the kind of program that was desperately needed. While child care and adoption were the principal focus of the society, Fagg and his associates championed the enactment of legislation protecting the basic rights of children. They included establishment of Florida's juvenile courts, Crippled Children's Commission, the Florida Children's Commission, and the State Department of Public Welfare. Under the leadership of Fagg and his successors, the Children's Home Society has expanded its program throughout the state, including the establishment of the Miami Receiving Home. *Children and Hope,* written by Lawrence Mahoney, includes historic photographs, illustrations by Martyna Kupciunas, and a foreword by former Governor Reubin Askew. It was published by the Pickering Press, Miami, and sells for $14.95.

The author of *The Early Birds, a History of Pan Am's Clipper Ships,* is Lawrence Mahoney. He notes that Dinner Key in Coconut Grove, Florida, began its longtime association with aviation on October 20, 1917, when construction began on one of

the country's first naval air stations. It became a major training base for aviators and their "flying machines." When World War I ended and the planes departed, private aviation under the leadership of Juan Terry Trippe began operation at Dinner Key. The abandoned air station became headquarters for Pan American. A large floating barge became its first terminal. Charles Lindbergh was Pan Am's technical advisor, and he was assigned to fly out of Miami to Panama. Other aviation pioneers who were associated with Pan American included Edwin Musick, the copilot of Pan American's inaugural flight from Key West to Havana in 1927. Pan American's first passenger flight was also from Key West to Havana, and it began January 16, 1928. Pan American was the first American airline to use radio communication, to carry emergency lifesaving equipment, to use multiple crews, to develop an airport and airways traffic control system, to purchase aircraft built to its own specifications, and to receive an airmail contract. The company remained at Dinner Key until 1945, and it sold the property to the city of Miami for more than $1,000,000. The Dinner Key terminal became Miami's city hall. This early history of Pan American Airways, *The Early Birds,* was published by Pickering Press and sells for $9.95.

History of Lake County, Florida, by William T. Kennedy, was first published in 1929. Mr. Kennedy, county superintendent of schools, began writing and editing this volume in the late 1920s after he had retired. Much of his material came from stories told to him by pioneer citizens of the area. He and his associate editor, Lillian D. Vickers-Smith, produced a volume of historical facts, conjectures, and folk tales. A valuable section of the volume contains biographical sketches of Lake County residents living in Umatilla, Eustis, Tavares, Mount Dora, Leesburg, Lady Lake, and Fruitland Park. Kennedy was among the pioneer settlers; he had come to Umatilla in 1895. He included in his volume the histories of some of the early communities– Conant, Kismet, and St. Frances– that had disappeared by the 1920s. *History of Lake County* had been published in a limited edition, and it was long out-of-print. A facsimile edition has now been published by the Lake County Historical Society, and it includes a new introduction by Emmett Peter, Jr., contributing editor of the Leesburg *Daily Commercial.* A list of illustrations, errata pages,

and the index have also been added. The volume may be ordered from the Society, 315 West Main Street, Tavares, FL 32778; the price is $22.00 plus $2.00 postage.

Sunken Treasure on Florida Reefs, by Robert "Frogfoot" Weller, is a brief history of the destruction of the 1715 Spanish Plate Fleet by a savage hurricane that swept across the Bahama Channel and lower Florida. There were twelve vessels in the flotilla, including a French ship that was accompaning the fleet back to Europe. The French vessel was the only one that survived. The other ships were torn apart on the jagged coral reefs along the Florida east coast between Fort Pierce and Sebastian Inlet. Over 700 lives were lost, and an estimated 14,000,000 pesos in gold and silver were scattered over the beaches and reefs. There was some salvage by the Spanish, but most of the treasure remained buried in the mud and sand until very recently. Now six of the twelve ships have been located and tentatively identified. They represent the major units of the fleet and were the major treasure ships. Weller's monograph describes each individual ship, notes where it is now located, describes the salvage efforts and details what has been recovered. *Sunken Treasure on Florida Reefs* was published by Cross Anchors Salvage, 1818 Seventeenth Avenue North, Lake Worth, FL. 33460, and it sells for $10.00.

The Black Experience: A Guide to Afro-American Resources in the Florida State Archives documents the lives, culture, and experience of black Floridians from the antebellum period to the present. Included in the manuscript collections of the State Archives are slave books, bills of sale for slaves, church membership rosters, baptisms and marriage records, the records of the Black Teachers Association, and the papers of Judge Joseph Lee, an eminent black political leader. In the state's photographic collection are many images showing blacks in a variety of settings, prominent blacks who served in state and local government, and blacks working in various agricultural industries. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration's Photo Album which contains many photographs depicting black life in Florida in the 1930s is available. The State Library's Florida Collection contains a biography file with newspaper clippings and articles relating to Florida blacks and a card file on black legislators. There

are newpapers, slave schedules, the Gavin Papers (a black family in Wakulla County), and a microfilm copy of the Mary McLeod Bethune Papers. The Governor's Administrative Correspondence represents another rich source of documentation. Files relating to slaves, slavery, freedmen, the civil rights movement, segregation and desegregation, Black Conservation Corps Camps of the 1930s, lynchings, busing, black education, Florida A&M University, affirmative action, riots, and the Black Caucus are among the many black history subjects for which documentation is available. *The Black Expeience* was published by the Florida Department of State, Division of Librry and Information Services, Bureau of Archives and Records Management, Tallahassee.

The Florida Keys cover the area from Biscayne Bay to the Dry Tortugas, a distance of some 180 miles. The Tortugas stretches seventy watery miles west from Key West. The distance along the keys accessible by automobile is approximately 106 miles– along the highway originally built in the 1930s to replace Henry Flagler's Florida East Coast Extension railroad line. The *Florida Keys, From Key Largo to Key West,* by Joy Williams, is a history and guide to the area. It includes historical data and folklore, and information on hotels and motels, bars and restaurants, shopping, churches, entertainment, museums, and other places to visit. The illustrations are by Stan Skardinski. Published by Random House, New York, *The Florida Keys* sells for $9.95.

Advice After Appomattox: Letters to Andrew Johnson, 1865-1866, is edited by Brooks D. Simpson, LeRoy P. Graf, and John Muldowny. When the Civil War ended in the spring of 1865, the principal issues facing the nation were the restoration of the rebellious states to the Union and the status of the blacks now freed from bondage. Although the problems were obvious, the solutions were not. There was a lack of reliable information about conditions in the South. The advice that flooded the White House was conflicting, and much of it was self-serving. In order to form a true picture of life in the South after Appomattox, President Andrew Johnson drew on the letters and reports of several emissaries whose views he trusted. These included Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Salmon P. Chase,

Carl Schurz, Benjamin C. Truman, Harvey M. Watterson, and Ulysses S. Grant. Two of Chase's letters were written from Florida. In one from Fernandina, May 21, 1865, he describes a public meeting where "a vote was taken on the question whether the colored citizens should participate in the election of Mayor &c & it was decided in the affirmative. An election for Mayor, Councilmen & other officers was held accordingly– the blacks & whites voting." Two days earlier Chase had been in Jacksonville and met with former Senator David Levy Yulee who emphasized the need for the white population to retain political power. According to Chase, Yulee and his associates "especially object to the blacks voting." On May 23, Chase was in Key West where he again reported by letter to the White House. He described Key West as having "not more than 3,500 inhabitants of all colors and the whole county of Monroe . . . not more than 1,500 more. A number of the citizens have always remained loyal; but a larger number, have been either actively or in every thing but active on the side of rebellion." *Advice After Appomattox* was published by the University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, as Special Volume No. 1 of the *Papers of Andrew Johnson;* the price is $29.95 for cloth and $14.95 for paper.

During the hectic Florida Boom days of the 1920s George Merrick dreamed of turning his family truck garden in Coral Gables, then the far outskirts of Miami, into a "city beautiful, the place where castles in Spain come true." The centerpiece for this "master suburb" was to be the Biltmore Hotel which was planned in the great European tradition. Its architecture was Spanish or "Modified Mediterranean," as it was then called. The highlight would be a Giralda Tower patterned after the famous tower in Seville, Spain. A country club was to adjoin the hotel, and an initiation fee was set at $1,500, with membership limited to 300. William Jennings Bryan was present at the groundbreaking ceremonies. Ever since its opening, January 15, 1926, the Biltmore has played an active role in the social life of Greater Miami. On the first evening there was a grand banquet and a dance. Paul Whiteman and two other orchestras played, lanterns flickered, and champane corks popped, although Prohibition was ostensibly in effect at the time. Bobby Jones and other celebrities played on the world famous golf courses. During its first season the hotel listed among its famous guests Otto Kahn, Ber-

nard Baruch, Albert Lasker, Mary Garden, the entire cast of the Chicago Opera Company, Adolph Zukor, Gene Tunney, Gene Sarazen, and New York Mayor James J. Walker. Later the Duke and Duchess of Windsor were guests. During World War II the Miami Biltmore was converted into a military hospital. An interesting account of the hotel, which is now listed on the National Register of Historic Places, has been written by Helen Muir, the author of *Miami USA.* She has titled her book *The Biltmore, Beacon for Miami.* The Biltmore has been restored and refurbished and it reopened as a luxury hotel in 1986. Pickering Press is the publisher of the paperback, *The Biltmore,* and it sells for $9.95.

HISTORY NEWS

Florida Historical Society

The Florida Historical Society has relocated its offices to the fifth floor of the University of South Florida Library, Tampa, which provides additional office space and more comfortable facilities for researchers. The Society office and library are open Monday through Friday, 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. There is also a toll-free telephone available for use within the state of Florida, 800-221-5106.

The Florida Historical Society announces its second annual President's Prize contest. Two prizes will be awarded, each for $500, for outstanding scholarly papers written by an undergraduate and a graduate student attending any college or university in Florida or elsewhere during the academic year 1988-1989. Topics must incorporate a Florida theme (anthropology, archaeology, literature, history, or biography). Papers should reflect original research, be typed, double-spaced, and limited to a minimum of ten and a maximum of forty pages. Faculty members may nominate entries or students may submit their own essays. Essays completed during any period from 1986-1988 will also be considered when accompanied by recommendation of the course instructor. The deadline for submission is March 1, 1989. Papers should be sent to the Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, FL 33620. For further information, contact Dr. Gary R. Mormino, Florida Historical Society. Winners will be recognized at the Society's meeting in Gainesville, Florida, May 11-13, 1989.

Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference

The twelfth Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference will be held at the Riverview Plaza Hotel, Mobile, Alabama, March 9-11, 1989. The theme is "The Maritime History of the Gulf Coast." Subjects of papers to be presented during the general sessions include Rivers and the Gulf, Exploration and Commerce in Colonial Times, Coastal Reflections: Reassessing the Past in Search of the Future, the Fishing Industry along the Gulf Coast, Key West and Naval Operations in the Gulf, Preser-

vation and Maritime History, Nineteenth Century Military Affairs, Piracy in Colonial Times, the Gulf Coast in World War II, Shipbuilding in World War II, the Port of Mobile, and Entrepreneurship and the Development of Gulf Coast Trade. There will also be four special sessions and three featured speakers: Sir Robert Ricketts, Sidney Schell, and Dr. William Still. Scheduled also are receptions at the Museum of the City of Mobile and aboard the *USS Alabama,* luncheons at the Bienville Club, and a cruise on Mobile Bay and harbor on the University Yacht *Alice.* Sponsors of the conference are the University of South Alabama, the University of West Florida, and the Pensacola Junior College. All of the papers will be published in the *Gulf Coast Historical Review.* For more detailed information on the program and on registration, contact George H. Daniels, chair, Department of History, or Michael Thomason, program coordinator, University of South Alabama, Mobile, AL 36688.

Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Festival

The Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Society will hold its second annual meeting and festival, April 13-15, 1989, in St. Augustine. The papers and panel discussions relating to Mrs. Rawlings and her writings will be held in the auditorium in the St. Johns County School Board building. There will also be an opening reception at 5:30 p.m., April 13, in the courtyard and loggia of the Lightner Building (Alcazar Hotel), a tour of Castle Warden Hotel, dinner at Marineland and a reading by Marian Conner, "Memoirs of Cross Creek," in the Marineland theatre, a walking literary tour of St. Augustine, a luncheon at the Lambias House, a reception at the Markland House, and a final banquet in the dining room of Flagler College (Ponce de Leon Hotel). For information on membership in the Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Society and/or the St. Augustine meeting, write Dr. Kevin McCarthy, Rawlings Society, 4008 Turlington Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611.

Prizes, Awards, and Recognition

Luis R. Arana, historian of the Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas National Monuments, has been twice honored in recent weeks. On December 13, 1988, he received the Order of LaFlorida in a ceremony in the St. Augustine City Hall. On

January 10, 1989, Arana was invested with the Order of Isabel la Católica by Don Carlos M. Fernández-Shaw, the Spanish consul general for Florida. Arana was recognized for "his merit and his labor in disseminating information about the world of Spain."

Leland Hawes is the 1988 recipient of the D. B. McKay Award given annually by the Tampa Historical Society to persons who have made "extraordinary contributions to the cause of Florida history." Mr. Hawes is a well-known Florida historian and journalist. He writes a weekly historical columun for the *Tampa Tribune.*

Dr. Paul Hoffman, Louisiana State University, has received the 1988 Spain and America in the Quincentennial of the Discovery Prize for his manuscript, "New Andalucia and a Way to the Orient: A History of the American Southeast during the Sixteenth Century." It will be published by Lousiana State University Press. Earlier recipients of the award are Dr. Light C. Cummins, Austin College; Ralph Vigil, University of Nebraska; Birgit Sonesson, New York University; and Carla Phillips, University of Minnesota. The prize will be awarded annually through 1992. For further information, write to the Cultural Office, Embassy of Spain, 2600 Virginia Avenue NW, Suite 214, Washington, DC 20037. First prize carries a stipend of $6,000, and $3,000 for second prize.

Announcements and Activities

The Florida Anthropological Society will hold its annual meeting at the Omni Hotel in Jacksonville, April 28-30, 1989. The keynote speaker is Dr. Al Goodyear of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology; he will speak on "Early Man Studies." For information, contact Jerry J. Hyde at 904-389-1067.

A symposium, "In the Nick of Time: Folklore Collection by the WPA Federal Writers' Project," will be held February 4, 1989, at the Historical Museum of Southern Florida, Miami. It is being sponsored by the Florida Folklife Society, the Bureau of Florida Folklife Programs, and the Historical Museum of Southern Florida. Stetson Kennedy, Gary Mormino, David Kaufelt, and Peggy Bulger are the featured speakers. For infor-

mation, contact Peggy Bulger, Bureau of Florida Folklife Programs (904-397-2192) or Tina Bucuvalas, Historical Museum of Southern Florida (305-375-1621).

"Spanish Explorers and Indian Chiefdoms: The Southeastern United States in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" is the title for an institute for college and university faculty that will be held at the Center for Latin American Studies, University of Georgia, June 26 through July 28, 1989. The focus will be on the period between 1526 and 1670. Four connected questions will serve as the theme of the institute: what were the results of the sixteenth-century Spanish explorations in the Southeast? What was the nature of the native society the Spanish encountered? What were the locations and domains of these societies? How were these societies changed by the European encounters? Lectures, discussion sessions, and visits to an archaeological excavation and an archaeological site at the territory of Coosa are included in the program. Each participant will receive a stipend of $2,750 toward travel and room and board. Housing will be available in the University of Georgia residence area. Books and materials will also be provided. The home institutions of participants will be asked to contribute a $275 registration fee. Faculty and other qualified educators in the humanities and social sciences at American colleges and universities are invited to apply. Twenty-five participants will be selected. The deadline for application is March 1, 1989; applicants will be notified by April 1 if they have been selected. An application should include a curriculum vitae, a letter stating why the applicant wishes to participate in the institute, a listing of courses the applicant has taught or will teach that are related to the subject of the institute, a list of other relevant 1989 summer programs for which the applicant has applied, and a letter from the applicant's own institution supporting the application and pledging to contribute the registration fee. For additional information, write or call Teresa Smotherman, NEH Summer Institute, Center for Latin American Studies, Moore College 214, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602 (404-542-3141).

Tampa Bay History publishes articles, oral history interviews, documents, and genealogies relating to the central and southwest Florida area (Charlotte, Collier, DeSoto, Glades, Hardee, Hendry, Hernando, Highlands, Hillsborough, Lee, Manatee,

Pasco, Pinellas, Polk, and Sarasota counties). It is published semi-annually by the University of South Florida's Department of History. The yearly subscription price is $15.00. Robert P. Ingalls is managing editor, and Steven F. Lawson and Nancy A. Hewitt are associate editors. The journal sponsors an annual essay contest. Entries (2,500-5,000 words) should be based on previously unpublished historical research and on a subject concerning Tampa Bay and the fifteen-county area surrounding it. Essays should be typewritten, double-spaced, with footnotes placed at the end. The deadline is September 1, 1989. First prize is $100, and second prize is $50. Winning essays will be published in the journal. For information on the contest, subscriptions, and past issues of *Tampa Bay History,* write the journal's publications office, Department of History, University of South Florida, Tampa, FL 33620.

The Florida Genealogical Society has completed the celebration of its thirtieth anniversary. On January 22, 1958, a group interested in genealogical research met in the Historical Room at the Hillsborough County Courthouse, Tampa, and organized the Society. The Society transferred its meetings to the Hyde Park Restaurant in 1962, and to the public library six years later. It has continued to hold its monthly meetings (except for the summer months) in the library. The Society publishes a semi-annual journal and a newsletter five times a year. Mrs. John Blanche was the first president, and she was succeeded in 1960 by Theodore Lesley. The first yearbook and membership list was published in 1961. Nancy Lee Shealy Berkhn is the current president of the Society. For information on membership, dues, and the Society's publications, write to the Society's office, Box 1864, Tampa, FL 33679.

An estimated 300 people attended public meetings held at fifteen locations throughout the ten-state De Soto National Trail Study Area in September and October 1988. They were sponsored by the National Park Service. There were two Florida meetings: Tallahassee, September 13, 1988, and Bradenton, the following day. Ney C. Landrum and Michael Gannon, members of the De Soto Advisory Committee, participated in the Florida meetings. Florida has already marked the route that De Soto followed in this state, and a similar effort is being proposed in Alabama. An archaeological site mapping project is underway

at the University of Alabama, and De Soto state commissions have been organized or are being organized through the ten-state area. Tentative arrangements for the 450th anniversary of the De Soto Expedition are also underway.

The Southern Association for Women Historians announces the second competition for the Willie Lee Rose Publication Prize in southern women's history authored by a woman. The Rose Prize, $750, is awarded every two years. The Association will also award the Julia Cherry Spruill Prize, $500, for the best published work, book, or article in southern women's history. In both competitions only works published between January 1, 1987, and December 31, 1988, will be considered. They may be submitted by authors, publishers, and/or third parties. All entries must be written in English, but the competition is not restricted to publications printed in the United States. One copy of each entry must be sent to each committee member by March 1, 1989. A separate letter listing the title of the entry should also go to each member. Each entry should be marked "Rose Prize Entry" or "Spruill Prize Entry." Members of the committee are Elizabeth Jacoway, 4 Dogwood Drive, Newport, AR 72 112; Mollie C. Davis, Department of History, Queens College, Charlotte, NC 28210; and Mary Fredrickson, Department of History, University of Alabama, Birmingham, AL 35209.

Ceremonies were held in Jacksonville, September 24, 1988, to name the St. Johns River Dames Point Bridge in honor of former Florida Governor Napoleon Bonaparte Broward (1905-1909). His son, Napoleon Bonaparte Broward III, and other Broward family members were present. The Jacksonville Historical Society had first proposed that the bridge be named for Governor Broward, and the Florida legislature approved this recommendation. The names of two other Jacksonville bridges– Henry Holland Buckman and the Isaiah D. Hart– were also proposed by the Jacksonville Historical Society.

The Forest History Society has established the John M. Collier Award for Forest History Journalism. It honors the memory of Collier who was long associated with the Southern Forest Products Association. Historical articles about forestry-related issues carried in newspapers and general-circulation magazines are eligible. Articles should note publisher and date and should

be mailed to Harold Steen, Forest History Society, 701 Vickers Avenue, Durham, NC 27701.

The University Press of Virginia announces a new biography series, *Minds of the New South.* The general series editor is John Herbert (Jack) Roper, and the advisory board includes Charles W. Joyner, Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Ann Jones, James Tice Moore, Fred Hobson, Daniel J. Singal, and John Shelton Reed. The series volumes will examine the contributions made by key persons in the South's cultural renaissance beginning in the 1920s. Those interested in contributing to the series should write Dr. Roper, Box 137, Emory, VA 24327.

The American Association for State and Local History will publish a twenty-five volume series of books, "Peoples of America," to commemorate the 1992 Columbus Quincentenary. Each volume, directed toward a popular audience, will deal with a separate ethnic group. Dr. John Bodnar, Indiana University, is general editor. Cosponsors of the project include the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies, the Immigration History Research Center, and the Immigration History Society. For information, contact Larry Tise, AASLH, 172 Second Avenue North, Suite 102, Nashville, TN 37201.

The Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism invites applications for its research fellowship program. An office and access to libraries and archives at the University of Notre Dame is made available to scholars studying any aspect of American Catholicism. The deadline is April 15, 1989. Apply to Cushwa Center, 614 Hesburgh Library, Notre Dame, IN 46556.

The Department of English, Marshall University, Huntington, West Virginia, invites graduate student applications for its annual, and renewable, $5,000 Blake Scholarship in Confederate Literature. Applicants must show a demonstrable interest in Confederate literature, an aptitude for research and writing, and a strong scholarly record. The recipient will have the opportunity to do research in the Rosanna A. Blake Library of Confederate History which includes documents relating to the antebellum, Confederate, and postbellum South. Submit applications to the Blake Scholarship Committee, c/o Confederate Bibliographer, Marshall University Libraries, Huntington, WV 25755, no later than February 1, 1989. Two faculty letters of

recommendation, a copy of the GRE score, and writing samples should be included with the application. The scholarship winner will be announced May 1, 1989.

The renovated Georgia Historical Society's offices and research library in Savannah have reopened. The hours are 10:00 a.m. until 5:00 p.m., Wednesday through Friday, and 9:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. on Saturday. Persons from out-of-town planning to use the Society's collections should call before they visit (912-651-2128).

A symposium, "Lost and Found Traditions," will be held at the Columbus (Georgia) Museum, May 19-20, 1989. The speakers will examine the richness and diversity of contemporary Native American cultures, particularly those indigenous to the Southeast. An exhibit, "Lost and Found Traditions: Native American Art, 1965-1985," will also be on display. For information, contact Anne King, Columbus Museum, Box 1617, Columbus, GA 31902 (404-322-0400).

The annual Georgia Archives Institute will be held June 12-23, 1989, in Atlanta, Georgia. It is sponsored by the Atlanta University School of Library and Information Studies, the Georgia Department of Archives and History, and the Jimmy Carter Library. Material offered by the faculty will be particularly valuable for beginning archivists, librarians, and manuscript curators. The program will include general instruction and basic concepts and practices of archival administration and the management of traditional and modern documentary materials. The focus will be on the integrated archives/records management approach to records keeping and will feature lectures and demonstrations, a supervised practicum, and field trips to local archives. Tuition is $375. Enrollment is limited, and the deadline for receipt of application and resume is April 1, 1989. For information and an application, write, A. V. Lawson, School of Library and Information Studies, Atlanta University, Atlanta, GA 30314.

Seeking Information

Mr. and Mrs. George W. Wertz are seeking information (letters, manuscripts, and documents) by, to, or concerning Colonel Silas Dinsmoor, also Densmore (1766-1847). Dinsmoor, a native

of New Hampshire and a graduate of Dartmouth College, served as headmaster at the Atkinson Academy in New Hampshire and as a teacher in Philadelphia before he was appointed, in 1794, United States agent to the Cherokee Indians. In 1802, he became agent to the Choctaw Indians. Commissioned by Governor Robert Williams of the Mississippi Territory to take custody of Aaron Burr at Fort Stoddert, Dinsmoor conducted Burr to Washington, DC, for trial, and later testified against him as a witness for the prosecution. Dinsmoor was involved with the settlement of the debts owed the Pensacola-Mobile trading firm, John Forbes and Company, by the Choctaws. He commanded consolidated military detachments of the Indians in the defense of the Gulf coast from December 1814 until May 1815. He was one of several incorporators of Alabama's St. Stephens Steamboat Company and served as principal deputy surveyor of the district east of the island of New Orleans. Dinsmoor lived in Mobile from 1820 to 1828; he later moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, and died in Bellevue, Kentucky. Mr. and Mrs. Wertz, who are planning to write a biography of Colonel Dinsmoor may, be contacted at 4215 Wateroak Lane, Jacksonville, FL 32210, or by phone 904-387-3443.

Obituary

James W. Silver, a distinguished southern historian and retired member of the Department of History, University of South Florida, died July 25, 1988, at a Tampa hospital. A native of Rochester, New York, Dr. Silver attended the University of North Carolina and received his doctorate from Vanderbilt University. He came to the University of Mississippi in 1936, and resigned in 1965 at the request of the University's Board of Trustees following publication of his widely acclaimed *Mississippi: A Closed Society.* The book explored the racial divisions in Mississippi in the 1960s and sharply criticized the state's white political establishment which Silver felt had been responsible for the violence that the efforts to integrate the University of Mississippi had brought about. Silver wrote five other books, and his articles and book reviews appeared in national, regional, and state historical journals, including the *Florida Historical Quarterly).*

GREAT EXPECTATIONS.

1989

Feb. 4	Florida Federal Writers' Project Symposium	Miami, FL
March 9- 11	Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Mobile, AL
April 6-9	Organization of American Historians	St. Louis, MO
April 12-14	Society of Florida Archivists	Tallahassee, FL
April 13-15	Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Festival	St. Augustine, FL
April 28-30	Florida Anthropological Society	Jacksonville, FL
May 11-13	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 87th MEETING	Gainesville, FL
May 11	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	Gainesville, FL
Sept. 6-10	American Association for State and Local History	Seattle, WA
Sept. 28-30	Florida Trust for Historic Preservation	Lakeland, FL
Oct. 19-22	Oral History Association	Galveston, TX
Nov. 3-5	Southern Jewish Historical Society	Charleston, SC
Nov. 9-12	Southern Historical Association	Lexington, KY

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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.