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COVER

Elizabeth Hall, Stetson University, c. 1895, before the addition of its symmetrical wings. *Photograph courtesy Stetson University Archives, DeLand, Florida.*

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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THE LAST SHALL-BE FIRST: NORTHERN METHODISTS IN RECONSTRUCTION JACKSONVILLE

by JOHN T. FOSTER, JR., AND SARAH WHITMER FOSTER

DURING Reconstruction, many northern men and women contributed to Florida's social, political, and economic life. Their efforts— and those of the northern institutions and organizations that supported them— provided immediate assistance to the needy and resulted, as well, in the establishment of churches, schools, and other institutions that endured the test of time.

Nonetheless, most Floridians have gained only a one-dimensional understanding of the contributions of Northerners during Reconstruction, usually through the highly critical eyes of historians such as William Watson Davis. Of them, Davis, a disciple of Columbia University's Dunning School of Reconstruction historiography, wrote: "The failure of the Republican government was . . . incident to the operations of a lot of self-seeking, reckless, shrewd, and grafting politicians, who were in local politics for all they could squeeze out of it, who controlled, by fair means or foul, the ignorant and often vicious negro majorities and therefore controlled the government and therefore the public purse-strings."¹

Within the past two decades, a number of revisionist historians have examined Davis's assessment. Most notably, Jerrell H. Shofner's work, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877*, has reviewed the complicated nature of the Reconstruction era and described the good intentions of Northerners such as Governor Harrison Reed.² Others have begun to note

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1. William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 685.
2. Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974). Richard Nelson Current's *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers: A Reinterpretation* (New York, 1988) also examines Reed's career.

the significant contributions of blacks to the period and to analyze the destructive impact of Democratic Redemption upon substantive Republican initiatives.³ The lives and work of Northerners of the period, though, remain a territory largely unexplored.

Insight as to the contributions of Northerners may be glimpsed from an examination of the Florida work of the Methodist Episcopal Church, often called the northern Methodist Church. Based upon church policy promulgated during and soon after the Civil War, Methodist ministers from the North involved themselves in every aspect of Reconstruction life— religion, education, civil rights, economic development, and politics. From a base in Jacksonville, these individuals— principal among them the Reverend John Sanford Swaim— achieved important successes and exerted a lasting influence beyond that justified by their small numbers.

The Methodist Episcopal Church— as opposed to the separate Methodist Episcopal Church, South— supported the Federal government during the Civil War, and, as the struggle continued, it increasingly became “political.” By the war’s end, the church was a powerful force in national affairs. It was the nation’s “largest and wealthiest denomination,” and it published numerous newspapers and magazines, among them the New York *Christian Advocate* and the *Methodist Quarterly Review*.⁴ At the commencement of its publication, the *Christian Advocate* had “the largest circulation of any weekly newspaper in the world.”⁵ Exercising its influence during the early years of Reconstruction, the church endorsed the Radical Congressional leadership and sought the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson. Its bishops championed the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments to the United States Constitution.⁶

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3. As to blacks, see Joe M. Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877* (Tallahassee, 1965; reprint ed., Tampa, 1973); Peter D. Klingman, *Josiah Walls: Florida's Black Congressman of Reconstruction* (Gainesville, 1976); James C. Clark, “John Wallace and the Writing of Reconstruction History,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 67 (April 1989), 409-27; and Canter Brown, Jr., “Where are now the hopes I cherished? The Life and Times of Robert Meacham,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 69 (July 1990), 1-36. As to Redemption, see Edward C. Williamson, *Florida. Politics in the Gilded Age, 1877-1893* (Gainesville, 1976).
 4. Donald G. Jones, *The Sectional Crisis and Northern Methodism: A Study in Piety, Political Ethics and Civil Religion* (Metuchen, NJ, 1979), 29-30.
 5. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago, 1972), XV, 306.
 6. Jones, *Sectional Crisis*, 299.

The northern Methodist Church accepted a responsibility for Reconstruction far greater than simple political involvement. Some of its ministers already were at work in the South prior to the end of the Civil War, but in late 1866 its bishops had adopted a broad program of action. First published on November 15, 1866, as a statement from the Board of Bishops, the program acknowledged that emancipation had given the church a "fearful responsibility." It reviewed the failure of southern states to take steps toward meeting the needs of freedmen and concluded: "Colored children are growing up in utter ignorance. . . . Christian philanthropy must supply this lack. Religion and education alone can make freedom a blessing." Accordingly, the church authorized the construction of schools for freedmen across the "whole territory of the South" and designated as the "channel" for its work the Freedmen's Aid Society. Collections for the society were solicited, and teachers were asked to volunteer. "The school must be planted by the side of the church," the statement asserted, "[and] the teacher must go along with the missionary." As to timing, it stated, "The emergency is upon us, and we must begin work now."⁷

Instrumental to the church's efforts and to those of the Freedmen's Aid Society were its pastors in the South. They were organized by conferences, and Florida was included in the South Carolina Conference. The "Presiding Elder" of the South Carolina Conference, before his death on September 3, 1871, was Timothy Willard Lewis.⁸ By 1868 his district included thirty-six circuits, 120 "preaching places," 140 preachers, and 15,000 church members.⁹

Many of the northern Methodist preachers, including Lewis, already had worked in the South for a considerable time when the church's program was announced in 1866. Some were hardened by their experiences. By the summer of 1865, for example, Lewis had concluded of white Southerners: "To a man they loathe our Northern idea of liberty and equal rights before the law. . . . The colored people will form the only material for the M. E. church as a rule." As to the future, Lewis found hope in only two alternatives, "death and immigration." Death, he felt,

7. New York *Christian Advocate*, November 15, 1866.

8. *Ibid.*, October 12, 1871.

9. *Ibid.*, May 21, 1868.

would remove Southerners incapable of change, while immigration hopefully would bring into the region Northerners with more flexible attitudes.¹⁰ Lewis's beliefs foreshadowed the course that was to be followed by his ministers.

When Presiding Elder Lewis reported his views in the summer of 1865, John Sanford Swaim already was working for the church in Florida. Born in Chatham, New Jersey, on May 1, 1806, Swaim had served as an ordained minister for over thirty years.¹¹ His career had been a distinguished one and had led to his selection in 1856 as conference delegate to the church's supreme governing body, the General Assembly.¹² Late in 1862, however, Swaim's daughter died of tuberculosis, and thereafter the minister's own health declined.¹³ By the spring of 1864, due to respiratory problems, he had been classified among the inactive clergy.¹⁴ The condition persisted until his death a decade later.¹⁵

The decline of Swaim's health coincided with the beginnings of an effort by New Jersey Bishop Edmund S. Janes to send disabled clergy to warmer climates. Hoping that the southern environment would prove more healthy for his ministers, Janes assigned them to serve as pastors to Federal troops and to freed blacks. In 1864, he included Swaim in the program and posted him to Jacksonville.¹⁶ Swaim was joined there in August by his brother-in-law, Wesley Robertson, who also was a disabled minister. Unfortunately, Robertson's presence in Florida was brief. He contracted typhoid fever and died on November 3, 1864.¹⁷

That Swaim would be sent as far south as Florida was unusual. Prior to the war, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had exercised a "monopoly" over Methodism in the state. When the

10. *Ibid.*, June 8, 1865.

11. *Minutes of the Newark Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1876* (New York, 1876), 52.

12. For additional biographical information on Swaim, see John T. Foster, Jr., and Sarah W. Foster, "John Sanford Swaim: A Life at the Beginning of Modern Florida," *Methodist History* 26 (July 1988), 229-40; Matthew Simpson, *Cyclopedia of Methodism* (Philadelphia, 1882), 393.

13. *New York Christian Advocate*, January 22, 1863.

14. *Minutes of the Newark Conference*, 52.

15. John Sanford Swaim diary, 1866-1867, collection of the authors (hereafter, Swaim diary).

16. *Minutes of the Newark Conference*, 52.

17. *The New Jersey Conference Memorial, Containing Biographical Sketches of All Its Deceased Members* (Philadelphia, 1865), 511.

denomination split over the issue of slavery in 1844, for instance, all thirty-two preachers in the conference that included south Georgia and Florida joined the new southern church.¹⁸ Even during Reconstruction, as one historian has reported, “[most] northern missionaries confined their energies north of a line running east and west through Atlanta.”¹⁹

Tentative steps toward a northern-church presence in the coastal Southeast had been taken in the autumn of 1862 when Timothy Willard Lewis was appointed to the South Carolina Sea Islands. Lewis had organized a church at Beaufort and preached to Federal troops in both South Carolina and Florida.²⁰ The numbers of those who followed in Lewis’s steps never were great, however. One scholar estimated that, from 1865 to 1873, “the rock bottom guess was fifty [northern ministers]” joined southern conferences of the church. Given that fact, ministerial positions often were filled with former pastors of the southern church, many of whom had been Unionists. In Georgia, for example, Methodist Episcopal ministers born in the South outnumbered their northern counterparts thirty-five to six. Even so, power within the northern Methodist Church in the South remained in the hands of northern preachers, and, in the words of church historian Ralph Morrow, “presiding elderships and pastorates of the largest churches were [filled] with Northerners.”²¹

John Swaim, of course, was a northern minister, and his potential for leadership and influence was enhanced by that fact. Other factors assisted him, as well. Of particular importance were his relationships within the hierarchy of the church. Based upon personal acquaintance, he maintained direct correspondence with church bishops and, in turn, was the recipient of their financial and personal support. Some church leaders sought out Swaim for personal consultations. Bishop Baker and Presiding Elder Lewis did so in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1866. Lewis earlier had met with Swaim in Jacksonville. The discussions

18. Charles T. Thrift, Jr., *The Trail of the Florida Circuit Rider* (Lakeland, 1944), 97.

19. Ralph E. Morrow, *Northern Methodism and Reconstruction* (East Lansing, MI, 1956), 41.

20. New York *Christian Advocate*, February 19, 1874.

21. Morrow, *Northern Methodism*, 48-49, 54.

ranged from Swaim's relationship with the church in New Jersey to "all missionary affairs."²²

Additionally, Swaim's posting at Jacksonville enabled him to know well most of the state's early and important Republicans. Specifically, he was friends with Florida's first Republican national committeeman, Calvin L. Robinson, and with future governors Harrison Reed and Ossian Bingley Hart.²³ When the Union Republican Club of Jacksonville, precursor of the Florida Republican party, was organized in Hart's law office on April 4, 1867, Swaim likely was present. He was admitted to full membership on May 9, 1867.²⁴ Swaim eulogized Hart at his burial seven years later.²⁵

Swaim's ministry at Jacksonville evolved through several distinct phases, and the first was considerably more humble than his later role as intimate of Florida's most influential politicians. When he arrived in Jacksonville in 1864, the town presented, in one resident's words, "a most melancholy sight."²⁶ Successive occupations by Union and Confederate forces had left it a shambles, with many of its homes, businesses, and churches burned by one side or the other. In February its Union occupying forces had suffered defeat at the Battle of Olustee, and in August they again were defeated at Gainesville. In certain respects Jacksonville was a town under siege, and the morale of its garrison, many of them black, could not have been high.²⁷

In Jacksonville, Swaim served formally as a member of the United States Christian Commission, an interdenominational, voluntary organization whose work was "similar to that of chaplains."²⁸ In that capacity he preached to mostly black troops. Among those attending his church in November 1864, for in-

22. In 1866, Swaim received almost \$4,000 in bank drafts from Bishop Baker. In a cash-starved economy the amount was significant. Swaim diary, entries of May 14, June 4, 1866, and January 2, 1867.

23. *Ibid.*

24. Peter D. Klingman, *Neither Dies Nor Surrenders: A History of the Republican Party in Florida, 1867-1970* (Gainesville, 1984), 17; "Constitution and Proceedings of the Union Republican Club of Jacksonville," misc. mss. collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

25. Jacksonville *Tri-Weekly Florida Union*, March 24, 1874.

26. Jacksonville *Tri-Weekly Florida Sun*, January 29, 1876.

27. James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town: An Illustrated History of Jacksonville* (Jacksonville, 1982), 139-50.

28. Frederick Norwood, *The Story of American Methodism* (Nashville, 1974), 243.

stance, were soldiers of the Third United States Colored Troops of Pennsylvania and the Thirty-Fourth and Thirty-Fifth United States Colored Troops.²⁹ Some services likely were segregated by race, but as late as March 4, 1866, Swaim noted an integrated congregation.³⁰

During this early period, Swaim performed a ministry of mercy for 3,300 former Union prisoners of war from the infamous camp at Andersonville, Georgia. During the closing weeks of the conflict, these men had been shipped back and forth across south Georgia and north Florida. First, they had been ordered to Thomasville, but were returned to Andersonville. Soon after arrival, they again were carried to Thomasville, then forwarded to Tallahassee and, ultimately, east to the rail junction at Baldwin. There, the Confederate guards learned of General Joseph E. Johnston's surrender of the Army of Tennessee to General William T. Sherman.³¹ Abruptly, the southern commander, James Ormond, decided to abandon his prisoners.³²

News of the presence of the Union prisoners reached Jacksonville's Federal occupying forces on April 28, 1865, and a train quickly was dispatched to bring them into town.³³ During "five to twenty-five months" imprisonment, they had been exposed to weather and to "smoke from pitch pine fires." Their skin was "blackened," and their "wretchedness" further was accentuated by an "absence of the razor and of combs and brushes." Many who arrived at Jacksonville "were without shirts" and some had no pants. Not a few were clothed only by "a very shabby pair of drawers." Physical appearance was not their only problem. The symptoms of scurvy were epidemic, brought about by a diet of "2 inches of bad bacon and a pint of coarsely ground corn

29. *History of the Ebenezer United Methodist Church* (Jacksonville, 1982). Jacksonville's Ebenezer United Methodist Church was founded by John Swaim as the Zion Methodist Episcopal Church.

30. Gerald Schwartz to John T. Foster, March 19, 1863, collection of the authors; Swaim diary, entry of March 4, 1866.

31. Newark *Daily Advertiser*, May 30, 1865.

32. Alice Strickland, "James Ormond, Merchant and Soldier," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 41 (January 1963), 220. See also Ovid L. Futch, *History of Andersonville Prison* (Gainesville, 1968), 116.

33. After the prisoners arrived in Jacksonville, Union officers asked to meet their Confederate counterparts at White House, just west of Jacksonville on the Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central Railroad line. The purpose was "to receive receipts for the prisoners." According to James Ormond, the meeting with the Union officers ended up a "jolly and merry" party." Newark *Daily Advertiser*, May 30, 1865; Strickland, "James Ormond," 220.

meal, cob and all." Common also were "sore and swollen feet and limbs . . . [and] sore hands and lips." Reportedly, "one poor fellow ha[d] a portion of his face eaten away."³⁴

Swaim cooperated with Union officials in receiving and caring for the prisoners. A bath in the St. Johns River came first for many. According to the minister: "[The] commissary sent out an abundance of good soap: then the Quartermaster issued clothing, and they were clad from head to foot. Stacks of old and tattered duds were piled beyond the camp, and for more reasons than because they were dirty, were burned." Once clothed and fed, the men who were able sought information and an opportunity to contact their loved ones. They especially wanted news of the many Union victories "of which they had heard little or nothing." Swaim's office was "thronged, till everything in the shape of book or tract or paper was given out." When the men began writing letters, he quickly handed out his complete supply of 1,000 envelopes and then pleaded with local merchants for the donation of additional writing materials.³⁵

Not all the former prisoners were so lucky as to be able to read and write. When transports from Hilton Head and Port Royal carried away the bulk of the men on May 16, 200 remained behind at Jacksonville. Most were "too ill to move." Within two weeks, "thirty died, and quite a number were deemed past recovery." Their deaths were a blow to Swaim. "It is sad to know," he wrote, "that so many, after enduring terrible treatment, should die, just now, as they were beginning to have the hope of seeing home."³⁶

With the departure of the prisoners, Swaim's life and ministry changed. The war had ended, and the remaining occupation troops for the most part were withdrawn. His attention, necessarily, turned to Jacksonville's civilian population, white and black. On February 18, 1866, he and Presiding Elder Lewis organized the Zion Methodist Episcopal Church.³⁷ When its trustees were elected on May 8, they included— in addition to Calvin Robinson— three blacks, Lyman A. Anders, David Pettie, and Alex

34. Newark *Daily Advertiser*, May 30, 1865.

35. Ibid.; United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, DC, 1880-1901), series 1, XLVII, part 1, 166-67.

36. Newark *Daily Advertiser*, May 30, 1865.

37. *History of Ebenezer United Methodist Church*.

Loften. Anders was a local minister; Pettie was a carpenter; and Loften had been a property-owning freedman in Jacksonville before the war.³⁸

At this early date Swaim already evidenced a sensitivity to and concern for the desires of the blacks with whom he worked. In selecting the site for the church, he sought the advice of Anders.³⁹ When he bid the work, Pettie was invited to participate.⁴⁰ Later in the year when the trustees made a decision against Swaim's advice, he followed their wishes. "We could not do what we wanted," he noted in his diary.⁴¹ Such behavior contrasted with that of missionaries in other parts of the South. Blacks at Hampton, Virginia, for instance, usually were not consulted. The town's Hampton Institute, alma mater of Booker T. Washington, had been envisioned as a "white school for black students, requiring no input from the black community."⁴²

With Anders's help, a site for the church was selected at the corner of Ashley and Hogan streets. On May 22, 1866, construction was begun, and for almost a month Swaim carefully supervised every detail of the building. When problems developed because the carpenters "cut the wrong stuff," Swaim was on hand to keep the work moving along. By June 15 the rafters were in, and the workers "went to boarding up the gable ends." Nine days later he recorded: "I went and opened Sunday School in the new church. There were 18 boys and 31 females. Sunday School was followed by preaching by Brother John Earl. It was a good meeting and a good congregation. At 3 o'clock, I preached a dedicatory sermon on 'I will glorify' to a fine congregation. There was good attendance— a pleasant affair. The collections and subscriptions totaled \$97.65. In the evening, Brothers Wright and Johnson spoke to a larger congregation. Twenty-five or thirty came to the altar for prayers. It was a memorable day for the black people of Jacksonville."⁴³ Significantly, Swaim had shared the pulpit that day with local blacks, including Louis Wright, the church's steward.

38. Swaim diary, entry of May 8, 1866.

39. *Ibid.*, entry of May 22, 1866.

40. Pettie's bid came in \$50 higher than that of competitor Glenn Simmons, and, as Swaim noted in his diary, "Brother Simmons got the job." Swaim diary, entry of May 21, 1866.

41. *Ibid.*, entry of November 9, 1866.

42. Robert F. Engs, *Freedom's First Generation* (Philadelphia, 1979), 147.

43. Swaim diary, entries of May 22, 23, June 15, 24, 1866.

Reflecting the northern church's interest in education for freedmen, Swaim broadened his community activities beyond preaching and church building. Even before adoption of the bishops' statement in November 1866, he was visiting area schools established by a secular freedmen's aid society, the National Freedmen's Association of New York. By May 1866 he had extended his efforts out of Jacksonville and had visited the association's schools and teachers at Gainesville. Back home, he took personal responsibility the following winter for reserving firewood for Jacksonville's black schools.⁴⁴

Already Swaim was developing a philosophy closely aligned with that of his presiding elder, Timothy Willard Lewis. He saw around him the many needs of the community and its citizens, white and black. He felt also the hostility of many whites. As was noted not long after: "The work [of the northern Methodist Church] was despised and rejected by [white] Southern people generally. Public sentiment was fiercely antagonized to it."⁴⁵ From the experience, the minister forged a personal commitment to changing Florida.

Swaim's goals, in line with Lewis's ideas and the agenda of his national church, were two-fold. First, he sought a state "founded on the eternal principals of freedom and equal rights." The key to that goal— after enactment of the First and Second Reconstruction acts guaranteeing blacks the vote— was to attract enough Northerners to the state to ensure a Republican majority. "We want a few thousand more Yankees to outvote them," he wrote a New Jersey newspaper, "and hold them as a helpless minority, and then we can manage things for the real advantage of the country."⁴⁶ Educational opportunity was the second of his goals and was intended to reinforce social and political change. "Free schools must go hand in hand with free labor," he asserted, "if the South is to compete successfully with northern and western portions of the republic."⁴⁷

As mentioned, Swaim was involved deeply with Florida's new Republican party. Unlike some of his contemporaries, however, he believed that forging a multi-racial voter coalition required

44. *Ibid.*, entries of May 12, 14, 1866.

45. *Methodist Quarterly Review* 54 (January 1872), 105.

46. Newark *Sentinel of Freedom*, January 7, 1868.

47. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1868.

easy accessibility to political office for blacks, as well as for whites. "It would be a mistake to suppose there is no practical [black] talent here," he informed friends in New Jersey. "There may be very few polished experts in parliamentary practice, but there is a good deal of that which is an excellent substitute— sound, sterling common sense." Also unlike some of his fellow Northerners, the pastor favored prominent office for capable southern loyalists. He worked particularly to forward the career of Jacksonville native Ossian B. Hart who, Swaim believed, "[was] one of the ablest lawyers in the state."⁴⁸

Central to Swaim's conception of Florida Republican politics was immigration of Northerners to the state. To inform prospective settlers of its virtues, he commenced as early as 1865 writing articles for New Jersey newspapers.⁴⁹ For those interested in agriculture, he described opportunities in winter vegetables, citrus, and timber. For the ill and indisposed, he wrote about "the' healthiest climate in the whole land."⁵⁰ In all, eleven separate articles were published in the Newark, New Jersey, *Sentinel of Freedom* during 1865-1868. Each was reprinted in the *Newark Daily Advertiser*, doubling their impact.⁵¹

A close relationship had existed for decades by the 1860s between many Jacksonville residents and New Jersey, specifically the Newark area. United States District Judge Philip Fraser, for example, was a native of Elizabeth, New Jersey.⁵² Ossian Hart's wife, Catherine, was from Newark. Her uncle, Obediah Congar, also a former Jerseyite, was Jacksonville's mayor in 1844, as was Fraser in 1855.⁵³ Building upon those and similar connections, Swaim's articles likely stimulated tourism and, perhaps, some immigration. The year after the last of the articles was published, a visitor to St. Augustine found: "Not less than ten persons from Newark were at the Florida House at one time. Throughout the

48. Ibid.

49. John T. Foster, Jr., Herbert B. Whitmer, Jr., and Sarah W. Foster, "Tourism Was Not the Only Purpose: Jacksonville Republicans and Newark's *Sentinel of Freedom*," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 63 (January 1985), 318-24.

50. Newark *Sentinel of Freedom*, January 7, 1868.

51. Foster, Whitmer, and Foster, "Tourism Was Not the Only Purpose."

52. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 4.

53. [Emma F. R. Campbell], *Biographical Sketch of Honorable Ossian B. Hart, Late Governor of Florida, 1873* (New York, 1901), 5; T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity, 1513 to 1924* (Jacksonville, 1925; reprint ed., Jacksonville, 1990) 293.

state Jersey men may be found at almost every hotel and boarding house.⁵⁴ In 1870, another man observed: "New Jersey is well represented at every point [in Florida], and Newark has her proportion of sons and daughters to do her credit. No less than six Newarkers are in [Green Cove Springs] at present."⁵⁵ Mandarin, north of Green Cove Springs, also boasted the winter homes of many Northerners. While the most famous of them was Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the community included a number of Jerseyites.⁵⁶

Swaim's attempt to promote Florida may have influenced the authors of Florida's Constitution of 1868 to create a position of state commissioner of lands and immigration. His friends and fellow-Jacksonville Republicans Harrison Reed and Ossian Hart were instrumental in drawing the document.⁵⁷ Reed's first two addresses as governor touched upon the subject, and his commissioner, J. S. Adams, quickly was ordered to "prepare a pamphlet of 100 to 150 pages, setting forth the resources and advantages of every portion of the state."⁵⁸ Swaim's letter-writing campaign ended just as Adams's work began.

Whether Swaim's attempts to induce immigration were successful or not, Jacksonville grew rapidly in the late 1860s, and soon it was one of the state's largest cities. By 1874 Republican Congressman William J. Purman had described it as "an enterprising Yankee town in the South" that was "really a Northern city in a Southern latitude."⁵⁹ With the growth, the numbers of white northern Methodists increased, and a new church was organized with Swaim as its pastor. Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church's first board of trustees was selected in February 1870 and included Swaim, Robinson, and Hart. Two lots were purchased at the corner of Laura and Monroe streets, and a small, two-story frame sanctuary and parsonage was erected. The church's appearance was spare, and evergreen branches, rather than plaster, covered its walls for Swaim's first sermons.⁶⁰

54. Newark *Sentinel of Freedom*, March 23, 1869.

55. *Ibid.*, February 1, 1870.

56. *Ibid.*, April 23, 1873, March 3, 1874; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 77.

57. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 182-83.

58. Florida *Senate Journal* (1869), 10.

59. Quoted in Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 264.

60. The first Trinity M. E. Church building was destroyed by fire in 1880. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 22, 1949; *A Brief History of Snyder Memorial United Methodist Church, 1870-1970* (Jacksonville, 1970), 2.

Although Trinity M. E. Church's congregation was white, the interests of its pastor and members extended to the needs of Jacksonville's blacks. Pursuing the second of his long-held goals, the need for educational opportunities, Swaim made the church available for night classes for blacks not long after it was opened. The courses offered were intended to prepare blacks for the ministry and were taught by the Reverend Samuel B. Darnell and his wife. "We have our college and theological seminary already started," a supporter boasted in July 1872.⁶¹

In 1873 the school's backers added courses for blacks interested in teaching. By late spring, with Swaim's support, a meeting was called to formalize its organization. On that occasion and with Swaim serving as chairman, trustees and officers were selected for the Cookman Institute, "the first school of higher education of Negroes established in the State of Florida, and for a long time . . . the only school of its kind in the State."⁶² The institution's leadership included local northern Methodists such as Robinson and Hart, and national Methodist Episcopal figures Bishop Matthew Simpson and the head of the church's Freedmen's Aid Society, R. S. Rust.⁶³

Cookman Institute grew rapidly in the years following its organization. An 1876 visitor traveling with Rust found it thriving. "There are sixty pupils, part of them boarders," he reported, "and there is a need for a building to accommodate a hundred and fifty to two hundred pupils." A student selected "randomly" from the algebra class displayed knowledge "that would have done credit to pupils in any of our schools of the North."⁶⁴ Twelve years later the institute's student population had increased to a combined total of 167 in its academic and normal departments, and the curriculum included preparatory studies in "law, medicine and the ministry."⁶⁵ One historian of Florida schools concluded that its students received an "excellent" preparation and went on to careers "in all sections of the South." Among its graduates were "four leading colored physicians in

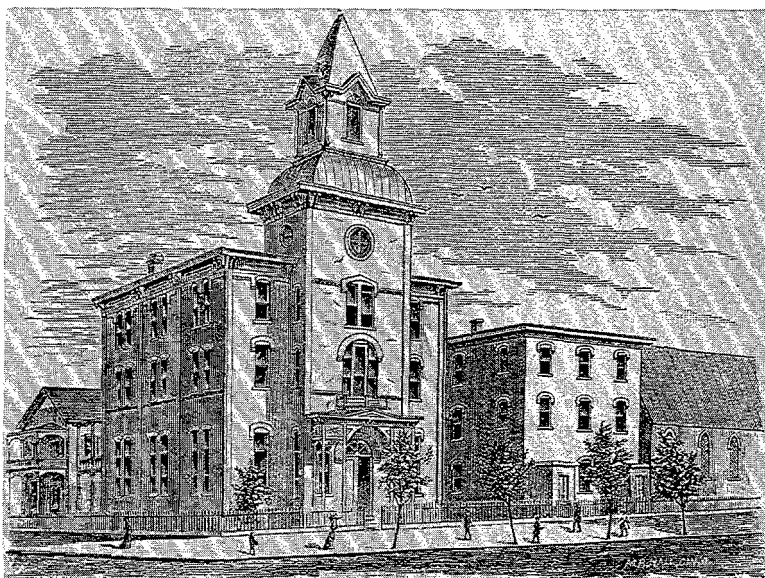
61. New York *Christian Advocate*, August 1, 1872.

62. Ibid., June 12, 1873; Jay S. Stowell, *Methodist Adventures in Negro Education* (New York, 1922), 77-78.

63. New York *Christian Advocate*, June 12, 1873.

64. Ibid., March 2, 1876.

65. George Gary Bush, *The History of Education in Florida* (Washington, DC, 1889), 26; Stowell, *Methodist Adventures*, 79.



Cookman Institute, Jacksonville, c. 1898. This building, destroyed in the Jacksonville fire of 1901, was located at the corner of Hogan and Beaver streets. Reproduced from *The Bi-ennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida for two years, 1898*. Courtesy Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.

Jacksonville” and “L. W. Livingstone, U. S. Consul to Haiti.” Bishop Abram Grant of the Florida African Methodist Episcopal Church “began to read his primer at Cookman.”⁶⁶

Although Jacksonville’s northern Methodists were deeply interested in black education, their contributions extended as well to public schooling for white children. T. Frederick Davis has noted that Duval High School opened in 1875 with John Swaim’s son, Matthias Freeman Swaim, as its first principal.⁶⁷ Another local historian has suggested that previous to that date a public elementary school known as the Duval Graded High School was in operation.⁶⁸ Likely, the school actually was a secondary school as early as September 30, 1874, when the younger Swaim was

66. J. Irving E. Scott, *The Education of Black People in Florida* (Philadelphia, 1974), 41; W. N. Harshorn, *An Era of Progress and Promise* (Boston, 1910), 183.

67. Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 420.

68. James C. Craig, “Florida’s First High School,” *Papers of the Jacksonville Historical Society* 3 (1954), 100.

appointed "Principal of Duval High School." The appointment was a popular one, and the local newspaper described Swaim as "a gentleman of fine education and culture [who] will fill the position with honor and dignity."⁶⁹

The hopes placed in Matthias Swaim's abilities were realized. Two years later, another Jacksonville paper noted that the public schools were held in "high esteem by the people, proof of the ability of the management."⁷⁰ An 1888 assessment of high schools in Florida found the few that existed during the 1870s to be of a quality that could not be "compared favorably with schools in the other states." The report added, however, "An exception to that should be made for the high school in Jacksonville." The quality of its programs was "scarcely inferior to the colleges of the state."⁷¹

This story of educational development reveals a pattern that also occurred in the building of the city's northern Methodist churches. Florida's Methodist Episcopal Church, in fulfilling its institutional commitment to education, put the "last first" and the "first last." At a time when institutions of higher education were scarce, the church founded Cookman Institute before Duval High School, although both opened in the same building, Trinity M. E. Church.⁷² It also ensured that both were led by competently trained M. E. ministers. Samuel Darnell was a graduate of Drew Seminary, now Drew University. Matthias Swaim, also a northern Methodist minister, studied at Pennington Seminary, presently a New Jersey preparatory school.⁷³

Jacksonville's northern Methodist ministers implemented church programs, but their concerns and actions often predated official policy. John Swaim's involvement in black schools, for example, came before the formation of the Freedmen's Aid Society and the bishops' November 1866 statement of policy. The ministers' actions also at times went far beyond their clerical

69. Matthias Swaim served at Duval High School into the 1876-77 school year. He remained in the community through 1878, but his whereabouts thereafter are unknown. Jacksonville *New South*, September 30, 1874; Jacksonville *Florida Union*, October 3, 1876; Jacksonville *Daily Sun and Press*, March 7, 1878; Duval County, Marriage Records, Book 4, 832 (available on microfilm at Florida State Archives, Tallahassee).

70. Jacksonville *Florida Union*, October 3, 1876.

71. Bush, *History of Education*, 30.

72. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 22, 1949.

73. New York *Christian Advocate*, March 6, 1873.

duties in the interest of carrying out those policies. Timothy Willard Lewis was advocating immigration in 1865, and, within months, Swaim was publishing articles in the hopes of stimulating northern interest in Florida. Active involvement in politics was a logical, if controversial, next step.

These institutional and personal actions significantly affected Jacksonville and the state of Florida. Both Jacksonville churches established by John Swaim continue in operation. Zion M. E. Church today is Ebenezer United Methodist Church, and Trinity M. E. Church is Snyder Memorial Methodist Church.⁷⁴ Cookman Institute in 1923 was combined with a Daytona Beach school and today is known as Bethune-Cookman College.⁷⁵ Duval High School was so successful that, in the 1920s, it was replaced by three new schools.⁷⁶

As to the state, northern Methodists helped bolster its depressed Reconstruction economy through their work for immigration and tourism. One of Swaim's obituaries even credited him as "largely" responsible for the "influx" of tourists.⁷⁷ Church member Calvin Robinson was eulogized for contributing to the state's growth by attracting "loans and permanent investments."⁷⁸ Two other members, Harrison Reed and Ossian Hart, were elected governor and today are regarded as outstanding leaders of the period.

Clearly, the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Northerners it sent to Florida, such as John Sanford Swaim, made positive and permanent contributions to the state. Generations have benefitted from their efforts to link religion, education, and politics during a troubled era, and Floridians will continue to do so for generations to come. Despite these facts, many modern Southerners continue to view them simply as "carpetbaggers." This stereotype, beyond being shallow and misleading, is an injustice to these men and women and hinders our understanding of Reconstruction in Florida.

74. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 22, 1949.

75. Scott, *Education of Black People*, 42, 55.

76. Duval High School held its last commencement on June 9, 1927. During 1926-1927, Robert E. Lee, Andrew Jackson, and Julia Landon high schools had been constructed. Earlier in the 1920s, Kirby Smith and John Gorrie high schools also were established. Jacksonville Historic Landmarks Commission, *Jacksonville's Architectural Heritage: Landmarks for the Future* (Jacksonville, 1989), 120, 133, 198, 269, 369.

77. *Minutes of the Newark Conference*, 52.

78. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 5, 1887.

THE HISTORIC STETSON UNIVERSITY CAMPUS IN DELAND, 1884-1934

by SIDNEY JOHNSTON

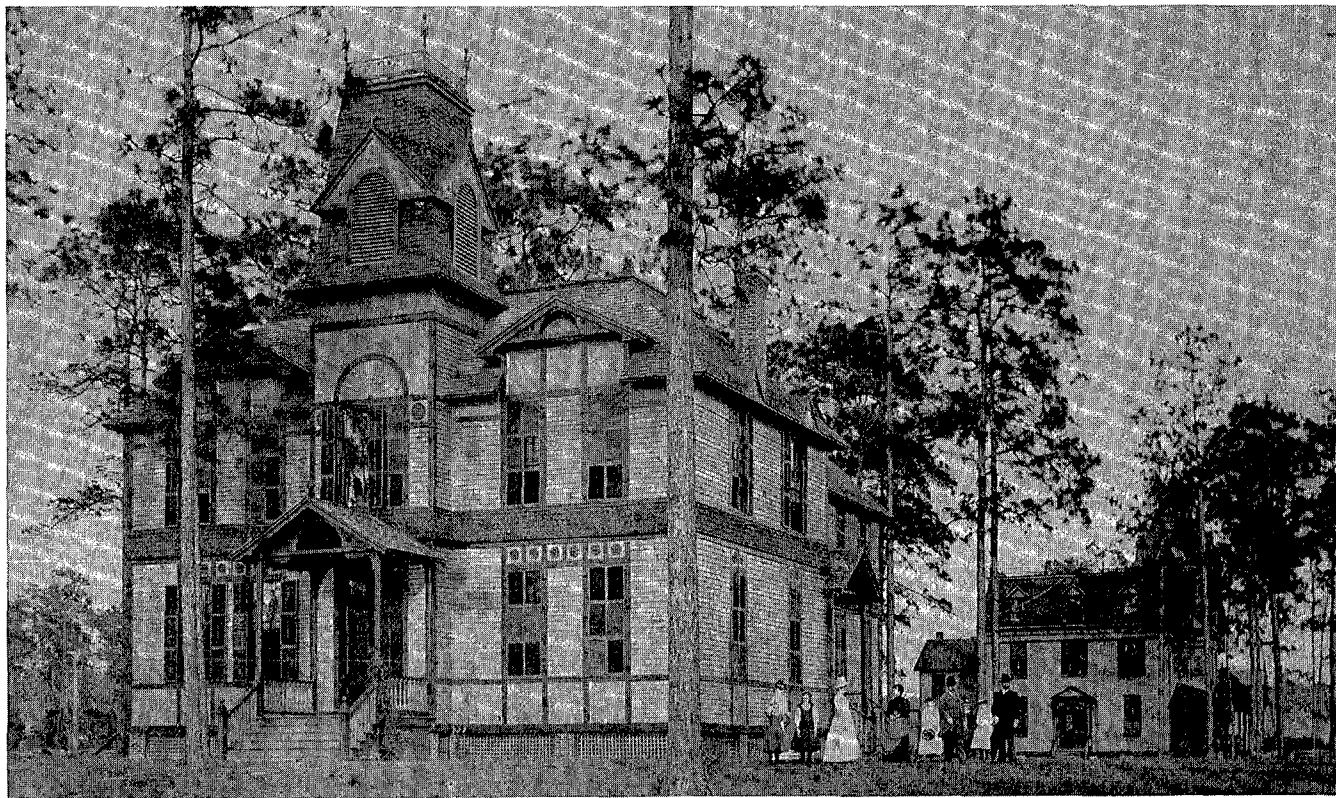
STETSON University in DeLand, established in 1883, is the oldest continuously operating university in Florida associated with its original site. The campus, which occupies an area three-blocks square, is significant as one of the state's few education-related landscapes that contains buildings constructed in the late-nineteenth century.

Stetson's development occurred at a time when Florida's education system was expanding and when both state-supported and private colleges were struggling for existence, competing for faculty and students. At the time, educational institutions in Gainesville, Lake City, Tallahassee, Bartow, St. Petersburg, and DeFuniak Springs received some state support. In 1905, the Buckman Act completely reorganized the state's system of higher education. All existing state schools were abolished, and in their place three new institutions were created— a school for white males located in Gainesville, a school for white females in Tallahassee, and a coeducational institution for blacks also in Tallahassee.¹

During the decades immediately preceding passage of the Buckman Act, several privately funded institutions, including Stetson, underwent various changes of name and affiliation. Founded during the period were: Rollins College, in Winter Park (1885); St. Leo College, in San Antonio (1889); and Florida Southern College (1893). Florida Southern was located in three

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1. Samuel Proctor, "The University of Florida: Its Early Years, 1853-1906" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1958), 465, 479-92; Gilbert L. Lycan, *Stetson University: The First 100 Years* (DeLand, 1983), 1-10, 156; George Gary Bush, *History of Education in Florida* (Washington, DC, 1889), 4-5, 28-52; Charlton Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 305-08.



DeLand Hall, c. 1890, with several faculty and families near the side of the building. Stetson Hall is in the distance.

different communities before it settled at Lakeland in 1923. Increasing competition among the state's higher-education institutions required that each offer the best opportunities to prospective students.²

Stetson University, in its effort to survive and thrive, initiated, thanks to a modest endowment, a construction program to accommodate increasing enrollments. By 1916, the endowment totaled more than similar funds held either by Bucknell or Purdue universities. Important academic associations also were formed. The school bolstered its credentials by affiliating with the University of Chicago. That association, initiated in 1898, spurred Stetson's faculty to offer courses comparable to those available at Chicago and resulted in a student-exchange program. In 1901, Stetson also established Florida's first law school under the leadership of Albert J. Farrah, who later organized the College of Law at the University of Florida.³

Stetson's home community, DeLand, was founded in 1876, incorporated in 1882, and became the Volusia County seat in 1888. The University was established primarily through the efforts of the community's developer, Henry DeLand, a chemical manufacturer from upstate New York. DeLand believed that the town could be better promoted for settlement if an educational institute were located there, and, in 1882, he discussed the idea with Christopher Codrington, editor of the locally published *Florida Agriculturist*. Bulletins were printed advertising DeLand Academy, as it first was called, and Dr. John Griffith was hired to tour the state to find students. In November 1883, thirteen students were enrolled, and classes were held in a rented building.⁴

The following year, DeLand erected a building in which to house classes and administrative offices. The site— the northeast corner of Woodland Boulevard and Minnesota Avenue— was

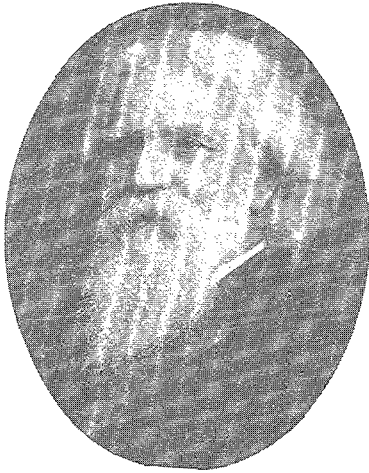
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2. Stephen Kerber, "William Edwards and the Historic University of Florida Campus: A Photographic Essay," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 57 (January 1979), 327-36; Proctor, "The University of Florida," 465, 479-92; Jack C. Lane, *Rollins College: A Pictorial History* (Winter Park, 1980), 6-19; Jack C. Lane, "Liberal Arts on the Florida Frontier: The Founding of Rollins College, 1885-1890," *Florida Historical Quarterly* (October 1980), 144-64; "Building List," Department of Archives, Mills Memorial Center, Rollins College, Winter Park.
 3. Lycan, *Stetson University*, 70-75, 84-89.
 4. *Ibid.*, 4-5.

several blocks north of the town's emerging commercial district. DeLand Hall, as the facility later was named, sat on elevated ground that sloped gently to the south toward the downtown. Designed by John P. Mace, the hall embodied the Second Empire architectural style.⁵ Mace, originally from Ohio, lived in nearby Lake Helen, Florida, and was that community's first mayor. He also designed a number of public and residential buildings in Volusia County. A local contractor, John T. Clake, supervised construction of DeLand Hall and later constructed several additional buildings on the campus, the Volusia County Courthouse, and the College Arms Hotel.⁶

Henry DeLand spent nearly \$8,000 on DeLand Hall. He subsequently deeded the building and four acres surrounding it to the Academy. The hall was constructed in the shape of a cruciform with a mansard roof and a central projecting bell tower. The exterior fabric consisted of clapboard siding and patterned-wood shingles. Over time, the building served a number of educational functions, including academic, administrative, and residential. Restored in 1982, DeLand Hall is the oldest building in Florida continuously associated with higher education and, since 1983, has been listed on the National Register of Historic Places.⁷

In 1885, DeLand affiliated the Academy with the Florida Baptist Convention, offering the Convention the use of his new building and approximately \$20,000 in cash if it would locate its proposed college in DeLand. The Baptists accepted, and in April the Convention's board of trustees, which included Henry

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5. The Second Empire style, which seldom was seen in Florida, facetiously was referred to as the "General Grant style." It was a popular design for public buildings and large residences in the period 1850-1880. See Virginia McAlester and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York, 1984), 238-53; Marcus Whiffen, *American Architecture Since 1780* (Cambridge, 1969), 103-08.
 6. Lycan, *Stetson University*, 4-5; DeLand *Florida Agriculturist*, September 8, 1886; "DeLand, Florida," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (1887), clipping in misc. mss. collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville (hereafter, "DeLand, Florida"); DeLand *Supplement*, December 16, 1896; DeLand *Volusia County Record*, July 24, September 18, 1908; Helen DeLand, *Story of DeLand and Lake Helen* (Norwich, CT, 1928), n.p.; Olga Bowen, "History of Stetson University" (unpubl. mss., Stetson University, 1967), 4-5; Alyce Hockaday Gillingham, Maxine Carey Turner, and Arthur E. Francke, Jr., *Volusia: The West Side* (DeLand, 1986), 361-66.
 7. DeLand *Supplement*, December 16, 1896; Bowen, "History," 4-5; Lycan, *Stetson University*, 4-9, 489.



The portraits and photographs depict (top-left clockwise): Henry A. DeLand, founder of Stetson University, taken shortly before his death in 1908; John B. Stetson, namesake of the University, in a board room arm chair, c. 1905; John Forbes, first president of the University, taken about 1900; and Lincoln Hulley, president between 1904-1933, in a c. 1919 portrait. *All photographs courtesy of Stetson University Archives.*

DeLand, named the “new” institution DeLand Academy and College. Coeducational from its inception, the college opened with thirty-nine students. John Forbes, then a professor at the State Normal School at Brockport, New York, was named its president.⁸

Funding for the school initially was handled primarily by DeLand, although a small annual supplement was provided by the Baptist Convention and private funds were raised by President Forbes. In 1886, DeLand began to experience financial difficulties that were exacerbated by the devastating freezes of the 1890s. Compounding the problem were promises he had made to many DeLand settlers that he would buy back property—which many residents planted in citrus groves—if the buyers became dissatisfied with their purchases. A freeze in 1886 destroyed citrus fruit in the area, although the trees themselves remained healthy. Nonetheless, many settlers demanded their money back, and DeLand found himself hard pressed to fund the college. To avoid bankruptcy, he turned to John Batterson Stetson, a Philadelphia hat manufacturer. Stetson recently had constructed a large winter residence west of DeLand and was one of the largest citrus growers in the area. Through his friendship with DeLand and John Forbes, Stetson became interested in the local college.⁹

In 1886, Stetson donated funds for a second campus building. Located east of DeLand Hall on the north side of Minnesota Avenue, Stetson Hall was completed later that year. John Mace again served as architect, using the same Second Empire style that he had used for the design of DeLand Hall. John Clake was the contractor. Construction costs totaled approximately \$12,000. Standing two-and-one-half stories, Stetson Hall featured a mansard roof surfaced with a combination of patterned-wood shingles. Reflecting the precedent set at DeLand Hall, Stetson Hall displayed a full-rise, extended pavilion defining the entrance. Two large flared dormers, exhibiting a Germanic influence and covering small balconies, protruded from the mansard

8. Lycan, *Stetson University*, 4-9, 13-20, 489.

9. *Ibid.*, 13-14, 48-49; “Minutes of the Old Settlers’ Club, DeLand, Florida,” 205, 276, 306, Archives, West Volusia County Historical Society, DeLand; DeLand, *Story of DeLand and Lake Helen*, n.p.; DeLand *Supplement*, December 16, 1896; DeLand *Florida Agriculturist*, January 1, 1898; Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Map of DeLand, Volusia County, Florida* (1887).



Stetson Hall, the University's second building, photographed shortly after its completion in 1886.

at the front of the building. Smaller dormers with gable pediments also pierced the mansard. An end porch was located across the south facade with entrance porches at the east and west elevations of the building. The first floor originally contained five rooms for use as the president's residence and as reception and music rooms.¹⁰

John Stetson was elected to the school's board of trustees in 1887, and the board also voted to rename the college as DeLand University. By 1889, with DeLand's and Forbes's encouragement, Stetson had donated a total of \$1,000,000 to the University. That year DeLand introduced a resolution to change its name to John B. Stetson University. The school's original namesake, DeLand, left the community following the devastating freezes of the mid-

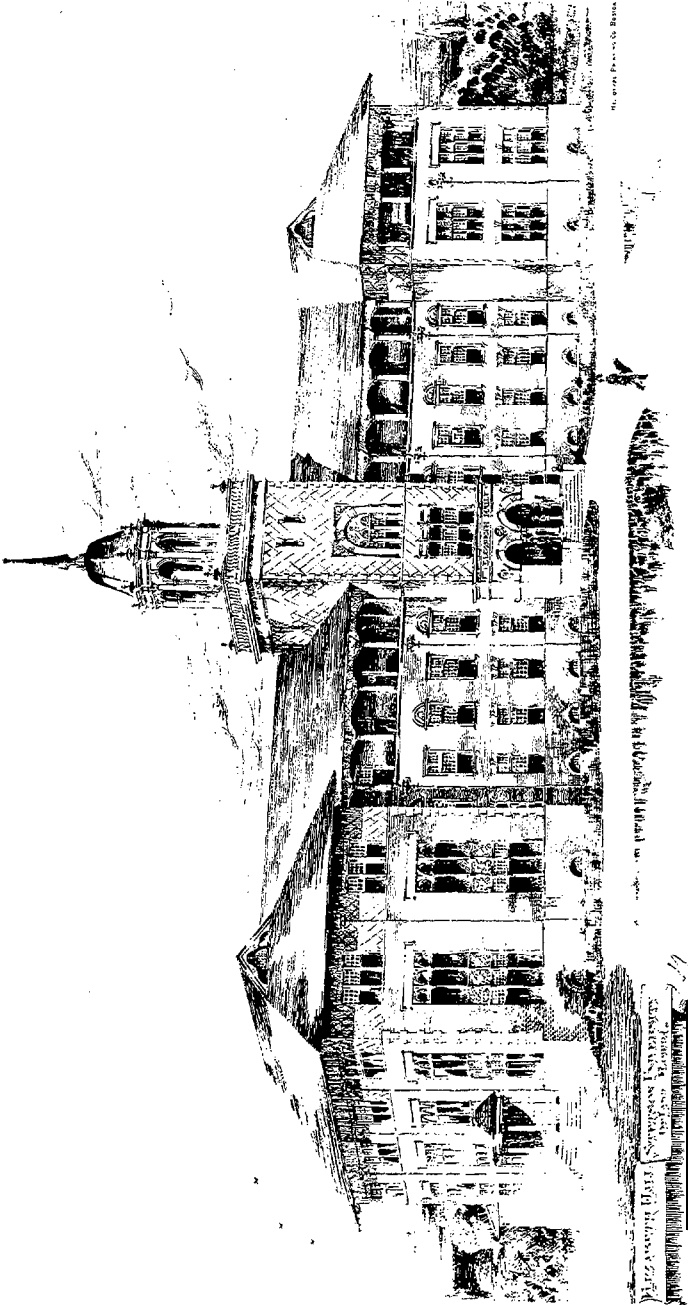
10. "DeLand, Florida"; Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Map of DeLand* (1925) and (1950); *DeLand Florida Agriculturist*, September 8, 1886; Lycan, *Stetson University*, 13-14, 19-20; *Reflections: 100 Years of Progress in West Volusia County* (DeLand, 1976), 85; Gillingham, et al., *Volusia*, 324-26; Bowen, "History," 20-21.

1890s and attempted to reestablish his chemical manufacturing business in upstate New York. Although he achieved partial success, he never again enjoyed the wealth that he had accumulated in the 1870s.¹¹

During the 1890s the commercial and residential areas of DeLand continued to expand. Following a devastating fire in 1886, the business district was rebuilt, and property owners who planted oak trees along city streets adjoining their property received a tax break. That incentive resulted in beautiful trees whose overhanging branches created a canopy effect along the town's major corridors. By 1895, its population totaled nearly 1,200. At Stetson University, enrollments rose and fell with the fortunes of the citrus industry. Most students attending the Academy, which served as a primary and secondary school with classes leading to graduation from high school, came from the local area. The University enrolled students from around the state and a few from out of state, mostly the children of winter residents. DeLand citizens could educate their children from first grade through college without leaving the community, an uncommon advantage at the time. Although the University preferred cash to barter, in some cases goods and services were exchanged for education. Academy enrollment averaged 150 during the 1890s. The University enrollment was much lower, totaling only eleven in 1895 and not reaching the 100 mark until 1908.¹²

The Stetson campus began expanding along Woodland Boulevard in the 1890s. In 1892, two large Colonial Revival brick buildings— Elizabeth Hall and Chaudoin Hall— were erected.¹³ Named after Stetson's wife, Elizabeth Hall was built immediately south of DeLand Hall. It rose three stories, with a four-story central pavilion capped with a cupola. At Stetson's request,

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11. Michael G. Schene, *Hopes, Dream, and Promises: A History of Volusia County, Florida* (Daytona Beach, 1976), 91-93; *Reflections*, 186-87; Lycan, *Stetson University*, 13-20, 488-90.
 12. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census, 1910, *Population* (Washington, DC, 1913), 310; DeLand, *Laws and Ordinances*, Book 1, 86-87, DeLand City Hall; Volusia County, Map Book 2, 45, Volusia County Courthouse, DeLand; Lycan, *Stetson University*, 25, 490.
 13. The Colonial Revival style emerged from the Philadelphia Exposition of 1876, itself an architectural extravaganza that featured a revival of colonial architecture that quickly spread across the country. The style first appeared in Florida during the 1880s and was commonly applied to residential buildings. McAlester and McAlester, *American Houses*, 320-41.



An architectural rendition of Elizabeth Hall by George Pearson, which appeared in the February 1892 issue of the *American Architect and Building News*. Financial constraints delayed construction of the symmetrical wings, which were completed in 1897.

George T. Pearson, a Philadelphia-based architect, designed Elizabeth as a rendition of Independence Hall. Pearson previously had specialized in the design of church buildings, particularly ones in the area of Germantown, Pennsylvania. He also designed railway stations for the Norfolk and Western Railroad in Virginia and large residences such as the Stetson mansion in DeLand. He met Stetson in Philadelphia, and their friendship helped him earn the commission to design several Stetson University buildings. Pearson incorporated Spanish Baroque architectural elements into the Colonial Revival design of Elizabeth Hall. Impressed by Henry Flagler's monumental Ponce de Leon and Alcazar hotels in St. Augustine, which were constructed in the 1880s, Stetson wanted to introduce Spanish architectural influences into the campus and DeLand landscapes. Stetson supplied \$45,000 in construction funds, and the hall was completed in 1892.¹⁴

Elizabeth Hall is the most architecturally significant building on campus. A cupola served as its focal point, and a full-rise pavilion, detailed with diaper-patterned brick work, separated balconies along the third floor. Recessed windows with fanlights set in an encompassing arch provided visual relief on the pavilion's second floor. On the ground floor, twin arches with central posts defined the main entrance. Trim and mould detailing was cast in terra-cotta and stone, in subdued reds and browns. The terra-cotta lentil over the entrance was emblazoned with "Elizabeth Hall."¹⁵

Chaudoin Hall, an expansive three-story brick dormitory also built in 1892, was named for W. N. Chaudoin, who served as a University trustee from 1886 until his death in 1904. John Stetson and C. T. Sampson, a shoe manufacturer from Massachusetts and University trustee, donated most of the \$35,000 construction costs. The structure was designed by Pearson, with Clake supervising construction. Planned in the Dutch Colonial Revival style, its front-facing gambrel roof was surfaced with decorative pressed-metal shingles and contained numerous gable dormer pier-

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14. DeLand *Supplement*, December 16, 1896; Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Map of DeLand* (1892); "Obituary: George T. Pearson," *American Institute of Architects Journal* 8 (February 1920), 140; Bowen, "History," 21-22.
 15. DeLand *Supplement*, December 16, 1896; DeLand *Volusia County Record*, March 12, 1889; Lycan, *Stetson University*, 50,491; Bowen, "History," 21-22; John L. Rosser, *A History of Florida Baptists* (Nashville, 1949), 174.



Chaudoin Hall, shortly after construction in 1892. Students pose on window ledges, porch knee walls, and in the yard. The photograph was taken by O. Pierre Havens of Jacksonville, Florida.

ings with double-hung sash windows. The gambrel ends featured wood drop siding and elaborate Palladian leaded-glass treatments. A cupola, smaller than that atop Elizabeth Hall, was set within a balustrade on the crown of the roof. A large end porch that was integrated within the primary roof line contained the front entrance, which featured a fanlight and sidelights. The building contained 8,700 square feet of living space: the second and third stories housed female students, while the first floor contained parlors, dining facilities, and a kitchen.¹⁶

In 1892, the *American Architect and Building News*, one of the nation's leading architectural journals, published line drawings of Elizabeth and Chaudoin halls. These buildings represented some of the best design, scale, and construction in Florida during the 1890s. Later compatible additions were made to both build-

16. *John B. Stetson University Annual Catalogue, 1893* (DeLand, 1893), 17, 20; *John B. Stetson University Bulletin* 9 (March 1910), 19-20; DeLand Supplement, December 16, 1896; Lycan, *Stetson University*, 50.

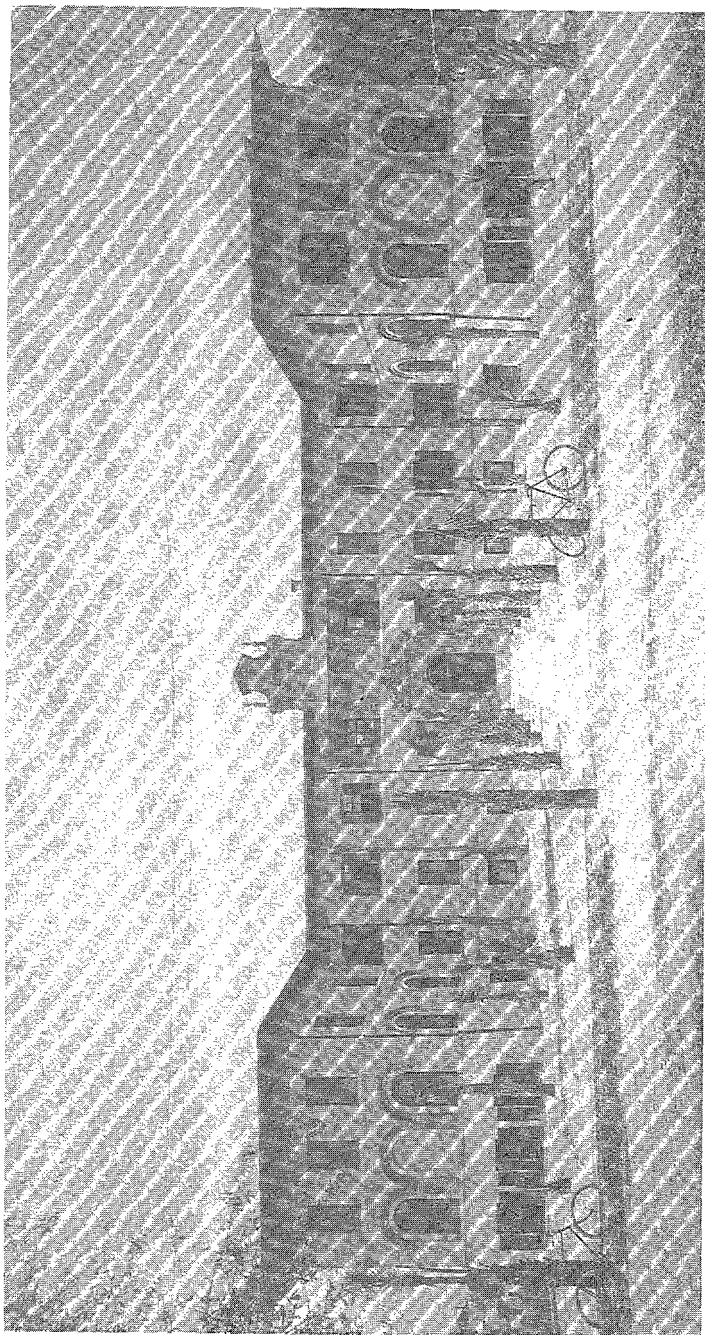
ings. Maintaining the Dutch Colonial Revival style, a perpendicular addition was added to Chaudoin Hall in 1894. The addition was larger than the original building and cost approximately \$27,000 to construct. The original design of Elizabeth Hall had called for three-story extensions on each end of the central unit. Financial constraints delayed construction of those wings until 1897, when Stetson contributed \$105,000 toward their completion. His donation included furniture and an organ for a chapel.¹⁷

By 1900, combined academy and college enrollment at Stetson had increased to 200. DeLand's population at the time had reached 1,450. Residential, commercial, and light-industry districts had emerged throughout the community, and the University was an important presence on the north end of town. Agriculture, especially citrus, remained the most valuable component of the local economy. Although the 1894-1895 freezes devastated the area, the economic setback only temporarily slowed combined enrollments, which declined from 232 in 1894 to 114 in 1895 but began to increase after 1897.¹⁸

During the early years of the twentieth century, the University changed significantly. Four additional buildings were erected to accommodate increased enrollment. In 1901, President Forbes commissioned William Charles Hays to design a new building that became Flagler Hall. A graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, Hays's first professional commission was the building. He was a member of the San Francisco firm of John Galen Howard. Howard had served as the architect for the University of California, and Hays held a faculty position in architecture there between 1906 and 1943.¹⁹

Funding for Flagler Hall was supplied by Henry M. Flagler, who maintained close ties with President Forbes, and Stetson donated the land. Fearing that other colleges also would ask him

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17. "Elizabeth Hall," *American Architect and Building News* 35 (February 1892), 142, plate 844; "Somnus Hall," *American Architect and Building News* 39 (August 1892), 91, plate 867; Lycan, *Stetson University*, 52; Bowen, "History," 21-26.
 18. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census, 1910, *Population*, 310; Schene, *Hopes*, 107-08; Ida Keeling Cresap, "The History of Florida Agriculture: The Early Era" (typescript, University of Florida, 1982), 112-14; Lycan, *Stetson University*, 72-88, 490.
 19. "William C. Hays" in *Who Was Who In America* (Chicago, 1961), 422; Diane Maddex, ed., *Master Builders: A Guide to Famous American Architects* (Washington, DC, 1985), 185; William C. Hays file, Architect Archives, American Institute of Architects Library, Washington, DC.



Flagler Hall, 1902. Recently completed, the building was landscaped with palm trees, several of which support bicycles. Little more than a dirt path, Woodland Boulevard runs in front of the building.

for money, Flagler insisted that the University not associate his name with the building. Nevertheless, Flagler's philanthropy was extended to other Florida institutions, including Rollins College in Winter Park and the Florida Agricultural College at Lake City. The construction bid for Science Hall, as Flagler Hall first was named, was awarded to John Clake, and work began in July 1901. Located west of Elizabeth Hall, the building originally was designed to rise two stories. After construction began, however, the builders discovered that, due to a slope in the land, the first floor was located several feet below grade and that the structure would be dominated by Elizabeth Hall. Hays agreed to revise his plans to include a third story. Requiring fifteen months to complete, Science Hall was dedicated in October 1902. After Flagler's death in 1913, the building was renamed Flagler Hall. Construction and equipment costs totaled approximately \$60,000, most of which was donated by Flagler.²⁰

Flagler Hall complemented the existing structures on campus. Vernacular in style, the building embodied some Mediterranean influences and differed significantly from the Second Empire styling of DeLand and Stetson halls and the Colonial Revival style employed on Elizabeth and Chaudoin halls. An early example of hollow-tile construction, Flagler Hall was surfaced with stucco. Belt courses defined each story. Flared foundation walls and arched window openings, which suggested Mediterranean influences, were architectural components not commonly found on Florida's turn-of-the-century buildings. Further Mediterranean ornamentation consisted of terra-cotta cast designs, the most evident including the elaborate surround at the primary entrance with a broken pediment and bust. When completed, the building provided space for administrative and faculty offices, the newly organized law school, classrooms, and the industrial arts division. Located at the southwest corner of Woodland Boulevard and Minnesota Avenue, Flagler Hall was the first campus building erected on the west side of Woodland

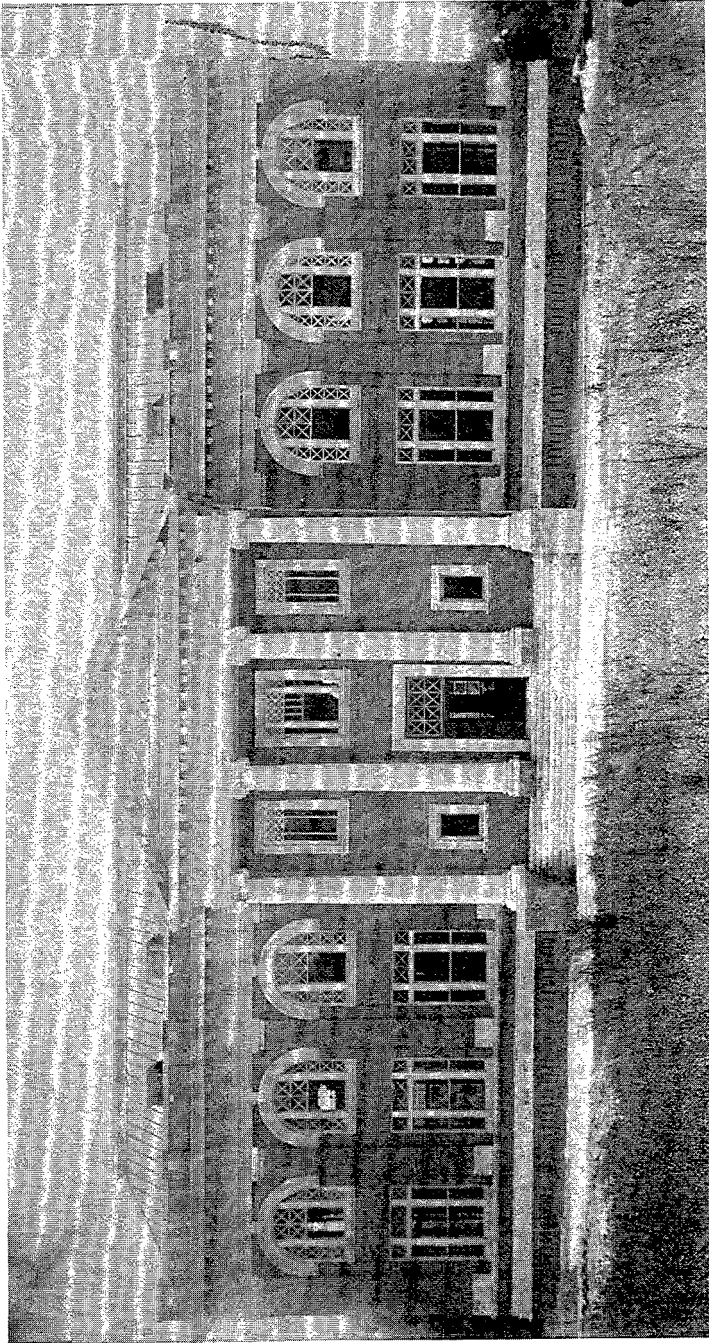
20. William C. Hays to John Forbes, May 14, 1901, XXV, 104, Hays to Forbes, July 24-August 17, 1901, XXVIII, 95-97, Hays to Forbes, June 20, 1903, XLIX, 64, Forbes to Hays, January 29, 1903, XLIX, 76, and Forbes to Osborne, July 2, 1901, XXVI, 226-27, John Forbes Papers, Stetson University Archives, DeLand (hereafter, Forbes Papers); *John B. Stetson University Bulletin* (March 1903), 14; Edward Akin, *Flagler, Rockefeller Partner and Florida Baron* (Kent, OH, 1988), 203-04; Bowen, "History," 26-7; Lycan, *Stetson University*, 86, 89-90.

Boulevard, thus emphasizing the presence of the University at that intersection.²¹

In 1904, President Forbes retired from the University and was succeeded by Lincoln Hulley from the University of Chicago. Hulley assumed the presidency at a critical period in the school's history and directed Stetson for the next thirty years. In 1905, Florida reorganized its higher education system, and, although of little consequence to Stetson at the time, Bethune College for blacks was organized at Daytona in 1904. The state's population was increasing, and Stetson's trustees and administrators realized that they would have to compete aggressively for students. A successful fund raiser, Hulley lobbied wealthy benefactors for gifts, and the University's endowment increased from \$225,000 in 1905 to \$400,000 in 1910, and to \$1,023,000 by 1915. Hulley's vision included the continued expansion of both student enrollment and the campus, with the school maintaining its quality of education.²²

During Hulley's tenure, Stetson continued the building program initiated by Forbes. In 1908, Sampson Hall was constructed. Facing north, the building was located perpendicular to Elizabeth Hall at that structure's southeast corner. Florida architect Henry John Klutho designed the building. Klutho, a pioneer in modern American architecture, had been associated with the New York firm of Kimball and Smith. In 1901, he moved to Jacksonville which had just suffered a fire that had devastated large sections of the city. Seizing the opportunity to carve out a business for himself, Klutho designed a number of important public buildings and private residences there. Most of those buildings were conservative in design, although the architect used a broad range of styles, including Beaux-Arts and Neoclassical, and that of the Chicago school. Klutho's designs incorporated clean lines and precise ornamentation. About 1904, he became acquainted with Frank Lloyd Wright and began to experiment with the Prairie style, with which he subsequently became associated. In 1907,

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21. Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Map of DeLand* (1903) and (1909); Hays to Forbes, May 14, July 24-August 17, 1901, June 20, 1903, Forbes to Hays, January 29, 1903, Forbes to Osborne, July 2, 1901, Forbes Papers; *John B. Stetson University Bulletin* 11 (March 1903), 14; *Stetson Reporter*, February 14, 1963; Lycan, *Stetson University*, 86-91; Bowen, "History," 26-27.
 22. Lycan, *Stetson University*, 92-101, 490-501; Work Projects Administration, Florida Federal Writers Project, *Florida, A Guide to the Southernmost State* (New York, 1939), 100-03.



Sampson Hall shortly after construction in 1908. The following year, a large bas-relief of Henry DeLand was attached to the wall between the columns at the far right.

Klutho was awarded membership in the American Institute of Architects, the first member from Florida registered in that prestigious association.²³

Klutho designed Sampson Hall, a large Neoclassical building, during his early developmental period with Frank Lloyd Wright and the Prairie style.²⁴ He drew on his earlier library designs to create the building. In 1904, Klutho had designed the Neoclassical-style Carnegie Library in Jacksonville, and his 1905 competitive design for the new campus of the University of Florida at Gainesville included a Beaux-Arts-style library facility. Klutho also designed Florida's first governor's mansion in Tallahassee and the 1921 addition to the State Capitol. Planned in 1906 and originally called Carnegie Library, Sampson Hall later was named in honor of C. T. Sampson, who had established an endowment of \$20,000 during the 1890s to develop Stetson's library collection.²⁵

John Clake began construction of Sampson Hall in early 1908 but died before it was completed in September. The facility cost \$40,000, all of which was provided by Andrew Carnegie, the steel magnate who supported library construction throughout the country. Sampson Hall featured a flat-hip roof with small hip dormers, sandstone-brick construction, carved-stone decoration on attached columns and arched-window surrounds, a portico colonnade composed of Ionic columns, and the names of famous authors and political leaders with the motto "Knowledge is Power" placed along the entablature frieze. The stucco pediment above the portico contained simple abstract geometric designs cast in relief. In 1909, following the death of Henry DeLand, a large bronze bas-relief depicting the community's founder was secured to the building. Landscaping included palm trees that were planted in rows that extended from the library building to Minnesota Avenue and to Elizabeth Hall.²⁶

23. Robert C. Broward, *The Architecture of Henry John Klutho: The Prairie School In Jacksonville* (Jacksonville, 1983), 14-17, 31-42, 52-63.

24. The Neoclassical style, which emerged following the World Columbian Exposition held at Chicago in 1893, became a popular design for commercial buildings and large residences in Florida during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. McAlester and McAlester, *American Houses*, 342-53; Whiffen, *American Architecture*, 167-71.

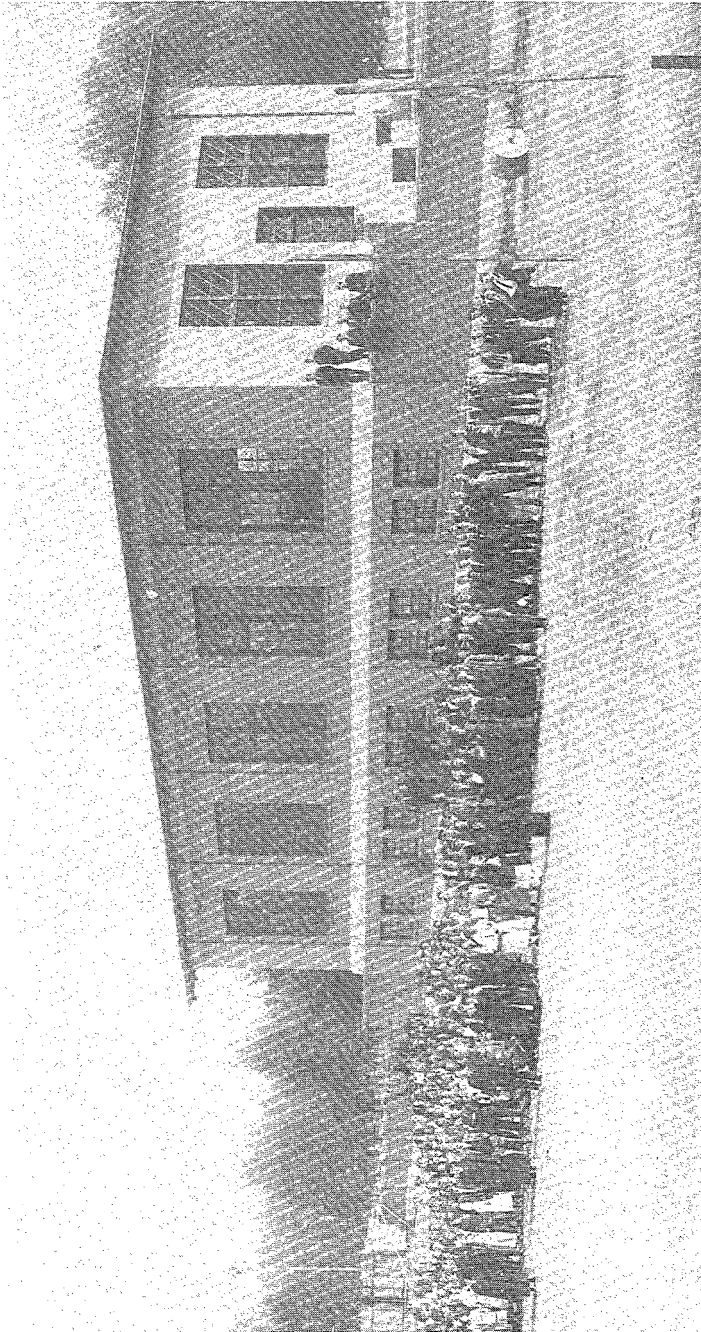
25. Broward, *Klutho*, 14-17, 32-42, 52-63, 294; DeLand *Volusia County Record*, July 24, September 18, 1908; Lycan, *Stetson University*, 13; Bowen, "History," 29-30.

26. Broward, *Klutho*, 14-17, 294; DeLand *Volusia County Record*, July 24, September 18, 1908; Lycan, *Stetson University*, 13; Bowen, "History," 29-30.

Conrad Hall was the next building erected on campus. Begun in mid-1908, work on it was completed the following year. The new building replaced an earlier wooden dormitory, also named Conrad, that had burned in 1903. Named in honor of Jacob B. Conrad, a trustee of the University and principal in a local lumber company, it was designed by Litchfield Colton, a University instructor in iron work and mechanical drawing. Construction costs totaled \$15,000. Conceived in the Dutch Colonial Revival style, Conrad Hall reflected many of the architectural traditions evident in Chaudoin Hall. The building featured an "H" design, capped by a gambrel roof with pressed-metal shingles. Numerous shed dormers pierced the gambrel, and buff and red brick manufactured by the Bond Sandstone Brick Company of Lake Helen served as the exterior walls. Located on the east side of campus, Conrad Hall gave a sense of scale, size, and definition to the University's landscape. The *Volusia County Record* noted: "It has often been said that Stetson University has no campus, but that can no longer be said. It has a big campus now." Although development in DeLand had resulted in the construction of numerous residential buildings, little concentrated growth occurred near the campus, which continued to be bordered by a "hill of wonderful pines and a forsaken camphor grove in the hollow."²⁷

In 1910, construction began on Cummings Gymnasium, and its plans also were prepared by Litchfield Colton. Materials came from the Bond lumber and brick companies and from O. B. Webster, a local contractor, who manufactured its stone veneer. Carl Turnquist, superintendent of Stetson's woodworking department, oversaw construction. The building cost \$12,000, half of which came from J. Howell Cummings, president of the Stetson Hat Company. Completed in 1911, it featured a functional design of a flat roof with iron trusses and large 6/6-light double-hung sash windows with multi-pane fixed-transom windows to provide natural interior lighting. Decorative elements of the building included carved rafter ends, buff-brick construction, and artificial-stone belt courses that defined the foundation, in-

27. DeLand *Volusia County Record*, March 5, 1909; *John B. Stetson University Bulletin* 8 (March 1909), 22, and 9 (March 1910), 22; A. L. Suhrie to Lincoln Hulley, July 5, 1909, LXXI, 31, General Correspondence Papers, Stetson University Archives; Fred Fischer, "Map of Campus of Stetson University, DeLand, Florida" (DeLand, 1915); Bowen, "History," 31.



Graduation Day, 1911. Following commencement, Stetson University's faculty, students, and graduates assemble on the athletic field west of recently completed Cummings Gymnasium.

terior level of the gymnasium floor, and roof line. Construction of the building resulted in a number of problems, especially with the roof which was replaced twice by 1915. Cummings Gymnasium, located across from Chaudoin Hall, was the second University building erected west of Woodland Boulevard, further enlarging the University's presence along that corridor.²⁸

Campus construction slowed following the completion of Cummings Gymnasium. Classrooms no longer were overcrowded and sufficient dormitory space was available. The new library and gymnasium provided additional study and athletic-related space. Within twenty years the building program instituted by Forbes and Hulley dramatically expanded the campus's physical plant. Construction occurred during a time when University enrollments increased from thirty-seven in 1899 to 248 in 1917. During the same period, Academy enrollments fell from 249 to 199, indicating that Stetson was placing more emphasis on its college programs than on primary school. Although no formal campus plan was developed, the University's buildings were built on sites that complemented the existing structures and took advantage of the natural terrain. Furthermore, the campus, located on one of the highest points in DeLand, was sited astride the community's major corridor and at an important intersection.

In contrast to the University, DeLand experienced considerable growth. A town of 2,812 by 1910, the community, through its chamber of commerce, promoted itself as the "Athens of Florida," an oblique reference to its setting for one of the state's important universities. During the following decade, its commercial district was extended for several additional blocks along Woodland Boulevard. Residential neighborhoods developed around the University and the commercial center, until the onset of World War I slowed building construction.²⁹

28. *Twenty-sixth Annual Catalogue of John B. Stetson University, 1910-1911*, 5-8, 23; *DeLand News*, November 4, 1910; Hulley to J. H. Cummings, November 30, 1910, LXXIV, 27, Bond Lumber Company to Stetson University, September 21, 1915, CXXVI, 32, Hulley to Bond Lumber Company, September 25, 1915, CXXVI, 33, General Correspondence Papers, Stetson University Archives; Lycan, *Stetson University*, 160; Bowen, "History," 31-32.

29. Lycan, *Stetson University*, 490-91; Historic Property Associates, Inc., "Stetson University and Surrounding Neighborhood: A Study of the Historic Architectural Resources of Stetson University and Surrounding Neighborhood with Recommendations for Their Preservation" (unpubl. report, St. Augustine, 1989), available at Stetson University Archives.

In the 1920s the nation entered a period of economic expansion, and in Florida a land boom began. Property values rose dramatically and quickly. Although the boom started in south Florida, particularly Miami, no part of the state escaped the fever. Travelers were enticed by good roads and highways, abundant transportation facilities, and a voluminous body of promotional literature that extolled the virtues of the state's warm climate and cheap lands. In virtually every city and town new subdivisions were platted and lots sold and resold for quick profits. Volusia County shared in that growth. A new city hall was constructed in DeLand, the population of which nearly doubled from 3,324 in 1920 to 5,246 by 1930. During the 1920s Stetson's enrollment broke the 300 mark. The Academy, however, was eliminated in 1925 due to the expansion of DeLand's public education system.³⁰

Stetson University did little to enlarge its campus during the 1920s and the 1930s, and only four buildings were constructed. Two—Hulley Gymnasium (1929) and the Commons (1937)—later were demolished and lost to fire, respectively. The other two structures—Stover Theater and Hulley Tower—continue in use. Buildings remodeled or expanded included Sampson Hall (1929), Chaudoin Hall (1935), and Conrad Hall (1937).³¹

In February 1930, construction was begun on the Stover Theater. Originally called Assembly Hall, the building was designed to serve as the central element of Beaver Quadrangle, named after Fred Beaver, a University benefactor from Dayton, Ohio. That quadrangle, which never was completely developed, was planned to include women's dormitories surrounding the Assembly Hall. The building cost \$36,000 to construct, and E. Kent Jones, a local builder, served as contractor. The two-story Masonry Vernacular building featured a parapet-gable roof, brick construction, white-stucco belt courses and coping, and a marquee over an entrance patio. The interior of the building embodied Mediterranean architectural influence, and included

30. Pleasant Daniel Gold, *History of Volusia County, Florida* (DeLand, 1927), 15-16, 156; Florida Department of Agriculture, *Florida. An Advancing State, 1907-1917-1927* (St. Petersburg, 1928), 104, 266, 317; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census, 1930. *Population* (Washington, DC, 1931), 214; Lycan, *Stetson University*, 490; Aaron Morton Sakolski, *The Great American Land Bubble* (New York, 1932), 334.

31. *DeLand Sun News*, January 1, 1930; Lycan, *Stetson University*, 491; Bowen, "History," 26-31.

a lobby, balcony, stage, gallery, basement, dressing rooms, and lighting and scenic equipment. It was dedicated in November 1930. At the formal opening, "Apollo and the Muses," a play written by President Hulley, was performed. In 1938, Assembly Hall was renamed Stover Theater in honor of Irving Stover, who had joined the Stetson faculty in 1908 as professor of speech.³²

In 1933, Hulley commissioned the design of a clarion tower and mausoleum. The monument, the president's gift to the University, was designed to house the Eloise Chimes, an ensemble of bells that had been placed in the tower of Elizabeth Hall in 1915, and to serve as the place of interment for the bodies of Lincoln and Eloise Hulley. Curtis Lowry, engineering professor at Stetson, was the architect, and Kent Jones laid its foundation in December. In January 1934, President Hulley died, and he was succeeded by William S. Allen, who recently had served as acting president of Baylor College in Texas. The 116-foot Hulley Tower was completed in 1934, and the president's body was interred in the mausoleum niche. Architectural features included a hip roof, steel skeletal frame with brick exterior wall fabric for the tower shaft, ashlar stone for the tower entrance niche and mausoleum, brick quoin work, decorative iron grille on the bell tower, and multi-pane casement windows.³³

Holler Fountain, located in the quadrangle formed by Sampson and Elizabeth halls, was built in 1937. Part of a traveling exhibit, the fountain made its debut at Cleveland, Ohio, in the Great Lakes Exposition of 1937, where it was dedicated by Florida Governor Fred Cone. An aqualux-type fountain developed in the Art Deco tradition, it operated on twenty-minute cycles in which 126 different color combinations and numerous water levels were displayed. The fountain was the central piece in the patio of the Florida Exhibit at New York City's World's Fair of 1939. It was returned to DeLand where Earl Brown, the

32. *DeLand Sun News*, February 26, November 13, 21, 1930, November 18, 1938; Stover Theater Jubilee Program, "Taming of the Shrew," February 1958, available at Stetson University Archives; Billye Griffiths, "Irving Stover: Love's Labour's Not Lost" (master's thesis, Stetson University, 1982), 52, 87-89, 99-100.

33. *DeLand Sun News*, January 20, 23, 1934; *Bulletin of John B. Stetson University*, 1934, 38; Clifford B. Rosa to John B. Stetson, Jr., January 26, 1934, Miscellany on Early DeLand, folder 25, Stetson University Archives; Bowen, "History," 37.

coordinator of the Florida Exhibit, maintained ownership until he presented it to the University in 1951. Although not directly related to the historic development of Stetson, Holler Fountain is an important architectural feature of the campus.³⁴

The Great Depression of the 1930s which placed financial constraints on the University, effectively ended for the time additional development. Income from endowments declined from \$1,500,000 in 1930 to \$1,000,000 by 1935. Although enrollment rose—increasing from 383 in 1929 to 710 in 1938—the University could afford only the construction of a new Commons Hall, which later burned. In addition, the school also needed to repair and renovate a number of campus buildings. Stetson had never initiated a maintenance program, and consequently the interiors of many of the older buildings had become dilapidated. Also, as it became apparent, the sandstone brick used in the construction of Sampson, Conrad, and Cummings halls was inferior and absorbed moisture readily. Sampson Hall particularly was affected. Moisture damaged many manuscripts and books and forced the relocation of the library. When Allen assumed the presidency, he instituted an extensive renovation and maintenance program.

University construction began again after World War II, especially during the 1950s. Although many buildings have been erected since 1950, the historic campus retains much of the character it developed between 1884 and 1934.³⁵

Since 1883, Stetson University has provided educational opportunities to students from Florida and, indeed, throughout the United States. The oldest privately funded, continuously operated university in Florida, Stetson still occupies its original campus site. The development of the historic campus largely was completed by 1911 with the construction of ten University buildings. The original president's house and the first gymnasium, both built in the 1890s are no longer located within its grounds. Higher education institutions elsewhere in Florida, including the University of Florida, the Florida State College for Women, and Florida Southern College, hardly had begun to

34. *New York Times*, April 24, 30, May 9, 15, 30, 1939, February 24, 28, 1940; *Stetson Reporter*, May 18, 1951.

35. Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Map of DeLand* (1925); Lycan, *Stetson University*, 490-91.

establish campuses at the time Stetson University had completed its second era of building construction. The University of Florida campus in Gainesville consisted of only five buildings by 1909 and eleven by 1914. The Rollins College campus in Winter Park contained fifteen buildings by 1910. Although several were large formal designs, many have been demolished or have burned.³⁶

The Stetson campus embodies a number of large, formal architectural designs. Distinctive styles on the campus include Colonial Revival, Neoclassical, and Second Empire, a style seldom seen in Florida. Several good examples of Masonry Vernacular construction also are available. Though not designed as a formal architectural landscape, the campus nevertheless contains a balance of buildings and structures that complement the existing green spaces. Important contributors to its development include Henry DeLand, John B. Stetson, Henry M. Flagler, and Andrew Carnegie. Several important architects were associated with the design of its buildings, including George Pearson, William Hays, and Henry John Klutho. Over a period of fifty years, local contractors and University professors also were responsible for the built environment of the campus. Its unique character, which combines Victorian, Eclectic, and Vernacular architecture, lends distinction and a sense of place to the community of DeLand. The Stetson University Historic Campus, listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1991, possesses Florida's oldest collection of education-related buildings united historically by architecture, plan, and physical development.

36. Kerber, "William Edwards," 229-32; Lane, *Rollins College*, 14-19, 50-51, 107-08; "Building List," Department of Archives, Mills Memorial Center, Rollins College.

**A NEW ENGLANDER ON
THE INDIAN RIVER FRONTIER:
CALEB LYNDON BRAYTON AND
THE VIEW FROM BRAYTON'S BLUFF**

edited by EDWARD CALEB COKER AND DANIEL L. SCHAFER

IN July 1844, from atop a high bluff overlooking the Indian River in St. Lucie County, Caleb Lyndon Brayton commenced an affectionate correspondence to his wife which continued until his death from tuberculosis ten years later.¹ Lyndon had come to Florida to improve his health and seek his fortune. His pregnant wife, Marian, and his young son, Thomas Lyndon, remained behind in Augusta, Georgia, waiting for him to become established on the Florida frontier. Brayton, a native of Rhode Island, began his career as a merchant in Fall River, Massachusetts. The onset of tuberculosis prompted a move to the warmer climate of Augusta in the late 1830s where he became a wholesale and retail merchant of boots and shoes.²

In spite of his illness, Brayton's letters from Indian River demonstrate that he threw himself into pioneer life with remarkable energy. In June 1843 he claimed 160 acres under the Armed Occupation Act, which had been passed by Congress the previous year to help control the few Indians who remained in Florida after the Second Seminole War.³ Lyndon cleared the land on

Edward Caleb Coker, a great-great-grandson of Caleb and Marian Brayton, lives in Jacksonville. Daniel L. Schafer is professor of history, University of North Florida.

1. Caleb Lyndon Brayton, born July 11, 1816, in Cranston, RI, married Mary Ann Paine at Plainfield, CT, July 8, 1838. Marian, born April 4, 1811, at Randolph, VT, attended Wheaton College. The Braytons had four sons: Joseph Lyndon, born at Fall River, May 25, 1839, died November 5, 1839; Thomas Lyndon, born at Augusta, August 8, 1841; Ellery Metcalf, born at Augusta, June 16, 1844; and William Paine, born at Augusta, September 17, 1850, died April 19, 1871. The Brayton letters are in the collection of Edward Caleb Coker, Jacksonville. Clifford Ross Brayton, Jr., *Brayton Family History* 2 vols. (Albion, NY, 1982), I, 236.
2. [Augusta, GA] *City Directory* (Augusta, GA, 1841).
3. Fort Pierce had been deactivated before Brayton arrived. The Armed Occupation Act permitted a head of family or a single man fit to bear arms to claim 160 acres south of Gainesville. Brayton was among 1,184 individuals

his claim and built a cabin on high ground located on the south side of old Fort Pierce. He called the land "Brayton's Bluff."⁴

By the spring of 1845, Brayton had planted over 140 acres of arrowroot, pumpkins, and other produce and had marketed poultry, salted fish, and green turtles in Key West. Although limited capital hampered his early efforts and hindered reunion with his family, he acquired schooners for trade to Key West, Charleston, and Havana. He supplemented his income with a contract to deliver mail, served as the first county clerk, and expressed high hopes that the pineapples and other fruits and vegetables he had planted would bring him wealth.

The frontier hardship that most tested Lyndon's endurance was loneliness resulting from prolonged absence from his family. Despite entreaties to Marian to join him, she continued to reside alternately in Augusta and in Fall River. In 1849, when he was finally ready to bring his family to Florida, Brayton witnessed first hand a terrifying Indian attack in St. Lucie County and figured prominently in leading the survivors to safety. The unsettled state of the frontier following the attack further delayed Brayton's plans for his family. He eventually brought his son Thomas to Brayton's Bluff in 1851, although the return trip from New England became a test of endurance. When the steamboat stopped at Palatka to install a new boiler, Brayton and another man paddled 125 miles up the St. Johns River. They reached Enterprise on Lake Monroe two and one-half days later.

Not until 1854 did Marian finally come to Indian River, on a visit prompted by news that Lyndon's life was nearing its end. Tuberculosis had finally ravaged his body. In a letter written eight months before his death, he described himself as weak and phlegmatic and weighing less than 100 pounds. The slight chill of autumn in south Florida exceeded his tolerance.

whose claims were confirmed; 6,000 persons are thought to have moved to frontier areas because of the AOA. Kyle S. VanLandingham, *Pictorial History of Saint Lucie County 1565-1910* (Ft. Pierce, 1976; revised ed., Ft. Pierce, 1988), 6; James W. Covington, "The Armed Occupation Act of 1842," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 40 (July, 1961), 41-52.

4. Brayton's Bluff was fractional lot No. 2 of Section 23, Township 35 South, Range 40 East and is shown on the 1856 Ives Map of south Florida. The site today is in the city of Fort Pierce. It is located along South Indian River Drive, one mile south of the St. Lucie County Courthouse. J. C. Ives, "Military Map of the Peninsula of Florida South of Tampa Bay" (Washington, DC, 1856).



Caleb Lyndon Brayton., 1816-1854. *Collection of Edward Caleb Coker.*

Brayton's lonely letters from Indian River do more than attest to the courage and initiative of a nineteenth-century Florida pioneer. They also provide a window on frontier life, complete with details of cash crops and market prices, agricultural experimentation, and the fledgling trade networks in the Indian River area. Travel routes to south Florida and the adversities faced by travelers are described by a man with abundant first-hand experience. Of primary importance is Brayton's eyewitness account of the 1849 Indian attack on the frontier settlement of Fort Pierce.

Braytons Bluff, St. Lucie Co., July 11, 1844

Dearest Marian

I have this morning [learned] that I was again blessed in being the father of another fine son & that you were doing well [after] your intense suffering. I cannot but express my desire that you should be extremely careful of your own health (as well as that of your dear children). . . .⁵

Dont fail to get Cape Jessamine, Peony, Grape, Pink Rose bush, & Tulip rooted & growing in pots or boxes before you leave, as I should like them here. Send me some Arbor Vitae seeds, and keep sending others when you can.

I had a letter from Maj Taylor a few days since, and he says "There is the crop of Arrow Root which is of the greatest importance to you & me, from what I have recently ascertained from an acquaintance of mine who cultivated last year in Jacksonville. I went to see his grounds, saw his machine for grating & saw his commission merchant who sold it in New York and he told me he paid over to the gentleman who raised it \$52 per barrel, after all expenses had been deducted and that he raised 8 barrels on less than an acre of ground. . . . I have seen no Arrow Root that looks better than mine & from that we are sure it will grow on the Bluff. I brought a sample of tobacco to Augustine and had segars made of it, & the segar maker pronounced it equal to the best Cuba Tobacco. These must be our crops no doubt, & from what we have both seen they will grow on the Bluff."⁶

5. Brayton's original spelling and punctuation have been retained, except to avoid confusion. Corrections, additions, and deletions are marked in the edited letters.

6. Charles Taylor applied under the Armed Occupation Act in December 1842. Arrowroot grew wild, to huge sizes. A tuber which resembled a rutabaga turnip, arrowroot was used by the Indians for bread flour. Dennis Eagan, *The Florida Settler or Immigrants' Guide* (Tallahassee, 1873).

. . . The Maj's views accord with mine, that the Arrow Root is one our most profitable crops, that it requires no more labor than a common corn crop in Georgia (except preparing for market), that the drought does not materially injure it, nor the insect trouble it. In short that it is much more certain in my opinion than Tobacco. It should be planted in November or December.

My corn looks as well & grows as fast as any I ever saw in Georgia. But the worms have commenced cutting it & no doubt will ruin it. The Lemon seeds have come up well. The Walnuts were rotten. I shall attend to your request about the Hemp. . . .

I never wanted to see you as much in my life, & the little one too. How does he look? What colour his eyes hair &c &c. Tell me all the particulars as soon as you can write. Take good care of him & Tommy & learn them to love me. . . . Your dahlias look well. Have you any fruit this year? Learn Tommy to read as soon as you think practicable. I should think him old enough to learn his letters. He must have a finished education. Remember me to all.

Yours in Love, Lyndon

St. Lucie, July 20, 1844

As you are truly my dearest, by no other appellation can I call you. I have not heard from you since my last letter yet I cannot let an opportunity pass, without dropping you a line as I know you would certainly have written me (when you are so well aware of my extreme anxiety to hear from you particularly at this time). I hope, dearest, you have ere this recovered from your late indisposition and are now enjoying your health and strength. That your cares are now increased, I very well know. . . .

What would I not give, what privation would I not undergo, could I for a short time be permitted to enjoy the society of my dearest Marian? And are you not equally anxious to see me? Say dearest you are. Then as your friends are so unwilling for you to follow me to an atmosphere congenial to my constitution & you have decided to listen, [could] you grant me the privilege of meeting you and our little ones at [St.] Augustine to pass a few days together ere you add another thousand miles to the great distance which already so painfully separates us? If such a favour could be granted me, I should feel much better reconciled to another years separation from you. . . .

Please send me *Barnaby Rudge* and other books to amuse me in my widower days for I am very lonely. I miss society very much, particularly Marian's. I am very well & *very fleshy* & very fortunate for you (perhaps) that Congress in not sending the mail, has been equally backward in sending us Females. Could you not afford to send us even a widow to share our lonely hours? Poor society you know is better than none, particularly in this land of scarcity. . . .

I have not finished painting our little boat. Her name is MARIAN which is beautifully inscribed on her bow with a pencil made of my hair & by my own hand. She does honour to the name she bears, in being the acknowledged beauty & fastest sailor on the Sound.

I have two most beautiful Geraniums. One has the odor of Thyme, so strong, entirely new to me, & really handsome. The other a Rose Geranium. I shall amass a list of West India fruits, which you will please send your brother, John [Paine], and prevail on him to obtain either the trees or the seed as I have no opportunity of so doing. He can easily bargain with [ship] captains to procure them. He can get a large supply for a price & I will endeavor to repay him this winter.

Plantain, propagated by roots; Banana; Mango trees; Mangotan, Alligator pears; Guava [all from cuttings]; Pine Apple, with suckers from the roots; Zapoda, Coffee trees & tea, French lemon; Maine Apples; Olives; Apples, fruited yet sweet; Calabash; Mandarin Oranges; Blood red Maltese Oranges; Citron; Anchovy Pears, raised from the stones; Bread fruit, raised from seeds

I shall be spicing and salting fish and fish roe in about two months. I shall use my best endeavors to make it a lucrative business. It can only last about two months as the fish cannot be well cured after December. I hope however to make several hundred dollars by the business. Next year (should I live) I shall raise only the crops of Arrow Root & Tobacco, both of which we can grow successfully. No crops are more profitable.⁷

7. Massive shoals of mullet and other fish were common in the area in the nineteenth century. Settlers may have followed Spanish and Cuban practices by salting and drying fish. VanLandingham, *Pictorial History*, 17; Janet Snyder Matthews, *Edge of Wilderness: A Settlement History of Manatee River and Sarasota Bay, 1528-1885* (Tulsa, OK, 1983), 74-78.

Don't neglect having the English cow's calf retained for me. I wish you would send me your old crockery when you break up. I very much want two large platters, some plates, tumblers, saltcellars, soup plates, a soup tureen and ladle as we not infrequently have turtle soup. I have nine fine green turtles now in my turtle crawl. Chafing dish for oysters of which we have plenty, that are fine all summer. . . .⁸

August 3rd. Day before yesterday was election day in our new county. I was nominated for the legislature by the Whigs, but declined running as I could not attend to it, had I been elected, for it would have interfered much with my fishing business. . . . I was then nominated for county clerk [and] accepted. N. F. Merrill, the young man who dined at our house last Summer was my opponent. Altho our number is small, there never was a more exciting time in Augusta on election day than we had. Merrill & his friends were out for a week from one end of the Sound to the other & had, as he thought & said, the election sure. But when the votes were counted out, I had 18 out of 26. So you see that I am quite as much esteemed in this community as we could expect any evidence of in this party time.⁹

Mr. & Mrs. Turner have this day moved into Maj Taylor's house next to my place so I shall not be quite so lonely. I told you if you did not come out or send me a widow, I would get some neighbors, but I am now saved the trouble. . . .

I want some blankets & when you break up also some woollen stockings or socks. . . . If you will send me some cloth, cruel, & a pattern or patterns, I will work anything you wish. I have a good deal of leisure time & it will amuse me. Take good care of Tommy & little [Ellery]. Do write all about him. How he looks? What is his name, etc. Kiss them for me and . . . write soon,

8. Marian was closing their Augusta home and returning to Fall River. Green turtles grew to 300 pounds. Because of relentless pressures from commercial hunters, green turtles are now an endangered species. Robert M. Ingle and F. G. Walton Smith, *Sea Turtles and the Turtle Industry of the West Indies, Florida, and the Gulf of Mexico* (Coral Gables, 1949); Archie Carr, *The Windward Road: Adventures of a Naturalist on Remote Caribbean Shores* (New York, 1967), 237-52.

9. In 1821, the Indian River area was part of a large St. Johns County, the southeastern portion of which became Mosquito County in 1824. St. Lucia County was formed in 1844 from parts of Mosquito County. The name was changed to Brevard County in 1855, and the current St. Lucie County was created from it in 1905. See VanLandingham, *Pictorial History*, 9; Allen Morris, *The Florida Handbook 1991-1992* (Tallahassee, 1991), 431-32.

Braytons Bluff, St. Lucie, April 19, 1845

I have not heard one word from you since last November, however, as there has been no communication with Augustine since that time, I flatter myself there are many dear & cheering letters in the [post] office for me. . . . I cannot refrain asking why we should be any longer separated? Why must I be deprived of the comfort and society of my dear wife & children for a longer period than next October or November? . . . Is it because you dread the annoyance of the accursed mosquitoes? No! dearest, I am confident & happy in the belief that you are deterred by no such trifling consideration. Tis true, for months in the year (from June to October) they are almost unendurable here, but the other eight there was never a more delightful place to live.

Our climate is not surpassed by that of Italy even. We have the finest deer, fish, turtle, Oysters, &c imaginable. As my own palate can testify. I have just dined sumptuously from the two latter. . . .

Florida is no longer a territory. Texas and herself have simultaneously doffed the garb of a child, & taken to themselves that of a man. In other words they are both recognised as States and we are enjoying like privileges with yourselves.¹⁰

Dearest, I have now no doubt of ultimate success in this delightful country. Oranges, Lemons, Pine Apples, Figs, Bananas, Plantains, Ginger, Arrow Root, Indigo, & indeed almost all the tropical fruits can be raised here. I have them all now growing, & have a residence, that with my darling wife & family, & a few embellishments from her fair hands, in a few years, will make one of the most delightful in the world. You may think that I exaggerate, but I have learned to call things by their right names, & see them in their true light. I intend by fall to have two very comfortable rooms, with a passage between of 10 ft. & two good servants rooms over head. A good kitchen & two good fowl houses, I am today building the second one 10 ft square each.

I have 12 hens & 55 chickens, & calculate to have 200 before fall. I shall send 100 to Key West in July or August where they readily command 50 [cents each]. I have 142 acres of Arrow

10. Florida was the twenty-seventh state admitted to the Union, on March 3, 1845.

Root from which I expect to realize \$3 or 400. I hope to raise Rice sufficient for my family & Pumpkins in abundance. Next year if I live, I expect to sell \$1000 worth of produce. Now dearest I once more enjoin on you, to, . . . without a moments delay, put [into a half barrel] some 100 grape cuttings, Pomegranates, Figs, Raspberries, & etc. Water them well and have them ready to bring with you.

Leave one bud only of the grape above the surface. I am particularly anxious about them. As I fully design having a large vineyard. Our grounds & climate are well adapted to the successful growth of them and nothing more profitable, less expensive, or more delightful than the pure beverage of the grape. You will get the most of the cuttings if possible from the Catawba & Isabella vines as they are superior for wine. . . . The Scuppernong grape is one of the very best for wine. . . .

There are Pine Apples here now bearing, & if there is anything that looks beautiful it is them. I have just obtained 38 & have 30 Bananas which will give me by fall more than two hundred. I shall have considerable fruit another year, & from the plants I now have[,] shall be able to obtain more than 1,000 in a year from this time, & 5,000 the year following, & 25,000 the next— 50,000 is a large plantation of them. 200 Orange trees, 100 lemon, 50,000 bananas & 50,000 Pine Apples are an independent fortune to any man, & there is no difficulty in having them, besides many other valuable fruits, such as Citron, Tamarind, Lime, Guava, Custard apple &c &c.¹¹

How do the dear little children do? Are they good boys? How I want to see you & them. Kiss them for me. If you know anyone who wishes to come out next winter to board, they would pass the winter pleasantly. I have regained my health again.

St. Lucia, August 21, 1846

I arrived safe and well at home a week today, after an absence of 4 months. You may know I was glad to get back to the “wretched, miserable hole.” I feel the want of your society dear, more than ever since my return, & I wish I could devise a way for you to come immediately, but my expenses this summer have

11. It is important to note that pineapple production was prevalent this early. At least one historian places the first pineapple experiments in the 1880's. VanLandingham, *Pictorial History*, 16-17.

been so heavy that I fear I shall be unable to have you come till late in the fall. As soon as I can I shall forward the L'argent, for I cannot live another winter in this lonely, disagreeable way. . . .

The Schooner leaves tomorrow for Key West where this will be mailed. She takes down a load of Turtles & Pumpkins. It no doubt seems strange to you that we are sending pumpkins to market but dear they are worth from \$18 to 25 pr Hundred there. Key West you know is a small island and they raise no vegetables, consequently such things meet with a ready sale. Poultry is worth 6\$ pr doz. She carries some this trip. 600 Pumpkins & 110 Turtle. She will probably go to Charleston with a load on her return. This winter she will run to the West Indies.

I have figs bearing & grapes & every year will make some addition to my list of fruits, till I shall have all that will grow in a tropical climate. The Pine Apples here were as fine this year as you ever saw. In 2 years I have no doubt but whole vessel loads of them will be exported to N.Y. from this place. Three frame houses were erected in my absence & things look prosperous. There will be 10 times the exports from this place this year that there is in Augustine & yet you ask me if I cannot go there. That place is entirely used up. There is nothing now to support it.

One marriage took place while I was gone & a very worthy couple they are. I was at the first courting frolic. In fact they would not have spent that night together if it had not been for me. They are about 45.

Remember me to all friends. . . . How do the boys behave? Do they go to school? Take good care of them.

St. Lucie, October 16, 1848

Dearest, . . . cannot you manage someway to get to Smyrna, from which place I could get you, by small boat inside, as there is water communication inland from St. Lucie to New Smyrna all the way. Except 1/2 a mile.

I have been sick some time; am now better, tho feeble. I never was as sick in my life, as I have been some few weeks back, but I am now about, & you need not give yourself any uneasiness concerning me. . . .

Some months ago I wrote [that I] had already assessed the taxes & expected in a few weeks to collect. The greater part of the taxes were in old Spanish Grants, & since they were [assessed],

the owners filed their objections to the survey and location of them and the [tax] was set aside, so that they have got to be resurveyed before they can be subject to Taxes; which may not be for some years. Which makes my office worth mere nothing instead of \$150 as I expected.¹²

Our only resource here for means is turtles and fish of which we have an abundance but no way to get to market. Vessels will not come here.¹³ Last Winter a Mr. Ward, who married in New Bedford, and myself turtled together & after catching 300 head and not being able to do anything with them we purchased another schooner together for \$600 payable in Key West in Turtles. She was a beautiful little thing of 13 tons, & just as we had carried the last load and returned home, Mr. Ward, the capt, got her on to the bar & she is a total wreck. Cargo all saved except about 3,000 Pine Apple plants we had been to Havana for. So that we derived no benefit from her except supplies of provisions by her for some months. Fortunately we got twine the last trip for the coming winter business, else I should have been flat. . . .

My Evil star still predominates, but my energies are unbroken, & had I good health & my dear family with me, I should feel rich without a cent in the world. I am just as sanguine of ultimate success as ever, tho it requires time.

Trees & plants are promising. My Pine Apples look better and bear larger fruit than any in the West Indies & from those I already have, I can in 3 years have an income of from 5 hundred to 1000 [dollars] and the 4th year so fast do they multiply that I shall have 25,000 fruit & provided they can be got to market you can as easily tell what they will be worth as myself. My oranges too will be bearing then, besides many other kinds of fruit. . . .

I will tell you now how you can come out provided you can manage for means, you can come to Charleston in the Steam Packet every week[:] from there to Fort Melon in Steam Boats every week, and from there to New Smyrna by waggon a distance of 30 miles for \$5 in one day. You are then 150 miles from me, but I can easily get you from there if you will let me know when

12. Brayton planned to borrow from his in-laws to bring his family to Florida and had pledged his fees from tax collection to repay the debt.

13. The shallow passage on St. Lucie Sound barred larger vessels.

you will leave NY. Or which is a much cheaper & equally pleasant way, you can leave NY in large schooners for Jacksonville most any time as there are many vessels that come to St. Johns every winter for lumber and come nearly empty so that you would have excellent accommodation and could bring every thing you wanted to for \$20 probably, children \$20 more say. You could then take the Steam Boat to Fort Melon as before and waggon to Smyrna the whole cost \$20 more perhaps. I would advise this course as it is the cheapest & fewer changes and just as safe & pleasant.

There is one Saw Mill in Jacksonville called the Panama Mills which has many vessels out every winter. She has owners in N.Y. but who they are I dont know. Your brother John could easily ascertain that. I will make arrangements in Smyrna to have your letters sent to me forthwith so that you will not have to remain long there, you can go to the house of Mr. Sheldon and stop. And now dear do try & come if possible.¹⁴

I have 2 cows but they do not give milk now but will in some 3 months, a plenty of hogs always fat and abundance of venison. I have an indian hunter & have not been without Turkey or Deer on my table every day for 3 months. I am putting an addition of 20 ft to my cabin so that you can be comfortable. I shall raise it next week. I have a pair of Oxen and aplenty to eat & all I can say is come if you wish to rejoice my heart. You can have 3 or 4 children to school at \$20 a year if you chose & you can board them too if you like. By that means our children could be daily instructed. . . .

Kiss the children. . . . I almost forgot to tell you how pleased I was at Thomas letter. It [showed] me that he was a good boy & had inclination for study & that you had done your duty by him.

Dunlawton, July 25, 1849

Your truly excellent letter of July 1st is just received & I hasten to answer it, tho I have barely time to say a few words,

14. Panama Mills, the first steam-powered sawmill near Jacksonville, was located at Trout Creek. It was owned by Charles F. Sibbald, a Pennsylvanian. Brayton may have been thinking of Mayoport Mills, at the mouth of the St. Johns River, which was owned by men from New York and New Hampshire. John Dwight Sheldon was from Greenfield, MA. T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity, 1513 to 1924* (Jacksonville, 1925; reprint ed., Jacksonville, 1990), 67.

it being one scene of excitement and confusion around me. You will wonder at receiving a letter from this place, which, by the way is the name of an extensive Sugar Plantation of Col. [John J.] Marshall, some twelve miles north of New Smyrna, where we are now busy fortifying against an expected attack of the Indians.¹⁵ Yes dear, the Indians have broken out & killed one of my neighbours, & wounded another. I will give you an account as far as my time will allow. On the 12th inst 4 Indians came in at the residence of Col. Wm Russell on Indian River about 7 a.m.¹⁶ I had passed the night [there]. We were sitting conversing when they came up. They appeared as friendly as usual, remaining around the house till about 10 a.m. when they walked to a neighbours about half a mile distant, & ground their knives, which was a common occurrence, & therefore nothing thought of it. Having business myself with Capt [D.H.] Gattis, the gentleman at whose house they were gone, I started to see him & when about half way there I met the 4 Indians, stopped & conversed with them a few minutes, bid them goodbye and passed on. I saw nothing unusual in their appearance.

They told me when we separated that they should come & see me in a few days. They passed on to Col Russell's where two of them stopped; the other two went on to the house of Mr. Ward, (about one mile distant) who was absent from home & plundered his house of everything it contained. They then returned to Mr. Russell's and loitered round the house talking & laughing with the children as usual & even making them presents of beads, rings & etc. Then Russell seeing his brother in law Mr. [John] Barker (who resided near) in his field stepped over to chat with him.

Soon [the four Indians] approached to within a few paces of where they were standing, when all four took deliberate aim, &

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15. Marshall, forty-two years of age and a South Carolinian, had an estate worth \$40,000 in 1850, located at Dunlawton, in Orange County. Manuscript returns of the Seventh U.S. Census, 1850, Orange County (population schedule).
 16. William F. Russell's homestead was nine miles north of Brayton's Bluff, where Fort Capron later was established. In 1850, Russell, born in South Carolina, was Inspector of Customs, forty-five years of age, and a farmer with an estate worth \$5,000. Susan Russell, forty-one, was the mother of six children, ages fourteen to two. Other individuals mentioned in the letter were AOA settlers whose homesteads were dispersed along the river. Ives, "Military Map"; Manuscript returns of the Seventh U.S. Census, 1850, St. Lucie County (population schedule).

fired on them. One ball passed through the left arm of Col. Russell fracturing the smaller bone & slightly grazing his abdomen. They then threw down their guns and pursued Mr. Barker who ran for the house. They succeeded in overtaking him a short distance from the house when they stabbed him, causing his immediate death. Col. Russell ran for Capt Gattis's where I then was. I dressed his wound, while Capt Gattis tried the guns & finding them out of order, we fled to the boats.¹⁷

Capt Gattis took Col. Russell in his boat & pushed off. Another gentleman & myself launched another boat which lay on shore & were just pushing off when 8 Indians came up within 25 paces & took deliberate aim over a fence & fired on us.¹⁸ One ball passed through the sleeve of a negro man in the boat with us. They reloaded & again fired at us, but none of the shots took effect. Before they could reload again we were out of reach. The sun by this time had nearly set. What to do we did not know. We finally concluded as we had no arms, that our only course was to get some as soon as possible. We accordingly made direct for my house, I having one of Colts 8 shooters & a double barrell gun. After getting opposite to my house no one was willing to go ashore, not within gun shot of the shore. Consequently I was compelled to jump overboard where the water was nearly up to my neck & wade ashore.

I got my guns & ammunition but did not stop to get my papers or clothes. I then repaired to the boat & went all over the settlement, wading ashore at every house, in the same manner I did at mine. After alarming all the neighbours & getting them

17. Contemporaries blamed John Barker, an AOA claimant and owner of a trading post near Sebastian River, for provoking the attack. Robert Ranson, *East Coast Florida Memoirs, 1837 to 1886* (Tallahassee, 1926; reprint ed., Port Salerno, FL, 1989); VanLandingham, *Pictorial History*, 9. James W. Covington's "Billy Bowlegs, Sam Jones, and the Crisis of 1849." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 (January 1990), 299-311, mentions unfair trading but stresses that the conspirators had been "outlawed" by Seminole authorities and may have been motivated by anger at the Florida legislature for confining them to the reserve and limiting liquor sales. Seminoles captured and delivered three of the conspirators to Florida officials for punishment.

18. Brayton very clearly wrote that four Indians came to the home and shot at Barker and Russell, but that "8 Indians . . . fired on us." Covington suggests that only four were involved. Covington, "Billy Bowlegs," 303. Ranson relates that Russell accidentally spilled ink on his wounded arm during the night. The next day, believing that mortification had set in, he insisted the arm be amputated. Ranson, *East Coast Florida Memoirs*, 16.

into small boats, we launched a small schooner boat of about 3 tons in which we put all the women and children & what things they could gather up in the hurry & hustle of moment, & anchored her off in the stream.¹⁹ They put fire to Capt Gattis's house as soon as they rifled it of all it contained. The firing of the house was no doubt a signal for those in ambush to rush to their assistance.

As soon as day dawned (for you must know that all I have described was the work of a night) we commenced searching for Col. Russell's family, who all took the bush as soon as the firing commenced. [We later learned that] after reflecting a few moments Mrs. Russell thought best for them to take the boat which they did. . . .

After searching for them in vain, Capt Gattis, two other gentleman & myself armed ourselves & went on shore, visiting the premises of Col. Russell and Mr. Barker. We found the houses rifled of everything they contained, even the ticking was taken from the beds. Chairs & furniture broken. We did not discover an Indian tho we freely expected to encounter them. We found Mr. Barker in the field murdered. The cattle were floating about the river dead & I assure you every thing presented a gloomy and frightful appearance.

Not being able to discover any traces of Col. Russell's family, we became convinced that they must have started for Smyrna as two of the boats were gone. After we had got the little schooner to sea with a cargo of some 30 souls, Mr. [Thomas] Morrison & myself took a boat & arms & went in pursuit of those who were missing. About 10 a.m. on the following day, having sailed all night we discovered a boat several miles ahead of us. They took down their sail & ran ashore & hid. . . [thinking] we were Indians & would not show themselves. We finally [found] Mrs. Russell, Mrs. Barker, Miss [Minerva] Bullock, 5 white children, 2 negro girls & one little negro infant who had in the confusion . . . got separated from its mother. Mrs. R. had an infant also.²⁰

19. VanLandingham writes that the terrified settlers "secured passage on a schooner belonging to Capt. Pinkham, a member of the colony, and sailed to St. Augustine." As Brayton's account makes clear, the events of the next few days were far more complicated. There is an AOA claim from Reuben H. Pinkham. VanLandingham, *Pictorial History*, 9.

20. Minerva Bullock, twenty-two years old, probably was governess/teacher for the Russell children. Thomas Morison was an AOA homesteader whose claim was located two and one-half miles north of Fort Pierce.

Of all the heartrending scenes, dear, that ever I witnessed this was the most distressing. Here were a parcel of helpless women & children, bare footed & bare headed, & almost naked. The children crying & screaming for water & food, having been two days without anything to eat except Oysters, which they gathered & opened with their scissors. The women were clinging to us wailing & weeping, begging to know if their husbands were dead or alive. To break the news to them was indeed a task, but it had to be done as they were impertinate in their entreaties. Judge of the unpleasantness of our situation, in the midst of an enemy with a parcel of women & children looking to me for protection. After getting them composed . . . we found that they had not seen the other boat in which was one of Mrs. Russell's little daughters & 8 negroes. We however concluded that as we were in a very dangerous position, our best course was to get those we had already found to Smyrna where they could be under the protection of some one while we should continue the search for the other boat.

But when we arrived at Smyrna we found them there, having walked on the beach a distance of 130 miles in 4 days. How was it possible for those children (some of whom were only 5 & 6 years old), to walk that distance in that incredible short space of time, without any provisions, (except what berries they could pick & turtle eggs they could find) is hardly possible to conjecture.²¹

How long we shall remain I can't tell, but probably only a day or two, as I am expecting Col. Russell will send a vessel for his family, who I shall accompany to St. Augustine. What course I shall take I don't know being without a cent of money & only the clothes I stand [in], which are now beginning to give way. If any of my friends feel as if they could spare a few dollars, now is a time that it will be accepted.

Oh how disappointed I am. Just as I was calculating on having you join me in October, & feeling that I could make you comfortable & happy, at that moment all my hopes are blasted. You will now not make any calculation to come to Florida till the Indians

21. The refugees went to the home of Jane (Murray) and John Sheldon, four miles south of New Smyrna Beach. Sheldon transported the refugees to Dunlawton and St. Augustine. Jane Murray Sheldon, untitled memoir, written manuscript, Jacksonville Beaches Historical Society; Zelia Wilson Sweett, *New Florida, Florida in the Civil War* (Daytona Beach, 1963).

are exterminated. Government I presume will immediately establish a garrison at Indian River. In that event I should wish to return, & look after my effects. But rest assured that I shall not expose myself to any further danger & think it highly probable that I shall go north if I can get the means to carry me there, tho it is getting late in the season.

No one has endured the fatigue as well as myself, nor has any one been exposed to half the dangers or hardships that I have. In fact hardly a soul would have been saved had it not been for me. If any assistance can be rendered me now is the time I need it. The mail is closing so I must stop. I will write you again in Augustine. Write me immediately. Kiss the boys and believe me dearest, Your ever affectionate Lyndon

St. Augustine, Jan'y 2, 1850

I arrived here day before yesterday. . . . My health is quite as good as when I left [Mass.], tho I contracted another cold in Charleston, which keeps me still barking. But we are having most delightful weather, & I hope soon to be right side up.

This morning at sunrise the thermometer stood at 60. St. Augustine has a goodly number of transient people here, in quest of health, & Jacksonville is filled to overflowing. Almost every private family is compelled to open doors to the invalid. Indian River would be crowded if people could go there safely & be accommodated. There are over 500 persons now at Indian River [including soldiers], which gives it a lively appearance. Several of the citizens have returned.

There is no telling whether the Indians will remove peaceably or not. It is my impression now that they will resist to the last, tho nothing is known here of their movements & determination. I expect to leave here tomorrow in the Steamer for Indian River. . . . She is only 12 hours going.

My house I learn is not burned, tho stripped of every thing even to the floors. I had about 4,000 ft of lumber which is also missing. I found my friends here all well. Majr Russell is at Indian River & his wife thinks of accompanying me down, tho I hardly think she will go. Still there is no danger. . . .

I had a lonesome passage dear, & would give all my old shoes to see your smiling face. If I conclude to remain you must make up your mind to come to Florida next fall. . . . How is Ellery's

leg? I would not doctor him much, but pay strict attention to his diet, & bathe him thoroughly every day & rub his limb with coarse towels. I wish I had taken him with me, for I think sea bathing & the saline atmosphere would be productive of much good to him.²² I feel anxious about Thomas. You had better get him some shoulder braces & have him wear them constantly. Have him practice some kind of gymnastics daily, & don't allow him to stoop over his books so much. . . .

St. Augustine, Jan. 6, 1850

You cannot imagine how lonely I feel, and how much I miss your society. . . . I received a letter from Mr. Fowler a few days since as well as the Post Master Genl informing me that the department would give me \$1,000 pr annum to carry the mail once a month from New Smyrna to Miami and back, which I have accepted. I have let out the contract to another gentleman for \$500. He is to furnish everything except the boats. They will cost me about \$200 so that I will probably make 300 by the contract for the first year & nearly 500 after that, besides passengers & packages. I shall likewise get this gentleman appointed P.M. at Indian River & shall attend to the business and divide the profits. I suppose that will pay me some 25\$ pr annum.

The Steamer has not yet arrived, & when I am to get away from this miserable hole is more than I can tell. That I am heartily sick & tired of staying here, is evident to everyone. . . .

We are having most delightful weather. Invalids keep pouring in from the northern cities. My claims on the Government are rising, \$2000 for losses sustained by the depredations. What course Government will take with the Indians, is impossible to tell, but I think unless some treaty is soon made with them, that a war of extermination will ere long be waged. Poor deluded creatures: they had better take their papooz's on their backs & bid adieu to Florida; for if they resist, no mercy will be shown them. . . .²³

22. Ellery Brayton, born June 16, 1844, contracted polio as a child and was slightly impaired in one leg as a result.

23. Government policy is discussed in James W. Covington, *Billy Bowlegs War, 1855-1858: The Final Stand of the Seminoles Against the Whites* (Chuluota, 1981), 14-27, and Canter Brown, Jr., *Florida's Peace River Frontier* (Orlando, 1991), 86-101. After the 1849 attacks, the goal still was to induce emigration west, but the approximately 450 remaining Indians refused to depart. The Third Seminole War was fought from 1855 to 1858.

St. Lucie County, Jan. 25, 1850

There are some 500 Officers & Soldiers stationed here [at Ft. Capron], which renders it perfectly secure near the Garrison, tho I do not consider it safe to go to my place to live which is some 9 miles distant. However there is some prospect that another post will be established nearer my place. I am making arrangements to start the mail, & shall probably get it in operation in about 4 weeks.²⁴

I have found my oxen. Have butchered one which brought me \$56.25. I shall kill the other next week which is a little heavier. I have also found one cow. The balance of my cattle I expect the soldiers have killed.

Mrs. Russell is here. She came with me from St. Augustine. Major Russell has sent for the balance of his family, who will be here in a few days. The Garrison is established at his place. Several of the Officers have their families with them.

It looks like a New England village here, all is bustle and activity. The Sound is white with sail. Buildings are going up daily. Vessels are on the Stocks. Three Stores are open. Teams are moving in every direction. Roads are being constructed. A splendid road is nearly completed from here to Tampa Bay & a military post established every ten miles the whole length of it, from one side of the peninsula to the other. I do not think Government will disturb the Indians at all, but will throw a sufficient force into the country to afford ample protection to all, & keep the Indians hemed up & so entirely cut him off from all intercourse with the whites, that they will have no alternative but to starve or emigrate. Unless they can get powder, lead, salt & etc. they must leave. Already are they meeting the troops as they are crossing the country & begging for tobacco, salt & etc. Government will act on the defensive entirely, but is ready to pay liberally whenever the Indians will think of removing, which must come sooner or later. . . .

My cough is rather troublesome & I am thinner of flesh than I have ever been since I left Augusta, but don't be uneasy for I think the climate will soon strengthen me. . . .

24. The 1850 census listed twenty-two heads of families in St. Lucia County, including Caleb Brayton, thirty-seven, a mail contractor with an estate of \$1,000. Living with Brayton was Charles Johnson, also a mail carrier. Manuscript returns of the Seventh U.S. Census, 1850, St. Lucia County (population schedule).

I shall start the mail on the 1st day of March from New Smyrna, & shall leave that place on the 1st of every month. . . . I want you to subscribe to the Whig paper published in Fall River, & have it direct to me. . . .

Indian River, June 23, 1850

I have been quite unwell since I last wrote you. In fact I was considerably alarmed about my situation. I felt very similar to what I did when I lost my health in the city of Augusta & had seriously thought of leaving for a while, but about 4 days since I began to feel better and am now improving, as fast as I failed. I had become so feeble that I could scarcely walk without tottering, & was reduced in flesh, so that I only weighed 122 pounds. My dear, you need not feel uneasy about me however, for I am improving rapidly. I understand my constitution so thoroughly that with half a chance I can feel myself pretty safe. Every one seemed to regard my case as almost hopeless & thought me nearly insane, that I would not have a physician. I weighed the matter well & came to the sage conclusion that, tho the physician might be very skillful, yet he knew nothing of my constitution, & consequently his skill in my case would amount to little less than experiments. . . .

I should have written you a long letter, but I have not had energy to do it. Army movements are in "status quo." Nothing is known what is intended to be done with the Indians at this time, but I think we will have hot work this fall. . . .

Indian River, July 21st, 1850

Did I not once send you a keg of Manatee meat? There has recently been two taken here. One of them they succeeded in capturing alive, & have this day started with him for Charleston, intending to take him from there to New York and exhibit him, unless [the New York showman P. T. Barnam] will give them a reasonable price for him. They feed entirely on grass; the head resembles somewhat that of a cow, and they are called the Sea Cow. Its skin is similar to the elephants with occasionally a few hairs scattered over it. It has two fore flippers somewhat resembling those of a turtle with nails on the end, it has no fin, and a tail nearly circular. They grow to an enormous size. The one they have started with is about 9 ft long, 3 ft wide & 2 ft deep.

Its eyes & nose & nostrils are similar to a cows. It has no ears. It has back teeth like a cow, but no front teeth. . . . The flesh you know is like beef. Should you have an opportunity, I would advise you to go see [this] curiosity.

Burnham & Clark are the gentlemen who caught it. Should you see Mr. Burnham make yourself known to him. He is a fine looking, dark complexion, black eyed man, and is a very pleasant, unassuming person. . . .²⁵

What time in September darling do you expect to be confined. How I long to be with you at that trying time, to be indulged with your caresses, and to hold to my bosom the pledge of our love. You can scarcely imagine, my dear Marian, the anxiety I shall feel, till that eventful period is passed. . . .

Indian River, Jany 22nd 1851

Your letters are getting to be like Angels visits, few & far between, but I suppose your multiplicity of concerns requires all your time. . . .

How I wish you could be here to enjoy this delightful weather and partake of our fine turtle, fish, oysters and ducks. They are truly delicious. Did you get the barrel of Fish I sent you? I hope they were in good order. They are not quite equal to a mackeral but are a very good substitute. Thermometer stands today at 79 which is about the usual temperature.

You have not yet told me if you are willing to come to Florida. I am tired darling of living this way. Besides I have to pay \$12 per month board and that would half support us here where things are so abundant. I have not yet heard from Washington but hope to by return mail. . . . Government owes me \$725 up to [Jan. 1, 1851].

What are you making such a fuss about the Fugitive Slave law for? You had better take care of the poor whites, & let the negroes to their masters. They are better off with them than anywhere else, & are as much the property of their masters as their plantations. Nine out of ten if left to themselves would return to their masters voluntarily.²⁶

25. Mills O. Burnham and William Burnham settled near Fort Pierce under the AOA. Ranson, *East Coast Florida Memoirs*.

26. Interestingly, the spouses differed over slavery and enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, she agreeing with the explosive response in New England to southern efforts to enforce the law, and he with the bitter protests in the South against abolitionism in New England.

Tell the boys I have a little Pony just big enough for them to ride, & if they are good boys & learn well they shall have a boat & pony when they come to Florida.

Enterprise, Florida, April 22, 1851

We arrived [from Massachussetts] day before yesterday; had a fatiguing time & was detained four days on the way. Besides having to travel from Palatka to this place (a distance of one hundred & twenty five miles) in a canoe, we were two days and a half performing it. We traveled day & nights. I fixed up a place in the boat so that Thomas was very comfortable & slept quite as much as usual. But I hardly closed my eyes from the time I left till I arrived here, & I assure you I am nearly used up. A gentleman who came up with me, . . . one of the ruggedest looking men you ever saw is down sick in consequence of the trip.

The Steam Boat on this route is putting in a new boiler, which caused the difficulty. We stopped one day in Washington, one day in Richmond, one day in Savannah and one day in Palatka, so that in fact we were travelling only nine days. Thomas has not been the least dissatisfied or homesick, has an excellent appetite & seems very well. I am delighted with him. . . .

Now dearest I will tell you how I am situated. In the first place my remittance of \$500 from Washington is not here. All my letters have been sent back from Indian River. . . .

I have got just 10 cents in my pocket. I shall be obliged to ride over to Col. Marshalls & borrow the money, which will cause me to leave Thomas here instead of carrying him to the Col's as I originally intended, for if I take him & my baggage with me I shall be under the disagreeable necessity of telling the landlord I am out of funds, and as he is a stranger to me I had rather lost \$20 than to do it. There is a mail [coming] from the Col's this evening & it is possible my draft may come in that, but my hopes are small.²⁷

I think it is pretty certain that I lost the mail contract. I have learned since I came here that my former mail carrier has put in proposals for it— he is lower than my bid. . . .

Wednesday morning 23rd. I am abed feeling miserably, but hope by keeping my bed today I may get along without being

27. The journey to Dunlawton would have been more than thirty miles north-east from Lake Monroe in the direction of today's highway 415.

sick longer. My draft arrived last night from Col Marshalls which was a great relief to me. I dont know that it will be possible for me to get it cashed. I have asked those most likely to have the means but have not yet succeeded. My head aches very bad so I must close with many kisses & much love for you & the children.

Indian River, Dec. 26, 1852

I received the box you sent me with Thomas clothes a few days since. Thomas was much pleased with them. . . .

I have been extremely unfortunate lately. Both of my mail boats have been caught in heavy weather recently & much damaged. One of them is now sunk 75 miles from here. I start for her day after tomorrow. The extent of her injury must be considerable.

My house is within about 2 months of being finished & I shall send for you as soon thereafter as I can raise the money, unless there is open war with the Indians, which will be determined on by that time. You are aware that Bowlegs & other prominent Indian Chiefs when at Washington agreed to emigrate to the west of the Mississippi next March. Of course nothing can be told with any certainty till that time. Should they not at that time make positive demonstrations of removal by bringing in their property, & women & children a war with them will be inevitable, for should the Government not take hold of the matter the State will. Major Genl Benjamin Hopkins recently spent several days with me & told me that he should not wait longer than March unless they show strong signs of leaving soon. And what is still better he told me he should have a depot at this place & promised me the Quarter Masters situation. The pay I suppose is about \$100 per month.²⁸

Should hostilities commence I should send Thomas north the first good opportunity. His health is greatly improved & he has grown considerably. He has been on the beach looking for shells. . . . I am sorry to hear such unfavorable accounts of Ellerys

28. Major General Benjamin Hopkins was appointed commander of the Florida militia in January 1851. The two-month service of the militia "succeeded in: sending one man to Indian Territory; separating several women from their husbands; indirectly causing the suicide of an old woman and 'liberating' one hundred and forty hogs from the Indians." Covington, *Billy Bowlegs War*, 23-25.

leg. Will you let me have him if I send you Thomas. I think this climate would benefit him. . . .

Yesterday was Christmas, but we had nothing unusual here. We calculated to have had a regular Christmas dinner. I went for oysters, & two men living with me went hunting, fully calculating to have a deer & turkey, but unfortunately did not get either, so that we abandoned the idea entirely. They all went on the beach & I remained at home alone. But if I could have had some of your pumpkin pies, I would have been satisfied. I have more than 300 pumpkins now within a stone throw of the house. They are much finer here than at the North. We use them regularly as a vegetable. We stew them and mash them up with grease & pepper.

Indian River, March 9, 1853

I could soon make you very comfortable, if there is any comfort to be taken in a Cabin. Mine is nearly completed. I am now occupying one room, for you must know there are five in the house, besides a pantry. I was strongly urged to take a boarder. . . . He is here for his health, is quite feeble & wishes to bring his wife. You can have a plenty of boarders if you wish. People are anxious to come here for their health. The salubrity of the climate is unsurpassed. It is exactly the place for the invalid & will at no distant day be much resorted to by that class of persons, or I am no prophet.

The rumor respecting the murder of Genl Hopkins & others was entirely false, but he has been removed from office, so that my nose is out of joint. I think it will be a long while before his equal is in the field.

I am glad to hear you are all well. Thomas is well, but I am feeble & have been for several weeks. I am very thin of flesh, never more so, but hope I shall soon be better. We have had a very pleasant winter. No frost. What would you give to have green vegetables all winter? Yesterday we shot 2 wild Turkey weighing 15 lbs each. They are delightful. Have you ever tasted of a Banana? I have one putting out fruit, I wish you could be here when it matures. It is the best fruit I ever tasted. Thomas has some 50 Chickens, we have a plenty of eggs. . . .

Bring all your furniture whenever you do come as you will need it. Your parlor is little more than 16 ft square, it is not

quite so stylish as your brother Johns, but you can't see through more than half the logs. While you have an opportunity to get cloths cheap you ought to make you as much bedding & etc. as you will want for a long while. I have straw matting for one room certain & perhaps more. I have one good bureau tho small, a Good Mirror, 5 good chairs (including a rocking chair) for a bedroom, a good wash stand. This comprises all my furniture that would be of any value to you. I intend to have a small Mahogany table made by my Carpenter before he leaves. I shall use it for my bedroom as a writing table. In short I have good furniture enough for one bedroom, with the exception of the bedstead & bedding. Of that I have 3 good blankets & 2 good pillows, & 4 good sheets.

You are correct in thinking I will not make much this year. But we must take the bitter with the sweet. It cost me \$75 to repair my mail boat. But I am all the while improving my place, so that by the time my contract expires, I hope we shall be about to make a living from that together with taking boarders. . . .

New Smyrna, July 2nd 1853

I have been here at the house of Mr. Sheldon now a week, hoping that the trip from Indian River to here & the change in diet would be beneficial to my health, but it seems otherwise ordained. And tho I have . . . spoken of my feeble health, yet you will be astonished when I tell you that I fear my life is fast drawing to a close. But dearest such is the fact. My disease has so insidiously worked on me for the last few months, that I had not realised the rapid progress it was making until a short time since, when I awoke to a true sense of my situation. Tho I still hope, which is always the case in diseases of the nature of mine, I hope against reason & good judgment. I am now just able to walk about. I wish I could go north, but I cannot. I am very anxious to see you, & would like to while I am able to get about, which cannot I think be but a few weeks more at farthest.

It is necessary also that you should be here that you may become acquainted with my [business] affairs, [and] aside from the qualifications and comfort it will be to us to be together at this time, it will be [financially] to your advantage. It would be a great gratification and comfort to me to see my dear little boys again, but I dont see that you can well bring them, in fact I would not advise it. . . .

I shall be here about 10 or twelve days longer when I shall return. You cannot get here in time to return with me, but by leaving N.Y. in time to arrive in Charleston to take the Steamer Carolina (a very fine boat) on the 30th you will reach Palatka in time to take the *Sarah Spalding* on Monday the 1st of August. Tuesday you will reach Enterprise where you will have a cart or wagon conveyance 30 miles to New Smyrna, where you will find my boat with Capt [William] Davis in charge.²⁹ You will be perfectly safe with him. He is an excellent boatman. He has long been at Indian River. His wife has been in Augustine since the Indian difficulty. I inclose some Steamer notices which will assist you in travelling.

Now dearest I will tell you what you find indispensable here. . . . Bring a Stove with 6 or 8 ft pipe. Dont think now that you can't, or that you can get along without it. . . . I attribute my present situation more to cooking out doors than anything else. I could not hire a cook. There is no one here to hire. You will have to do the cooking. Whenever you wish to dispose of the stove it will readily bring more than the cost and expenses.

There is no trouble in bringing any thing you wish but [bring only] what is absolutely necessary. Bring a mattress, knives, & forks, spoons, plates & etc., also a mosquito bar. Not one with coarse meshes either. This cross bar muslin is the best, as that keeps out both mosquitoes and sandflies. The sand fly is very minute & annoying. Marian if you could bring out some shirt calico to make up, you could sell them readily & get money for them, which could help affray your expenses. You will have plenty of time & unless you have something to busy yourself about— you will be very lonesome. . . . Thomas is well. He is at Indian River. Bring some school books for Thomas. I shall write father in a few days. I wish I was with him. . . . Kiss the children for me. . . . I hope I may yet live to see them.

It seems strange to me I have been sick so long, to think & see & feel that I can't get better again. I have been weaker than I am now, but never so light. I suppose I weigh about 110. But I never felt as I do now. I never coughed & raised as I do now, & besides my mouth has become sore and my teeth are all loose. What I raise now is the regular pus. I have never raised it before. I raise now by the mouthfuls. . . .

Now dearest I must close. I feel much fatigue and very sore. . . .

29. On Captain William Davis, see VanLandingham, *Pictorial History*, 8.

New Smyrna, Oct. 17, 1853

I intended to have gone to Enterprise today & write you from there, but I find myself too feeble this morning. [Travel] will cost you not over \$50. . . . When I send the money I will tell you when to start so as to arrive at Enterprise at the [right] time. There is a small Sloop running regularly between Savannah and New Smyrna. The Capt is now here. He will return and leave Savannah again in about 3 weeks.

Now I wish you to purchase the following articles & send them. . . . One cooking stove, a second hand one will answer, [and] one parlor stove. For the cooking stove I want one knee and 6 feet pipe, for the parlor I want 4 knees and 18 feet pipe, one bbl dried apples, one dried peaches, one beans, one onions, one apples, one cider, one firkin butter, and any other things you may have to send. Bring some sweet corn to eat & some to plant. Send me a bill of the cost of the things & if \$110 is not enough to cover the cost I will send more.

New Smyrna, Oct 20th 1853

Day before yesterday some Gents arrived here from Enterprise who came up on one of the Boats from Pilatka & informed me you was at Pilatka & was coming up in the other boat. Yesterday Thomas & myself were looking anxiously for you. But when the mail arrived . . . Mrs. Brayton was not on board the boat, so now til I hear from you I shall not know where you are.

We are having very cold unpleasant weather. My health is very poor, in fact I doubt very much if I shall be able to [travel to] meet you. . . . You can't imagine how much I want & need you. I can't get any thing to eat & I am dying for want of little nice things. If I could get some peach or apple sauce every day, how I should relish it. I dont want food. Bring a few garden seeds & 2 light hoes. I cant get anything of the kind here, & I should like to exercise a little sometimes. . . . We have nothing but heavy Negro hoes & I can't use them. . . .

I have old Will again, tho he is not much worth, still he can bring your wood & water & do all such things. In fact he does everything now & works some besides.

Bring Willie. Tell Ellery to be a good boy and he shall come next time. . . . I am froze now. What shall I do when cold weather comes. There is no blood in me I weigh only 100 lb.

New Smyrna, April 6, 1854

I returned here last evening from Enterprise with the intention of returning to Indian River with the boat, but find myself too much jaded. [Marian was then at Ft. Pierce.] I must have a few days rest, & shall therefore stop till the next boat. We have had very cold weather ever since I have been here. I want very much to get home. I find comforts there that I don't any where else.

I send you some oil. Keep Will grubbing & hoeing and Thomas studying.³⁰ There is no corn in these parts over knee high. Get in all the potatoes possible. Attend well to the trees & poultry. No sugar or molasses can be obtained here. There will be a vessel there the last of this month for turtles, when I shall have such things. Tell Willie the oranges are all gone. There are quite a party here on the way to Indian River looking for lands. In haste, your affectionate

Lyndon

Caleb Lyndon Brayton died of tuberculosis June 9, 1854. The details of his burial are not known. Marian Brayton returned to Fall River. In 1871, she moved to Augusta, where she died April 20, 1883. Ellery Brayton attended Brown University and graduated from Harvard Law School in 1866. He served, in Augusta, as clerk of the superior court of Richmond County from 1867 until 1871. Later, he moved to Columbia, South Carolina, served in the legislature, and practiced law before his death March 6, 1907. Thomas L. Brayton lived in Florida until 1861. He returned to Massachusetts to join the Seventh Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers. After the war he was a bank teller in Fall River until illness forced a move to Greenville, South Carolina, in 1876. He served as a deputy United States Marshal until he was murdered July 20, 1881, in Central, South Carolina, by John McDow, a moonshiner.³¹

30. The 1850 Census does not identify Old Will. He may have been one of fourteen slaves owned by Colonel Russell in 1850. Manuscript returns of the Seventh U.S. Census, 1850, St. Lucia County (population schedule).
31. Brayton, *Brayton Family History*, 236; misc. newspaper clippings and other unpublished records in the Brayton family letter collection.

REVIEW ESSAY

Soldier of British West Florida: Major Robert Farmar of Mobile

by J. BARTON STARR

Major Robert Farmar of Mobile. By Robert R. Rea. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990. xii, 184 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$31.95.)

No historian of British West Florida better understands the history of that colony than Robert R. Rea. Over the past twenty years, he has published numerous articles and books on that frontier outpost of the British Empire and has an unsurpassed grasp of the intricacies of the internal history of the colony as well as the imperial complexities posed by the large new possession. His research is always thorough, his analysis clear and often thought provoking, and his writing a model of style that attracts both the general reader and the professional historian.

But the question posed by this book is "Why Robert Farmar?" Few people other than specialists in British West Florida have ever heard of this British officer who never attained a rank higher than major. Rea obviously has had to answer this question to his own satisfaction and has done so by looking beyond the immediacy of Robert Farmar himself. He argues that "biography may be an historian's most useful tool, even though it be the old-fashioned sort that some would term life and times" (p.3). Clearly adopting this approach, Rea presents a careful analysis of one of the most important men in British West Florida, sufficient in itself to justify the book. He has gone further, however, and used Farmar's life as an illustration of the unity of the British-American experience, the complexities of British imperial administration, and the nature of the British army's command structure in America which necessitated an independence of action by its officers that is seldom recognized.

Unusual for an officer in the British army, Farmar was born in America (New Jersey), but based upon his abilities and a

remarkable unity in the Anglo-American experience, he rose to the rank of major. This often-overlooked unity that Rea portrays is seen repeatedly in Farmar's family connections, both in America and England, and within the army. Joining the army during the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739-1742), Farmar participated in the West Indian campaign, including the disastrous expedition to Cartagena. During King George's War (1742-1748), he fought in some of the conflict's most bloody battles, including those of Fontenoy, Rocoux, and Laffeldt. In the French and Indian War (or Seven Years War, 1756-1763), his regiment played a part in the siege of Havana.

But the years following these military campaigns are the ones of most interest to readers of Florida history. In 1763, Major Farmar received orders to occupy Mobile and take possession of West Florida on behalf of the British crown. For the next fifteen years, his fortunes and those of British West Florida were inextricably interrelated. Rea presents a familiar story of the occupation of the run-down province; the internal bickering among virtually every prominent personality, as well as many minor figures, in West Florida; relations with the Spanish at New Orleans and the neighboring Indian tribes; and the attempt to develop the colony. Rea's brief account of Farmar's expedition up the Mississippi to establish British authority at Fort Chartres in the Illinois country is both the most detailed available and illustrative of the difficulties facing British authorities in America. The extended account of the court martial of Farmar, which resulted in his acquittal, while interesting to the specialist and reaffirming both the pettiness of the disputes in West Florida and the problems facing a frontier colony, probably is more detailed than most readers will want.

Farmar passed the last years of his life as a planter and politician in the vicinity of Mobile. Much of his time was spent acquiring land or attempting to confirm his title to lands (such as at Dauphin Island), perhaps the most common pastime—other than survival—of the settlers of the new-world frontier colonies. In this pursuit, he was quite successful and ultimately acquired at least 10,000 acres of land in West Florida.

As a politician, Farmar was appointed a justice of the peace and was elected from Mobile to the colonial legislative assembly. In the latter capacity, he evidenced the streak of independence that was so characteristic of him. Earlier in discussing the court

martial, Rea described "the iron determination, authority, and practicality that characterized Major Robert Farmar and every successful commander in the wilderness frontier" (p. 96). That determination and Farmar's position as a leading figure in Mobile often led to an independent stand which occasioned conflict. Lieutenant Governor Montfort Browne, an open enemy of Farmar, stated of the major: "This Gentleman is endowed with all the Violence & Subtilty of His American Brethren . . . ; he has long since become an Assembly man and leagued with the more despicable of the People, merely to form a party among them, to serve him in a Variety of law suits in which he is ever embroil'd" (p. 119).

That Farmar was an astute observer of the American scene is clear from his evaluation of the situation on the eve of the American Revolution. "The situation of affairs in the northern & Eastern parts of British America," he wrote a fellow officer in England, "are really deplorable, and let what will be the consequence of the present Struggle, Great Britain as well as America will rue that ever their politics took such a fatal turn. It on your side of the Atlantic Ocean may be thought an easy matter to reduce the Americans to a state of *Slavery* (for the present proceeding of administration will admit of no favourable appellation) without considering they are descendants from those who in England made so glorious a stand for liberty, the most laudable cause a man can be engaged in. The Americans only desire to participate with the Britains in the privileges and liberties of their happy constitution, which by nature and consanguinity they have a right to expect not withstanding the unnatural pretensions the Majority of the present British Parliament Assume" (p. 140). Later he informed his niece: "The Eastern and Northern Provinces of British America are in a melancholy situation. The Harsh and coercive measures the British ministry and Parliament have thought proper to adopt, it is to be feared, will bring on a Civil War, which gives me great concern for our friends and near relations, for should Affairs be brought to this deplorable pass, none will be suffered to remain Neuter and Idle Spectators, but all will be compelled to declare for either one or the other part" (p. 140).

What role would Robert Farmar have played in the American Revolution had he lived beyond 1778? The answer to such a question is, of course, "if history," but it seems clear that Farmar

would have struggled between his lifelong devotion to the empire and his sense of duty as a military man, and the ideas of justice and his own "American-ness." It is not difficult to paint a scenario of Farmar as either a Loyalist or a Rebel. In that sense he was a microcosm of the dilemma that faced most Americans as the wave of independence and revolution swept across the continent.

I have a few quibbles with the book. First, and most irritating, is the publisher's use of notes at end of the book. Rea includes much valuable information in his notes and with computerized typesetting no valid reason exists for not placing the notes at the bottom of the pages where they are easily accessible to the reader. Second, while admittedly beyond Farmar's lifetime, one is puzzled that Rea did not include any discussion (or at least a note) about the infamous "Robert Farmar's Journal" of the siege of Pensacola in 1781.

These points aside, Rea's judicious use of his sources is superb. His understanding of British West Florida, the empire, and the intricacies of the British army in America is unsurpassed. In short, *Robert Farmar of Mobile* likely will remain the definitive work on the major for many years to come.

REVIEW ESSAY
A Nation Divided:
Robert Leckie's Narrative Account

by WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS

None Died In Vain: The Saga of the American Civil War. By Robert Leckie. (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1990. xvii, 682 pp. Acknowledgments, maps, selected bibliography, index, \$29.95.)

Robert Leckie is a prolific author of books concerning history, autobiography, "belles lettres," and fiction, not to mention eleven others for young readers. His most recent is entitled *None Died In Vain: The Saga of the American Civil War*. It is a large book (sixty-seven chapters and 658 pages of text), and, having no footnotes, it may be described as "popular" history. Even so, there is a bibliography, and it is the product of considerable scholarship. The person who begins and finishes the work will find no new materials presented and no new interpretations offered. Yet, the reader has the right to expect a skillful blending of standard Civil War monographs, biographies, and autobiographies that provides an intelligent and well-written synthesis of America's greatest tragedy. Mr. Leckie is equal to such expectations.

Because the author is a Marine veteran of World War II, he is at his best in writing about battles, the men who fought them, and the consequences. He is less at home describing political, social, and economic conditions, although his first chapter is an effective summary of the Mexican War and its significance. Less well done is chapter two on "The Crisis Of Slavery." John Calhoun (Leckie omits the usually included middle initial "C.") was not a United States Senator in 1820 (p. 7), and many will be surprised to learn that John and John Quincy Adams were members of the "Virginia Dynasty." The chapter on slavery does not go beyond simplistic generalizations. While northern farmers chose horses over oxen because they were more productive, it was not true that their counterparts in "the South chose mules

because they could endure the most abuse" (p. 22). Mules were preferred because they were stronger than horses and could stand the heat better. Since the cost of a mule was over twice that of a horse, it usually was not abused. One could not be a planter without owning slaves, but possessing fifty, as Leckie says, was no absolute minimum, and there were other criteria. In "The House Divides," a quick trip through the 1850s Stephen A. Douglas gets short shrift.

By chapter five ("The Rail-Splitter") Leckie introduces an effective writing device—the quick, succinct biography of a principal player, including a revealing physical description. For example, Union General Winfield Scott Hancock is introduced as "Tall, strongly built, extremely handsome . . . [and] also admired or abhorred by his versatility in the art of profanity" (p. 490). Elsewhere, General William Tecumseh Sherman is characterized as "an unusually perceptive, gifted and complicated human being, in whose character and career can be found perhaps more marks of genius than in those of any other American commander before or since" (p. 620). Another merit is that the chapters are brief and never get bogged down in detail. Chapters six through eleven are well organized and get the reader through the traumatic years of John Brown, mounting sectional crises, and the election of Lincoln. With Lincoln's victory, the lower South withdrew from the Union, and, while Leckie sees no way it could have been avoided, he is less than positive. "Secession had come. Had it been inevitable? Probably" (p. 84).

In his analysis of Jefferson Davis, Leckie agrees with other students of the Civil War that the Mississippian by way of Kentucky was ill fitted to be president but well fitted to be a general. Some scholars defend Davis, and others question both his executive and his military talents. The account of the crisis at Fort Sumter, South Carolina, is well done, but little mention is made of the simultaneous standoff at Fort Pickens in Pensacola harbor. In back-to-back chapters the cabinet personnel of Lincoln and Johnson are deftly sketched, and Leckie draws a flattering picture of Florida's Stephen R. Mallory as Confederate Secretary of Navy. Native Montgomerians will not like Leckie's description of the Cradle of the Confederacy, and local historians will point out that the city's major thoroughfare (later famous in the civil-rights struggles of the 1960s as Dexter Avenue) was then known

as Market Street, not Main Street. Leckie makes a somewhat larger error when he ascribes to Georgia's Robert Toombs the famous words, "The man and the hour have met." They were uttered by William Lowndes Yancey, an Alabama "fire-eater," to introduce Davis to a crowd of Montgomerians.

By chapter eighteen the reader knows about the South's General P. G. T. Beauregard—Leckie sees him as inflexible, belligerent, too bookish, and politically inept. With the reduction of Fort Sumter, the secession of the Upper South, and Lincoln's call to arms, the Civil War takes center stage. Leckie has a low opinion of United States General Irwin McDowell, whom he describes as "dogmatic and didactic" (p. 160). In clear prose (sometimes Leckie gets too dramatic) the reader sees McDowell routed and Bull Run described as "the first battle of modern arms" (p. 172). In writing of First Bull Run, Leckie does what he will do often in his narrative, and that is to inform the non-military expert about certain weapons. He does not do so in a condescending manner, and most readers will be grateful. He notes that the old-fashioned muzzle-loaded muskets whose bullets had a range of 100 yards were improved by the conical minié ball with a range of 500 yards and devastating impact, a fact that explained why there were so many amputations.

After detailing how the border states of Missouri and Kentucky were saved for the Union despite the bumbling of Union General John Charles Fremont, Leckie provides a psychological profile of McDowell's successor as commander of what became the Army of the Potomac, General George B. McClellan. The self-confident McClellan was a master of "fine and stirring phrases" (p. 188), a romantic who loved his men and had that love returned. Yet McClellan's "terrible defect" was that he had to be sure, to be ready before taking action. "He did not want to win as much as he feared to lose" (p. 189). The reader is told of McClellan's troubles with the northern press, the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, and various generals.

The author skips next to the Confederacy where Davis had trouble with Unionists in East Tennessee and difficulties abroad when James M. Mason and John Slidell sought recognition and, if possible, military alliances respectively in England and France. The Confederate emissaries were forcibly detained by the Union navy, but Lincoln avoided diplomatic embarrassment by permitting them to proceed on their unsuccessful diplomatic ventures.

Leckie is thorough and along the way Ambrose Burnside, Henry W. Halleck, and Don Carlos Buell for the blue-clad Federals are introduced, and the early combat experiences of Ulysses S. Grant and William Tecumseh Sherman are recounted. The mini-biography of Grant particularly is convincing. He emerged as a Union hero with his western victories at forts Henry and Donelson. In these chapters, the author uses his biographical approach to introduce Confederate General Albert Sidney Johnston and his commanders.

Despite northern success in taking Nashville and achieving victory in Arkansas at the Battle of Pea Ridge in 1862, Lincoln had to play the role of consummate politician in dealing with Congress and his own cabinet, particularly his secretary of war, Edwin M. Stanton, who was obsessed with treason and was always on the lookout for it. But victories in the field continued at Island No. 10 and New Madrid, and there is an excellent account of the bloody fighting in Tennessee at Shiloh. There, Confederate generals Beauregard and Johnston (the latter's death in battle was a severe blow to the southern cause) were pitted against Grant and Sherman. Shiloh was the first Civil War battle with over 100,000 men engaged. Union forces suffered more casualties, and, tactically, Shiloh was a standoff, "although in possessing the field the Federals may be said to have won a victory" (p. 288). Actually, according to the author, "Shiloh was a decisive victory for the North." It revealed that the war would be hard and tough, and, as Grant said, "I gave up all hope of saving the Union except by complete conquest" (p. 289).

A good account of the common soldier— "Billy Yank" and "Johnny Reb"— is a welcome diversion in the recitation of battles. The author reminds his readers that the Civil War fundamentally was a war fought by the infantry: 80 percent of the Union army and 75 percent of the Confederate army were foot soldiers. The cavalry was flashy and important, but Daniel Harvey Hill, a Confederate general, once "offered a reward of Five Dollars to anybody who could find a dead man with spurs on" (pp. 293-94). Although black soldiers were used by the North, the rank-and-file white troops mistreated them. Leckie cites instances of brutal treatment in battle by southern troops to black soldiers. Not until a month before the war ended would the Confederate Congress authorize the enlistment of blacks. As Howell Cobb, the Georgia politician-soldier put it, "The day you make soldiers of them is

the beginning of the end of the revolution. If slaves will make good soldiers, our whole theory of slavery is wrong" (p. 296).

Other action in 1862 saw Union triumphs at New Orleans (here the abilities of naval commanders David Dixon Porter and especially David G. Farragut become evident), Roanoke and New Bern in North Carolina, and Fernandina, Jacksonville, and St. Augustine in Florida. Charleston was menaced and Savannah neutralized with the fall of Fort Pulaski, and conditions were such that in April 1862 the Confederacy resorted to the draft. In the East, there was the complicated and eventually unsuccessful Peninsula Campaign that proposed to take Richmond. Important for the South was Joseph E. Johnston, whom President Davis disliked, and for the North, McClellan, of whom Lincoln said, "He has got the slows." Leckie is good on Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson with his stern Presbyterianism, abstentiousness, eccentricities, "lifelong hypochondria," and brilliance as a military commander. Joe Johnston, who was always getting shot, was wounded so badly during the campaign that he was replaced by Robert E. Lee as commander of the Army of Northern Virginia.

Leckie is objective in his appraisal of Lee. He sees him as having too much humility and too much kindness. He was not ferocious enough, yet he was a great general. He also inspired his troops who literally worshipped him. So did civilians, and as one southern woman remarked, "I've heard of God, but I've seen General Lee" (p. 340). In battles that included Mechanicsville, Gaines' Mill, and Malvern Hill, McClellan could not overcome his caution, and, although he could have taken Richmond, he retreated. The Peninsula Campaign failed.

In the West, Beauregard made a skillful and necessary retreat but was replaced by Braxton B. Bragg (whom President Davis greatly overrated), when Federal forces took Memphis by water and Farragut captured Baton Rouge. Except for Vicksburg, the Mississippi River was in Union hands. The Confederates registered a victory when Union General John Pope was defeated at Second Bull Run (here Lee and Jackson and such able generals as Jeb Stuart, James Longstreet, and A. P. Hill were at their best). By going on the offensive and winning a victory outside the South, Lee hoped to revitalize the South and perhaps bring England and France into the war on the side of the Confederacy. To that end he moved out of Virginia, accompanied by Longstreet, D. H. Hill, and A. P. Hill (the latter was removed

by Jackson from his command). McClellan followed Lee to Sharpsburg, Maryland, and found him at Antietam Creek. After a bitter struggle that resulted in 26,000 casualties, Lee retreated to Virginia, and McClellan let him get away.

Even so, the standoff at Antietam allowed Lincoln to issue a famous pronouncement. He and certain members of Congress had been moving toward making the abolition of slavery co-equal with preserving the Union as a wartime objective. The statement freed the slaves in Confederate states, but obviously had no immediate application. Yet, the Emancipation Proclamation gave the United States a firm moral position, and it had the added benefit of making foreign intervention unlikely. It confirmed the beliefs of abolitionists, galvanized the faith of blacks, and, while alienating some Northerners, it convinced many more that slavery had to be abolished.

Back in the West, William Rosecrans defeated the gray-clad forces of General Earl Van Dorn at Corinth, Mississippi, and the fighting ended in Kentucky when General Don Carlos Buell, with the aid of the pugnacious General Philip H. Sheridan, forced Bragg and Florida's Edmund Kirby Smith to retreat after the Battle of Perryville. The victory was less than brilliant, and Lincoln replaced Buell with Rosecrans. On the Virginia battlefields, the war continued to go badly for Yankee forces. General Ambrose Burnside, lacking confidence in himself, moved against Richmond by attacking Fredericksburg where he suffered a decisive defeat and was relieved of his command. At Fredericksburg, Lee remarked, "It is well that war is so terrible— we should grow too fond of it!" (p. 412).

Failing at Richmond, the North hoped to divide the Confederacy by taking Vicksburg. Before that was done, Bragg attacked Rosecrans in Tennessee at Stones River and Murfreesboro. The useless slaughter saw Bragg disengage, resulting in a Union victory. Bragg still blocked Rosecrans from Chattanooga. In his interpretation of the battles, Leckie is sharply critical of Bragg as a man and as a general.

In January 1863, Lincoln named the handsome ladies' man Joe Hooker as his fifth commander of the Army of the Potomac. The hard-drinking general's sexual exploits produced the modern synonym for a prostitute, "hooker." The new commander chose Dan Butterfield as his chief of staff and Dan Sickles as a corps commander. If Butterfield is not remembered for his mili-

tary talents, he was musically inclined and wrote the haunting "Taps." As for Sickles, he knew nothing of war but had made the headlines when he killed his wife's lover, the son of Francis Scott Key, was found innocent, and then took his wife back. The upshot of "Fighting Joe" Hooker's stint was the Battle of Chancellorsville. It occurred on May 2, 1863, and Hooker apparently thought Lee was retreating when actually the Confederates were attacking. Jeb Stuart was valiant in the Confederate victory, but Stonewall Jackson mistakenly was shot and killed by his own men. Leckie's description of Jackson's death is poignant.

Meanwhile, two attempts to take Charleston failed (the city did not fall until February 1865), and there were riots in New York City against the draft. Lee went on the offensive again, moving north toward the decisive battle at Gettysburg. Leckie thinks Lee should have left Virginia to fight in the West instead of Pennsylvania. He notes that Lee's army "was the worst-fed and worst-clothed army in military history" (p. 475). Beyond that, Lee had an "appalling indifference to [the] discipline" of his troops (p. 477). Lee's failure to assert his authority over Longstreet at Gettysburg when the latter openly opposed his plans was "incredible," "beyond belief," and "preposterous" (p. 507). Leckie faults Lee's strategy but praises his tactics.

At this time, Hooker was relieved, and his replacement was General George Gordon Meade. A West Pointer who was born in Cadiz, Spain, where his father was a merchant, Meade's genius lay with maps. The cautious Meade was a topographical expert without peer. Four chapters are devoted to the Battle of Gettysburg, and the account is excellent. The reader learns of the storied George Edward Pickett and his famous charge. He is informed that Pickett finished last in his class at West Point and that, whether on foot or horseback, "he carried an elegant riding crop, his short beard and drooping mustache were carefully groomed and his hair fell to his shoulders in perfumed brown ringlets" (p. 526). In his evaluation, Leckie believes that after the Confederate defeat Meade was right when he did not follow up immediately and counterattack. But he criticizes Meade for his slowness in pursuing Lee and counterattacking him at the proper time. Lee's army escaped when it should have been destroyed.

After Gettysburg, final victory by Union forces was inevitable, and many Southerners (including their leaders with the exception of Davis) realized it. The author has solid chapters on the

siege and fall of Vicksburg, as well as the roles played by generals George Henry Thomas, Rosecrans, Grant, and Sherman in the Union successes at Chickamauga and Chattanooga. Before describing Sherman's Atlanta campaign, march to the sea, and surge through the Carolinas, Leckie offers some well-chosen words on Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. While the "invited orator" Edward Everett of Massachusetts declaimed at length, Lincoln confined himself to a few remarks. Yet the profound eloquence of his address continues to move succeeding generations of Americans.

Grant's final campaign before Richmond and Lee's surrender on April 9, 1865, at Appomattox are rendered in restrained, clear prose. The author might well have ended his book there, but he adds three chapters that deal with Lincoln's assassination, his burial, and the unraveling of the Confederacy, culminating in Johnston's surrender to Sherman at Durham Station, North Carolina.

Florida readers will find their state barely mentioned. When Florida enters the narrative at all, it usually is in connection with some Yankee or Rebel general having served there during the Second Seminole War. In commenting on Confederate cruelty to black soldiers, Leckie mentions "a minor battle in Olustee, Florida." Those wishing more would do well to consult William H. Nulty's recently published *Confederate Florida: The Road to Olustee*. Yet Florida did not play a major role in the Civil War, although Leckie might have mentioned the state's important contributions in men, agricultural produce, livestock, and salt. The author's book lacks the overview and balance of James M. McPherson's *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Era of the Civil War*, and it does not have the pathos and literary style of Shelby Foote's three-volume work on the war. Yet it is well written, lively, reliable, and informative. For the non-specialist, Leckie makes battles such as Gettysburg comprehensible. Few books on the Civil War can make that claim. Fair to both sides and balanced in its treatment, *None Died In Vain* makes a valuable contribution to Civil War history.

FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

This list shows the amount and variety of Florida history research and writing currently underway, as reported to *The Florida Historical Quarterly*. Doctoral dissertations and master's theses completed in 1989 are included. Research in Florida history, sociology, anthropology, political science, archaeology, geography, and urban studies is listed.

Anne Arundel Community College, Arnold, Maryland

Frank Alduino (faculty)– “Charlie Wall, Tampa’s Bolita King” (continuing study).

Appalachian State University

Mark Akerman– “Lee’s Cyclone Brigade from Florida” (study completed).

Auburn University

Robin F. A. Fabel (faculty)– “Loyalist West Florida: An Anomalous Community” (publication forthcoming); “Schemes to Create an Eighteenth-Century American Colony in British West Florida” (continuing study).

Ethan Grant– “Anglo Settlers in, the Natchez District of British West Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Broward County Historical Commission

Rodney E. Dillon, Jr.– “The Civil War in South Florida” (continuing study).

Rodney E. Dillon, Jr., Helen H. Landers, and Dorothy Bryan– “History of Broward County” (continuing study).

Helen H. Landers– “The North New River Canal Locks” (continuing study).

Clearwater Christian College

Frank L. Snyder (faculty)– “Biography of William Pope DuVal” (continuing study).

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University

- John T. Foster, Jr., and Sarah Whitmer Foster (faculty)— “Racial Equality and the Activities of Educators in Early African-American Schools: A Comparison of Florida and Hampton, Virginia”; “Chloe Merrick Reed” (continuing studies).
- Larry E. Rivers (faculty)— “James Hudson: Civil Rights Leader in Tallahassee, 1955-1975”; “Slaves and Masters: Madison County, Florida, 1825-1865”; “The Peculiar Institution in Jackson County, Florida, 1824-1865”; “Day-to-Day Resistance of Slaves in Middle Florida, 1821-1865” (continuing studies).

Florida Atlantic University

- Donald W. Curl (faculty)— “Romance in Stone: Mediterranean Revival Architecture in Florida,” with Fred Eckel (publication forthcoming); “Lost Palm Beach,” with Fred Eckel (continuing study).
- Joanne M. Lloyd— “ ‘Yankees of the Orient’: Yamato and Japanese Immigration to America” (master’s thesis completed).
- Raymond A. Mohl, Jr. (faculty)— “Shadows in the Sunshine: Race and Ethnicity in Miami, 1896-1990s”; “Jews and the Civil Rights Movement in Miami”; “Racial Violence and the Second Ghetto in Miami, 1945-1960” (continuing studies).
- Lori C. Walters— “Missileland, USA: Cocoa Beach and America’s Space Program” (master’s thesis completed).

Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, Tallahassee

- Charles R. Ewen and John H. Hann— “Report on the Excavations at the Tallahassee de Soto site and Pertinent Translations from the de Soto and Cabeza de Vaca Chronicles” (continuing study).
- John H. Hann— “Visitations and Revolt in Florida, 1656-1695”; “The Florida Mission Experience”; “Heathen Acuera, Murder, and a Potano Cimarrona: the St. Johns River and the Alachua Prairie in the 1670s”; “The Apalachee of the Historic Era”; “Father Juan de Paiva: Spanish Friar

of Colonial Florida”; “Inventory and Auction of the Estate of Captain Don Francisco de La Rua, Deceased in 1649 in St. Augustine, Florida” (publications forthcoming); “Florida’s Timucua”; “Survey of Spanish Florida’s Natives” (continuing studies).

Bonnie F. McEwan– “San Luís de Talimali: the Archaeology of Spanish-Indian Relations at a Florida Mission”; “The Archaeology of Women in the Spanish New World”; “The Role of Ceramics in Spain and Spanish America During the Sixteenth Century”; “The Missions of Spanish Florida” (publications forthcoming).

Gary Shapiro and Bonnie McEwan– “Archaeology at San Luis: the Apalachee Council House” (publication forthcoming).

Gary Shapiro and Richard Vernon– “Archaeology at San Luis: the Church Complex” (publication forthcoming).

Roger C. Smith– “Vanguard of Empire: Ships of Exploration in the Age of Columbus” (publication forthcoming).

Florida Department of Natural Resources

Joe Knetsch– “The Armed Occupation Act of 1842”; “The Canal Movement in Florida and the South” (continuing studies).

Florida International University

Seth H. Bramson– “Rural Hospitality in the Florida Keys: The Long Key Fishing Camp, 1904-1935”; “Jewels in the Sunshine: The Flagler System Hotels” (continuing studies).

Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville

Kathleen A. Deagan (faculty) and Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)– “The Timucua Indians” (publication forthcoming).

Jerald T. Milanich– “Introduction to Florida Archaeology” (publication forthcoming); “Hernando de Soto and the Indians of Florida,” with Charles Hudson (publication forthcoming).

Jerald T. Milanich, Lisa Hoshower, and George Armelago (faculty)– “Archaeology and Bioanthropology of the Fig

Springs Site, Columbia County: The Impact of the Spanish Mission System on the Northern Utina" (continuing study).

Florida Southern College

James M. Denham (faculty)– "Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Florida"; "South Carolina Volunteers in the Second Seminole War: A Prelude to the Gubernatorial Election of 1836," with Canter Brown, Jr. (continuing studies).

Florida State Archives

David J. Coles– "Civil War Letters of Washington Ives, Fourth Florida Infantry," with James P. Jones (continuing study).

Florida State University

Abel Bartley– "Earl Johnson's Promise of Power: Black Political Leadership in Jacksonville, 1962-1988" (continuing study).

Neil B. Betten and Edward F. Keuchel (faculty)– "Homicide and Capital Punishment: Jacksonville, 1880-1920" (continuing study).

David Mark Brewer– "An Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Overview and Assessment of Mosquito Lagoon at Canaveral National Seashore" (master's thesis completed).

David J. Coles– "Military Operations in Florida during the Civil War" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Robert Alden Danielson– "A Study of the Methodology and Techniques Utilized in the Vertebrate Faunal Analysis of South Florida" (undergraduate honors thesis completed).

Anne Gometz– "Commercial Exploitation of Some Native Florida Plants" (master's thesis completed).

Eric L. Gross– "The Lake Okeechobee Hurricane Disaster of 1928" (master's thesis completed).

James P. Jones (faculty)– "Civil War Letters of Washington Ives, Fourth Florida Infantry," with David J. Coles (continuing study).

Frank Johnson Keel, Jr., "A Comparison of Subsistence Strategies in Coastal and Inland Sites, South Florida" (master's thesis completed).

- Edward F. Keuchel (faculty)– “Family, Community, and Business Enterprise: Miller Enterprises of Crescent City” (continuing study).
- Edward F. Keuchel (faculty) and Margary Neal Nelson– “Bessie Williams Memoir” (continuing study).
- Susan Hamburger– “The Development of the Horse Racing Industry in Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Vivian Miller– “Murder and Executive Clemency in Florida, 1890-1910” (master’s thesis completed).
- Pat Riordan– “Colonists, Slaves, and Indians in the Old Southwest: 1660-1819” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Robert A. Taylor– “Rebel Storehouse: Florida in the Confederate Economy” (Ph.D. dissertation completed).
- Sally Vickers– “Ruth Bryan Owen: Florida’s First Congresswoman” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Cynthia R. Waddell– “The Career of William B. Knott” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); “The Knott House in Tallahassee” (continuing study).
- Roderick D. Waters– “The Life and Times of Gwendolyn Sawyer Cherry: Educator, Attorney, and the First African-American Woman Elected to the Florida Legislature” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Historic Property Associates, St. Augustine

- William R. Adams– “Architectural Development in St. Augustine, New Smyrna Beach, and Lake Wales” (continuing study).
- Sidney P. Johnston– “DeLand History and Architecture” (continuing study).
- Stephen Olausen– “Intracoastal Waterway” (continuing study).

Historical Association of Southern Florida

- Tina Bucuvalas– “Cuban Folklife”; “South Florida Folklife” (continuing studies).
- Brent Cantrell– “Trinidad Carnival”; “Nicaraguan Folk Arts in Miami” (continuing studies).
- Robert S. Carr– “Archaeological Investigation of the Addison Homestead, Dade County” (continuing study).

- Dorothy Fields— “Black Archives, History, and Research Foundation of South Florida” (continuing study).
- Joseph H. Fitzgerald, Rebecca A. Smith, J. Andrew Brian— “Quest for the Indies: Maps of Discovery” (exhibition forthcoming).
- Paul S. George— “Port of Miami” (continuing study); “Historical Walking Tour of East Little Havana” (publication forthcoming).
- Paul S. George, Joseph H. Fitzgerald, Rebecca A. Smith, J. Andrew Brian— “Christopher Columbus” (exhibition forthcoming).
- Arva Moore Parks— “Dade County”; “Harry S Truman in Key West” (continuing studies).
- Thelma Peters— “Cuban Summer” (continuing study).
- W. S. Steele— “Seminole Wars in South Florida” (continuing study); “Military History of the Joe Robbie Dolphin Stadium Site” (publication forthcoming).
- Patsy West— “Biography of Kenadgie”; “Biography of Old Tiger Tail”; “The Settlement of the Everglades: A Mikasuki Culture History”; “Traditional Seminole Foods, Utensils, and Preparation” (continuing studies); “The Historic Snake Creek Seminole Settlements: Dade County, Florida 1819-1900”; “Photographic History of the Seminole and Miccosukee” (publications forthcoming).

Historical St. Augustine Preservation Board

- Stanley C. Bond, Jr., Susan R. Parker, and Julie Wizorek— “Historical Archaeology of the Cofradía of the Blessed Sacrament Site”; “Archaeological Investigations of the Ribera Garden Site” (continuing studies).
- Susan R. Parker— “Spanish St. Augustine: Family Life, the Tri-racial Community, ‘Urban’ Indians”; “Religious Organizations (cofradías) for Laypersons”; “Property Ownership” (continuing studies).
- Susan R. Parker and Bruce John Piatek— “Computer Index of the East Florida Papers” (continuing project).
- Julie Wizorek— “Slip-Decorated Redwares Recovered in St. Augustine Sites” (report completed).

Jacksonville University

- George E. Buker (faculty emeritus)— “Jacksonville: Riverport-

Seaport” (publication forthcoming); “The Union Blockade of Florida During the Civil War” (continuing study).

Louisiana State University

Paul E. Hoffman (faculty)– “Introduction to and a Short Biography of Hernando de Soto” (publication forthcoming); “History of Spanish Louisiana”; “The Quincentennial and Early Explorations of the Southeastern Coast” (continuing studies).

Miami-Dade Community College, Wolfson Campus

Paul S. George (faculty)– “History of the Burdine Family”; “History of Lauderdale-By-The-Sea”; “The New River Tunnel in Fort Lauderdale”; “South Florida and the Armed Occupation Act of 1842,” with Joe Knetsch; “Greater Miami Jewish Community”; “Walking Tour Booklets of Jewish South Miami Beach, Downtown Miami, and Riverside/Shenandoah” (continuing studies); “Twentieth-century Journey: A History of the City of Oakland Park, Broward County” (study completed).

Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee

Julia S. Hesson– “Florida Farm Kitchens of the 1920s and 1930s, Home Extension Work in Florida, Florida on the Eve of the Great Depression” (permanent exhibit opened); “Florida’s Supreme Court to 1902”; “Agriculture and Economy in Antebellum Florida” (permanent exhibits forthcoming).

Charles R. McNeil– “Pensacola Red Snapper Industry”; “Fishermen’s Labor Union in Pensacola”; “The Union Bank Minute Book” (continuing studies).

Erik T. Robinson– “Art, In and About Florida” (continuing study).

National Park Service

José Ignacio Avellaneda– “Translation of Spanish Version of the Building of Castillo de San Marcos” (continuing study).

North Florida Junior College

Joe A. Akerman, Jr. (faculty)– “Jacob Summerlin, King of the Crackers” (continuing study).

Pensacola Junior College

Brian R. Rucker (faculty)– “History of the Citrus Industry in Antebellum Pensacola” (continuing study).

The St. Augustine Foundation, Inc., Flagler College

Eugene Lyon– “Translations, Revillagigedo Archives”; “Pedro Menéndez de Avilés” (continuing studies); “Personal Property and Other Aspects of Material Culture in Sixteenth-Century Spanish Florida” (publication forthcoming).

St. Leo College

James J. Horgan (faculty)– “Guidebook to the Historic Sites of Pasco County” (continuing study).

University of California, Irvine

Amy Turner Bushnell (faculty)– “The Archaeology of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale: Supporting and Supplying the Seventeenth-Century Doctrina”; “A Guide to the History of Florida”; “Archaeology and History of the Spanish Borderlands East” (publications forthcoming); “A Land Renowned for War: The Indian Provinces of the Captaincy General of Florida” (continuing study).

University of Central Florida

Paul Hershaw– “History of Ocoee” (master’s thesis in progress).

Edmund F. Kallina, Jr. (faculty)– “Claude Kirk and the Politics of Confrontation” (continuing study).

Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty)– “History of Brevard County”; “History of Florida,” with William S. Coker (continuing studies).

Paul W. Wehr (faculty)– “History of Old Orange County”; “History of Education in Seminole County” (continuing studies).

University of Florida

- Arch Fredric Blakey (faculty)– “Rose Cottage Chronicles: The Civil War Correspondence of the Bryant-Stephens Families of Welaka, Florida” (publication forthcoming); “Florida’s First Forty Years as a United States Possession, 1821-1861” (continuing study).
- Abby Bradley– “Closing of the Green Cove Springs Naval Base” (study completed).
- Stephen E. Branch– “History of Silver Springs” (study completed).
- Canter Brown, Jr.– “Ossian Bingley Hart, Florida’s Loyalist Reconstruction Governor” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); “Fort Meade, 1849-1900”; “Tampa’s James McKay and the Frustration of Confederate Cattle Supply Operations in South Florida”; “Persifor F. Smith, the Louisiana Volunteers, and Florida’s Second Seminole War”; “Race Relations in Territorial Florida, 1821-1845” (studies completed); “South Carolina Volunteers in the Second Seminole War: A Prelude to the Gubernatorial Election of 1836,” with James M. Denham (continuing study).
- James C. Clark– “The 1950 Florida Senatorial Primary between Claude Pepper and George Smathers” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); “The Ku Klux Klan and the Murder of Harry T. Moore” (continuing study).
- David R. Colburn (faculty)– “Florida’s Black Heritage,” with Jane Landers (continuing study).
- James Cusick– “Archaeological Excavations at the Kirby-Smith House, St. Augustine.”
- Herbert J. Doherty (faculty)– “Life of David Levy Yulee”; “History of the Florida Historical Society”; “Railroads of North Central Florida” (continuing studies).
- Diana S. Edwards– “The Social and Economic Life of African-Americans in the Lincolnville Community of St. Augustine in the 1920s”; “Richard Aloysius Twine, Photographer of Lincolnville, 1922-1927,” with Patricia C. Griffin (continuing studies).
- Michael V. Gannon (faculty)– “A History of Florida”; “The Administration of Governor Juan Marquez Cabrera, 1680-1687” (continuing studies).
- Gardner Gordon– “Archaeological Excavations at the Fountain of Youth Park, St. Augustine.”

- John J. Guthrie, Jr.— “The Enforcement of State and Federal Anti-Liquor Laws in Florida, 1915-1935” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Kermit L. Hall (faculty) and Eric W. Rise— “From Local Courts to National Tribunals: The Federal District Courts of Florida, 1824-1989” (publication forthcoming).
- Kathleen Hoffman— “National Guard Headquarters Archaeological Project, St. Augustine” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Kenneth W. Johnson— “The Utina and the Potano Peoples of Northern Florida: Changing Settlement Systems in the Spanish Colonial Period” (Ph.D. dissertation completed).
- Sherry Johnson— “‘She Has Been Mine Just Like A Wife’: Slave and Free Black Marriages and Law in Colonial St. Augustine, 1785-1820”; Profile of the St. Augustine Community in dBase III+” (continuing studies); “Marriage and Law in Colonial St. Augustine, 1784-1804” (study completed).
- William G. Johnson— “Remote Sensing and Soil Science Applications to Understanding Belle Glade Adaptations in the Okeechobee Basin” (Ph.D. dissertation completed).
- Jane Landers (faculty)— “African American Life in Colonial Spanish Florida” (publication forthcoming); “African American Women and Their Pursuit of Rights in Eighteenth-Century Spanish St. Augustine” (study completed); “Florida, A Fourth Grade Text”; “Floridians Transplanted to Cuba in 1763”; “Florida’s Black Heritage,” with David R. Colburn (continuing studies).
- Susan R. Parker— “Trade in Spanish East Florida” (continuing study).
- Claudine Payne— “Political Complexity in Chiefdoms: The Lake Jackson Mound Group and Ceramic Chronology in Northwest Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- George E. Pozetta (faculty)— “A History of Italian-Americans During World War II” (continuing study).
- Stephen Prescott— “Ku Klux Klan Activity Opposing Father John F. Conoley at the University of Florida, 1923-1924” (study completed); “History of the Enforcement of Florida Open Meeting Laws” (continuing study).
- Donna L. Ruhl— “Paleoethnobotany of Sixteenth- and Seven-

teenth-Century Spanish Mission Sites in Coastal La Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Michael Russo– "Archaic Sedentism on the Florida Coast: A Case Study from Horr's Island" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

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

John E. Worth– "The Mission Rebellion of 1656 and the Native Peoples of Northern Florida: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Bertram Wyatt-Brown (faculty)– "The Percy and Related Families" (publication forthcoming).

University of Georgia

Charles Hudson (faculty)– "Hernando de Soto and the Indians of Florida," with Jerald T. Milanich (study completed).

University of Miami

Gregory W. Bush (faculty)– "Playground of the USA: The Promotion of Tourism in Miami, 1896-1929" (study completed).

Patricia R. Wickman– "Power Forms: The Transfer of Social and Institutional Structures From Spain to La Florida in the Sixteenth Century and Their Transformation in a 'New World' Setting" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

University of North Florida

James S. Crooks (faculty)– "Jacksonville Since Consolidation" (continuing study).

University of South Alabama

Robert A. Taylor (faculty)– "Rebel Storehouse: Florida in the Confederate Economy" (Ph.D. dissertation completed); "This War So Horrible: The Civil War Diary of Hiram Smith Williams," edited with Lewis N. Wynne (publication forthcoming); "Prelude to Manifest Destiny: The United States and West Florida, 1810-1811" (continuing study).

University of South Florida

- Stephen E. Branch— “Lakeland’s Movie Palace: The Golden Years of the Polk Theatre” (master’s thesis in progress).
- Janet M. Hall— “Desegregation of Hillsborough County Schools” (master’s thesis in progress).
- Nancy A. Hewitt (faculty)— “Working Women in Tampa, 1885-1945” (continuing study).
- Thomas Wayne Jones— “The Life and Civil Rights Activities of Harold Reddick” (master’s thesis in progress).
- David P. McCally— “Cane Cutters in the Everglades” (master’s thesis completed).
- Jack 13. Moore (faculty)— “The Skinheads” (continuing study).
- Gary R. Mormino (faculty)— “A Social History of Florida, 1492-1992”; “Florida During World War II” (continuing studies).
- Robert E. Snyder (faculty)— “The Farm Security Photograph Project in Florida, 1935-1943”; “Hollywood Comes to Tampa: The Filming of ‘Air Force’” (continuing studies).

University of West Florida

- William S. Coker (faculty)— “History of Florida,” with Jerrell H. Shofner (publication forthcoming).
- Mary Dawkins— “The Parish of St. Michael the Archangel: The First Hundred Years, 1781-1881” (master’s thesis in progress).
- George F. Pearce (faculty)— “A History of the Civil War in Pensacola” (continuing study).
- William Otto Robinson— “A History of Yellow Fever with Specific Emphasis on the Pensacola Epidemics” (master’s thesis completed).

Valdosta State College

- F. Lamar Pearson (faculty)— “Spanish-Indian Relations in Florida” (continuing study).

Winthrop College

- Fritz Kaufmann— “Black Seminoles in the Second Spanish and Territorial Periods” (master’s thesis in progress).
- Lynn Willoughby (faculty)— “Ol’ Times There Are Not For-

gotten: *The Antebellum Cotton Trade of the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River Valley* (publication forthcoming).

Consulting, Research, and Local Historians

John E. Brown— “Black Pioneers of Polk County” (continuing study).

Julius J. Gordon— “Oaklawn Cemetery, St. Louis Catholic Cemetery, Tampa” (study completed); “Influence of German-Americans on Tampa, Florida, 1840-1900”; “Church History, Hillsborough County, Florida, 1840-1900”; “Capt. Enoch Daniels’s Florida Mounted Volunteers, 1856” (continuing studies).

John W. Griffin— “The Missions of La Florida” (study completed); “History of Florida Archaeology”; “Plantations Along the Halifax and Hillsborough Rivers” (continuing studies).

Patricia C. Griffin— “An African Slave in St. Augustine”; “The Minorcans of Florida, 1788-1821”; “Richard Aloysius Twine, Photographer of Lincolnville, 1922-1927,” with Diana S. Edwards (continuing studies).

Bentley Orrick and Leland Hawes— “A History of the *Tampa Tribune* and the *Tampa Times*.”

Bruce John Piatek and Bill Hunt— “Fort King Archaeological Auger Survey Phase I and II” (study completed).

Robert W. Saunders— “NAACP Activities in Florida, 1950s and 1960s” (continuing study).

Lewis G. Schmidt— “The Civil War in Florida— A Military History” (continuing study).

Spessard Stone— “History of the Hardee County Area” (continuing study).

Kyle S. VanLandingham— “The Life of William Brinton Hooker” (continuing study).

Zack C. Waters— “History of Finegan’s Florida Brigade”; “Through Good and Evil Fortune’: Robert Bullock in Civil War and Reconstruction” (continuing studies).

University of Alabama Press, Forthcoming Publications

David Dodrill— *Selling the Dream: The Gulf American Corporation and the Building of Cape Coral, Florida*

J. Anthony Paredes (ed.)– *Indians of the Southeastern United States in the Late Twentieth Century.*

University Press of Florida, Forthcoming Publications

Edward Akin– *Flagler* (paper ed.).

Albert Manucy– *Houses of St. Augustine* (paper ed.).

Betsy Purdom and Edward Fernald (eds.)– *Florida Atlas.*

Ann Rowe– *Florida in the Literary Imagination* (paper ed.).

Brent Weisman– *Fig Springs Mission.*

Ronald Vogel– *Broward County.*

BOOK REVIEWS

Pearl City, Florida: A Black Community Remembers. By Arthur S. Evans and David Lee. (Boca Raton: Florida Atlantic University Press, 1990. xii, 162 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, maps, references, index. \$19.95.)

Evans and Lee have conducted needed research and written a useful book. With support from the city of Boca Raton, the Boca Raton Historical Society, and Florida Atlantic University, they conducted oral interviews with over two dozen elderly residents of Pearl City, the black section of Boca Raton. Most of those who were interviewed had arrived in south Florida in the 1920s and 1930s, primarily from northern Florida and Georgia.

The book is organized into two sections. The first two-thirds incorporates the oral histories into a single narrative: "From the pages of the interviews we [the authors] took sentences and occasionally whole paragraphs of unaltered narration, then, cut-and-paste style, put together the thoughts of the group as if a single narrator were talking." The second part of the book provides historical, sociological, and geographical background and analyses.

The oral history is the more interesting part of this work for here are the voices of the individuals who, against the prevailing direction of the great black migration, headed south into a region that was little more than a generation removed from the frontier. Pearl City residents lived not too differently than many of their friends and relatives left behind; the lifestyle was that of a small southern town. Still, the sparse population of the region and the fact that virtually every resident, black and white, was newly arrived, created flexibilities less likely to be found in the Deep South.

The oral history reveals details of life that are otherwise poorly documented: daily work routines, diet, leisure activities, health concerns, the role of church and school, and race relations. Unfortunately, in combining many voices— and in spite of the authors' desire to retain "the language of the folk themselves"— what results is a rather awkward narrative, less precise than

academic English and less colorful than idiomatic black speech. Getting the true flavor of the spoken language would have required phonetically transcribing the oral history tapes.

The last two chapters of the book put the Pearl City experience in a historical, sociological, and geographical context. The authors have assumed that many of their readers will have only the most basic knowledge of these subjects, for they have written this section of the book in a manner that should be understandable to all. In fact, Evans and Lee make clear that they wrote this book for the subjects of the study as well as for academic scholars.

Pearl City, Florida helps to bring into focus a significant part of south Florida's history. Evans and Lee have performed a great service in collecting these recollections and making them available to a wide audience. Sadly, similar memories in other black communities are being lost every day.

Fort Lauderdale Historical Society

DANIEL T. HOBBY

The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy. By Kirkpatrick Sale. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990. viii, 453 pp. Prologue, epilogue, acknowledgments, notes, source notes, index. \$24.95.)

In the flap copy of this book author Kirkpatrick Sale's publisher states: "Not since Admiral Morison's biography of Christopher Columbus a half century ago has there been a complete new assessment of the career of the man whose landfall in 1492 changed forever both the Old World and the New." This statement will come as a surprise to Juan Manzano Manzano and to Paolo Emilio Taviani, each of whom has published monumental studies during the intervening period described. Their work is based not upon printed or photocopied material, as here, but upon extant original manuscripts in European depositories. What Sale does do in this volume is examine and comment upon the published documents and the enormous secondary literature about Columbus. It is a prodigious survey that, to its date of publication, had no equal in the English language where the Columbian period is concerned, and, as such, it can be highly recommended to every student of the Navigator's voyages and

impact. A larger, more scholarly work in English, *The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia*, was published in two volumes in October 1991, by Simon and Schuster.

Sale spends little time on Columbus's life and background, though he does discuss at length (both at the beginning and later in the work) human and environmental conditions in Iberia and Europe generally during the late fifteenth century. He moves quickly to the 1492 voyage which he describes, using his own translation of the 1492 *diario de a bordo*, assisted by the recently published translation by Oliver Dunn and James E. Kelley, Jr. Here Sale is far more interested in what Columbus does on land than in what he does at sea. He pauses long enough to discuss Columbus's "double-entry" log and to deny that his crew mutinied. Manzano Manzano could have advised him otherwise on the latter point. Overall, he gives short shrift to Columbus's navigational skills and accomplishments. On this 1492 voyage, as on the subsequent three, Sale is anxious to get Columbus on the ground at the Bahamian and Caribbean islands where he can be shown to worst advantage.

The reader of Morison's *Admiral of the Ocean Sea* will hardly recognize the Columbus that emerges from this point forward. Sale has a revisionist agenda, which begins with the two principles: that a Europe in decay corrupted rather than learned from the paradisaical lands and inhabitants of the "New Unsullied World"; and that Columbus was the prime agent in the despoliation of that paradise. To this end, Sale refuses to allow Columbus to be anything less than an other-worldly saint. Having described the Europe whence he came, Sale refuses to let him be part of that Europe. He would have him instead a modern, enlightened spirit, divested totally of his cultural background, who treated the native peoples he encountered with unfailing Ghandi-like pacifism and approached the island flora and fauna with environmental impact statements. With unremitting judgmental ardor, Sale holds Columbus to his own exacting twentieth-century standards, instead of to those that prevailed in his own time.

This is not a dispassionate book. Sale's Columbus is a self-serving, greedy liar, a wretched mariner, a ruthless destroyer of humans, and, what is worse throughout, a pillager of New World ecosystems. He and those who followed him should have had a greater respect for the land and should have learned from the native folkways a better way of life, one founded on communita-

rian values and harmony with nature. Sale fails to mention the violence that Europeans found in the native societies, particularly human sacrifice and inter-tribal warfare as practiced in Mexico and Florida. He rails against history, which is about as useful as our saying that Eve should never have offered the apple to Adam. And Florida readers who may think that St. Augustine was the first permanent European settlement in the present United States will have to concede, now that Sale has spoken, that that honor belongs instead to Jamestown, Virginia. Sorry about that.

University of Florida

MICHAEL GANNON

The Oligarchs in Colonial and Revolutionary Charleston: Lieutenant Governor William Bull and His Family. By Kinlock Bull, Jr. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991. xvi, 415 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, illustrations, appendix, notes, index. \$29.95.)

Kinlock Bull has written an admirable book about his ancestors. Meticulously researched, it is free from the hagiography and special pleading— to say nothing of the genealogical trivia— that so often characterize studies of this genre. It was a remarkable clan, whose record, here accurately and judiciously chronicled, largely speaks for itself.

From the founding of Charleston in 1670, the Bulls were a formidable presence in South Carolina politics and society. By any measurement they ranked high in influence among the half dozen or so leading families of the province, which included the Blakes, Fenwicks, Draytons, Izards, and Middletons, families that came directly from Britain or by way of Barbados. Building great houses on the Ashley River, they replicated them on or near the Charleston Battery. Such families dominated the royal council for many years, but none could match the two William Bulls in terms of tenure in the executive branch of government.

If the book's focus is on William Bull II, that is certainly justifiable because of the greater availability of materials about his life and because of his unusual record of public service. When his father, the first Lieutenant Governor William Bull, passed away in 1755, his son already had nineteen years of government

service behind him. He also was respected as a physician, amateur botanist, jurist, militia officer, and successful planter. He not only followed his father in achieving the post of lieutenant governor but, incredible as it may seem, also was on five occasions acting governor.

Why, given his abilities and experience, was he himself never appointed the colony's chief executive? Surely he was exceptionally able and generally was highly regarded by the various governors he served under. He thoroughly understood the legislative process, the workings of the empire, the dynamics of white-Indian relations, and just about everything else associated with governance. And we know that other American creoles attained that eminent station—Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts, William Franklin of New Jersey, and James Wright of Georgia come quickly to mind.

The author's explanation may well be correct; it makes sense. A third-generation Carolinian, "William Bull was not particularly Anglophile" (p. 4). Moreover, he had few powerful connections in the metropolis; and, after receiving an English education, he left South Carolina for only two very brief periods during the next forty years. Ever striving to be fair and balanced, committed both to his colony and to his empire, he maintained the respect and confidence of both local and imperial leaders, but only until the Anglo-American rupture proved to be beyond repair in 1775-1776. As John Adams once said, revolution is no time for moderation and accommodation. One concludes this fine study with the view that had the London ministry paid more attention to Bull's frank assessments of Americans' resolve to stand firm and of the sincerity of their constitutional arguments, the empire might have weathered the storm and emerged more united after hammering out a new legal relationship between the center and the peripheries. As it was, Bull spent his last years exiled in London. Ironically, at the time of his death in 1791 he was preparing to return to America; it had always been his real home.

*University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill*

DON HIGGINBOTHAM

The Final Campaign of the American Revolution: Rise and Fall of the Spanish Bahamas. By James A. Lewis. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990. xi, 149 pp. Preface, maps, illustrations, notes, sources, index. \$24.95.)

The role of the Bahamas in the American Revolution was hardly decisive, but the last gasp of the war for American independence dramatically involved those sun-drenched islands in the struggle between Britain, Spain, and the United States. A troublesome British privateering base and a tempting target for American patriot privateers from the beginning to the end of the war, Nassau twice was raided by Americans before May 1782, when Juan Manuel de Cagigal, captain general of Havana, seized the Bahamian capital from its impotent British governor John Maxwell. In April 1783, the Bahamas were recovered by a private filibustering expedition from St. Augustine, British East Florida, led by the loyalist Colonel Andrew Deveaux. Quite incidentally, the war was then over, and Deveaux's success had no effect upon the fate of the islands; they had been restored to British sovereignty by the Treaty of Versailles. Curiously enough, both the Spanish and British operations involved sometime South Carolinians— the loyalist Deveaux and the American patriot Captain Alexander Gillon, of the frigate *South Carolina*, who had provided naval coverage of Cagigal's expedition from Havana. The brief story of Spain's "Nueva Providencia" and its "rise and fall" reflects in miniature many fascinating aspects of a war on the outskirts of empire that has been all but forgotten by most narrators of the American Revolution.

James Lewis approaches the tale as an historian of the Spanish Empire in America, and his rewarding research in the Spanish archives illuminates the nature, most notably the weaknesses, of that imperial system, for the expedition that took the Bahamas was intended as no more than a side-show for Bernardo de Gálvez's thwarted conquest of Jamaica. The Bahamian episode magnificently displays the internal difficulties that plagued Spain's war effort: rivalries between the army and the navy, between military and civil authorities, and the highly personal aspect of the quarrels that followed Spanish undertakings from the center at Madrid to the sandy beaches of the Bahamas. (It is enough to make an Anglophile conclude that Gálvez's earlier success in British West Florida was well-nigh miraculous.)

While the appearance of South Carolinians Gillon and Deveaux provides Lewis with appropriate American heroes, whatever one's sympathies, the woeful central figure in the story of the Spanish Bahamas is that of Antonio Claraco y Sanz, who governed at Nassau in 1782, and again in 1783, the foreign ruler of a conquered province inhabited by an independently minded folk who disdained either British or Spanish authority if it threatened their (often legally questionable) commercial operations. Bad enough that Claraco had to endure the humiliation of military defeat after he knew that peace had been signed; it took him eight more years to clear himself with the Spanish government, time spent under arrest or in prison in both Cuba and Spain. Of somewhat less importance to the tale, but of no less interest to historians, is Francisco de Miranda, Cagigal's aide-de-camp on the Bahamas expedition of 1782. Along with his commander, Miranda became enmeshed in the petty quarrels of Spanish officialdom that followed hard on the heels of military victory.

James Lewis deserves much credit for removing the patina that so often disguises the heroic figures of a General Gálvez or an Admiral Solano and for giving pride of place to the lesser men who served them. His short monograph weaves together the scattered threads of a complex multi-national story. It is classic "borderlands" history. Although not unnoticed, more might have been said regarding the unfortunate British Bahamians, both imperial and local, and the earlier role and experience of Nassau in the American Revolutionary War. *The Final Campaign* is, nonetheless, the last and best word on the Spanish Bahamas.

Auburn University

ROBERT R. REA

Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789: Volume 17, March 1 -August 31, 1781. Edited by Paul H. Smith, Gerard W. Gawalt, and Ronald M. Gephart. (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1990. xxx, 616 pp. Editorial method and apparatus, acknowledgments, chronology of Congress, list of delegates to Congress, illustrations, index. \$34.00.)

This magnificent series of primary sources contains two distinctive kinds of material: long letters between delegates and other political leaders including appeals to the public and short fragments of documentation—diary entries, notes on debates, and summaries of intelligence reports. The latter kind is more difficult to read and understand but worth the effort. Set in the context of everything happening in Congress and to the delegates—some of it made accessible in the expert notes accompanying individual letters—the flotsam and jetsam of Revolutionary politics reveals the preoccupations, worries, and incidental tasks of running a revolutionary confederation.

A flurry of references to West Florida in this volume illustrate the value of fragmentary data in *Letters of Delegates*. When Bernardo de Gálvez, on May 10, 1781, accepted the surrender of Pensacola from the British, he agreed to transport the British troops to any port except St. Augustine and Jamaica. The British opted for shipment to New York. J. Barton Starr noted a number of American complaints about the threat to American security posed by this arrangement in *Tories, Dons, and Rebels: The American Revolution in British West Florida*. The publication of those and other reactions to the fall of Pensacola in this volume helps to re-create the thinking of congressional leadership about the desperate military situation in the late spring and early summer of 1781. “The capitulation of Pensacola, so extraordinary in its nature, is to receive a discussion in Congress,” Edmund Randolph noted, “but it is difficult to advise the steps fit to be taken with respect to it.” There was the possibility that Britain was trying to lure Spain into a separate peace; there was puzzlement at Gálvez’s actions; and there was sharp comparison of the Pensacola surrender terms with those secured by Andrew Pickens and Lighthouse Harry Lee from the British garrison at Augusta in early June. The Spanish transports reached New York on July 10, and two weeks later the Virginia delegates reported New

Jersey intelligence that George III's son was among the repatriated British troops.

James Madison, Thomas McKean, Joseph Jones, and Samuel Huntington each took a keen interest in West Florida news during these weeks in 1781. Madison wrote a long letter to Phillip Mazzei on July 7 analyzing Spanish military efforts in the Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico in considerable detail. Huntington wondered whether success in West Florida would stiffen Spanish adherence to the American cause. McKean was an industrious, optimistic student of intelligence about European powers. Jones, an obscure Virginia delegate, linked "the Extraordinary Capitulation agreed to by the Spanish Commander on the Reduction of Pensacola" to a numerous list of other diplomatic and military perils facing the nation in midsummer 1781. Curiously, McKean's July 2, 1781, letter to Washington on the Pensacola imbroglio—cited by the editors in a footnote (p. 523)—was not included in this volume. In seventeen volumes, this is the first questionable or perplexing editorial decision that this reviewer has found!

*University of North Carolina
at Greensboro*

ROBERT M. CALHOON

An American Iliad: The Story of the Civil War. By Charles P. Roland (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1990. xii, 289 pp. Preface, maps, illustrations, photographs, sources, index. \$30.00.)

As public interest in the Civil War, spurred on by the popularity of the recent acclaimed PBS television series, continues unabated, and as publishers continue to produce a steady flow of both scholarly and popular works on the subject, one may wonder about the need for yet another one-volume general history of the conflict. Even a cursory reading of Charles P. Roland's *An American Iliad: The Story of the Civil War* should dispel any such misgivings.

Writing in a concise yet highly readable style, Roland covers the broad picture of the war, concentrating on military and political events but also outlining the economic, diplomatic, social,

and cultural aspects of the period. Perhaps the most valuable feature of this book is the masterful synthesis it presents of both traditional views and the most recent scholarship in the field. Roland's judicious and balanced handling of the myriad of theories and conjectures advanced by various students of the war is perhaps best summarized in his own appraisal of the diverse explanations for Union victory and Confederate defeat. "None of the various discrete explanations is final," Roland writes, "and none is necessarily exclusive of the other."

The book begins, predictably, with an overview of the causes and events leading up to the war. Roland's analysis of the part played by slavery, a longstanding point of contention among students of nineteenth-century America, neither underestimates its pervasive impact nor elevates it to the position of a sole cause out of context of the other issues of the time. Subsequent chapters proceed in roughly chronological order to outline the military progression of the war, with topical chapters on Union 2nd Confederate government and administration, the struggle for European favor, and the many facets of the homefront, both North and South. A concluding chapter analyzes the outcome of the war, focusing on leadership as a decisive factor. The text is followed by a selected critical bibliography, which should be especially helpful to general readers interested in learning more about the subject.

Roland's military narrative forms the backbone of this volume. Avoiding the pitfall of presenting the conflict as merely a series of familiar, bloody battles, he defines the various strategies employed and chronicles the often confusing movements of both large and small bodies of troops in a way that is both engrossing and understandable. In addition to describing the actual mobilization, transportation, and combat of the war, Roland draws numerous comparisons to the theories of warfare expounded by early-nineteenth-century European military scholars Jomini and Clausewitz, paying particular attention to Clausewitz's hypotheses on the roles of chance and intangible advantages and his characterization of war as an extension of politics. These brief discussions of military philosophy are not overly technical, nor do they detract from the readability of the narrative.

Unlike some general histories in which the non-military aspects of the war are limited to discussions of emancipation or Confederate attempts to gain foreign recognition, *An American*

Iliad covers such vital, but often overlooked, subjects as the formation of the Confederate constitution and government, southern financial difficulties, Lincoln's plans for Reconstruction, and the president's evolving relations with the Radicals in his own party. Roland also gives some attention to the lives and experiences of common soldiers and civilians, although his ability to detail this aspect of the conflict is limited by the broad scope of the book.

Students of Florida history may be disappointed by the scarcity of information provided on the state's role in the war. References to Florida's secession and to hostilities at Pensacola early in the war are the only mentions the state receives. Nevertheless, a number of topics vital to an understanding of Florida's wartime situation are discussed, including the effects of the blockade, abandonment of many Confederate coastal defenses, Confederate supply problems, and the often-underestimated impact of Unionism in the South.

Although *An American Iliad* offers no previously unknown facts or revolutionary interpretations, it provides a perspective, depth, and insight remarkable for a book of its size and scope. As Civil War books continue to multiply, this one should find a solid niche in the standard literature of the subject, particularly as a textbook and as a starting point for readers seeking a comprehensive, well-rounded introduction to the history of America's greatest conflict.

Broward County Historical Commission RODNEY E. DILLON, JR.

Two Great Rebel Armies: An Essay in Confederate Military History.
By Richard M. McMurry. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989. xvi, 204 pp. Preface, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95.)

Richard McMurry is one of the gurus for those military historians and Civil War buffs who hold that the Civil War was won in the West and for those southern partisans who think the war was lost in the East. McMurry also is one of those remarkable people who combine the talents of a skilled and diligent researcher, a witty and graceful literary style, and a keen appreciation of the milieu of the 1860s. This insures that the few hours

it takes to master this slim volume are profitable as well as entertaining.

McMurry employs his skills, honed by years of study, to examine and analyze a number of factors that led to the many successes scored by Robert E. Lee and his Army of Northern Virginia and its deserved reputation as a far more effective fighting force than the Army of Tennessee and its predecessor Army of the Mississippi.

He introduces us to the "Two Great Rebel Armies" by citing six reasons why the Virginia army is better known and respected than the western army. Geopolitics, even before the first shot, as McMurry demonstrates, favored Lee's army, and "No human could have done anything to alter the facts of their existence." The importance of Union grand strategy that stressed hard hitting campaigns in the West that took advantage of amphibious warfare on and control of the major inland waterways is stressed. Major General Henry W. Halleck is given more credit than usual in pushing to fruition vital elements of Winfield Scott's "Anaconda Plan." The adoption and implementation by the United States government of its western strategy dictated that the Confederacy, the weaker of the two combatants, confronted Grant, Sherman, Rosecrans, and Thomas along its most vulnerable fronts.

Dr. McMurry also focuses on Confederate command decisions as they affected grand strategy, theatres of war, allocation of personnel, and logistics, many of which gave a further bulge to the Federals. These factors either individually or added together do not explain the differences between the "Two Great Rebel Armies." The principal reason why Lee's Army of Northern Virginia was a more effective fighting machine than the army that followed Generals Albert Sidney Johnston, P. G. T. Beauregard, Braxton Bragg, Joseph E. Johnston, and John Bell Hood was that it had better leadership. While there was little or no important difference in the rank and file between the eastern and western armies, this is not so in respect to the field grade officers—where the Army of Northern Virginia had many who had received military education or had served in the "Old Army." The eastern army was able to call on a much larger pool of trained and experienced officers to become brigade, division, and corps commanders than was the Army of Tennessee. McMurry next reviews the strengths and weaknesses of the army

commanders. This reviewer applauds his insights, which will dismay those Joe Johnston fans who hold that President Davis's biggest mistake was his July 17, 1864, removal of Johnston as commander of the Army of Tennessee.

The McMurry book is an invaluable introduction to the "Two Great Rebel Armies" and, at least on the command level, identifies and evaluates the factors that made the Army of Northern Virginia and several of its leaders folk heroes. Floridians receive little attention, though they were associated with both armies. Even Edmund Kirby Smith, Florida's ranking son, receives only brief mention because his association with the story is casual. As is to be expected with a McMurry book and a University of North Carolina Press publication, only a few minor errors and infelicities of style were noted, the most annoying being the "at abouts." These, however, in no way detract from this excellent and useful monograph.

National Park Service

EDWIN C. BEARSS

Destroyer of the Iron Horse: Joseph E. Johnston and Confederate Rail Transport, 1862-1865. By Jeffrey N. Lash. (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1991. viii, 264 pp. Preface, photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$28.00.)

General Joseph E. Johnston remains one of the most enigmatic and controversial figures in the short history of the Confederate States of America. During the Civil War this proud and hypersensitive Virginian had battalions of both defenders and detractors who argued that he was either a great strategist or a military incompetent. Scholars have kept up a debate over Johnston's abilities over the years with no clear consensus emerging. The latest salvo in this war of words comes from Lash's *Destroyer of the Iron Horse*.

Lash focuses on Johnston's record as a logistician through his utilization of the South's railroads. After analyzing Johnston's campaigns in Virginia and the rest of the Confederacy in terms of strategic use of rail lines, he finds the general's efforts to be seriously wanting. Lash goes on to charge Johnston with a consistent failure to use railroads effectively and with doing considerable damage to the Confederate war effort. Johnston made a

habit of ordering the destruction of irreplaceable locomotives and other rolling stock without military necessity, as well as not taking actions that might have saved them for use elsewhere. He also lacked, in Lash's view, a clear understanding of the rebel government's railroad policy and did little to coordinate transportation between the forces he commanded, the war department in Richmond, and civilian railroad officials. While conceding that in time Johnston did improve his awareness of the importance of railroads to move and supply his troops, the author concludes that he never completely grasped their strategic value in warfare.

Perhaps Lash expects too much from Joe Johnston. The Civil War was the first true railroad war in history, and military leaders on both sides had to adapt their generalship to that fact. Johnston's flaw, in the author's opinion, is his failure to perceive the iron horse's potential immediately. War, it seemed, was becoming too technical for many generals in the 1860s, and officers like Johnston had precious little time to ponder the changes in the art of war as they faced the Union onslaught.

Students of Florida history will find an unexpected treatment of the state's impact on Confederate supply arrangements in this book. Florida contributed significant amounts of beef and other supplies to rebel troops in Georgia from 1863 to 1864, and these often moved to the front by rail. Lash chronicles the problems faced by supply officers in seeing that needed food rations arrived with a minimum of delay and waste. Food shortages and the suffering they caused are again blamed on Johnston. Only acute supply difficulties in the winter of 1864 forced him to intervene personally to improve ration transportation and distribution for the Army of Tennessee. This section of Lash's study is one of the best attempts to date to place Florida's material aid to the Confederate army in its proper context.

Thoroughly researched, *Destroyer of the Iron Horse* is a sound addition to the growing body of Civil War studies not strictly devoted to battles and military biography. Only a more complete index is needed to improve it. Those interested in the sectional conflict will find it interesting and useful.

Mosby's Rangers. By Jeffrey D. Wert. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990. 384 pp. Maps, preface, acknowledgments, prologue, photographs, epilogue, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.95.)

In early 1863, a group of about thirty Confederate horsemen accompanied by their leader, John Singleton Mosby, rode toward Federal headquarters at Fairfax Court House, Virginia. Their mission was to ride through the Yankee lines and capture Colonel Percy Wyndham, commander of a brigade of Union cavalry stationed east of Washington. In the weeks before, Mosby and his men had been busy raiding Yankee camps, seizing supplies, and burning equipment. These forays had angered Wyndham, and the colonel had labeled Mosby a common horse thief. Taking Wyndham's remarks personally, Mosby determined to "put a stop to his talk by gobbling him up in bed and sending him off to Richmond" (p. 18). In the end, Wyndham, who had spent the night in Washington, eluded capture. But the raid was not a total loss. By morning, Mosby and his men had bagged a Union general, two captains, thirty enlisted men, and fifty-eight horses without firing a shot or losing a man.

This book by Jeffrey Wert is the first modern chronicle of the renowned Mosby and his command, the 43rd Virginia Cavalry, better known as Mosby's Rangers. From its inception in early 1863, the unit won the praise of Confederate generals Robert E. Lee and J.E.B. Stuart for performing courageous and often critical work. Simultaneously, Mosby and the Rangers became the hated foe of a succession of Union commanders. Generals George A. Custer, Philip Sheridan, Wesley Merritt, and several others operated directly against Mosby—in many cases without success. Ulysses S. Grant, frustrated with Mosby's command after coming east in 1864, ordered that any Ranger caught should be hanged.

Mosby himself was an unlikely subject for military notoriety. He grew up a bookish youngster who rarely missed a day's schooling. Mosby disliked athletics and, in his own words, "always had a literary taste." In 1850, he entered the University of Virginia where he excelled at Latin, Greek, and English. Sometime in 1852 or early 1853, though, Mosby got into a dispute with George Turpin, a Charlottesville bully. Several days later Mosby shot and killed the man when Turpin came to seek a confrontation.

Convicted of “malicious shooting,” Mosby spent seven months in jail where he began studying law.

Mosby was a practicing attorney in Bristol, Virginia, when the war broke out in 1861. He entered the army as a private in May of that year. By early 1863, Mosby had served with distinction, rising to the rank of first lieutenant, and in April 1863 he was attached to General Stuart’s staff. Mosby’s skill as a horse soldier and his intellect caught Stuart’s attention, and under his command the concept for the Rangers was born. Operating from a series of safehouses in Fauquier and Loudoun counties— an area known as “Mosby’s Confederacy” – the Rangers conducted lightening-quick raids on Union supply lines and other strategic sites in northern Virginia and Maryland. While Mosby and his men were often criticized by Union commanders as being little more than common rogues, the philosophy behind his actions was sound. “The military value of a partisan’s work,” Mosby wrote, “is not measured by the amount of property destroyed, or the number of men killed or captured, but by the number he keeps watching” (p. 34). Evidently, Mosby did his work well, for many Federals were kept busy watching him right down to the closing days of the war. At one point, fears that President Abraham Lincoln would be kidnapped by Mosby and his men were so strong that planks on the Chain Bridge over the Potomac were removed for several weeks.

This is a lucid and thoroughly researched account of Mosby and his command. Wert has used primary and secondary sources to capture vividly both the excitement of daring raids and the hardships of day-to-day life suffered by the Rangers and their supporters. Several other notable qualities also are evident in the study, not the least of which is Wert’s treatment of subsequent characters. While Mosby is indeed the celebrated figure, other members of his command are not lost in the account. Names such as James “Big Yankee” Ames, Aldolphus “Dolly” Richards, William Chapman, Richard Montjoy, and several others all figure prominently in Mosby’s success and, justifiably so, in Wert’s narrative.

There is little to say in criticism of Wert’s study. A few maps would have aided the reader in following what sometimes were complicated movements, but altogether this is an excellent book and one that will add further to our understanding of an important aspect of the war in northern Virginia.

Diary of a Confederate Soldier: John S. Jackman of the Orphan Brigade.
Edited by William C. Davis. (Columbia: University of South
Carolina Press, 1990. 174 pp. Introduction, maps, index.
\$24.95.)

Diary of a Confederate Soldier: John S. Jackman of the Orphan Brigade is the latest in a series of publications and planned publications that deal with the "ground level viewpoint" of the common soldier in America's most-costly war. John S. Jackman's experience with the "Orphan Brigade," so named by General John C. Breckinridge, follows the war from its earliest hours in 1861 to its final chapter in 1865. The "Orphan Brigade," the First Kentucky Brigade, was assigned to the Army of Tennessee and participated in all of the epic struggles of that army from Shiloh to Atlanta. Editor William C. Davis has kept his editing to a minimum and allows the reader to experience the triumphs and travails of Jackman and his compatriots without the unnecessary intercession of an extraneous voice.

Diary of a Confederate Soldier arrives in the market place at an auspicious moment, following closely on the heels of the Ken Burns-Shelby Foote series on the Public Broadcasting System and America's Gulf War experience. Certainly, individuals who have participated in combat can readily identify with Jackman's portrayal of Civil War experiences, and individuals who have experienced the upheavals and dislocations of war as civilians will find much in *Diary of a Confederate Soldier* with which to relate.

Professional historians and Civil War buffs will find this publication helpful and interesting. Concentrating on common soldiers, with only passing references to generals and politicians, *Diary of a Confederate Soldier* provides an in-depth look at the "small picture" of the war, where the ideological and legal questions of slavery and state rights were minor issues compared to the daily struggle for dry, warm shelter and food. Students of battle will be fascinated by the story of soldiers who experienced a casualty rate of 85 percent and yet retained their unit identity and their commitment to their fellow soldiers. The story of Jackman and the Orphan Brigade provides proof to the assertion that, once in battle, soldiers are motivated more by an esprit de corps than they are by theoretical and ideological arguments. For them, survival is the most important aspect of war.

William C. Davis has included several maps drawn by Jackman, and these maps lend themselves to the tone of the diary. However, the reproduction quality is less than desirable

and detracts somewhat from the overall production qualities of the book. If the editor and the press had invested in having a graphic artist simplify Jackman's maps, readers would be able to make more sense of them. Additionally, the lack of a photograph or drawing of Jackman detracts from the book. Readers who become caught up in the excellent narrative would like to have a face to go with the words. One final criticism is in order. The absence of a bibliography makes it difficult for readers readily to identify sources and to find additional reading materials which relate to the activities of Jackman, the Orphan Brigade, and the Army of Tennessee.

The simple fact is that the above criticisms were not met in the production of the book, and what is done is done. None of these criticisms should detract from the fact that *Diary of a Confederate Soldier* is a valuable, readable, and important addition to the literature of the epic story of the Civil War. For professional historians, Civil War buffs, and readers in general, this is a "must" for understanding the human dimension of this war.

Florida Historical Society

LEWIS N. WYNNE

Black Property Owners in the South, 1790-1915. By Loren Schwenger. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990. xvii, 426 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, tables, figures, photographs, appendixes, notes, methodological essay, selected bibliography, index. \$50.00.)

This study is an in-depth investigation of property ownership among blacks in the South and a bold interpretation of their attitudes towards procurement and "passing on" of real property. Schwenger focuses on the years 1790-1915, but he also cursorily examines black property ownership in the colonial era. He points out that African societies from which most blacks were taken held communal attitudes towards land ownership. Once in America, blacks adopted western concepts of individualism, used individual ingenuity to gain some economic status, and, with it, attained a degree of freedom. Consulting a wide range of primary sources, including manuscript census records, probate court records and land deeds, newspapers, diaries, letters,

and manuscript collections, Schweningen establishes that from the beginning of their enslavement and well into the twentieth century blacks accepted the notion that survival in America “depended not so much on communal harmony as on individual ingenuity” (p. 11). He concludes that blacks “clung to the values and attitudes that they had grown to accept: that acquiring land and property would somehow free them from the burdens of the past. Their tragedy . . . was that it never would” (p. 237).

Schweningen compares the black experience in the Upper and Lower South. He points out that most antebellum free blacks lived in the Upper South, yet blacks in the Lower South possessed more property. Consequently, Lower South blacks suffered most economically in the postbellum period and were surpassed in property ownership by Upper South blacks. He explores property ownership by slaves and their descendants; weighs attitudes towards accumulation of wealth; examines living conditions, race relations, and patterns of wealth attainment; statistically analyzes economic conditions; and provides a reasonable assessment of how these factors combined to fashion contrasting lifestyles within the South.

Black Property Owners in the South is impressive but elicits concerns. Schweningen is obsessed with statistical data. At times, this tendency becomes quite disturbing. Using census records, for example, he emphasizes that by 1830 one out of four Lower South free-black families and one of fourteen in the Upper South held slaves (pp. 105, 111). While this may be accurate statistically, Schweningen does not establish model family size, nor does he fully address the nature of black master-to-slave relationships or the fact that in many instances slaves were blood relatives of slaveholding families. Schweningen also overemphasizes pro-Confederacy attitudes among southern blacks (pp. 187-90).

Much of what Schweningen writes is not new. Dunningite, black, and revisionist historians including Rhodes and Phillips, Woodson and Du Bois, Fogel and Engerman, respectively, have studied black economics in antebellum or postbellum America. The literature documents that slaves viewed property ownership as a key to a better life, and accounts of slaves purchasing their freedom and establishing homesteads substantiates the fact. Clearly, some black property owners—especially in New Orleans and Charleston—held attitudes towards slaves and “Yankees” similar to those of their white counterparts.

The strengths of *Black Property Owners in the South* are its breadth and attention to detail. Covering the Upper and Lower South from 1790 to 1915, Schweninger has done a remarkable job by taking seemingly unrelated studies, using an astounding amount of primary materials, and molding these into a comprehensive and cohesive study of African American property ownership. In the process, the author has produced a sound, well-organized reference source replete with detailed charts and tables and has presented his findings in a clear and insistent argument which surely will provoke renewed research into slavery and the legacy of America's slave economy.

Tennessee Technological University

WALI R. KHARIF

New Men, New Cities, New South: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, Mobile, 1860-1910. By Don H. Doyle. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990. xix, 369 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, tables, figures, photographs, illustrations, epilogue, notes, index. \$39.95.)

During the closing decades of the nineteenth century, southern cities mushroomed, dramatically accelerating the transformation of the region. In a well-written, assiduously researched, and persuasively argued book, Don H. Doyle examines the explosive development of Atlanta and Nashville and the much slower growth of Charleston and Mobile. He is interested particularly in the evolution of the "New South" and in the role that the urban business community played in the rebirth of the region.

The focus of the book is a careful study of the business leaders of the four cities. Doyle's methodological approach, though traditional, yields an analysis that is laden with insight and nuance. Relying on prosopographical techniques, for example, Doyle identifies the leading merchants and manufacturers in the cities in 1880 and examines their backgrounds. He also traces their efforts to shape public policy. Thus, Doyle considers the institutions that business leaders created, the reform policies that they pursued, and their efforts to forge a "New South."

Doyle devotes considerable attention to the ways in which ties to the plantation economy of the antebellum period shaped

the development of the cities of the New South. Atlanta and Nashville, according to Doyle, were unfettered by the cultural and economic customs of the Old South and, therefore, offered an open environment in which talent was rewarded and aggressive entrepreneurs could flourish. Business leaders in these interior cities seized opportunities in the postwar era, enjoyed success in the marketplace and prominence in local society, and became the "architects of the new order" (p. 87). They sponsored industrial fairs, attracted railroad lines, and established economic links to the national economy. Moreover, success bred success; as entrepreneurs in Atlanta and Nashville formed a coherent class, they used their collective influence to promote a spirit that sustained progress and growth.

The legacy of the Old South, Doyle notes, doomed Charleston and Mobile to decades of stagnation. Both urban centers were "appendages of the plantation economy," and the values of the Old South shaped local society (p. 71). Residents celebrated honor, personal loyalty, and genealogy, and they eschewed progress and entrepreneurship; a closed, "entrenched" elite ruled Charleston and Mobile and "clung tenaciously to their established mooring as the economic tide ebbed" (p. 135). Mired in the world of the Old South, the two port cities languished while their interior rivals flourished. Some may wonder how the spirit of the plantation could have dominated the merchants of these cities, though Doyle's interpretation is well supported.

In short, Doyle argues that the vision of the business class, in combination with the cultural milieu of the leading cities, shaped the economic fortunes of the New South. By linking Old South traditions with New South experiences, by establishing the relationship between boosters and city-building in the region, and by explaining the character of urban development in four prominent trading centers, Don H. Doyle has made a major contribution to urban and to southern history. This is an extremely important book.

Dirt Roads to Dixie: Accessibility and Modernization in the South, 1885-1935. By Howard Lawrence Preston. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991. 206 pp. Introduction, photographs, illustrations, notes, bibliographic essay, index. \$38.50 cloth; \$18.95 paper.)

This small but provocative book joins a handful of studies that have begun to question the direction and benefits of modernization in the New South. Like Pete Daniel in *Breaking the Land* (1985) and Jack Temple Kirby in *Rural Worlds Lost* (1987), Preston decries the uncritical embrace of progress that resulted in homogenization, the erosion of regional cultures, and economic development at the expense of human values.

Dirt Roads to Dixie tells this tale through an examination of the good-roads movement in the early twentieth-century South. Preston contends that this popular reform cause began as an attempt to enhance and preserve rural community life by building local networks of farm-to-market roads. In short order, however, this grass-roots reform effort was co-opted by an urban commercial elite more interested in developing long-distance interstate highways designed to draw automobile tourists, real-estate developers, and capital to the Southland. By the second decade of the twentieth century, grandiose projects, such as the Dixie Highway connecting the Midwest with Miami, defined the objectives of the roads movement.

If the initial good-roads advocates traced their political lineage to Populism, the emergent "highway progressives" aligned themselves firmly with the newly powerful urban-industrial bourgeoisie and promoters of leisure. Privately sponsored interstate highway projects quickly became associated with men like Carl Fisher, conjurer of Miami Beach, or Leonard Tufts, the developer of Pinehurst, North Carolina. By the 1920s, with the accessibility provided by modern highways, the "backwardness" of the South could be valorized and sold to "tin-can tourists" as an exotic arcadia. The promotion of Florida as a winter paradise during the 1920s drew hundreds of thousands of "autocampers" to the peninsula over the South's new highways, in a "pneumatic hegira."

This is a compelling interpretation of a little-studied and poorly understood southern reform movement. Yet the sharp distinction between "populist" defenders and promoters of the

rural good life and the heartless “progressive” capitalists may not be entirely accurate. Rather than two distinct reform movements, separated by chronology, technology (the automobile), personnel, and ideology, the good-roads movement and its advocates may have always contained these paradoxical impulses. Harnessing popular support for road-improvement campaigns required a genuine commitment on the part of reformers to agrarian progress, particularly since farm owners provided the tax base for internal improvements. Yet, the very same road engineers, state officials, and boosters who championed rural roads also promoted the Blue Ridge Parkway and other scenic Appalachian highways in order to attract tourists to Dixie.

Ultimately, Preston suggests, “automobility” and tourism had a corrosive effect on the South’s small-town, rural culture. The bucolic southern “farmscape” fell before a crass and materialistic “roadscape,” as the strip replaced the town square as the commercial hub of southern communities. The ubiquitous “Food, Gas, Lodging” signs eventually came to define the southern roadside as they did the rest of the nation. Yet this standardization also served to disguise and even perpetuate some enduring features of the rural South, not all of which were worth preserving. Poverty, illiteracy, isolation, and racism remained immune to the benefits of highway progressivism in the areas of the South bypassed by the new roads. Like other critics of southern modernization, Preston’s cultural defense of premodernity necessarily rests on a somewhat romanticized version of “country” life. Yet he is sensitive to the persistent need for social and economic development in much of the pre-Depression South, a need that went unaddressed by business progressivism. Preston argues that the less-attractive features of the rural South simultaneously were reinforced and undermined by modernity, as a Farm Security Administration photograph reproduced in *Dirt Roads to Dixie* suggests: a roadside sign advertises “Cabins for Colored.”

Preston’s book is a valuable contribution to the still-sparse literature on southern progressivism. The ability of southern Progressives to adapt Populist programs to their own ends, the difficulty of preserving regional identity against the tide of the national market brought by economic progress, and the essentially neocolonial outcome of much Progressive economic reform in the South are all ably illustrated in this monograph.

Searching for the Sunbelt: Historical Perspectives on a Region. Edited by Raymond A. Mohl. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990. xi, 249 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, tables, contributors, index. \$32.50.)

Raymond A. Mohl has edited a collection of writings that aims to understand the historical development of the Sunbelt and whether the region exists at all. Using industrial growth, military defense, immigration, and metropolitan racial politics, among others, as yardsticks, the contributors take measure of the region. But the results confirm that the Sunbelt is an elusive concept which varies according to the criteria used to examine it. The authors' goals are to summarize historical knowledge on the Sunbelt using diverse approaches and offer points for further inquiry.

The common understanding that the Sunbelt's geographic boundary lies below the thirty-seventh parallel encounters disagreement from the outset. Despite diverging opinions on boundaries, a consensus attributes defense spending as instrumental in the rise of the metropolises. Roger Lotchin notes that the struggle between the Sunbelt cities and the Northeast and Midwest in the 1970s was foreshadowed in the competition for military contracts under federal plans for decentralization. Establishing industries away from the traditional centers of coastal defense production particularly benefited the South. When the Northeast and Midwest tried to use Defense Manpower Policy Number Four in 1952 to secure contracts in economically strapped areas, they demonstrated that the Northeast and the Midwest could not stand united and subsequently DMP No. 4 was shot down in Congress in 1953.

Major themes of this work consistently address changes in the South or relate to how the South became a part of the Sunbelt. Carl Abbot writes that the West did not need the Sunbelt, images of optimism and unlimited opportunities having long confirmed western reputations. As well, regional descriptions have an entrenched history. The question then becomes, "Why did the concept of the Sunbelt gain such easy acceptance in the 1970s?" In many ways the answer lies in southern traditions. The South had always been saddled with an image of backwardness and negativism. A new regional identity offered a chance to leave the baggage of the past behind and assume economic parity with

the nation as part of a new dynamic section; a means towards putting the words of Henry Grady and other Dixie boosters into reality. James Cobb weakens the enduring argument that northern political and social climates were the reason for northern prosperity by showing that a progressive social and political environment did not always follow southern prosperity.

For Florida, Mohl's article on Miami demonstrates that a combination of adjustment and cultural identity has allowed the Miami Hispanic community to exercise its influence politically, particularly after shifting from exile politics to ethnic politics. Raymond Arsenault's article on air conditioning illustrates how climate control dominates the Sunbelt equation.

David Goldfield and Howard Rabinowitz throw doubt on the continued existence of the Sunbelt, maintaining that the Sunbelt was legitimate as long as it was an attractive alternative to the so-called Frostbelt. When the latter began to rebound, the areas tended to be more evenly matched in their advantages and problems. Finally, as the authors correctly assess, the Sunbelt's greatest legacy is to redirect historical scholarship between the urban, the rural, and the suburban, as well as the North and South, particularly as the former Confederacy has become more like the rest of the nation while maintaining agrarian traditions.

Searching for the Sunbelt is a well-prepared, thought-provoking work on a fairly recent phenomenon that utilizes government records, metropolitan newspapers, and studies from widely ranging academic disciplines. It is an essential reference for understanding how urbanization has created a new dimension for Florida and southern metropolises. It is important that these historians "found" the Sunbelt; their work paves the way for future research.

Hillsborough Community College

KENT KASTER II

A Ringling By Any Other Name: The Story of John Ringling North and His Circus. By Ernest Albrecht. (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1989. 363 pp. Acknowledgments, photographs, notes, notes to the reader, index. \$39.50.)

In *A Ringling By Any Other Name*, theater critic Ernest Albrecht focuses his lifelong fascination with the circus on John Ringling

North, the son of the Ringling brothers' only sister. Albrecht surveys North's life from his birth in 1903 in Baraboo, Wisconsin, through his twenty-five-year reign over Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey Circus, his death in 1985, and the takeover of "The Greatest Show On Earth" by the Feld family. Through a combination of secondary sources and personal interviews, Albrecht overviews the personal struggles, internecine feuds, and power plays that went into making John Ringling North colorful and controversial. Escapades in barrooms and bedrooms frequently overshadow the cavalcades inside boardrooms and under the big tops. Such critical crosscurrents as North's fights with the Internal Revenue Service and the state of Florida over taxes and the estate, negotiations with Madison Square Garden, disputes with the American Federation of Actors, problems with wartime shortages in the 1940s, hierarchies within circus personnel, and modernizing and streamlining this entertainment institution are relegated to the wings by a gossipy approach and a retinue of deadbeat and offbeat hangers-on who accompany North in his hedonistic excursions aboard the Jomar, a private railroad car, and at the M'Toto Room in the John Ringling Hotel, the Stork Club, and 21 Club in New York City, and elsewhere.

Although the author acknowledges research at such distant and disparate places as the Billy Rose Theatre Collection of the New York Public Library, the Circus World Museum Library and Museum Center in Baraboo, Wisconsin, and the Sarasota Public Library, Sarasota County Historical Archives, and the Ringling Museum of the Circus at Sarasota, Florida, it is difficult to determine the repository that various sources come from. Written in a loose, narrative fashion, paragraphs and pages pass without footnotes. When footnotes do appear, they do not indicate where the material resides. The book is further marred by sloppy editing. Spelling errors and punctuation mistakes abound. Spelling correctly the names of Heywood Broun and Spessard Holland is tough enough without an author calling them Heywoud and Sepessand. Adding insult to injury, whole paragraphs are repeated (p. 290).

The photographs that illustrate the book show too many of North's infatuations and not enough of the keynote personalities, pivotal events, and hallmark places that made circus history during his reign. It's a shame that in place of the immortal clown Emmett Kelly, the big-city emporium Madison Square Garden,

the phenomenal gorilla attraction Gargantua ("The World's Most Terrifying Living Creature"), the devastating Hartford fire, Frank "Bring 'Em Back Alive" Buck, the death-defying highwire family troupe the Wallendas, and the thrilling daredevil Hugo "The Human Cannonball" Zacchini, readers see here Dody Heath, Germaine Aussey, Jean Barry McCormick, Martine Carroll, and Paulette Goddard at such New York watering holes as El Morocco and eateries as Luchow's.

While *A Ringling By Any Other Name* highlights the continued interest in one of the first families of American entertainment, the definitive study of the Ringlings remains to be written. Such an enterprise would have to evaluate the Ringlings in relation to the rise of mass entertainment in America, changes in consumer appetites, competing industries, and Florida as a seedbed of popular culture, among other considerations. Hopefully, Albrecht's book on John Ringling North will inspire someone to that challenge.

University of South Florida

ROBERT E. SNYDER

Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression.

By Robin D. G. Kelley. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990. xv, 369 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, prologue, photographs, illustrations, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth; \$12.95 paper.)

Alabama hardly seems a luxuriant setting for the flourishing of communism during the 1930s. Indeed it was not a hospitable environment, as Robin Kelley demonstrates. That the American Communist Party decided to launch its major southern organizing drive there says something about the political sagacity of the party and its a historical nature. One can only speculate about how different the outcome might have been had the CP located its southern headquarters in Tampa instead of Birmingham, in Florida with its stronger radical and immigrant tradition instead of Alabama. But Marxist logic sought a strong proletariat base for organizing, and Birmingham provided the largest such concentration in the South.

Kelley explores the tension between radical ideology and the practical necessity for adaptation. Many of the Communist

Party's policy changes resulted from official alterations of party line. For instance, before 1935 southern Communist officials fought mainstream labor unions and middle-class civil rights organizations. Then they converted to the Popular Front stage of cooperation with their former enemies until 1940. In that year, the party again denounced less radical reformers and reverted to its own radical agenda. Anti-fascist in the mid 1930s, anti-war after the German-Soviet accords of 1939, and interventionist after the German invasion of the USSR in 1941, the beleaguered and unsophisticated comrades in Alabama needed a scorecard to figure out whose side they were on at any particular time.

The author also examines the way in which leaders of southern Communists came to ignore these national party lines in order to adapt the party to local conditions. As in China, local Communist party leaders discovered that organizing peasants could be far more useful than dubious industrial workers. Hence, the most successful Communist organizing effort was the Sharecroppers Union, which reached a peak membership of some 8,000 by 1935. Profiting from the dislocation of tenant farmers due to New Deal agricultural programs, historic patterns of exploitation of black tenants by white landlords, and militant defense of black rights, the Union managed to stage strikes by tenants and farm laborers in east central Alabama involving thousands of desperate blacks. The party also effectively utilized the radical elements of traditional black culture. Blacks anticipated help from outsiders and traced social justice to Biblical notions of fair treatment, not to the *Communist Manifesto*. Shrewd Communist organizers utilized these traditional aspects of folk culture for their own benefit, grafting radical lyrics onto gospel hymns, organizing black ministers, and even urging Communist organizers to join local churches. Many of the best black organizers sang in gospel quartets, participated actively and without apparent contradiction in Baptist churches, and used scripture as textual proof for their organizing efforts.

As Kelley makes clear, race was the chief strength and liability of the party in Alabama. Its courageous championing of racial justice kept sympathetic white workers from joining. And its willingness to defend blacks accused of rape and radicalism endeared the party to many of the black masses who became outraged at the temerity of the NAACP and other traditional elitist

black organizations. Kelley notes that two Communist parties developed in Alabama: the larger one spread among black sharecroppers, miners, steelworkers, domestics, and the unemployed; a smaller segment united northern white organizers and a few white southern radicals.

The author elaborates the complex relationship of the party to New Deal agencies and Alabama reform politicians, to organized labor, particularly the CIO, and to organizations such as the International Labor Defense, the Scottsboro boys, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and others. Often-times he proves that conservative white allegations of Communist influence within some of these movements were quite correct, though both the organizations and the Communists denied such allegations at the time.

When reading this book one will not doubt Kelley's sympathies. The Communists were the good guys. But he is not uncritical of them or of their naivete and contradictory policies. Many white Communists were racists. Many black communists betrayed their comrades at the first gunshot or for the fattest TCI bribe.

Ultimately, Kelley's argument that the lasting impact of the party in Alabama was its residual influence on the Civil Rights movement is not very convincing. Though a few former Communist Party members did become civil rights activists during the 1950s and 1960s the success of the SCLC and NAACP came precisely because they distanced themselves from radicalism, positioned themselves as proponents of traditional Christian notions of equal justice and fair play, and thereby won a mass audience which the Communist party could never reach. Thus, the success of the movement was precisely that it learned so well the lesson of the 1930s: Americans prefer their radicalism rooted in Jesus rather than Marx.

Auburn University

WAYNE FLYNT

Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia Through Four Centuries. By Helen C. Rountree. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990. xii, 404 pp. Preface, prologue, illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

This is the second volume of Helen Rountree's projected three-volume study of the Algonquian-speaking Indians of Virginia, collectively designated as the Powhatan Indians. Powhatan, the father of Pocahontas, claimed dominion over most of the Algonquian-speaking chiefdoms of eastern Virginia at the time of the first English settlement. In the recently published first volume, *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture* [reviewed in *Florida Historical Quarterly* 70 (October 1991), 233-34], Rountree presented a detailed account of Powhatan culture. The present volume begins with a brief summary of Powhatan society on the eve of English colonization. Rountree then traces the history of these peoples from earliest contact through the present day.

The first documented contact of Europeans with the Powhatan Indians occurred sometime between 1559 and 1561 when Spanish sailors kidnapped a young Indian, the famous Don Luis. Florida specialists will especially appreciate Rountree's account of his life and examination of Powhatan contacts with Spaniards and Englishmen prior to 1607. Rountree furnishes a thorough and sensible summary of the surviving documentary records and subsequent historical analysis regarding the fate of the Roanoke settlers, the early history of Jamestown, and English-Powhatan relations. Ever sensitive to the clashing cultures and ambitions of Indians and whites, Rountree provides an illuminating account of Powhatan's last years and the rise of his younger brother, Opechancanough, to power; the failure of the Powhatan uprisings against the Virginians; and the dissolution of Powhatan's empire by the middle of the seventeenth century.

By the time of Opechancanough's death in 1646, the English had become more numerous and stronger than the Powhatans. The English sincerely believed that the Powhatans were a vanishing race. Their absence from English legal records seemed to confirm this fact, but, as Rountree ably proves, the Powhatan people survived. Rountree identifies a core of traditionalists who remained on Indian lands and fringe groups who "adopted English ways, either while they worked temporarily for Englishmen

or when they left their people altogether and tried to join English society" (p. 89).

The status of Virginia's Indian population was complicated by the rise of black slavery and the development of a biracial society of "whites" and "nonwhites." With the passage of a "black code" in 1705, life became increasingly difficult for Indians in both the core areas and the fringe. Despite the loss of land and progressively restrictive legal and social codes, "Powhatan culture remained more or less intact well into the eighteenth century" (p. 144). Between 1700 and 1830, Christianity, white education, economic contact, and some intermarriage with whites slowly brought about significant changes in Powhatan culture. From 1830 on, Powhatans waged an increasingly fierce battle to maintain their ethnic and racial identity as Indians. Rountree details the efforts of individuals and tribal leaders through the present day to have their unique status as "Indians" recognized and accepted.

In addition to gathering scattered and fragmentary documentary material for her work, Rountree was assisted in her research by modern Powhatans. This well-balanced and objective study is thoroughly documented, amply illustrated, and includes eleven maps. Professional scholars and general readers will appreciate Rountree's clear, direct prose. *Pocahontas's People* is essential reading for those interested in Native Americans and early American history. The book is Volume 196 in the *Civilization of the American Indian Series*.

Auburn, Alabama

KATHRYN E. HOLLAND BRAUND

Alias Bill Arp: Charles Henry Smith and the South's "Goodly Heritage."

By David B. Parker. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991. xix, 197 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.00.)

To treat a humorist without attempting to analyze his humor provides a challenge from which few can break free. The reader who wishes to understand why "Bill Arp" (the nom de plume of Charles Henry Smith, 1826-1903), was revered as a great southern humorist in his time must search elsewhere beside this volume. Smith, a native Georgian, was active in politics in the state

(he was mayor of Rome), but is best known for his satiric columns during the Civil War era and for his “pastoral” columns for the *Atlanta Constitution* during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Today Bill Arp, if he is recalled at all, is known as a Phunny Phellow, that group of journalistic humorists, including Petroleum V. Nasby, Josh Billings, and Artemus Ward, who wrote as unlettered, naive unsophisticates in a style that used misspelling, slang, and transliterated accents as a means to portray themselves as honest, simple fellows. Smith’s moniker is borrowed from an unlettered neighbor of his in Rome, Georgia, who said that he would be honored to have written the first, unsigned satire. Smith’s original fame came during the Civil War when he penned a letter to President Lincoln in April 1861, purporting to give “Mr. Linkhorn” friendly advice about the way to deal with the southern states: “We received your proklamation and as you have put us on very short notis, a few of us boys have concluded to write you, and ax for a little more time. The fact is, we are most obleeged to have a few more days, for the way things are happening, it is utterly onpossible for us to disperse in twenty days. . . . I tried my darndest yisterday to disperse and retire, but it was no go.” Smith was a firm believer in the Confederacy and, according to David Parker, remained an active foe of Reconstruction, and for a few years he was a member of the post-war Ku Klux Klan.

In 1878, after his wartime satires had faded from memory, Arp became a columnist for Henry Grady’s *Atlanta Constitution*, often writing on agricultural issues from his farmstead near Cartersville. Traditional scholarship paints these columns as homey and nostalgic while simultaneously seeing them as supporting Grady’s call for a “New South.” Parker’s distinct contribution is to revise this understanding of Arp. Much previous research on Arp’s later writings had focussed on several published compilations of his columns; Parker demonstrates that these selected columns do not reflect the whole of Arp’s philosophy. The peaceful, wistful columns were balanced by those that expressed contempt for northern ways; columns about his warm family life were matched by those filled with racial bigotry and contempt; support for scientific agriculture and industry (the program of the “New South”) were matched by those that expressed sadness for passing of the antebellum “Old South.” The choices of col-

umns should be a warning for all those who examine a partial corpus of texts.

Ultimately Bill Arp is, as Parker emphasizes, an interesting though minor southern writer, reflecting a particular social class (upper-middle), race (white), region (north Georgia), and generation (those reaching middle age during the Civil War). Perhaps if Arp had continued to write his clever and blistering satires he might have had a more significant place in regional literary history. Yet, his writings undoubtedly brought much pleasure to many Southerners. Parker's volume describes who this man, Charles Henry Smith, was and what he believed, but he stops just short of explaining Arp's popularity as gauged in his writings. He could be a Phunny Phellow for his age, but phorever?

University of Georgia

GARY ALAN FINE

Sorrow's Kitchen: The Life and Folklore of Zora Neale Hurston. By Mary E. Lyons. (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1990. xiii, 144 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, photographs, illustrations, author's note, notes, suggested reading, bibliography, index. \$13.95.)

Sorrow's Kitchen adds another dimension to the revival that the writings of Zora Neale Hurston, this prolific, independent, African-American female writer from Eatonville, Florida, are enjoying. It achieves its purpose of providing for young adults a "Zora book" of their own to acquaint them with the controversial, once neglected, maligned, but exceptional personality and pioneer. Additionally, it should lead them to read the "real Zora."

The selections, organization, and storytelling in *Sorrow's Kitchen* provides an excellent overview of Hurston's incredible life and her diverse and engaging collection of writings. Born in 1891 in the first all-black town to be incorporated in the United States, trained as an anthropologist under Franz Boaz, and eventually an enthusiastic voice in the Harlem Renaissance, Hurston was one of the most-widely published authors of her day. Before her death in 1960, she left as her legacy four novels, two books of folklore, an autobiography, more than fifty short stories, essays, letters, plays, and an enigmatic life to fascinate her readers and critics.

Hurston is best known for her second novel, *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937), but Lyons concentrates on the life and folklore. Using *Dust Tracks on the Road* (1942), the autobiography, and the two books of folklore, *Mules and Men* (1935) and *Tell My Horse* (1938), Lyons makes a pilgrimage to many of Hurston's places: Eatonville, Baltimore-Washington, Harlem, Florida, New Orleans, Jamaica, Haiti, New York, Dust Tracks, and back to Fort Pierce, Florida. At each stop, she relates the highlights of Hurston's career.

As an introduction to the charismatic Hurston, the book contains two major features that make it noteworthy and valuable. One is Lyon's understanding and up-to-date knowledge of the scholarship on Hurston and African-American literature and culture. Throughout *Sorrow's Kitchen* are such statements as: "She recognized the voodoo was a system of faith no stranger than any other religion" and "Zora had a great respect for black culture and a sincere desire to learn" (pp. 72-73). Secondly, Lyons recognizes that to appreciate Hurston one has to experience her language. Therefore, she includes generous excerpts from the works of Hurston. These add sparkle, life, and power to the book.

Fundamentally, Lyons celebrates the life of this Floridian who never forgot her roots and used her heritage with pride and creativity. However, the title, *Sorrow's Kitchen*, is unfortunate. It is misleading. In the closing chapter of *Dust Tracks*, Hurston wrote, "I have been in Sorrow's Kitchen and licked all the pots"; but, in the next sentence, she says, "Then I have stood on the peaky mountain wrappen in rainbows, with a harp and a sword in my hands" (p. 237). Although Zora died a pauper, she had lived a full, exuberant life. All of her writings reflect this balanced, enthusiastic tone. Hurston speaks of "horizons" and "jumping at de sun." The book would benefit from a title that suggests this inspirational attitude. Nevertheless, *Sorrow's Kitchen* represents a great source to lead young adults to read the "real Hurston."

Mary Lyons was awarded the Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award in May 1991 by the Florida Historical Society. *Sorrow's Kitchen* was recognized as the best book for young readers on a Florida personality published in 1990.

The Future of the Past. By C. Vann Woodward. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. xxii, 370 pp. Introduction, notes, index. \$24.95.)

In *The Future of the Past*, C. Vann Woodward, one of the most preeminent American historians, seeks to alert the craft of history, its servants, and their public, to expectations, opportunities, and problems of the present and to the influences of the present and the future upon the past, relationships that are not normally or consciously acknowledged. In a series of masterful and wide-ranging essays embracing such themes and matters as the history profession in the post-World War II years, the future of southern history, historical reinterpretations, the aging of America, comparative history of Emancipations and Reconstructions, history and fiction, behind the myths of history, and the science and art of history, Woodward has brilliantly succeeded in his purpose. Small wonder, then, that he has been one of a handful of America's premier historians since World War II.

Though nearly all of these essays have been previously published over the years from 1960-1988, they remain as fresh and as relevant as they were when they first appeared. They are packed with enough ideas and themes to keep historians going almost indefinitely. In a review of this length, it is not possible to do justice to these ideas and themes. But a sampling of them, not necessarily the most important of them, will give some idea of their diversity and extent.

Woodward contends that there is no other branch of learning better qualified than history to mediate between man's daydream of the future and his nightmare of the past or, for that matter, between his nightmare of the future and his daydream of the past; that black history is too important to be left entirely to black historians and that race and color are neither a qualification nor a disqualification for historians; that the South's historic experience instead of being parochial and isolated has been more relevant and in step with many other peoples of the world and their heritage than has been the history of the North. If any history has been eccentric and out of step in this respect, it has been that of the rest of the country. He also contends that southern history instead of being on the decline has been on the advance and that the characteristics that once made the historiography of the South rather "an embarrassment," such as the old

defensiveness and its use to make the status quo legitimate, have largely disappeared.

As Woodward sees it, three eras ended at about the conclusion of World War II: the era of free security in America; a much larger era of human warfare and weaponry; and the age of European dominance in world affairs. The changes have been revolutionary and have had such profound effects upon the study of history that revisions ultimately may be extensive enough to justify the future era of historiography as an age of reinterpretation. In this respect, Woodward advocates more comparative history to get beyond the narrow perspective and historical nationalism of historical study limited to national boundaries. His entire section on comparisons in history, especially the essay on Emancipations and Reconstructions, is a model to emulate. So is his section on Behind The Myths, where he shows the impossibility of purging the past of myths. They are right there along with the facts, and it would be stupid to ignore or underestimate them.

Finally, Woodward believes historians can regain their influence in the intellectual community by using art as well as science, by reclaiming their traditional role as contributors to literature, and by demonstrating that they can entertain as well as instruct.

University of Notre Dame

VINCENT P. DESANTIS

BOOK NOTES

Arva Moore Parks ended the earlier edition of her *Miami, The Magic City* on an optimistic note. Writing in 1980, she stated: “The city’s history proves that Miamians can survive any storm—those created by nature and those created by man— the storms will come and go, but the future of ‘The Magic City’ will always be as bright as the warm sun.” In a new edition of *Miami, The Magic City*, Moore emphasizes perseverance and how the many important and exciting events of the 1980s have dramatically changed the community physically and sociologically. The decade of the 1980s began, Mrs. Parks writes, with the weather “an unusually cool 58°F,” and Oklahoma battling Florida State University in the Orange Bowl Classic. That spring, Castro suddenly announced that anyone who wanted to leave Cuba could do so, and the “freedom flotilla,” made up of thousands of small boats, struck out across the Florida Straits. The refugees included a number of social misfits from the streets of Havana and from Cuban jails and mental hospitals. The settlement of huge numbers of these refugees and their integration into the economic, political, and social life of south Florida remolded the area and the whole state. Miami became the first metropolitan area in the country to have an Hispanic majority. Skyscrapers, condominium and apartment complexes, hotels, shopping malls, and large and small public and private buildings— many designed by renowned architects— changed Miami’s landscape, and this metamorphosis is reflected in the many photographs in the book. Old neighborhoods— Coconut Grove and Coral Gables— changed substantially in the 1980s and new neighborhoods emerged to meet the needs of an ever-expanding population. Many of the older areas, like South Miami Beach, have been gentrified and given a new lease on life. *Miami, The Magic City* retains all of the original text and the beautiful photographs of the first edition. The additional text and photographs, many in color, carry the story into the present decade. Steven Booke was the photographer for both editions. The new volume was published by Sentinel Press, Box 011830, Miami, FL 33101-1830; it sells for \$39.95.

The University of Georgia Press has published *Quail Plantations of South Georgia & North Florida*. The text is by Joseph Kitchens, a historian and now director of Pebble Hill Plantation in Thomas County, Georgia. Hank Margeson, the photographer, teaches at North Georgia College. His works are in many museum and corporate collections. The area just north of Tallahassee—the Tallahassee Hills vicinity and the basin of the Flint River—was a major cotton-producing region before the Civil War. A large plantation culture flourished around Albany and Thomasville, Georgia, and in Middle Florida. Many of the plantations survived the war, and, although their ownership often changed, they continued in operation. However, by the twentieth century food and cotton growing had been replaced by hunting, mainly quail shooting, as a major function of many of the plantations. Some of the plantations, of course, fell prey to fire and the elements. Some were restored, and others have been replaced by modern structures. The handsome black-and-white photographs in this book display the exteriors and interiors of several of these homes. Also included are fine photographs of the folks who live and work on these properties. *Quail Plantations* sells for \$34.95.

Alexander Brest is one of Duval County's best-known citizens. His generous financial support to area hospitals, schools, college funds, youth organizations, museums, art galleries, churches, and synagogues has brought him recognition from many individuals and organizations. The city's planetarium and buildings and athletic facilities at Jacksonville University are among his major gifts. *The Miracle Years: A Biography of Alexander Brest*, as related by Mr. Brest in conversations with author Deborah Simpson, tells his phenomenal story. Born in East Boston and graduated from MIT, he first came to Jacksonville as an enlisted man during World War I, and Florida has been his home ever since. He worked first for the State Board of Health and then joined the faculty at the University of Florida as an assistant professor of civil engineering with a salary of \$2,400 a year. In 1924, he and one of his former students, George H. Hodges, organized the Duval Engineering and Contracting Company. Their first office was in the Dyal-Upchurch Building on East Bay Street. Brest and his company have played major roles in the development and growth of Jacksonville and Florida in the decades since its inception. *The Miracle Years* was published by Jacksonville Univer-

sity Press, and it may be ordered free of charge from the Office of Communications, Jacksonville University, 2800 University Boulevard North, Jacksonville, FL 32211.

South Florida: The Winds of Change was edited by Thomas D. Boswell, of the Department of Geography, University of Miami. While the major focus is on Dade County, these essays encompass the physical, agricultural, historical, population, economic, and social aspects of south Florida. The articles are by well-known scholars, including Alan K. Craig, Morton D. Winsberg, Arthur E. Chapman, Ronald Schultz, Peter O. Muller, William Strong, Oliver Kerr, Rogert G. Dunham, Ronald A. Werner, David G. Cartano, Raymond A. Mohl, James R. Curtis, Thomas D. Boswell, Ira M. Sheskin, Charles Longino, Jr., and Ralph B. McNeal, Jr. They cover a wide variety of topics: physical environment, history of south Florida, agriculture, population growth and migration, urban geography, economy, demography, crime, drugs, blacks, Jews, the elderly, and Hispanics. The Association of American Geographers is the official publisher. The book may be ordered from the Department of Geography, University of Miami, Coral Gables, FL 33124; the price is \$12.

Colonel Grover Criswell's Compendium (Guide) To Confederate Money is the most recent volume in a series of publications on currency, bonds, certificates, and other forms of monetary exchange. Criswell's *Confederate & Southern State Currency* and *Confederate & Southern State Bonds* are well known. This pamphlet lists the names of the people— about 80 percent women— who hand signed the various types of Confederate paper money for the “treasurer” and the “registrar.” The Confederate notes are described, and their present values are listed. Order from Criswell's, Salt Springs, FL 32134-6000; the-price is \$5.

The Alger-Sullivan Historical Society of Century, Florida, has published *A Sawmill Scrapbook* detailing the history of that Escambia County community and its Alger-Sullivan Lumber Co. The soft-cover booklet includes personal reminiscences, local tales, and old photographs related to the Century area. It is available for \$8.50 through the Alger-Sullivan Historical Society, P. O. Box 476, Century, FL 32535, or from the Pensacola Historical Society, 405 South Adams Street, Pensacola, FL 32501.

The struggles of a black girl and woman growing up in twentieth-century Florida are the subject of the autobiographical *From Despair to Victory: An African-American Woman's Struggle With Alcohol*. The author, Barbara Bozeman, details a life that began in Tallahassee with her birth to a fifteen-year-old girl. It continued through poverty, abandonment, illness, and alcoholism until Ms. Bozeman overcame her problems, completed a college education, and established herself as a contributing member of her community. Sarah Whitmer Foster and John T. Foster, Jr., of Florida A & M University served as editors of the soft-cover, seventy-six-page publication. It may be ordered from New Focus Publications, P. O. Box 13713, Tallahassee, FL 32317-3713. The price is \$7.95, plus \$1.50 postage and handling.

The University of Florida Press has reprinted Charles E. Whitehead's *The Camp-Fires of the Everglades, or, Wild Sports in the South*, which originally was published in 1860. The book purports to be "reminiscences of an actual hunt" (p. xv) undertaken during the winter and spring of 1840-1841 along Florida's peninsular Gulf coast and extending to the Kissimmee, Oklawaha, and St. Johns rivers. It colorfully describes folkways, cracker settlers, the natural beauty of the exotic peninsula, and numerous stories of the area's white and Indian inhabitants. Unfortunately, the book, as previously was the case, is presented as history, rather than as a fictionalized account based upon secondary sources such as Joshua R. Giddings's *The Exiles of Florida* (1858) and, likely, John T. Sprague's *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (1848). After all, in 1840-1841 the account's author was only eleven or twelve years old. Nonetheless, the book is interesting and may be obtained for \$29.95 in cloth, \$14.95 in paper.

When definitive history of the Florida land boom of the 1920s is written, Virginia Elliott TenEick's *A History of Hollywood, Florida (1920-1950)* will provide important information that is available nowhere else. It is mainly the story of Joseph Wesley Young whose role in the development of south Florida is as important as Carl Fisher's to Miami Beach, George Merrick's to Coral Gables, and Addison and Wilson Mizner's to Palm Beach and Boca Raton. Young came from the Midwest with the dream of building a city. He was more than a land developer and speculator. He

envisioned a fully developed, functioning community with roads, parks, hotels, businesses, schools, and large and small private residences. In gathering her information, Mrs. TenEick had access to the Young family papers and scrapbooks. She also talked to many people who had memories of what Hollywood was like before and after the boom, including the devastation wrought by the 1926 and 1928 hurricanes and the problems that developed during the Depression Era and World War II. All of these events are described in Mrs. TenEick's book. It contains dozens of photographs, many from family albums. The original volume was published in 1966 and has long been out of print. The Florida Classics Library, 12010 South East Dixie Highway, Hobe Sound, FL 33475-1657 has published a paperback reprint. The price is \$15.95, and there is a \$2 charge for handling and shipping.

J. Thomas Gurney has been a prominent attorney in Orlando for many years. He also had a distinguished career as a churchman, entrepreneur, and state and community civic leader. Mr. Gurney was one of several Orlando businessmen who made possible the establishment of Disney World and other major enterprises. He describes his role in the creation of the Buena Vista telephone system as being "a small cog in a big wheel." As chairman of Florida's Board of Control, he played a major role in the development of higher education during the 1940s and 1950s. He was on the board when J. Hillis Miller was selected as president of the University of Florida and when the medical college was established. *Summing Up Or A Walk Through a Century* is a comprehensive autobiography. It describes some of the interesting people that Gurney met on his travels around the world, as well as his involvement and activities in his church, his community, and the state. The book was privately printed and is being sold by Long's Christian Bookstore, 2322 Edgewater Drive, Orlando, FL 32804; the price is \$14, plus \$1 postage and handling.

Boca Raton, A Pictorial History, by Donald W. Curl and John P. Johnson, recounts the history of the community from the mid-1880s to the present. A major figure in Boca Raton's history was Addison Mizner, the renowned architect who planned a giant development during the 1920s. Unfortunately, the development was not fully completed when the boom collapsed, and

Mizner and Boca Raton were bankrupt. Through a sprightly written text and well-selected pictures, Curl and Johnson show the roles played by others, including Arthur Vining Davis; J. O. Sakai, who was instrumental in the establishment of the Yamato, the Japanese agricultural colony; Captain Thomas Moore Rickards, civil engineer for the Florida East Coast Railway; J. Meyer Schine, who rehabilitated the Boca Raton Club during the 1940s and turned it into one of the country's major hotels; Theodore Pratt, the writer; and many others. The history of the area's churches, businesses, social and charitable organizations, schools, colleges and universities, hotels, and recreational facilities are discussed as well. Donald Curl is a history professor at Florida Atlantic University. John Johnson is director of the Historic Palm Beach County Preservation Board. Most of the photographs are from the Boca Raton Historical Society's collection. The book was published by Donning Publishers, and it may be purchased from the Boca Raton Historical Society, Box 1113, Boca Raton, FL 33429-1113. The cost is \$29.95, plus \$2.50 for postage and handling.

Donald Curl's *Palm Beach County: An Illustrated History* has been reprinted in paperback by Windsor Publications. It is available from the Historical Society of Palm Beach County, 3650 Summit Boulevard, West Palm Beach, FL 33406 and sells for \$19.95, plus \$2.50 for postage and handling.

The Pensacola Historical Society has issued an updated edition of *Iron Horse in the Pinelands, Building West Florida's Railroad: 1881-1883*. It is a centennial history and includes essays by Jesse Earle Bowden, John H. Appleyard, Woodward B. Skinner, E. W. Carswell, Thomas Muir, Jr., and James A. Servies. Virginia Parks served as editor. The paperback volume includes photographs, index, and a short bibliography. It may be ordered from the Pensacola Historical Society, 405 South Adams Street, Pensacola, FL 32501. It sells for \$9.95, plus \$1.50 for postage and handling.

Kenneth W. Mulder has published an interesting booklet, *Aboriginal Artifacts of Tampa Bay*. Mr. Mulder is the author of several other Florida booklets and outdoor articles, many of them also relating to the Tampa Bay area. This volume sells for \$3, and it may be ordered from the author at 4707 Cherokee Road, Tampa, FL 33629.

Log of the Peep O'Day, Summer Cruises in West Florida Waters, 1912-1915 was the work of F. F. Bingham of Pensacola. Each summer his family— mother and father, seven children, and assorted acquaintances and pets— set sail on an annual two-week summer cruise aboard the *Peep O'Day*, their cabin cruiser. Mr. Bingham kept a log, noting the ports they visited, the people they met, and their adventures. He also included hand-drawn illustrations. The manuscript was edited by Brian R. Rucker and Nathan F. Woolsey, who also have provided an interesting introduction describing “Progressive Era Pensacola.” The paper book was published by Patagonia Press, P. O. Box 284, Bagdad, FL 32530; it sells for \$9.95, plus \$2 for shipping.

Historic Homes of American Authors by Irvin Haas is a literary travel guide to fifty-six homes of forty-seven of America's most famous authors. Included are several who lived in the South including William Faulkner of Oxford, Mississippi; Joel Chandler Harris from Atlanta; Sidney Lanier from Macon; and Thomas Wolf from Asheville, North Carolina. Florida is represented by Ernest Hemingway, who first came to Key West in 1929. There he wrote many of his most famous works. His Key West home, now open to the public, was built in 1851 by Asa Tift, a local shipping magnate using coral quarried at the site for the building's foundation. The quarry hole became the house's basement. Marjory Kinnan Rawlings's cracker house at Cross Creek, where she wrote her short stories and novels (including *The Yearling* which won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1939), also is included. The Rawlings house is administered by Florida's Department of Natural Resources, and it is also open to the public. *Historic Homes of American Authors* was published by The Preservation Press for the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The book may be ordered from their office at 1600 H Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20006. The paperback sells for \$12.95.

The Uncivil War: Union Army and Navy Excesses in the Official Records is by Thomas Bland Keys. These accounts of the “atrocities” committed by Union forces during the Civil War were abstracted from official records. A few of the incidents occurred in Florida. In 1862, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Florida reported that the church at Fernandina had been broken into and that vestments and a valuable chalice had been stolen.

In 1864, three plantations were destroyed along the lower Gulf coast. In August of that year Federal troops were in Gainesville, and it was reported that the officer in charge had "allowed his men to scatter . . . and to pillage. . . . His regiment was without discipline." Thomas Keys, the author of this compilation, resides in Orlando. His book may be ordered from Beauvoir Book Shop, 3730 West Beach Boulevard, Biloxi, MS 39531-5002. The paperback sells for \$12.

Zora Neale Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God* first was published in 1937. When reissued in 1978, it was received warmly by scholars and the general public. Ms. Hurston was born and raised in Eatonville, Florida, a small, all-black town near Orlando. After studying cultural anthropology under Franz Boas, first at Barnard College and later at Columbia University, she returned to the South, where she lived most of the rest of her life. *Their Eyes Were Watching God* is a novel, one of five that she wrote. A handsome new edition has been published by University of Illinois Press. It was illustrated by Jerry Pinkney, a noted illustrator of children's books. The foreword is by Ruby Dee, who wrote and starred in the play, "Zora is My Name!" This was presented as a 1990 PBS television special. Sherley Anne Williams of the University of California at San Diego has provided the introduction for this new edition. It sells for \$29.95.

Raw Head, Bloody Bones: African-American Tales of the Supernatural. These tales were selected and edited by Mary E. Lyons who received the Florida Historical Society's 1990 Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award for her *Sorrow's Kitchen: The Life and Folklore of Zora Neale Hurston*. That book is reviewed in this issue of *The Florida Historical Quarterly* (p. 391) by Dr. Mildred A. Hill-Lubin of the University of Florida. Two of the tales in this collection are from Hurston's *Mules and Men*. All of the tales selected by Mrs. Lyons are in the original dialect. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, is the publisher, and the price is \$11.95.

The Archaeology of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale: 2. Biocultural Interpretations of a Population in Transition, edited by Clark Spencer Larsen, presents the results of a diverse set of studies on the human skeletal remains buried in the church floor at the Santa Catalina mission on St. Catherines Island, Georgia. Larsen pro-

vides the biocultural context for the study. A chapter on the skeletal pathology of individuals interred in the precolumbian Irene Mound site by Mary Lucas Powell provides an "epidemiological baseline" for the contact period skeletal series. The remainder of the articles focus on the interments from Santa Catalina and concern paleodemography, dental evidence for biological stress, nitrogen- and carbon-isotope evidence for dietary change, and changes in bone shape and size as a response to new physical demands during the contact period. This collection was published by the American Museum of Natural History and sells for \$13. [Reviewed by Rebecca Saunders, University of Florida.]

HISTORY NEWS

Journeys for the Junior Historian

Journeys for the Junior Historian is a new publication of the Florida Historical Society. Dedicated to educating, entertaining, and motivating young readers, *Journeys* is published three times annually during the school term and is available by subscription for \$5 a year. The first issue, which appeared in September 1991, included three articles: "Florida Before Columbus," by Nick Wynne; "A Child in St. Augustine in 1740," by Susan R. Parker; and "Florida's Cowboys and Indians," by Joe Akerman. The cover is a color photograph of Prince Henry of Portugal who encouraged sixteenth-century exploration and discovery. Lucy Fuchs is editor of *Journeys for the Junior Historian*, and the editorial board includes Susan R. Parker, Thomas Muir, Joe Knetsch, and Nick Wynne. Jeannette Boughner and Lloyd T. Nightingale are responsible for the art work. For information on subscriptions, write the Florida Historical Society, P. O. Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687-0197.

National Genealogical Conference

Genealogists from throughout the world will gather at the Prime Osborn Convention Center in Jacksonville, April 29-May 2, 1992, for the twelfth annual National Genealogical Conference. The Second International Congress on Family History will meet at the same time. Experts in the fields of family history and genealogy will speak on topics such as genealogical research methods and regional research methodology and resources. A computer learning center will be available and will include instructional computer labs and a video viewing room. For copies of the registration program, write the National Genealogical Society, 4527 Seventeenth Street North, Arlington, VA 22207-2399. The Jacksonville Genealogical Society will serve as host for the joint conference.

Awards

The Tampa Historical Society has presented its 1991 D. B. McKay Award to Gary R. Mormino. The award recognizes out-

standing contributions to state and local history and was announced at the Society's annual meeting, held November 23, 1991, in Ybor City's Columbia Restaurant. Florida Historical Society President Hampton Dunn conferred the honor and noted Mormino's numerous scholarly and community activities in support of Florida and Tampa Bay-area history, including his books *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985* (with George E. Pozzetta) and *Tampa: The Treasure City* (with Anthony P. Pizzo). Mormino is professor of history at the University of South Florida and formerly was executive director of the Florida Historical Society.

The American Association for State and Local History has presented a Certificate of Commendation to Lillian Grant Burns for compiling and authenticating the local history of Sarasota. The award was announced at a luncheon at the AASLH annual meeting in Dearborn, Michigan, on August 24, 1991.

Professor Michael Williams of Oxford University has won the Forest History Society's 1991 Charles A. Weyerhaeuser Award for the best study in the field of forest and conservation history. His book, *Americans and Their Forests: A Historical Geography*, was published by Cambridge University Press. Lary M. Dilsaver, University of South Alabama; and Douglas H. Strong, San Diego State University, shared the Theodore C. Blegen Award for their article, "Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks: One Hundred Years of Preservation and Resource Management," which appeared in *California History*. The Ralph W. Hidy Award was presented to Thomas R. Cox of San Diego State University for his article, "The North American Timber Trade: The Roots of Canadian and U. S. Approaches," which was published in *Forest & Conservation History*.

Announcements and Activities

The Southeastern American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies will hold its annual meeting on February 27-29, 1992, in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The conference, to be hosted by Wake Forest University, is interdisciplinary in nature and features papers and presentations on all aspects of eighteenth-century life. Dr. Michael Cartwright, McGill University, and Dr. Vincent Carretta, University of Maryland, will give the plenary

addresses. For information, contact: Dr. J. Patrick Lee, vice president for Academic Affairs, Barry University, Miami, FL 33161; (305) 899-3020. For registration materials, write: Dr. Byron R. Wells, Department of Romance Languages, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, NC 27109; (919) 759-5487.

The twenty-sixth annual Georgia Archives Institute will be held June 15-26, 1992, in Atlanta, Georgia. Designed for beginning archivists, librarians, and manuscript curators, the Institute will offer general instruction in basic concepts and practices of archival administration and management of traditional and modern documentary materials. The two-week program will feature lectures and demonstrations, a supervised practicum, and field trips to local archives. Topics will include records appraisal, arrangement and description of official and private papers, preservation, legal issues, and reference service. Tuition is \$400. The deadline for receipt of application and resume is April 1, 1992. For information and application write: Dr. Donald E. Oehlerts, School of Library and Information Studies, Clark Atlanta University, Atlanta, GA 30314; (404) 325-0778 or 880-8702.

History of the Indian tribes of North America with biographical sketches and anecdotes of the principal chiefs, by Thomas Loraine McKinney and James Hall, was published in Philadelphia, 1842-1844. It includes nine colored lithographs of Seminole Indians: Osceola, Tuko se Mathla, Micanopy, Foke Lustee Hajo, Nea Mathla, Yaha Hajo, Chittee Yoholo, Itcho Tustennuggee, and Julcee Mathla. Dr. and Mrs. Al Bowers of Ponte Vedra Beach, Florida, have collected the original lithographs, and they have established a small publishing company to reprint these rare and beautiful historic pictures in color. The price is \$40 each, plus \$2.60 shipping charges. They may be ordered from Pablo Prints, 206 Pablo Road, Ponte Vedra Beach, FL 32082.

Florida Agricultural Archive

The Department of Special Collections of the George A. Smathers Libraries at the University of Florida is creating an archive of Florida Agricultural History and is interested in acquiring pertinent materials from individuals, families, firms, associations, cooperatives, and other sources. Such materials may

include business journals, account books, family memorabilia, and photographs. An extensive relational data bank of the names of individuals, families, firms, etc., that have been principally active in the growth of Florida agriculture from the 1821 beginning of the American period to the present is also being established. Anyone having pertinent material or knowing of its existence, or anyone seeking additional information, should contact Bernard McTigue or Robert N. Lauriault, Special Collections, Smathers Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611; (904) 392-9075.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS . . .

1992

March 17- April 26	“Mosaic: Jewish Life in Florida” (traveling exhibit)	Palm Beach, FL
March 27-29	Florida Anthropological Society	St. Augustine, FL
April 1-3	Society of Florida Archivists	Gainesville, FL
May 7-9	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 90th MEETING	St. Augustine, FL
May 7	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	St. Augustine, FL
May 8- Aug. 23	“Mosaic: Jewish Life in Florida”	Tallahassee, FL
Sept. 16-19	American Association for State and Local History	Miami, FL
Oct. 15-18	Oral History Association	Cleveland, OH
Oct. 30- Nov. 1	Southern Jewish Historical Society	Montgomery, AL
Nov. 4-7	Southern Historical Association	Atlanta, GA

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA, 1856
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, successor, 1902
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, incorporated, 1905

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The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is \$25; family membership is \$30; library membership is \$35; a contributing membership is \$50 and above; and a corporate membership is \$100. In addition, a student membership is \$15, but proof of current status must be furnished.

All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Dr. Lewis N. Wynne, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Post Office Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687-0197. Telephone: 813-974-3815 or 974-5204; FAX: 813-932-9332. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Wynne.

