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COVER

Broad Street (Old Wire Road), Fort Meade, c. 1895. Photograph courtesy Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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The *Quarterly* reviews books dealing with all aspects of Florida history. Books to be reviewed should be sent to the Editor together with price and information on how they may be ordered.

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SLAVERY AND THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GADSDEN COUNTY, FLORIDA: 1823-1861

by LARRY E. RIVERS

N the eve of secession in January 1861, Gadsden County was one of Florida's wealthiest political subdivisions. It and its four neighboring counties contained almost 42 percent of the state's property when measured by value. Gadsden's \$6,714,880 in assets constituted somewhat more than 8 percent of the state's total, even though the county contained less than 1 percent of Florida's land and 6.7 percent of its population. The county's per capita wealth of \$1,684.19 nearly tripled the state average.

Given the economic power of its free residents, Gadsden County also exercised a substantial influence in territorial and state business and political affairs. County leaders such as Banks Meacham and John W. Malone were among the strongest advocates of statehood in the 1830s and 1840s. Subsequently, Charles Henry DuPont and Pleasant W. White, among others, effectively urged the cause of southern secession. Interestingly, however, a prominent slaveowning planter from Gadsden County, Abraham Kyrkyndal Allison, led conservative forces in Florida's January 1861 secession convention in an unsuccessful attempt either to slow down the momentum building toward secession or to put the question to a public referendum. Ironically, Allison, as president of the state senate, became Confederate Florida's

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The four counties were Jackson, Leon, Jefferson, and Madison. In 1860, Florida contained thirty-seven counties. Joseph C. G. Kennedy, Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census, 4 vols. (Washington, DC: 1864), IV, 297.

Ibid., I, 51-53, IV, 297: Miles Kenan Womack, Jr., Gadsden: A Florida County in Word and Picture (Quincy, 1976), xi; Edward A. Fernald, ed., Atlas of Florida (Tallahassee, 1981), 1.

^{3.} Kennedy, Population of the United States in 1860, I, 51-53, IV, 297.

J. Randall Stanley, History of Gadsden County (Tallahassee, 1985), 40, 139-40;
 Womack, Gadsden, 29, 63-64.

chief executive officer upon the suicide of Governor John Milton, April 1, 1865.

The economic and political power exercised by Gadsden Countians in antebellum Florida rested squarely upon black slavery and can be understood only with respect to that institution. The nature of the county's rich, high, and fertile lands, its diversified agriculture, and the relative affluence and sophistication of its free society combined subtly to mold slavery and to be molded by it. An examination of the county's experience thus can provide a glimpse not only of the "peculiar institution," but also of the social and economic dynamics that lay behind important events in the state's history.

Even prior to the cession of Florida by Spain to the United States in 1821, whites in search of fertile, virgin land saw the Gadsden area as being highly suitable for the cultivation of staple crops, especially cotton and tobacco. As one Pensacolian noted of the vicinity in 1827: "It is an oasis which appears to have been formed by nature in one of her sportive and festive moods. . . . [T]he only regret which I feel in contemplating this beautiful region is its very limited extent." Attracted by the area's beauty and fertility, early settlers migrated from the plowed-over lands of Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia. Cheap acreage was available in north Florida, and settlers arrived with their families and slaves determined to become affluent planters.

Florida's Territorial Council established Gadsden as a county in 1823 and named it in honor of James Gadsden, a protege of Andrew Jackson. Gadsden was one of the commissioners who negotiated the treaties for removal of Florida's natives from the territory, became active in territorial politics, and later was instrumental in effecting the Gadsden Purchase which added almost 50,000 square miles of territory to the American Southeast. The village of Quincy became the county seat.

John E. Johns, Florida During the Civil War (Gainesville, 1963; reprint ed., Macclenny, 1989), 19, 205.

^{6.} Stanley, Gadsden County, 16.

Lula Dee Keith Appleyard, "Plantation Life in Middle Florida: 1821-1845" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1940); Julia Floyd Smith, Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1860 (Gainesville, 1973), 15-18

Allen Morris, The Florida Handbook, 1977-1978 (Tallahassee, 1978), 332-33; Womack, Gadsden, 13.

^{9.} Stanley, Gadsden County, 28.

Although Gadsden's land was fertile and well watered, the area's rivers and streams generally were inadequate for transporting products to market. The Ocklocknee River, which separated it from Leon County, was a long stream but was not navigable for sizable vessels. The seaport town of Apalachicola, the terminal for the Apalachicola River, was located 100 miles away, too far for county farmers to use it to their advantage. St. Marks, in Wakulla County, was closer, lying about forty-two miles from the county. Accordingly, planters carried their produce by wagon to Tallahassee and then shipped it to the port on Florida's first rail facility, the Tallahassee-St. Marks Railroad. Most Middle-Florida planters used the St. Marks terminal.¹⁰

The land and its products shaped and influenced Gadsden County's history during the antebellum period. "A richly fertile soil... and ideal climate," one historian noted, "attracted settlers and contributed to the growth of cotton culture and slavery in Florida." The rich farm lands provided Middle-Florida planters and yeoman farmers an opportunity to prosper and to move up the social and political ladder in the community. By 1829, six years after its creation, thirty Gadsden County residents had acquired tracts of land consisting of 500 acres or more. Ten years later, the number had increased to fifty, and, by 1860, 109 plantations of 500 acres or more were located in the county, with thirty properties working at least thirty slaves. 13

Blacks had arrived in Florida with the Spanish at least as early as the seventeenth century. ¹⁴ The date they first appeared in Middle Florida and, specifically, Gadsden County is difficult to document. By 1829, though, 939 blacks were listed on the first tax rolls of the county out of a total taxable population of 1,219. A decade later, 1,366 blacks and mulattoes were included

Smith, Slavery and Plantation Growth, 20-21; Jerrell H. Shofner, History of Jefferson County (Tallahassee, 1976), 106; Womack, Gadsden, 33-38. See also Lynn Willoughby, "Apalachicola Aweigh: Shipping and Seamen at Florida's Premier Cotton Port," Florida Historical Quarterly 69 (October 1990), 178-194; Harry P. Owens, "Apalachicola: The Beginning," Florida Historical Quarterly 47 (January 1969), 276-91; and Harry P. Owens, "Port of Apalachicola," Florida Historical Quarterly 48 (July 1969), 1-25.

^{11.} Smith, Slavery and Plantation Growth, 16.

Clement Eaton, The Freedom of Thought Struggle in the Old South (New York, 1964), 34-36.

^{13.} Gadsden County, Tax Books, 1829, 1839, 1860, microfilm, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee (hereafter cited as Tax Books).

^{14.} Smith, Slavery and Plantation Growth, 9.

in a population of 1,721 taxable inhabitants. On the eve of the Civil War, the number of slaves had increased to 4,193, and the taxable population numbered 4,681. A comparison of taxable inhabitants in 1839 shows an increase of 502 or 41 percent over the number taxed in 1829. The number of taxable persons had increased in 1860 to 2,960, or 72 percent, over the number taxed in 1839. The population of both slave and white residents had increased steadily from 1829 to 1860. 15

Unlike Leon and other Middle-Florida counties, more blacks than whites were living in Gadsden County by 1830. They continued to outnumber the white population until after the Civil War. In 1830, for example, 51 percent of the total population consisted of slaves; by 1860, 58 percent were bondsmen. As illustrated in Table 1, the white population also increased continually from 1830 to 1860. This growth can be attributed, as one writer stated, to "the Golden Age of the ante-bellum tobacco industry." One contemporary newspaper, while noting the availability of cheap fertile land and the growth of the tobacco industry in the area, concluded that tobacco was "more profit[able] than cotton."

Members of Gadsden County's white population did not move as frequently as other Floridians to newly formed counties in Florida or to the Old Southwest in the lower Mississippi River valley. The southern frontier, which included Gadsden County, one historian asserted, "created a democratic atmosphere," allowing whites of relatively meager means to move into the prestigious planter class through the acquisition of land and the exploitation of slave labor. 18

Agricultural productivity and profits were dependent upon the availability of slaves to labor in the cotton and tobacco fields, and the economic benefits of slave families bearing children was of particular concern to their owners. Natural increases in the slave population were augmented, however, by other factors. Gadsden's increase from 1830 to 1860 stemmed principally from whites bringing their bondsmen into the county from other parts

In 1860, Gadsden County's total population was 9,396, including 3,981 whites, six free blacks, and 5,409 slaves. Tax Books, 1829, 1839, 1860; Kennedy, Population of the United States in 1860, I, 51, 53.

^{16.} Womack, Gadsden, 36.

^{17.} Tallahassee Sentinel, January 9, 1844.

^{18.} Ibid.; Smith, Slavery and Plantation Growth, 5.

% **Total** Year Whites Free Blacks % Slaves 1830 2.388 48.8 5 .1 2.501 51.1 4.894 13 3,342 5.992 1840 2,637 44 55.8 1850 44.4 7 .l 4,880 55.5 8,784 3,897 1860 3,981 42.4 5.409 57.5 9.396

Table 1. Population of Gadsden County, 1830-1860

Sources: Fifth Census; or Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the United States, 1830 (Washington, DC, 1832), 156-57; Sixth Census of the United States, 1840 (Washington, DC, 1841), 454-55; Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 (Washington, DC, 1853), 396-401; Joseph C. G. Kennedy, Population of the United States in 1860, 4 vols. (Washington, DC, 1864), I, 50-54.

of the South and also from illegal importation of slaves from outside the United States. Additionally, the domestic slave trade operating out of adjoining Leon County and the state capital, Tallahassee, supplemented the number of bondsmen in Gadsden.¹⁹

Except for the practice of hiring out slaves by their owners, relatively few blacks were sold or traded in the county. Most of those that were sold were advertised in the Tallahassee newspapers, and the transactions usually occurred in that community. Several large slave-trading firms operated out of Leon County during this period, and planters from the area utilized their services.²⁰

While there were many yeoman farmers who did not own slaves, a large portion of Gadsden County's white population was listed as "slave holders." In 1830, 269 or 58 percent of the county's 461 families were slaveholders; in Leon County, 321 or 56 percent of 570 families owned slaves. The number of slaveholders in Gadsden had decreased by 1860, although the overall population was increasing. Of 774 families, 355 or 46 percent

Smith, Slavery and Plantation Growth, 28; Julia F. Smith, "Slavetrading in Antebellum Florida," Florida Historical Quarterly 50 (January 1972), 252-61; Frances J. Stafford, "Illegal Importation: Enforcement of the Slave Trade Laws Along the Florida Coast, 1810-1828," Florida Historical Quarterly 46 (October 1967), 124-33.

Tallahassee Floridian, December 5, 12, 1838, November 12, 1836, April 7, 1838, February 2, July 8, 1839, January 2, 1841; Tallahassee Floridian and Advocate, February 28, 1832, April 6, 1838.
 Larry E. Rivers, "Slavery in Microcosm: Leon County, Florida—1824 to

Larry E. Rivers, "Slavery in Microcosm: Leon County, Florida 1824 to 1860," Journal of Negro History 46 (February 1981), 235-45; Larry E. Rivers, "Dignity and Importance: Slavery in Jefferson County, Florida 1827 to 1860," Florida Historical Quarterly 61 (April 1983), 404-30.

owned slaves. New settlers continued to move into the county hoping to acquire land and, ultimately, slaves so as to be recognized as planters. However, as the supply of slaves decreased in proportion to the demand, slave prices increased and many whites could not afford to buy them.²²

Forty-two Gadsden County families owned one slave in 1830; eighty-two owned two to four slaves; seventy-five owned five to nine; seventy-one owned ten to nineteen; sixty-five owned twenty to forty-nine; thirteen owned fifty to ninety-nine; and seven owned 100 to 199 for a total of 355 families owning slaves. Three decades later, in 1860, fifty-two owned one slave; sixty-nine owned two to four slaves; fifty-eight owned five to nine; fifty-eight owned ten to nineteen; twenty-seven owned twenty to forty-nine; and five owned fifty to ninety-nine for a total of 269 families owning slaves. ²⁴

Throughout the antebellum period the majority of Gadsden County slaveowners possessed fewer than ten slaves. If the ownership of twenty slaves or more placed a person in the planter class, the county had approximately thirty-two planters in 1830. That year, Thomas Preston owned eighty-eight slaves, making him the largest owner in the county. By 1860 only seventy-five persons held twenty or more slaves. With 160, the estate of William Kilcrease led the county in numbers of bondsmen.²⁵

Slavery shaped the political structure of Gadsden County as it did throughout the South. But, unlike Leon and Jefferson counties and other parts of Florida, political control in Gadsden County did not rest completely in the hands of large slaveholders. Henry Yonge, one of the area's earliest settlers and a member of the Territorial Council, owned only fifteen slaves and no acreage in 1829. Thomas Speights, also a member of the council, listed fifteen slaves and 982 acres the same year, and John C.

Tallahassee Floridian and Journal, February 12, 1854; Kenneth M. Stampp, The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Antebellum South (New York, 1956), 201-06.

U.S. Census Office, Fifth Census of the United States, 1830, Population Schedules of Florida, No. 19, Sheets 135-38 (National Archives, Washington, DC, 1943), 275-208

^{24.} Agriculture of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census (Washington, DC, 1864), 225; Statistics of the United States (including Mortality, Property, etc.) in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns and Being the Final Exhibit of the Eighth Census (Washington, DC, 1866), 340-41.

^{25.} U.S. Census Office, Fifth Census, 275-308; Tax Books, 1860.

Love, who had served on the council in 1827-1828, held but two slaves and $400~{\rm acres.}^{26}$

Most early members of the Territorial Council, because of their limited land possessions, cannot be designated as planters. Many were yeomen farmers owning fifteen slaves or less and between 100 and 400 acres of land. James Dunlop, a member of the council from 1829 to 1830, listed five slaves and 120 acres in 1829. Banks Meacham, lawyer and physician, reported seven slaves and no acres the same year, while Joseph McBride, judge of the probate court, held five slaves and 800 acres. Both men had served on the council. Ten years later, Meacham had increased his holdings to fourteen slaves and owned 960 acres of land.

Control of local politics in Gadsden County— and its seat, Quincy— lay in the hands of yeomen farmers, merchants, and other individuals who owned few slaves and relatively small tracts of land. Neither Judge David L. White of the county court nor Judge Edward A. Robinson of the probate court appears to have owned land or slaves in 1829. John J. Wilson, James Wooten, and William Smith were the first county commissioners. Wilson reported four slaves and 560 acres; Wooten, seven slaves and 270 acres; and Smith, neither slaves nor land. Hezekiah Wilder, the county's first magistrate, held nine slaves and 640 acres in 1829. An exception to the general rule was Jonathan Robinson, judge of the county court from 1823 to 1824, who owned thirtyone slaves and 1,010 acres in 1829.

Despite the reality of local politics, many Gadsden citizens— as was true elsewhere in the South— believed that community prestige and higher political aspirations were based upon ownership of large numbers of slaves and quantities of land. Charles H. DuPont, a member of the Territorial Council in 1835, owned only nine slaves and 640 acres of land in 1829. Six years later he had increased his estate to twenty slaves and 1,300 acres. By 1860, when he was serving on the state supreme court, his holdings had ballooned to 108 slaves and 5,800 acres.³⁰

^{26.} Tax Books, 1829-1832; Rivers, "Slavery in Microcosm," 235-45; Rivers, "Dignity and Importance," 404-30.

^{27.} Tax Books, 1829.

^{28.} Ibid., 1839.

^{29.} Ibid., 1829-1832; Womack, Gadsden, 33.

^{30.} Eaton, Freedom of Thought, 35; Tax Books, 1829, 1835, 1860.

Another example was Abraham K. Allison, one of the state's most powerful politicians. He served in the territorial legislature and, after statehood, represented Gadsden County first in the state house of representatives and then the state senate. He was speaker of the house in 1852, and later president of the senate. As mentioned earlier, he became acting governor in 1865. Apparently Allison owned little property prior to 1845; at least, he did not report any slaves or land for taxation. In 1845 he listed 320 acres and no slaves. Eight years later his assets included thirty-eight slaves and 640 acres. The pattern illustrated by Allison was not unusual. Substantial economic assets presumably were not a requirement to get started in politics, but as political careers matured, personal estates—land and slaves—often expanded accordingly.³¹

Though small farmers and planters controlled politics within the county, large planters dominated Gadsden's economic and social life. For instance, when the Union Bank was established at Tallahassee in 1833, twelve Gadsden County residents were listed as investors.³² Of this number, eleven owned both slaves and sizable acreage. The Reverend Freeman Fitzgerald listed sixty slaves and 1,920 acres of land; Thomas Preston reported forty-five slaves and 800 acres; and Henry Gee owned nineteen slaves and 3,079 acres. By 1845, Gee's holdings totalled seventy-six slaves and 4,020 acres of land.³³

As to religious affairs, three local ministers possessed enough land and bondsmen to be categorized as planters. In 1839 the Reverend Jesse Coe, of the Centenary Methodist Church, listed thirty-six slaves and 2,128 acres of land; the Reverend Freeman Fitzgerald, also a Methodist preacher, owned sixty-two slaves and 3,360 acres; and the Reverend Gospero Sweet, of the Mount Pleasant Methodist Episcopal Church, owned nineteen slaves and 400 acres. Ten years later, Sweet held twenty-eight bondsmen and 480 acres.³⁴

Also important to the county's social life were fraternal organizations such as the several Masonic orders then active

^{31.} Tax Books, 1833-1860.

^{32.} Kathryn T. Abbey, "The Union Bank of Tallahassee," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 15 (April 1937), 207-31; Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth*, 79, 90, 124, 127; Appleyard, "Plantation Life in Middle Florida," 31-34.

^{33.} Tax Books, 1833-1845.

^{34.} Womack, *Gadsden*, 49-55; Stanley, *Gadsden County*, 69-72; Tax Books, 1839, 1849.

throughout the South. Washington Lodge No. 1 (later redesignated No. 2) was established in Gadsden County in 1827. Among its members were planters Henry Gee, Henry Yonge, Gospero Sweet, James Gibson, and William Norwood. Additional Masonic lodges were chartered in the county in 1846 and 1852, and their membership rolls reveal, as well, the participation of many planters. 35

Horse racing was another popular pastime throughout the South, and several tracks were located in Florida, including one organized in Gadsden County around 1829. Of the original ten stockholders in the jockey club that sponsored the Gadsden track, four men were slaveowners: Jonathan Robinson, Henry Gee, James A. Dunlap, and Hezekiah Wilder. The club ceased operations in 1837, perhaps because of the national economic crisis that began in that year. Two more of the original stockholders acquired slaves and acreage after its closure.³⁶

While land in Gadsden County was adaptable to a variety of crops, the main production was in cotton and tobacco.³⁷ That fact was applicable to large planters and to yeomen farmers. In 1840, only sixteen people earned their living from "manufacturing products"; in 1860, that number had declined to six. In the former year Gadsden County produced 66,324 pounds of tobacco, or 85 percent of all tobacco grown in Florida. Ten years later it produced 776,177 pounds, or 78 percent of the state's total. In 1860 a total of 828,815 pounds was grown in Florida, of which 553,701 pounds, or 67 percent, was produced in Gadsden.³⁸

Tax Books, 1829-1830; "Minute Book," vol. 1, Washington Lodge No. 2, Free and Accepted Masons, 134-35.

Dorothy Dodd, "Horse Racing in Middle Florida," Apalachee (1948-1950), 20-25; Gadsden County, Deed Book A, 329, Gadsden County Courthouse, Quincy.

^{37.} Mark Van Doren, ed., The Travels of William Bartram (Dover, 1928), 337; Francis de Castelnau, "Essay on Middle Florida, 1837, 1838," translated by Arthur R. Seymour, Florida Historical Quarterly 26 (January 1948), 209; Rupert P. Vance, Human Geography of the South (Chapel Hill, 1937), 360.

^{38.} U.S. Census Office, Sixth Census of the United States, 1840, Manufacture (Washington, DC, 1841), 337-45; U.S. Census Office, Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Manufacture (Washington, DC, 1865), 57; Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitats and Statistics of the United States, Sixth Census, 1840, Agriculture (Washington, DC, 1841), 337; J. D. B. DeBow, Compendium of the Seventh Census, 1850, Agriculture (Washington, DC, 1854), 408; Agriculture of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census (Washington, DC, 1864), 18-21.

Cotton has been described as the "most valuable commodity produced in the United States prior to 1860." ³⁹ The crop overall made more money for Gadsden County growers than did tobacco, but its price also experienced more drastic fluctuations. The county in 1840 produced 1,833,600 pounds, or 15 percent of all cotton grown in Florida; 2,243,600 pounds, or 12 percent in 1850; and 1,734,000 pounds, or 7 percent in 1860. ⁴⁰ By 1837, however, county tobacco planters had established markets as far away as Germany, and tobacco profits pound for pound were higher than those for cotton. Planters averaged in 1840 about ten cents per pound on their cotton, while they received an average of twenty-five cents a pound for their tobacco. While cotton prices increased during the 1850s and 1860s to an average of thirty cents a pound, tobacco prices rose even higher to an average of between forty to eighty cents per pound. ⁴¹

In 1844 a Tallahassee newspaper noted this differential when it reported: "Culture of Florida tobacco yields more than cotton." Five years later another area newspaper asserted: "[As] gratifying as are the rewards of [the] labor of [the] cotton planter, they sink in consequence when compared with the more lucrative gains of our [Gadsden] tobacco planters." Forman and Muse, a company organized by two Gadsden tobacco planters and merchants, exported the first foreign shipment of Florida leaf to Bremen, Germany, in 1842. Prior to that time, Gadsden tobacco growers had sold most of their products to factories in Tallahassee and in Bainbridge and Thomasville, Georgia. A profitable market continued to exist for the county's growers even through the depression of the late 1830s and early 1840s."

^{39.} Smith, Slavery and Plantation Growth, 158.

^{40.} Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States, Sixth Census, 1840, Agriculture, 336; DeBow, Compendium of the Seventh Census, 1850, Agriculture, 408; Agriculture of the United States in 1860, Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census, 18-21.

DeBow, Compendium of the Seventh Census, 1850, Agriculture, 408; Agriculture of the United States in 1860, 18-21; J. D. B. DeBow, The Industrial Resources of the Southern and Western States, 3 vols. (New Orleans, 1852), I, 149; Lewis C. Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860, 2 vols. (Washington, DC, 1932), II, 739, 756; Jerrell H. Shofner and William Warren Rogers, "Sea Island Cotton in Antebellum Florida," Florida Historical Quarterly 40 (April 1962), 373-80.

^{42.} Tallahassee Sentinel, January 9, 1844.

^{43.} Tallahassee Floridian and Journal, November 17, 1849.

D. D. Smith, History of John (Virginia) Smith and His Descendants in Connection with the Tobacco Industry in Gadsden County, Florida and Decatur County, Georgia

Civil War, tobacco remained a major Gadsden crop, and descendants of antebellum slaveholders continued to earn profits from their tobacco.

The large-scale production of cotton and tobacco in Gadsden County required the labor of black slaves. Not surprisingly, male slaves outnumbered females during most of the antebellum period (see Table 2). In 1830, 449 male slaves, or 35 percent of the county's total of 1,280, were described as being twenty-four years of age or older. In the same age category were 370 females, or 30 percent of a total of 1,221. A decade later, sixty-four males, or 4 percent of 1,683, were listed as fifty-five years or older, as compared to fifty females, or 3 percent of a total 1,658 female slaves.

During the 1850s, when slaves were selling for a higher price than at any time during the antebellum period, male slaves continued to be in greater demand than female slaves, a fact illustrated in local newspaper advertisements.⁴⁵ While in 1850 the county's female slaves outnumbered males by 134, a decade later the male slave population had increased to 2,809 and the female only to 2,600. Females, however, continued to predominate in the age categories ten to twenty, forty to sixty, and over 100.

The questions of profitability and efficiency of slave labor, as compared to free labor, have been a subject of scholarly debate. Gadsden County bondsmen, as also was the case in Leon County, exhibited considerable skills in the various tasks they were required to perform for their masters or individuals hiring their services. On the estate of William Kilcrease, in 1860 the county's largest planter family with 160 slaves, bondsmen were responsible for caring for the grist and saw mills and for the plantation's livestock. The executors of the estate, S. B. Love and Samuel B. Stephens, employed three slaves as blacksmiths and two as carpenters during the 1850s and 1860s. 46 Admiration for his slave

⁽Quincy, n.d.), 1-2; Stanley, Gadsden County, 56; Smith, Slavery and Plantation Growth, 139.

During the 1850s, the Quincy Sentinel, Tallahassee Sentinel, Tallahassee Floridian, and Tallahassee Floridian and Journal advertised the sale of prime male slaves in Gadsden County and Middle Florida more frequently than female slaves.

^{46.} William Kilcrease probate records, file 1005, books 1-6, and Cyrus Dearborn probate records, file 362, Gadsden County, (Gadsden County Courthouse (hereafter cited as probate records).

Table 2. Age Classification of Female and Male Slaves in Gadsden County, 1830-1840

Year	Under 10		10 to 24		24 to 36		36 to 55		55 to 99		100+		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1830 1840	438 602	409 584	393 513	442 537	281 311	218 319	137 193	122 168	31 63	30 45	0 1	0 5	1,280 1,683	1,221 1,658

Sources: Fifth Census; or Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the United States, 1830 (Washington, DC, 1832), 156-57; Sixth Census of the United States, 1840 (Washington, DC, 1841), 96-99.

 $Table \ 3. \ Age \ Classification \ of \ Female \ and \ Male \ Slaves \ in \ Gadsden \ County, \ 1850-1860$

Year	Under 10		10 to 20		20 to 40		40 to 60		60 to 99		100+:		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1850 1860	746 878	837 801	617 683	610 688	702 829	731 711	242 340	261 347	66 79	67 51	0	1 2	2,373 2,809	2,507 2,600

Sources: Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 (Washington, DC, 1853), 399-400; Joseph C. G. Kennedy, Population of the United States in 1860, 4 vols. (Washington, DC, 1864), I, 52-53.

carpenter, Cato, likely caused Jesse Potts to stipulate in his will: "[I]f all my slaves, or either of them (except Cato, carpenter), should not please my wife, in that case; I have empowered her to sell or change such slave or slaves, for others as she may think proper." ^{4 7} Forman and Muse hired nine slaves from the estate of John W. Malone from 1845 to 1851 to work for their tobacco and exporting company. Cyrus Dearborn, a local merchant, worked his six slaves in his store until his death around 1830, at which time some of the bondsmen were hired out to other county residents. ⁴⁸

Jonathan Robinson's three carpenters and two blacksmiths were among the many slaves who cared for the livestock, saw and grist mills, and other buildings on his 816-acre plantation. A skilled slave craftsman, George, who in 1841 was one of eight slaves of Judge David L. White, was charged with responsibility for building a chimney on a house. Robert S. Edmund's confidence in the ability of his slaves led him to stipulate in his will that they "be hired [only] as mechanics and house servants." He also required that one slave boy, after attaining the age of fourteen, should be "placed with a good master mechanic who is known to be sober and humane to learn such trade as he may desire." Edmund appears to have been concerned about his slaves' welfare, as well as their occupations.

In addition to utilizing skilled and unskilled slave labor on the plantation, many owners hired out slaves, often to utilize the profits to sustain family or to educate their children. William Graves believed that by selling or hiring out his slave boy Henry he could pay off his debts and provide some money upon which his wife could live. Elizabeth L. Winslow stipulated in her will that her executors were to dedicate proceeds from use of her slaves to support her niece, Lucy Ann Ochiltree, and Lucy's children during their lifetime. She also provided that her niece's son, John W. Ochiltree, upon reaching the age of twenty-one

Jesse Potts will, August 4, 1829, Will Book A, 93, Gadsden County, Gadsden County Courthouse (hereafter cited as Will Book A).

Cyrus Dearborn probate records, file 362; John W. Malone probate records, file 1184.

Jonathan Robinson probate records, file 1529; Robert S. Edmund will, August 13, 1850, Will Book A, 219-24; diary of David White, July 1835-June 1842, entry of October 1841, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

could receive a classical education if "sufficient profits" were available after maintaining her niece and children first.⁵⁰

Hiring out slaves thus was a common practice and an uncomplicated and secure way of making profits for many slaveholders. William S. Guinn, for example, hired out a carpenter to J. W. Malone at \$1 per day for thirty-one days in September 1840. In 1846 Thomas Monroe, executor of Malone's estate, hired a slave, George, to P. F. Jones at \$25 per month. Forman and Muse two years later hired four slaves and rented a dwelling house in Quincy from Malone's estate for \$575. In 1850 only the Malone slaves were hired out; the fee was \$400 per year, increased by \$50 upon renewal. ⁵¹

Slaves apparently also worked in industrial capacities. As early as 1840, twenty-six businesses or industrial establishments valued at \$36,850 were located in Gadsden County. Because the owners did not list monthly wages for their employment with census officials, the majority of laborers working in the establishments likely were bondsmen. ⁵² Interestingly, as demand for slave labor on plantations increased over the following two decades, the importance of industrial employment in the county declined; sixty-six such concerns existed in 1840, while only six were listed twenty years later. In 1860 industrial employment had fallen to twenty-six persons, and the businesses were valued at a mere \$6,320. ⁵³

Slaveholders viewed the ownership of slaves not only as profitable for themselves, but also as a wise investment for the security of their heirs. Daniel Shaw, for instance, bequeathed \$600 to be "invested in a negro girl" by the executors of his estate to ensure the care of his daughter Mary. An ailing minister, H. McArver, similarly noted that he had "invested in slaves" to guarantee that his "wife and unborn child" could remain solvent after his death. ⁵⁴

William Graves will, December 18, 1833, Will Book A, 55; Elizabeth L. Winslow will, January 10, 1839, Will Book A, 67; John W. Ochiltree will, April 11, 1841, Will Book A, 71.

^{51.} John Malone probate records, file 1184.

U.S. Census Office, Sixth Census of the United States, 1840, Manufacture, 337-45.

Ibid., 337-45; U.S. Census Office, Eighth Census of the United Stales, 1860, Manufacture, 57; manuscript returns of the Eighth U.S. Census, 1860, Gadsden County, schedule V (manufacture).

^{54.} John Shaw will, July 9, 1840, Will Book A, 134; John McArver will, March 13, 1841. Will Book A, 150.

The education of their children was a high priority for many owners. Daniel McLaughlin, John Colson, and John Wooten stipulated that their estates and slaves should be used for that purpose. Malone also directed that "profits" from his estate be used for his children's schooling. Accordingly, in 1852 his eldest son, William, received \$40; his younger son, Alfred, \$28; and his daughter, Florida, received \$32 for tuition.⁵⁵

When directing the use of slave labor for the benefit of their heirs, many owners, already accustomed to the practice in their personal business dealings, required that the bondsmen be hired out. Such a transaction could be by the day, the month, or the year. For In Gadsden, the period most often was a year beginning after New Year's Day and ending before Christmas. The lessees often owned no slaves themselves, and the cost of hire—as well as the period—varied according to the needs of the lessee and to the age, sex, health, and skill of the bondsmen involved. James C. Evans's estate in 1841 hired out two slaves to J. S. Jones for \$392, two to J. Lanier for \$477, one to A. Johnson for \$41, one to R. Rodgers for \$27, and one to D. Boslick for \$164. Five years previously the executor of E. W. Sweat's estate had leased three slaves to Forman and Muse for \$393. And, Allen Smith's estate hired out two slaves to Malcolm Blue in 1839 for \$244.84.

A few Gadsden County residents allowed their bondsmen to arrange their own hires. Robert Edmunds, by will, required that lessees be "kind and hymane [sic] persons," but afforded his slaves the liberty to select the person for whom they would work provided "such persons give satisfactory security to my executors." Jonathan Robinson, also by testamentary provision, declared, "Boy George the carpenter shall be allowed to choose his own employer annually during his life time." The proceeds of the hire were to be paid to Robinson's executors. ⁵⁹

Contrary to the practice of Edmunds and Robinson, most Gadsden slaveholders expressed little care as to who hired the

Daniel McLaughlin will, June 3, 1840, Will Book A, 129; John Colson will, July 20, 1832, Will Book A, 22; John Wooten probate records, file 1913; John W. Malone probate records, file 1184.

^{56.} Smith, Slavery and Plantation Growth, 75.

^{57.} James C. Evans probate records, no file number.

^{58.} E. W. Sweat probate records, file 1575; Allen Smith probate records, file

Robert Edmund will, August 13, 1850, Will Book A, 219-24; Jonathan Robinson probate records, file 1529.

services of their bondsmen. James Nixon directed, for example, that his slaves "[were to be] hired out by [his] executors until his sons reached the lawful age of twenty one, and then they [the slaves] were to be evenly divided between them." William Graves stipulated that his wife either could "Sell my negro boy Henry" or "hire him out." Most owners were concerned primarily with the lessee's ability to pay. Understandably, this fact led to personal tragedy and hardships for many slaves. They often were overworked, and, as one scholar has noted, "the period of hire was temporary[,] and there was little concern for the welfare of the Negro."

As was the case in other Middle Florida plantation counties, slaves constituted the most valuable property in Gadsden County. Probate records indicate that during the 1840s bondsmen were valued at an average of \$600 for a prime male slave and \$500 for a prime female slave. John W. Malone's slaves, when appraised in 1846, ranged in value within those limits, while a two-year-old male was valued at \$300. In 1840, Daniel Shaw bequeathed \$600 to his daughter, Mary Strickland, for the purchase of "a negro girl."

The price of slaves rose during the 1850s as the demand for the labor increased with the boom in cotton and tobacco production. By 1855, John Wooten's slaves ranged in value from a high of \$1,200 for a prime male hand and \$1,000 for a female slave to a low of \$500 for children under ten years of age. Newspaper advertisements of the period suggest that Gadsden County slave prices averaged approximately $$1,000.^{64}$

Slave values continued to rise during the period of the Civil War as the labor of bondsmen became ever more essential to county growers. Prices soared to an average high of \$4,500 for a prime male hand and \$2,000 for a prime female. In 1863, for example, a thirty-eight-year-old male slave belonging to Jonathan Robinson was valued at \$4,550, and a twenty-four-year-

^{60.} James A. Nixon will, April 11, 1838, Will Book A, 102-04.

^{61.} William Graves will, December 18, 1833, Will Book A, 55.

^{62.} Smith, Slavery and Plantation Growth, 77.

^{63.} John W. Malone probate records, file 1184; Daniel Shaw will, July 9, 1840, Will Book A, 134-35.

John Wooten probate records, file 1913; Tallahassee Floridian and Journal, February 9, 1856, September 19, 1857; Tallahassee Florida Sentinel, June 3, December 8, 1851.

old female at \$2,000.⁶⁵ Three years previously, a blacksmith on the estate of William Kilcrease was assessed at \$3,500 and a prime female, \$1,000.⁶⁶ That year, 1860, the county's bondsmen (based upon a conservatively estimated average value per slave of \$1,000) represented approximately \$5,400,000 in value. At the time the combined value of the county's improved and unimproved land came only to \$1,417,050. The year's cotton production was an estimated \$520,200, and the tobacco crop was valued at approximately \$221,480.⁶⁷ Slavery clearly was big business in the county in 1860, and at that date had not reached its natural limits.

Few free blacks lived in Gadsden County. As noted in Table 1, only five were resident in 1830. A high for the antebellum period was reached in 1840 when the total increased to thirteen. By 1860, though, only six free blacks remained in the county. Among the free persons of color, and, more numerously among county slaves, were a considerable number of mulattoes. Gadsden's mulatto population, as a percentage of total black population, constituted only half that of the state- 4 percent as opposed to 8 percent in 1860. Still, 217 individuals were reported as mulattoes to census officials, and the actual number likely was greater. 68 The experience of these mulattoes differed markedly. While all no doubt felt the opprobrium of the community and most probably toiled alongside their fellow slaves in the fields, a few enjoyed a gentle upbringing at the hands of white fathers who, at least tacitly, acknowledged their offspring. One example is that of Robert Meacham, who became a prominent politician and minister in post-Civil War Florida. Apparently the son of planter and physician Banks Meacham, Robert testified in later life that he could not answer whether he had been raised slave or free. His duties until the age of eighteen were slight. "I drove a carriage once," he related, "and superintended around my old boss-my father. Until I was eighteen years old, I never did

^{65.} Jonathan Robinson probate records, file 1529.

^{66.} William Kilcrease probate records, file 1005.

^{67.} U.S. Census Office, Eighth Census of Florida, 1860: Original Census Schedules, Schedule 4, Agriculture, 1-22; Agriculture of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Census, 18-24; Dorothy Dodd, "The Manufacture of Cotton in Florida Before and During the Civil War," Florida Historical Quarterly 13 (July 1934), 3-15; Kennedy, Population of the United States in 1860. I. 50-54.

^{68.} Kennedy, Population of the United States in 1860, I, 54.

anything more than to stay about him and ride in the buggy with him." Surprisingly, Robert's father even attempted to enroll the lad in one of Quincy's white academies, although the experiment was shortlived. ⁶⁹ Meacham's experience, however, must be considered atypical.

No evidence suggests that any large-scale slave rebellion occurred in Gadsden County. Bondsmen resisted their status, nonetheless, by "taking off," and runaway slaves constituted a continuing problem for the county's residents. David White's diary, for instance, contains numerous entries related to runaway and recaptured slaves. An 1836 notation recorded a recapture. Two years later White noted that T. Smith's slave had been caught and that Joseph Waile's slave, Bob, had "taken off." Gadsden slaveholders advertised rewards for the return of their chattels in various Middle Florida newspapers including, during the 1830s-1850s, the Quincy Sentinel, the Tallahassee Floridian and Advocate, the Tallahassee Floridian and Journal, and the Tallahassee Florida Sentinel.

The institution of slavery helped to shape the political, social, and economic structures of Gadsden County, one of Florida's wealthiest and most influential antebellum political subdivisions. As was the case in most southern communities, every individual in some way was influenced by the "peculiar institution." Unlike many such communities, however, the number of slaves a man owned in Gadsden did not necessarily determine his social and political status. In fact, those who owned only a few slaves or none at all dominated local politics; their wealthier slaveholding contemporaries were involved instead with fostering their own economic prosperity and with territorial and state politics. Nonetheless, with a foundation rooted deeply in black chattel slavery, Gadsden County residents who could buy or hire slaves prospered from 1823 to 1860 and had immediate and personal reasons to fight to defend the institution that had bequeathed to them such gentle lives.

^{69.} Canter Brown, Jr., "Where Are Now the Hopes I Cherished?' The Life and Times of Robert Meacham," Florida Historical Quarterly 69 (July 1990), 2-3

^{70.} David White diary, July 1835-June 1842.

Quincy Sentinel, June 13, September 18, 1840, January 8, 1841, May 9, June 27, 1843; Tallahassee Floridian and Advocate, July 20, 1830, July 28, 1836; Tallahassee Floridian and Journal, January 29, 1853, December 30, 1859; Tallahassee Florida Sentinel, October 15, 1841, January 28, March 4, June 3, 1842, March 31, 1846, July 8, 1850, November 28, 1856.

BEFORE THE SEMINOLES: FOOTBALL AT FLORIDA STATE COLLEGE, 1902-1904

by RIC A. KABAT

HEN Coach W. W. Hughes looked out at his football team in the autumn of 1902, he was under no pressure to improve on the previous year's season. Recently hired to teach Latin at Florida State College (FSC), Professor Hughes had played football at Vanderbilt University and, when he arrived in Tallahassee, had volunteered to coach FSC's fledgling team. Practicing on the newly graded gridiron west of campus (a renovated cow pasture), the FSC Eleven prepared for their first game against a city team from nearby Bainbridge, Georgia. Hughes, pleased with the team's progress, anticipated success.¹

FSC was beginning its football program in the early years of the twentieth century, but collegiate competition already was three decades old. Following the first intercollegiate contest between Princeton and Rutgers in 1869, the game increasingly had become popular and, inevitably, subject to rules and regulations. Professional coaches replaced student captains, and formal intercollegiate organizations devised game regulations. The Intercollegiate Football Association, consisting of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and the University of Pennsylvania, was created in 1876. The Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Association was organized in 1894, and the midwestern Big Ten Conference followed two years later.²

The unpredictability and inherent violence of early football drew most of the spectators and swelled the gate receipts. Success depended on brute strength, and the sport lacked the intricate strategy of the modern-day game. In 1902, approximately ten deaths and seventy injuries occurred nationwide from football

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^{1.} Weekly Tallahasseean, November 14, 1902.

Douglas A. Noverr and Lawrence E. Ziewacz, The Games They Played: Sports in American History, 1865-1980 (Chicago, 1983), 11, 83.

play; two years later, fourteen young men died and 296 were injured.³ Despite the casualties, the game reflected important values in American society. College boosterism and student hoopla became an integral part of the contest. Cheering the local team to victory strengthened the social bonds between the college and the larger community.⁴ Participation was fully rationalized, and the explanation remains virtually unchanged today. "A football game is a trying ordeal," explained one southern newspaper in 1902, "but when a man comes out of a game he not only has pluck and grit, he has an immense reserve force which he can in further years summon to his aid at any critical moment when strength and endurance may mean everything to him." In other words, football provided values that men needed to survive in a competitive society.⁶

Not everyone enthusiastically supported the game, however. Broken bones and bloodied bodies symbolized it for some protesters. "What is needed," one critic wrote, "is a common set of rules for all reputable colleges." President Theodore Roosevelt agreed, and in December 1905 he hosted a White House conference to discuss football regulations with the leaders of the nation's

^{3.} Before the 1880s, American football players moved the ball up and down the field by kicking and hitting it with their hands and feet. Pushing the ball into the opponents' end zone four times scored a point. A player could not run with or throw the ball, and catching it allowed the recipient a free kick. In 1883, a touchdown equaled two points; a field goal, five; a post-touchdown kick, two; and a safety, one. The following year the touchdown was increased to four points and the safety to two. After 1900, a touchdown equaled five points. The points allotted for a touchdown changed from five to six in 1912. Noverr and Ziewacz, Games They Played, 26-27: Alexander M. Weyand, The Saga of American Football (New York, 1955), 99; John S. Watterson III, "The Football Crisis of 1909-1910: The Response of the Eastern 'Big Three,'" Journal of Sport History 8 (Spring 1981), 33-49; Bainbridge (GA) Searchlight, December 5, 1902.

^{4.} Football soon proved to be more profitable than other college sports, and by the early 1900s it was bringing in much-needed revenue for many institutions. Noverr and Ziewacz, *Games They Played*, 30; David L. Westby and Allen Sack, "The Commercialization and Functional Rationalization of College Football: Its Origins," *Journal of Higher Education* 47 (November-December 1976), 625-47.

^{5.} Bainbridge (GA) Searchlight, December 5, 1902.

Glenn C. Altschuler and Martin W. LaForge, "From Brawn to Brains: Football and Evolutionary Thought," *Journal of Popular Culture* 16 (Spring 1983), 75-88.

William P. Few, "The Excessive Devotion to Athletics," South Atlantic Quarterly 5 (January 1906), 46.

largest universities. The following year the educators formed the Intercollegiate Football Rules Committee (later renamed the National Collegiate Athletic Association). The new rules committee stressed safety and ethical conduct. As a centralized regulatory body, the committee revised and softened the game.⁸

Florida's first intercollegiate football game was played in Jacksonville on November 22, 1901. Stetson College of DeLand defeated Florida Agricultural College (FAC) of Lake City by a score of 6-0.9 The contest aroused much excitement and inspired the state's other schools to seek intercollegiate competition. The following year, four schools—Florida Agricultural College, Rollins College of Winter Park, Stetson College, and Florida State College—formed "a collegiate league to make arrangements for a series of . . . football contests." The *Weekly Tallahasseean* predicted that "some hotly contested games will be pulled off in Tallahassee." ¹⁰

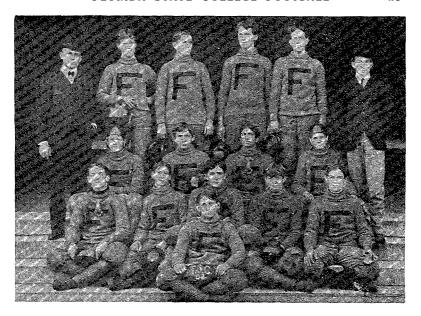
Tallahassee had been the site of an institution of higher education for over forty years. Known as the West Florida Seminary from 1857 to 1901, the school's name was changed in the latter year to reflect its growing status. "All the higher branches are taught in the Florida State College," noted a Tallahassee newspaper, "[and] the instructors are gentlemen and ladies of the highest integrity and morality." With an enrollment of 252 students in 1902, FSC was coeducational. The student body was divided about evenly between men and women. They participated in extracurricular activities ranging from debating societies

^{8.} Before 1906 football was oriented to defense, and many games were decided by one touchdown or field goal. A brutal contest often would end without either team having scored. The rule committee made significant changes: the forward pass was legalized with a twenty-yard limit; running backs had to remain five yards behind the scrimmage line; the offensive line had to have six men (none could drop back and carry the ball); first-down yardage was increased from five to ten; and downs were changed from three to four. A four-year eligibility rule and a one-year residency requirement also were established. Altschuler and LaForee. "From Brawn to Brains," 75-88; John Hammond Moore, "Football's Ugly Decades, 1893-1913," Smithsonian Journal of History 2 (Fall 1967), 60-61.

^{9.} Samuel Proctor and Wright Langley, *Gator History: A Pictorial History of the University of Florida* (Gainesville, 1986), 20.

^{10.} Weekly Tallahasseean, September 19, 1902.

^{11.} Ibid., September 5, 1901.



The 1902 Florida State College football team. Coach W. W. Hughes is on the far left; A. B. Clark, team captain, is standing to his left. *Photograph courtesy Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.*

to athletic clubs. Before 1902, the men played intramural football but did not challenge other colleges or city teams. 12

Football was not new to Tallahasseeans. The game had been played there since at least 1890. On Christmas Day of that year the "Get There" football club had divided into two teams and played "a match game of hard kicking" with their new "fine four-dollar ball." Everyone was "invited to witness the game," and the local newspaper proudly asserted that the team was "open to any challenges from any other football clubs in Florida." The team thereafter dropped from public notice. Still, local residents likely scheduled games among themselves. The early teams were not affiliated with the college and were primarily involved in local municipal competition. As the game's popu-

William G. Dodd, History of West Florida Seminary, 1857-1901; Florida State College, 1901-1905 (Tallahassee?, 1952?), 100; West Florida Seminary, The Argo of the Seminary West of the Suwannee (Tallahassee, 1900), 85; James P. Jones, FSU One Time! A History of Seminole Football (Tallahassee, 1973).

^{13.} Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, December 24, 1890.

larity increased, however, FSC students clamored for a team. Football— with its action-packed allure, its appeal to school spirit, and its ability to galvanize loyalty— undeniably was collegiate. At least, FSC's President Albert A. Murphree thought so, and in 1902 he strongly supported the new squad.¹⁴

The Olympian Athletic Association administered all forms of sport at FSC in 1902. The club was divided into the "Young Women's Department" and the "Young Men's Department." The women played Ping-Pong, lawn tennis, basketball, and croquet. The men participated in more physically demanding contests such as baseball, football, and "racing." W. W. Hughes presided over the men's division and was "determined to have a winning [football team]." The gridders "lost no time" and began practicing every afternoon that fall. For the faculty and parents, wary that athletics might supersede academics, the *Weekly Tallahasseean* promised that sports would "in no way interfere with regular studies." By the end of October, the team had new uniforms costing \$325, and its members were "confident of success."

Word soon spread that FSC was preparing for gridiron battles. In response, H. E. Stockbridge, secretary of the State Fair Association, invited the team to play FAC at the state fair in Lake City. Besides the honor of the invitation, Stockbridge offered \$50 to the winning team. Coach Hughes informed the players, however, that the Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Association (SIAA) restricted cash prizes for college games. If they wanted to preserve their amateur integrity and perhaps play teams belonging to the SIAA, they must refuse the offer. The team agreed but asked Stockbridge if it could play in return for a percentage of the gate receipts. Stockbridge refused. ¹⁸

Undaunted, the players continued their daily workouts in the humid, almost unbearable late days of summer. To express further their manly intentions, they signed a pledge to refrain from unhealthy habits. The promise made was to avoid "use [of] tobacco in any way, shape or form" and "not [to] indulge in the use of any spiritous or malt liquors." A local reporter noted, "[I]f

^{14.} Dodd, West Florida Seminary, 105.

^{15.} Weekly Tallahasseean, October 3, 1902.

^{16.} Ibid., October 10, 1902.

^{17.} Ibid., October 24, 1902.

^{18.} Ibid., October 31, 1902.

the boys do succeed in breaking a few limbs and one or two necks, the damage will be more than equalized by the results of this oath." ¹⁹

The squad's first game was scheduled for November 21. The red-and-white-clad Bainbridge Giants arrived by train, and they reportedly hoped to "hammer the life" out of the FSC Eleven. The Giants were "much heavier" than the college team and had four football veterans from the University of Georgia, as well as one University of Virginia alumnus. As the *Argo*, FSC's student yearbook, put it, "[I]f the truth be told, we were scared." The home Eleven, unfortunately, had "never seen a game much less participated in one." Nevertheless, they were determined to give Bainbridge "a good hard tussle."

The two teams trotted onto the field at 3:30 p.m. Earlier that day the gridiron had been marked off, and impromptu goal posts tottered in the breeze. Admission was fifty cents, and throngs of cheering students and fans lined the field shouting:

Boom-a-lacka, boom-a-lacka, bow, wow, wow! Ching-a-lacka, thing-a-lacka, chow, chow, chow! Boom-a-lacka, thing-a-lacka! Who are we? We are the boys of FSC!²²

The FSC men wore gold-covered suits with a large purple F emblazoned on the front. As yet, they had no nickname. Their trousers were lightly padded, but their upper bodies were largely unprotected. Leather helmets with ear guards covered their heads, and shoehorn-shaped metal nose guards were strapped across their faces. Reflecting the game's casual atmosphere, Coach Hughes refereed, and E. E. McLin, a Bainbridge resident, was the umpire.²³

Bainbridge lost the toss and kicked off to FSC's thirty-yard line. FSC responded quickly with a fifteen-yard gain. The Eleven lined up for their first offensive with A. B. Clark, quarterback; R. F. Bradford, right end; W. W. Dickey, right tackle; G. P. McCord, right guard; C. W. Peters, center; W. Mullin, left guard;

^{19.} Ibid., November 7, 1902.

^{20.} Florida State College, The Argo (Tallahassee, 1903), 71

^{21.} Weekly Tallahasseean, November 21, 1902.

^{22.} Ibid., September 19, 1902.

^{23.} Argo (1903), 61.

E. P. Watson, left tackle; L. M. Murray, left end; W. H. Provence, right halfback; Dan Williams, left halfback; and F. W. (Fritz) Buchholz, fullback.²⁴ The original line-up played the entire game, both offense and defense. Substitutes replaced injured players.

According to a reporter from the *Weekly Tallahasseean*, FSC moved the ball "[b]y a rapid succession of downs" into Giant territory. After several "buck runs," the home team was "within six inches of Georgia's goal." The Giants held FSC for two downs, but on the third Buchholz "barely pushed through Georgia's right tackle for a touchdown." ²⁵ Provence attempted an extrapoint kick, but it failed. After sixteen minutes of action, FSC led 5-0. Before the ball again was "advanced any great distance by either side," the first half ended. ²⁶

During halftime the teams assembled at opposite ends of the field while the crowd shouted "cheer after cheer." Professors L. W. Buchholz (father of Fritz Buchholz), Arthur Williams, H. L. Hargrove, and President Murphree "were...yelling like demons and doing a cakewalk to the college Boola." The "Florida Boola March" was the school's lengthy fight song. Whether anyone knew all the words, some of which obviously had been added just for the occasion, is doubtful; perhaps copies were handed out. In any event, during the halftime festivities the students and professors allegedly joined in singing:

In Florida we have a school
Just such another school there never was
Our boys can play, our girls can dance,
But we don't fool our pas and mas
In learning a temple high and fair
We strive to take our stand:
But lessons done and honors won,
We sing and play "to beat the band."
Boola, Boola, Boola, Boola,
Boola, Boola, Boola,

^{24.} Ibid., 60; Weekly Tallahasseean, November 28, 1902.

^{25.} The term "buck" was used to describe a mass-momentum play

^{26.} Ibid.

^{27.} Argo (1903), 72.

And we'll "rough house" old Bainbridge, Poor Bainbridge - Boola, Boo Rah! Rah! Rah! Rah! Well here we are! Well here we are! Just watch us rolling up a score We'll leave those fellows behind so far They won't want to play us anymore! They'll fail to beat our boys and Hughes-To try there is no use! Well, a Boola, Boo, Boola, Boola, Boo Boola, Boo, Boola, Boola, Boola, Boo! Now isn't it a shame, now isn't it a shame, To do those fellows up so bad We'll roll up the score so very high That you will never hear them sigh, Boola, Boola, Boola, Boola, Boo Boola, Boola, Boola, Boola, Bool O-o-o-h! - one more job for the undertaker, One more casque for the cabinet maker, Dig her grave and lay her 'way gently! O-o-o-h! Poor Bainbridge!²

McCord, of FSC, kicked off the second half sending "the pigskin spinning to Georgia's twenty yard line." Bainbridge did not advance the ball, and FSC took possession at mid-field. After several "line bucks," the Eleven were at the Giant's twenty-yard line. There, FSC turned the ball "over on downs," and Bainbridge started marching up the field. Jacques, the Giant's right halfback, made a twenty-yard end run, the team's "only long gain of the game." With Georgia on FSC's fifteen-yard line, "things began to look black for Florida." But "the FSC line held firm" and the Giant's field goal attempt "was foiled." Following Georgia's failed offensive, "the whistle was blown" and the game ended. The FSC Eleven had defeated the Bainbridge Giants 5-0.²⁹

FSC students were jubilant, and "great was the rejoicing" throughout the campus and the city. Singing victory songs and "wailing . . . the Boola," they crowded around their successful

^{28.} Weekly Tallahasseean, November 21, 1902.

^{29.} Ibid., November 28, 1902.

gridders.³⁰ "[E]very man did his utmost," the local newspaper declared.³¹ The Bainbridge *Searchlight* supported its defeated team and explained the Giant's shutout to those unfamiliar with football scoring practices. "This score [5-0] does not indicate such a victory as it would in baseball," reported the paper. "The Tallahasseeans scored only once against our men and we consider this a splendid showing for the home boys." ³²

An anonymous FSC student later composed a poem to commemorate the college's first football game. Entitled "The Bainbridge Game," it was printed in the *Argo* and read:

'Fore that eventful game was passed Young Sheats got full of nectar, And Murphree let the rascal off -His ever kind protector -And Winthrop danced himself to ruin Until his hair was hoary Like chimpanzees a measure tripped In his primeval glory No; ne'ar was such a tumult heard At FSC again As Freshmen, Prep, and Seniors raised The evening of the game It kept old Bainbridge lay awake, Her team at last got rattled, And Georgia's sympathizers quaked For those who with us battled. Before their bitter cup was drained 'Mid our victorious yell, The Georgia team was crimson stained By Pete and Asa Bell Full many a hostile football man The flattened grass had measured But Florida played to beat the band, Her hopes of victory treasured. The ball is held on Georgia's ground, Then, like a mighty bubble,

^{30.} Argo (1903), 72-73.

^{31.} Weekly Tallahasseean, November 28, 1902.

^{32.} Bainbridge (GA) Searchlight, November 28, 1902.

Through center Buchholz makes a bound,
Ten yards with little trouble;
On, on, to where the goal post stands,
And now with line close forming,
A rush, and Murray around the end
Right up the field goes storming.
See the fierce players! What a glimpse
of shin guards, pads, and leather,
As both the teams, like full-grown imps,
Play low against each other;
A minute's play, a touchdown made,
Ye Gods! Just hear the rooting!
The game is ours, the ball is o'er,
A score of five to nothing.³³

Coach Hughes quickly scheduled another home contest for Friday, December 5. The opponent was the Florida Agricultural College. One report stressed that the team was "doing some hard work to get in trim for the game with Lake City [FAC] Friday afternoon." Unfortunately, heavy rains postponed the matchup for one week. In the meantime, the *Weekly Tallahasseean* informed its readers of football's importance: the game illustrated "the value of the positive" and developed integrity and good morals. "In short, football makes a manly man."

On December 12, the FSC Eleven met FAC on a rain-soaked field in Tallahassee. The students were there "with colors flying and songs and yells in abundance to cheer on the home team." FSC fielded the same roster as in the first game. The team from Lake City kicked off into the "wind and rain." FSC moved forward, but the ball "was forcibly taken from [left halfback Williams's] arms by one of the Lake City players." FAC quickly fumbled the ball, and "Williams, of Tallahassee, dropped on it." The Eleven tried to advance, but FAC "woke up and got into the game" by pushing FSC back. After several possession changes, Lake City made some "end runs" putting them on the FSC four-yard line. FAC then "pushed over the goal line for a

^{33.} Argo (1903), 95.

^{34.} Weekly Tallahasseean, November 28, 1902.

^{35.} Ibid., December 5, 1902.

touchdown," but the extra-point attempt was a "miserable failure." At the end of the first half, FAC led FSC 5-0.³⁶

During the second half "Lake City seemed to be getting tired," reported the Weekly Tallahasseean, "while the home boys were still fresh." Perhaps that was why the FAC players began "slugging" the Tallahassee men. The "dirty work" started when Taylor, FAC's quarterback, struck FSC's right end J. T. Howard "in the temple and was promptly disqualified." Lake City also suffered a five-yard penalty. FAC's actions did not intimidate the Eleven, and the Tallahassee team pushed forward. Murray "took twenty yards around [the] right end," and Buchholz "went through [the] center for five yards." With the ball on FAC's sixteen-yard line, Lake City was penalized for improper formation and lost five yards. Then Clark, FSC's quarterback, "called his off side trick play." The opponents were "caught napping" and lost another five yards. FAC immediately protested, but the referee would not relent. In response, the Lake City players "held a caucus" and decided "to leave the field." The officials asked the team to return, but it "refused to do so." The game was forfeited in favor of FSC 6-0. Evidently, the referee revoked FAC's touchdown and gave it to the Eleven.³⁷

Not surprisingly, "the result of the game . . . was unsatisfactory to both sides," and another contest was scheduled for the following week. The aborted game "was in many respects an interesting one," remarked the *Weekly Tallahasseean*, "but for the deplorable conduct of the visitors." Through the next week the Eleven prepared to seek redress from the Lake City men whom they considered guilty of unsportsmanlike conduct.³⁸

The FSC and FAC teams gathered at Baseball Park in Lake City on December 20. The game started at 3:00 p.m. "Although [it] was hotly contested from the very first," the Lake City newspaper asserted, "it was plain that the local team was stronger." "FAC's C. H. Maguire ran twenty yards for a touchdown, and the extra point conversion was successful. At halftime, Lake City led 6-0. "The second half was more or less a rendition of the

^{36.} Ibid., December 19, 1902; Lake City Citizen-Reporter, December 19, 1902.

Weekly Tallahasseean, December 19, 1902; Lake City Citizen-Reporter, December 19, 1902.

^{38.} Weekly Tallahasseean, December 19, 1902.

^{39.} Lake City Citizen-Reporter, December 26, 1902.

first," according to the Weekly Tallahasseean, and the game "resulted rather disastrously" for FSC with a 6-0 loss. 40

That evening the Eleven attended "a dance at the [FAC] College Chapel," and the two teams reconciled their gridiron differences. The FSC "boys won themselves many kind remarks." Mrs. Thomas H. Taliaferro, wife of the FAC president, commented, "[T]hey not only know how to play football but are thorough gentlemen and know how to dance as well."

The next night the FSC faculty banqueted their team in the private dining room of the Leon, Tallahassee's leading hotel. The players were treated to an eight-course meal, and President Murphree and Coach Hughes toasted them. The celebrants then joined in singing several rounds of "My Lady Sleeps" and "Who Did." All agreed that Florida State had the "most gentlemanly and cleanest football team in [their] part of the country." When the festivities were over, the gridders returned to their dormitories, and FSC's first intercollegiate football season ended. 42 They had played three games, winning two and losing one.

Following the football season, FSC students continued their athletic endeavors. "Since the cessation of football," noted the local newspaper, "tennis has become more popular with the students." In addition, "the boys have organized a dancing class among themselves, and impromptu hops are held every afternoon." A reporter laconically noted that "visitors and girls [were] not allowed" to participate. 43 The school had a baseball team, but it did not play intercollegiate games. Perhaps Tallahasseans considered the city baseball team adequate. At any rate, the city ball club played a series of games against teams from Bainbridge, Georgia, and Madison, Florida. The most noteworthy contest was against the "Bloomer Girls," a professional all-woman team that had defeated "everything . . . they had been up against in Florida." They came into town on January 11, 1903, "in their special [railroad] car," and were beaten by the local "Heavy Hitters" 4-3.44 Baseball was entertaining, but by the end of summer students and local residents were eager for gridiron action.

^{40.} Weekly Tallahasseean, December 26, 1902.

^{41.} Ibid.

^{42.} Ibid.

^{43.} Ibid., January 9, 1903.

^{44.} Ibid., January 16, 1903.

The football team chose new officers in May 1903. T. M. Shackelford was elected manager and Ed Watson captain; Professor Hughes remained as coach. Shackelford was in charge of scheduling, and he had arranged a six-game slate. The most ambitious contest was against Georgia Tech in Atlanta. A game against the "Baptist Boys" of Mercer University at Macon, Georgia, was scheduled, but later it was canceled. By September, the FSC men were practicing every afternoon.⁴⁵

The season started in Tallahassee on October 16, with a contest against the Bainbridge Giants. "Quite a party went down with the team wearing the red and white," reported the Bainbridge newspaper, "encouraging them to victory." Even so, their support was to no avail. The FSC Eleven crushed the Giants 22-0. Yet, the Georgia team planned to redeem itself at the following week's rematch. "The home boys have blood in their eyes and [are] determined to repay Tallahassee for that stunning defeat," wrote the Bainbridge *Searchlight*. ⁴⁶

The second game was controversial. The Tallahassee team rode the train to Bainbridge, but the local sportswriter stayed home because of rainy weather. Thus, the Bainbridge press provided the contest's only account. The game started at 2:30 p.m. on Friday, October 23, at the Bainbridge fairgrounds "and was witnessed by an enthusiastic crowd." Neither team scored during the first half, but the "Tallahasseeans succeeded in pushing the ball over the line" in the second.

During the second half, an "unpleasantness" occurred. According to a Bainbridge reporter, Hughes, who was officiating the contest, refused to surrender the duty after the first half. The Giants protested several of his decisions and demanded that he step down. "An unusual amount of wrangling" resulted, and after the game Hughes did not allow his team to attend the prearranged dance. In fact, the Florida team left Bainbridge immediately after the game. FSC had won 5-0. Bainbridge citizens were outraged and considered Hughes's conduct "not that of a man who was trying to promote good feeling between the two towns." The Georgians wondered: "Who ever heard of a

^{45.} Ibid., May 29, 1905, August 14, 1903.

^{46.} Bainbridge (GA) Searchlight, October 16, 23, 1903.

^{47.} Weekly Tallahasseean, October 23, 1903.

^{48.} Ibid., October 30, 1903.

football game where there was not some wrangling or unpleasantness?"⁴⁹ Apparently, Hughes considered the Georgians too unpleasant, and the two teams never met again.

A week later FSC challenged the East Florida Seminary of Gainesville. "A large crowd [at Tallahassee] witnessed the game," reported the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, "[and] the visitors had the home team beat at every point." Tallahassee's "mighty gladiators" lost 16-0. With a 2-1 record, the Eleven prepared for their toughest opponent yet—the Georgia Tech Blacksmiths, later nicknamed the Yellow Jackets. ⁵¹

FSC confronted Georgia Tech on November 7, a sunny-andmild autumn day. The teams gathered at Piedmont Park. The Blacksmiths were "determined to win decisively" to "boost their stock" for an upcoming contest against Alabama Polytechnic Institute (now Auburn University). The Georgia team considered FSC a weak opponent assuredly bound for defeat, and its members were not disappointed. 52 They made two touchdowns in the first half after "easy gains." In the second, Clarke, Georgia Tech's left tackle, "made one of the prettiest bucks . . . which had been seen" and scored a third time. Clarke's run inspired Coach Hughes to comment, "[T]hat was a beautiful buck." By the final whistle, Georgia Tech had defeated FSC 17-0. Although the score was lopsided, the Atlanta Constitution urged the Florida players "not to be discouraged." After all, "Tech [had] been playing football for immemorial years" and simply was more experienced. 53 Ever a team booster, the Weekly Tallahasseean believed "the football boys covered themselves all over with glory in Atlanta [even] if they did get beat by the Georgia fellows."54 After two consecutive defeats, however, the FSC gridders were eager for victory.

The Tallahassee team won the following week in a home game against Lake City's University of Florida (Florida Agricultural College had changed its name). In a contest "full of surprises

^{49.} Bainbridge (GA) Searchlight, October 30, 1903.

Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, November 1, 1903; Jones, FSU One Time!,

^{51.} Gainesville Star, November 6, 1903; Jack Newcombe, The Fireside Book of Football (New York, 1964), 71-74.

^{52.} Atlanta Constitution, November 7, 1903.

^{53.} Ibid., November 8, 1903.

^{54.} Weekly Tallahasseean., November 13, 1903.

from start to finish," FSC overpowered UF by a score of 12-0. The game was a good one "but for the squabbling," wrote a Tallahassee reporter. The argument arose when the teams accused each other of using professionals. When "some enterprising citizen of Tallahassee" informed the visitors from Lake City that FSC planned to use ex-Clemson football star Jack "Pee Wee" Forsythe as fullback, Lake City's captain "objected strongly . . . and threatened to call off the game." FSC's captain, A. B. Clark, agreed not to use Forsythe provided his opponents drop their physical director, J. D. Jeffery, from the line-up. The university team at first refused, even though under the SIAA rules Jeffery was "considerably more of a professional than Forsythe." Both Forsythe and Jeffery likely were professionals; certainly, neither was a student. Finally, Lake City acquiesced, and the game went on as scheduled, ending with FSC's victory. ⁵⁵

That evening FSC's Platonic and Anaxagorean Debating Societies—both members of the Florida Intercollegiate Oratorical Association—discussed the topic, "Resolved: That debating societies are more beneficial to colleges than football teams." The question was "hotly contested," a local report stated, "as the whole football team [was] present." The press did not comment further on the clash between the scholars and athletes, but the intellectual debate may have been one-sided. The importance of football measured against academics soon became a national issue.

FSC finished its 1903 season with a contest against Stetson College in DeLand. Hanging in the balance was the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union's* Championship Cup. "The object of this contest," announced the paper, "[is] to encourage college football among college boys." Because both FSC and Stetson had beaten the University of Florida, the winner of the battle would be crowned state champion. The contest ended in a 5-5 tie– Stetson scored in the first half and FSC the second. Still, the DeLand team took the championship trophy because it had defeated the East Florida Seminary, giving it the best intrastate record. FSC

Jack Forsythe in 1906 became the coach of the University of Florida football team. Weekly Tallahasseean, November 20, 1903; Lake City Citizen-Reporter, November 20, 1903; Proctor and Langley, Gator History, 32.

^{56.} Weekly Tallahasseean, November 20, 1903.

^{57.} Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, November 15, 1903.

protested Stetson's good fortune, but because of their earlier loss to the East Florida Seminary, FSC's claims were ignored.⁵⁸

Several days after the DeLand game the FSC faculty once again treated the gridders to a banquet at the Leon Hotel. "These banquets have become a feature of the football season," proclaimed the *Weekly Tallahasseean*, "and the event is looked forward to with the greatest interest by every member of the team." The college's pigskin heroes shared gridiron anecdotes, while the "faculty quartet interspersed the evening with music." The football enthusiasts looked back on stirring memories and anticipated future success.⁵⁹

FSC students formed a baseball team in the spring of 1904 and played games against the University of Florida and Alabama Polytechnic Institute. The team, composed mainly of men from the football squad, challenged local pick-up clubs. During the summer Professor Hughes handed his coaching duties over to Jack Forsythe, and in September the Clemson veteran started preparing his team for battle. Why Hughes surrendered his position is unclear, but that autumn his salary was increased, perhaps signifying that his academic role had broadened. Whether Forsythe was paid for his coaching position is not recorded, but he probably was. Forsythe was a player-coach, and his presence at FSC fit the growing pattern of professionalization of college football coaching.

FSC opened the 1904 season against Georgia Tech in Atlanta on October 8. Despite losing 35-0, "the Florida team made a splendid showing in the game," noted the *Atlanta Constitution*. Georgia Tech scored six touchdowns and extra-point goals and completely "demoralized" FSC. Nevertheless, "the time will come," wrote a Georgian, "when Florida State will be listed as high in the college firmament as any other stars in the southern football skys."

The Tallahassee team was idle the following Saturday, October 15. The Eleven had a game scheduled for that date against the East Florida Seminary in Gainesville, but for unstated reasons

DeLand Volusia County Record, November 28, 1903; DeLand Weekly News, December 11, 1903.

^{59.} Weekly Tallahasseean, December 25, 1903.

^{60.} Ibid., March 4, April 8, 1904.

^{61.} Dodd, West Florida Seminary, 114.

^{62.} Atlanta Constitution. October 9, 1904.

EFS canceled the event. Having a week off may have helped the Tallahassee team. On October 22, they easily defeated the University of Florida in Lake City 23-0. Lake Citians were "greatly disappointed," according to a local report, and believed that the "University team should be made stronger before it [attempts] to play again." 63

A week after its victory in Lake City, FSC challenged a city team at Savannah. The Georgians were larger and more experienced than the college men, but their 6-0 victory was hard won. FSC suffered another defeat a week later against the Jacksonville Consolidated team. Neither squad scored during the first half, but Jones, Jacksonville's right tackle, returned the second-half kickoff ninety-five yards for a touchdown. "It was a great play," related the Jacksonville paper. Jones's run was the only score, giving Jacksonville the win 6-0. 65

With a record of 1-3, FSC earnestly prepared for a tough match-up with Stetson on Thanksgiving Day, November 24, in Tallahassee. As the contest again would determine the state championship, the media announced that it was the "most important football game of the season." Twelve minutes into the game Stetson "crossed Florida's goal," making the score 6-0. Then the Eleven "seemed to wake up." Vincent Green, a substitute at left end, scored FSC's first touchdown "by a magnificent buck." Later FSC's right end, J. K. Johnston, ran forty-five yards to make the score 12-6. Shortly before halftime, Guyte McCord scored FSC's third touchdown. In the second half "neither side succeeded in scoring," and the Eleven won 18-6. "[The] victory [made] the Florida State College champion of Florida for the season of 1904," reported the *Florida Times-Union*. Captain Dan Williams was "borne off the field in triumph by his comrades."

The 1904 season was FSC's last; the Eleven's overall record for three years was 7-6-l. The Florida Legislature passed the Buckman Act the following year which reorganized the state's higher education system. Florida State College was renamed the

Lake City Citizen-Reporter, October 28, 1904; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, October 23, 1904.

^{64.} Jones, FSU One Time!, vi; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, October 30, 1904; Weekly Tallahasseean, November 4, 1904.

^{65.} Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, November 6, 1904.

^{66.} Ibid., November 26, 1904.

Florida Female College (later Florida State College for Women), and the all-male University of the State of Florida was located on a new campus in Gainesville. ⁶⁷ Many former FSC men finished their education at the university. A few of the Eleven attended Grant University at Chattanooga, Tennessee, and five played on its football team. They also started a "Florida Club" where "all the Florida news [was] read and old times at FSC discussed. "⁶⁸

In 1909, several FSC gridiron veterans started a city football team called the Tallahassee Athletics and played the University of Florida and Columbia College of Lake City. Unfortunately, the club folded after one season. Thus, barring one year, organized and collegiate football was not played by a white team in Tallahassee from 1904 to 1947 when the new coeducational Florida State University fielded its first team. The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes (in 1953, Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University), however, had a football team that played against other black college teams throughout those years. ⁶⁹ Although FSC's gridiron deeds largely have been forgotten, the members of its teams were the true pioneers of Florida State football in Tallahassee.

^{67.} Laws of Florida (1905), 37-61.

^{68.} Tallahassee Weekly True Democrat, October 20, 1905.

Ibid., September 24, 1909; Leedell W. Neyland and John W. Riley, The History of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (Gainesville, 1963), 124-28, 200-07.

"SOME PREFER THE SEMINOLES": VIOLENCE AND DISORDER AMONG SOLDIERS AND SETTLERS IN THE SECOND SEMINOLE WAR, 1835-1842

by James M. Denham

N November 26, 1835, Seminole Chief Charley Emaltha was murdered brutally as an act of retaliation. Against the wishes of many native leaders, he had agreed to emigrate west, as required by the earlier treaties of Paynes Landing and Fort Gibson. It soon became apparent that Osceola, a rival leader, and his band of followers were responsible. The news, when it spread, created panic throughout the frontier. At Alachua County's seat at Newnansville, for example, Judge Robert Raymond Reid hurriedly dismissed the on-going session of the Superior Court of Alachua, Columbia, and Hillsborough counties so that everyone concerned could return to their homes.¹

The outbreak of war- which quickly followed Charley Emaltha's assasination- effectively suspended civil government in East Florida's inland counties. Settlers fled their farms to military posts or the closest towns. Travel was all but eliminated, and this fact made transacting court business nearly impossible. In 1840, with the conflict still continuing, court officials in Florida's Eastern Judicial District requested permission from Congress to prosecute cases at the St. Johns County court house in St. Augustine. Judge Isaac Bronson and other officers of the court claimed that holding court in the threatened counties was

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Newnansville was located about fifteen miles northwest of present-day Gainesville. Alachua, Columbia, and Hillsborough counties, Minutes of the Superior Court, book 1, 233, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. For Emaltha's murder, see John K. Mahon, The Histoy of the Second Seminole War (Gainesville, 1967; revised ed., Gainesville, 1985), 101.

"very difficult & dangerous & sometimes impossible. . . . Administration of the Law is much impeded . . . and the punishment of crime is extremely uncertain & tardy. "² Handling court business at St. Augustine would lessen the necessity of travel. Even so, the plan worked hardships on law enforcement personnel, forcing them to transport accused criminals and witnesses through dangerous, Indian-threatened areas. The inability to summon competent jurors, a problem even in more stable times, necessitated the proposal. Court officials could see no way around the problem short of long postponement of judicial procedures or else allowing lawbreakers to go free.

The Second Seminole War had another impact upon criminal justice in the territory. During the period it was fought (1835-1842), Florida became a crossroads of regular army personnel and militia forces. Eventually, some 40,000 men participated in the conflict, and the war cost the federal treasury an estimated \$20,000,000.³ Crime and violence were no strangers to the ranks of this army.

Florida was not an attractive tour of duty. Many in the regular army, including graduates of West Point, chose to resign rather than serve in Florida. When Abraham R. Johnson learned that his unit might be assigned to Florida, he recorded in his diary: "Active service ought always to be sought after by a soldier, but in Florida . . . there is neither thanks, profit nor honor to be gained, therefore I confess my positive dislike for the service." 4 The number of resignations during the war was large, especially as compared with the period immediately prior to the Civil War. The average resignation total per year before 1861 was about twenty: during the first three years of the Second Seminole War. 202 officers resigned. Certainly poor pay and lack of advancement were reasons for some of these departures, but the prospect of assignment to Florida also was a major cause. Perhaps a few officers sympathized with the Seminoles, believing that they were being mistreated by the government. Others scorned what they considered the loathsome habits of the frontier settlers- known

Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., Territorial Papers of the United States, 28 vols. (Washington, DC, 1934-1975), Florida Territory, XXVI, 157.

^{3.} Mahon, Second Seminole War, 325-26.

^{4.} Edward M. Coffman, The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784-1898 (New York, 1986), 51.

as crackers— whom they were supposed to protect. But probably the main cause for most of the unwillingness to serve was Florida's reputation as a death trap. Of 1,466 deaths during the Second Seminole War, including 215 officers, less than a fourth, 328, were killed in action. An estimated 14 percent of all regulars who served in the territory died of disease.⁵

As if the attitude of regular army men was not serious enough, that of the area's residents made the problem even more severe. Some Floridians viewed the soldiers with antipathy, and almost everyone believed that the government was not doing enough to protect them from the Seminole threat. They criticized the military strategy of the commanders and found fault with the high-handed behavior of the military toward civil authorities. The confrontations between settlers and army personnel often ended in violence. Settlers and soldiers sometimes appeared more hostile toward each other than they were toward the Seminoles.

Given the composition of the military forces, the clash of soldiers and settlers is hardly surprising. Contemporary descriptions of the military personnel on duty in Florida seldom were flattering. Bartholomew Lynch noted that "a respectable character is very scarce in the U. S. Army" and that "good conduct is no passport to respect or promotion." One Newnansville-area resident described the army as "3,000 good for nothing drunken scapegoats, the scourings of other countries" and speculated that 1,000 local men "would do more than these Brandy-drinking sons-of-guns."

The settlers' negative image of soldiers was enhanced by the army's cultural diversity. Lynch recalled that his outfit contained a number of drunken Irishmen, while army Lieutenant Henry Prince referred to the men in his outfit as "all talking with brogues on their tongues— mostly Irish, Dutch, and English." Prince's remarks were accurate. For example, forty-six of the ninety-

^{5.} Ibid., 51-52.

Felix P. McGaughy, "The Squaw Kissing War: Bartholomew M. Lynch's Journal of the Second Seminole War 1836-1839" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1965), 211.

George Brown to Mandevillette Brown, January 7, 1842, Newnansville letters (in the possession of Raymond Giron, McIntosh, FL).

McGaughy, "Squaw Kissing War," 211; Henry Prince diary, May 5, 1836,
 P. K. Yonge Library.

seven enlisted men who fell in the massacre of Major Francis L. Dade and his men on December 28, 1835, were foreign born. Enlistees originated from such places as Ireland, Canada, France, England, Scotland, Poland, and the German states. Moreover, the economic depression following the Panic of 1837 forced many of the nation's urban poor to enlist. The six or seven dollars a month enlistees drew was better than no income at all.⁹

How effective the recruits were as soldiers was a matter of public speculation. In 1842 the members of the Madison County grand jury concluded that the army was composed of "such material that it is impossible to make them good . . . Indian fighters." What Florida "requires," the jurors asserted, was someone like themselves. "[The] veteran hunter, the hardy frontierman, who has spent most of his life in our forests," they stated, was the only type of man who could "make a successful 'bushfight.'" The grand jury accordingly argued that the troops sent to Florida were inadequate for the difficult task of confronting the Seminoles. ¹⁰

Ill feelings between Florida residents and regular army personnel predated the war. Troops earlier had garrisoned Pensacola, Key West, St. Augustine, and other points to protect settlers from the Indians and to secure the territory from foreign encroachments. Florida officials, of course, had looked to the military for support in times of crisis. As more families moved into the territory and the Indian threat became more perilous, new outposts had been established, such as those at Tampa Bay, Charlotte Harbor, and New River. The presence of the military was a source of comfort to Floridians, as well as the cause of problems. Settlers refugeed at these outposts during times of peril. They also came to buy and sell food and other commodities and to socialize. Some stockades increased in size, and often they became marketplaces, legal or otherwise, for transactions between soldiers and civilians. The army's presence gave frontiersmen an opportunity to secure cash. Soldiers were eager to supplement their meager rations with "groceries," a term that included a most sought-after commodity- liquor. The military frequently bartered clothing and supplies for whiskey, and an underground economy flourished.

^{9.} Mahon, Second Seminole War, 118-19.

^{10.} Tallahassee Florida Sentinel, May 6, 1842.

In 1832 the Territorial Council prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors by settlers to soldiers without the express permission of the post commanders. However, neither soldiers nor civilians worried too much about the law. Repeated violent outbreaks can be traced to the availability of liquor. In 1834, for instance, the buying and selling of whiskey around the Key West garrison was a serious problem. Major Francis L. Dade, frustrated by the failure of local authorities to curb the traffic, asked the local newspapers to reprint the law regulating liquor sales as a warning to the townspeople that all violators risked prosecution 12

The problems at Key West did not begin under Dade's command. His predecessor, James Glassell, lost his position because of a confrontation between citizens and soldiers. The row began when a man named Harris helped a soldier to desert, and the two were caught stealing the sheriffs boat. The sheriff, upon discovering the plot, assembled a posse. The soldier was arrested, and his captors, as Major Glassell recalled, "stripped [and] tied" him and then "whipped his back almost to a jelly." In response to this treatment of their comrade, the soldiers were "much exasperated & went into town the succeeding night under a concerted & deliberate plan to catch the sheriff as well as Harris." The military located Harris in a grogshop and beat him, but the "sheriff made his escape." 13

The incident greatly aroused the Key West community. Pardon C. Greene, as senior militia officer for Monroe County, complained personally to Major Glassell and sent an official complaint to the secretary of war in Washington. Glassell answered Greene's charges. He noted that restraining the men was difficult, especially since he received little cooperation from the authorities in enforcing the laws regulating grogshops. "It is well known, to all," Glassell admitted, "that I am unable, by my restricted force, to form a cordon of sentinels around the quarters so as to prevent the soldiers from going out at night: It is equally well known that men in their situation will resort to the grog shops for exhilaration; and it is as well known that with few exceptions your grog sellers will make a soldier beastly drunk,

^{11.} Acts of the Legislative Council (1832), 31-32.

^{12.} Key West Enquirer, December 6, 1834.

^{13.} Carter, Territorial Papers, XXIV, 795.

provided he receives money in hand, or had previously received a full equivalent in labor." He continued: "Under such circumstances what can be expected? . . . I would . . . ask what civil officer, or citizen . . . have ever brought to justice men for vending ardent spirits to soldiers in the face of Territorial & City laws? I believe there are none on record. I would now ask whether your City authorities are so low as to permit a petty sheriff of an hour's or a day's standing to assume the office of *Dictator* & take a man, have him tied, stripped & scourged almost to a jelly, merely because he was in a passion . . . and this event without any hearing of this case, nor any application to a civil magistrate? No person would wonder at the result. I only wonder that the sheriff did not come into the affray as I understand he was quite stout-hearted the ensuing morning." ¹⁴

Glassell did not attempt to dismiss the misconduct of his soldiers. He believed, though, that the sheriff was the responsible party: "I . . . cannot be answerable for consequences if another such outrage should be perpetrated as was by the Sheriff." He added, "The Soldier who inflicted the blows . . . is a sober, quiet, but deliberate & firm man. I have no doubt that some of the N[on] C[ommissioned] officers were present at the transaction & encouraged it, but cannot tell who they were to a certainty." 15

In a letter to the adjutant general, Glassell acknowledged responsibility for the incident "in part," but insisted that proper management of his force was impossible. He had too few men to put on an adequate watch. As a result, he argued, "[I]t is impossible to keep them in their quarters at night . . . and in a place like this where almost every third house is kept as a grog shop by the most depraved of men." Glassell added that prominent citizens in the community kept his men in a state of uproar. Only a few weeks earlier Greene had "wantonly attacked" one of his sergeants by sneaking up "behind his back & beat[ing him] with a bludgeon . . . to such a degree that his life was much endangered." Glassell attempted to prefer charges against Greene in the superior court, but they later were dropped. Glassell in the end lost his command. 16

^{14.} Ibid., 796-97.

^{15.} Ibid.

Ibid., 761-63. Pardon Greene was indicted in May 1832 for assault and battery, but the charge was dismissed in December. Monroe County, Minutes of the Superior Court, 1830-1840, 97-98, 105, P. K. Yonge Library.

Illicit liquor traffic also was a problem in districts where there was conflict with the Indians. On March 20, 1842, Captain William Seawell, stationed at Cantonment Winfield Scott in East Florida, complained to his superiors that all attempts to put a stop to the whiskey traffic around his post had failed. "[Nearby] citizens," he wrote, "consider it greatly to their interest to carry it on; far more so than they consider the presence of troops necessary for the purpose of protection against depredations." Seawell reported that an itinerant musician shot and killed his first sergeant. The shooting started when the soldier tried to force the man to hand over two bottles of whiskey he had tried to sell. The officer blamed James L. Townsend, Simon Dell, and another man named Waller for most of the mischief around the post. "They have a negro," Seawell added, "who also sells whiskey and no doubt for their benefit as they refuse to correct him." ¹⁷

Seawell's complaints are supported by records of the Alachua, Hernando, and Hillsborough counties court— the area where the largest concentration of troops was engaged against the Seminoles. In the years 1835-1837 they list twenty-eight indictments for selling whiskey without a license, They also reveal that during lulls in the fighting soldiers and civilians spent their time at gaming houses, tenpin alleys, and billiard tables. 18

Some citizens joined army officials in recognizing the dangers of an unregulated trade in liquor. In December 1841, the grand jury for Alachua, Hillsborough, and Columbia counties found that the "conduct of licentious individuals in establishing grogshops, & especially at and about the United States Posts" was a "great public evil." It demanded that public officials bring offenders to "speedy justice." Nothing less than "rigid enforcement" of the licensing law, its members felt, should be tolerated.¹⁹

Even when soldiers and residents consumed alcohol legally, tragedy sometimes resulted. In 1840, Alfred Tanner, an inn-keeper at Fort Harlee near Newnansville, was killed when he "got into a scuffle with a man" in his dimly lit barroom. Someone

^{17.} William Seawell to Superior, March 20, 1842, Keenan-Brown Papers, box 2, folder: Misc. Correspondence, P. K. Yonge Library.

Alachua, Hernando, and Hillsborough counties, Minutes of the Superior Court, 1838-1843, book 2, 26-320, P. K. Yonge Library (hereafter, AHH Minutes).

Alachua, Hillsborough, and Columbia counties grand jury presentment, December 1841, in AHH Minutes, book 2, 144.

in the crowd fired a gun, and the bullet struck Tanner. Everyone present, except the lifeless Tanner, fled the scene. District Attorney Thomas Douglas, responsible for sorting out the exact circumstances of the killing, was frustrated when no one would come forward with any information. He believed, he recorded, that the man was murdered, but the "circumstances connected with his death" were shrouded in "obscurity and mystery." The killer escaped undetected.²⁰

Fort Harlee at the time of Tanner's murder contained almost as many refugees as it did soldiers. Lieutenant Prince thought it was "overrun with crackers who complain of drunken soldiers insulting their families." But the settlers were most at fault for such outbreaks, he concluded, since they were the ones who "slyly sell them liquor." ²¹

Many commanding officers felt powerless against the illicit sale of liquor. When matters got out of hand, as they often did, some officers tried to enforce regulations by suspending normal civil authority. At Picolata a lieutenant ordered one civilian to be whipped. The St. Johns and Mosquito counties grand jury indicted the officer for "cruelty," but the lieutenant ignored the court. The panel branded his conduct as a wanton outrage, a product of "military despotism . . . ; the greatest danger which any country has to apprehend." The Duval County grand jury noted the affair and called for an "efficient remedy against the lawless and arbitrary conduct of certain officers of the U.S. Army who have constituted themselves both accusers and judges of alleged offenses committed by citizens who approached their posts, having dared to cause them to be tied and flogged by the soldiery and having in other instances detained the service of civil process by every means in their power." 22

Robert Raymond Reid, as territorial governor, often noted civilian resentment to military authorities. In a complaint to Captain Redding, Reid specified that "troops under your command have destroyed hogs, hurt a horse until he is disabled, entered a private house during the absence of the owner, and threatened

Thomas Douglas to Territorial Auditor, April 24, 1841, Territorial Auditor Vouchers, record 352, series 584, box 4, folder 1, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee; St. Augustine Florida Herald and Southern Democrat, December 31, 1840.

^{21.} Henry Prince diary, May 10, 1838.

^{22.} St. Augustine Florida Herald, May 26, 1838.

to drive the owner out." He speculated that the soldiers' behavior had caused the settlers to "prefer the Seminoles." He insisted: "Such conduct will not, and can not be passed over . . . by the commander in chief." Soldiers are in "service for the protection of the inhabitants," he continued. "When they cease to perform this duty they are worse than useless." Reid reminded the captain that the "military is always subject to the civil authorities and while I am in office no violation of private rights, and of the Laws will be tolerated." 23

Florida militia forces also were guilty of misdeeds. On February 12, 1840, Governor Reid demanded an immediate investigation of the "frequent complaints of injury and loss of property occasioned by the volunteers and of injustice . . . to the Inhabitants." He informed the militia commander: "These can no longer be tolerated. Troops, I fear, are vitiated by the use of ardent spirits. You will discover if possible, who are engaged in this wretched traffic & furnish me with their names." He noted as well other common problems. "I am informed that there are many women hangers on upon the Camps— whose presence is injurious to the Army. Let them be sent away or dispersed. . . . Some officers are in the habit of dealing with and speculating upon their men, furnishing them with whiskey and other things and then taking power of Attorney and collecting the pay of the soldiers. Such practices must be put down."

As noted, military personnel occasionally exceeded their power by suspending the normal operations of civil authority. General William Worth in 1843 issued an order from Fort Brooke expelling all civilians "who have made themselves obnoxious to the military" from the post's twenty-mile "reserve." According to a newspaper account, a "Major Wright thought proper to direct the deputy marshal to expel from Tampa . . . the Judges, the Sheriff, the Coroner, the Constable[,]" and all other civil officials and citizens settled under the Armed Occupation Act. One official described the evacuation order as the "edict of his Majesty Worth of Hillsboro." The general had refused to allow

^{23.} Robert R. Reid to Captain Redding, January 27, 1840, Correspondence of the Governors, 1836-1909, record group 101, series 32, letterbook 2, 13, Florida State Archives (hereafter, Governors' Correspondence).

Reid to General J. Graham, February 12, 1840, Governors' Correspondence.

"his subjects" the right to use their "land permits to locate on his majesty's dominions. " $^{\rm 25}$

The Alachua, Hillsborough, and Hernando counties grand jury also became involved. The behavior of the military, it charged, was a gross outrage. The service had broken "laws, by actually sending off on board a transport vessel, the sheriff of Hillsborough County, and threatening like consequences upon one of the magistrates of said county while in the discharge of his official duties if he should persist in holding his court in pursuance of law." The jury further noted, "[W]hile we lament that such encroachments upon the laws and common rights of our citizens have been made by those who are presumed to have. a moderate share of intelligence and whose duty it should be to protect and defend instead of insulting and abusing the rights of the citizens; we can not shrink from our duties as jurors." ²⁶ A year later another grand jury presented that the "conduct of some of the Army Officers at Tampa. Bay and their improper treatment of some of the citizens . . . is highly censurable." The jurors insisted without avail that some of the officers should be held responsible for their conduct.²⁷

An additional source of friction that led to violence and disorder was the rivalry between the regular army and the Florida militia forces. Intemperate statements from federal officials, regular army officers, and leaders among the citizen-soldiers often sparked conflicts. Some regular army soldiers claimed that settlers had brought the war on themselves. Worse, they charged— and not without reason— that some soldiers even desired its extension so that they might obtain money from the

^{25.} Tallahassee Florida Sentinel, October 31, 1843.

Alachua, Hernando, and Hillsborough counties grand jury presentment, December 19, 1843, in AHH Minutes, book 2, 340-43; St. Augustine News. January 13, 1844.

^{27.} Alachua, Benton, and Hillsborough counties grand jury presentment, May 1844, in Alachua, Hillsborough, Benton, and Marion counties. Minutes of the Superior and Circuit Court, book 3, 27-30. P. K. Yonge Library; St. Augustine Florida Herald and Southern Democrat, June 4, 1844. Practically every grand jury presentment filed in these inner East Florida counties made some reference to the military's continuing violation of the rights of citizens. One such presentment deprecated the "illegal and oppressive manner in which the personal rights of the citizens of the territory have been invaded, and their persons abused, by officers of the army, under the color and cloak of their office." St. Augustine Florida Herald and Southern Democrat, May 2, 1839; St. Augustine News, May 11, 1839.

federal treasury. A contemporary of President Andrew Jackson claimed that he, impatient with a series of military setbacks, disparaged the courage of Florida's male settlers and suggested their wives would be better off if their husbands were dead so that they could remarry brave men.²⁸

One officer remarked that settlers later coming into East Florida under the terms of the Armed Occupation Act "have neither weapons, nor the disposition to use them: not one in ten appeared with arms of any description." To be so unprepared, the officer asserted, was a "practical satire upon the purpose and policy of the law." Answering the implication of cowardice, the Marion County grand jury responded that its citizens had every "disposition" to use their arms and that they were as willing to defend their country "as this officer has been to traduce us." As to the residents being a satire upon the law's purpose and policy, the jurors charged that the accusation was more "applicable to another branch of the armed occupation of Florida; as it is very evident that the military have for years been engaged in financial, instead of military operations."

On some occasions the local residents, if they felt threatened, used their arms against the military. A soldier who wandered upon a farmer's land, either by mistake or to loot or molest, might expect to be challenged with a gun. In July 1838, the St. Augustine *Florida Herald* reported that a farmer named Stephenson, near Garey's Ferry, had shot two soldiers "about 12 O'clock in the night . . . when he discovered two persons in his watermelon patch." One soldier was killed, and the other was severely wounded. The paper reported that Stephenson had fled and had not been apprehended. ³⁰

Such fugitives could usually rely on the goodwill of others to shield them from military authorities. On May 22, 1838, Lieutenant Prince recorded that the inhabitants of Newnansville "deserve no protection from the regular troops for concealing the murderer of one of Lieutenant Hooper's men." Prince was referring to the murder of Private Abner Dunnegan by a man

Ellen Call Long, Florida Breezes; or, Florida, New and Old (Jacksonville, 1883; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1962), 208-09.

Marion County grand jury presentment, May 1845, in AHH Minutes, book
 152-53; St. Augustine News, May 24, 1845.

^{30.} St. Augustine Florida Herald, July 14, 1838.

named Asa Smith. Prince speculated that the soldier had lost his life because of a case of mistaken identity. While walking towards the garrison alone after dark, "[Dunnegan was] followed & stabbed in the back. He ran— was chased— and stabbed over & over again— til he fell. A blow on his head with a hammer then closed his consciousness . . . forever & he died on the spot." John P. DuVal called for Smith's arrest, and authorities speculated that the killer would either have fled to south Georgia where he had relatives or to Texas. Nonetheless, Smith appears to have made his getaway. 32

The same month as Dunnegan's murder Prince recorded in his diary the details of another shooting affray. The incident occurred in Newnansville when a sergeant led a volunteer guard to apprehend a drunken resident. In the shootout that ensued between the soldiers and settlers the "drunken fellow was hit in the right hip near the joint." The sergeant's right arm was shattered, and Prince had to assist the surgeon in amputating it.³³

The New York American reported a similar incident at Black Creek- between Jacksonville and Picolata- in which one soldier was stabbed to death and another seriously injured. Surprised at the conduct of the community, the paper's correspondent charged that "for this piece of gallantry, instead of securing the perpetrator of this disgraceful act, and bringing [him] to justice, a contribution was raised and a horse and wagon was given to the murderer so as to afford him a means of escape." Also at Black Creek, two settlers named Lucas and Barnes attacked a soldier, beating him "about the head [and cutting] him across the face and eyes with a knife." The culprits were apprehended, put in stocks, and whipped but were released the next day. In retaliation, civilians captured a soldier named Hall, whom they thought responsible, and subjected him to a tarring and feathering. For several evenings afterward the garrison was the target of random gun shots from outside the post.³⁵

^{31.} Henry Prince diary, May 22, 1838.

^{32.} Tallahassee Floridian, June 2,1838; St. Augustine Florida Herald and Southern Democrat, November 8, 1838; Tallahassee Florida Watchman, November 3, 1838

^{33.} Henry Prince diary, May 14, 1838.

^{34.} New York American quoted in St. Augustine Florida Herald, June 30, 1838.

^{35.} St. Augustine News, October 6, 1839.

Soldiers often sought revenge when one of their friends was killed or otherwise harmed. On December 4, 1849, several years after the Second Seminole War ended, a soldier was found shot in the back outside Antonio Castillo's oysterhouse in Tampa. José Epperfino, who was known as Indio, immediately was suspected. Epperfino was a native of Cuba and, according to an observer, a "somewhat eccentric character distinguished . . . for feats of this sort." The incident particularly was unfortunate because at the time Tampa residents and the military seemed finally to be getting along. 36 A coroner's inquest questioned and then released Indio. When additional evidence was discovered. he was rearrested. At the April 1850 session of the circuit court a jury found Indio guilty of murder. Six days before the scheduled hanging, however, he escaped. Governor Thomas Brown issued a proclamation for his arrest, and a day later a military posse captured him. Epperfino subsequently was shot, supposedly while trying to escape. The circumstances of the shooting went unrecorded. Nevertheless, Private Michael Daly "did arrest and deliver" the corpse to the Hillsborough County sheriff on May 20, 1850, and collected the \$100 bounty.³⁷

The militia was an important institution both during and after the war, but it also served to promote violence. To the good, it gave men a chance to mix socially, and, since the leadership was elective, social status was conferred upon those selected as officers. Though organized for military service, militia units sometimes were involved in social and political activities. Peter Gautier, editor of the St. Joseph *Times*, described a unit organized in his community that had caused "some little bustle and commotion. The drum, the fife, the march and the counter march, the floating flag, troops and little boys, and all paraphernalia of a modern training have passed before our eyes, in all the pride and pomp of a beautiful war." Gautier thought the "company... a fair specimen of town population in these piping times of peace, a little pure metal mixed up with a great deal of alloy." "38

^{36.} Tallahassee Floridian and Journal, December 22, 1849.

^{37.} Benjamin Hagler to Thomas Brown, May 18 and 22, 1850, Office of the Governor, Correspondence of Thomas Brown, 1849-1853, record group 101. series 755. box 1, folder 6. Florida State Archives; Proclamation for the Arrest of José Perfino, alias Indio, June 1, 1850, Book of Record, record group 156, series 13, book 1, no. 132, 112, Florida State Archives; Tallahassee Florida Sentinel, June 4, 1850.

^{38.} St. Joseph Times, July 15, 1837.

A resident of Tallahassee recorded that militia units contained "full blooded Southrons— composed of a mixture of aristocracy & ignorance (the latter predominating)." Of those who could credit their prominence in the community to their election as officers in the militia, he wrote, "[T]his is a very numerous class with us at present— there are more or less of them who instead of being where they should be, at their posts in the field, may be seen walking in the sunshine in the city. Here may be seen walking baboons. . . . These blackguards . . . are thus suddenly converted, not by any worthy conduct of their own, but by the unseen power wielded by military buttons & epaulets." ³⁹

With so much potential for status and power at stake, a militia muster could turn into a scene of violence. On March 5, 1836. a quarrel over command of a Jefferson County militia unit resulted in the shooting death of Thomas Redding. Leonard Dozier discovered Redding and several others from his unit gathering up their clothes. They intended to leave his command and join Captain Holloman's company. One witness overheard Dozier swear "that he would kill someone before sunset and did not care a damn who it was, so long as it was one of Holloman's friends." Dozier was intoxicated, and the others had been drinking also. The fatal incident occurred when Dozier, in a fit of rage, shot a dog belonging to Robert Gamble. The two men "commenced fighting," and Dozier stood back and fired his shotgun but hit Redding by mistake. A jury of inquest found the greater part of his head shot off." When Dozier was arrested, he insisted that Redding was not the man he had wanted to kill. but that he "would not have cared a damn" if he had shot Gamble. Dozier never was convicted. Though indicted in May 1836, he and several other felons escaped before the case was brought to trial 40

Volunteer units from other southern states joined regular army personnel and militia forces serving in the Second Seminole War, and—once in Florida—many fought violently against each

^{39.} James T. Campbell, "The Charles Hutchinson Letters from Territorial Tallahassee," *Apalachee* (1950-1956), 16-17.

^{40.} Judge Thomas Randall denied Dozier bail after "examining a number of witnesses" in his chambers. Jefferson County, Minutes of the Superior Court, book 1, 199-200. For the testimony of the witnesses, see *Territory v. Leonard Dozier*, 1836, Jefferson County case files, Jefferson County Court House. Monticello. Fl.

other. On September 21, 1836, Captain David Denny of the Saluda Volunteers preferred charges against his commanding officer, "General William A. Bull of the Second Brigade of the South Carolina troops in the late campaign in Florida." At court martial proceedings held at Edgefield, South Carolina, Denny cited Bull for frequent drunkenness. Bull also "unofficial[ly] and with out cause cocked and presented a loaded shotgun at Jonathan Hughes, a private, in the company of the Saluda volunteers . . . with intent to shoot." The captain swore that Bull would have shot Hughes if he had not prevented him. The result of the inquiry is unknown.⁴¹

On January 31, 1836, Lieutenant Prince recorded that he had lost the "only acquaintance I had in the 'mounted volunteers." About ten o'clock that morning he heard a double-barreled shotgun blast "but of course was not aware of the dread messenger it hurled." ⁴² The affair occurred at the makeshift military barracks located at General Duncan L. Clinch's plantation in Alachua County. Formerly a cadet at West Point, Lieutenant William Ward had returned to Florida after the death of his father. He joined a company being organized in Middle Florida under the command of close family friends Richard C. Parish and Augustus Alston. The night before the shooting, Colonel Parish ordered Ward on "duty that is performed by tours, when it was not his tour." When Ward refused, they quarreled, and Captain Alston overheard a heated exchange between the two men. When Parish asked Ward why he was "willing to bring disgrace on himself and his family by his misconduct," he replied, "By God Sir, you cannot bring disgrace upon me and my family." Parish responded with "go on then and I'll see if I can't hereafter have my orders obeyed." Ward left the tent, but the matter was left unsettled.

The next morning Parish summoned a guard and ordered Ward's arrest. As the guards approached Ward's tent, the lieutenant emerged holding one pistol in his right hand and two in his left. He defied the guards or anyone else to disarm him. By then a crowd had gathered, and, according to testimony given by one witness at the court of inquiry, Ward "appealed to the men of

^{41.} See "Copy of the Charge," in J. W. Wimbish to William A. Hull, September 21, 1836, box 5, miscellaneous manuscripts, P. K. Yonge Library.

^{42.} Henry Prince diary, January 31, 1836.

his company— 'Is there any man who will suffer me to be treated in this way?'" Captain Alston then approached Ward "in a friendly way to drop the affair and go to his quarters," adding that "he had no right to make such an appeal to his men." Parish again ordered the guards to disarm Ward, but they did not respond. Ward shouted back at Parish, "God Damn your soul, I will put a ball through you and as many more who attempt to disarm me." Captain Alston testified that Parish then shot Ward as the lieutenant "raised his pistol and pointed it at the crowd." Alston added that "from what I know of [Ward], . . . he would shoot any man who would have attempted to lay his hands upon him." All testimony indicated that Parish had no choice but to shoot.⁴³

General Clinch ordered a court of inquiry, and it exonerated Parish of all wrongdoing. However, the lieutenant's politically influential brother, George T. Ward, was not satisfied with the court's decision. From information that he obtained through a number of sources, Ward held Alston particularly responsible for his brother's death. The two eventually fought a duel that left both severely wounded. While arrangements were underway for another encounter, Alston was killed in a separate politically motivated duel with Florida Militia General Leigh Read.⁴⁴

Native employees for the army sometimes found themselves the victims of violence. Troops operating against the Seminoles often received assistance from guides and interpreters who either were Indian or black. These individuals frequently encountered hostility from other troops, especially if their skins were dark. One black vassal of an Indian chief, a man named Murray, was captured in 1836, and from that time until the summer of 1839, he served as a guide. An army correspondent of *Niles' Register* called Murray "the best and most useful man we have in that

^{43.} All testimony comes from "Court of Inquiry of Colonel Richard C. Parish," in Register of the Records of the Proceedings of the United States Army, General Courts Martial 1809-1890, record group 153, 145, National Archives, Washington, DC. Also on the affair see Jacksonville Florida Courier, February 11, 1836; Pensacola Gazette, February 20 and March 10, 1836; Tallahassee Floridian, February 6, 1836; Niles' Register, February 27, 1836, 441, and, March 19, 1836, 28; "Trial of Colonel Parish for Killing Lieutenant Ward," Army and Navy Chronicle, vol. 2, no. 10, March 10, 1836; Charleston Courier, February 24, 1836.

^{44.} James M. Denham, "Dueling in Territorial Middle Florida," (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1983), 52-57.

capacity." But Murray also suffered resentment over his status and privileges. One night he taunted an orderly sergeant named James Edgar at an outpost near Newnansville. In the presence of a number of others, he accused the sergeant of cheating at cards. According to a witness: "Edgar told him to go about his business, and not to use such language towards him; that he never gambled with a negro and advised him to cease using such language." Murray countered that "he ranked him and would report him to Colonel Whistler." Instead, Edgar complained to the colonel, but when he was told the matter must wait until the following day, he grabbed a rifle, returned to Murray's tent, and while the man was sleeping "discharged the contents into his stomach." Edgar was taken to Newnansville, indicted for murder. and released on bail. By November 1840 the sergeant had jumped bail. One observer commented that Murray's death was not a "great public calamity." He added: "[Murray] was not liked by the people of the country; but was looked upon as a sort of Merry-Andrew, by a few gentlemen, and contributed something toward dissipating the dull and monotony." Sergeant Edgar never was apprehended.45

Violence punctuated relations between regular army personnel, militia forces, and civilians throughout the Florida war. Without question the military was in many ways an institution apart—separated by its very nature from the everyday lives of most Floridians. And yet, because Florida contained relatively large numbers of military forces, few settlers could escape coming into routine contact. A lack of respect and distrust highlighted the relations between the military and the citizenry. Physical violence often resulted. Violence also dominated relations between the soldiers and their commanders. The military was a major component of the population in antebellum Florida, and as such it could not escape the frontier violence that permeated the region.

St. Augustine Florida Herald and Southern Democrat, July 11, 1839; Niles' Register, June 22, 1839, 265; AHH Minutes, book 2, 27.

REVIEW ESSAY

A River of Peace? The South Florida Frontier in the Nineteenth Century

by Gary R. Mormino

Florida's Peace River Frontier. By Canter Brown, Jr. (Orlando: University of Central Florida Press, 1991. xviii, 483 pp. Preface, prologue, illustrations, maps, photographs, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95.)

Napoleon Bonaparte, a mover and shaper of national boundaries, once insisted that Italy was too long to be a country. Might not reasonable people arrive at the same conclusion about another peninsula, namely, that Florida is too long to be a state?

Peninsular considerations weigh heavily in shaping the study of Florida history. During the promotional boom of the 1920s, one writer gushed that "Florida is the finger of Uncle Sam pointing the way to Paradise." Jutting into the Gulf of Mexico, Florida constitutes 58,560 square miles and 8,500 miles of tidal shoreline. Florida crosses two time zones and incorporates nearly 500 years of recorded history and millennia of human habitation. A series of diverse ecosystems and climatic zones range from the Panhandle to the Florida Keys. Tallahassee lies twenty miles from the Georgia border and 500 miles from Miami. Experientially and geographically, Miami is much closer to Havana than Tallahassee."

Considering the daunting challenges of defining Florida, it is not surprising that scholars have shied away from attempts to synthesize the history of Florida into a single volume. Charlton W. Tebeau's 1971 compendium, *A History of Florida*, still stands

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Jessie Atkinson Ball, "Florida's Natural Wonders," South 2 (February 1926), 30

Edward A. Fernald, ed., Atlas of Florida (Tallahassee, 1981); John Naisbitt, Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives (New York, 1982), 210-19.

as the best single treatment of the state history genre, although the study concentrates largely upon political and economic events.³

While the reluctance of historians to tackle the challenges of state history is regrettable, the movement to reinterpret and reinvigorate local and regional history must be considered admirable. During the last two decades, numerous first-rate studies have shaped the way we look at Florida history.⁴

The latest and most impressive book to examine the importance of region in Florida history is *Florida's Peace River Frontier*. The author, Canter Brown, Jr., combines a homebred love of the Peace River valley with a tenacious work ethic to find new documentation and recast old assumptions about the neglected region. Brown, currently a doctoral student at the University of Florida, has made a singular contribution to Florida history, a study that likely will define the Peace River region for decades to come.

"The stream is a stubborn, twisting, winding, crooked affair, at best," observed an 1860 correspondent.⁵ The Peace River originates in Polk County and parallels the ridge running down the peninsula. The river meanders 110 miles through the historic towns of Bartow, Fort Meade, Bowling Green, Wauchula, Zolfo Springs, Arcadia, and Fort Ogden, emptying into Charlotte Harbor at Punta Gorda.

Florida's Peace River Frontier surveys a century of south Florida life, spanning the period from the earliest migrations of

5. Tampa Florida Peninsular, June 23, 1860.

^{3.} Charlton W. Tebeau, A History of Florida (Coral Gables, 1971).

The following illustrate the health of local and regional studies in Florida: Raymond O. Arsenault, St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream, 1888-1950 (Norfolk, VA, 1988); David R. Colburn, Racial Change and Community Crisis: St. Augustine, Florida, 1877-1980 (New York, 1985); James R. McGovern, The Emergence of a City in the Modern South: Pensacola 1900-1945 (DeLeon Springs, FL, 1976); Stuart B. McIver, Fort Lauderdale and Broward County: An Illustrated History (Woodland Hills, CA, 1983); Janet Snyder Matthews, Edge of Wilderness: A Settlement History of Manatee River and Sarasota Bay, 1528-1885 (Tulsa, OK, 1983); Janet Snyder Matthews, Venice: Journey from Horse and Chaise (Sarasota, 1989); Thelma Peters, Biscayne Country, 1870-1926 (Miami, 1981); Clifton Paisley, The Red Hills of Florida, 1528-1865 (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1989); Jerrell H. Shofner, History of Jefferson County (Tallahassee, 1976); Jerrell H. Shofner, Jackson County, Florida-A History (Marianna, FL, 1985); James Robertson Ward, Old Hickory's Town: An Illustrated History of Jacksonville (Jacksonville, 1982); Jean Parker Waterbury, ed., The Oldest City, St. Augustine: Saga of Survival (St. Augustine, 1983).

Seminoles and escaped slaves to the region in the early nineteenth century to the coming of the railroad and dramatic economic changes at the fin de siècle.

The opening chapter, "Early Migrations," graphically documents a remarkable story of tribal dislocation, race relations, and political intrigue in the shadows of the War of 1812 and the First Seminole War. Brown relates how a tumultuous series of conflicts in the American Southeast spilled over to the pristine reaches of south Florida. The ironically named Peace River (the etymological tangle of the Peas-Pease-Peace Creek/River is fascinating) became intertwined in a tangled web of slave maroons, Indian migrations, and international politics. Brown also has rediscovered the "black plantations at Sarasota Bay," a refuge for runaway slaves destroyed by raiders in 1821 (p. 7).

Since 1812, Brown contends, runaway slaves and Creek Indians had sought protection in south Florida. The area's red and black population crested at several thousand by 1819. The dream of an Arcadian refuge collided with the founding of Fort Brooke (Tampa) in 1824, established by an expansionist republic to check the presence of Indians and their black allies in south Florida. Through the lens of the Peace River valley, readers view the unfolding of the Second Seminole War (1835-1842). Events such as the treaties of Moultrie Creek and Payne's Landing, and personalities such as Osceola and James Gadsden, take on fresh perspectives. Brown's research skills make these early chapters especially valuable.

The Seminole wars were Florida's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The struggles left a bittersweet legacy upon the Peace River valley. Three terrible wars resulted in the killing and forced removal of thousands of Seminoles and their black vassals and allies. But the wars introduced new players, white Americans, principally Southerners, fiercely determined to hang on to this newly won land. In order to achieve this, a legacy of spasmodic violence hung over the ironically named River of Peace.

The Seminole wars also infused a positive and lasting influence. Most notably, the conflict introduced a formative and formidable partner in the development of Florida: the United States

For more on the Sarasota Bay black plantations, see Canter Brown, Jr.,
 "The 'Sarrazota, or Runaway Negro Plantations': Tampa Bay's First Black Community," Tampa Bay History 12 (Fall/Winter 1990), 5-19.

government. The federal government, in war and peace, played a vital role in the development of Florida. The military-urban alliance functioned along the frontier, leaving behind forts that became towns, trails that became roads, and pioneers who became legends.

"When General William J. Worth declared the end of the Second Seminole War on August 14, 1842," writes Brown, "the Peace River Valley lay deserted" (p. 63). Ten days earlier Congress had passed legislation that would have far-reaching consequences for south Florida. The Armed Occupation Act of 1842 would enable pioneers willing to fight Indians and also battle the natural elements to homestead 160 acres of land. White settlers slowly penetrated the region. The surrender of Billy Bowlegs in 1858, ending the Third Seminole War, signaled a new opening of the Peace River valley. "The line of homesteads soon reached as far south as old Camp Ogden," notes Brown, adding that "by the beginning of the 1860s newcomers had staked their claims throughout the area" (p. 123)"

Peace River pioneers, having fought Indians and nature, confronted still another enemy in 1861. Brown's treatment of the Civil War and its aftermath combines new research with a fresh analysis. Previous narratives of Polk and old Manatee counties had painted a familiar portrait: valiant Floridians marching lockstep to the irrepressible beat of the Confederacy, only to face defeat and the ignoble spectacle of scalawags, radical Republicans, and ungrateful freedmen. Brown dashes stereotypes, and his findings doubtlessly will rattle family trees with revelations of south Florida's inner civil war. He finds complexity, not simplicity, and his work details a growing body of scholarship reinterpreting Florida and the Civil War.

Roger W. Lotchin has investigated the intricate relationship between the United States military and urban growth. See Roger W. Lotchin, ed., *The* Martial Metropolis: U.S. Cities in War and Peace (New York, 1984); Roger W. Lotchin, "The Metropolitan-Military Complex in Comparative Perspective," <u>Journal of the West</u> 18 (July 1979), 19-30; Roger W. Lotchin, "The City and the Sword: San Francisco and the Metropolitan-Military Complex," *Journal* of American History 65 (March 1971), 996-1021.

^{8.} For an overview of these events, see James W. Covington, "The Armed Occupation Act of 1842," Florida Historical Quarterly 40 (July 1961), 41-52.

See also Robert A. Taylor, "Cow Cavalry: Munnerlyn's Battalion in Florida, 1864-1865," Florida Historical Quarterly 65 (October 1986), 196-214; Rodney E. Dillon, Jr., "The Battle of Fort Myers," Tampa Bay History (Fall/Winter 1983), 27-36; David Coles, "Floridians in Blue: Militant Unionism in Florida

War drastically altered the rhythms of south Florida. Smallpox scoured the region in late 1862. Newly created Polk County received scores of anxious families that hoped interior Florida would serve as a safe haven for vulnerable property, namely slaves. For a brief interlude, south Florida seemed safely removed from Bull Run and Shiloh. But faced with a critical shortage of troops, the Confederacy enacted the first Conscription Act in April 1862, an action that disrupted life in the Peace River valley. Confederate agents "scoured the woods, looking for deserters and conscripts" (p. 152).

The fall of Vicksburg in July 1863 changed the fortunes of Florida. Western beef, a staple of the Confederate army, was no longer accessible. The beleaguered Confederate government looked to Florida for meat to feed the troops. Precisely at that moment, south Floridians were being forced to take sides in a bitter struggle over local, regional, and national sovereignty. A colorful cast of groups and characters, including the Cow Cavalry, Jacob Summerlin, Captain James McKay, James D. Green, and just plain folk make for interesting reading.

As the tenuous Confederate hold deteriorated with Sherman's relentless march, the waters of the Peace River roiled over problems on the homefront. On February 17, 1864, the Confederate government repealed draft exemptions for cattlemen, an action involving enormous implications for Florida. This single act, contends Brown, "served to crystallize political, economic, and personal divisions that had been evolving along the Peace River Valley for almost a decade" (p. 165). The conflict turned nasty and bitter as neighbors and locales chose sides. Brown concludes, "At that point the war exploded upon the Peace River Valley, leading to the widespread destruction of homes, livestock, and farms" (p. 175).

Union forces, determined to disrupt the supply of cattle from south Florida, seized Fort Myers, which by 1864 overflowed with refugees and defectors. "That trickle became a stream" after February 1864. The Union cause typically appealed to the poor, nonslaveholding families living below Fort Meade, while slaveholding families and cattlemen residing generally north of Fort Meade remained loyal to the Confederacy.

The memories of war and Reconstruction burned deeply in the folk memories of south Floridians because they had paid dearly. Brown, following the earlier work of Jerrell Shofner and the recent findings of Eric Foner, exorcises the demons of Reconstruction, rejecting standard stereotypes and replacing them with a sensible narrative and solid analysis.¹⁰

If the war's end did not leave a world turned upside down, it certainly bequeathed a myriad of problems to a troubled era. Ex-slaves seemed especially vulnerable in the postwar milieu. Large numbers of freedmen voluntarily left the Peace River valley or, according to one former slave, were "dumped" by their masters in towns such as Tampa. Numbers graphically reveal the new order. In 1863, census takers in Polk County counted 237 slaves; in 1867, only 128 blacks were living in the county. In Manatee County, the number declined from 253 in 1860, to fifty-five in 1867. A Manatee County observer lamented in October 1874, "there are but few negroes here" (p. 206).

For good reasons the freedmen fled south Florida following the Civil War. Economically the region lay fallow; socially, the climate bred virulent violence. Hostilities swept the Peace River valley as settlers recoiled against what they perceived as uppity freedmen and the threat of Republican control. Groups of citizens known as Regulators organized into vigilante squads, becoming an extralegal arm of the law. When federal troops left Tampa in July 1869, Regulators interpreted the departure as an invitation to lash out at blacks remaining in the area, cow-whipping, ambushing, and murdering scores of victims.

The story is told how in New England the news of the first telegraph message was received. Bursting into the office of Ralph Waldo Emerson, an enthusiastic editor exulted, "Isn't it wonderful! Now Maine can talk to Florida." The crusty Emerson replied, "Yes, but has Maine anything to say to Florida?" South Florida may have been remote through much of the nineteenth century, but the region began to stir economically in the 1870s. Florida had something to say, if not to Maine, at least to Cuba.

The cattle trade supplied the economic lifeline to the Peace River valley in the decades following the war. This exchange,

Jerrell H. Shofner, Nor is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877 (Gainesville, 1974); Eric Foner, Reconstruction, 1863-1877 (New York, 1988).

^{11.} Quoted in Alistair Cooke. Alistair Cooke's America (New York, 1976), 253.

inaugurated in the late 1850s with Cuba, resurged in the early 1870s. A remarkable coterie of cowmen dominated the enterprise, and Brown has managed to balance the romantic aspects of the cattle trade with the economic realities of the business. Jacob Summerlin, Francis A. Hendry, Ziba King, and others achieved success in rounding up cattle and shipping them to Cuba and in doing so left giant imprints upon the urban, economic, and political landscape of south Florida.

The ethos of the cattle industry, with its homebrand justice, briery characters, and handshake contracts, belonged to the nineteenth-century frontier. Visionaries, however, dreamed of different plans. "Florida, in its southern part, reckons no cities of importance," wrote the French novelist Jules Verne. In his 1865 novel *From the Earth to the Moon*, Verne devised a giant cannon to launch a rocket into space. He selected the fictional south Florida town of Stones Hill as the launch site. But the real propellant for south Florida's takeoff was not gunpowder or liquid hydrogen, but rather steel and steam.

The 1880s brought dramatic change to the Peace River valley. The railroad transformed city and country alike, described by one writer as "the resistless chariot of civilization." By 1886, passenger train service had reached Bartow, Fort Meade, Arcadia, Fort Odgen, and Punta Gorda. Residents of Polk and old Manatee counties may not have had much to say to Emerson's New England, but with the coming of the railroad, they opened a dialogue of trade, sending oranges and winter vegetables in exchange for northern cash. A new prosperity could be seen in the emergent towns along the Peace River. By 1887, Bartow numbered 2,000 residents and boasted the region's first brick building, an opera house, and baseball team. In other hamlets, the capriciousness and greed of the railroads doomed once promising locales to oblivion: witness the demise of English, Fort Ogden, and Pine Level.

Fortuitously, the arrival of the railroad coincided with the discovery of bone phosphate in the Peace River. A wildcat scram-

^{12.} Jules Verne, From the Earth to the Moon (London, 1959), 47, 56.

^{13.} Quoted in Alan Brinkley, et al., *American History* (New York, 1991, eighth ed.), 446.

See also Vernon E. Peeples, "Charlotte Harbor Division of the Florida Southern Railroad," Florida Historical Quarterly 58 (January 1980), 291-302.

ble for mineral rights and phosphate lands ensued, driving the price of real estate to boomtime levels. New towns with lyrical placenames—Pebbledale, Phosphoria, and Acme—could not hide the grievous scars left behind by the new industry.

Phosphate mining, a labor-intensive enterprise, attracted thousands of blacks to the region. Arcadia and Punta Gorda featured sizeable black settlements by the early 1890s. Regrettably, the attendant features of the phosphate industry—boom and bust cycles and rigid economic and racial hierarchies—bore heavily upon blacks.

Florida's Peace River Frontier ends with the close of the nineteenth century. The impact of the terrible freezes of 1894-1895, which devastated the region's budding citrus industry, and of phosphate companies, which left the Peace River polluted, suggest a depressing denouement. "For almost all of those one hundred years the struggles of man and nature had exacted terrible penalties as the price of conquering the frontier," Brown concludes. However, the author adds optimistically, "By 1900 the basic social, civic, and economic institutions which would endure through the twentieth century were in place" (p. 343).

Canter Brown has written an exceedingly well-researched book. How does it measure as a contribution to American and Florida history? The question was asked by Shakespeare's Henry V when, before the Battle of Agincourt, a courier estimated the enemy's distance. "How hath thou measured the ground?," asked Henry. And how has Brown measured his ground? Vaguely, if one interprets the question literally. A native of Fort Meade, the author knows well the lay of the land. But, in a serious omission, Brown neglected to provide readers with a geographical overview of the region's terrain. This reader, at least, wanted to know about the natural history of the river and how it was created and sustained prior to the nineteenth century. What makes the Peace River different, and how so from the Caloosahatchee or Withlacoochee?

In *Huckleberry Finn*, Tom Sawyer chides Huck for thinking that Illinois was green and Indiana pink because they appeared that way on the map. Huck pleaded, "What's a map for? Ain't it to learn you facts?" *Florida's Peace River Frontier* needs more maps! Brown's strength lies in his authentic descriptions of the region, but readers living outside the area will be lost in a geographic fog. Witness this description of the region following the

Armed Occupation Act of 1842: "While most of these settlements were substantially north of the Peace River area, a considerable number were just west of the river's headwaters, particularly in the area stretching from Lake Thonotosassa to the site of the former Indian town of Itchepuckesassa and nearby Fort Sullivan (Plant City), then south to the Alafia River and west towards the river's mouth. For settlers planning a life in the cattle business, these sites were located ideally in relation to the Alafia and Myakka ranges to the south and east" (pp. 66-67). Had *Florida's Peace River Frontier* been more sensitive to the natural history of the region, or incorporated some of the recent environmental history into the story, the book would have been strengthened.

Seminal scholarship by Alfred Crosby, Donald Worster, William Cronon, and Pete Daniel has dealt with the role and place of nature in human life. Environmental history, argues Worster, "rejects the common assumption that human experience has been exempt from natural constraints, that people are a separate and uniquely special series, that the ecological consequences of our past deeds can be ignored. While Brown provides readers with glimpses of the natural history of the region—the hurricane of 1848, the storm of 1878, the freezes of 1894-1895—a more systematic analysis is needed.

The reader comes away with the impression that the Peace River valley existed as a uniform ecosystem/region. In reality, the region supported a diverse ecosystem, a fact vitally apparent to pioneers wishing to homestead fertile hammock lands. A startling example of the region's diversity can be found along U.S. Highway 27. Millions of years ago the Lake Placid-Lake Wales Ridge formed Florida's shoreline. Waves pitched sand to create today's distinctive ridge four to eight miles wide and more than 100 miles long. On these scrub-sand hills, unusual species of

^{15.} Alfred W. Crosby, The Columbian Exchange; Biological and Cultural Consequeaces of 1492 (Westport, CT, 1972); Alfred W. Crosby, Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900 (New York, 1986); Donald Worster, Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s (New York, 1979); William Cronon, Changes in the Land: Colonists and the Ecology of New England (New York, 1983); Pete Daniel, Deep'n as it Come: The 1927 Mississippi River Flood (New York, 1977).

River Flood (New York, 1977).

16. Donald Worster, "Transformations of the Earth: Toward an Agroecological Perspective in History," Journal of American History <u>76</u> (March 1990), 1088. For an examination of this debate, see "A Round Table: Environmental History," Journal of American History 76 (March 1990), 1087-1148.

plants and animals developed. ¹⁷ Might one reinterpret some of the Peace River valley's patterns when viewed through an environmental focus? For instance, why did such divergent economic patterns take hold below and above the river at Fort Meade? In Robert Caro's biography of Lyndon Baines Johnson, he imaginatively explained the travail of the Texas Hill Country through an examination of rain and soil patterns, a phenomenon which effectively stunted lives and vegetation. ¹⁸

A splendid illustration of the importance of environmental adaptation in Florida history can be found in the aftermath of the 1823 Treaty of Moultrie Creek. "There are no people more attached to their native soil than Indians, or who are more averse to emigration," stated Florida Governor William DuVal. According to the treaty, the Seminoles relinquished their lands in north Florida for a vast reservation in south Florida, the lower portion of which included the Peace River region. The experiment proved disastrous. The reservation lands were labeled worthless. "Nineteen-twentieths of their whole country within the present boundary," reported Governor DuVal, "is by far the poorest and most miserable region I ever beheld." The Mikasuki chief Neamathla spoke with eloquence and pathos about the region. "We are poor and needy," he pleaded during the negotiations. "We hope you will not send us south, to a country where neither the hickory nut, the acorn, nor the persimmon grows." According to John K. Mahon, "The allusion to the acorn and the hickory nut was not mere caprice." Neamathla realized that the south Florida environment represented a drastic change from the traditional Creek habitat of north Florida and Alabama. Such changes often spelled death.¹⁹

Geography is destiny, the adage holds. Geographic boundaries and the retarded economic development of south Florida meant that the Peace River valley belonged to the frontier for much of the nineteenth century. The importance of the frontier correctly is asserted in Brown's study. But if *Florida's Peace River Frontier* can be faulted for its omission of a strong environmental

^{17.} Tampa Tribune, February 24, 1991; Jeff Klinkenberg, "Species Threatened as Habitat Vanishes," St. Petersburg Times, May 20, 1990; William A. White, The Geomorphology of the Florida Peninsula (Tallahassee, 1970), 111.

^{18.} Robert A. Caro, The Years of Lyndon Johnson (New York, 1982), 11-15.

John K. Mahon, History of The Second Seminole War, 1835-1842 (Gainesville, 1967; revised ed., Gainesville, 1985), 45, 53, 58.

component, it also must be critiqued for a mushy and imprecise definition of frontier as a central theme. Recently, historians of the West have raised a number of penetrating questions that invite comparisons to frontier Florida. Historians such as Patricia Limerick and Richard White deal principally with the trans-Mississippi West, but their spirited debate to understand the meaning of the elusive frontier lies at the heart of *Florida's Peace River Frontier*. ²⁰

The Florida frontier served as one of the great meeting grounds on the continent, a setting where Native Americans, African slaves, Europeans, and Southerners encountered one another, struggled for solutions, and tried to figure one another out. The migration from the East to the West was only one of a great many migrations. Florida received a constant stream of new settlers, and Brown has successfully integrated these migrations, weaving both elites and ordinary people into the narrative. Brown also has successfully captured the spirit of the raucous frontier, with images literally and figuratively of Frederic Remington. But a clear and identifiable theme does not emerge except for the endemic violence affecting the region.

The study of violence, too, suffers from the problem of an overreliance upon the narrative and a difficulty in grasping the conceptual place of conflict in nineteenth-century Florida. Uninterrupted violence, from the forced removal of the Seminoles to the Regulators to labor conflicts, penetrates *Florida's Peace River Frontier*. Brown asserts, in perhaps the book's most important sentence, "[T]he unifying theme of the history of the Peace River throughout the nineteenth century was violence . . . a constant and continuing element of life on that raw frontier" (p. 240). In explaining the violence, Brown argues, "Much of the killing was random, provoked by personal grudge or affront and often fueled by whiskey" (p. 241).

It is not enough to write off the many murders and lynchings as symptoms of frontier Florida. Works by Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Sheldon Hackney, Robert P. Ingalls, and Richard Slotkin

Patricia Nelson Limerick, The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West (New York, 1987); Richard White, The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environmental, and Social Change Among the Choctaws, Paunees, and Navajos (Lincoln, NE, 1983). For criticism of the "new" Western history, see Larry McMurtry, "How the West Was Won or Lost," New Republic 203 (October 22, 1990), 32-38.

have suggested systematic and conceptual frameworks within which to study violence. Scholars have been especially attracted to the phenomenon of violence in the American South. Beneath the image of a gracious, hospitable, leisurely folk, observes John Shelton Reed, has lurked that of a hot-tempered, violent, even sadistic people. The southern tradition of honor justified duelling and lynching to reinforce the powerful elites; indeed, the stewards of southern life frequently participated in extralegal justice. Since lynch mobs usually enjoyed local support, argues Ingalls, their members were rarely prosecuted for the crimes they committed.

To Richard Slotkin, America's penchant for violence irretrievably is linked with the myth of the frontier. "At the core of the myth," he writes in his sweeping book *The Fatal Environment:* "is the belief that economic, moral, and spiritual progress are achieved by the heroic foray of civilized society into the virgin wilderness and by the conquest and subjugation of wild nature and savage mankind. According to this Myth, the meaning and direction of American history— perhaps of Western history as a whole— is found in the metaphoric representations of history as an extended Indian War." ²⁴

The myth of the frontier includes other tenets pertinent to the history of Florida, such as the myth of untrammelled freedom and success. Was the experience of nineteenth-century Peace River valley settlers a success or failure? Lydia Oregon Hendry Blount, reminiscing in 1931 about her difficult life on the Florida frontier, concluded, "I've watched the world a long time and I believe it's better than it used to be" (p. 345). On this excruciatingly difficult question, Brown hedges. Sensitive and alert to the new historical sensibilities, Brown does not revel in the American habit of conquest. *Florida's Peace River Frontier* parades a checklist

Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Honor and Violence in the Old South (New York, 1986); Sheldon Hackney, "Southern Violence," American Historical Review 74 (February 1969), 906-25; Robert P. Ingalls, Urban Vigilantes in the New South: Tampa, 1882-1936 (Knoxville, 1988); Richard Slotkin, The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1890 (New York, 1985)

John Shelton Reed, The Enduring South; Subcultural Persistence in Mass Society (Lexington, MA, 1972), 45.

Robert P. Ingalls, "General Joseph P. Walls and Lynch Law in Tampa," Florida Historical Quarterly 63 (July 1984), 62.

^{24.} Slotkin, Fatal Environment, 531.

of tragedies and victims of conquest: native peoples (killed and removed), the landscape (mined and polluted), blacks (degraded and brutalized), and a white underclass (exploited victims of colonial economies). Who succeeded? Phosphate companies, owned and financed by foreign and northern capital? A handful of cattlemen and citrus barons? If, as Donald Worster contends, the settlement of the Great Plains represented a world-class environmental catastrophe, what are we to conclude of the wholesale extraction of minerals and the altering of the Peace River and hinterland?²⁵

Reviewers frequently and justifiably are chastised for asking their subjects to write books critics would have preferred. In other words, should not the reviewer concentrate upon what the author wrote, rather than what the critic wished he had written? In the case of *Florida's Peace River Frontier*, the author clearly expressed his goals: "Some readers will notice that the text of the book contains far more detail-particularly the identification of individuals and families with events being described-than strictly is necessary for the retelling of the story. The inclusion of the material was deliberate." Elaborating, Brown expressed hope that "the stories of individuals and families . . . should not be submerged in painting a broad picture" (p. xiii).

Brown thus introduces a delicate issue: How best can local and regional studies relate to the broader questions of the American past? Effective narrative history can be combined with a conceptual framework. One can, of course, ask big questions about small places. It is a difficult problem to master a coherent and anecdotal-rich narrative while integrating frontier expansion, the evolution of urban settlements, the transportation revolution, all the while keeping an eye toward the larger American picture. Popular history need not preclude historical insight. Curiosity about the local can open broader worlds and issues to view.

Local history frequently suffers from a willingness to accept time-honored legends and an overreliance upon secondary accounts, thus accentuating the problem. Canter Brown demolishes this stereotype. He has tracked down seemingly every manuscript and primary source related to the Peace River valley. His bibliog-

^{25.} Worster, Dust Bowl.

raphy represents an excellent collection of public documents and private records. He consulted manuscript sources in at least thirteen states and the District of Columbia.

Richly researched and capably defended, *Florida's Peace River Frontier* makes a significant and lasting contribution to the understanding of south Florida. The relationship between formal scholarship and our culture's historical sensibility has been subject to recent debates. Works such as Brown's suggest that a bridge can be built between the two sides. Canter Brown has written a very good book; Floridians and lovers of Floridiana can expect from Brown future great books.

FLORIDA HISTORY IN PERIODICALS

This selected bibliography includes scholarly articles in the field of Florida history, archaeology, geography, and anthropology published in state, regional, and national periodicals in 1990. Articles, notes, and documents that have appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* are not included in this listing since they appear in the annual index of each volume. The present listing also includes articles appearing in journals not published on schedule and that were not in the list printed in the July 1990 issue of the *Quarterly*.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Florida Cow Hunter: The Life and Times of Bone Mizell. By Jim Bob Tinsley. (Orlando: University of Central Florida Press, 1990. x, 131 pp. Preface, photographs, illustrations, notes, index. \$19.95 cloth; \$9.95 paper.)

Bone Mizell, Florida's legendary pioneer cowboy, is the subject of this interesting, well-written biography. But this book is much more than the story of Morgan Bonaparte Mizell. It is really a history of the late nineteenth-century Florida cattle industry.

Jim Bob Tinsley has carefully researched Mizell's life and has compiled from many scattered sources a comprehensive picture of this bibulous but colorful character. Florida's homespun humorist was a member of a family that had deep roots in the history of the state. His grandfather, David Mizell, Sr., was in Alachua County as early as 1830. David's son, Morgan Mizell, who was to become Bone's father, moved to Manatee County in 1862, the year before Bone was born. Bone Mizell's life was intertwined with the lives of the most prominent and wealthy cattle barons of southwest Florida. He served as foreman for the noted Judge Ziba King and also worked for the Parker Brothers and Colonel Eli Morgan.

Tinsley's work includes all the familiar anecdotes about Bone Mizell. He recounts the incident in which Mizell was commissioned to return the body of a wealthy young man to his New Orleans home for burial. Instead, Bone sent the body of his friend and fellow cowman, John Underhill, in place of the remains of the deceased youth.

The author devotes one chapter to the serious problem of cattle stealing on the frontier and provides an account of the DeSoto County cattle wars of the 1890s. One of the most interesting chapters in the book has nothing to do with Bone Mizell. It includes an account of the Barber-Mizell feud which occurred in Orange and Brevard counties during the late 1860s and early 1870s. This tragic incident, which involved the ownership of cattle, was illustrative of conditions on the Florida frontier during the Reconstruction era.

The numerous photographs scattered throughout the book greatly enhance the narrative. There are pictures of pioneer Florida cattlemen and rare photos of cowboys at work on the Florida range. Tinsley has done a fine job of searching the available sources, chronicling Mizell's career, and placing Bone in the larger context of pioneer life in south Florida at the turn of the century.

Tampa, Florida

KYLE S. VANLANDINGHAM

Columbian Consequences, Volume 2: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East. Edited by David Hurst Thomas. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990. xv, 586 pp. List of illustrations, introduction, acknowledgments, illustrations, maps, tables, references. \$60.00.)

The Society of American Archaeology organized its 1989 annual program to focus on multi-disciplinary perspectives on the borderlands and such other areas of Latin America as might provide context for current borderlands archaeological and ethnohistorical studies of the period of initial contact between the "two worlds." The result is a three-volume compilation of papers, of which this is the second.

The thirty-five essays in this weighty tome are organized into three groups: "Spanish Entrada into the American Southeast" (fourteen essays), "The Impact of Hispanic Colonization in the Southeast and Caribbean" (nine essays), and "The Missions of La Florida" (twelve essays). The first essay in each group provides an overview of the topic and chapters in its group.

The central themes of the first group are: where did Spaniards (especially Hernando de Soto) go and what evidence do we have that Native American culture changed as a result? Although Jerald Milanich tries to draw these essays together in his introductory essay, they remain fragments of a larger picture (including the controversies over the Soto route) and heavily concerned with particular archaeological sites and data. They reveal that we still know little about many aspects of these events.

The second group of essays, introduced by Kathleen Deagan, is really two groups: four chapters that focus primarily on the Caribbean and recent work by University of Florida ar-

chaeologists in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, and four that deal with sixteenth-century St. Augustine and Santa Elena. Exemplary of the newer general perspectives contained in this section are Deagan's (second) essay on Indian accommodation and resistance to the Spaniards, Jane Lander's observations about the roles of blacks, and the essay by C. Margaret Scarry and Elizabeth J. Reitz on Spanish adaptations to available edible plants and animals.

The third group is by far the most important. Too long neglected by all disciplines, the mission period here begins to come into its own. David Hurst Thomas's introductory essay, the discussions of interpretations of the missions by John W. Griffin and David J. Weber, and Amy Bushnell's essay on how Catholic sacramental demands shaped the mission communities are exciting and should be read by all students of Florida's early history. The other essays are more technical.

The utility of this collection is limited by its lack of an index (to be made good in volume three?) and by the lack of a unified, topical bibliography. Each essay has its own bibliography, but that arrangement is less helpful to the general researcher than a single listing would be. On a positive note, the work is well illustrated, especially with maps.

Evaluation of such a collection is difficult because of the differences among the essays, which range from very technical to broadly generalizing. All are well researched and well edited. Unquestionably the collection does "explore the range of contemporary thought" (p. xiii) on the section themes in the disciplines represented. This exploration shows yet again the narrow focus of much archaeological scholarship and the failure of most historians to find a place in their work for the data of archaeology. On the other hand, the better essays (indicated above) manage to use data from both fields (and others) and are well worth reading. As a group, the essays show that exciting scholarship on the Columbian consequences in the Southeast is alive and doing well.

Louisiana State University

PAUL E. HOFFMAN

Indian-Religious Relations in Colonial Spanish America. Edited by Susan E. Ramirez. (Syracuse: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, 1989. 120 pp. Introduction, maps, notes, glossary. \$13.00.)

This slim volume contains four chapters that document aspects of the social history of evangelization in Latin America. Because the authors of these individual studies have succeeded in illuminating the general processes of acculturation, this is a useful work for comparative purposes for historians and anthropologists in Florida and elsewhere.

Stafford Poole, C.M., contributed "The Declining Image of the Indian among Churchmen in Sixteenth-Century New Spain." Poole demonstrates that the initial optimism with which both regular and secular clergy approached their respective tasks in the early sixteenth century gave way, by 1555, to a more ambivalent attitude and a paternalism based on the concept that the Indians were inferior. These opinions arose not only because of the "deplorable" condition of the Indians after a half century of contact, and the persistence of crypto-idolatry, but also the resurgence of Augustinian thought during the Catholic Reformation. It seems reasonable to assume that this negativism was transmitted to friars bound for La Florida.

In "Chimalpahin's View of Spanish Ecclesiastics in Colonial Mexico," Susan Schroeder reviews the writings of Don Domingo de San Anton Muñón Chimalpahin Quahtlehuanitzin, a native fiscal in Mexico City. Chimalpahin wrote of his own conception of Christian dogma, church hierarchy, and clergy-Indian relations, and also of his opinion of the various Orders. Chimalpahin's preference for the Franciscans, held partly because of their dedication to teaching, may help to explain the relative success of the Franciscans in La Florida.

The Dominicans held sway in colonial Chiapas, the subject Murdo J. MacLeod's paper, "Dominican Explanations for Revolts and Their Suppression in Colonial Chiapas, 1545-1715." It will come as no surprise to those familiar with Florida colonial history that labor shortages resulted in power struggles between the secular and religious clergy, the governing elite, and large landowners for control over Indian labor. Also familiar are charges and countercharges of exploitation of the Indians between groups; the self-serving justifications of each faction; inevitable

uprisings of a desperate people; and swift and brutal retaliation by the Spanish. By 1713, highland Chiapas was a "devastated province," but the Dominicans were able to defend themselves against their utter failure by appealing to the conventional wisdom (the development of which was outlined by MacLeod) that Indians were "obdurate" and incapable of being converted away from the Devil.

James Saeger's article, "Eighteenth-Century Guaycuruan Missions in Paraguay," deals with the Jesuit missions among the hunting and gathering Mbayas between 1760 and 1782. The Mbaya had access to European goods 200 years before missionization. Their access to the horse and metal tools at first led to expansion and then to environmental depletion so severe that they were forced to accept missionization to secure a constant food supply. By the late nineteenth century, however, the Mbaya still were transhumant. Like MacLeod, Saeger highlights the different factions in Paraguayan society that disrupted mission progress, particularly after the Jesuits were expelled.

Ramirez's introduction provides an excellent collation of the chapters and their theoretical relevance, while Van Young's rather heady "Conclusions" explores the rationale and relevance of social history as seen through the success of these papers. I would recommend this volume for anyone interested in comparative acculturative experiences.

University of Florida

REBECCA SAUNDERS

Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789, Volume 16: September 1, 1780-February 28, 1781. Edited by Paul H. Smith. (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1989. xxix, 803 pp. Editorial method and apparatus, acknowledgments, chronology of Congress, list of delegates to Congress, illustrations, notes, index. \$38.00.)

This volume of the *Letters of Delegates* illustrates particularly well the interplay between Lockean optimism and republican pessimism in the wartime politics of the American Revolution. Drawing on seventeenth-century contractual ideas and on eighteenth-century libertarian beliefs, American leaders tried to benefit from both Lockean and republican bodies of thought.

Locke provided a sophisticated framework for political organization while republicanism generated the urgency and zeal needed in revolutionary action. As the war dragged on, the tensions between the two approaches became palpable. Lockean traditionalism upheld General George Washington's reluctance to move the conflict off the battlefield and into local communities; the increasing resort to irregular warfare demonstrated that republican virtue was indeed a scarce and expendable resource.

A good example is the dispute between North Carolina delegate Thomas Burke and New Hampshire delegate General John Sullivan over Sullivan's alleged incompetence and cowardice at the Battle of Brandywine. Sullivan was the Lockean moderate intent on pressing conflict resolution of the dispute with Burke through vindication of "my own reputation" and appeal to "Justice and Propriety." Burke, as Jack Rakove has shown, was the quintessential republican delegate to Congress who burned with pain when the mistakes of others jeopardized the safety of the commonwealth. Sullivan's demands for settlement of the dispute, in Burke's view, contaminated public discourse with their insulting insistence on personal reputation rather than humble submission to the cause of liberty.

Samuel Adams's letter to Richard Henry Lee of January 15, 1781, summarized the problem well: "My Friend, we must not suffer any thing to discourage us in this great Conflict. Let us recur to first Principles without Delay. It is our Duty to make every proper Exertion . . . to revive the old patriotic Feelings among the People at large and to get the public Departments filled with Men of understanding & inflexible Virtue. . . . Our cause is surely too interesting to Mankind to be put under the Direction of Men vain, avaricious, or concealed under the Hypocritical Guise of Patriotism." From the republican point of view, that was the danger the new nation faced; from a Lockean point of view, that kind of judgmentalism undermined the compact which knitted sinful individuals into a common cause.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro ROBERT M. CALHOON

Frontiers In Conflict: The Old Southwest, 1795-1830. By Thomas D. Clark and John D. W. Guice. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989. xv, 335 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, maps, appendix, notes, index. \$32.50 cloth; \$15.95 paper.)

Frontiers In Conflict examines the Old Southwest in its formative years, an area authors Clark and Guice describe as extending from the Ocmulgee River in Georgia to the Mississippi River and from the Tennessee River to the Gulf of Mexico. In reality, however, the book, a volume in the press's Histories of the American Frontier series, focuses predominantly on the Mississippi Territory. The authors argue for the uniqueness of this region, which they see in its geography, native tribes, patterns of white settlement, economics, and foreign influences. They claim that the Old Southwest was more west, i.e., a frontier region, than South.

Among the topics covered by Clark and Guice are the Five Civilized Tribes and their problems with whites, border issues, land speculation, and state-making (Mississippi and Alabama). They are at their best in discussing the Natchez Trace and its legendary outlaws, who were not as numerous as often imagined. Livestock in the Old Southwest, they argue, also had a role that has been largely overlooked. The authors attribute the presence of livestock to Celtic herders. They write favorably on the society of yeoman farmers, sometimes called "cracker culture," which authors who dwell on the cotton aristocracy and slavery have frequently denigrated. Cotton and slaves, however, receive scant attention in this study as they appeared mostly after 1830. But other topics are also omitted. For example, New Orleans and Louisiana seem not to be a part of the Old Southwest inasmuch as only the Battle of New Orleans merits discussion.

Despite several good qualities about the book, a few things bothered this reviewer. One of them is a need for greater objectivity. The authors say little about boundary conflicts with Spain that resulted in the 1795 Treaty of San Lorenzo (Pinckney's Treaty) and they assume that American claims to lands were valid because of the Anglo-American Treaty of 1783. Moreover, they see Spanish intrigue as existing long after it had in fact ceased. They explain United States seizures of portions of Spanish West Florida as stemming from "national security," and they never raise the question of the legality of the seizures.

Indian topics take up about one third of the book. Clark and Guice view Federalist policy toward the natives as one of pacification and paternalism; Jefferson's attempt at assimilation ("civilization") is seen as humanitarian; and Andrew Jackson's removal policy is explained as being in the natives' best interests as it mitigated greater hardships for them. The factory system as well, the authors claim, was designed to protect the natives against exploitative traders. They usually describe treaties that took Indian lands as generous, and they depict the Native Americans as being misguided in resisting United States encroachment, as in the Red Stick War.

While the volume is useful as an introduction, the diligent reader will want to explore other sources in order to learn more about the Old Southwest. Finally, this reviewer found annoying the excessive use of exclamation marks and the many uncorrected typographical errors in the text. Careful editing here would have helped.

Albuquerque, New Mexico

GILBERT C. DIN

The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict. By Donald R. Hickey. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989. xiii, 457 pp. Preface, introduction, photographs, conclusion, maps, note on sources, notes, index. \$32.50.)

This work, though named *The War of 1812*, is not primarily a military history but instead is an account of the political side of the conflict. Hickey describes in detail the state of affairs that led up to the war as well as the views of various groups, some of whom opposed the action and others who supported it.

Hickey's work discusses the activities of political leaders in terms of their reaction to the war. He has an excellent account of the disastrous financial condition of the country, a situation caused by the refusal of the Federalist-controlled New England banking establishment to allow the government to borrow any of their funds. This factor alone almost gave the English a victory.

While the war's military affairs in general are sketched only briefly, the actual conflict in the South and on the Gulf Coast is described in some detail. Even so, Hickey's treatment of the warfare itself is a minor part of the work, but he does have an excellent chapter dealing with the Treaty of Ghent. Again, however, the author deals more with the politics of the treaty and its negotiators than with the terms of the treaty. His treatment of the Hartford Convention is both useful and well done. Perhaps Hickey's work is strongest in his sketches of the participants in the conflict, both as military and political leaders. He has also reproduced an outstanding collection of rare pictures of these leaders.

Hickey presents his reader with a lucid writing style which makes the volume easily read and understood. He has produced one of the first studies dealing with the politics of this conflict since the work of Henry Adams. In fact, his work is in many respects much like that of Adams, including what appears to be a supportive view of the New England Federalists. Perhaps it is because of this preoccupation with the New England Federalists that Hickey misses the mark on two significant points. If, for example, the War of 1812 was fought over maritime grievances, then why was it that the interior West and the South produced the War Hawks while maritime New England prompted little but bitter opposition to the war? While this question has no easy answer, would it not seem appropriate for a book dealing with the politics of the war to investigate this issue? He suggests correctly also that the outstanding generals of this conflict were Andrew Jackson and Winfield Scott, but they "were unable to turn the tide because each was confined to a secondary theater of operations" (p. 1). If Jackson's theater of operations was secondary, then why did his victory catapult him into the presidency? Except for these two unsettled problems, the book is an excellent addition to the literature of the field.

Auburn University

Frank L. Owsley, Jr.

The Papers of John C. Calhoun: Volume XIX, 1844. Edited by Clyde N. Wilson. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990. xxii, 940 pp. Preface, introduction, photograph, bibliography, index. \$49.95.)

The present volume covers the middle portion of Calhoun's service, from June through September 1844, as secretary of state under President John Tyler. It documents a portion of the Texas annexation controversy during which the Senate rejected Cal-

houn's annexation treaty, though discussions of alternative means by which Texas might be acquired continued. The other pressing question of the time was Oregon, and intense negotiations with Britain were conducted by Calhoun. President James K. Polk later settled the matter essentially on the basis laid by Calhoun. In these months Calhoun also devoted great amounts of time to tedious studies of small matters that he thought had been too much neglected by his predecessors. Editor Wilson judges that, in these endeavors, "able Calhoun state papers" were produced which have been too much neglected.

A category of causes to which Calhoun was bound to have been attracted was the international rights of American slave-holders. Since the international abolition movement centered in London, defending slavery was, for him, one aspect of defending America from a traditional enemy. Calhoun was determined not to let the fact that British law did not recognize slavery stand in the way of requiring the British to hand over fugitive slaves. Where the foreign slave trade was concerned, however, Calhoun was sincere in his insistence that legal obligations against the trade should be enforced.

When Polk was named for the presidency by the Democrats in 1844, Calhoun returned to his support of the party, believing that Polk might return it to correct principles. His more radical followers in South Carolina did not agree and under Robert Barnwell Rhett rebelled against his leadership in the short-lived "Bluffton movement." His friends in the state, however, easily sidetracked the movement.

As in volume XVIII, researchers in Florida history will find even more material than in the earlier volumes. About 100 entries relate to Florida topics. Many of the letters are partisan complaints about political enemies or are letters defending office-holders against attackers. The feud between Richard Keith Call and Samuel S. Sibley, noted in the review of volume XVIII [Florida Historical Quarterly 68 (January 1990), 365-661 comes to an end in this one with Calhoun vindicating Sibley.

One quite curious item is a paranoid letter from aging William P. DuVal, written on July 4, 1844, calling for war on England. DuVal wrote that, if elected, democrat Polk might root out subversive elements "seeking to place us under the dictation of Great Britain." He continued: "Nothing short of a war with England, will put down the native traitors of this nation. . . . War at all

times is an evil, but it is a necessary one for us. The cankers of a long war are often felt, even after years of succeeding peace. The cankers of a long peace are more dangerous. . . . There are at this moment more foreign enimies, and native traitors in the United States, than at any period since the revolution. . . . We have the option to become vassals of great Britain, or by war to rally the people and overthrow her influence, and expose our secret enimies, and traitors, to the odium of public opinion" (pp. 269-70). DuVal closed with the suggestion that if asked he might accept the post of charge d'affairs to the Texas Republic.

Clyde N. Wilson and his assistant editors continue to merit highest praise for their production of this series.

University of Florida

HERBERT J. DOHERTY

The Road to Disunion: Secessionists at Bay, 1776-1854. By William W. Freehling. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. xii, 640 pp. Preface, prologue, illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$30.00.)

For more than a century American historians have examined, analyzed, and debated, endlessly it seems, the coming of the Civil War. Interpretations have shifted in time, in circumstance, and in the geographical and cultural set of those engaged in their varying explanations. As technical advances, especially in computer analyses of vast quantities of data, have brought more powerful tools to bear upon the subject, much modern research has focused on local history and mass political and social behavior. Unfortunately, some of those scholars who are dubbed the "new" social and political historians have overly concerned themselves with method to the detriment of substantive issues. Particularly, they have moved away from convincing narrative development. Indeed slavery and sectionalism, which previously appeared to have achieved consensus as prime causes of the war, have been muted in a good deal of recent scholarship.

William W. Freehling's *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists at Bay* has sought to reverse this trend dramatically by drawing upon the very conclusions of the "new" social and political history to effect an attempted synthesis that reinforces traditional notions on the coming of the war. In addition to an overview of

the economy and the geography of the antebellum South, Freehling utilizes psychological and anthropological analysis to sustain his argument.

As the writer explains, *The Road to Disunion* is volume one of a projected two-volume book. Thus it concerns itself almost exclusively with the slave-plantation South, charting key events and personalities that played important roles in the eventual secession of this region from the Union. The projected volume will carry the study to 1861. Divided into seven parts, *The Road to Disunion* ranges over what might be termed collectively the mentality, the behavior, and ultimately the dilemma of southern leadership groups when confronted with the overwhelming problem of African American slavery that had become so deeply enmeshed with their society. Most of the work concerns itself with the actions of two pivotal states, South Carolina and Virginia, and the events leading to the acquisition of Texas.

In the course of developing the impending political and constitutional crisis, Freehling repeatedly notes the inconsistency of southern leaders, those that were slaveholders, in their dealings with their bondsmen, or politicians, in their hopeless efforts to adjust the paradox of liberty and equalitarianism with the moral and social tyranny of slavery. Although Freehling scores many provocative points, he tends to complicate his challenging interpretations with language that is far too often so pretentious, elliptical, and verbose that it obscures his argument.

His treatment of Jefferson, though it has a whiff of present mindedness, makes some arresting claims, however. Freehling presents a Jefferson whose tentative approach to the demoralizing factor of slavery is borne out by the very architecture and location of Monticello. Jefferson's interest in labor-saving devices at Monticello, for example, was simply another facet of the great Virginian's compromise with slavery in that they were an effort to keep bondsmen out of sight in the household. Of course, the reverse could also be said with as much force—machines supplanting human labor, or merely Jefferson's lifelong interest in technology. Yet Freehling's determined iconoclasm on this point may lead to a reappraisal not just of Jefferson, but of other leading figures of the Revolutionary generation.

Still, the uneven character of *The Road to Disunion* recalls James Russell Lowell's comment on the work of Edgar Allen Poe: "Three fifths genius, two fifths sheer fudge." Freehling is

no Poe. Nor am I suggesting that insight can be measured quantitatively. But those who have the patience and the endurance to cut through the stylistic thicket will be rewarded with a fuller understanding of how the institution of slavery warped the southern mind and established certain preconditions for eventual conflict.

Claremont Graduate School

JOHN NIVEN

Abandoned by Lincoln: A Military Biography of General John Pope. By Wallace J. Schutz and Walter N. Trenerry. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990. xiv, 243 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, photographs, maps, notes, appendices, bibliography, index. \$32.50.)

For almost every Civil War buff, General John Pope is a man you love to hate. Pope was a West Point graduate and professional soldier. In the first months of the sectional conflict he won a couple of small engagements in the West. This led President Lincoln in July 1862 to bring Pope east for command of a new army that would campaign in Virginia.

It would be difficult for a general to make a bigger mess of things than did Pope. Self-confident to pomposity, he told his new army that he was accustomed to seeing the backs of his enemy— a clear slap at the previous record of many of his Army of Virginia units. Pope led the Federals into Virginia with a pledge to live off the country and wage war against helpless civilians. Such statements of barbarism made Pope the Civil War figure for whom General Robert E. Lee had the most contempt. "That man," said Lee, "[must be] suppressed"— an expression that sounded like one squashing an odious insect.

Having infuriated those behind him and inflamed those around him, Pope could not even advance on a positive note. All too soon he did not know exactly where his army was, and he had no idea where the enemy was. On August 9, 1862, his lead columns collided painfully with Stonewall Jackson at Cedar Mountain. Three weeks later, Lee's whole army routed Pope's confused forces at Second Manassas. Angry Federal authorities then banished him back to the West. To at least one Federal general, Pope was not worth "a pinch of owl dung."

For years Pope has been the only commander of a major Civil War army not to have a biography. Good riddance, many historians would say. In reality, Pope wrote so little about his war experiences as to deter any serious undertaking. Yet Wallace Schutz and Walter Trenerry, both knowledgeable historians in Minneapolis, persevered. This volume goes as far as one could to restore a sense of honor and decency to Pope.

The authors concede willingly that Pope was conceited, ambitious, uncommunicative with associates, disdainful of proper channels, contemptuous of superiors— in short, thoroughly unlikable. On the other hand, Pope was courageous as a soldier prior and subsequent to the 1862 debacle in Virginia. Though shipped to Minnesota by the Lincoln government, Pope did a commendable job of handling hostile Indians and winning the confidence of the settlers. He commanded well the departments and districts assigned to him. At his death in 1892, Pope was buried with full military honors.

The most startling assertions here are that Pope became a Republican pawn that the Lincoln government tried to use against the Democratic general-in-chief, George B. McClellan; that his Virginia offensive was actually a holding action until the North's mighty Army of the Potomac could arrive on the scene; and that Pope lacked the free hand and strong supporters to succeed under the best of circumstances.

Many Civil War students will find this a bit too strong to accept in toto, but the authors deserve high marks for an extraordinary study of a man maligned in great part because he was misunderstood.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

JAMES I. ROBERTSON, JR.

John Brown Gordon: Soldier, Southerner, American. By Ralph Lowell Eckert. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989. xvi, 367 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, maps, photographs, notes, epilogue, bibliographic essay, index. \$32.50.)

Ralph Lowell Eckert has produced a studied biography of John Brown Gordon, Civil-War general, senator, and businessman. Gordon was born in 1832, the son of a prosperous planter-businessman who also was an ordained minister. The young Gordon matured in the still-frontier conditions of northwestern Georgia, assimilating the dominant cultural values. After leaving the University of Georgia in his senior year, John moved to Atlanta and tried unsuccessfully to establish a law practice. By 1856 he had returned to northwestern Georgia and was engaged in satisfying his political interests and aspirations while pursuing various entrepreneurial ventures, a pattern that would characterize his later life. When war erupted in 1861, Gordon immediately volunteered to defend the South.

Gordon initially entered the Confederate army as the commanding captain of a backwoods company, self-styled the "Raccoon Roughs." Although he had no previous military or command experience, Gordon understood tactics and also possessed a battlefield presence. These qualities marked him as a future leader in the Confederate army. At the 1862 Battle of Sharpsburg the young colonel, the rank to which he had been promoted, was severely wounded. When he returned to active duty in the spring of 1863, he received his first star.

The new brigade commander was assigned to Major General Jubal Early's division. Gordon's command participated in both the Winchester encounter and the bloody fighting at Gettysburg. As a result of his efforts at the 1864 Battle of Spotsylvania Court House, Gordon was promoted to major general. His advance was based on the effusive recommendation of Robert E. Lee. In the last year of the war, Gordon and his division fought in the Shenandoah Valley, opposed by Sheridan's forces. Gordon was made a corps commander and held that position until the end of the conflict.

After a number of unsuccessful business ventures, Gordon secured lucrative positions with two companies. He then turned his attention to politics. His quest for political office resulted not only from his sense of noblesse oblige, but also because he was committed to relieving the South of northern Republican rule. Gordon believed in a white-dominated society. He was involved with the power structure of the Georgia Ku Klux Klan, although this biography does not spell out his exact role.

Gordon was defeated in 1867 in the race for Georgia governor. He was more successful in 1873, when he was elected to the United States Senate. Gordon was involved until 1876 mainly in the program to end Reconstruction. He increasingly worked in state politics and opposed the Independents, who were scoring a few successes. Gordon easily was reelected in 1878, but he resigned his seat two years later. The charges of collusion that implicated Gordon appear to have some credibility according to new material used by Eckert. Gordon returned to politics in 1886, serving one term as governor and one term as United States senator. He died in 1903 while vacationing at Biscayne Bay.

Gordon was a New South figure. He was committed to preserving a repressive social order and rejected northern support for the freedmen. Yet, he recognized the South's dependency on outside investment capital, and he personally profited from this relationship. Eckert has used the available sources, including the limited family papers, to draw a temperate picture of John Brown Gordon. This book contributes to our understanding of the New South and those people who figured so prominently in its development.

National Park Service, Denver, Colorado MICHAEL G. SCHENE

Steamboats and the Cotton Economy: River Trade in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta. By Harry P. Owens. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1990. xiii, 255 pp. Preface, maps, figures, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.00.)

Travels on the Lower Mississippi, 1879-1880: A Memoir by Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg. Edited and translated by Frederic Trautmann. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990. xv, 261 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, tables, bibliography, index. \$24.95.)

Rarely are two books that are published independently of each other as complimentary as these two works by Harry Owens and Frederic Trautmann. In *Steamboats and the Cotton Economy*, Owens recounts the history of steamboating on the Yazoo River system, an extensive waterway tributary to the Mississippi River. Owens outlines the activity of the early years of Yazoo steamboating. He also includes an interesting chapter on the Civil War era when private boatowners of the Yazoo fortified their vessels with cotton bales and attempted simultaneously to make a living and defend their homeland. But the author concentrates on the

"golden age" of steamboating in the Yazoo valley after the war, which peaked between 1870 and 1890.

Owens's main focus is the "business" of transportation, and this is the author's greatest contribution to the literature on the subject. Owens does not treat the steamboatmen as romantics but as aggressive businessmen engaged in mortal competition for their share of the river trade. As in the history of other transportation modes, the contest for dominance over the Yazoo steamboat trade went through several phases, beginning with an unorganized free-for-all accompanied by high mortality rates and progressing to a gentlemanly arrangement among the major players who divided the market.

When the river trade was threatened by the advent of the railroads into the river valley in the 1880s, the rivermen did not capitulate but, instead, adjusted to new conditions by specializing in short hauls that augmented the tracks and in transporting freights not monopolized by the railroad.

The book is well researched, and the forty-page appendix is of itself worthy of publication. The only quarrel this reviewer has with the book is with its title since "the cotton economy" in the appellation is never addressed. On that subject the Trautmann work is generously detailed.

Travels on the Lower Mississippi is a great companion volume to Owens's work since it was written contemporaneously with the heyday of the river steamer (1879-1880) and leaves the reader with an image of the region so rich in detail that it is second only to having witnessed it personally. The German traveler Hesse-Wartegg painted vivid word pictures of riverboats, landings, port cities, and the everyday people he encountered on his travels from St. Louis to New Orleans. Mark Twain found the original version of this book so compelling that he based portions of his *Life on the Mississippi* on it. Yet until Frederic Trautmann's recent translation, this work had never appeared in English.

For this labor, students of the New South owe Trautmann an enormous debt. Not only is the job of translating Hesse-Wartegg's words admirably crafted, but Trautmann's annotations are exceptionally complete (including much historiography) and thankfully are located at the bottom of the page.

Hesse-Wartegg's graphic prose enables the reader easily to visualize Mississippi River scenes. For example, in describing a river steamer from bottom to top he recreates the scene below decks where the bowels of the vessel were filled with "greasy barrels of oil" and "dripping barrels of molasses" (p. 25). In loading the boat, ragged black deckhands moved swiftly about in such a whir in taking on cargo that an observer could not tell "Negroes from barrels" (p. 30). Meanwhile, the glittering saloon above deck strikingly contrasted with the lower level in the presence of its "soft carpets" and "satin-covered furniture" (p. 25).

The German did not limit himself to evoking images of riverboats or scenery. He also commented on such interesting and varied topics as yellow-fever epidemics, the Creole women of New Orleans, and the "Negro Exodusters" who took passage on the river steamers in their trek from the poverty of the river valley to the promise of a better life in Kansas.

Taken together, these two works on the postwar golden era of river transportation constitute an important contribution to the historic record. While I recommend Owens's book to all interested in the history of transportation, Trautmann's translation of Hesse-Wartegg's journal will have universal appeal to southern historians and Southerners alike.

Winthrop College

LYNN WILLOUGHBY

Ulrich Bonnell Phillips: A Southern Historian and His Critics. Edited by John David Smith and John C. Inscoe. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990. xix, 276 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, chronology, introduction, notes, charts, bibliographies, index. \$45.00.)

Five-and-a-half decades after his death, Ulrich Bonnell Phillips continues to cast a long shadow over historical writing. His thirty-two years of scholarship yielded 4,800 published pages on the history of southern slavery, politics, and economic development— much of which today remains required reading for students of these subjects. During his lifetime, his interpretation of American slavery became so impregnable that it was not challenged by white scholars until a decade after his death. At the urging of Eugene D. Genovese, then a young Marxist with a bold new interpretation of the slave system, Phillips's ideas enjoyed a rebirth, albeit with different assumptions, during the 1960s. Since then, scholars assessing his contribution continued

to disagree about his legacy, and editors John David Smith and John C. Inscoe present a representative sampling of this debate in this fine volume.

Smith, in a general introduction, assesses Phillips's position in American historiography and presents the debate surrounding his scholarship. His essay is followed by six sections covering different aspects of Phillips over the past seventy years: as Southerner, as progressive reformer, as racist, as scientist, as social and economic historian, and as political historian. Much of what is included in this volume republishes articles, essays, or selections from books that are well-known to scholars. Among the more notable of the twenty-three selections are excerpts from Phillps's two published biographers during the 1980s John Herbert Roper and Merton L. Dillon; liberal critiques from Kenneth Stampp, Stanley Elkins, and C. Vann Woodward; Genovese's famous recasting and reconstruction of Phillips's ideas; and Daniel Joseph Singal's important essay portraying Phillips as a transitional figure.

The editors present a well-balanced offering of Phillips's critics and admirers. Richard Hoftstadter, in an article published in 1944, criticized him for an "inadequate and misleading" sampling technique that, he claimed, biased his conclusions in favor of large slaveholders— despite the fact that the majority of them held few slaves (p. 186). In two not entirely convincing essays, Ruben F. Kugler and W. K. Wood go further and assert flawed research methods. Kugler analyzes eight examples of Phillips's use of sources and concludes that he "did not comply with his own standards of the scientific historical method" (p. 150). Similarly, W. K. Wood attacks Phillips's research methods. Examining the sources for Phillips's A History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt to 1860 (1908), Wood describes him "as a somewhat careless researcher who, far from conducting extensive research, happened to use the most readily available sources" (p. 176).

Phillips dominated slavery historiography during the first half of the twentieth century; few white critics took him on. The editors are therefore to be commended for including contemporary critics, including black scholars W. E. B Du Bois and Carter G. Woodson. Both noted in reviews of *American Negro Slavery*, for example, the central flaw in Phillips's work: his inability to portray the life of slaves in terms that went beyond one-dimensional stereotypes about black inadequacy and moral undevelop-

ment that prevailed in that era. The "unstated premise" of this work, as Du Bois put it, was that blacks were "not ordinary slaves nor indeed ordinary human beings" (p. 84).

This volume can only be criticized on minor points. One wonders if its six themes could not have been more effectively compressed into three or four. Perhaps there might also have been fewer and longer essays. There is some unevenness in the contributions— although that is virtually inevitable in a book of this format— and some of the selections that are excerpted from longer essays or books are somewhat out of context. There are major historiographical differences that appear here, yet they are submerged in its topical organization. Hofstadter's essay, for example, could have been more appropriately positioned next to those of Stampp and Genovese. Nonetheless, the editors deserve high praise for bringing together the fascinating contents of *A Southern Historian and His Critics*, and scholars will find it a valuable research and teaching tool.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro WILLIAM A. LINK

Charleston! Charleston!: The History of a Southern City. By Walter J. Fraser, Jr. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989. xiii, 542 pp. Preface, illustrations, maps, photographs, epilogue, appendix, notes, select bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

It is a splendid opening sentence: "Great cities are both beautiful and ugly." With these words Jay Fraser begins his epic history of Charleston, South Carolina, from the earliest British settlers' first view of palmettos, live oaks, and salt marsh in 1670 to the impact of Hurricane Hugo in 1989.

Fraser's finely drawn opening sentence signals his approach. Charleston's greatness is unquestioned, but his clear-eyed chronicle blinks neither the city's beauty nor its sordidness, its achievements nor its failures, its heroism nor its scandals. In this book Charleston stands out in three dimensions as few cities do in written history.

Charleston! Charleston! manages to combine within its pages two historical traditions generally considered inimical to each other. The author's analysis is influenced by the *Annales* school of social history, but he writes with the grand style and epic sweep of the narrative tradition.

Fraser attempts in his analysis to grasp Charleston's history holistically and to portray slow structural change over a long period of time. He seeks out new kinds of evidence in census reports, court records, deed books, and church records to present a collective portrait of ordinary Charlestonians. And he asks new kinds of questions of his evidence, questions about the material basis of human existence and about the relationships of human beings to their environment over three centuries.

But in the great tradition of historical narrative, Fraser knows how to tell a story on a grand scale. He never loses sight of the human actors in his drama, populating his epic with an unforgettable cast of characters: among them the "gentleman pirate," Stede Bonnet; the scholarly cleric, Alexander Garden; the city's first businesswoman, Margaret Kennett; the intemperate revolutionary, Christopher Gadsden; the fearless black insurrectionist, Denmark Vesey: the fiery secessionist editor, Robert Barnwell Rhett; the Progressive-era mayor, R. Goodwyn Rhett; the colorful Irish Catholic lawyer, journalist, and politician, John P. Grace; the novelists DuBose Heyward and Josephine Pinckney; the artists Alice R. Huger Smith, Elizabeth O'Neill Verner, and Alfred Hutty: the Depression-era mayor, Burnett R. Maybank; the courageous and ostracized Judge J. Waties Waring; the "mother of the civil rights movement," Septima Clark; the roller-skating, black, and Jewish police chief, Reuben Greenberg; and the energetic modern mayor, Joseph P. Riley, Jr.

Charleston! Charleston! is based on an extraordinary depth of research in both primary and secondary sources. Fraser's bibliography is itself of inestimable value. As with any book of such scope, some topics are treated in greater detail than others. Other scholars might have made other choices. Yet the astonishing depth, power, and feeling with which Fraser has endowed Charleston! Charleston! make it by far the best history of Charleston yet to appear, and one of the best of any southern city.

University of South Carolina Coastal Carolina College CHARLES JOYNER

Initiative, Paternalism, & Race Relations: Charleston's Avery Normal Institute.By Edmund L. Drago. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990. xi, 402 pp. Preface, introduction, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00.)

Even though Avery Normal Institute, established by the American Missionary Association (AMA) in 1865, did not evolve into what alumnus Septima P. Clark called "black Charleston's version of the 'Massachusetts Institute of Technology,'" it did emerge as the AMA's premier high school in the South (p. 155). It became a feeder school that provided well trained students for the association's top liberal arts colleges such as Fisk, Atlanta University, and Talladega College.

Edmund L. Drago in *Initiative, Paternalism, & Race Relations: Charleston's Avery Normal Institute* traces not only the development of Avery from its inception but closely examines and analyzes the ethos, the people, and the environment that shaped the institution. According to Drago, Avery was shaped by antebellum Charleston's black and white aristocracy, Yankee missionaries, and Low Country blacks. Charleston, unlike many other areas of the South, boasted a sizeable independent, prosperous, and educated black community that often resented the sometimes paternalistic missionaries. This black "elite" middle class already professed the social and cultural uplift philosophy and Protestant work ethic that the missionaries intended to instill, and they had their own vision for Avery Normal Institute.

Avery, as did most black institutions of the period, struggled to survive. Avery's problems, however, were not always limited to finances or white hostility. Intrasegregation and elitism threatened to damage the school. Northern missionaries and Charleston's antebellum free blacks agreed upon the uplift philosophy to eradicate prejudice and Avery's mission to train future teachers and leaders, but they often clashed over the constituency that they should serve— the underclass or the antebellum free-black elite.

Francis L. Cardozo, as principal of Avery (1865-1868) and a member of the free-black elite, set the tone and closely identified the school with Charleston's antebellum free-black community. It was under his guidance and leadership that Avery became a college preparatory and normal institute. Although Cardozo was followed by a succession of white principals, the school's values

and aims changed little. During the administration of Benjamin F. Cox (1914-1936), Avery became an all-black institution and was perhaps even more amenable to suggestions from Charleston's black elite. Even AMA officials complained of Avery's exclusiveness. Averyites were disappointed that Avery never became a college, but President Cox managed to create the atmosphere of "a fine small liberal arts college" (p. 168).

Throughout its history, Avery alumni, students, parents, and administrators challenged AMA governance and battled the association and later city officials to maintain the school's identity as a liberal arts school. Parents and alumni resisted the change, but Avery Normal Institute became a public school in 1947 and merged with Burke Industrial High School in 1954. In the meantime, Avery had produced a professional class that included teachers, doctors, lawyers, businessmen, politicians, and civil rights leaders. And despite its sometime elitism, Avery helped bridge both the cultural and color gap that had traditionally divided Charleston's black community. Well researched and written, Professor Drago has provided more than just an institutional history of Avery Normal Institute. This is an excellent study of Charleston's black community and the forces that shaped it.

Florida State University

MAXINE D. JONES

Talladega College: The First Century. By Maxine D. Jones and Joe M. Richardson. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990. xi, 340 pp. Illustrations, preface, photographs, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$32.95.)

Talladega College is a well-written and -researched analysis of the rise, struggles, and achievements of a small private black college in Alabama. Its history began after the Civil War with the thirst of blacks in Alabama, and indeed throughout the South, for "book learning." Following a convention in Mobile, two Talladegans and former slaves— William Savery and Thomas Tarrant— were fired with visions of a black school. These men won enthusiastic support of several neighbors to organize an educational society "to plan and supervise a school." They sought assistance from the Freedmen's Bureau, and a teacher was provided by the Cleveland Freedman's Aid Commission.

Savery also contacted General Wager Swayne, of the Freedmen's Bureau in Alabama, and suggested that Talladega was an excellent location for a black college. Swayne approached the American Missionary Association for assistance. Reluctantly, the AMA agreed to provide \$4,000– if the Freedmen's Bureau matched this funding, plus \$2,000 for repairs. Swayne agreed, and Talladega College was born. Thus, the school was a "joint enterprise involving both the AMA and the black community." A large building was purchased from the Baptists, and classes began in November 1867. The AMA sent the Reverend Henry E. Brown and three teachers. They were greeted by 140 students.

Students eagerly came. Although tuition was only fifty cents, students had to seek work, or they brought food commodities—potatoes, corn, etc.— to pay their fees. Neighboring black families provided some housing.

Within thirty years the school had witnessed the passage of numerous milestones: it incorporated (1869); the number of teachers doubled; and the building program expanded. New departments were added—religion and industrial arts— and the curriculum was upgraded to include Latin, Greek, and higher mathematics. A full college course was offered by 1891. The leadership of the college, from its inception until April 1953, was mostly northern white men. These men worked diligently as leaders for Talladega.

The interracial faculty and staff were an oddity in segregated Alabama. The school's relationship with Tuskegee and Booker T. Washington largely was positive. The first black president, Dr. Arthur Gray, was elected in 1953. He was an alumnus.

During the 1960s and 1970s Talladega students were active in the civil-rights struggle and in promoting peaceful change on campus. Professors Jones and Richardson attribute Talladega's relatively peaceful confrontations to its long interracial history. Additionally, the college council earlier had granted students decision-making roles. The character of the faculty and Dr. Long's flexibility also must be considered.

This is an important study. The alumni include physicians, ministers, attorneys, and other achievers. There are a few shortcomings in the book: charts and graphs indicating the building programs and funding, as well as more pictures, would have been helpful. More comments on the plight of black Alabamians in general and the illiteracy rate also would have added to this

volume. This fine work sheds light on a neglected aspect of one of America's richest resources.

Louisiana State University

CHARLES VINCENT

Subduing Satan: Religion, Recreation, and Manhood in the Rural South, 1865-1920. By Ted Ownby. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990. xii, 286 pp. Preface, introduction, photographs, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

Ted Ownby, this book's author, obviously has a tremendous appreciation for imagination, since he has indulged his abundantly in crafting this work. He set out to examine the tensions in the rural South between the region's evangelical heritage and its famed propensity for violence, concentrating on the years between the Civil War's end and the period immediately after World War I. He focuses on the rural South's attitudes toward various recreations and how those attitudes were affected by evangelical religion. Making generalizations about the "rural South" can lead a writer quickly into murky waters. Realizing that his generalizations do not fit the entire South, Ownby admits that he "largely" ignores the Appalachian region and "completely" avoids the "predominantly Catholic sections of Louisiana, Mississippi, Maryland, and Kentucky." To this reviewer it appears that he also virtually avoids Florida and Texas, but he makes no mention of doing so. Other southern states receive but meager attention— Mississippi, Arkansas, and South Carolina, for example. Most of the attention is focused on North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. Maybe Ownby's subtitle should read: "Religion, Recreation, and Manhood in Some Parts of the Rural South, 1865-1920." Still, Ownby is convinced that he has captured the cultural attitudes of "the great Majority of white Southerners."

The author's research is clearly extensive. He has examined an impressive array of sources—numerous manuscript collections in various states, church records, newspapers, periodicals and trade publications, public documents, and an exhaustive list of secondary works. The reader should remember that Ownby perused these sources in an effort to uncover attitudes, and attitudes are not always obvious. Careful analysis was required, and Ownby provides it, bringing forth in the process some in-

teresting observations and conclusions about "Male Culture," "Evangelical Culture," and the "Change and Reform" which affected those cultures in the twentieth century. According to Ownby, southern men had a taste for "recreations characterized by action" because they had a "passion for the physical and a constant need for the respect of their peer group." He even sees the combative nature of southern males as having its roots in racism, since whites had a "constant need to feel they had physical force superior to that of local blacks." In this reviewer's opinion, the author makes a bizarre argument when he links the "South's upper class and its lowest class" together in posing "tangible threats to evangelical ideals." Supposedly some recreations like gambling and drunkenness tended to be associated with "the extremes of society" and put the "middle class" home, a sacred evangelical institution, in danger. Seemingly, Ownby assumes that behavior unacceptable to evangelicals was somehow less characteristic of the middle class- an astonishing assumption! If the evidence is there to prove that the middle class did not gamble and get drunk, the reviewer overlooked it.

A wide variety of recreations from hunting to hog-killing, along with professional entertainment, are treated, as are the places—field, farm, town, etc.—where they were carried out. "Drinking and drunkenness were the most popular recreations in Southern towns," according to the author. In every case he deals with responses to the recreations by the evangelical culture, as he consistently points out the tensions between male recreational activities and the evangelical attitudes which permeated southern culture.

Though most unconventional, this is certainly an interesting book. Perhaps it does not do all that the author claims for it, and some of Ownby's interpretations are bound to raise an eyebrow or two, but the book is well researched and well written. All in all, it is a worthwhile work.

University of Montevallo

DAVID T. MORGAN

Living Atlanta: An Oral History of the City, 1914-1948. By Clifford M. Kuhn, Harlon E. Joyce, and E. Bernard West. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990. xix, 406 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, illustrations, appendix, notes, index. \$35.00.)

This book originated in a series of radio broadcasts funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities in 1977-1978. The goal was to capture a sense of Atlanta's past from the early twentieth century through the Second World War, with particular emphasis on the experiences of ordinary folk, both black and white. Among the almost 200 people interviewed were millworkers at the old Exposition Cotton Mill, early residents of the University Homes public housing complex, klansmen, police, prohibition rum-runners, streetcar motormen, teachers, social workers, jazz musicians, an Atlanta Black Cracker baseball player, the first woman to own a dry-cleaning establishment, and a fire fighter who fought the Great Fire of 1917.

The interviewing team of Clifford M. Kuhn and E. Bernard West, one white and one black, were both trained historians. They worked under the direction of Harlon E. Joyce, a sociologist and founder of WRFG—Radio Free Georgia, a station offering alternative programming for people traditionally denied access to the media. The series received numerous national awards.

Converting the interview transcripts to book form became largely Kuhn's responsibility, weaving the oral history into topical, narrative chapters that examine city neighborhoods, transportation, commerce, education, crime, Depression and New Deal, health and religion, leisure and politics. The result is a generally smooth-flowing story, colorful in its description of professional sports and Atlanta's underworld, disturbing in its portrayal of the Depression's hard times and white discrimination against blacks, and hopeful in the courage of African Americans challenging segregation in the first tentative steps toward interracial cooperation.

The authors acknowledge limitations in the book. Establishment Atlanta is only marginally mentioned. Also missing are primary sources beyond the interviews, though the authors make good use of secondary sources to provide historical context. A minor error noticeable to a Floridian is the claim that Atlanta's Booker T. Washington High School, built in 1924, was the first

black secondary school in the Southeast. Jacksonville's Stanton High School served black youngsters before the First World War.

The book closes before the modern era of the Sunbelt renaissance. The 1996 Olympics are beyond the horizon. More importantly, the authors capture the mood of the earlier New South Atlanta after it had ossified into a Jim Crow city. Henry W. Grady, paternalist though he was, never anticipated the harsh segregation of interwar Atlanta. The book captures the subjugation of whites over blacks and the efforts of black Atlantans to live with these conditions. Living Atlanta, however, does more, communicating across the years a rich and varied history of the city and its people.

University of North Florida

JAMES B. CROOKS

Frank Porter Graham and the 1950 Senate Race in North Carolina. By Julian M. Pleasants and Augustus M. Burns III. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990. xv, 356 pp. Preface, introduction, photographs, illustrations, epilogue, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

For much of the twentieth century North Carolina has presented a Manichaean face to the nation. On the one hand, North Carolina has enjoyed a reputation as a bastion of southern liberalism with harmonious race relations. On the other, it has experienced the Greensboro sit-ins, forced busing, and some of the nastiest campaigns in contemporary political history. In a well-written and remarkably balanced account of the 1950 United States Senate race in North Carolina, Julian M. Pleasants and Augustus M. Burns III, both professors at the University of Florida, have provided the first in-depth study of arguably the state's most vicious campaign since the white supremacy elections of 1898 and 1900.

In 1949, Governor W. Kerr Scott stunned the Tar Heel political world by appointing Frank Porter Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, to the United States Senate seat left vacant by the death of J. Melville Broughton. Graham accepted the appointment reluctantly. He had devoted most of his life to the university and had no experience with electoral politics. Moreover, Graham carried considerable political liabilities. In-

variably characterized as sincere, humane, and idealistic, Graham had lent his name and prestige to numerous liberal causes during the 1930s and 1940s. The United States attorney general later determined that at least four of the organizations to which Graham belonged, especially the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, were "subversive" Communist fronts. An acknowledged "gradualist," Graham emphasized education and religion to change race relations and opposed compulsory federal powers. To hard-core segregationists, those views made Graham "soft" on the race issue. Graham's opponents craftily portrayed the academic senator as gullible, naive, and too undiscriminating.

To complete the final four years of his term, Graham had to win his party's nomination in the May 1950 Democratic primary. Out of a field of four, Graham's principal challenger was Willis Smith, a conservative Raleigh lawyer, former speaker of the North Carolina House of Representatives, and past president of the American Bar Association. Another Raleigh attorney astutely predicted the strategy that Smith would employ. Smith would ignore the major issues and concentrate on "a lot of whispering and street corner gabbling about socialism, communism, and 'niggers.'"

In the Florida primary that same May, George Smathers's defeat of New-Deal Senator Claude Pepper portended the effectiveness of such tactics. Even so, Graham came within 5,000 votes of attaining the majority he needed to avoid a runoff. The 58,000 votes polled by former senator Robert R. Reynolds denied Graham outright victory. As runner-up, Smith vacillated about calling a second primary. Finally, a young news director at WRAL radio in Raleigh– Jesse Helms– orchestrated a rally of several hundred supporters at Smith's home to convince the wavering candidate to run again.

Smith won the second primary in June by 20,000 votes, and pundits have been debating the results ever since. Graham himself, the authors insist, must bear much of the responsibility for his defeat. His campaign lacked coherence. Deficient in political skills, Graham knew nothing of fundraising, patronage, grassroots organization, or coalition building. While Graham agonizingly wrote every speech he delivered, he had little concept of strategy. A man of impeccable probity and Presbyterian rectitude, he refused to respond to personal attacks and mudslinging even when he and his wife were the objects of rude and vile behavior.

Ultimately, however, the authors conclude that race was the decisive factor. While they exonerate Smith of personally ordering the "racial trash" that befouled the campaign, they note that he never publicly repudiated it. Smith positioned himself as a defender of southern traditions. One week before the second primary a circular entitled "White People Wake Up" appeared. It warned against full social equality in which Negroes would work, eat, ride public transportation, and attend schools alongside whites. In the words of Pleasants and Burns, the incendiary flier "induced a full-blown racial panic." In their opinion, the election destroyed North Carolina's chimerical reputation for liberalism.

The authors interviewed more than fifty of the participants in the epochal 1950 campaign, including current United States Senators Jesse Helms and Terry Sanford, culled newspapers, mined newly opened manuscript collections, and skillfully developed the postwar context of national, regional, and state politics. Though seemingly focused on a narrow topic, the book is a case study of the perils and practices of southern politics in the last half of the twentieth century. Senator Helms, for one, learned well. In his reelection campaigns of 1984 and 1990 he thwarted strong Democratic challenges by attacking his opponents with the same issues—race and "liberalism"—that worked for Willis Smith in 1950.

North Carolina Division of Archives and History

JEFFREY J. CROW

Bankers, Builders, Knaves and Thieves: The \$300 Million Scam at ESM. By Donald L. Maggin. (Chicago: Contemporary Books, 1989. x, 308 pp. Acknowledgments, prologue, epilogue, notes, sources, index. \$2 1.95.)

This book is not for the timid investor or the S & L depositor with a heart problem. The moral of this story for such a reader would seem to be "Take your money and run, not walk, to your nearest mattress." The title is reminiscent of the children's old counting game, "Rich Man, Poor Man, Beggar Man, Thief." For either jingle, heavy emphasis should be placed upon the last word.

It is a story of high finance and low morality, a story of insatiable cupidity but also of incredible stupidity. Its author, Donald Maggin, with his recognized expertise in the fields of business journalism, investment management, manufacturing, and politics, is well qualified to be its chronicler. Maggin might also claim a talent for mystery story writing. Here is a tale in which the reader knows very quickly who the culprits are. Maggin, however, skillfully builds suspense around not "who done it," but rather "how they done it." Even those innocents in the field of "creative finance" (like this reviewer) who have difficulty following his complicated discussions of hedging, debentures, and overcollaterization with that degree of comprehension the book demands are nevertheless held fixed in tense attention as the story unfolds.

Reduced to its most simplistic skeletal framework, this book is a blow-by-blow account of how ESM Government Securities, Inc., a small Fort Lauderdale brokerage house dealing in government securities, joined forces with Home State, Ohio's second largest chain of S & Ls. It was a cozy arrangement by which ESM passed on to Home State its profits to cover the latter's losses, and Home State in turn allowed ESM to borrow its customers' securities to be used as collateral for loans that would enable ESM to speculate in futures. Maggin provides his own summary: "phony bookkeeping, borrowing against customer collateral, huge speculative losses, sybaritic life-styles for the principals" (p. 188). That was the scope of the scam.

The stage for this drama set in Florida and Ohio is so crowded with dramatis personae—both villains and heroes—that the reader frequently loses track of who is who, particularly when the author annoyingly uses first names to refer to individuals first introduced many pages earlier. It is the same problem with identity that one encounters in a large Russian novel.

A few individuals are, however, unforgettable: Ronnie Ewton, the "E" of ESM, super salesman and super consumer of yachts and polo ponies; Jose Gomez, the Alexander Grant accountant who obligingly falsified ESM's books to cover its speculative losses; Steve Arky, the hard-driving Miami lawyer who attempted to give a gloss of legality to ESM's operations; and Alan Novick, "Mr. Inside," described by one lawyer as having "so many balls in the air, there was no air," and who proved to be a far better juggler than he was a speculator (p. 203). With

Novick's death in November 1984, the balls came crashing down. Behind them all was the Dreiserian titan, Marvin Warner, who profited the most from his subordinates' creativity. There are heroes too: Tom Tew, ace receiver of the bankrupt ESM who came like a knight in shining armor to extricate from the toils of the dying dragon as much of its spoils as possible to pay off the innocent investors; and Governor Richard Celeste of Ohio who had the courage to declare a bank holiday in Ohio to prevent the collapse of the entire financial structure of his state.

This book should be required reading not only for those who would understand the 1980s but also for those who seek guidelines for the 1990s. Implicitly Maggin's book is a plea not only for stricter but also for national— not local— standards in respect to depositor insurance, bankruptcy laws, and fiduciary accountability as we struggle with the heritage left us by the recent decade of deregulation of both business and ethics.

Grinnell College

JOSEPH F. WALL

Women in the South: An Anthropological Perspective. Edited by Holly F. Mathews. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989. viii, 161 pp. References, contributors. \$25.00 cloth; \$10.00 paper.)

The notion that the South has its own distinctive culture is as nebulous as it is intuitively convincing. Articles in this collection explore the effects of southern beliefs and traditions on the construction of contemporary gender roles and relations. In her introduction, editor Holly Mathews summarizes the primary traits of southern culture as follows: "Southerners . . . possess a more conservative outlook toward social change, an outlook fostered by the rural, agrarian history of the region. In addition, southerners are predominantly Protestant, and this shared religious orientation permeates day-to-day life. Southerners also share a localism produced by common residence over long periods of time and have a deep regard for the importance of kinship networks and genealogical connections" (pp. 1-2). Against this somewhat static and one-dimensional background, however, are counterpoised the volatile effects of the civil rights and women's movements, as well as the intrusion of the national media and large scale migration into the South of people from other regions.

These contrasting conditions raise questions about whether regional differences in the way women regard themselves, and are regarded by others, are still evident in the modern South. Writers in this volume each address some facet of this question. Selections include: results of a survey with southern women of varying ages and backgrounds about their self-identities; an examination of the images of women in local advertising in New Orleans; a comparison of the attitudes and social strategies of black and white women college students; life-history accounts of black single mothers striving to obtain college educations; comparisons of survey responses by women in the West and South; a description of labor organizing efforts by black women factory workers in Memphis; ethnographic research on support networks among women in the Oklahoma oil fields; a description of the organizations of elite women and men in Charleston; a longitudinal analysis of legislative involvement by women in the South; an examination of gender and ideology in the Southern Baptist church; and a concluding essay that subjectively examines the process of southern women's gender role socialization and the implications of this process for ethnographic research on the region by both men and women.

There is much of interest in these essays, and, in varying degrees, they do lay bare some of the commonalities and contrasts in the experiences of southern women of different class, ethnic, and residential backgrounds. However, the collection fails to deliver on the implicit promise of an anthropological analysis of the relationship between gender and culture in the South. Given the limited number of articles included, gaps are understandable. Beyond that limitation, several of the selections suffer from methodological weaknesses that hinder acceptance of results and conclusions. Those that rely on surveys provide little or no information about sampling, and results tend to be reported anecdotally. Dillman's article, for example, concludes that southern women remain committed to the norms and values of the past and have been little affected by feminism. In the absence of more rigorous methods of data collection and analysis, however, the reader may not find her assessment convincing. Several of the selections are extremely short and have the appearance of fifteen-minute conference papers, which is what they originally

were. Also lacking is any coherent treatment of the relationship between race and gender as principles of stratification in the South. Although the article by Cook and Collins does address these issues, other selections about black women are disappointingly bereft of analyses of competing or parallel conditions that affect southern women and people of color. If, as several scholars argue, the main pivot of southern culture stems from its heritage of slavery and paternalistic domination, this lack of attention would appear to be a serious shortcoming.

University of South Florida

SUSAN GREENBAUM

BOOK NOTES

Doris Bardon and Murray D. Laurie have compiled a firstrate guide to Florida's cultural and heritage attractions entitled Museums & More! It lists more than 200 museums and galleries, eighty dance companies, 250 theater companies, twenty-five symphony orchestras, and many historic sites, gardens, Indian mounds, planetariums, parks, battlefields, performing art centers, theaters, and historic homes that will be of interest both to the visitors and residents of Florida. The book divides the state into twelve geographic areas with maps indicating their location. Each facility or attraction is listed separately. In addition to an explanation of the entry, directions on how to reach the facility are included, and its address and telephone number, hours of operation, admission, if any, and its special features (parking, gift shop, research library, guided tours, lectures, classes, concerts, etc.). The guide is organized in relation to the major highway systems of Florida, and directions are keyed to expressways and the Florida Turnpike whenever possible. Area maps are helpful in locating attractions that are clustered together. Bardon and Laurie visited each attraction, and they describe the facilities based upon their own experiences. Museums & More! A Guide to Florida's Cultural & Heritage Attractions was published by Maupin House, Box 90148, Gainesville, FL 32607; the price is \$15.73, post paid.

The Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Journal of Florida Literature, Volume II, 1989-1990, formerly was The Rawlings Journal. The current issue includes eight articles relating to Mrs. Rawlings and her writings. The authors are Janet L. Boyd, Carol Anita Tarr, Lynne Vallone, Patricia Nassif Acton, Robert E. Snyder, Thomas Dukes, Edna Saffy, and Gordon Bigelow. The last article is based on a conversation that was recorded on tape in St. Augustine during the annual meeting of the Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Society in April 1988. The speakers were Dr. Gordon Bigelow, from the University of Florida; Idella Parker, who worked as a maid for Mrs. Rawlings; and Dessie Smith Prescott, Mrs. Rawlings's friend who took her on hunting and fishing trips. The

Journal of Florida Literature welcomes manuscripts on Rawlings or on any nineteenth- or twentieth-century writer who uses Florida as a focus, locale, or subject. The editor is Rodger L. Tarr, Illinois State University, and the associate editor is Kevin M. McCarthy, University of Florida. Assisting Mr. Tarr is an advisory board made up of scholars in the field of American literature and of individuals devoted to the promotion of the life and writings of Rawlings. The journal is published annually in the spring. Article-length manuscripts and short notes are considered, and submissions should be sent to Dr. Tarr, Department of English, Illinois State University, Normal, IL 61761. Copies of the journal may be ordered from the editor. They are \$10 for institutions, and \$5 for individuals.

Historic Gainesville, A Tour Guide to the Past was edited by Ben Pickard and was published by Historic Gainesville, Inc. It describes 140 significant architectural buildings and historic sites in Gainesville and Alachua County. Included are information and pictures of surviving structures in Gainesville's black and white neighborhoods. A brief history of Gainesville is provided, together with information on the Northeast, Southeast, Pleasant Street, and University of Florida historic districts; the Universityrelated areas; and downtown Gainesville and related structures. There is also a section noting the natural and historic sites in Alachua County and the surrounding area including Micanopy. Newberry, and Melrose. A number of nineteenth-century properties have survived time, neglect, and urban growth. The majority of these have been restored as single-family dwellings or have been converted into apartments. The oldest property in the county, the James B. Bailey house, was begun in 1848 and was completed by slave labor in 1854. Located on Northwest Sixth Street, it is now utilized as a rest home for the elderly. All properties in Gainesville and Alachua County that are listed on the National Register have been included in *Historic Gainesville*. The editor, Professor Ben Pickard, teaches in the Department of English, University of Florida. Most of the pictures were reproduced from the collection of Dr. Mark Barrow of Gainesville. The book sells for \$7.50 and is available from local bookstores.

Pioneer Settlers of Melbourne, Florida, by Fred A. Hopwood, was not intended to be a history of the community. Rather, it is

a collection of reminiscences, memoirs, and some oral tradition associated with the town's history since its establishment in 1888. The author talked with many long-time residents and had the opportunity to examine their scrapbooks, memorabilia, and diaries. One early settler was Edward P. Branch, and his diary was published in the local newspaper. Mr. Hopwood acknowledges that some of the information that he uses in the early part of his book is derived from the Branch columns. *Pioneer Settlers of Melbourne, Florida* may be ordered from the author, Box 443, Melbourne, FL 32936; the price is \$6.

Florida International University's Center for Labor Research and Studies sponsored a symposium, November 18, 1989, entitled "Florida's Labor History." Presenting papers were Robert H. Zieger, Nancy Hewitt, Ben Green, D. Marshall Barry, Jo Applebaum, and Samuel Proctor. Participating in the session, "Recollections From the Past: The Florida Labor Movement from a Personal Perspective," were Andrew E. Dann, Sr., Gene C. Russo, Pernell Parker, Joseph H. Kaplan, Gilbert Porter, Rodney Davis, Charles Hall, and James Sherman. Margaret Wilson, coordinator of the symposium and director of the Center for Labor Research and Studies, edited the proceedings that were published with support from the Florida Endowment for the Humanities. Those interested in the monograph, *Florida's Labor History*, should contact Dr. Wilson, Florida International University, University Park, Miami, FL 33199.

The Battle at the Loxahatchee River: The Seminole War is by John B. Wolf of Jupiter, Florida, a former professor of European history. This monograph describes the skirmish with Seminoles in January 1838. The pamphlet was published by the Loxahatchee Historical Society. It may be ordered from the museum store, 805 U.S. 1 North, Jupiter, FL 33477; the price is \$1.80.

A new edition of *Citrus Growing in Florida*, by Larry K. Jackson, has been published by the University of Florida Press, Gainesville. Louis W. Ziegler and Herbert S. Wolfe were authors of the earlier editions. The United States led the world in citrus production until the late 1970s, and Florida produced more citrus than any country outside of the United States. A series of devastating

freezes and several plant diseases created serious problems for Florida production. The sweet orange was introduced into Florida by the Spanish in 1565. Indians, carrying fruit to their villages, scattered the seeds as they ate the oranges. William Bartram in 1773-1774 found sizable areas covered by wild orange trees. After 1821 when Florida became an American territory, the orange grove planting spread along the St. Johns River and its tributaries. There was major expansion in the 1870s when growers realized the size of the potential market and the ability of satisfying it with Florida fruit. North-central Florida was the center of the citrus industry until the disastrous freezes of 1894-1895 and 1899. The center then moved south into peninsular Florida. Favorable climatic and soil conditions, available transportation facilities, and aggressive promotion activities encouraged production. Population growth in the 1950s and the establishment of Disney World and other tourist attractions in the area spurred rising land values and taxes, and many acres of groves were converted to other uses. California, Alabama, and Texas also are major citrus producers, and Florida has to compete with them for markets. Those interested in the economic history of Florida, especially agriculture, will find this a useful volume. It sells for \$24.95.

The Skinner Miracle is the history of Richard Green Skinner and his descendants who have played major roles in the development of naval stores, real estate, lumber, and dairy industries in Florida. Skinner moved from South Carolina, first to Georgia, and then to Florida, where he established a naval store and turpentine business. Eventually family holdings totalled some 300,000 acres in Duval County. Skinner Brothers Realty Company was formed in 1914 for the purpose of spurring the development of some of this property on the south side of Jacksonville. In 1920, the S. Ben Skinner Dairy was established on Bowden Road. Reorganized as Skinner's Dairy in January 1947, it became one of the most important producers and distributors of dairy products in the area. The Skinner Miracle is a compilation of family history, photographs, and memorabilia. It was edited by John H. Skinner, and the foreword was provided by Dena Snodgrass, former president of the Florida Historical Society. She has written a brief history of Florida from its sixteenth-century beginnings to the twentieth century when the Skinner family arrived. *The Skinner Miracle* was published privately for members of the family. For information about copies or a possible second printing write Judge John H. Skinner, 4286 Baltic Street, Jacksonville, FL 32210.

Henry M. Brackenridge was in Pensacola in 1821 when the American government took possession of Florida. He later became a federal judge for West Florida and superintendent of the Deer Point Naval Live Oak Plantation. To familiarize newcomers with the region. Brackenridge wrote A Topographical Description of Pensacola and Vicinity in 1821. It appeared as a series of newspaper articles, beginning August 25, 1821, in the Pensacola Floridian the town's first paper. Three additional articles followed in October and November. Brackenridge described Pensacola and the surrounding area- Santa Rosa peninsula, Tartar Point, Fort San Carlos de Barrancas, Perdido Bay, and the Escambia River. In December 1829 and January 1830, the Pensacola Gazette reprinted the articles, now with footnotes. Brian R. Rucker has edited the 1829-1830 reprint and has provided endnotes. He notes as well the present (1991) location of sites referred to by Brackenridge, and this will be prized by the reader. Rucker also has written an introductory essay and provided a bibliography and pertinent maps. A Topographical Description was published by Patagonia Press, Box 284, Bagdad, FL 32530. It sells for \$7.95, plus \$1.75 for postage and handling.

President Andrew Jackson— hero of the Battle of New Orleans and governor of West Florida for a few months in 1821— was the subject of a major exhibit at the National Portrait Gallery in 1990. Cosponsor of the exhibit was the Tennessee State Museum of Nashville, Tennessee. The exhibition commemorated the bicentennial of the American presidency. Jackson officiated at the transfer of ownership of Florida from Spain to the United States and helped establish a civil government in the territory. The Second Seminole War began in 1835, during his second term as president. Several years earlier he had signed the Indian removal bill that became one of the major factors leading up to the war, the longest and bloodiest Indian conflict in American history. No portraits or memorabilia in the exhibition directly associate Jackson with Florida, although several portraits painted in 1819 show what he probably looked like when

he was in Pensacola. These include studies by Charles Wilson Peale, Thomas Sully, Samuel Lovett Waldo, John Wesley Jarvis, and Rembrandt Peale. The painting by James Vanderlyn, completed in 1820, hangs in the City Hall Collection, Charleston, South Carolina. The exhibition catalogue, *Old Hickory: A Life Sketch of Andrew Jackson*, by James G. Barber, with an introduction by Robert Remini, traces Jackson from his 1815 victory over the British in New Orleans to his retirement at the Hermitage in Tennessee. *Andrew Jackson: A Portrait Study*, by James G. Barber, is a survey of Jackson's portraiture and the artists— painters, sculptors, engravers, and caricaturists— who captured his likeness. Both books, copublished with the Tennessee State Museum, are available from the University of Washington Press, Seattle, WA. *Old Hickory* sells for \$14.95, and *A Portrait Study* for \$29.95.

When Zora Neale Hurston signed a contract to write a novel concerning life in Florida, she took the \$500 advance and went to Honduras where she produced Seraph on the Suwanee. In the foreword to this paperback reprint, Hazel V. Carby explains Hurston's reasons for writing Seraph. She wanted it to "be a true picture of the South" and a way for her to explain her concept of black-white relationships. Hurston could not sell her book to Hollywood, one of her ambitions. As a black author, she was writing about white people for a white audience. Seraph on the Suwanee is the story of a poor-white Florida family that gradually achieves upward economic and class mobility. When first published, reviews generally were favorable, but not overly enthusiastic. Unfortunately, the book was published at about the same time that Hurston had been arrested on charges arising from allegations of sexual misconduct with a young boy. All charges eventually were dismissed, but by that time, according to her biographer, "the damage had been done." Seraph on the Suwanee is published by Harper Perenniel, a division of Harper Collins publisher. It sells for \$9.95.

Old Mobile, Fort Louis de la Louisiane, 1702-1711, by Jay Higginbotham, has been reprinted by the University of Alabama Press in its Library of Alabama Classics series. Historians have recognized Old Mobile as an important work in the study of Gulf Coast history and American colonial history. Dr. Higginbotham,

director of the Mobile Municipal Archives, has written a new introduction for this reprint volume.

A History of Georgia, first published in 1977, is accepted as the best available history of the state. Its authors are Phinizy Spalding, Kenneth Coleman, F. N. Boney, Charles E. Wynes, William F. Holmes, and Numan V. Bartley. The University of Georgia Press has published a new edition with Kenneth Coleman serving as general editor. It includes events of the 1980s. Also the bibliographies for each section and the appendices have been updated to include scholarship from the last decade. A History of Georgia, Second Edition sells for \$35 cloth; \$25 paper.

From 1775 to 1918, the infantry was the strength of the United States Army. The early wars, including the three wars with the Seminoles in Florida, were infantry wars. Gregory J. W. Urwin, the author of The United States Infantry, An Illustrated History, 1775-1918, notes the action of the Fourth United States Infantry, under the command of General Edmund P. Gaines, against the Negro Fort on the Apalachicola River in 1816. Major David E. Twiggs, Seventh United States Infantry, and 250 soldiers attacked Fowltown, a Seminole village just across the Florida border in November 1817. The Indians retaliated by massacring a boatload of soldiers and civilians on the Apalachicola River a few days later. The War Department ordered General Andrew Jackson to take charge, and, with an army of 500 regulars, 1,000 white militia, and friendly Creek braves, he launched the First Seminole War. When the Second Seminole War began in 1835, the War Department deployed 536 regulars (two infantry and nine artillery companies) and 500 mounted volunteers to Florida. The Dade Massacre, December 28, 1835, involved Major Francis L. Dade of the Fourth Infantry and his officers and men. The Second Seminole War, one of the longest and bloodiest conflicts in American history, cost the lives of 1,466 regulars. The United States Infantry contributed thirty-five officers and 770 men to that death toll. The illustrations by Darby Erd depict the types of uniforms that were worn in Florida at the time. United States Infantry was published by Sterling Publishing Co., Inc., New York, and the price is \$14.95.

A revised edition of Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction in Black America, 1945-1990, by Manning Marable, has been published by the University of Mississippi Press, Jackson. The original work sought to explain the successes and failures of the civil rights and black power movements of the 1960s and 1990s and to determine the reasons for the demise of militancy and activism among blacks. The new edition encompasses the 1980s: Jessie Jackson's presidential campaigns, the victories of Mayor Harold Washington in Chicago in 1983 and 1987, the election of a black as mayor in New York City, and the gubernatorial victory of Douglas Wilder in Virginia. The paperback edition of Race, Reform, and Rebellion sells for \$14.95.

The aboriginal Southeast was a region of linguistic diversity representing five language families- Muskogean, Caddoan, Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Siouan. A number of isolates-languages with no known genetic relatives— also were spoken in the Southeast. Based on historical evidence, several other languages are known to have been spoken in the Southeast, but direct attestations are lacking. Tribes speaking Muskogean languages were the linguistically and politically dominant groups in the area when Europeans made contact. The Mikasuki first appear in written history living near Lake Miccosukee, northeast of Tallahassee. Today most Mikasuki speakers in Florida reside on the Hollywood and Big Cypress reservations and along the Tamiami Trail. The Seminoles living on the Brighton Reservation speak a dialect of Creek. Mikasuki and Seminole are mutually unintelligible languages. In addition to the modern languages, documentary sources exist on two extinct Muskogean languages. The first, Hitchiti, is a dialect of Mikasuki and was spoken by Indians who lived in southern Georgia. The second, Apalachee, was spoken by Indians inhabiting the Gulf coast of northwest Florida. James Constantine Pilling published a series of bibliographies on American Indian languages in the late nineteenth century. Languages of the Aboriginal Southeast, edited by Karen M. Booker, professor of linguistics at the University of Kansas, supplements Pilling's work. Booker's entries are arranged alphabetically by authors or editor and title; the index contains both language and topic headings. The volume was published by Scarecrow Press, Inc., Metuchen, NJ, and it sells for \$32.50.

Lieutenant Colonel Arthur J. L. Fremantle was one of the most perceptive foreign observers who toured the South during the Civil War. Fremantle held two ranks: captain in the Coldstream Guards and lieutenant colonel in the British army. He was an ardent supporter of the Confederacy, and he decided to see for himself "something of this wonderful struggle." He came into the South via Mexico and Brownsville, Texas, in April 1863. His three-month odyssey took him to nine of the eleven Confederate states and many of the principal southern cities. He never came to Florida, although he noted the involvement of the Florida Brigade in the fighting in Virginia. He also met Florida generals Kirby Smith and Loring. Fremantle's diary was published after he returned to England, and Confederate readers were pleased with his warm support for their cause. A paperback edition of the diary is published. It is indexed for the first time. This edition includes an introduction by Professor Gary W. Gallagher, Pennsylvania State University. Published by the University of Nebraska Press, it sells for \$9.95, paper.

Spessard Stone of Wauchula has published *Lineage of John Carlton*, a history of Florida's Carlton family whose members include former Governor Doyle Carlton. The 149-page, softcover book contains detailed genealogical charts and narrative descriptions of this early and influential pioneer family. Interested persons should contact Stone at Route One, Box 255A, Wauchula, FL 33873 (813/773-2275).

Fort Meade was one of interior south Florida's earliest towns and, in the late-nineteenth century, the center of the state's cattle industry. Its story has been recounted in the recently published *History of Fort Meade, Florida* by Robert M. White. The fifty-five-page, illustrated booklet contains interesting information on the community, some of which was derived from interviews with now-deceased early residents and subsequently lost newspaper reports. The work is available for \$5 through the Fort Meade Public Library, 75 East Broadway, Fort Meade, FL 33841.

The Georgia Historical Society announces the publication of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly Index*. It lists persons, places, subjects, titles, and authors appearing in volumes 1-60 (1917-1976). The *Index* also cites photographs, maps, and charts. It is published in a two-volume set, approximately 1,400 pages. The cost in \$85 per set, plus shipping and tax. Order from the Georgia Historical Society, 501 Whitaker Street, Savannah, GA 31499.

HISTORY NEWS

Annual Meeting

The Florida Historical Society will hold its annual meeting in St. Augustine, May 7-9, 1992. The Florida Historical Confederation also will hold its workshops at that time. The theme for the 1992 annual meeting will be "Five Hundred Years of History: Incidents and Interpretations." The program committee invites proposals for papers and sessions. Those wishing to read a paper should submit an outline and a resume to Dr. Eugene Lyon (P.O. Box 631, St. Augustine, FL 32085), chairman of the program committee. Other committee members are Susan R. Parker, St. Augustine Preservation Board; Page L. Edwards, Jr., St. Augustine Historical Society; and Dr. Daniel L. Schafer, University of North Florida.

Society Memberships

The Florida Historical Society is instituting on a trial basis a program offering joint memberships with local historical societies and museums. Full memberships in the Society will continue at the established rates. Four issues of the *Quarterly* will be furnished for \$20 a year, and the *Society Report* for \$5 a year. The purpose of this arrangement is to enable local historical societies and museums to develop joint memberships. The Board of Directors approved a special category of membership for elementary-school-aged children. For \$5 annually, each will receive a new publication called the *Junior Historian*. This membership will start in September 1991 and annually will include three issues of the *Junior Historian*. Sample copies of the journal will be available in September, and requests for copies may be directed to the Florida Historical Society office, University of South Florida, Tampa, FL 33620.

Florida History Research in Progress

Each January issue of the Quarterly contains a listing of Florida history research in progress. Included is Florida work in the fields of history, sociology, anthropology, political science, archaeology, geography, and urban studies. Persons interested in having their research considered for inclusion should notify Samuel Proctor, Editor, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, P. O. Box 14045, University Station, Gainesville, FL 32604-2045, prior to October 1, 1991. Topic, institutional affiliation, and status of the research (continuing study or publication forthcoming) should be noted. Graduate students should indicate whether the research is for a master's thesis or doctoral dissertation.

Prizes and Awards

The Florida Historical Society's 1991 Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History was awarded to Susan R. Parker, University of Florida, for her article, "Men Without God or King: Rural Settlers of East Florida, 1784-1790," which appeared in the October 1990 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The judges were Dr. James Covington, Department of History, University of Tampa; Dr. James Crooks, Department of History, University of North Florida; and Jean Parker Waterbury, St. Augustine Historical Society. The prize is a memorial to Professor Thompson, Florida and southern historian, who was a member of the history faculty, University of Florida. His family established the endowment that supports the annual award.

The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award for 1990 went to Dr. Joseph Frazier Wall, Grinnell College, for his book, *Alfred I. du Pont: The Man and His Family,* which was published by Oxford University Press. The judges were Dr. Nancy Hewitt, Department of History, University of South Florida; Dr. John H. Hann, San Luis Archaeological and Historical Site, Tallahassee; and Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Department of History, University of Florida. Dr. Patrick was secretary of the Florida Historical Society and editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. He was a noted Florida and southern historian who also served as president of the Southern Historical Association.

The Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award was presented to Mary E. Lyons, Charlottesville, Virginia, for her book, *Sorrow's Kitchen: The Life and Folklore of Zora Neale Hurston.* Mrs. Lyons's book was published by Macmillan Publishing Company. The judges for the Tebeau Book Award were Kathleen Arsenault. St.

Petersburg; Page Edwards, Jr., St. Augustine Historical Society; and Janet S. Matthews, Sarasota. Dr. Tebeau is professor emeritus of history, University of Miami, author of *A History of Florida*, and editor of *Tequesta*.

The Florida Historical Society also recognizes outstanding essays in Florida history submitted by graduate and undergraduate students. The LeRoy Collins Prize went to James A. Schnur, a graduate student at the University of South Florida, for his paper, "Academic Freedom and Intellectual Inquiry in Florida's Public Universities, 1956-1964." The winner of the Caroline Mays Brevard Prize was Laurie Lomascolo, an undergraduate student at the University of South Florida, for her paper, "Ormond-on-the-Halifax." The Society also recognizes outstanding essays in Florida history by a middle- or high-school student. The Frederick Cubberly Prize went to Jessica Van Leer-Viscomi of Tavares Middle School in Lake County, for her essay, "The Saga of the Florida Seminole." Ms. Van Leer-Viscomi and her teacher, Steven Farrell, both received a plaque and \$250.

The Society awarded seven Golden Quill Awards, which are given for outstanding media participation relating to Florida history. The recipients are: Florida Public Radio Center; Pensacola *News-Journal;* Stuart McIver, *Sunshine Magazine;* Leland M. Hawes, *Tampa Tribune;* James C. Clark, *Orlando Sentinel;* and WUFT-TV5, University of Florida.

At a ceremony in New York City on May 7, the Society of American Historians awarded the Francis Parkman Prize to Paul E. Hoffman, professor of history at Louisiana State University, for his book, *A New Andalucia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast During the Sixteenth Century,* published by Louisiana State University Press. The award is given annually for the best book dealing with an aspect of the colonial or national history of what is now the United States. Professor Hoffman also received an award for his book in the "Spain and American Quincentennial of the Discovery" competition sponsored by the Spanish Ministry of Culture.

The Georgia Historical Society announces the 1990 winner of the E. Merton Coulter Award, presented annually for the best article published in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*. The award was presented to W. Fitzhugh Brundage of Queen's University,

Kingston, Canada, for his article, "The Darien 'Insurrection' of 1899: Black Protest During the Nadir of Race Relations," which appeared in the Summer 1990 issue. The award includes a \$100 stipend. The winner was announced at the spring meeting of the Georgia Historical Society.

Florida History Fair

Final competition for the tenth annual Florida History Fair exhibit was held at the May 1991 meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Orlando. The winners in the senior division were: Laura Moose, "Chain of Injustice" (Lincoln High School, Tallahassee; teacher, Kathleen McCarron); Jeremy Archer, "National Security and Individual Freedoms" (Eastside High School, Gainesville; teacher, Meta Mixson); L. Christine Fitzsimmons, "Civil Rights during the Kennedy Years" (Eastside High School, Gainesville; teacher, Meta Mixson); Peter Langland, "The 18th Amendment: A Prohibition on Individual Rights" (Eastside High School, Gainesville: teacher, Meta Mixson): Amanda Wise, "The Kent State Incident: Blood on Whose Hands?" (Godby High School, Tallahassee; teacher, Steve Cooper); Shree Visaria, "Plight of the Medieval Leper" (Pensacola High School; teacher, Guy Beard); Emily Chua, "Human Rights in China: A Tienanmen Retrospect" (Stanton College Preparatory School, Jacksonville; teacher, Steve Piscitelli); Lori Fennel, "Religious Liberty and the Amish" (Lincoln High School, Tallahassee; teacher, Kathleen McCarron); Kenneth Scott Phillips and James Turner, "Earl Warren and His Quest for Human Rights" (Stanton College Preparatory School, Jacksonville; teacher, Joel Williams); Linh Ngoc Nguyen, Luis Ortiz, and Le Douglas Johnson, "Gideon v. Wainright: Indigents' Legal Rights Under the Law" (Pensacola High School; teacher, Kent Rettig); Gina Sabetto and John White, "Sobibor Death Camp" (Osceola High School, Kissimmee; teacher, Michael Fletcher); Erin Lombardo, Katy Papagiannis, and Jay Cryer, "Scopes Trial: The Right to Teach" (Leon High Tallahassee: teacher, Norma Hodges): Kavitha Ramachandran, "The Unjust Incarceration of the Japanese-Americans" (Pensacola High School; teacher, Kent Rettig); Traci Carver, "Euthanasia: Right or Wrong?" (Madison County High School, Madison; teacher, Eloise Barrs); Monique Hunter, "Nelson Mandela: The Rights of Man" (Raines Senior High School, Jacksonville; teacher, Dave Kuhn); Jenny L. Warne, "Susan B.

Anthony" (Eastside High School, Gainesville; teacher, Meta Mixson); Margo L. Jones, Casey M. Powell, Michael L. Register, and Natasha Slaughter, "The Decision is Obvious" (First Coast High School, Jacksonville; teacher, Donnese G. Tilley); William M. Young, William S. Pancake, and Robert Szostak, "A Plea for Truth" (Osceola High School, Kissimmee; teacher, Steve Leach); Darrelyl A. Harps, Amy M. Thomas, Katie Moore, Erica L. Eadie, and Stephanie L. Kalb, "Davis v. Davis: The Gathering Storm" (Columbia High School, Lake City; teacher, Keith Hather); Kristin J. Kobes, "Pulling Apart, Pulling Together" (Lincoln High School, Tallahassee: teacher, Kathleen McCarron): Joi S. Buckner, "The Evolution of the Rights of African-American Women" (Stanton College Preparatory School, Jacksonville; teacher, Joanne Liberty); Andrea Carrier, "Eleanor Roosevelt" (Bay High School, Panama City; teacher, Tom Ramos); Ernest Kow, Dennis Skelton, and Noel Fisher, "Civil Rights" (Stanton College Preparatory School, Jacksonville; teacher, G. Allen Rushing); Lynn M. Bosscher and Dana L. Victory, "Eleanor Roosevelt" (Madison County High School, Madison; teacher, Eloise Barrs); and Robert Kinney, Matthew Sexton, Scott Callaway, and Brent Strother, "Flashback" (A. Crawford Mosely High School, Panama City; teacher, Ted Czupryk).

The winners in the junior division were: Anthony Giordano, "Evaluation of Freedom of Speech in the U. S." (Griffin Middle School, Tallahassee; teacher, Kristen K. Wisenall); Tommy Roe, "Susan B. Anthony" (Howard Middle School, Monticello; teacher, Deborah Hurst); Laura Keaton, "ADA: Twentieth Century Emancipation Proclamation" (duPont Middle School, Jacksonville; teacher, Carol Russell); Sydelle N. Coppage, "Equal Rights for Women" (The King's Academy, West Palm Beach; teacher. Donna Haines): Katie Hacht, "The Indian Removal Act of 1830" (Fort White Public School: teacher, Lenora Steadman): Jamie Kruger, "Black Americans: Their Struggle for Equal Rights" (Rock Lake Middle School, Longwood; teacher, John Rafferty); Dawn Ohlson, "The Bill of Rights: U. S. Supreme Court Cases Based on The Bill of Rights Affecting Youth Rights" (New Smyrna Beach Middle School; teacher, Marie Goodrich); Robert Rutland-Brown, "The Bill of Rights: Connecting the Past and the Present" (New Smyrna Beach Middle School; teacher, Kay Brannon); Andrew Bembry, "European Immigration 1890-1910: A Search for Freedom" (Hamilton Middle School, Jasper:

teacher, Jackie Houston); Andrea Boccanfuso and Kim Moring, "The Rights of the Convicts" (Brown Barge Middle School, Pensacola: teacher. Ron Driesbach): James Valenzuela and Robert Holloway, "The Land of the Free?" (Raa Middle School, Tallahassee; teacher, Delia A. Wright); Seth Bloom and Joey Rhodes, "Human Rights of the P.O.W.s" (duPont Middle School, Jacksonville: teacher. Carol Russell): Johanna Bottcher and Lafave Holland, "Simon Bolivar- Liberator and Leader" (Howard Middle School, Monticello; teacher, Marghuerite Bulloch); Jason B. Cohen, "Abraham Lincoln" (Punta Gorda Junior High School; teacher, Barbara Taylor); Lakecia Street, "Sojourner Truth" (Landmark Middle School, Jacksonville; teacher, Kay Selah); Suzanne Heitman. "Dr. Esther Hill Houks" (New Smyrna Beach Middle School: teacher. Dona Greatrex): Genessa Burke. "Elizabeth Cady Stanton" (Punta Gorda Junior High School; teacher, Barbara Taylor); Mary Hollis, Melissa Lilavois, Gretchen Ludwig, Samantha Reckson, Robert Cheung, and Britt Lyman, "The Trial of Anne Hutchinson" (Campbell Middle School, Daytona Beach; teacher, Rosemarie F. DeLuca); Erin P. Murphy, Sara L. Earp, Lugina M. Amato, Erin R. Smith, and Susan L. Phelan, "Freedom of Expression through Music and Dance: USA" (Trinity Catholic School, Tallahassee; teacher, Fred Twomey): Tyson L. Platt. Walter E. Buchanan. Cynthia Brown. Evette Bradley, and Aquilla Lamar, "Rosa Parks" (South Hamilton Elementary School, White Springs; teacher, Tina Kennon); Elizabeth Bottcher, Jessica Kilpatrick, and Valerie Liebald, "Abortion: A Question of Rights?" (Howard Middle, School, Monticello: teacher. Deborah Hurst): John Miller. "Should We Dredge Stump Pass?" (L. A. Ainger Junior High School, Rotunda West; teacher, Francis J. Holleran); Shane Ballman, "Whatever Happened to Prayer in School?" (Neptune Middle School, St. Cloud; teacher, Kevin McLaughlin); Jackson Sieglinger, Marisa Ramirez, Stephanie Owens, Jennifer Brown, and David Amundson, "Keys' Wreckers and the Rights of Salvage" (Horace O'Bryant Middle School, Key West; teacher, Norman A. Davis); Lynn S. Proctor and Tracie L. Manucy, "The Rights of the Disabled" (Griffin Middle School, Tallahassee: teacher, Patricia Gaskin); Jennifer L. Douglas, Shannon L. Clyatt, Rebecca I. Carter, Wade S. Willis, and Hertha M. Ravelo, "Colonial News: The Impossible Dream" (Lake City Middle School; teacher, Kim Lipthrott); and Aaron C. Baillie, Justin Wolf, Allen Mandell, and John Ahearn, "Geneva Man" (Griffin Middle School, Tallahassee; teacher, Patricia Gaskin).

Judges for the History Fair were Eloise Barrs, Madison County; Quinn Wiggins, Alachua County; Cindy Turner, Orlando Sentinel; Jeff Cornett, University of Central Florida; Pam Euston, Fort Lauderdale Historical Society; Jean McNary, Zephyrhills High School; Dee Dee Roberts, St. Lucie County Historical Museum; Paul Steeves, Stetson University; Peggy Durham, Tallahassee; Edward Keuchel, Tallahassee; Page Edwards, Jr., St. Augustine Historical Society; Don Bates, Seminole County Student Museum; Rita Krossber, Fort Christmas Museum; Sallie O'Donnell, Colonial High School, Orlando; Jennifer Hamilton, South Florida Museum; Richard Beattie, Fort Myers Historical Museum; Joseph Knetsch, Tallahassee; Nancy Tierney, Lakeland; Marisa Hirsche, Florida Today; Michelle Alexander, Orange County Historical Museum; Edith Crisp, Tallahassee; Kathleen McCarron, Lincoln High School, Tallahassee; Linda Batman, Altamonte Springs; John Hague, Stetson University; Andrew Brian, The Historical Museum of Southern Florida; Michael Brothers, Museum of Florida History; James Eaton, Florida A & M University; Janice Mchaffey, Putnam County Archives and History Commission; Jack Boves, Lee County Schools; and Eileen Eldridge, Osceola County Schools.

The following Florida state winners competed in the National History Day event held June 14, 1991, at College Park, Maryland: Jeremy Archer, Katie Hacht, Scott Phillips, James Turner, Ernest Kow, Dennis Skelton, Noel Fisher, Margo Jones, Casey Powell, Michael Register, Natasha Slaughter, Andrea Boccanfuso, Kim Moring, Karitha Ramachandran, Linh Nguyen, Luis Ortiz, Le Douglas Johnson, Amanda Wise, Laura Moose, Kristin Kobes, Jackson Sieglinger, Marisa Ramirez, Stefanie Owens, Jennifer Brown, David Amundson, and Jamie Kruger. Amanda Wise received the Best of State Award for her project, "The Kent State Incident: Blood on Whose Hands?" A third place award in the junior division was given to Jamie Kruger for her project, "Black Americans: Their Struggle For Equal Rights," and Jeremy Archer received eighth place for his paper, "National Security and Individual Freedoms."

Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference

Dr. William S. Coker, chairman of the Department of History, University of West Florida, is chairman of the Gulf Coast History conference that will focus on the events relating to the discovery and exploration of the Gulf coast of Florida. The conference will be held October 3-5, 1991, at the Pensacola Hilton Hotel. Participants include J. Larry Allums, Mobile College; Kit C. Carter III, Mississippi University for Women; Marion C. Carter, Alabama Humanities Foundation; Edward J. Cashin, Augusta College; Pamela Corey, Pensacola Junior College; Caleb Curren, Pensacola Junior College; Dean DeBolt, University of West Florida; James M. Denham, Florida Southern College; Hampton Dunn, president, Florida Historical Society; Robin F. A. Fabel, Auburn University; Patricia Galloway, Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Ethan Grant, Auburn University; Diana Jarvis Godwin, Historic Pensacola Preservation Board; Betje Klier, Auburn University; Keith J. Little, Pensacola Junior College; Thomas M. Longton, Mississippi University for Women; John H. Napier III, Ramer, Alabama; James H. O'Donnell III, Marietta College: Mabry Miller O'Donnell, Marietta College: Jerry C. Oldshe, University of Alabama; Brian Rucker, Milton, Florida; Jesus Frank de la Teja, Texas General Land Office; Robert S. Weddle, Bonham, Texas: and John H. Winslow, Florida Atlantic University. For information on the program and registration, contact Dr. Coker, University of West Florida, Pensacola, FL 32514.

Announcements and Activities

Professor Paul D. Scatt Reynolds, professor of history at Wake Forest University, delivered the annual Rembert W. Patrick History Memorial Lecture in March at Guilford College, Greensboro, NC. The lecture honors Professor Patrick, a graduate of Guilford College, who was chairman of the Department of History at the University of Florida. He was the author of books and articles on Florida and the South, and he served as editor of the *Florida Historical* Quarterly.

"Pilots in the Sun," a photographic exhibit commemorating World War II pilot training schools in Lakeland and Avon Park, will exhibit at the Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee, July 1-August 25, and at Embry-Riddle University, Daytona Beach, September 1-October 25. The exhibit catalogue may be ordered from Friends of the Lakeland Public Library, 100 Lake Morton Drive, Lakeland, FL 33801; the price is \$5.

The fifteenth annual Florida Genealogical Society will hold a conference in Tampa. "North, South, East, West— A Place for Everyone" is the theme of the meeting. For information on the program and registration, write the Florida Genealogical Society, Inc., P. O. Box 18624, Tampa, FL 33679.

The *Latino Studies Journal* is seeking articles and manuscripts that contribute to enhancing our understanding of Latino life in the United States. Professor Rodolfo Cortina, director of the Multilingual-Multicultural Center, and Professor Lisandro Perez, chair of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Florida International University, Miami, are members of the editorial board. Manuscripts should be sent to Professor Felix M. Padilla, Department of Sociology, DePaul University, 2323 North Seminary Avenue, Chicago, IL 60614.

The Southeastern American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies invites submissions for its annual article prize competition. An award of \$250 is given for the best article on an eighteenth-century subject published in a scholarly journal, annual, or collection between September 1, 1990, and August 31, 1991, by a member of SEASECS. Send articles in triplicate, postmarked by November 11, 1991, to Professor Milton Klein, 3 Hoskins Library, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN 37996. The 1990 award was presented to Frank Palmeri, Department of English, University of Miami, for "History as Monument: Gibbon's Decline and Fall," published in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 1989.

The Louisiana Historical Association awards the Hugh F. Rankin Award in Louisiana History for the most outstanding essay in Louisiana history or a related field by a graduate student. The award includes a plaque, \$250, and publication in *Louisiana History*. Send submissions to Michael L. Kurtz, Department of History, Southeastern Louisiana University, Hammond, LA 70402. The deadline is November 1, 1991.

The Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts announces research fellowships in southern material culture. Applications should include resume, cover letter, project description, two letters of recommendation, and the preferred dates for residence. Send to Research Fellowship Committee, Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, P. O. Box 10310, Winston-Salem, NC 27108. Applications are accepted year-round.

The Popular Culture Association in the South and the American Culture Association will hold a joint conference, October 3-5, 1991, in Norfolk, VA. For information, contact Ron Buchanan, J. Sargeant Reynolds Community College Western Campus, P. O. Box C-32040, Richmond, VA 23261.

The 1991 Porter L. Fortune, Jr., Symposium on Southern History will take place October 9-11, at the University of Mississippi, Oxford, and will have as its theme "W. J. Cash's *The Mind of the South* After 50 Years." Scholars delivering papers and serving as commentators include Bruce L. Clayton, Allegheny College; Anne Goodwyn Jones, University of Florida; Michael O'Brien, Miami University of Ohio; Orville Vernon Burton, University of Illinois; Armstead Robinson; James Roark, Emory University; Lacy K. Ford, University of South Carolina; Edward L. Ayers, University of Virginia; Linda Reed, University of North Carolina; John Shelton Reed, University of North Carolina; and Bertram Wyatt-Brown, University of Florida. For information about the symposium contact Charles Eagles, Department of History, University of Mississippi, University, MS 38677.

Greenwood Press has begun a new scholarly monograph series, Studies in Historiography. It will focus on all fields and periods of historiography, including individual historians, schools of thought, and historical criticism. Biographies, collected essays, and integrated symposium papers are welcome for consideration. Contact Professor John David Smith, Department of History, North Carolina State University, Raleigh, NC 27695-8108.

Call for Papers

A consortium composed of the National Archives-Southeast Region, Georgia Department of Archives, Southern Labor Archives, Kennesaw State College History Department, Clark-Atlanta University Historical Association, and Georgia World History Association are co-sponsoring a symposium on "World War II: The Homefront in the South" in late spring 1992 at Atlanta, Georgia. The planning committee invites paper or session proposals addressing all facets of the homefront during World War II by December 1, 1991. Send proposals to David Hilkert, National Archives-Southeast Region, 1557 St. Joseph Avenue, East Point, GA 30344.

The Florida College English Association is calling for papers for its annual meeting, January 30-31, 1992. The theme is "Visions/Versions/Variations: Language, Literature, Writing." The conference site is Daytona Beach. Proposals and abstracts (150-200 words) for individual, workshop, and panel presentations are due by September 6, 1991. Send submissions to Fred Standley, Department of English, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL 32306.

The Black Film Center/Archive at Indiana University, Bloomington, is planning a conference for the summer of 1992 to be held in Indianapolis. "In Touch With The Spirit" combines both scholars and film-makers in a multi-disciplinary setting. Film-makers will screen and discuss their films while scholars examine three major genres—documentary, ethnographic, and feature film—from various disciplinary perspectives: film criticism and aesthetics, folklore, ethnomusicology, political science, sociology, anthropology, religious studies, and women's studies. Selected papers presented during the conference will be published. Scholars interested in participating should send one-to two-page abstracts of papers by January 15, 1992, to Dr. Phyllis Klotman, Department of Afro-Amercan Studies, Memorial Hall East, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405.

The editors of the *Southern Quarterly* invite papers on the subjects of the visual arts and artists of the Gulf South— vernacular and professional— with emphasis on the arts in a multicultural society. The papers are to be delivered at a conference at the University of Southern Mississippi in 1992. Papers selected from among these will be published in a special issue of the *Southern Quarterly*. Submissions should be in the form of a proposal of no more than two pages. Deadline is October 1, 1991. Address inquiries and proposals to Stephen Young, *Southern Quarterly*, P. O. Box 5078, University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg, MS 39406-5078.

GREAT EX	PECTATIONS	
1991		
June 16- Sept. 29	"Mosaic: Jewish Life in Florida" (traveling exhibit)	Pensacola, FL
Aug. 26-29	American Association for State and Local History	Dearborn, MI
Sept. 25-29	Society of American Archivists	Philadelphia, PA
Oct. 3-5	Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Pensacola, FL
Oct. 10- Jan. 20	"Mosaic: Jewish Life in Florida"	Orlando, FL
Oct. 10-13	Oral History Association	Salt Lake City, UT
Oct. 16-20	National Trust for Historic Preservation	San Francisco, CA
Oct. 25-27	Southern Jewish Historical Society	Alexandria, VA
Nov. 13- 16	Southern Historical Association	Fort Worth, TX
Dec. 27-30	American Historical Association	Chicago, IL
1992		
May 7-9	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY-90th MEETING	St. Augustine, FL
May 7	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	St. Augustine, FL
Sept. 15- 18	American Association for State and Local History	Miami, FL

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FROM

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, successor, 1902
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