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#### COVER

RAF cadet-pilots and citizens of Arcadia at a reception in front of the Arcadia House in June 1941. Arcadians gave the Britons a rousing welcome when they arrived by train on their way to Carlstrom Field where they were to receive training from American instructors. Photograph courtesy of the U.S. Air Force.

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# Disfranchisement, Women's Suffrage and the Failure of the Florida Grandfather Clause

by TRACY E. DANESE

Following the adoption of the Constitution of 1885, Florida joined its sister southern states in enacting a series of election laws aimed at disfranchising black voters. This statutory labyrinth, with the Democratic party's white primary system as its centerpiece, had all but excluded the state's African-American citizens from the political arena by 1913. Although virtually complete in its practical effects, that process legally operated only in the primary elections. African-American males remained technically eligible to vote in general elections if their poll taxes were paid. In the same period, women's suffrage was intruding on the existing political structure from another direction with a momentum that clearly portended ultimate success. Although both movements focused on the most fundamental dynamic of American politics, the right to vote, each ran to its historical conclusion on essentially separate courses. Yet, for a brief period between 1915 and 1916, the two converged in a confusing and almost forgotten episode of Florida political history.

The convergence of efforts to complete the disfranchisement of black citizens with the inexorable momentum of women's suffrage presented the 1915 Florida Legislature with a political dilemma. If women were granted the vote, it would undoubtedly be "state action" subject to the 15th Amendment of the Constitution. That provision precluded any differentiation in granting the franchise to women. If black women received the franchise as a result of the suffrage movement, its extension to black males was inevitable unless permissible restrictions based on something other than race could be devised.

Florida looked to other southern states for direction. The solution which appeared most suitable was in place in several of them. In the parlance of disfranchisement, it was known as the "grandfather clause." Although complex in wording, the proposal was simple both in operation and purpose. In general, potential voters would be subject to rigid literacy and property ownership qualifica-

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tions. That combination would exclude the vast majority of blacks from voting, but would also eliminate a substantial number of whites. To preserve the broadest possible white franchise, an exemption was contrived based on lineal descent from a person qualified to vote prior to ratification of the 15th Amendment. Few, if any, southern blacks could qualify for the exemption. Such clauses were intended to circumvent the 15th Amendment's proscription of race as a franchise determinant. To that end, House Joint Resolution No. 82 was introduced early in the 1915 regular session of the Florida legislature.<sup>1</sup> The blatantly discriminatory purpose of the measure rendered it constitutionally suspect on its face. Nevertheless, the legislature belatedly proceeded to add it to the state's array of disfranchisement mechanisms. As the Florida measure made its way through the legislative process, an almost identical provision from Oklahoma was under constitutional challenge in the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Legislature passed HJR No. 82 by a wide majority, but the voters overwhelmingly defeated it in the 1916 general election. How do we account for such a disjunction between the voters and their elected representatives? The outcome did not represent a public rejection of white supremacy. A combination of three factors affected the voters' negative decision. First, the measure was almost certain to be held unconstitutional based on the Supreme Court decision which came out just three weeks after the Legislature acted on the measure. Second, there was great confusion as to the measure's impact on large numbers of poor and illiterate whites. Third, effective disfranchisement mechanisms were already in place. The white primary, poll tax, and Australian ballot all made the measure appear redundant.<sup>2</sup>

With a potentially definitive Supreme Court decision imminent, and disfranchisement an accomplished fact as a practical matter, why did the Legislature proceed with HJR No. 82? The sparsity of primary evidence allows no more than reasoned surmise in that regard. Clearly, the primary motivations focused on disfranchisement. First, there was the desire to eliminate any lingering vestiges of potential Republican strength built around the black vote. Second, there was always a reservoir of political profit to be tapped by expanding the reach of white supremacy. The nebulous linkage

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1. *Laws of Florida* (1915), I, 497-98.

2. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, October 4, 1916; *New York Times*, June 22, 1915.



of HJR No. 82 to women's suffrage was not tactically advantageous to such purposes. In retrospect, with both issues related to the regulation of the franchise, albeit with contrary intentions, their confluence in the mainstream of legislative maneuvering was all but inevitable. Yet, when the legislature convened in April of 1915, more pressing issues all but eclipsed legislative consideration of the grandfather clause. Women's suffrage was a high-profile issue in its own right, with warfare in Europe and prohibition also in the forefront of public consciousness.<sup>3</sup>

There was no threat to the existing order of Florida politics. The Democratic party enjoyed a clear monopoly of power. The Republican party, with its declining membership of blacks, was powerless to challenge it. Even the fragile participation of black Republicans was vulnerable to a growing "lily-white" sentiment in the minority party. The Progressive movement did not include an enlightened vision of voting rights for blacks in the South.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the specter of blacks bonding with poor whites under Republican auspices, or in a resurgence of independentism, such as the Populists, continued to haunt the Florida Democratic party.<sup>5</sup> The instinct of political self-preservation was not the only force behind the grandfather clause in the 1915 Legislature. The antipathy of whites for blacks in the period transcended the facade of paternalism erected to rationalize a distorted social system. That dimension could be seen occasionally in absurd manifestations of the racist proclivities of the era. For example, in the 1915 legislative session, a bill to prohibit black lawyers from admission to the practice of law passed the House of Representatives unanimously.<sup>6</sup> The measure was reported matter-of-factly in the press without comment as to the motivation of its promoters. One vague account stated that separation of the races was "in the best interest of the Negro himself . . . , and is made imperative when the relations of the races are to be preserved at every cost."<sup>7</sup> As to the measure's justice or injustice, the Tallahassee *Daily Democrat* said: "This question may still be

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3. See the Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, April 12, 1915. Thirteen news articles appeared on the first page, ten of which dealt with the prohibition issue.

4. Paul D. Casdorph, *Republicans, Negroes, and Progressives in the South, 1912-1916*, (Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1981) 48-9.

5. Edward C. Williamson, *Florida Politics in the Gilded Age 1877-1893*, (Gainesville, 1976), 96-105.

6. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 9, 1915.

7. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, May 8, 1915.

open in the minds of many, but it evidently is not so with the House of Representatives."<sup>8</sup> Ultimately defeated in the senate, the measure illustrated the racist sentiments prevailing in the white legislature. Such attitudes were reinforced and rationalized by allusions to the wrongs of Reconstruction, wrongs perpetrated on a vanquished South by "northern bayonets and black votes."<sup>9</sup> It was in that setting that the final effort was made to complete the elimination of Florida's African-Americans from the state's political system.

The grandfather clause began its journey through the Florida constitutional amendatory process in the first week of the 1915 legislative session. Its introduction by Marion County Representative William J. Crosby was hardly noticed in the fanfare surrounding the more momentous issues of the day. Crosby, a successful farmer from the town of Citra in central Florida, was first elected by a substantial majority in the 1914 primary election. In addition to his legislative position, he was chairman of the board of trustees of the Citra High School District.<sup>10</sup> There was nothing in Crosby's public image to set him apart from the collective persona of his political colleagues.

William Glenn Terrell of the small town of Webster in Sumter County introduced an identical resolution in the senate. Terrell, whose senate district embraced Sumter and Marion counties, had a constituency which overlapped that of Crosby. He was a practicing lawyer and principal of the county high school. First elected to the house in 1908, he served three terms before his unopposed election to the senate in the 1914 Democratic primary. After two terms in the senate, he would serve on the Florida Supreme Court for forty-one years, including three terms as chief justice. Senator James E. Calkins of Fernandina in Nassau county also played a prominent role in the measure's passage. As will be seen, his participation in the senate debate centered around efforts to make the amendment more restrictive in its application.

Terrell and Crosby closely coordinated their efforts to pass HJR No. 82 out of the legislature. It was clear that the impetus for the measure came from Marion County. Since their overlapping constituencies often necessitated joint political endeavors on a variety

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8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., April 14, 1915.

10. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 4, 1915.

of issues, their cooperation on the grandfather clause was not out of the ordinary. The assignment of identical bill numbers in each chamber further indicated a close degree of coordination between the two men. Yet, the measure had not been a major issue in the primary campaign. Although approximately one third of Marion county's registered voters were Republican (mostly black), there was no discernible threat of their exercising serious political power in the county. The current registration roll showed a county-wide decline of 1200 voters, of whom 1000 were black.<sup>11</sup> Surprisingly, in the Ocala city precinct, there were still 26 "colored" Democrats registered; not so surprisingly, there were also 236 "colored" Republicans.<sup>12</sup> Since over eighty percent of those purged from the county rolls were black, it was evident that disfranchisement was taking place in Marion County. Still, the potential for black political action could be reduced even more if the grandfather clause were adopted.

Terrell stated his position "in favor of eliminating the negro as a political factor" during a campaign speech at a political meeting in the small rural community of Blichton.<sup>13</sup> It was significant that the Blichton precinct had 47 registered Democrats and 114 Republicans, most of whom were probably black. Thus, it was one of the few precincts where a black voting presence might manifest itself in a close election. Crosby appeared at the same meeting, but did not address the issue. The sparse press coverage of the 1914 primary campaign does not reveal any later specific pronouncements by him on the clause. Crosby's opponent, incumbent S. Louis Light, had previously announced his endorsement of disfranchisement at the opening political meeting of the campaign.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, it is impossible to infer from such campaign statements any strong public clamor for enactment of the grandfather clause. These remarks were more in the nature of obeisance to the pervasive principle of white supremacy, a principle accepted by virtually all who mattered politically-white male Democrats.

A tenuous linkage of the grandfather clause to the women's suffrage issue might be inferred from one of Crosby's comments early in the campaign. At the same meeting at which his opponent

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11. Ocala *Evening Star*, April 20, 1914.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*, May 16, 1914.

14. *Ibid.*, May 14, 1914.

voiced support for disfranchisement, Crosby expressed disapproval of women's suffrage, but said he might favor it "under improved circumstances."<sup>15</sup> There is no direct evidence as to what "improved circumstances" Crosby had in mind at the time. But, early in the following year, a political columnist for the Jacksonville *Dixie*, Charles E. Jones, made repeated references to the necessity of a grandfather clause if women's suffrage was to be seriously considered in Florida. Alluding to the upcoming legislative battle over that issue, Jones said that the greatest obstacle white women had to overcome was "the enfranchisement of an army of negro women [that] would stimulate the negro men to greater political action."<sup>16</sup> If Crosby was of similar persuasion, and he most likely was, then his concept of "improved circumstances" in the context of women's suffrage could easily have meant a grandfather clause in the form in which he subsequently introduced it.

As seasoned Democratic politicians, Crosby and Terrell were certainly conversant with the line of reasoning articulated in Jones's articles. Terrell an attorney, would have clearly comprehended the 15th Amendment's impact on "state action" giving women the right to vote. He would have realized that if women were to be granted the vote, the expanded franchise could not differentiate within the newly enfranchised group on the basis of race. The dominant current of southern legal opinion held that literacy and property restrictions joined to the grandfather clause were not based on race. With that line of reasoning, the clause's effect could be reconciled with the 15th Amendment, or so it was thought. In addition to providing finality to the process of disfranchisement, the grandfather clause had the additional benefit of safeguarding against indirect black intrusion at the polls through women's suffrage. Was the grandfather clause thus obliquely joined to the women's suffrage issue in Florida? Absent a well marked documentary trail, there is only the line of circumstantial evidence outlined here on which to build an affirmative inference. Nevertheless, the historical clues provide an intriguingly plausible nexus between women's suffrage and the grandfather clause.

The Marion County house member took the initiative in moving the proposal through the house before the senate took action on it. After a favorable committee report by a comfortable seven to

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15. Ibid.

16. Jacksonville *Dixie*, January 23, March 27, April 10, 1915.

two vote, Crosby's measure was ready for floor action.<sup>17</sup> It passed the house in non-controversial fashion on April 23 by a 56 to six vote.<sup>18</sup> The political press gave the measure only perfunctory coverage. The Tallahassee *Daily Democrat* and the Miami *Metropolis* did not mention it. The St. Petersburg *Daily Times* featured it on the first page but limited the scope of the article to a recitation of the proposed amendment's details. One terse sentence in the story stated "The grandfather clause, as phrased, will eliminate a large vote in the state."<sup>19</sup> The Miami *Herald* gave essentially the same coverage as the St. Petersburg newspaper.<sup>20</sup>

In stark contrast to the perfunctory accounts in most newspapers, the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union* contained articles by two reporters. In a masterpiece of non-sequitur, one opposing representative's views were presented. His convoluted logic, although clearly related to women's suffrage, required close reading:

Representative Joe Hill Williams, Bradford, the county that once before 'saved the state' was not present when the resolution was up, but he said later on hearing of it that he would oppose the grandfather clause because it removed the only talking argument now in possession of the men who are opposed to women's voting because of the right it would give negro women to vote under the same terms as the men. With the grandfather clause written in the voting qualifications, he said, the negro women of the state would be placed in the same fix as the negro men in states where the clause is part of the registration requirement laws, and the white women advocates of equal franchise will have one more good argument to use for their having the vote.<sup>21</sup>

Williams, a staunch opponent of women's suffrage, viewed the grandfather clause as furthering that measure's prospects. Such reasoning clearly proceeded from a different perspective than that attributed to Crosby and Terrell. Nevertheless, it lends support to the theory of a linkage between the two issues. The second article

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17. Florida, *House Journal* (1915), I, 418.

18. *Ibid.*, 742-744.

19. *St. Petersburg Daily Times*, April 24, 1915.

20. *Miami Herald*, April 24, 1915.

21. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 24, 1915.

in the same newspaper described some legislators as confused over the disfranchising aspects of the resolution. The confusion probably arose from their realization that the new suffrage requirements might result in elimination of white voters from the rolls as well as blacks.

If the *Times-Union's* speculation and the comments of Representative Williams even closely approximated how the clause was understood, there was potential for rampant confusion. A letter from a proponent of disfranchisement which appeared in the Ocala newspaper indicated the confusion must have been the subject of widespread political conversation in Ocala. The letter writer, seeking to quell white anxiety over the issue, stated emphatically that the measure would have no effect on "any white man whomsoever."<sup>22</sup> He also opined that it would not disfranchise certain individuals identified as "colored men of intelligence and property" in the community. This may have been an allusion to the 26 blacks who remained registered as Democrats in the Ocala city precinct. Yet, there was no confusion on the part of anyone as to the intended effect on the mass of black voters.

The earlier comments of Representative Williams were given an almost prophetic tone when an unequivocal effort was made in the senate to bind the grandfather clause to the women's suffrage issue. Senator John B. Jones of Pensacola moved to amend the resolution by striking the word "male" from the first section. The effect would have been to grant the vote to female "lineal descendants" on an equal basis with men under the terms of the savings clause. Apparently a proponent of women's suffrage, Jones had made a surprise move. There is no way to ascertain the seriousness of his efforts, but he subsequently withdrew the amendment without a vote.<sup>23</sup> The momentary consternation on the senate floor at the time may be easily imagined, and the matter was temporarily postponed. Although Jones was not finished with the issue, his actions do not fit into the pattern of thought attributed to Crosby. More likely, as a supporter of women's suffrage, he sensed the prevailing adverse sentiment on that issue. His ploy was to amend it onto a measure seemingly assured of passage. After that turn of events, consideration of HJR No. 82 was delayed while the Senate went to another order of business. When debate resumed on the

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22. Ocala *Evening Star*, May 20, 1915.

23. Florida, *Senate Journal*, (1915), 772-73.

measure, its exclusionary reach was materially expanded. Senator Calkins offered an amendment to require the ability to “interpret” as well as read and write the constitution. His obvious purpose was to vest greater discretionary power in poll officials to turn away undesirable voters. His amendment passed on a voice vote.<sup>24</sup> Senator Jones made one more effort to add female suffrage to the measure, and this time, his amendment went to a floor vote. It failed on a 21 to five tally, and HJR No. 82 was in correct parliamentary posture for final passage.<sup>25</sup> The grandfather clause passed the senate by a 24 to three vote during the last week of the session.<sup>26</sup> Senator Jones, having made his unsuccessful effort to merge the two franchise issues, joined the majority in voting for it.

The measure that emerged from the legislative process was lengthy and complex. It required an elector to be able to read, write and *interpret* any section of the state constitution and own property worth at least \$500 as reflected on the current tax rolls of the county. The grandfather clause exempted from the new requirements any “person or lineal descendant of any such person” who was entitled to vote on January 1, 1867 under the laws of any state, territory or recognized foreign government.<sup>27</sup> The common use of the deceptively benign sounding word “grandfather” derives from the “lineal descent” language in the clause. Since southern blacks did not have the right to vote on January 1, 1867, they could not claim exemption through a “grandfather.”

Confusion about the effects of the exemption on white voters became more defined shortly after the legislature completed its work.<sup>28</sup> Because large numbers of Florida whites were both poor and illiterate, there was concern for removal of white voters from the rolls during factional strife within the Democratic party. Such strife was commonplace in Florida’s single party system, particularly after the advent of the primary system.<sup>29</sup> There was suspicion by many white southerners about the overtones of class distinction implicit in literacy and property requirements for voting. As the operative exclusionary mechanisms in HJR No. 82, those restrictions

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24. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 1685.

25. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 1686.

26. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 2047-49.

27. *Laws of Florida* (1915), 498-499.

28. *Miami Herald*, June 3, 1915.

29. V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation*, (New York, 1949; reprint, Knoxville, 1984), 16-17.

engendered white apprehension notwithstanding the supposedly curative effects of the grandfather clause.

According to historian J. Morgan Kousser, seven southern states and nine states outside the South made literacy a requirement for voting between 1889 and 1913.<sup>30</sup> The dangerous potential for disqualifying white voters during intra-party conflicts had long been recognized. The use of such tests specifically aimed at black voters was apparently first considered in 1880 by the South Carolina Election Commission. Realizing that some 12,000 whites would be excluded by literacy tests, the proponents of disfranchisement concocted an exemption to protect the white illiterate. The commissioners had derived the concept of exemptions from literacy requirements from the 1857 Massachusetts state constitution. That document had exempted previously registered illiterates from newly imposed literacy requirements. The South Carolinians must have relished the irony of using the constitution of an uncompromising abolitionist state as a model for a disfranchising device. In the event, the perversion of the Massachusetts provision, as well as the reaction of whites who feared its being turned on them, caused the South Carolina commissioners to reject the grandfather clause for a more subtle approach.<sup>31</sup>

When the Florida legislature was considering the clause in 1915, their use to preclude blacks from voting was a subject of national discussion. There was some support for southern motivation to avoid excluding whites while achieving maximum disfranchisement of blacks. One example of such support appeared in a national journal in late June after the Supreme Court's invalidation of the Oklahoma grandfather clause.<sup>32</sup> The approving tone of the article focused on the enhanced quality of the electorate resulting from literacy and property qualifications, while minimizing the racial discrimination inherent in the exempting clause.

While there was debate in Florida about the grandfather clause's effect on white voters, its impact on blacks was clearly recognized as extreme. A Tampa newspaper described the senate action on the measure as follows: "Grandfather Clause Will Kill Negro Vote."<sup>33</sup> Census data inferentially verifies the full reach of

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30. Kousser, *Shaping of Southern Politics*, 57.

31. *Ibid.*, 86.

32. *The Outlook*, June 30, 1915, 486-7.

33. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, June 1, 1915.



the clause. The U.S. Census of 1910 gave Florida's black male population over 21 years of age as 89,659, and 26 percent (23,219) were classified as illiterate.<sup>34</sup> Even that number would not have defined the extent of disfranchisement under the literacy provisions. The constitutional interpretation requirement was unlimited in its potential for arbitrary disqualification of voters and could have been applied to whites as well as blacks.

The property qualification was yet another real threat to blacks, and a potential threat to poor whites. The \$500 property requirement added an absurdly disproportionate dimension to its intended purpose. Literate but poor whites not saved by the grandfather clause would be subject to large scale disfranchisement. Confusion and doubt that the grandfather clause would preserve the white franchise was magnified by the reach of the property requirements. Undoubtedly, this injected some element of class tension into the already murky situation. Such concerns could overcome the widespread disfranchisement sentiments that would ordinarily have favored ratification.

The effect on black voters was virtually absolute. Using 1910 Census figures, there were slightly over 75,000 "homes of negro families" in Florida. Almost 50,000 of them were rented and would not have been on the tax rolls in the name of the tenant.<sup>35</sup> If there was one black male over 21 years of age in each, this alone would have disfranchised close to 60 percent of the eligible black population. The census did not provide explicit figures on black income and wealth during that era, but with the aid of information from other sources, some relevant conclusions can be drawn. The average income of an agricultural worker in the United States was estimated at \$330 per year in 1915.<sup>36</sup> There were 52,000 black male agricultural workers in Florida. Since there were approximately 90,000 black adult males, it was clear that the vast majority of potential black voters were employed in agricultural work. Considering the average income of agricultural workers in the United States, it was unlikely that a Florida agricultural worker had either

34. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population, 1790-1915*, (Washington, 1918; reprint, New York, 1968) 421.

35. *Ibid.*, Table 18, p. 478.

36. National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., *Income in the U.S.*, (New York, 1921) 275.

real or personal property on the tax roll sufficient to meet the \$500 requirement.

The value of black owned urban homes was not included in the 1910 Census, but information on black farm properties provides a reference point. Structures (some of them outbuildings) on black owned farms had an average value of \$177.57.<sup>37</sup> To meet the \$500 threshold, black owned urban homes would have to have been assessed at almost three times the average value of all farm buildings on a black farm. Such a difference in black owned rural and urban properties was highly improbable. The property qualification by itself would have disfranchised the overwhelming majority of blacks in Florida. The rare black who met the property requirement would have likely been disfranchised by the literacy and interpretation requirements.

The almost casual attitude of the Florida Legislature in passing HJR No. 82 stood in contrast to the more penetrating attention it received in another, higher public forum. In the spring of 1915, the constitutionality of the Oklahoma grandfather clause, substantially similar to the Florida version, was before the U.S. Supreme Court. The use of grandfather clauses to effectuate black disfranchisement had been a subject of debate in legal and academic circles since their inception before the turn of the century. One academician observed that most adult white southerners dismissed the Fifteenth Amendment as without moral sanction and non-binding on their consciences.<sup>38</sup> That perspective was described and implicitly condoned in a *New York Times* editorial following the Supreme Court's invalidation of the Oklahoma clause.<sup>39</sup> Observations to that effect are germane to a perspective of the southern forthrightness in pursuit of disfranchisement.

While subject to some disagreement, especially among southern lawyers, scholarly legal opinion generally viewed the grandfather clauses as unconstitutional.<sup>40</sup> By 1915, it was clear that the cases pending in the Supreme Court involving the clause would shortly resolve the issue. Oklahoma had amended its constitution in 1910 by adding literacy requirements and a grandfather clause

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37. *Ibid.*, Table 49, p. 592.

38. John C. Rose, "Negro Suffrage," *American Political Science Review* 1 (November, 1906) 18.

39. *New York Times*, June 23, 1915.

40. Julien C. Monnet, "The Latest Phase of Negro Disfranchisement," 26 *Harvard Law Review*, (November, 1912), 59.

to its suffrage provisions. The conviction in federal court of a state poll official for enforcing the provision provided the backdrop for a constitutional test. The Supreme Court declared the Oklahoma grandfather clause invalid just three weeks after the 1915 Florida Legislature adjourned.<sup>41</sup> Ironically, the opinion was written by Chief Justice Edward Douglass White who had fought for the Confederacy and was a veteran of Louisiana's notorious post-Civil War Democratic politics. There was little surprise recorded in Florida over the ruling, and even less comment on its effect on the proposed Florida amendment. The *Tampa Tribune* made no reference to the ruling, but newspapers in Jacksonville and Miami noted the Court's opinion and the historical nature of the ruling.<sup>42</sup> If public indifference can be inferred from the muted newspaper coverage, such would support the conclusion of widespread belief among Floridians that the amendment was unnecessary. News accounts to that effect from various southern states, including Florida, appeared in the *New York Times* the day after the Court's decision.<sup>43</sup> In fact, the Court's ruling rendered the Florida clause incurably defective in the legal sense. Yet, the state's constitutional amendatory process, once set in motion, required the proposal to be submitted to the people in the next general election. Press commentary preceding the election turned decidedly adverse compared to the seeming indifference during the legislative phase. The Supreme Court opinion on the Oklahoma clause contributed in large measure to this attitudinal change in the press. Fear and confusion concerning the measure's impact on white voters also played a less defined but significant role.

One editorial in a Jacksonville newspaper termed the proposal "A Useless Amendment." The effect of the Australian ballot in eliminating "the negro vote as far as this can be accomplished without violating the constitution of the United States" was cited as the basis for that judgment.<sup>44</sup> There was no disagreement as to the desirability of disfranchisement, only as to the redundancy of the proposed amendment as a means. Two weeks later, the same newspaper ran a second editorial condemning the proposal as un-

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41. *Quinn v. United States*, 238 U.S. 347 (1915).

42. *Miami Metropolis*, June 23, 1915; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 22, 1915.

43. *New York Times*, June 22, 1915.

44. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, October 4, 1916.

constitutional and unenforceable based on the ruling in the Oklahoma case.<sup>45</sup>

Negative reaction to the proposal also occurred in more rural settings. The *Jasper News* declared that reasons to oppose the amendment were so obvious they needed no elaboration. The *News* printed the amendment in full, urging its readers to decide for themselves.<sup>46</sup> The people of Hamilton county must have agreed for they voted over 15 to one against it. At Ocala, the birthplace of the Florida clause, the *Ocala Evening Star* editorialized on the eve of the election that the proposal was unconstitutional. Even though reaffirming its belief that "both negroes and white people would be better off" if blacks did not vote, the *Evening Star* urged its readers to reject the measure.<sup>47</sup>

Although the Supreme Court's opinion did not diminish the hold of white supremacy on the state, no broad popular support for the measure developed. The *Miami Herald* gave expression to what was probably one of the major concerns of whites about the amendment. It found no fault with the literacy provisions but took issue with the property requirements. It noted that the actual property value necessary to meet the test would have to be at least \$1500 due to the endemic underassessment practices throughout the state.<sup>48</sup> In 1915, such a sum could induce undercurrents of elitism. One politically astute individual, O. W. Barrett of Lakeland, was afforded space in the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union* to articulate his strong opposition to the amendment. His reasoning was similar to the *Miami Herald's*, except that he foresaw an actual property value of \$2000 needed to qualify under the proposal. Barrett also noted the potential for arbitrary disqualification of whites under the interpretation provisions and cited a letter from veteran state Senator H. J. Drane of Lakeland outlining that lawmaker's opposition to the proposal.<sup>49</sup> There was no reference to the senator's favorable vote for the measure when the matter was before the Florida senate a year earlier.

When the voters spoke to the issue in the general election of 1916, the amendment failed by 10,518 to 19,688 votes-an almost

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45. *Ibid.*, October 18, 1916.

46. *Jasper News*, September 29, 1916.

47. *Ocala Evening Star*, November 2, 1916, 47.

48. *Miami Herald*, June 3, 1916.

49. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, October 25, 1916.

two-to-one margin. The county results do not afford insight to voter reasoning other than an overall negative attitude toward the proposition. Only five counties voted in favor of it: Dade (743 to 419), Franklin (70 to 61), Lafayette (218 to 178), Palm Beach (279 to 268) and Pinellas (536 to 268).<sup>50</sup> The home counties of Crosby and Terrell voted against it, but that did not affect their standing with the voters. They were re-elected. In 1917, a women's suffrage amendment passed the Florida senate, but failed to receive the required three-fifths majority in the house. Both men voted for it.<sup>51</sup> The grandfather clause had little or no impact on the internal politics of the Florida legislature. One of the three dissenting senators, J. B. Johnson of Suwannee County, was chosen senate president the following session, and a strong proponent, J. B. Calkins of Fernandina, was elected president in 1919.

In the years since 1915, the ambiguity which surrounded the voters' rejection of Florida's final effort to disfranchise its black citizens has endured. The defeat of HJR No. 82 did not loosen the iron grip of white supremacy on the state's politics. It would be two more generations before dismantlement of that structure was clearly fixed in state and national policy. If there had been no invalidating opinion in *Quinn v. Oklahoma* prior to the general election, the vote would almost certainly have been different, even with the confusion as to the impact on poor and illiterate whites. Still, the clause would have made little practical difference with the existing disfranchisement scheme in Florida's single-party politics. In either event, the student of Florida history is left to reflect on the futility of the legislature's belated efforts to insert the grandfather clause in the state constitution.

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50. Florida, *1916 Report of the Secretary of State*, Official Vote, General Election 1916.

51. Florida, *House Journal* (1917), 820; *Florida Senate Journal* (1917), 531.

## A Botanical Mystery: The Elusive Trail of the Datil Pepper to St. Augustine

by JEAN ANDREWS

Since December 1984, when *Peppers: The Domesticated Capsicums* was published, interest in growing and eating capsicums has increased dramatically. Prior to that publication, little attention had been given to the historical aspects of the genus *Capsicum*, which is comprised of all the green and red peppers (*pimientos*) in the world, but does not include its namesake black pepper (*pimienta*) or *Piper nigrum*, a native of India, and a much wanted item in the pre-Columbian spice trade. Five-hundred years ago, while Christopher Columbus was searching for a shorter route to India and the East Indies in order to break the Muslim monopoly on the highly desired spices of the orient, he came upon the islands he called Indies, a people he considered to be Indians, and a burning spice he called pepper— the capsicums. Historians and *Capiscum* fans alike have had to deal with his misnomers ever since.

Columbus returned to Europe with many unknown plants, including *Capsicum* peppers. Some of these were carried by the Portuguese to their Atlantic islands, to Africa, India, and the Far East where they were accepted and added to the culinary schemes of the peoples of those distant lands.<sup>1</sup>

A story of long standing tradition in St. Augustine, has the Datil, one of the New World capsicums, being brought to that city over 200 years ago by a mixed group of Mediterranean indentured laborers commonly lumped under the category of Minorcans. Associated with this tale in some obscure way is a group of enslaved Africans referred to as Mandingos. The golden Datil pepper has

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1. Jean Andrews, "Diffusion of Mesoamerican Food Complex to Southeastern Europe," *Geographical Review* 83 (1992):194-204; Andrews, *Red Hot Peppers* (New York, 1993); Andrews, "The Peripatetic Chili Pepper: Diffusion of the Domesticated Capsicums Since Columbus," N. Foster and L. S. Cordell, editors, *Chiles to Chocolate*, (Tucson, 1992), 81-93; Andrews, "Around the World With the Chili Pepper: The Postcolumbian distribution of domesticated *Capsicum*," *The Journal of Gastronomy* 24 (1988):21-35.

been grown commercially in St. Johns County, for 75 years or more. In 1990 it was identified as a cultivar of *Capsicum chinense* Jacquin.<sup>2</sup> At that time it was the only variety of *C. chinense* cultivated for profit in the continental United States.

The four principal questions considered in this paper are: (1) Who were the groups called Minorcans and Mandingos? (2) Why was it impossible for the Minorcans to have introduced the Datil pepper to Florida from the Mediterranean area? (3) How did the pepper called Datil get to Florida? (4) How did it acquire the name Datil. Direct answers to these questions cannot be found in the existing literature but by reconstructing and documenting events before and after 1768, some possible solutions to the puzzle are proposed.

Late in 1986 a report from Florida of a pepper called Datil that had been grown there for over 100 hundred years inspired the interest that resulted in this study. At that time, few people living outside St. John's County, Florida, had ever heard of the Datil. The report was followed with examples of the Datil, along with a request for an opinion on its pungency in relation to other peppers grown commercially in the United States. From the description recounted in a telephone conversation,<sup>3</sup> it was impossible to relate it to any pepper being grown commercially in this country at that time. However, as soon as examples of the peppers were received it was realized that the peppers were a variety of *Capsicum chinense*, a pepper not known to be grown commercially in the United States in 1986 except around St. Augustine, Florida.

There was no way to test it except by mouth, but after that test there was no hesitation in replying that it was hotter than the *C. annuum* var. *annuum* (Jalapeño, Serrano, Cayenne) and *C. frutescens* (Tabasco) species being grown in the United States, but it was probably about the same as the Mexican Habanero, another *C. chinense*. Several attempts to germinate seed from the samples received were unsuccessful. Although interest remained undiminished, it was not until the summer of 1990 that I was able to go to Florida.

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2. Jean Andrews, "A Newly Recognized Variety of Chili-pepper (*Cupsicum Solanaceae*) Developed in the United States," *Phytologia*, 69 (1990): 413-15.

3. Telephone call from Hugh Holborn of St. Augustine, Florida in early fall of 1986.

Some of the inhabitants of St. Augustine, the oldest permanent European settlement in the United States, are descendants of early European settlers and they have not forgotten their ancestors or a fiery fruit, the Datil, bequeathed to them according to legend, by those forebears.<sup>4</sup> Many grow Datils and make their own special sauces.

Like the Tabasco, which came to Louisiana in the 1840's from Mexico and through isolation and selection became a cultivar so different from its original Mexican parent that no *Capsicum frutescens* variety like it exists in Mexico today, the first Datil probably came to the United States from the West Indies, and has remained confined principally to the St. Augustine area. Floridian growers recognize that their peppers are different from the familiar peppers (*C. annuum* var. *annuum*) found in supermarkets. They also sense their peppers are related to each other, but not knowing about *C. chinense*, most Floridians call all of them Datil (rhyming with "that"-el) In order to recognize the differences they modified the name of each "Datil" with a descriptor— "Puerto Rican" Datil, "Bull-nose" Datil, "Minorcan" Datil.

The tradition that the Datil was introduced to Florida by Minorcans begins with the Treaty of Paris in 1763, when England acquired Florida from Spain. Five years later, Dr. Andrew Turnbull, a Scotsman who had acquired more than 100,000 acres for himself and his partners to grow indigo, brought a large group of indentured laborers, some with families, to Florida from Mediterranean countries by way of Minorca, an island the British had acquired from Spain.

Turnbull planned to recruit Greek Orthodox settlers for the Florida property which he called New Smyrna after the home of his Greek wife Maria Garcia Dura Bin. He left the Greek conscripts in the favorable harbor of Mahón, Minorca while he went to Italy and Corsica for additional recruits. During their wait, several of the Greeks married Mahónese women. Learning of the adventure, some of the Catalan speaking Minorcan families sought also to go to Florida. Deprivation of civil and religious rights in Minorca by the British, caused the Minorcans to seek a better life in America.

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4. P. C. Griffin, *Mullet on the Beach, the Minorcans of Florida, 1768-1788*, (St. Augustine Historical Society, 1991) and J. Quinn in *The Minorcans of Florida*, (St. Augustine, 1975) are two books that provide historical accounts of that group of immigrants.



Turnbull spent a year collecting sufficient colonists to qualify for his land grant in Florida.<sup>5</sup> During that period he indentured a polyglot group of 1,400 Mediterranean farmer/laborers with contracts that seemed to provide them the choice for a better life in the future.<sup>6</sup> Turnbull was the first man ever to transport such a large number of people at one time to colonize a region in North America. The voyage to their new homeland in Turnbull's eight small ships was a stormy two-and-one-half to four month passage that claimed the lives of over ten percent of the immigrants.<sup>7</sup>

Nevertheless, Turnbull's little fleet arrived at the bleak Florida plantation with a sizable band of colonists. Conditions on the voyage and in New Smyrna were severe, causing the death of 450 of the Mediterranean settlers during the first five months after their departure from Minorca.<sup>8</sup> Visitors to the plantation described a working situation that was so hard and long the indentured men had no time for personal gardening or fishing.<sup>9</sup> Around 1777, after nine years of misery, the survivors fled the unbearable restrictions and living conditions of the east Florida plantation by trudging 85 miles north to St. Augustine. In that little port city during 1778, the 419 illiterate laborers who were still alive settled down to make homes, work their own gardens north of the city, and become good British citizens.<sup>10</sup> Later, when all of the English colonizers and royalist refugees in Florida fled to Nova Scotia, the Bahamas, and other British possessions in the West Indies following the British defeat during the American Revolution, all but a few of the Minorcans remained in Florida.<sup>11</sup> There were no English citizens among

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5. Carita D. Corse, *Dr. Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony of Florida*, (Jacksonville, 1919), 35, gives yet another condition which required one-third of his land to be settled in the proportion of one person to every hundred acres within three years or default it all.
  6. A. Turnbull, "The Refutation of a Late Account of New Smyrna" *The Columbian Magazine*, Dec. 1788:684-688.
  7. J. Quinn, *The Minorcans*, 14-27, gives many details of the recruitment, travel, and settlement of the Turnbull colony at New Smyrna, Florida.
  8. W. H. Siebert, "Slavery and White Servitude in East Florida. 1726-1776" (part 1); 1776-1785 (part 2), *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 10 (1931):3-23; 10 (1931):139-161.
  9. B. Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (New York, 1775), 268; W. W. Dewhurst *The History of St. Augustine, Florida with an Introductory Account of the Early Spanish and French Attempts at Exploration and Settlement in the Territory of Florida* (New York, 1881), 115.
  10. E. P. Panagopoulos, *New Smyrna: An Eighteenth Century Greek Odyssey* (Gainesville, 1966), 174.
  11. G. R. Fairbanks, *The History and Antiquities of the City of St. Augustine Florida* (Gainesville, 1975 [1858]), 173.

the 1,700 people left in St. Augustine when the exiled Spanish colonists began returning from Cuba in 1784.<sup>12</sup> The second Spanish occupation was a period of stagnation with so many problems that the English were permitted to continue supplying the colony. The stable, Catalan speaking Minorcan population, which outnumbered any other group in St. Augustine, now became loyal citizens of Spain. Most of the remaining "Minorcans" owned from three to five acres of land, and some of them owned one or more slaves.<sup>13</sup>

Tradition has the Datil pepper being brought to St. Augustine around 1777 when the Minorcans fled to that city after the plantation at New Smyrna failed. Some claim that the Minorcans acquired the Datil pepper from Turnbull's Negro slaves, who were referred to as Mandingos; while others declare they were brought from Minorca. The question is, where and how did they acquire the pepper plant? I suspect that the Minorcans did not bring the Datil with them to America along with all the other seeds and cuttings from Minorca, because there were no *Capsicum chinense* being cultivated in the Mediterranean region.

In 1756, the British historian John Armstrong wrote a history of the Island of Minorca, located between latitude 39° and 40° north, in which he listed the foods cultivated there. According to Armstrong, "Here is a great plenty of Guinea-Pepper, the green Pods of which the Minorquins are especially fond of. Of these a valuable pickle is made. Such as they suffer to hang until the seeds are ripe, acquire a red colour, and being dried, and reduced to a fine Powder, are much used in their cookery, and are well known to the World under the Name of Cayenne-Butter."<sup>14</sup> That is an excellent description of the red Cayenne type of *Capsicum annum*, a pepper that had originated in temperate Mesoamerica and had been acquired by the Portuguese from the Spanish shortly after the discovery of the new world. They introduced it to their west African colonies in Guinea. From the Portuguese African colonies that versatile cayenne type pepper was distributed throughout India and the Far East, and then to the Middle East and Central Europe. It went to the western Mediterranean via Lisbon and Seville.<sup>15</sup> The

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12. E. L. Williams, Jr. "Negro Slavery in Florida, 1565-1863," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 28 (1949), 28 (2):93-110, 28 (3): 182-204.

13. J. R. Dunkle, "St. Augustine, Florida: A Study in Historical Geography," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Clark University, 1955), 94.

14. J. Armstrong, *The History of the Island of Minorca* (London, 1956), 180.

15. J. Andrews, *Red Hot Peppers*, 30-32.

Portuguese were also the probable agents for its introduction into England where it was also described in 1597 by the herbalist John Gerard as the Guinea pepper.

The Mandingos enter the story early with the introduction of slavery by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in 1565 when he founded St. Augustine.<sup>16</sup> Most of the blacks in Florida during the first Spanish period came after 1733 when Spain offered religious sanctuary to fugitive slaves from English colonies.<sup>17</sup> More black slaves arrived during the British occupation (1763-1783.)

A German traveler to British Florida in 1783 reported that Turnbull acquired 500 slaves from Africa to work on his indigo plantation in addition to the Mediterranean recruits.<sup>18</sup> Allegedly the ship carrying those unfortunate Africans sank enroute and all were lost at sea.<sup>19</sup> Whether or not that story is true, Turnbull did acquire some sixty blacks of unknown origin.<sup>20</sup>

At least as early as 1726, Spanish Florida granted unofficial religious sanctuary to free blacks and runaway slaves from the British colonies of Georgia and North Carolina, as well as Port Royal on the British island of Jamaica.<sup>21</sup>

After the runaways arrived in the bleak Spanish colonies of East Florida, they lived in an ethnic mixture with Indians and mulattoes in settlements apart from the Spaniards who lived with their own slaves in St. Augustine. A British and Indian invasion from Georgia in 1740 destroyed those outlying communities, such as Fort Mose, forcing the Spaniards to allow the free blacks to live in St. Augustine for the 12 years it took to rebuild their settlements.<sup>22</sup> Upon their arrival in Spanish territory, both the free and the runaway blacks became loyal Spanish citizens and members of the militia. All of them went into exile in Cuba along with most of the

16. E. L. Williams, Jr. "Negro Slavery in Florida, 1565-1863," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 28 (1949):94.

17. W. H. Siebert, "Slavery and White Servitude in East Florida, 1728-1776," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 10 (1931):3.

18. J. D. Schöpf, *Travels in the Confederation, (1783 - 1784)*, Vol. 1, edited by A. J. Morrison, (Philadelphia, 1911).

19. P. C. Griffin, *Mullet on the Beach*. (St. Augustine, 1991), 27, emphasizes the doubtfulness of Schöpf's account of the slave ship from Africa.

20. J. Quinn, *The Minorcans*, 21.

21. S. Mintz and R. Price, "An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past: A Caribbean Perspective," *ISHI Occasional Papers in Social Change* (Philadelphia, 1976).

22. Jane Landers, *Fort Mose, Garcia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose: A Free Black Town in Spanish Colonial Florida* (St. Augustine, 1991), 23.

inhabitants of the Spanish East Florida colony after the Treaty of 1763. Those Negroes, who came from the southern Atlantic colonies during the first Spanish period could not have brought *Capsicum chinense* with them because the plant would not grow in temperate South Carolina.

The absence of West Indian peppers in the Carolinas, coupled with the entrenched tradition of a Minorcan origin for the Datil, effectively eliminates as a source the Mandingos and other Africans from the Carolinas and Georgia who may have arrived in Florida before the Mediterraneans came in 1768. More will be said about these blacks during the second Spanish occupation, but the pepper had not arrived in Florida during the first Spanish period.

More black slaves came to Florida during the British period, including those brought in by Turnbull. Those who came from Africa via the West Indies found the natives there using the extremely pungent, highly aromatic fruits profusely. They readily adopted West Indian peppers to satisfy their innate craving for their spicy African foods. Although *Capsicum annuum* is grown in the West Indies, the tropical *Capsicum chinense* was (and still is) the most common pepper grown in the Caribbean area where it had been brought from South America during pre-Columbian Indian migrations between 250 B.C. and A.D. 1000.<sup>23</sup> Writing in the early eighteenth century, Philip Miller, an English herbalist, reported that peppers were consumed by everyone in the West Indies, but especially the Negroes. He surmised that the fiery pods were called "Negro" or "Ginnie" (Guinea) peppers by the inhabitants because that part of the population favored them.<sup>24</sup> Miller's reasoning lends support to another Datil-Minorcan-Mandingo tradition, which is— that Turnbull's black slaves were Mandingos.

Most of the captive Africans who came to Mexico and the Spanish Indies in the early sixteenth century were probably of the Mande-speaking groups who lived then— as they still do— in lands behind the western bulge of the Guinea Coast.<sup>25</sup> Those captives were generally known as Mandingos. People, as well as plants, from that region were called "Ginnies." The Portuguese slave trade with the Americas, which began in 1509, augmented the rapid introduc-

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23. J. Andrews, "Diffusion of Mesoamerican Food Complex to Southwestern Europe," *Geographical Review*, 83 (1993) 194-204; (1993b), 5-7.

24. P. Miller, *The Gardner's and Botanist's Dictionary*, 8th Edition (London, 1768).

25. B. Davidson, *The African Slave Trade* (New York, 1980), 120.

tion of New World foods to earlier Portuguese colonies in Africa, including *Capsicums*. Even if Turnbull's slaves had come directly from the Guinea Coast to Florida, would they have been permitted to bring such things as peppers with them? Probably not. But if they had been it would probably not have been *C. chinense* because, as previously noted, *C. annuum* was the species commonly traded by the Portuguese from the west coast of Africa.<sup>26</sup> Because their ships were denied legal passage to the West Indies by the Treaty of Tordesillas, the Portuguese did not have ready access to the tropical *Capsicum chinense* until 1530 when they began the colonization of Brazil, where it also grew.

With little doubt, the 60 New Smyrna Negroes came from the West Indies, and there they would have had available the most common peppers on the islands—the tropical *C. chinense*. Although Spanish ships could have transported the slaves, it was more likely British ships that carried the people of Mandingo origin from a West Indian slave market such as Havana to Florida. Spanish ships were more intent on hauling precious metals, from Mexico and Peru to Spain. After the early part of the eighteenth century, when British slavers became more active, they included chilies among the staples provided in the shipboard diet of slave vessels because that seasoning had become so important to Africans.<sup>27</sup> Therefore, when the slaves were loaded on the ships, so were chili peppers. Cuba and the West Indies would have been the closest source of peppers for those trading along the North American Coast, and existing trade routes would have provided the means for their arrival in Florida where the seeds could be cultivated to provide a regular supply of the favored spice. Another variety of golden pepper of the same species, the Habanero (meaning from Havana, Cuba) has long been cultivated in Yucatan, Mexico. Three golden *C. chinense*, the Habanero of Yucatan, the Scotch bonnet of Jamaica, and the St. Augustine Datil probably came from the same ancestral plants in Cuba.

No matter where the peppers came from, it is not likely that the Africans at New Smyrna introduced the Datil to the Minorcans. That British plantation had little or no contact with Cuba and its owners took their slaves with them when they departed after Flor-

26. J. Andrews, *Red Hot Pepper*, 19.

27. D. P. Mannix, *Black Cargos: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1518-1865* (New York, 1978), 115.

ida was returned to the Spanish in 1783. Although the free blacks who had taken sanctuary in Spanish East Florida had fled British colonies north of Florida, where *Capsicum chinense* was not grown, they chose to go into Cuban exile with the Spanish and their slaves rather than risk reenslavement by the British.<sup>28</sup> Even though none of the tropical peppers had grown in the territories from which the free blacks fled to Florida, the exiles would have come into contact with *C. chinense* in Cuba just as the English herbalist Miller had done during his research prior to the publication of the first edition of his *Gardener's Dictionary* in 1731.<sup>29</sup> After seasoning their food with them during two decades of exile, they almost certainly took them when they returned to Florida. After the American Revolution, Florida was retroceded to Spain. Many of those who had gone into exile in Cuba—both Spaniards and blacks—returned to East Florida when the British departed. By that time the Minorcans were long out of British indenture and had their own homes and gardens in a climate where they could grow the new golden Cuban pepper. It would have been readily accepted by the Minorcans who had customarily used the red Guinea pepper in their soups and stews in their homeland.

That familiar Guinea pepper, not the Datil, could have been the undescribed "*Capsicum*" seen by Bernard Romans at New Smyrna in 1775.<sup>30</sup> It would have been natural for the Minorcans to have brought the easily transported Guinea pepper seed with them from Minorca. But the pepper Romans listed could also have been the wild, red "bird pepper," which grows on a little shrub and is much smaller than the Guinea pepper, and which the naturalist William Bartram saw when he traveled in Florida about the same time.<sup>31</sup>

28. J. Landers, *Fort Mose*, 32.

29. The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge encouraged collectors in North America. Phillip Miller was but one of the plant explorers who collected and exchanged New World plants during the colonial period and until 1820, when the interest shifted from the Caribbean islands and the Atlantic coastal area to the western United States. An annotated list of most of these men can be found in the Appendix of J. B. Dutton's *Plants of Colonial Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, 1979). The activities of those naturalists, coupled with an interest in gardening and collecting new plants evidenced by a number of colonial gardeners, may have increased the probability of the Datil making its Florida entrance during the British period.

30. B. Romans, *Natural History*: 179.

31. J. E. Harman, *Trade and Privateering in Spanish Florida, 1732-1788* (St. Augustine, 1958), 21.

Another possible means of Datil introduction depends upon other types of trade connections. St. Augustine was established in 1565 to protect shipping lanes between Spain and her colonies in the New World. Spanish laws prohibited foreigners from trading directly with the Spanish-American ports and reserved the external trade of the colonies exclusively for Spain. But St. Augustine never became self-sustaining. There were insufficient local supplies of basic food, clothing and other necessities, much less luxury goods. During the first Spanish period neither Spain nor Havana could provide their outposts with enough supplies, and the few food shipments that arrived in St. Augustine were often spoiled.<sup>32</sup> This dependence on goods from external sources often resulted in periods of extreme want. Authorities at St. Augustine frequently ignored the Spanish trading restrictions and purchased British goods which were less expensive and easier to acquire aboard English, Dutch, or French trading vessels.

Florida produced and exported oranges, deerskins, hides, and sea turtles, among other things, but the Spaniards at St. Augustine lacked adequate local supplies of flour, cloth, and other necessities. These vital supplies came indirectly from Spain via the ports of Vera Cruz, Campeche (Yucatan), and Havana, but Cuba was the main "trading partner" of Florida.<sup>33</sup>

Although the Spanish-owned Havana Company of Cuba was the official supplier for St. Augustine, it was the British South Seas Company, along with illicit British traders operating out of their North American ports, that kept the remote Spanish colony from complete destitution.<sup>34</sup> But there was no steady stream of supply ships to St. Augustine. In fact, during the first Spanish period, three years sometimes passed between ship arrivals off that isolated Florida colony.<sup>35</sup> Although welcome and sanctioned, Spain never gave British ships a legal right to trade with St. Augustine.<sup>36</sup> The clandestine trade continued for 50 years following the 1713 treaty. West Indian peppers could have been a part of it, but it is unlikely since they did not grow in the North American trade area.

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32. J. Landers, *Fort Mose*, 27.

33. B. G. Boniface, *A Historical Geography of Spanish Florida circa 1700* (Athens, GA, 1971), 190-196.

34. J. E. Harman, *Trade and Privateering*, 21.

35. B. G. Boniface, *Historical Geography*, 193.

36. J. E. Harman, *Trade and Privateering*, 54.

A considerable amount of supplies also arrived from the southern colonies, especially South Carolina and Georgia. Cattle came overland from Georgia, and foodstuffs—beef, pork, butter, flour, rum, but not such tropical fruits as peppers—frequently made the five-day sail from Charleston to St. Augustine where they were exchanged for produce, such as oranges, sea turtles, deer skins, marine stores, and fish.<sup>37</sup> Goods from those southern British colonies were seldom, if ever, transported on Spanish ships.

Journals of early North American gardeners, such as that kept by Thomas Jefferson, provide evidence of another type of trade or exchange—pepper seed. During a 50 year period that ended about 1820, and included the arrivals of the Minorcans, the English and the Dutch carried on an active plant exchange between their New World colonies (North American and West Indian) and their homelands. Attesting that seed trade are the peppers that have been grown from heirloom *C. chinense* seed dating back to the late 1700s that are still maintained in Pennsylvania gardens.<sup>38</sup>

Still other trade was by sea-going Indian canoes. Paddling those sturdy, small vessels, the Indians of Florida carried on trade with Cuba and with Cuban fishing vessels in Florida waters from 1763 until the 1840s. During the British period in Florida the Cuban fishing trade was permitted to continue. Some of those Cuban fishermen moved to the coastal islands of Florida.<sup>39</sup> During the fishing season they fished; the remainder of the year they cultivated small gardens. Most of these Cuban fishermen intermarried with the Indians but few of them ever went further than ten miles inland. A number of runaway blacks joined them. This arrangement continued after the United States acquired Florida in 1821.<sup>40</sup> Did they grow peppers?

The final diffusionary possibility is tied to the requirements of Minorcan Catholicism. The Roman Catholic Minorcans who were part of the 1400 recruits of the Turnbull colony were granted a contractual right to practice their religion freely. In the Peace of Utre-

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37. Ibid., 80.

38. The seeds were acquired from William Woys Weaver of Philadelphia, a recognized food historian, author, and authority on early American culinary practices.

39. J. W. Covington "Trade Relations Between Southwest Florida and Cuba, 1600-1840," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 38 (1959), 114-128.

40. J. W. Covington, "Trade Relations Between Southwest Florida and Cuba 1600-1840," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 38 (1959), 114-128.



cht, the British sovereign had promised the citizens of Minorca religious freedom. When the English acquired Spanish Minorca, however, that promise was not honored and those oppressed people hoped for better treatment in America. At the urging of his wife, Turnbull included two Roman Catholic priests among his would-be colonizers. Fortunately for the Datil story, those clergymen kept excellent records of their little parish, which came under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Havana.<sup>41</sup>

When the Spaniards departed after 200 years in Florida, they took with them to Cuba all their records, church vessels, and everything of value which was portable.<sup>42</sup> By means of letters sent on Cuban fishing vessels, Padre Pedro Campos, the Minorcan's parish priest, and his vicar, supplicated the Bishop in Havana for "faculties and holy oils" and other supplies necessary for church ceremonies<sup>43</sup>. These same Cuban fishermen carried the supplies "secretly" to the Catholics in Florida. The Cuban Bishop reasoned that "It is very necessary to provide for the spiritual care of Catholics permanently settled in Florida; and it is not improper to put it within the purview of the Diocese of Cuba, for it fell within the jurisdiction of that Island, before [Florida] was occupied by the English." In short, during the years the Protestant British controlled Florida, Cuban fishermen plied the waters between Havana and New Smyrna carrying communications and supplies between the Bishop of Cuba and the parish priest. Knowing that the daily diet of Cubans included quantities of pungent peppers, it is reasonable to assume that the "secret" Cuban messenger-fishermen brought the future Datil pepper to New Smyrna as part of their personal food supplies. When discovered by the Minorcan priest in Florida, the Cuban pepper traveling as an adjunct to the cargo of holy oil and incense might have looked like a windfall to spice his own monotonous diet.

By whatever means, once a *Capsicum chinense* arrived in Florida with its favorable climate, both Africans and Minorcans used it to gratify their desire for highly seasoned food, and when the Minorcans migrated from New Smyrna to St. Augustine they either took their favorite Datil with them, encountered it already growing in St. Augustine as a result of introduction from British trade in slaves

41. B. Roselli, *The Italians in Colonial Florida* (Jacksonville, 1940).

42. J. Quinn, *The Minorcans*, 17.

43. C. D. Gorse, *Dr. Andrew Turnbull*, 51.

and other goods, or were there to meet it when the Spanish and black exiles returned from Cuba with the pepper in their baggage shortly after the exit of the British.

The use of the Datil has remained very localized. During more than 200 years since the legendary Minorcan introduction, isolation and selection have caused it to become entirely different from that originally introduced to Florida, or any of the species being grown in the West Indies today. Unfortunately, until new data are discovered, the origin of the Datil will continue to be shrouded in as much mystery and speculation as the Tabasco.

Although the Minorcans did not introduce the Datil to East Florida, they did probably provide its name. The wrinkled, golden pods look somewhat like dates; hence it was given the name *dátíl* (dah-teal), which means the fruit of the date palm in both the Catalan and Spanish languages. The native language of the Minorcans was derived from Catalan. Between 1763 and 1783 there were virtually no other Romance speaking people in East Florida because all but a handful of the Spaniards in East Florida withdrew in 1763.

If the pepper had been in Florida during the first Spanish occupation, it would probably already have had a name when the Minorcans arrived, but none has been found. Although there were available date palms in Spain, there had been little or no migration directly from Spain to the West Indies after 1535, much less migrants bearing date palm trees.<sup>44</sup> Most of the Spaniards in Florida during the last hundred years of their first colonial period were of New World origin; therefore, they would not have been acquainted with dates. No record of the use of the word *dátíl* in Florida during that period has yet been found. It then seems to be logical to assume that those Catalan speaking Mediterranean people from the New Smyrna plantation, who were familiar with dates, could have noticed the resemblance to a wrinkled, golden date and called the pepper *dátíl*. The Mandingos certainly did not name it because they knew neither dates, Catalan, nor Spanish. Neither did the Spanish-speaking native-Americans have any knowledge of the fruit. It is safe to assume that the name came from the Minorcans, but when? Information about the date palm might shed some light.

The date palm, *Phoenix dactylifera* originated in the lands around the Persian Gulf and was introduced to the western Medi-

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44. D. Watts, *The West Indies: Patterns of Development, Culture, and Environmental Change Since 1492* (Cambridge, 1987), 121-125.

terranean area by the Phoenicians of the eastern Mediterranean around 1250 B.C.<sup>45</sup> The Moors brought the date palm to Spain centuries before Columbus discovered America. Mediterranean peoples such as the mixed group in New Smyrna, would certainly have been acquainted with the date as would any native born Spaniards. George Cleghorn, a British doctor stationed in Minorca for 22 years described the date palms that grew on that island.<sup>46</sup> By 1821 some of them had been transplanted to Port-au-Prince in the West Indies and a single date palm was growing on Anastasia Island at St. Augustine.<sup>47</sup> The fruit of this palm are cylindrical, yellowish-brown drupes. The people of St. Augustine could not have learned how dates appear from that lone tree, because both male and female trees are needed to produce fruit. No serious attempt at cultivating dates in the West Indies was attempted until 1899 when 75 plants were sent from Algiers to Jamaica. Even then the humidity caused the fruits to rot and fall. Only occasionally have date palms borne normal fruit in the Bahamas and South Florida.<sup>48</sup> William Bartram, botanist to His Majesty for the Floridas, wrote of the "palms and live oaks" he saw when he visited the area of the New Smyrna plantation before and after the arrival of the "Minorquies."<sup>49</sup> These were most likely the native pinnate *Roystonea* palms, or the palmate palmettos— *Sabal*, *Thrinax*, *Serenóa*, or *Acoelorrhâe* – not date palm, which was introduced to Florida from Africa<sup>50</sup>.

From this meager information, combined with what is known of trade, both in slaves and merchandise, between St. Augustine and the West Indies— especially Cuba— it would seem that the original Datil pepper most probably arrived when the exiled Spaniards and blacks returned from Cuba after 1784; still, it could have come anytime during the height of the slavery period, dating from the 1763 British occupancy to the advent of the Americans in 1821. It had to have been there within the lifetime of the original Minor-

45. B. B. Simpson and M. Conner-Ogorzaly, *Economic Botany* (New York, 1986), 123.

46. G. Cleghorn, *Observation on Epidemical Diseases in Minorca, from the Year 1744-1749, To Which is Prefixed a Short Account of the Climate, Productions, and Inhabitants and Endemical Distempers of the Island* (London, 1809), 12.

47. J. G. Forbes, *Sketches Historical and Topographical of the Floridas: More Particularly East Florida* (New York, 1821), 148.

48. J. Morton, *Fruit of Warm Climates* (Miami, 1987), 6.

49. F. E. Harper, *The Travels of William Bartram: Naturalists Edition* (New Haven, Connecticut, 1958), 46.

50. J. K. Small, *Manual of the Southeastern Flora* (Chapel Hill, 1933), 236-243; and R. W. Long, *A Flora of Tropical Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 240-247.

cans who had memories of dates they had known in their homeland and who could compare them with the fruit of the golden *Capsicum chinense*. Their Florida born descendants would not have seen dates; therefore they had no vision of them to recall. James G. Forbes, a native of St. Augustine and an American envoy to Cuba, reports that the fruit of the date he saw in 1821 resembled large acorns covered with a thin yellowish membrane. The wrinkled, cylindrical Datil is golden.

During the 44 years from the time of their arrival in St. Augustine in 1777 until Florida became a part of the United States in 1821, the Minorcans had been the largest stable body of people in that city. Being gardeners and small farmers they would have taken notice of new plants, fruits, and vegetables, and would have associated them with others of their kind already familiar to them. The golden Datils were as different from any of the tiny red wild chilies mentioned by naturalists in those early days—Jonathan Dickinson, William Bartram, or Johan Schöpfung— as they were from the cayenne peppers of their homeland.<sup>51</sup>

Although not well-known to the general public, the Datil is familiar to most citizens of St. Augustine. Many have not only grown a few plants but also have a “secret” sauce recipe. About 40 to 50 commercial growers cultivate small plots of the Datil, making it the first *Capsicum chinense* to be grown for profit in the United States. In 1990 a bushel of the stemmed fruits brought the farmer \$50 and he could produce 20 to 30 bushels from 130 plants if picked by himself as is the practice. Unfortunately for the grower of any very pungent pepper, it does not take many peppers to heat up a food product. This commercial production has been going on for at least 70 years, and the Datil is said to have been known in that area since the Minorcans fled to St. Augustine in 1777. Datil fanciers, and there are many, believe that its characteristic flavor and aroma are lost when they have tried to grow it in such places as Georgia and Puerto Rico.

Like the related Habanero, the golden Datil is quite aromatic and very *picante*. A little goes a long way. The commercial food processors and grocers are forced to buy this pepper green because the fully ripe fruit will not keep well more than a few days, therefore, commercial food processors use the Datil in the mature green

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51. E. W. Andrews, *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal* (New Haven, Connecticut, 1961).

state, and as a result almost everyone else uses it that way also. This custom, coupled with the previously mentioned Minorcan food habit that favored green Guinea peppers, combine to form a strong food routine based on the green Datil, and food habits are hard to break. Flavor, aroma, and pungency in capsicums increase with maturity; consequently they are more delicious when fully ripe— in this case golden. Spoilage should not pose a problem to cooks using Datils from their own garden; therefore, it is recommended that the golden ripe ones be used for added gustatory pleasure.

Given the fact that the Datil ancestor originated in the West Indies, probably Cuba and/or Jamaica, along with the tradition of Minorcan-Mandingo introduction, and after looking at the history of the Minorcans in Florida, the Mandingos in Florida, trade between the West Indies and Florida, early naturalists' observations in Florida, a clearer picture of the Datil's history is formed. It would appear that the *C. chinense* that evolved into the unique Datil, arrived in Florida by one or more of the readily available trade routes after the arrival of and during the lifetime of the group of Mediterranean laborers (Minorcans) in St. Augustine (1768-1820) before Florida became a part of the United States. During that time it was adopted, adapted, and named by the Catalan speaking members of that group. Just as some different heirloom *Capsicum chinense* and other exotic seed acquired from the West Indies during the Colonial Period are grown in Pennsylvania today, the Datil has remained isolated and nurtured in Florida all these years. The Datil, however, found Florida to be a more favorable climate, with a population of Mediterraneans and Africans who had built-in appetites for pungent, spicy foods. It consequently flourished there.

## Daniel Newnan: A Neglected Figure in Florida History

by JOHN K. MAHON

**T**here is a lake in Alachua County, Florida, named for Daniel Newnan of Georgia. Called Pithlachocco on early maps, it was renamed for Newnan because he led a Georgia detachment that fought the Alachua Indians near there in September 1812. Although it has long since disappeared, there was also a town named Newnansville which was the Alachua County seat until 1854. The county seat of Coweta County in Georgia is also named for him. But neither in Florida nor Georgia is there much in print about this man.

Daniel Newnan, the son of Dr. Anthony Newnan, was born in North Carolina in 1780. During 1796 and 1797 he attended the University of North Carolina. On March 3, 1799, during the undeclared war with France, he became a second lieutenant in the 4th Infantry Regiment of the United States Army. After two years and nine months, he resigned as a first lieutenant on January 1, 1802.

Soon thereafter he moved to Georgia, acquired land and slaves, and made his living as a planter. Meanwhile he became so active in the militia that in four years he was appointed adjutant general of Georgia, a position he held from December 13, 1806 to November 10, 1817.<sup>1</sup>

Newnan entered Florida history when he led 250 Georgia volunteers into Spanish Florida late in the summer of 1812. One purpose of the invasion was to aid the Patriot cause. The Patriots were Americans, living in Florida and in the United States, who were dedicated to detaching Florida from Spain and adding it to the United States. A second, and very important, purpose of the invasion was to punish the Florida Indians for welcoming and keeping slaves who had run away from Georgia owners. For a time, the Patriots had the clandestine support of the administration of Presi-

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1. Biographical data is from 3x5 card file in the Georgia Department of Archives and History and *The Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971* (Washington D.C., 1971), 1468, 1469.

dent James Madison, but the excursion was not officially authorized by the government of Georgia.<sup>2</sup>

Payne, the hereditary chief of the Alachua Seminoles, preferred to remain aloof from the fight between Spain and the Patriots, but his brother, Bowlegs, wanted war. Following Bowlegs, the Alachuas destroyed the property of whites on both sides of the St. Johns River during July and August 1812.<sup>3</sup>

On August 15, the first of Newnan's volunteers reached the United States blockhouse on Davis Creek. There they were placed under the command of Colonel Thomas Adam Smith, commander of the United States troops in Spanish Florida. Smith favored the Patriot cause but had no clear directive from the War Department telling him what to do or not to do for it. On August 21, Smith ordered Newnan to destroy the Indian towns near the Alachua Prairie. Five days later, just as Newnan was ready to advance, he received another order from Smith. It directed him to come to Smith's aid because his troops were immobilized by the Indians. Newnan succeeded in relieving Smith and his 130 men and 25 horses.<sup>4</sup>

Colonel Newnan then pleaded with his volunteers to extend their tours in order to advance against the Indian towns. To influence them, he stressed the danger to the Georgia frontier posed by the cooperation of Indians and Negroes in Florida. As an inducement, he promised land—Spanish though it was—that they would wrest from the natives. He displayed surveying instruments to prove his intention.

Most of the volunteers refused because they had only one week left to serve, but 84 extended their tours for another three weeks. Colonel Smith added 24 volunteers, and nine Patriots attached

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2. The definitive account of the Patriot cause and the Patriot War is Rembert W. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border, 1810-1815* (Athens, 1954). Later Newnan requested compensation for one of his Negroes killed by the Seminoles. The response was that "the expedition was not under any known order of Georgia" so that the state could not pay. It referred him to the general government.

3. *Ibid.*, 180, 186.

4. The account of the excursion is drawn largely from Newnan's report, Newnan to Governor David B. Mitchell, October 19, 1812, in "U.S. Troops in Spanish East Florida, 1812-1813," T. Frederick Davis, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 9 (July 1930), 146-155. Newnan's report also appears in *Niles Weekly Register* December 5, 1812, 235-237.

themselves to the excursion. Thus Newnan left Picolata on the St. Johns River on September 24, with 117 men eager to chastise "those merciless savages." Organized into three companies, they marched single file through open pine woods where flankers were not needed. At night they camped in a triangle, the men facing outward, sleeping fully dressed and hugging their muskets. Newnan expected an easy victory for he carried rations for just four days. Only ammunition was in adequate supply. By Sunday night, September 26, the invaders had left the open land and found an extensive swamp on their left. They were within eight miles of the nearest Indian town.

On Monday, September 27, as they filed along a trail, they suddenly saw 75-100 mounted Indians coming toward them. The Indians had apparently been unaware of their presence. Chief Payne, conspicuous on a large white horse, ordered the Alachuas to attack. They dismounted, "trimmed their rifles," and opened fire.<sup>5</sup> Repeated charges by the Georgians forced the Indians back about 200 yards to the edge of a swamp. There they strung their line out for about half a mile. The first firing was over in two and a half hours. The Georgians lost three killed and seven wounded. Newnan saw Payne knocked from his horse. Nine Indians were left on the ground and the volunteers scalped several of them.

Ominous quiet settled on the field until half an hour before sunset when the Indians commenced an ear piercing din: animal screams, howls, roars. More Seminoles and some Negroes had reinforced them. Opening fire again, they advanced to within 200 yards of Newnan's position. This second assault lasted until 8:00 P.M. and cost the Georgians two more killed and another wounded. Fearing that the "Makasukie Indians" might join the Alachuas, Colonel Newnan's troops worked all night on a breastwork of logs and dirt. Captain Whitaker started back at dusk to ask for help from Colonel Smith. Five other men— one of them a surgeon— left with him, taking with them the best twelve available horses.

The dwindling detachment of Georgians spent seven days behind their earthwork. With their provisions long since exhausted, they lived on horseflesh, alligator and palmetto hearts. The Seminoles systematically shot the rest of their horses. More men became

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5. Letter from an Officer of Rank, October 7, 1812, in *Niles Weekly Register*, November 14, 1812, 177.



ill, Newnan concluded that he had to leave the protection of the breastwork and retreat to the St. Johns River.

At 9:00 P.M. on October 3, the detachment began its retreat, the able men taking turns carrying the litters of five wounded. After eight miles they were halted by exhaustion and hunger, but they had to summon the energy to build a second barricade. They were not able to leave it until 3:00 P.M. the next day.

Newnan, with a high fever and too weak to carry his own musket, walked in the rear with an escort. After five miles, while passing through timber felled by high winds, they again came under heavy fire. Four men were killed, but they repulsed the attackers with a charge which Newnan later reported was so fierce that some Indians threw away their guns as they ran. The Georgians camped on that battlefield until 10 o'clock the next morning. That day, they walked only five miles, camped and raised another breastwork between two ponds. A relief column reached them there and they were taken safely to Picolata where they boarded a gunboat.

Newnan's volunteers had been out 18 days, lost nine men killed, eight wounded, and eight unaccounted for. They had neither aided the Patriots nor destroyed the villages of the Alachua Indians. What they had done was to undergo intense suffering and borne it bravely. A letter of October 7, 1812, in *Niles Weekly Register* printed in far off Baltimore, Maryland, and probably written by Colonel Smith, declared, "Too much praise cannot be bestowed on this detachment for its intrepid conduct."<sup>6</sup> Newnan estimated that they had killed no less than 60 Indians. Newspapers picked up this figure and translated it into an overwhelming defeat of the Seminoles.<sup>7</sup> Actually the Georgia detachment had narrowly escaped annihilation.

One hundred and forty two years later, the *Gainesville Sun* printed an article which rated Newnan's battle of September 27, 1812, as one of the most important of the early days "of colonization." Newnan's men, the article continued, showed courage seldom equalled against heavy odds. As always with such stories, nothing was said about the courage of the Indians or the justice of their cause.<sup>8</sup>

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6. Ibid.

7. *Niles Weekly Register*, October 7, 1812, 125.

The Georgia legislature, unclear about the official status of Newnan's excursion, asked Governor David B. Mitchell to transmit information about it. Mitchell simply sent Newnan's report— on which this account of the battles is largely based— without commenting on what official sanction the invasion had had, if any.<sup>9</sup>

A war among the Creeks broke out in 1813, not long after Newnan's foray into Florida. One faction, known as the Red Sticks, had welcomed Tecumseh in 1811 and received from him a bundle of sticks, which were to be discarded at the rate of one a day. This bundle of sticks plus their red war clubs gave them their name.<sup>10</sup> The Red Sticks were opposed to ceding more land to the United States and becoming Americanized. Mostly Upper Creeks from the Coosa River and Talapoosa River areas, the Red Sticks battled the Lower Creeks who were allied with the United States. Daniel Newnan commanded a regiment in an army that Georgia sent into Alabama under General John Floyd to fight the Red Sticks. The Georgia army consisting of 1100 militiamen and 600 friendly Creeks, engaged and defeated the Red Sticks at Autosse on November 29, 1813. The army burned two towns, killed 200 Indians, and wounded many others at a cost of eleven killed and 54 wounded. General Floyd was himself disabled, but Newnan served gallantly and escaped injury.<sup>11</sup>

When the invaders began constructing a fort on the west side of Calabee Creek, the Red Sticks decided that they had to strike. This they did, with 1300 warriors, just before daylight on January 27, 1814. In the ensuing battle, the Georgians lost 17 killed and 132 wounded. Daniel Newnan was among the 20 listed as dangerously wounded. In time, he recovered but was never in combat again.<sup>12</sup>

After eleven years as adjutant general, Newnan resigned on October 1, 1817, and returned to civil pursuits. His livelihood still came from planting, but he became active in state politics. During 1820 and 1821 he was a representative in the Georgia legislature. From 1823-1825 he served as superintendent of the Georgia State

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8. *Gainesville [Florida] Sun* May 2, 1954.

9. *Niles Weekly Register*, December 5, 1812, 235.

10. Frank L. Owsley Jr., *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands: The Creek War and the Battle of New Orleans* (Gainesville, 1981), 13, 14.

11. *Ibid.*, 54-56.

12. List of the killed and wounded in the action of the morning of January 27, 1814, (Georgia Military Record Book, 1775-1839, 140-143). Typescript in Georgia Department of Archives and History.

Penitentiary. He moved from that office on November 24, 1825, to become secretary of state for Georgia, serving until November 1827. While secretary of state he resigned as major general of the militia.<sup>13</sup>

Newnan then served one term (1831-1833) in the U.S. House of Representatives from Georgia. Having supported John C. Calhoun's 1832 nullification efforts, he was defeated for re-election to a second term.<sup>14</sup>

When the Second Seminole war erupted in Florida in 1835, Newnan offered to become a soldier again.<sup>15</sup> Governor Schley did not choose him for combat, but, on January 2, 1837, appointed him once again to be adjutant general. He remained in that position with the rank of brigadier general until the end of 1840. During the next decade he dropped out of public life, moved to an area near the Tennessee border for his health, and died there alone on January 10, 1851.<sup>16</sup>

His grave fell into neglect and remained so for three quarters of a century, but in November 1927, a bronze tablet was placed above the grave and a monument to the "Illustrious General" was erected nearby.<sup>17</sup> Six years later, in Alachua County, Florida, the United Daughters of the Confederacy took title to a small plot of ground and erected a monument on what is assumed to be the spot where Daniel Newnan made his first stand against the Indians on September 27, 1812. A dedication ceremony was conducted on March 24, 1933.<sup>18</sup> The concrete base of the monument still stands, but vandals have torn off the bronze plaque which described the action. Although the base is near Windsor Road (CR 234), it is difficult to find because of dense undergrowth.

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13. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971*, 1468, 1469, and 3x5 card file, Georgia Department of Archives and History.

14. Letter of Norbonne Berkeley, August 25, 1832, 3x5 card file, Georgia Department of Archives and History.

15. Newnan to Governor Schley, June 6, 1836, 3x5 card file, Georgia Department of Archives and History.

16. Biographical data, 3x5 card file, Georgia Department of Archives and History.

17. *Atlanta Journal*, November 21, 1927.

18. Address of T. Frederick Davis, March 24, 1933. Typescript in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

## Defending America by Aiding the Allies: British Student Pilots at Arcadia and Clewiston, 1941-1945

by THOMAS D. GREENHAW

**E**arly Monday morning, June 8, 1941, 99 British citizens arrived at the Atlantic Coast Line depot in Arcadia, Florida. Although dressed in civilian clothes, all were members of the Royal Air Force destined for training as pilots in the United States before returning to defend king and country in the raging European war. It was a delicate situation. The United States was trying to aid Britain and her allies while maintaining its official neutrality.

By May 1940, the Germans had conquered Norway, Denmark, and the Low Countries. If France fell, which seemed likely at the time, almost all of the United Kingdom would be vulnerable to German air attacks launched from airfields in France and the Low Countries. Large scale enemy air attacks on Britain would make the training of pilots extremely difficult if not impossible. Prolonged air-raids would additionally compel the Royal Air Force to use all its planes for defense, leaving none for training purposes.

The possibility of such a situation had been discussed during the 1930s with the consequent result that men began training throughout the British Empire in what became known as the Empire Training Scheme. The concept of this program was good, but apparently two factors were overlooked: the great distances from the United Kingdom to South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia, and the lack of aircraft. Almost all the planes used in the program had been manufactured in Britain. In the case of Canada, distance was not an obstacle, but the Dominion could not produce enough aircraft. Furthermore, weather conditions precluded pilot-training in Canada during much of the year. By a process of elimination there seemed to be only one place which could provide sufficient aircraft, a safe place to train, and a location not too distant from England. That place was the United States, especially the southern part. The difficulty with that location was that the United States was still a neutral nation. During May 1940 Air Commodore Alfred

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Cecil Critchley of the Royal Air Force discussed— on an informal basis— with Colonel M. Scanlon, air attache at the American embassy in London, the possibility of training British pilots in the United States.<sup>1</sup> Scanlon, while personally favoring such a proposal, had no authority to act on it. He did think, however, that American public opinion would support such an action. This belief, coupled with the rapidly deteriorating situation in Europe, prompted the British government to initiate formal discussions with United States authorities about the matter.

On May 22, 1940, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Air Minister in Winston Churchill's war cabinet, asked Lord Halifax to speak about the matter with Joseph Kennedy, the United States ambassador in London. Kennedy was inclined toward a plan whereby the United States would officially overlook the training of Royal Air Force cadets as private students in civilian schools. Instructions were sent to Lord Lothian, British ambassador in Washington, who discussed the subject with Secretary of State Sumner Welles. Royal Air Force Marshal McKean was directed to examine the adequacy of American flying schools, including the Riddle Flying School in Miami, for the training of British pilots.

Secretary Welles replied on June 5 that, because of a shortage of instructors and equipment, the United States could take neither British nor Canadian students except in a few special cases. At the time, the United States was expanding its own training facilities and the government was having to contract with the Miami facility and other civilian schools to train its own military pilots and air crews. Shortly after that exchange, Air Commodore George Pirie, British air attache in Washington, and Lord Lothian asked Secretary Welles if two or three airfields in the southern part of the United States might be made available. This would enable the United Kingdom to undertake training on civilian air fields with civilian instructors and civilian pupils. President Franklin Roosevelt responded that if the necessary planes and instructors could be found, it would be better if the training were done in Canada. But the president did not completely reject the idea of training British pilots in the United States.<sup>2</sup>

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1. This information was obtained from the Royal Air Force archives, Lacon House, London, by special permission while it was in the process of declassification, but had not yet been opened to the public.

2. *Ibid.*

By August 1940, the Battle of Britain was in full force, and it seemed only a matter of time before Germany would attempt an invasion across the English Channel. The situation caused the matter of pilot training in the United States to be reopened. This time Captain Harold Balfour of the Royal Air Force spoke directly with President Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins. The President thought that, with the publicity then being given to the situation in England, the British request would be favorably received by the American public. As a result of this conversation, Balfour cabled to the London government on August 24, a plan for employing three or four civilian flying schools in the United States where that nation was already training pilots for its own military forces. The greatest obstacle would be the acquisition of advanced trainer aircraft which were then extremely scarce. Air Vice Marshal McKean made a special trip to Washington in an attempt to elicit early delivery of American aircraft for the training of British pilots. He was unsuccessful. The earliest date that aircraft could be delivered to the British was June 1941, by which time the German invasion of Britain might already be an accomplished fact. President Roosevelt was personally willing to divert some of the scarce aircraft to the British, which he certainly had the authority to do. But there were several factors preventing him from doing so. The shortage of aircraft was well known in Congress and any attempt to divert them from American use was likely to lead to a Congressional investigation. There were also some people in the government who were concerned about secret war agreements. Finally, there was a presidential election in 1940.

Apart from the inability— or unwillingness— of the United States to supply the necessary training aircraft, the British were concerned about the cost of Captain Balfour's plan. They would be obliged to pay all the costs of any of the schools which were turned over to them for training. The problem was resolved in December 1940, however, when President Roosevelt announced his policy of lend-lease to become effective the following March. Between December 1940 and March 1941, the British busily prepared plans for the training of Royal Air Force pilot-cadets in the United States. On March 5, 1941, General Henry H. Arnold notified Air Commodore George Pirie that as soon as the lend-lease legislation was enacted, the United States would make available to the British 260 primary and 285 advanced trainers for use in civilian flying schools in the United States.

The British had decided that they would employ six schools. A joint Anglo-American group nominated the specific schools. One of those selected was the Riddle Flying School in Miami, owned and operated by John Henry Riddle. Riddle had already been contacted by his friend, General Arnold, about the possibility of his participating in the British program.<sup>3</sup> In order to save time, Arnold called Riddle and the other school operators to Washington to meet with Pirie even before the lend-lease legislation passed.<sup>4</sup> The program became known as the All-Through, or Six Schools Scheme.<sup>5</sup> The schools became better known as the British Flying Training Schools, or BFTS. The one conducted by Riddle, first at Arcadia, and then at Clewiston, was BFTS #5.

General Arnold had already notified Riddle in 1940 that the United States Army Air Corps would soon be engaging civilian flying schools to train its own pilots, and asked if he would be interested in seeking a contract for that purpose. Riddle was keenly interested, but his school was not then equipped to handle the training of military pilots. To enlarge his existing facility or to build a new one, Riddle felt that he would need financial assistance from the U.S. government. With \$250 million available for just this purpose, General Arnold tried to persuade Riddle to build a new facility in Kentucky across the Ohio River from Cincinnati. The general's opposition to a flying facility in Florida stemmed from his knowledge that, in the event of war, the United States was planning to leave the peninsula undefended and therefore liable to enemy attack. But Riddle argued successfully that Arnold's plan to build a facility in Kentucky was ill-conceived and unwise.<sup>6</sup> Arnold advanced funds to Riddle for a school to be located in Florida. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation loaned him an additional \$230,000.<sup>7</sup>

There were several abandoned air strips in southern Florida any one of which, with sufficient funds, could be transformed into

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3. Interview with John Henry Riddle, Miami, August 21, 1980. Hereinafter Riddle Interview.

4. Ibid.

5. All-Through meant that primary, intermediate, and advanced training was conducted at the same locations.

6. Ibid.; *New River News*, Summer, 1981.

7. *Fly Paper*, June 2, 1941. The *Fly Paper* was a newsletter published by the Riddle Aeronautical Institute. It is on file in the Embry-Riddle University library, Daytona Beach.



RAF cadet-pilots with their instructors in front of the Riddle Aeronautical Institute hangars at Carlstrom Field. Photograph courtesy of U.S. Air Force.

a properly equipped facility which would meet military standards for the instruction and training of pilots. One of them was Carlstrom Field in Arcadia, where Riddle had himself first learned to fly in the early 1920s. Upon investigation, he learned that the U.S. government still owned the abandoned facility. Unused for nearly fifteen years, many of the buildings had been razed. Most of those remaining were beyond repair. Because the Army Air Corps was enlarging its facilities at nearby McDill Field in Tampa, it was not interested in rebuilding Carlstrom Field. To help them decide what to do with the old field, members of the Congressional military affairs committee, accompanied by Riddle, made an inspection trip to Arcadia. Finding the place flooded by a heavy summer thunderstorm, the Congressmen declared the place unfit for further use as a training facility and recommended its disposition. According to Riddle's recollection, he was able to buy the site for the nominal sum of \$500.<sup>8</sup> In short order, he built the Riddle Aeronautical Institute, the primary purpose of which was to train pilots for the United States army. On January 19, 1941, the War Department an-

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8. Riddle Interview.



nounced that, as a part of the nation's defense program, civilian air schools would begin training military pilots.<sup>9</sup>

The first American cadets arrived for training at Carlstrom Field on March 16, 1941, even before construction had been completed.<sup>10</sup> When the first class was graduated in early June, Group Captain D. V. Carnegie of the Royal Air Force was among the guests invited to the ceremonies. He was in town to make arrangements for the arrival of the first British cadets.<sup>11</sup>

By early spring 1941, Riddle was already strongly pro-British. He had offered to accept and care for 125 British children who were being evacuated from their country because of the air-raid danger. In anticipation of their arrival, he had taken options on three houses. Like many other Americans, he wanted to assist the British regardless of the neutrality of the United States. Enactment of the lend-lease legislation in March 1941 was the catalyst which enabled him to act on his sentiments.

Officials of the United States Army Technical Training Command had communicated with Riddle with a view toward establishing a flying training facility for British cadets, and a contract was completed. This was the reason for Group Captain Carnegie's presence at Arcadia when the first class of American cadets were graduated. Carnegie and Riddle agreed upon the details of the new program. The British government was to pay for construction and operation of the training facility using funds obtained through the lend-lease program. The instructors would be American. The only British personnel would be one Royal Air Force officer and the cadets themselves.

By late spring 1941, the military situation in England was desperate. It would be months before completion of the American airfields and additional time would be required before the first group of cadets could be graduated and returned to England. The one thing that the British did not have was time. Recognizing the urgency, the War Department agreed to allow the British to begin training immediately in civilian schools which were already training American military personnel. They were to begin even at the expense of delaying the training of American airmen. The British

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9. *The Arcadian*, January 23, 1941.

10. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1941.

11. *Ibid.*, June 5, 1941.

were to be transferred to their own fields as soon as they were completed.<sup>12</sup>

As soon as Carnegie arrived in South Florida, Riddle took him on a tour of the area. They first went to Arcadia and inspected the facilities and the quality of training. While looking for suitable sites for the permanent British school, they flew near Clewiston on the south shore of Lake Okeechobee. Carnegie was expressing the urgency of the need for locating a site. Riddle switched off the engine and said that they would use the site at which the plane came down. With Carnegie shouting for him to restart the engine, Riddle maintained a steady glide, landing the plane smoothly about seven miles west of Clewiston. That became the site of the new school, but the drama of the event was overdone. Riddle had already scouted the region for possible sites soon after agreeing to train the British pilots. Having already decided on the desirability of the site, he had chosen an appropriate moment to begin his dramatic descent.<sup>13</sup>

In early May, the *Clewiston News* reported that there might be an air base built in the area because Riddle had been seen in the area.<sup>14</sup> By mid-June, Carnegie and Riddle had agreed upon the site west of Clewiston.<sup>15</sup> Frank Wheeler of the Wheeler Construction Company of Miami, who had built the Riddle Aeronautical Institute at Arcadia, was awarded the contract for BFTS #5 at Clewiston. Work began on July 17, 1941.<sup>16</sup>

There were legal problems concerning the Clewiston site, the most important of which was the acquisition of title to the land. The 140 acres owned by the state presented no problem, but the remainder belonged to private parties, some of whom lived out-of-state. In order to condemn the property, the state was required by law to advertise its intentions for at least fifteen days. But, because of the urgency of the project, state authorities simply agreed to reduce the period to five days. Some of the land was also embroiled in foreclosure litigation. Despite all this, it was agreed to proceed with the project and address the legal problems when the state legislature convened at Tallahassee on "rule day" in September 1941. So that work could get underway, Riddle was permitted to take title

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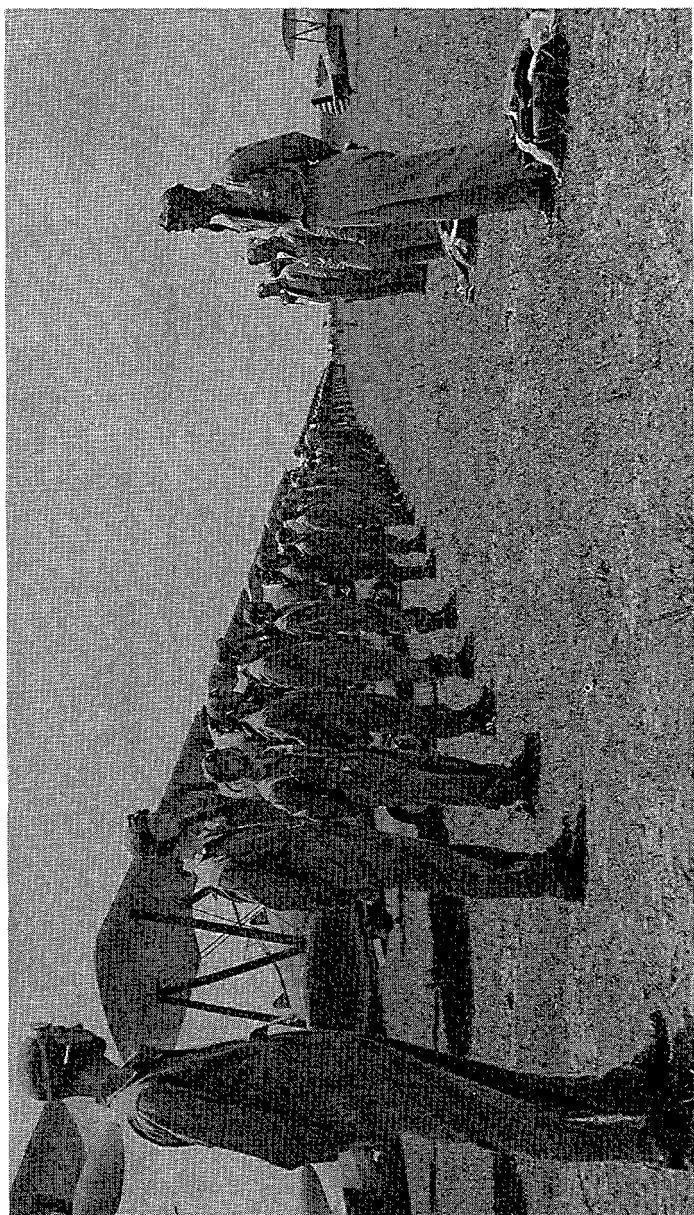
12. Riddle Interview.

13. Ibid.

14. *Clewiston News*, May 9, 1941.

15. Air 20/1388, #88, Public Record Office, Kew, England. Hereinafter PRO.

16. *Clewiston News*, July 18, 1941.



British cadets standing by for inspection and receiving instructions for one of their first training flights. Photograph U.S. Air Force.



British cadets and one of their instructors gathered around the cockpit of one of the training planes which they used. Photograph courtesy of U.S. Air Force.

immediately by eminent domain. As a result of this unusual procedure, construction began before the legal acquisition of the land.<sup>17</sup>

C. W. McSheehan, Wheeler's construction superintendent, said that he had never seen anything built so quickly.<sup>18</sup> There were accommodations for 250 cadets and 60 American civilian instructors, but the natural grass was used for runways. With canals and drainage ditches and a low-lift pump with a capacity of 60,000 gallons a minute, the runways were well-drained.<sup>19</sup>

The first Royal Air Force cadets arrived at Carlstrom Field in Arcadia— the temporary home of BFTS #5— about a month before construction was started at the Clewiston site.<sup>20</sup> These men came from England through Canada. Before leaving England, each man was given five pounds sterling and told to buy a civilian suit.<sup>21</sup> Upon arrival in Canada, they were ordered to replace the brass buttons on their overcoats with plain ones. Wearing their civilian suits and altered military overcoats, the men entered the United States ostensibly as Canadian civilians. Not everyone understood the need for the disguise. When they arrived at Arcadia, the local citizens wondered "why on earth they wanted to come in plain clothes."<sup>22</sup>

In Canada the men had received instruction booklets on various aspects of American life, geography, and customs. They were ordered not to ask Americans why they had not yet joined in the fight for freedom, or in any manner to be critical of the United States and its neutral status.<sup>23</sup>

The first contingent of 99 men left Toronto for Florida by train, arriving at the Arcadia station on that early June morning. They received a hearty welcome from Arcadia's mayor and townspeople, along with John Henry Riddle and other officials of the Riddle Aeronautical Institute. The United States government may have been neutral, but the people of Arcadia, Florida, were not. Ignoring the conditions of neutrality, they had decided weeks before to greet the British men warmly and let them know that Arcadia was enthusiastically pro-British. The arriving cadets were greeted with oranges, orange juice, coffee, tea, doughnuts, and enthusias-

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17. Riddle Interview; *Clewiston News*, August 8, 1941.

18. *The Arcadian*, August 28, 1941.

19. Riddle Interview.

20. *Tampa Tribune*, June 10, 1941.

21. Air 20/1837, p. 192/3a, PRO.

22. Air 20/1347, pp. 136-38, PRO.

23. Air 45/11, p. 31, PRO.

tic conversation. Hundreds of people turned out, some waving small Union Jacks. The British and American flags flew side by side on the lawn of the Arcadia House, and pictures of King George VI were displayed.

After the rousing reception, Arcadia citizens in their personal cars drove the cadets out to Carlstrom Field where they were served breakfast. The men then toured the school, stopping at the swimming pool. Having only recently spent many of their nights and some of their days in air-raid shelters, the cadets found Florida a dramatic change. As one of them is supposed to have said, "It's just like a fairyland . . . so beautiful and peaceful." This first group, known officially as Squadron 42-A, began training on June 11.<sup>24</sup>

By early September the United States was itself in desperate need of the training facilities at Carlstrom Field. The British began their move to the still unfinished Riddle Field in Clewiston. Two barracks and a mess hall had been completed, and other buildings were still under construction. On September 25, 89 cadets from Arcadia arrived at the Clewiston site. The first group of planes took off on training flights the next morning.<sup>25</sup> Some RAF cadets continued to train at Carlstrom Field until late April 1942 when the Clewiston facility— designated Riddle Field— was completed.

Riddle Field— BFTS #5— remained in operation throughout the war. The last cadets were graduated on August 25, 1945.<sup>26</sup> During its four years of operation, 1879 cadets had begun training at Arcadia and Clewiston, and 1452 had received their wings. BFTS #5 was closed on September 10, 1945.<sup>27</sup>

Relations between the British cadets and the residents of South Florida remained excellent throughout the period. The young men were entertained by various people and organizations from Sarasota to Ft. Myers to Palm Beach. They made friends easily with the locals in both Clewiston and Arcadia either through personal contact or through local organizations, especially the churches. Although Clewiston hosted the British longer than Arcadia, it is the latter town that continues to be more closely associated with them. Perhaps one reason is that about two dozen of the cadets never returned home, but are buried in a special area of the Arcadia ceme-

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24. *Miami Herald*, July 4, 1941.

25. *The Fly Paper*, June 23, 1941.

26. *Clewiston News*, July 12, 1973.

27. Air 29/627, p. 58, PRO.

tery. The Union Jack is frequently flown over the graves, and on Memorial Day the townsmen decorate them with flowers and hold special services there. On more than one occasion since the end of the war, some of the "veterans" of BFTS #5 have met in Florida for remembrances of times past and to renew old friendships with their former hosts.<sup>28</sup>

In all respects John Henry Riddle's flying training school and the British cadet training program were successful. Of the six British Flying Training Schools in the United States, BFTS #5 in Florida received the highest performance rating.<sup>29</sup> Floridians had enthusiastically assumed their role in the nation's policy of "defending America by aiding the allies."

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28. *Clewiston News*, July 12, 1973.

29. *Ibid.*, June 11, 1943.

## Hurston Goes to War: The Army Signal Corps in Saint Augustine

by GORDON PATTERSON

**I**n the fall of 1942, Zora Neale Hurston returned to Saint Augustine. She had come to “this city because it [was] a quiet place to sit down and write.”<sup>1</sup> By January 1943, she had moved to Daytona Beach. Her brief stay in Saint Augustine was eventful. She finished revising *Dust Trucks on a Road* and J. B. Lippincott published it in November. Simultaneously, Hurston and Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings established a “close friendship.”<sup>2</sup> Hurston’s relations, however, were less cordial with William Gray, Jr., the newly appointed president of Florida Normal and Industrial Institute. She let it be known that she considered Gray an “insignificant squirt” who happened to be “president of one of the most insignificant schools in the world.”<sup>3</sup> Her criticisms increasingly focused on Gray’s treatment of the African American students enrolled in the Fourth Army Signal Corps program, located at Florida Normal.

Hurston’s attack on Gray’s leadership of Florida Normal and his administration of the Signal Corps training program exemplified her long-standing appetite for controversy. In less than a month she managed to turn a local dispute which revolved around the quality of cafeteria food and dormitory overcrowding into an indictment that reached the highest levels in the War Department. That memorable feat alone was significant.

The Saint Augustine Signal Corps controversy, however, had even greater ramifications. The dispute marked an important stage in Hurston’s increasing estrangement from the leaders of the African American community. She was always an iconoclast, but in the 1930s her talent protected her from the consequences of her volcanic outbursts. The outbreak of World War II changed that. African

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1. Zora Neale Hurston to Walter White, November 24, 1942, NAACP Papers, pt. 9, ser. B, Discrimination in the U.S. Armed Forces. 1918-1955, Roll 12, 106. (Hereinafter NAACP Papers)
2. Robert Hemenway, *Zora Neale Hurston: A Literary Biography* (Urbana, 1977), 295.
3. Hurston to White, November 24, 1942, NAACP Papers.



American leaders campaigned for a “Double Victory”: the defeat of fascism abroad and racism at home. Individuals like Walter White and Roy Wilkins believed that African Americans must present a unified front. Hurston refused to mute her criticisms. She attacked prominent African Americans and expressed sympathy for the Japanese. By 1945, Hurston had succeeded in alienating most of the “‘puhfessahs’ principals, presidents and potentates” of what she called the “Negro Begging Joints.”<sup>4</sup> An examination of this episode offers insight into the reasons for the growing ambivalence many African American intellectuals felt for Hurston in the 1940s and 1950s.

The controversy began on November 4, 1942, when Hurston mailed a single page, type-written letter to Walter White, the executive secretary of the NAACP, whom she had known for more than a decade. Hurston wrote:

Well, the Negroes have been bitched again! I mean this Signal Corps school which the Govt. [sic] has set up here. It would be more than worth your while to look into the matter. Through pressure from you it was grudgingly granted. Fisk, Hampton, and Tuskegee asked for it. But it is stuck down here at the Florida Normal, a most insignificant school to begin with, and then there are inadequate living quarters for the men. There was a walkout last week from the dining-room on account of the continued poor quality and quantity of the food.<sup>5</sup>

Hurston reported that the men’s “dissatisfaction is TREMENDOUS.” A few days earlier they had taken their complaints to Mrs. Gray. When the men stated their grievances, Mrs. Gray, who managed the college’s cafeteria, answered, “I don’t like your attitude, and your tone of voice is not respectful enough to Mrs. Dr. Gray.” At this point, the president intervened and tried to bully the men into apologizing to his wife. Four of them refused and were forced to leave the campus. Hurston might have overlooked the Grays’ incompetence. Their vanity, however, was inexcusable since the trainees were “college men for the most part and represent the best

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4. Zora Neale Hurston, “The Rise of the Begging Joints” *American Mercury*, March, 1945, 288.

5. Hurston to White, November 24, 1942, NAACP Papers.

Negro families in America." These "Negro men," Hurston declared are "... approaching the level of genius in the field of radio, whom the mass of Negroes know nothing about, but would be proud to hear of." As for herself, Hurston claimed to be an innocent bystander. A handful of the men "sought me out to meet me as an author. Then, soon, they were telling me their troubles." She concluded:

It is awful, Walter. The Government, having been forced by you to grant this Signal Corps to Negroes, dumped it in this little hole, and felt that your mouth was stopped. Remember that this is the ONLY one for Negroes in the U.S., though the whites have several. I feel that the whole body of Negroes are being insulted and mocked. Please send someone to look into things.<sup>6</sup>

Hurston raised two issues in her letter to Walter White. The first centered on William Gray's administrative incompetence. The second pointed towards a theme to which Hurston returned repeatedly in the 1940s and 1950s. She believed that American blacks could succeed because of their individual genius and personal discipline. African American leaders like Walter White and Roy Wilkins would have agreed with Hurston if she had stopped there. Hurston, however, refused to limit her criticisms of the Jim Crow system to whites. She charged that black Americans bore considerable responsibility for maintaining "the pet Negro system."<sup>7</sup>

Black leaders had long called for improvement of the military's treatment of blacks. In 1931, Walter White had declared his "most earnest desire that Negro and white soldiers receive the same treatment and the same consideration."<sup>8</sup> Nine years passed before the Department of War acknowledged that it was necessary to "correct flaws" in the country's Protective Mobilization Plans.<sup>9</sup> In 1940, the War Department Organization and Training Division (G-3) recommended that the uniformed services immediately expand opportunities for African Americans. G-3's stated goal was to achieve a

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6. Ibid.

7. Zora Neale Hurston, "The 'Pet Negro' System," *American Mercury*, May, 1943, 593-600.

8. Quoted in Ulysses Lee, *The Employment of Negro Troops* (Washington, 1966), 26.

9. Ibid., 46.

"reasonable proportion of Negroes" in the military. It planned to create special Jim Crow units which would parallel white regiments. There were exceptions. Both the Army Air Corps and the Signal Corps were exempted from G-3's new manpower policy. This provoked an internal debate within the War Department that pitted G-3 against the Personnel Division and War Plans Division. "It is neither desirable [sic] nor practical," an internal War Plans Division memorandum declared, "IN A MAJOR MOBILIZATION to exclude Negro manpower *per se* from any Arm or Service. Furthermore, it is the opinion of this division that Negro manpower can be successfully employed in some capacities in both the Air Corps and Signal Corps as it is in the other Arms and Services . . ."<sup>10</sup>

During the next 18 months, planners in the War Department wrestled with the issue of admitting black Americans to the prestigious Air and Signal Corps training programs. In 1941, the Air Corps reluctantly agreed to open a program to train African American pursuit pilots. Major General Henry H. Arnold, Chief of the Army Air Corps, voiced his opposition to the program because it "would result in having Negro officers serving over white enlisted men. This would create an impossible social problem."<sup>11</sup> As an alternative, General Arnold ordered that a completely separate facility for African American fliers be established at Tuskegee, Alabama. The Tuskegee program was forty miles away from the Maxwell Field program for white officers. Walter White and the NAACP had "vigorously opposed" the Air Corps Jim Crow solution. White objected to the Tuskegee Air Corps Flying School because it further entrenched the policy of segregation in the services.

The Signal Corps, however, succeeded in preventing the admission of Negroes into its training programs throughout 1940 and 1941. In January 1942, the Signal Corps leadership justified its opposition to African American trainees on technical grounds. Perhaps blacks could fly airplanes, but "relatively few, if any Negroes could meet its standards for assignment to tactical Signal Corps units."<sup>12</sup> The establishment of the Tuskegee Air Corps Flying

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10. Memo, WPD for G-3 June 1940, Tab H to G-3/6541-527 as quoted in Lee, *Negro Troops*, 46.

11. Memo, CofAC for G-3, May 31, 1940, sub: Employment of Negro Personnel in Air Corps Units, G3/6541-Gen-527 as quoted in Morris J. MacGregor, Jr, *Integration of the Armed Forces: 1940-1965* (Washington, 1981), 27.

12. Memo OCSigO for G-3, January 27, 1942, OCSigO 210.31 Gen, as quoted in Lee, *Negro Troops*, 207.

School and America's entry into world War II forced the Signal Corps to modify its policy. In the spring of 1942, the Signal Corps informed G-3 that the Fourth Service Command of the United States Army would launch a Signal Corps Civilian Training program on the campus of Florida Normal and Industrial Institute in St. Augustine, Florida.

The selection of Florida Normal for its training program reflected the Signal Corps leadership's continued effort to limit the number of blacks admitted to the Corps. Hurston noted in her letter to White that "Fisk, Hampton, and Tuskegee asked for it."<sup>13</sup> The Signal Corps had "grudgingly" agreed to the program. Placing it "at the Florida Normal, a most insignificant school," was an invitation to failure. Hurston felt that Florida Normal was ill-suited for this program.

Florida Normal was a small, black school founded in 1892 when two rival Baptist groups decided to form a single school. Between 1896 and 1941, Nathan White Collier led the school. In 1942, the school's trustees chose William Gray, Jr., "a young educator from Louisiana" as the college's new president.<sup>14</sup> At thirty-one, Gray had little experience to prepare him for resolving the substantial problems facing Florida Normal. Enrollments had declined. New sources of income had to be found if the school was to survive. The Fourth Service Command's decision to locate the Signal Corps Civilian Training Depot at Florida Normal was a godsend.

The Signal Corps established extraordinarily stringent admission standards for the program. On July 1, 1942, the *St. Augustine Record* published an article listing the program's admissions criteria. Candidates for the thirteen week course were required to meet one of seven qualifications.

They were:

a license to operate amateur radio station, if the trainee had built sets; or,

six months of full time paid experience in technical radio work; or,

a one year residence vocational course in electricity or radio repair work; or,

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13. Hurston to White, November 24, 1942, NAACP Papers.

14. E. S. Sparks, "A History of Florida Memorial College", March 29, 1979, 7. St. Augustine Historical Society Research Library, Vertical File.

a six months resident technical course in a radio school;  
or,  
satisfactory completion of one year of college physics  
which must include electrical laboratory; or,  
a United States sponsored Engineering Defense Train-  
ing Course in telephone or radio work; or,  
satisfactory completion of Mechanic Learner (Radio)  
course.<sup>15</sup>

The program was open to both men and women. Apparently, the Signal Corps decided that if it was going to be forced to admit blacks into its training programs it might as well allow women. The stringent entrance requirements limited the number of African American applicants.

Ten days before Hurston wrote Walter White, the *Pittsburgh Courier* published a detailed article describing the Signal Corps program in St. Augustine. Lucius Clay reported that the War Department had allocated \$500,000 dollars for the training facility. "The general objective of the program," William Gray, Jr., told the *Courier* reporter, "was to prepare civilians for assistance in installation, maintenance, and operation of all communication systems used by the army— visual and aural, including radio, telephone, telegraph, and motion pictures."<sup>16</sup> Gray boasted that a large number of the trainees were "erstwhile athletic celebrities" whose alma maters included colleges and universities such as Hampton, Wilberforce, Claion, Wiley, Allen Normal, Atlanta University, Florida A & M, Prairie View, and Alabama State. In an effort to attract more applicants, Gray declared at the interview's conclusion that "Negro men are not taking full advantage of the various war training courses despite the fact that the trainees are paid to learn. He expressed a keen hope that "our boys will take to this golden opportunity before it is too late."<sup>17</sup>

Gray's interview appeared in the *Pittsburgh Courier* on Saturday, November 14. Ten days later Hurston wrote her letter to White. Her timing was good. "Your letter," White wrote on November 27, "telling of the conditions at the Signal Corps School at Florida Nor-

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15. *St. Augustine Record*, July 16, 1942.

16. Lucius Clay, "Signal Corps is Establishing a Program at Florida Normal Worth 500,000 Dollars," *Pittsburgh Courier*, November 4, 1942, 8.

17. Clay, "Signal Corps", 8.

mal, St. Augustine, came just as our special counsel, Mr. Prentice Thomas, was about to leave for Tampa, Florida, in connection with the teachers' salary case. I have asked him to stop by St. Augustine and investigate the conditions of which you speak."<sup>18</sup> Prentice Thomas confirmed in a separate letter that he would stop at Florida Normal on his way to Tampa. He expected to reach St. Augustine "about the 30th of the month."<sup>19</sup>

On Saturday, November 28, while Thomas was traveling southward, the *Pittsburgh Courier* published a second article describing the Signal Corps training program at Florida Normal. According to Lucius Jones, Gray was using the War Department's funds to pay for the "instruction equipment, materials and maintenance." He had appointed Theodore Briggs supervisor of instruction and assembled a staff of 14 administrative and faculty workers to operate the Signal Corps Training Depot.<sup>20</sup> Jones reported that the majority of the 108 trainees came from four states: Florida (43), Texas (24), North Carolina (17), and Georgia (11). Only one of the Florida trainees was from St. Augustine.<sup>21</sup>

When Thomas arrived in St. Augustine, the school was just finishing its homecoming celebration.<sup>22</sup> He used his whistle stop visit to investigate Hurston's charges, meeting with Hurston, students, faculty, and President Gray. On December 7, 1942, he mailed Walter White a seven paragraph memorandum detailing his findings. He addressed each of the three specific charges that Hurston had made against William Gray's competence. "Approximately 140 men," Thomas reported, "are enrolled. From the time the first enrollee appeared upon campus there has been trouble. Several men moved off the campus immediately. Their reason for moving was that four men were placed in a small room together." Those that re-

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18. Walter White to Hurston, November 27, 1942, NAACP Papers, Roll 12, 104. Beginning in the 1930s, Thurgood Marshall and other members of the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund visited Florida frequently. Marshall and his associates helped initiate a number of lawsuits in Brevard, Hillsborough, Escambia, and Dade counties to test the constitutionality and fairness of inequitable funding for teacher salaries. Thomas's trip to Tampa was to gather information for one of those cases.

19. Prentice Thomas to Hurston, November 27, 1942, NAACP Papers, Roll 12, 103.

20. Lucius Jones, "Finds Trainees in U.S. Signal Corps largely from Deep South", *Pittsburgh Courier*, November 28, 1942, 2.

21. "One Local Negro Youth Enrolled at Signal Corps Depot," *St. Augustine Record*, October 1, 1942, 4.

22. "Eugenia Bell Crowned, 'Miss Florida Normal'," *Pittsburgh Courier*, November 28, 1942.

mained on campus were forced to live in rooms with insufficient furniture. Worse yet, the "plumbing where the men are housed was out of repair for a month after the school began and it was impossible to get hot water."<sup>23</sup>

Florida Normal's dilapidated physical plant, inadequate facilities, and overcrowded dormitories were the result of the school's "financial difficulties." Thomas concluded matter-of-factly, "When the program in radio training began, the school was not fully prepared to receive the men." The new president had made matters worse. Thomas reported that Gray was "a very unpopular man and it would appear that he does not have the full cooperation and confidence of his faculty members."<sup>24</sup>

The cafeteria's poor food proved to be the "last straw." Gray had given his wife responsibility for Florida Normal's food service. Three weeks earlier students "led by a faculty member, walked out of the dining room in protest against the food that they had been served." Thomas reported that the men had "complained about their meals from the beginning of the year." They believed that Gray and his wife were swindling them out of the thirty dollars a month that the War Department allotted them to cover their room and board.

Gray had refused to listen to the men's protests. Instead, he compelled four of those who complained about the cafeteria to move off campus. Thomas judged Gray's administration woefully inept in dealing with the students' legitimate concerns. "Numerous attempts," Thomas continued, "have been made by the men to talk with the President concerning the difficulties that have arisen with the administration, but the President has not found time to go into the matter." When Gray did finally meet with the students "it appears that the president heard one side of the case only, that of his wife."<sup>25</sup>

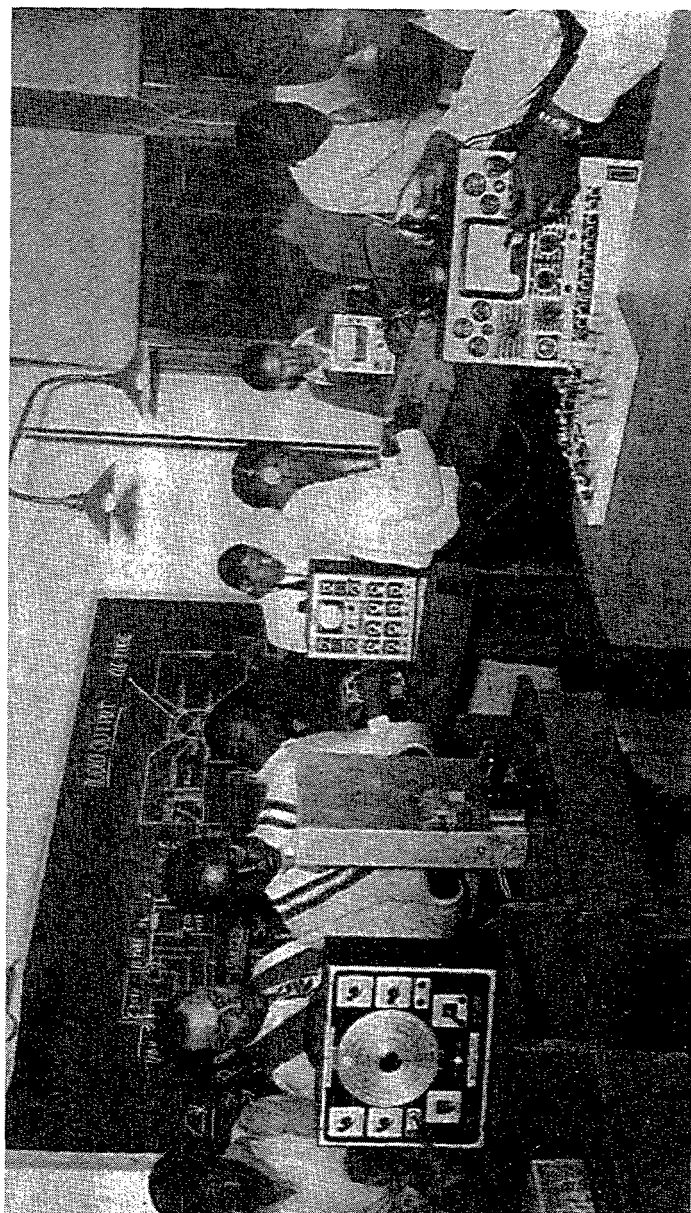
When confronted with the trainees' charges, the president "admit[ted] the facts stated herein," Thomas wrote. "He says he is doing his utmost to make the program run smoothly." In his own defense, Gray claimed that the men had caused problems. He stated that 36 of them owed the school for their food and lodging.

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23. Prentice Thomas to Walter White, December 7, 1942, NAACP Papers, Roll 12, 101.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*



Civilian students studying at Florida Memorial College in St. Augustine under a U.S. Army Signal Corps program during World War II. Photograph courtesy of Florida Memorial College Library.



Moreover, some of the men's conduct "was not altogether wholesome." They had "got[ten] drunk and [thrown] empty whiskey bottles out of the dormitory windows."<sup>26</sup>

Although Thomas' report corroborated Hurston's indictment of Gray, he recommended patience. Gray should be given time to work through the difficulties. There were hopeful signs. "The laboratory equipment and the instructors for the program," Thomas concluded, "are excellent." Given better leadership, the training depot could still succeed. "In spite of all the facts stated," Thomas declared, "the program should go smoothly if the President, himself, makes the first move."<sup>27</sup>

Walter White acted immediately on the Thomas memorandum. He sent a copy of it to Judge William H. Hastie, Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War. On December 8, 1942, Hastie dispatched a terse letter to Florida Normal. In two paragraphs, he put Gray on notice that the War Department was aware of the irregularities at the Signal Corps Training Depot. Hastie observed:

I am taking the liberty of writing you informally with reference to complaints of Signal Corps trainees at your school which have come to my attention. It appears that the complaints are based upon the food which the men receive and the crowding in dormitories where it is alleged that in some instances four men are placed in a single small room. The men also seem to feel that you have not personally interested yourself in possible improvements of the situation.<sup>28</sup>

Hastie left little room to doubt that he considered Gray responsible for correcting the problems. "I, personally," Hastie wrote, "have no knowledge of the circumstances and am bringing the matter to your attention with the hope that whatever the difficulties may be, you will be able to make an adjustment that will be equitable for all persons concerned."<sup>29</sup> A week later Hastie sent a note to Walter White with a copy of his "informal" letter to William Gray. Hastie told White that he wanted to give Gray a chance to correct the situ-

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26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. William Hastie to William Gray, December 8, 1942, NAACP Papers, Roll 12, 100.

29. Ibid.

ation "before making an official issue of the Florida Normal Signal Corps Training matter."<sup>30</sup>

Hurston did not remain in St. Augustine long enough to observe Gray's efforts to reform, but the president had clearly gotten the message. He took immediate steps to improve conditions at the school. First, the food service was reorganized. Mrs. Gray resigned as director of the cafeteria. Gray named Sedalia M. Gaines as head of Florida Normal's food service operation. Three new faculty members were added to the Signal Corps Depot teaching staff. On the administrative side, Thelma Starks, who held a B.S. degree from Florida A. & M., was named secretary for the Signal Corps Depot.<sup>31</sup>

In the ensuing 18 months, Gray continued his efforts to improve Florida Normal. On July 1, 1944, the *Pittsburgh Courier* published an article summarizing his accomplishments. The *Courier's* reporter praised Gray for placing the "college in the forefront in war training activities. The Regional Signal Corps Training Center for the Fourth Service Command, established on the campus during 1942-1943, brought the institution nation-wide attention. Figures recently released have revealed that over 500 men enrolled in this program and received over \$500,000 from the government."<sup>32</sup> In addition to the Signal Corps program, Gray succeeded in obtaining \$700,000 for Florida Normal's other War Productions programs. "It is considered by many," the *Courier's* staff writer observed, "to be the largest amount ever spent in a private Negro college in the United States by the state or Federal Government."<sup>33</sup>

In two years Gray had revitalized Florida Normal's programs. He told the *Courier* that he had raised \$76,000 dollars for "rehabilitating the college plant. Renovation and repairs ranged from re-roofing the teachers' college to installing heating plants in five major buildings." There were no more complaints about a shortage of hot water. Perhaps most noteworthy, Gray managed to pay off Florida Normal's debts. The *Courier's* reporter concluded:

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30. William Hastie to Walter White, December 15, 1942, NAACP Papers, Roll 12, 99.

31. *The Florida Normal and Industrial Institute Bulletin*, Catalogue Supplement Number, Announcements for the year 1943-44, 10-11, Historical Archive, Library, Florida Memorial College.

32. "Florida Normal Makes Big Strides Under President W. H. Gray, Jr." *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 1, 1944, 15.

33. *Ibid.*

The academic administration has been similarly effective, as evidenced in the fact that the college has expanded its offerings with an approved four-year college program that has been rated "A" as a junior college by Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and has also added outstanding terminal courses in commercial education, shoe repairing and beauty culture.<sup>34</sup>

Three days later the *Courier* announced that William Gray, Jr., had accepted the presidency of Florida A. & M.<sup>35</sup> It further declared that the man who had placed Florida Normal in the forefront of black higher education would be missed.<sup>36</sup>

While Gray moved upward in his profession, Hurston continued to cause controversy. While he never responded publicly to Hurston's searing indictment of his administration, he quite likely took pleasure in the firestorm of criticism Hurston provoked six weeks after she left St. Augustine. In early February, 1943, she was reported in the *New York World Telegram* to have issued a number of pro-Jim Crow statements in an interview with Douglas Gilbert. Three weeks later Hurston wrote a letter to the *Pittsburgh Courier* in which she "rankly [sic] denied" any such sentiments. Gilbert reported that Hurston had told him that she believed that the 'Negro's lot is much better in the South than it is in the North. . . . There is, of course, segregation and no social intermingling. I can't go into certain white night clubs or dine in first-class hotels. But for everything put up in the South for white people there is the equivalent for the African American. In other words, the Jim Crow works."<sup>37</sup>

Hurston denied saying this. She told the *Courier's* editors that Gilbert had misrepresented her position and that the status of African Americans in the South was complex. She explained, that

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34. Ibid.

35. "Gray Takes Over Florida A. & M. in 60 Days", *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 4, 1944.

36. William Gray, Jr.'s son, William Gray III continues the Gray family commitment to black education. He chose not to seek reelection as U.S. Congressman in Pennsylvania in order to lead the United Negro College Fund.

37. "Zora Neale Hurston Denies Okaying Dixie Race Pattern: Noted Author and Anthropologist Claims She was Misquoted in Widely-Printed Interview with New York Reporter," *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 27, 1943, 12.

insofar, as the Negroes belonged to their neighborhood, the whites pointed with pride to their possessions; that they treated a Negro doctor, lawyer, teacher, and so forth, very differently from the way they treated the masses. This is a proven fact, obvious to anyone who visits a Southern city. This wealthy class of Negroes does not migrate North, because he [sic] is well established where he is, and is more or less satisfied with himself. It is the have-riots who regularly move north to seek a better living.<sup>38</sup>

Finally, Hurston acknowledged that she had said some things in the New York interview that might be interpreted as pro-Japanese. She declared that she considered it a matter of fact that many of the “darker peoples on earth, had a certain admiration for the Japanese.”<sup>39</sup>

Hurston’s attempt to distance herself from the New York interview failed. Her sympathetic appraisal of the Japanese angered many. Others condemned her remarks about Jim Crow. The day after Hurston’s unsuccessful attempt at damage control, Roy Wilkins issued an ultimatum. Hurston must decide whether to stand with the leaders of the black community or accept the consequences. Wilkins wrote, “Now is not the time for Negro writers like Zora Neale Hurston to come out with publicity wisecracks about the South being better for the Negro than the North. . . . The race is fighting a battle that may determine its status for the next fifty years. Those who are not for us, are against us.”<sup>40</sup>

Hurston refused to ameliorate her comments. During the next eighteen months she published a stream of essays in which she criticized black leaders, identified what she described as the Negro’s habit of self-pity, and continued to disparage the quality of historically black colleges and universities. Her criticism of African American leaders appeared in May 1943, in an article in the *American Mercury* entitled “The ‘Pet Negro’ System”. In this essay Hurston took on the mock solemnity of a black minister reading to the congregation from the Book of Dixie. The “pet Negro” system was pervasive to the South. “Is it a good thing or a bad thing? I am not defending the system, beloved, but trying to explain it. The low

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38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Quoted in Hemenway, *Zora Neale Hurston*, 289.

down fact is that it weaves a kind of basic fabric that tends to stabilize relations and prevent hasty explosions."<sup>41</sup> In fact, Hurston thought many blacks actively supported this system. "The Negro crusaders" and the "white advocates" cannot talk about this. The greatest danger in this system is that the "false representation" by the "pet Negroes" grows more and more entrenched.

Significantly, Hurston singled out Dr. James E. Sheppard, President of North Carolina State College for Negroes as an example of the dangers in this system. Men like Sheppard and, by extension, William Gray do serious damage to the black community. "A case in point," Hurston explained:

is Dr. James E. Sheppard, President of North Carolina State College for Negroes. He has a degree in pharmacy, and no other. For he ran a one horse, religious school of his own at Durham, North Carolina. But he has always been in politics and has some good friends in power at Raleigh. So the funds of the State College for Negroes were turned over to him, and his little church school became the Negro college so far as the State is concerned. A fine set of new buildings has been erected. With a host of Negro men highly trained as educators within the State, not to mention others who could be brought in, a pharmacist heads up higher education for Negroes in North Carolina. North Carolina can't grasp why Negroes aren't perfectly happy and grateful.<sup>42</sup>

Hurston charged that "in every community there is some Negro strong man or woman whose word is going to go." Those who wanted to get things done must recognize the reality of "this inside picture of things."<sup>43</sup>

Six months later Hurston weighed in with her criticism of what she judged the all-too-pervasive habit of self-pity among black leaders. In a short "clinical note," Hurston described a handful of "Negroes without Self-Pity." Hurston's remarks were occasioned by a meeting of the Florida Negro Defense Community. "I may be

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41. Zora Neale Hurston, "The 'Pet Negro' System," *American Mercury*, May, 1943, 598.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*, 599.

wrong," Hurston observed, "but it seems to me that what happened at a Negro meeting in Florida the other day is important— important not only for Negroes and not only for Florida. I think that it strikes a new, wholesome note in the blackman's relation to his native America."<sup>44</sup>

Hurston approvingly quoted C. D. Rogers, President of the Central Life Insurance Company, who declared to a black audience:

It is time that we Negroes learn that you can't get something for nothing. Negroes, merely by being Negroes, are not exempted from the natural laws of existence. If we expect to be treated as citizens, and considered in community affairs, we must come forward as citizens and shoulder our part of the burden.<sup>45</sup>

A second speaker identified the "growing tension" between whites and blacks. Whose fault was this? Hurston agreed with J. Leonard Lewis, a black attorney, who stated that "upper-class Negro[es] must take responsibility for these disturbances."<sup>46</sup> Hurston concluded that the Tampa speakers had not said anything "world-shaking." Nevertheless, "something profound" had happened. These speeches offered a hopeful sign, Hurston declared, that "at least a hundred years of indoctrination of the Negro that he is an object of pity" were at an end. Hurston thought this "was a sign and symbol of something in the offing."<sup>47</sup>

She saved her strongest criticisms for an essay that appeared in 1945 in the *American Mercury*. Her subject was what "some folks with their mouths full of flattery call normal schools, colleges, and even universities." Hurston called them "Begging Joints." Her complaint was that "I see some things that look too much like 1875 in the lap of 1944, and they worry me."<sup>48</sup>

Chief among her charges was that "the 'puhfessahs,' principals, presidents and potentates who run these institutions" were

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44. Zora Neale Hurston, "Negroes Without Self-Pity," *American Mercury*, November, 1943, 601.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*

48. Zora Neale Hurston, "The Rise of the Begging Joints," *American Mercury*, March, 1945, 288.

perpetuating a "double standard in education."<sup>49</sup> Young black men and women were receiving inferior educations. Instead of raising African American educational standards, "the Begging Joints are still doing nothing but trying to put exclamation points behind what was considered good way back in 1880 when the majority of white people thought all Negroes were something less than human."<sup>50</sup>

Hurston considered men like Sheppard in North Carolina and William Gray at Florida Normal representative of the class of "potentates" who ran the "Begging Joints." The young men who were the trainees at the Signal Corps Training Depot in St. Augustine deserved more than this. Hurston had told Walter White that the "Negro men here, [are] approaching the level of genius." What angered Hurston was her conviction that Gray's treatment of these men "mocked" the race. "I have made it my business to talk with the patrons," Hurston wrote, "of the Chitterling Switch kind of school in the last three years, and I have been astonished at the number of persons giving money to a school without even inquiring into its curriculum or looking into the training of the faculty."<sup>51</sup> Hurston believed the "Begging Joints" had lived out their history. In 1944, they were "unburied corpses." The time had come to "bury the carcasses."

Robert Hemenway characterized Hurston's work during this period as speaking in two different voices. To the predominantly white audiences of publications like the *American Mercury*, she "tried to hit a straight lick with a crooked stick, masking her feelings in irony." It was, Hemenway contends, "only when addressing a predominantly black audience [that] she [felt] the freedom to express the private self."<sup>52</sup> Certainly, Hurston possessed a finely tuned ability to tailor her words to the audience she was addressing. Hemenway has, however, overstated the case for Hurston's tailoring her remarks to the *American Mercury's* predominantly white audience.

There is an underlying theme that runs through Hurston's work. She refused to tolerate a double standard for blacks and whites. Her critics were mistaken when they accused her of sympa-

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49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

52. Hemenway, *Zora Neale Hurston*, 288.

thizing with Jim Crow. Hurston was consistent with her opposition to any difference in standards for whites and blacks. What drove Hurston in these years was not so much a clear vision or a program but rather a sense of the contradictions in those around her. She asked inconvenient questions. She commented on her contemporaries' inconsistencies.

Hurston opposed Jim Crowism. She shared Walter White's anger over the Air Corps Tuskegee training program. White opposed the Tuskegee program because it further entrenched segregation in the armed services. Hurston objected to Tuskegee because she feared it would be a second rate facility. African Americans would not be given a chance to demonstrate their merit. The Signal Corps Program at Florida Normal, however, was an opportunity for blacks to distinguish themselves. When she saw first hand that "Negroes have been bitched again," she refused to keep silent. William Gray, Jr.'s actions were symptomatic of the 'Pet Negro' system.

The Signal Corps dispute offers a valuable insight into Hurston's temperament. She did not waste words on criticizing the War Department for its racist outlook. That was a given. Rather she directed her charges against William Gray, Jr., whom Hurston considered guilty of squandering an opportunity. Hurston was committed to the notion of each individual's advancement on the basis of merit. She was not a liberal or an integrationist. What she witnessed at Florida Normal shattered her dream. She attacked her opponents with vigor and determination.

The period between 1942 and 1945 marked a transition in Hurston's life. Eight years earlier she had launched her career as a novelist and folklorist. In 1942, she had every reason to believe that her career would continue to flourish. During the next eight years, however, she produced only a single novel and found herself increasingly isolated. Hurston had severe things to say about her contemporaries and her own race. In 1942, she succeeded in humbling William Gray, Jr. He, however, learned from his mistakes and advanced to become President of Florida A. & M. Hurston was not as fortunate. The serious charges that she made against well-known black leaders and black colleges angered many of her contemporaries. Roy Wilkin's ultimatum proved prophetic. Hurston found herself increasingly isolated from the mainstream of the black intellectual community after this episode.

Hurston did not forget the St. Augustine dispute nor her contempt for men like Shepherd and Gray. Sixteen years later she was



living in Fort Pierce. In February 1958, Hurston took a substitute teaching job at the Lincoln Academy. She hoped that the job would become a permanent one. Inevitably troubles arose. The school's principal fired her.<sup>53</sup> Hurston described her experiences at the Fort Pierce school in a letter to M. Mitchel Ferguson, Coordinator of the Florida Department of Education. After all the years, Hurston was still bitter about men like Shepherd and Gray. The local principal was the latest edition of the "puhfessahs, principals, presidents and potentates" she had encountered throughout her life. She told Ferguson that little men like this could not tolerate a woman of her stature. She went on to say that:

My name as an author is too big to be tolerated, lest it gather to itself the "glory" of the school here. I have met that before. But perhaps it is natural. The mediocre have no importance except through appointment. They feel invaded and defeated by the presence of creative folk among them. As Gray who first was president at Florida Normal, then by some freak of fate at FA&AMU, told me after he begged me to teach English at St. Augustine. The third day of my stay there, THE ST AUGUSTINE RECORD found out I was there and sent reporter[sic] with camera. Gray rushed out on the grounds where I was about to be photographed and objected that *he* was the president, and if any pictures were taken, they should be of himself as president. Later he told me angrily, "you have no business among us little folks. You are too big."<sup>54</sup>

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53. See Gordon Patterson, "Zora Neale Hurston in Ft. Pierce: A Lost Chapter Found," *Journal of Florida Literature*, 1993 (V).

54. Hurston to M. Mitchell Ferguson, Coordinator, State Department of Education in Tallahassee, Florida March 7, 1958, Special Collections, University of Florida.

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### Demise of the Pojoy and Bomto

by JOHN H. HANN

**S**outh-central Florida's aboriginal inhabitants remain among the least known of Florida's native peoples during the first Spanish period because Spaniards did not maintain a permanent presence among them. It is likely that a number of the region's tribes disappeared without even their names having been recorded. That is true particularly of the peoples living in the interior beyond the southernmost missions and those living on or near the Gulf coast between Tampa Bay's southern shore and the Caloosahatchee River. Some of those peoples began to appear fleetingly in Spanish records during the 1710-1740 period when attacks by Indians allied to the British of South Carolina and Georgia forced them to seek refuge intermittently in the vicinity of St. Augustine.

The documents presented here record the virtual demise of at least two of those peoples, the Pojoy and the Bomto, and indicate that another two, the Mayaca and the Amacapira, may have suffered the same fate. The documents reveal the Pojoy to have been a predatory people who were holding Jororo as slaves and who required tribute payments from the Bomto. They indicate also that strong ties bound the Pojoy and the Calusa. When the Bomto killed Pojoy's chief and a number of his people, the Calusa ruler felt obliged to retaliate against the Mayaca as people who were within his reach and had a link with the Bomto. The documents confirm that all the south Florida Indians mentioned in them had become allies of the Spaniards. But they indicate that those Indians' continued internecine wars diminished the value of the alliances for the Spaniards and facilitated the destructive forays by Indians allied to the British.

The era of these documents is 1738-1739, when the Spaniards and the British were preparing for the armed struggle known as the War of Jenkin's Ear. In Florida the war led to General James

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Oglethorpe's failed attempt to capture St. Augustine in 1740. The Spaniards were very concerned about the steady attrition of the native populations of the lower half of the peninsula. As allies of the Spaniards, those Indians provided intelligence about British and other foreign activity on the coasts. The Indians even took hostile action against such intruders when it was feasible.

In addition to the Pojoy, Bomto, Mayaca, and Amacapira, the documents presented here mention the Jororo, Maymi, Carlos or Calusa, Jega, Uchize, Ocone, and Talapuce. Discussion of the natives whom the documents mention requires allusion additionally to the Ais or Costas, the Alafaes, Casapullos, Santa Luzos, Timucua, and Yamasee.

Except for the Calusa, the Mayaca are the best known of the people the documents mention who were residents of Florida in 1738-1739. Mayaca had been in intermittent contact with Spaniards since the time of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. When first mentioned under the name Macoya, the Mayaca lived along the upper St. Johns River just south of Lake George where the river narrows. Franciscan friars began to work among the Mayaca late in the sixteenth century at about the same time they initiated the missions among the Timucua living along that river in the vicinity of Palatka. Spanish sources mentioned a formal mission named San Salvador de Mayaca as being among the Mayaca for the first and last time in 1655. It was 36 leagues or about 93 miles from St. Augustine. When the mission's name resurfaced in 1680, San Salvador de Mayaca was described as a new mission and all or most of its inhabitants were Yamasee, a people who had migrated into Florida from Georgia. The Mayaca mentioned in the documents presented here undoubtedly belonged to a band known to have been living on Lake Okeechobee during this era.<sup>1</sup> Their residence there is reflected in the name Port Mayaca, the eastern terminus of the modern Lake Okeechobee ferry.

The Jororo apparently were related to the Mayaca as they were recorded as speaking Mayaca and Spaniards spoke of the two tribes' territory at times as the province of Mayaca and Jororo. The

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1. Joseph Maria Monaco and Joseph Javier Alaña, "Report on the Indians of Southern Florida and Its Keys, 1760," in John H. Hann, ed. and trans., *Missions to the Calusa* (Gainesville, 1991), 419-431.

Jororo occupied the lakes district immediately south of Mayaca territory. Their territory may have extended into the Kissimmee Valley. Their name first appeared in the 1690s when Franciscans established several missions among them. The modern name Kissimmee may have descended from the native name Jizime attached to one of those missions.

Jororo appeared with some frequency from 1717 to 1738 as living in villages in the vicinity of St. Augustine. A 1728 report compiled by a friar who was then in Havana spoke of a village composed of Jororo "united with the Pojoyes and Amacipiras . . . all idolaters and heathens except two or three," who lived with a friar for a short time about nine leagues south of St. Augustine. Like all the other south Floridians, they relied completely on hunting, gathering, and fishing for their sustenance. The friar reported that most of them died in an epidemic in 1727 after which, "the few who remained withdrew to their former lands and to their idolatries."<sup>2</sup> Despite that friar's possibly overly pessimistic report, a new village composed of Pojoy, Alafaia, and Amacipira emerged by 1731. Another village inhabited by Jororo was 750 feet away from it. Three friars who had been in charge of those two villages reported that in 1734, after a new governor had moved the natives and imposed unrecompensed labor on them, those Indians had withdrawn again to the southern coast, "returning to their heathen ways and their wars with one another" such as the one that led to the deaths of the Pojoy and Amacipira chiefs and the surviving Pojoy's retaliation, which is the focus of the documents reproduced below.<sup>3</sup>

The Mayaca and Jororo probably were closely related to the Ais of the Indian River region. Spanish authorities seemingly equated the Jororo with the Ais, speaking of the Jororo missions at times as missions to the Ais

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2. Joseph Bullones to the king, October 5, 1728, in Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 371-380.

3. Antonio Navarro, Francisco Gómez, and Pablo de Rodríguez to Manuel de Montiano, June 1, 1738, in Manuel de Montiano to Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, June 4, 1738, Archive General de Indias (hereinafter AGI), Santo Domingo (hereinafter SD) 865, Stetson Collection (hereinafter SC).

4. For more details on the Mayaca and Jororo, see Hann, "The Mayaca and Jororo and Missions to them," in Bonnie G. McEwan, ed., "The Missions of Spanish Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* (special issue) 44 (June, September, and December 1991), 164-175, or in McEwan, ed., *The Spanish Mission of La Florida* (Gainesville, 1993), 111-140.

The documents presented here contain what appears to be the only mention of the people whom Spaniards called Bomto or occasionally Bonito. Their exact place of origin is not known. But a Spanish scout's mention of having met up with Chief Bomto at Jega, together with a report of the Bomto's having brought to St. Augustine a Cuban vessel that went aground on the coast south of that city, suggest that the Bomto were living somewhere on the coast south of Cape Canaveral in 1738-1739. Bomto's friendliness with the Jororo slaves of Pojoy and the Calusa attack on the Mayaca mentioned above suggest kinship of the Bomto with those two peoples.

Nothing is known about the Amacapiras except that they came from a place in southern Florida that Spaniards referred to as the rinconada of the Macapiras. They were first mentioned only in 1726 as living in a village near St. Augustine that was attached to a mission for Timucua-speakers. Later mention of them as living with Pojoy and Alafaia and their union with the Pojoy when Bomto killed the Amacapira chief suggest the likelihood of a tie between the Amacapira and the Pojoy and Alafaia. The Amacapira were not mentioned after the 1730s.<sup>5</sup>

Pojoy were first mentioned under that name during the first decade of the seventeenth century. But ancestors of the Pojoy may have been among the first Indians whom Pánfilo de Narváez and Hernando de Soto encountered when they landed in Tampa Bay. In one of the earliest mentions of the Pojoy by that name, Spaniards gave the name Bay of Pojoy to a portion of Tampa Bay where a Spanish expedition landed in 1612. The natives there told them that the Bay of Pojoy was where de Soto had landed.<sup>6</sup> The Pojoy appear to have been closely related with a neighboring people Spaniards identified variously as Alafaia, Alafaes, and Elafay, who evidently gave their name to the Alafia River on Hillsborough Bay. Jerald T. Milanich and Charles Hudson identified that river as de Soto's river of Moscow.<sup>7</sup> Spaniards rendered the name Pojoy variously as Pujoy, Pohoy, Pojoi, Pooy, and Posoy.<sup>8</sup>

5. Harm, *Missions to the Calusa*, 366,370.

6. Juan Fernández de Olivera to the king, October 13, 1612, AGI, SD 229, Woodbury Lowery Collection (hereinafter WLC), reel 3 of the Strozier Library copy, Florida State University; Julian Granberry, *A Grammar and Dictionary of the Timucua Language*, 2nd ed. (Horseshoe Beach, Florida, 1989), 34.

7. Jerald T. Milanich and Charles Hudson, *Hernando de Soto and the Indians of Florida* (Gainesville 1993), 61.

8. Harm, *Missions to the Calusa*, 10-12, 30, 328, 348, 356, 366.

The Pojoy's name first appeared when they joined the Tocobaga of Old Tampa Bay in attacking a mission named Cofa located near the mouth of the Suwannee River in the first decade of the seventeenth century.<sup>9</sup> A Spaniard who visited Pooy in 1612 described it as located at twenty-seven and one-third degrees. of latitude.<sup>10</sup> A friar's mention of Pojoy in 1634 as part of "the Province of Carlos, Posoy, and Matecumbe" indicates that it had become allied with or subject to Calusa's chief, who had been the Tocobaga's major rival and enemy in the 1560s. That realignment is borne out by the account of a 1680 Spanish expedition that passed through Pojoy while headed for the Calusa country.<sup>11</sup> Persistence of the realignment is indicated by a 1718 Pojoy attack on some of their former Tocobaga allies, who were then living on the Gulf coast of Apalachee Province.<sup>12</sup> Prior to 1723, Pojoy referred to as Alafaes settled in a "village of Timuqua" located in the vicinity of St. Augustine. Between 1718 and the beginning of 1723, friars baptized 134 adult Alafaes and 28 of their children in that village. The governor referred to the same village in 1726 as a "settlement of the Timucua and Pojoi nation."<sup>13</sup> In 1680 the village of Elafay lay just to the south of Pojoy on the way to the Calusa heartland. The close relationship or virtual identification of the Pojoy with the Alafaia is suggested also by the name of a Chief Antonio Pojoi who identified himself as head of the Alafaia Costas nation.<sup>14</sup>

The "Costas" name he assumed or was given by Spaniards may suggest a tie between his people and either the Ais or the Indians of the Keys. Spaniards began to use "Costas" as a name for the Ais at least as early as 1711 when Ais came to settle in a village near St. Augustine.<sup>15</sup> A Spaniard applied the name also to Keys Indians in

9. John E. Worth, "The Timucua Missions of Spanish Florida and the Rebellion of 1656," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1992), 59-60.

10. Fernández de Olivera to the king, October 13, 1612.

11. Juan Bautista de la Cruz, Declaration, February 20, 1680, in Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 25-26; Alonso de Jesús to the king, n.d. [1634] AGI, SD 225, Jeannette Thurber Connor Collection. (hereinafter JTCC)

12. Harm, *Missions to the Calusa*, 348.

13. Blas Pulido and Joseph del Castillo, February 25, 1723; Antonio de Benavides, Visitation of Settlements near St. Augustine and San Marcos de Apalachee, December 1-11, 1726, in Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 361-366.

14. Fray Tomás de Aguilar, Fray Joseph de Jesús y Casas, and Fray Juan de la Rosa to the king, March 15, 1735, AGI, SD 844, JTCC, reel 5; Pablo de Hita Salazar to the king, February 20, 1680, AGI, SD 226, WLC, reel 4.

15. Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez to the king, April 9, 1711, AGI, SD 843, SC.

1762.<sup>16</sup> It is likely that Antonio Pojoi was the Pojoy chief whom Bomto killed early in 1738. The Pojoy do not appear to have been mentioned after 1739.

Maymi, also rendered as Mayaimi, were first mentioned by Hernando d'Escalante Fontaneda about 1575 as having many towns on Lake Okeechobee, which bore the name "Lake of Mayaimi" then and as late as 1675. In that latter year Bishop Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón mentioned the "large lake of Maymi," but failed to take note of its people in his listing of south Florida's inhabitants from Ponce de Leon Inlet around to Tampa Bay.<sup>17</sup> The Maymi are not known to have had any contact with Spaniards prior to the Maymi chief's visit to St. Augustine recorded in the documents presented here. His visit appears to be the first one to St. Augustine recorded for a native leader from deep south Florida during the First Spanish period. The Alaña-Monaco Report contains the last mention of the Maymi. In 1743 about 100 people comprising remnants of the Maymi, Santaluzos, and Mayaca were living together four days journey north of the mouth of the Miami River.<sup>18</sup>

The Carlos or Calusa Indians of Southwest Florida's coast are the best known of south Florida's aboriginal peoples as befits the region's most powerful native people. The Calusa head chief exercised hegemony over much of the rest of south Florida at one time or another. That hegemony reached from Tampa Bay southward through the Keys around to Biscayne Bay at least. It extended inland along the Caloosahatchee River to peoples living around Lake Okeechobee. Although Spanish contacts with them were very brief and episodic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, those encounters generated considerable documentation that places the Calusa among the best known of Florida's aboriginal peoples in some respects. The Calusa's contacts with Spaniards became more frequent beginning in the last years of the seventeenth century until the Calusa's disappearance at the end of the first Spanish period. But most of the contact involved Spaniards from Cuba, treasure-salvors from Mexico, and Spaniards in Cuba rather than Spaniards based at St. Augustine. After the 1560s the only recorded contacts between St. Augustine and the Calusa resulted from the 1612 expe-

16. Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 331.

17. Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón to the queen, 1675, AGI, SD 151; Buckingham Smith, trans., *Memoir of Do. d'Escalante Fontaneda* (Miami 1944), 13.

18. Monaco and Alaña, Report 1760, 420.

dition mentioned above and a 1688 encounter in Apalachee between Florida's Governor Diego de Quiroga y Losada and the son and heir of Calusa's head chief, who traveled to Apalachee while the governor was conducting a formal visitation of that province.<sup>19</sup>

The Jega, Gega, or Jeaga, first mentioned by Fontaneda, are among the least known of south Florida's Indians, although the Jega were in contact with Spaniards intermittently from the sixteenth century on. They lived on the Atlantic coast between St. Lucie Inlet and Jupiter Inlet, according to Bishop Calderón's placement of them between the Santaluces or St. Lucie Indians and the Jobeses or Hobe Indians. They were a problem for the Spaniards initially because of the hostile reception the Indians gave to the survivors of shipwrecks. Repeated punitive expeditions eventually led those Indians to establish friendly relations with the Spaniards by the late 1620s. The Jega's respect for and fear of the Spaniards is reflected vividly in Jonathan Dickinson's account of his experiences in the wake of his 1696 shipwreck on that coast.<sup>20</sup>

The name Uchize or Uchisi was by 1738 one that the Spaniards used to designate a large group of Indians from the lower Chatahoochee and Flint Valleys in central and southwest Georgia whom the English referred to as Lower Creeks. Spaniards also used the name Uchize for the Hitchiti language spoken by a majority of the towns of the Uchize Province. The Uchize were for the most part the same people whom Spaniards identified as Apalachicola in the seventeenth century.<sup>21</sup> The name first appeared in the de Soto chronicles as Achese, Chisi, or Ichisi and applied to Indians living in the vicinity of Macon, Georgia, who were linked to the site now known as the Ocmulgee National Monument.<sup>22</sup> The Apalachicola in general began to be known as Uchize or as Ocheese Creeks (in the case of the British) when some of their towns moved to the Oc-

19. Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 3-4, 8, 9-12, 80, 237, 268.

20. Díaz Vara Calderón 1675; Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles McLean Andrews, eds., *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal or, God's Protecting Providence*, 10-44, passim; Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 19-20; Smith, *Memoir*, 17.

21. Díaz Vara Calderón 1675; Domingo de Leturiondo to Juan Marques Cabrera, November 5, 1685; Antonio Matheos to Juan Márquez Cabrera, October 4, 1685, AGI, SD 639, John Tate Lanning Collection, Thomas Jefferson Library, University of Missouri at St. Louis, vol. 3 of "Misiones Guale," document dd; Damian de Vega Castro y Pardo to the king, August 22, 1639, AGI, SD 225, SC.

22. Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon James Knight, Jr., and Edward C. Moore, eds., *The De Soto Chronicles: the Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539-1543*, 2 vols. (Tuscaloosa, 1993), I, 70, 76, n. 106, 271.



mulgee River in the late decade or so of the seventeenth century to escape Spanish attempts to force them to sever their trade ties with the English. The Ocmulgee River then bore the name Uchize Creek from the de Soto era town.<sup>23</sup> After the Yamasee War of 1715, the Uchise became the principal native allies of the British in an ongoing campaign to weaken the Spanish hold on Florida by enslaving and exterminating the Florida Indians partial to the Spaniards.<sup>24</sup> Today's Mikasuki speaking groups are descendants of the Hitchiti speaking Uchize.

The Ocone were from an Uchize town named Ocone. When Ocone was first mentioned in 1675 and in the mid-1680s, it was located on the west bank of the Chattahoochee River between Talipalasi and the town of Apalachicola, which were then the three southernmost towns of Apalachicola Province if one does not consider Sauocola Grande to be a part of the province.<sup>25</sup> They are believed to have migrated to the Oconee River when the people of other towns of Apalachicola Province migrated to the Ocmulgee.<sup>26</sup> Ocone were among the first of the Uchize marauders to settle in Florida on the Alachua prairies. Micanopy was an Ocone chief.<sup>27</sup>

Talapuce was the Spaniards' name for one of the major components of the Indians whom the English called Upper Creeks, who lived on the Tallapoosa River in the 1730s. It is uncertain whether there was a town bearing that name.<sup>28</sup> They participated to some degree in the British-inspired attacks on the Spaniards and their native allies in Florida. In 1738 they and the Creeks in general were wavering in their fidelity to the British alliance. It took a visit by Oglethorpe to the Lower Creek country in 1739, where he met with the Creek leaders in council, to persuade them to renew the alliance.<sup>29</sup>

23. Verner W. Crane; "The Origin of the Name of the Creek Indians," *Journal of American History* 5 (1918), 339-342.

24. Bullones to the king, October 5, 1728.

25. Diaz Vara Calderón 1675; Matheos to Márquez Cabrera, October 4, 1685.

26. John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Washington, D.C. 1946), 165, 179.

27. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*, 165, 181; Brent Richards Weisman, *Like Beads on a String: a Culture History of the Seminole Indians in Northern Peninsular Florida* (Tuscaloosa, 1989), 7.

28. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington 1922), 197, 286.

29. Herbert E. Bolton, ed., *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia* (Berkeley, California, 1925), 83-84.

The documents presented here would provide an exemplary illustrative text for a course in historiography. They provide three radically different accounts of the first attack that set the stage for the demise of the Pojoy as an organized group. Historians and other scholars can be grateful that the Spanish governor did not content himself with the first report of the Pojoy chief's death, made by an Indian who was an interpreter for that tribe. The interpreter identified the perpetrators of the assault as Uchise. Had the governor not persisted in learning more, there probably would be no record at all of the Bomto. He might justifiably have let the matter drop inasmuch as the Uchize were then the major assailants of the Indians allied to the Spaniards.

These documents also provide what appears to be the only reference to the south Florida Indians' use of smoking for the curing of a fruit that possibly was the palm berry. The expression that the governor used was "*ahumando Uba*." "Grape" is the most usual rendition for *uba* (or *uva* in modern Spanish) and the governor could have been referring to sea grapes. But, in view of the natives' reliance on palm berries as a staple in that region and the Spaniards' referral to palm berries as "*uba de palma*," palm berries probably were intended on this occasion. The documents are from the Archive General de Indias in Seville, Spain, Santo Domingo leg. 37, East Florida Papers, reel 15. They were viewed at the Library of Congress, Manuscript Section.

Governor Manuel de Montiano to Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas,<sup>30</sup>  
Florida, February 2, 1738.

My Dear Sire:

The night of the 27th of December, the Indian Clemente, atequi<sup>31</sup> or interpreter for the Pujoy, arrived at this plaza with the news that the night of the twelfth day of the same month, while the Cacique Pujoy was building a canoe 10 leagues distant from his village and fort, he was surprised

30. Juan Francisco Güemes y Horcasitas was governor at Havana.

31. This native word meaning "interpreter" appeared in variant forms among diverse linguistic groups in the Southeast at least as far north as South Carolina.

at midnight by a very numerous troop of Uchises. That it was reported that Sigunaca was commanding it. And that they killed him [Cacique Pujoy], taking advantage of the occasion of catching him sleeping. And they also [killed] the Cacique Amacapira, 10 men, and a woman, and carried off 10 persons as prisoners, 5 of them men, and the rest women and children, and among them the wife of Pujoy. And a woman wounded in one hand [escaped], with her son, also wounded, having freed herself because of the darkness of the night from falling into the enemy's hands. Because of that, 16 men and 10 women, who were in the fort, received the news in it. And they withdrew to the woods, terrified by this ill-fortune and fearful that they would come to attack it, although, before taking this decision, they resolved to send an Indian to examine the spot where this sorrowful event had happened. And the corpses having been seen by the emissary, he ratified it to his companions, who were waiting for some time to pass or to have news that the enemies had moved off in order to bury the bodies (*enterrar los cuerpos*) and come to the shelter of this plaza afterward.

On receiving that news, I dispatched Luis Gomes, a scout (*practico*) for that land, on the first day of January so that he might verify the truth of the case for me and so that, after gathering the fugitive Indians together, he might conduct them to this plaza with their families. And after having reached the Bar of Mosquitos,<sup>52</sup> he found the crossing cut off by some Indians whom he discovered by way of their tracks. And he saw that they were in ambush. And he returned to this plaza on the 7th day of the said month, on deciding not to go forward. And at once I dispatched Cacique Chislala,<sup>53</sup> an Indian of bravery and enterprise (*desempeño*), so that he might determine whether or not any enemy Indians remained at the cross-

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32. This is Ponce de Leon Inlet. See Irving Rouse, *A Survey of Indian River Archeology* (New Haven, 1951), 270, n. 14.

33. Chislala is possibly the 30-year old Yamasee of the village of Pocotalaca whose name is rendered as Chislada on a list from the year 1736 published by Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians*, 105, although Chislada was not identified as a cacique in 1736.

ing of those whom Luis Gomes had seen. And the cacique having returned on the 14th day, he replied to me that the passage was clear. And assured of this, I dispatched Luis Gomes again on the 15th day. And while I was awaiting his return, 12 Indian men and one woman from the Pujoy village appeared here.

And when I questioned them about the event, they made a report about it in the following manner. That while el Pujoy was engaged in curing fruit with few people, the Cacique Bomto had come to the spot where they were with all his [people]. And not being fearful about this because of the subjection in which he had him dominated, they remained together with the friendship that was customary. And as Bomto needed to find a way of paying the contribution to Pujoy in order to maintain it [the friendship], he persuaded him to lend him the arms (*armas*) so that he might go with his people to hunt and that with [them] he would be able to regale him with what they killed. And el Pujoy let him have the arms after having yielded to Bomto's petitions. And el Bomto arranged a dance that same night that lasted the entire [night], with which he entertained them cunningly, keeping them from sleeping. And he set off when dawn came as if he actually was going to hunt. And that night, considering that he would have surrendered himself to sleep, he attacked them, finding them just as he thought he would. And he carried out his depraved intention and [achieved] his desire of avenging himself by killing Pujoy, his wife, the cacique of Amacapira, and up to 21 [?] <sup>34</sup> persons in all whom el Pujoy had with him, without having awakened anyone of his party (*parcialidad*) except for the Jororos whom el Pujoy had as his own slaves. And a nephew of Pujoy, who found himself in this *jens*<sup>n</sup>, <sup>35</sup> came out of it wounded in one thigh. And he enjoyed the good fortune of escaping with his life on feigning to be dead. And he is the one who told me about the matter that is so lamentable. After having rested for three or four days, they went off to get the women and children, whom they left behind with 4 men a matter of eight or ten leagues from here in order to come to establish themselves

34. The "1" in 21 could be another number such as "6," as a hole in the page took out the lower two-thirds of the number that I have interpreted as a "1."

35. *Jensn* is an abbreviation. Although the letter that I have interpreted as "J" is written clearly, I am uncertain about the validity of that rendition. I was unable to find anything to match it in the rest of the document that might confirm such an identification. The identity of the "nsn" is clear. But the "e" might be interpreted also as a "u" or an "i."

in the village of the Casapullos or next to (*junto a*) San Nicolás,<sup>36</sup> one league distant from here toward the south, where they have good lands for planting. This is as much as I have been able to learn up to now, having also forewarned the cacique of Maymi, who is here presently, so that he may come with his people at the first warning (*aviso*). May God protect your lordship as I desire. Florida, February 2 of 1738. Your most devoted second (seg<sup>do</sup>) servant kisses your lordship's hand.

D<sup>n</sup> Manuel de Montiano= to S<sup>r</sup>. D<sup>n</sup>. Juan Fran<sup>co</sup> de Güemes y Horcasitas

Manuel de Montiano to Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, Florida, February 15, 1738.

My Dear Sire:

[I have omitted the first 18 lines of this letter because they do not pertain to the Pojoy-Bomto affair].

During the afternoon of the 11th of this [month] Luis Gomes returned from his trip and reported that he had found the cadavers of the Cacique Pujoy and of those who were with him. And that he met up with el Bonito [Bomto], after having passed on to Jega. And he said to him that he should tell him if it had been he who killed el Pujoy. That which moved him [was that]<sup>37</sup> a few days before he [Pujoy] had killed two of his Indians without a motive and also because he had threatened him, saying to him that he would do the same to him and to his people. And on having word from an Indian woman slave of el Pujoy

36. The identity of the Casapullos (rendered also as Cosapuya and Casapuya) is uncertain. Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United States*, 129, 217, speculated that they might be Cusabo from South Carolina's village of Cocapoy or Cosapue. The Casapuya's settlement near St. Augustine in the wake of the Yamasee War, attached to the Yamasee village of Pocosapa is consistent with such an identification (See Hann, *St. Augustine's Fallout from the Yamasee War*, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 (October 1989), 185). But their association with south Florida Indians raises questions about that identification. Whatever their origin, they were identified in 1717 as speaking the Casapuya language. By June of 1738, San Nicolás and the Casapullos's village had been consolidated (see Montiano to Güemes y Horcasitas, June 4, 1738, AGI, SD 865, SC).

37. "That which moved him" might be joined to the sentence that precedes with equal justification. The Spanish text is: *y lo dije me dijese haur sido el qn mato al Pujoy aloq le movio haverle muerto pocas dias antes. . .*

and [who was] on familiar terms with el Bomto (*de la parcialidad del Bomto*), whom he had helped (*faborecido*) in her labors (*travaos*). In gratitude for them, she had forewarned him that el Pujoy had resolved to kill him and his people that night. And on his communicating with them about it, they decided to move right after nightfall before he did (*anticiparle a prima noche*), as they did do with the hatchets and other arms without sparing anyone [?]<sup>38</sup> other than the Indian woman who gave him the warning.

This cacique says that he was not a slave of el Pujoy for him to be able to treat him [?]<sup>39</sup> so badly. That he should not be considered a rebellious Indian (*Indio levantado*) because of having shaken off the yoke (*jugo*)<sup>40</sup> of the oppression in which he found himself. That he [has]<sup>41</sup> fondness (*afecto*) for the Spaniards. That he will remain on the coast in order to support them in whatever may occur.<sup>42</sup> That he will come here to explain to me about the many motives that have obliged him to carry out this action. [On being] informed of this, the Indians of Carlos moved against the Mayacas, partisans (*parciales*) of Bonito, to avenge the injury. And after having met one another, they came to blows (*llegaron a manos*) in such a way that Luis Gomes assures me that more than three hundred have died on the one side or the other.

I am involved today in dispatching a leading man of the Talapuces who was in Mexico, much esteemed by Señor Valero. And he was his godfather of baptism. I have entertained him to the degree that it has been possible for me. And as a mark of friendship he leaves me the feathers that the Cherokees (Chalaques) gave him when they arranged their peace. And I am striving to dispatch him as soon as possible so that he may spread the word (*participe*) about

38. My rendition of this word as "anyone" is tentative because part of it was lost to a hole in the page.

39. My rendition here involving "to be able to treat him" is tentative because of two holes in the page.

40. I am presuming that *jugo* was meant to be *yugo* as *jugo* (juice, sap, marrow) does not make sense in this context.

41. About four letters of this word have been lost to a hole in the page. The surviving letters as the end of the word appear to be "ui." The context seems to call for "has."

42. Bomto was pushing the right button in making this promise. The Spaniards were looking for Indian allies with great intensity at this juncture as armed confrontation with the English approached.

that which I have sent to Apalache with the intention of spreading the word in the *Pra ns* [?] .<sup>43</sup> 1717 (see Hann, *Apalachee: the Land between the Rivers* (Gainesville 1988), 312-313.) And I am practicing the same with Diapreso [?],<sup>44</sup> who is established at two leagues from Apalache, from whence I had a courier yesterday with the news of the schooner's (*goleta*) having arrived with the provisions. And the Indian Juan p °s [?] [says?] that he will wait until the one arrives that your lordship is sending from there. That I will rejoice that it may be entirely felicitous, with the which I beseech a *D<sup>g</sup>* [?] *G<sup>e</sup>* <sup>45</sup> your lordship m<sup>s</sup> *f<sup>ds</sup>*. Florida, 15th of February of 1738. Your most devoted second [?] servant kisses your lordship's hand.

Man<sup>el</sup> de Montiano to s<sup>r</sup> D<sup>n</sup> Ju<sup>o</sup> fran<sup>co</sup> Guemes y Horcasitas

Manuel de Montiano to Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, Florida, October 28, 1738.

[I have translated only a brief excerpt from this piece in which the Maymi are mentioned again. The excerpt appears in a note (*es-quel*a) that Governor Montiano appended to his letter, after dating it. The letter is document no. 98 and the excerpt appears on folio 142v.]

... The cacique of Maymi arrived here on the tenth day of this [month] with 131 [?]<sup>46</sup> persons, men, women, and children, to tell me that he had already made a fort (*fuerte*) on the Isle of Pines (which is situated on the other side of the Cape of Canaveral 30 leagues from here)<sup>47</sup> and estab-

43. About three letters of this word have disappeared because of a hole in the page. The middle letter of the three is probably an "i" as there is a dot above the line. Conceivably that Tallapoosa leader was a warrior captain from Talisi named Texjana whom Pensacola's Governor Gregorio de Salinas dispatched to Mexico in 1717 (see Hann, *Apalachee: the Land between the Rivers* (Gainesville 1988), 312-313).

44. My rendition of this name is tentative, particularly the "p."

45. These abbreviations and those that follow "lordship" probably represent a formulaic closing expression such as "May God protect your lordship," although not all the letters as rendered here conform to any of the standard formulas with which I am familiar.

46. My uncertainty about this number applies only to the first one, which was not entirely clear. But I am reasonably certain that my interpretation is correct.

47. The Spanish text does not have a close-parentheses sign. This seems to be a logical place for it.

lished his village on it. That he came to ask for a padre doctrinero and soldiers for their preservation and protection from the Uchises. And as the distance at which he has placed himself is far too great (*desumesurada*) for us to be able to give prompt assistance for now, which could be needed, or for the provisioning of the garrison and as we also are ignorant of the qualities of the location, I will not decide without examining it before giving him what he asks. But the priests can ask for the doctrineros or conversions for the southern part of these provinces under law 23, title 15, book 1 without it being opposed to the former . . . .

Manuel de Montiano to Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, Florida, March 3, 1739.

[The first three pages of this four-page letter deal with matters in Apalachee and relations with the Uchises and other members of the Creek Confederacy. The letter per se ended in the middle of the third page with the posting of its point of origin and date. But the governor then added almost a page and one-half of postscript. Neither the letter nor the postscript bear the governor's signature, a characteristic of many of the pieces in this letter-book. The material on the Bomto begins at the top of page 4 of the letter. The letter is document no. 1241.

My Dear Lord:

With the date of November 25 the past year [1738], replying to your letter. . ./ page 4

The Indians who had survived from the Bonito came here, as I wrote to your lordship, to bring the *Bongo* (a canoe or boat).<sup>48</sup> And the Indians of el Pojoy, who were in the village of San Nicolás de Casapullos, [went out] with the pretext of going to hunt. They were waiting for them [the Bonito]

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48. *Bongo* means "Indian canoe" in Central America and "boat or barge" in Cuba. The reference below to this *bongo's* need for pitch and tar suggests that it was a boat or barge in this instance rather than a canoe.



on the trail and they surprised them at their departure and killed 5 men, three women, and two boys. And the rest came back fleeing, bringing along an Indian badly wounded in one arm. And those of el Pojoy, who did this misdeed (*fechoria*), having [?]<sup>49</sup> stationed themselves on the crossing (*paso*) of the Uchizes of the village of Ocone they also surprised them [in their turn], killing four of their men. And they have carried off ten of their women as prisoners. And because there is no way of subjecting this people, they are all being finished off with these ongoing enmities, which is very regrettable because of the loss they mean to us on the coast. And with this in mind, he had reconciled them through the intervention of Pedro Lamberto. But their desires of killing and of avenging themselves for their injuries does not suffer respect for anyone. [Document no. 124 ends in this fashion. The excerpt below throws a little more light on the *Bongo*. It is from no. 118].

*El Bongo* number 16, which your lordship told me had been lost with the storm (*temporal*), the Indians of el Bonito brought to me on the 8th day of November good and whole without any damage at all. And with [my] merely having given it pitch and tar, it began to serve at once.

[There is no ready explanation for the variability of the accounts of Bomto's killing of the Pojoy and the Amacapira. Despite those discrepancies, the accounts establish that the Bomto were responsible for the initial killings and indicate that Chief Pojoy held Bomto in some sort of tributary relationship. They suggest as well that the Bomto had ties of blood or alliance to the Mayaca and Jororo and that strong ties bound the Pojoy to the Calusa. This documentation provides the only clue to date to the existence of the Bomto. Its data dramatically highlight the disastrous demographic impact of the Native Americans' internecine conflicts and the

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49. My rendition of "having" is tentative because this word is somewhat obscured by a blot.

Spaniards' concern over them, which is merely hinted at in other more or less contemporaneous sources that have been published.

The Maymi apparently did not remain very long at their new settlement. The report from the 1743 Alaña-Monaco expedition to the Biscayne Bay region reveals that the remnants of the Maymi, Santaluzos, and the Mayacas had united and were living on the mainland four days journey north from the mouth of the Miami River. Omitted portions of the last of these letters may have a link to that 1743 Jesuit expedition as Governor Montiano discussed in them the possibility of the Company of Jesus working among south Florida's natives.<sup>50</sup>

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50. Monaco and Alaña, Report, 420. Other published sources for this report are William C. Sturtevant, "The Last of the South Florida Aborigines" in Jerald Milanich and Samuel Proctor, eds., *Tacachale: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeastern Georgia during the Historic Period* (Gainesville, 1978), 141-162 and Arva Moore Parks, "Where the River Found the Bay: Historical Study of the Granada Site, Miami, Florida," vol. II of John W. Griffin et al., *Archaeology and History of the Granada Site* [Tallahassee, 1985], 56-65.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Dade's Last Command.* By Frank Laumer. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995. xxvi, 285 pp. Foreword by John K. Mahon. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, photographs, maps, epilogue, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

In 1835, the Territory of Florida had been a possession of the United States for less than 15 years, and it was sparsely settled. It was the adopted homeland for a loose alliance of Indians called Seminoles— “runaways”— who had separated largely from the Creeks. The latter had suffered defeat in Alabama at the hands of Andrew Jackson, and survivors had fled southward through Georgia and into Florida. Slaves from the United States, having discovered they could enjoy a measure of freedom with the Seminoles of Florida which they did not have under their white owners, gradually at first and then in increasing numbers, fled to join the Seminoles. The slaves, in turn, were pursued by “slave catchers,” who sought to apprehend and return, them to slavery. Additional friction came as more and more pressure was brought to bear upon the Seminoles to give up the land designated as their own in treaty after treaty with the United States, with each treaty being broken in turn, or simultaneously. The Seminoles grew more restless as they were pressed into an even smaller and less desirable area of Florida. Violent opposition to this pressure became commonplace. The United States, now headed by President Andrew Jackson, determined that the best way to contain the Florida Indian problem was to remove the Seminoles to a distant, defined area— to sweep the problem under the far-west “rug” of Oklahoma Territory.

Although some Seminole leaders acquiesced in the removal plans which they regarded as inevitable, many—particularly the younger— leaders resisted. With violence,— actual and potential,— erupting, the United States government deemed it necessary to reinforce their lightly-manned outposts, euphemistically called “Forts”. In furtherance of that decision, Brevet Major Francis Langhorne Dade, with eight officers and 100 enlisted men, set out from Fort Brooke on Tampa Bay to march through the heart of the Sem-

inole territory and reinforce Fort King, near present-day Ocala. It had been the boast of Major Dade that he could march through the Seminole nation with only a corporal's guard. He had done it before—boasted and marched—and he felt he could do it again.

Opposed to the notion of Major Dade, the Seminoles harried him and followed him through the wilderness enveloping the road to Fort Ring. Finally, on December 28, 1835, they opened fire upon Dade and his command—his last command—and inflicted a total defeat upon a unit of the U.S. Army. This ignited the Second Seminole War, the longest (seven years) and costliest of all our Indian Wars.

In 1968, the University of Florida Press published *Massacre!* the first full-length book written by Frank Laumer (Reviewed in the *Quarterly*, 48 (July 1969, 79-80). This well researched and well-written account of Major Dade, his officers and men, and the battle of December 28, 1835, was widely and justly praised by reviewers and the public generally. It was regarded then as the “definitive” account, to which nothing could be added. That was wrong.

Frank Laumer, with the persistence of lead prosecutor, continued to follow the trails provided in his first book, determined to find the whole truth of the story of Dade's last command. And now, with this book we have the rest of the story.

The format of *Dade's Last Command* is much the same as that of *Massacre!* It follows the day-by-day activities of the march towards Fort King with the same relentlessness as that of the Seminole Indians shadowing Major Dade. But there is more: detail, description, documentation, illustrations. Sheer weight of numbers is not the only test of scholarship in historical writing, but in Laumer's 477 notes in *Dade's Last Command* one will find interesting, factual pertinent documentation. The depth of information contained concerning the men, their uniforms and their backgrounds is remarkable, and the political and sociological overtones are provided as appropriate background for the story.

The description of the battle is written with so much feeling that the reader can sense the clamor, the terror, the odors of battle, with a feeling of the pain of wounds and the overshadowing presence of death. This book will take its place as a front-rank production of research and historical literature.

Credit should be given to The University Press of Florida, for the outstanding manufacture of the book and the artistic dust-jacket, by Jackson Walker.

The foreword, by Dr. John K Mahon, Professor Emeritus of History, University of Florida, fits the persona of the writer: terse, accurate and pertinent.

Buy the book, read it, recommend it; then, shelve it with your best-history volumes.

*The University of Florida*

WILLIAM M. GOZA

*Blockaders, Refugees, & Contrabands: Civil War on Florida's Gulf Coast, 1861-1865.* By George E. Buker. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993. ix, 235 pp. Acknowledgments, maps, tables, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

In this well-researched, clearly written monograph Professor Buker fills a gap in Florida's Civil War history. He tells the story of how the East Gulf Blockading Squadron (EGBS) carried out President Abraham Lincoln's assignment: eliminate Confederate shipping in and out of the area from Cape Florida to a point just east of Pensacola. Other United States Navy blocking squadrons had more important geographical sections of the South's 3,500 miles of shoreline to patrol, but the unsung EGBS accomplished its mission successfully. It had no large established enemy seaport to monitor—Tampa Bay, Charlotte Harbor, Cedar Key, St. Mark's, and Apalachicola had limited importance. Besides intercepting blockade runners, the EGBS was able to utilize white refugees and Union sympathizers and contrabands (slaves who escaped to Union ships and Union camps) in breaking up salt works, interrupting the flow of beef from South Florida to Confederate armies, and spreading dissatisfaction and loss of morale among civilians. Not only did the EGBS encourage guerilla warfare, it benefitted from the formation of the United States Second Cavalry and the Second United States Colored Troops (under white commanders).

Life in the EGBS was hot, boring, filled with inspections, drills, and target practice; there was severe punishment for infractions of military rules, and it was no wonder that the sailors welcomed real working days, which were at night when the blockaders made their runs. White and black Floridians were treated well, and because the squadron never developed a "hated Yankees" reaction, it got natives to enlist formally in the Union service, while others served as informers or guides and pilots. The author adds human interest to statistics by discussing enigmatic figures such as cattle trader

Captain James McKay who seems to have been a double agent. Dr. Buker details the issues of conscription and desertion and recounts the exploits of William W. Strickland, a Taylor County Confederate deserter who raised his independent Union Rangers, James Coker's operations on the Fenholloway River, and William White's on the Steinhatchee River. The only retaliation to their activities came in 1864 with a sweep by Colonel Henry D. Capers. Unionist Henry A. Crane captured blockade runners and aided refugees.

Although the U.S. Army finally enlisted contrabands as separate units, the EGBS used and paid them earlier, sometimes utilizing their service on shore to help destroy saltworks. In a chapter on the United States Second Florida Cavalry, the author notes that 729 soldiers were ultimately recruited into its ranks. Its primary mission under Major Edmund C. Weeks was to prevent the flow of cattle to the Confederacy. The Second Florida Cavalry operated separately but also in conjunction with the Second Infantry Regiment, U. S. Colored Troops. The latter regiment, 362 enlisted men and 36 officers strong, fought with the Second Florida Cavalry in South Florida in 1864 and again in 1865 under General John Newton at the battle of Natural Bridge in the failed attempt to capture St. Marks and Tallahassee.

Buker, history professor emeritus and also a retired commander in the United States Navy, has told an absorbing story. To his credit, he is not afraid to interpret his material. The claim, stated several times, that the East Gulf Blocking Squadron not only achieved its primary aim, but elevated the raids and endless minor skirmishes to the level of the civil war against Florida and the Confederacy, is somewhat exaggerated. Even so, he makes a case. The book will attract both professional and general readers.

*Florida State University*

WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS

*Rebel Storehouse: Florida in the Confederate Economy.* By Robert A. Taylor. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995. 218 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95).

In this brief, yet well written book, Robert A. Taylor argues that by supplying salt, corn, beef, and pork to the Confederacy, Florida's service to the South was greater than previous accounts of the war suggest. Taylor contends that because few battles were fought

on the peninsula, most Civil War historians have overlooked the importance of this state. His work reflects the tremendous commissary shortages that the Confederacy endured from the beginning of the war and the South's reliance on Florida to feed troops fighting in the eastern theater under the leadership of General Bragg and General Beauregard. Taylor asserts that despite the Confederacy's dependence on Florida for salt, meat and other goods, Confederate officials never fully realized the value of the state and therefore failed to protect the peninsula from falling into Union control.

Confederate officials, Taylor explains, called on Florida to supply salt and corn as early as 1861. Since most of the South's "salt licks" were located in Virginia, Confederate leaders found it difficult to mine this badly needed mineral. Lincoln's federal blockade, furthermore, made importing salt nearly impossible, thus leaving Florida as the Confederacy's primary supplier of sodium chloride. Florida, in addition to salt, also produced corn for the Confederacy after a serious shortage became apparent in 1862.

In 1863, the collapse of the West left the South with yet another supply problem. Facing what Taylor suggests might have been the greatest wartime shortage, Florida became the Confederacy's primary meat supplier. Between 1863-1865 Florida sent tens of thousands of beeves and hogs to Confederate troops fighting throughout the South under the command of General Bragg and General Beauregard. Many of these cattle, Taylor explains, grazed on the open range and had to be collected before the long overland journeys could begin. The narrative of these cattle drives and the innovative, almost desperate, measures that Florida officials practiced in attempting to supply the Confederacy is one of the many strengths of the book. Other strong points are the discussions of the Battle of Olustee and the continuing problem of Floridians raising cash crops and smuggling beeves to Cuba instead of producing food solely for the Confederacy.

Although readers will be pleased with Taylor's study, and he specifies that it is not a comprehensive history of Florida in the Civil War, there are several troubling factors with this account. Taylor could have given more attention to geography. It appears that most of the early cattle and crop production he discusses occurred in northern Florida, but since he seldom provides reference locations, some readers are likely to be confused by his generalizations. He might also have looked more closely at the cattle industry in

Mississippi. As late as the spring of 1864, that state continued sending more than a marginal amount of meat to Confederate units in the East. Neither of these problems, however, hinder the importance of Taylor's study. He has produced a first rate work that reflects careful and diligent research.

Mississippi State University

ANTHONY IACONO

*The Confederados: Old South Immigrants in Brazil.* Edited by Cyrus B. Dawsey and James M. Dawsey. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1995. xiii, 273 pp. Foreword, introduction, conclusion, postscript, notes, annotated bibliography, contributors, index. \$34.95).

In May, 1972, Georgia Governor (later U.S. President) Jimmy Carter stood at the base of a granite monument bearing the Confederate flag and delivered a speech to a number of Confederate descendants who had turned out to welcome him. The site was not Stone Mountain, Georgia, but Americana, Brazil, a town settled by Southern refugees after the Civil War.

Following the South's debacle, approximately 10,000 Southerners migrated to Latin America searching for new horizons and better lives. One Latin American government in particular, the Empire of Brazil, under Dom Pedro II opened its doors and provided generous resettlement assistance to an approximate 4,000 refugees during the 1860s and 1870s. These expatriates and their descendants became known as *Os Confederados*.

*Confederado* migration to Brazil has been the subject of numerous studies throughout the twentieth century. Yet, *The Confederados: Old South Immigrants in Brazil* is the only scholarly work which provides insights into *Confederado* migration from both a historical and a cultural perspective.

Edited by Cyrus B. Dawsey and James M. Dawsey, the book is a collection of ten chapters ranging from the genesis of *Confederado* migration to a linguistic analysis of the English spoken by the *Confederados*. The book also includes a postscript written by American career diplomat Eugene C. Harter, a *Confederado* descendant, and an excellent annotated bibliography on the *Confederado* presence in Brazil compiled by James M. Gravois and Elizabeth Weisbrod.

Chapters one, three and four, provide a detailed examination of the causes that led to *Confederado* migration as well as valuable insight into the establishment of *Confederado* settlements in Brazil.



Chapter two is an edited version of the first-person account of Sarah Bellona Smith Ferguson. In it she narrates her family's immigrant saga from Navarro, Texas in 1865 to their settling near Santa Barbara, Brazil in 1867.

In chapters five, six, seven, and eight, the editors and Auburn historian Wayne Flint provide invaluable information concerning *Confederado* contributions to their host country. Two technological innovations credited to the *Confederados* were the moldboard plow and the buckboard wagon with steel rimmed wheels. The former revolutionized Brazilian agriculture, while the latter replaced the slow-moving oxcarts. Besides technological innovations, the *Confederados* who were mostly Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists contributed to the growth of religious diversity and were responsible for establishing numerous American-styled schools characterized by their innovative teaching methods and pragmatism.

The following three chapters center on the *Confederado*'s preservation of their cultural identity. Unlike the European immigrants that came to Brazil in the 1860s and 1870s and who assimilated and acculturated into Brazilian society, the *Confederados* retained their own identity, not as *Americanos* but as *Confederados*. An example of this, is the *Confederado* dialect still spoken today.

The essays in this book are of great benefit to the historians, anthropologists and linguists and to those interested in Brazilian-American relations.

University of Central Florida

JOSÉ B. FERNÁNDEZ

*Essays on Cuban History: Historiography and Research.* By Louis A. Pérez, Jr. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995. xiv, 366 pp. introduction, notes, index, permissions, \$44.95.)

This volume brings together eighteen essays that span a generation of work by the accomplished scholar on Cuban studies, Louis A. Pérez, Jr., J. Carlyle Sitterson Professor of History at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. The essays demonstrate the complexity of Cuba itself and suggest the opportunities and explain the limitations that confront the scholar when dealing with the island nation. Divided into three sections, the book provides the reader with perspectives on Cuba's post-independence period, the parameters of Cuban historiography and the availability of materials at various research repositories.

The seven historical essays emphasize the impact that United States policies in the early decades of the twentieth century had upon the Cuban economy, political and social structures and culture. While imposing their mores upon Cuba, North American policymakers and missionaries only set the tone for discontent among the Cuban people. The legacy of U.S. presence was a political structure that permitted the corrupt elite to use government institutions for self serving purposes and allowed U.S. private business interests to exploit the local economy for its own benefit. In this ambience, the elite and foreign entrepreneur maintained a stagnant social order. From this perspective Pérez suggests that Fidel Castro's 1959 victory was a nationalist revolution and that his rebel army became an instrument of reform to correct the abuses of the past.

Prior to 1959, Cubans gave more attention to the island's relations with the United States than did U.S. scholars, but Castro's triumph changed that and the nature of Cuban historiography. At first, it prompted the reissuance of several earlier works on Cuba including Charles E. Chapman's 1927 volume, *History of the Cuban Republic* which attempted "to employ scholarship in the pursuit of state policy" (p. 114) by portraying U.S. benevolence in its effort to build a modern Cuban nation. Pérez explains that after the revolution, scholarly literature both in and out of Cuba matured, but that it still focused on U.S. relations with Cuba. Also, scholars in both nations tended to reflect the Cuban revisionist view that emerged during the 1930s which concluded that the U.S. was not the benevolent benefactor previously portrayed. And just as Chapman's volume attempted to justify U.S. policy, Cuban scholars since 1959 have used the U.S. legacy to explain and defend the programs of the revolution, including Castro's African adventures during the 1970s and its support of Puerto Rican nationalism. In each instance the Cubans were supporting struggles against European and North American colonialism.

The final essays describe or list research materials available to scholars in both Cuba and the United States. In Cuba, Pérez focuses upon the National Archives in Havana, its poor working environment and the strengths and weaknesses of its collections. An exhaustive inventory list of materials found in the Bureau of Insular Affairs at the U.S. National Archives and a descriptive catalog of U.S. missionary records at various locations throughout the United States alerts researchers to the availability of under-utilized materials. Pérez also suggests potential research opportunities dealing with the "Thirty Years War" (1868-1898).

Much has transpired since the original publication of these essays. For example, we know much more about the documentary collections in the U.S. thanks to Pérez's *Guide to Cuban Collections in the United States* (Greenwood Press, 1991). Also, scholars anticipating research in Cuba might seek a more recent discussion of the Cuban national archives and the availability of other collections on the island. These points aside, Pérez's volume comes at the time of anticipated change in Cuba and therefore serves as a valuable guide to understanding the basis of Cuban nationalism and its impact upon historical writing.

University of North Florida

THOMAS M. LEONARD

*The Cherokee and Christianity, 1794-1870: Essays on Acculturation and Cultural Persistence.* By William G. McLoughlin; edited by Walter H. Conser Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press 1994. 347 pp. Preface, notes, index. \$45.00.)

Missionaries from five protestant sects brought disorder after 1794 into the spiritual and daily life of the Cherokee. Indian religion was communal, while the missionaries focused on saving individual souls. The land belonged to all Cherokee whereas in the white culture individual ownership of land was central. Indians were accustomed to reaching decisions by consensus, whites by centralized authority. The Cherokee accepted nature as it was, but the Bible said that man had to subdue it. The missionaries considered admission into heaven as the ultimate goal in life, but the Indians were comfortable living in the world as they found it. They did not dwell on life after death. It was matriarchy versus the male dominated family group. The missionaries felt that they had to substitute white ways for Indian ways.

Among the Cherokee there were cultural gaps not induced by missionaries. The principal one was between the full bloods and the mixed bloods. The term full blood is not biological or ancestral, but applies to those whose cradle language and whose language thereafter was Cherokee. In contrast, the mixed bloods favored English. They were better educated and wealthier, making a division between rich and poor. The full bloods clung to traditional rituals in preference to Christian ones.

The most successful missionary was Evan Jones, a Baptist. By 1830, he had learned the difficult Cherokee tongue and preached in it. Being itinerant, he carried his gospel to the underprivileged.

Unlike most of the missionaries, he vigorously opposed the institution of slavery and the white policy of Indian removal. He was one of the few whites who slogged with the Cherokee along their Trail of Tears.

The full bloods owned few slaves and opposed the institution of slavery, while the mixed bloods owned many black slaves and vigorously supported the institution. They expelled Evan Jones in 1860 as an abolitionist. The slave owners, about one third of the people, went Confederate. The full bloods were Union. Fighting each other in relentless guerilla warfare, they took 4000 Cherokee lives and wiped out all the gains they had made since 1839.

Christianity began to succeed when the Cherokee lost the power to control their own destiny. When their land and other property were taken by force, they found hope through Christian doctrine. The death of about one fourth of them on the Trail of Tears made more appealing the Christian concept of life everlasting. From their earliest introduction to it, they had been interested in the Bible, but now hardship heightened its appeal.

McLoughlin's set of essays contains as good an account of the influence of Christian missionaries on the Cherokee as exists. Its major interpretations can be applied to North American Indians in general; for example, that Christianity brought disorder at first into all Indian cultures, and that it became an antidote to despair as the white folk encroached. Since this is a set of eleven essays, there is minor repetition, but not enough to diminish the total value of the book.

*University of Florida, Emeritus*

JOHN K. MAHON

*The Confederate Republic: A Revolution Against Politics.* By George C. Rable. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994. x, 416 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, photographs, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95, cloth.)

After a quarter century of labor, the scholarship on Confederate politics and government has yielded a rich harvest. Emory Thomas's probing examination of the nature and scope of the southern revolution, Richard Beringer's multi-casual explanation of defeat, and Drew Gilpin Faust's discussion of the "process" of nationalism represent an exciting wave of historiography that joins society, government, and ideology.

Historians frequently criticize the Confederacy for creating an anti-party culture. The absence of parties, conventional wisdom argues, thwarted the development of discourse and weakened the South. George Rable sharply disagrees. In *The Confederate Republic*, he contends that the South created a pre-party political climate based on its history and environment. In seeking to build a perfect republican model, two forces struggled for control: “nationalists” who championed unity and centralization and “libertarians” who sought individual freedom and local authority. Both sides promised to protect slavery and advance the cause of liberty. Jefferson Davis, flinty, sensitive to criticism, and often ill, provided solid leadership for the nationalists, while Georgians Linton and Alexander Stephens, Robert Toombs, and Governor Joseph Brown, North Carolina Governor Zebulon Vance, and Texan Louis Wigfall championed the states’ rights element. Rable does not present this contest as a struggle between right and wrong, but two legitimate forces attempting— with limited success— to define Confederate nationalism in the midst of a bloody civil war.

The unrelenting contest produced a conservative revolution in which both sides attempted to utilize religion and education to promote their viewpoints. Organized political parties, however, symbolized a corrupted vestige of the old America and must be rejected. The South sought a higher plane, hoping to eliminate campaigning, electioneering, and editorial feuds. Politicians amazingly held to this consensus, even at difficult periods of the war when criticism of the President as a despot reached a crescendo— especially over the draft and the suspension of habeas corpus. This “revolution against politics” never resolved the fundamental issues and collapsed with the death of the republic.

Rable applauds this anti-party attitude and refutes the contention that parties would have strengthened the republic. The author sympathizes with Davis, while recognizing his personal and administrative flaws. Some libertarians may have held principles (Stephens), but many others were naive (R. B. Rhett), fanatical (W. W. Holden), or opportunistic (Brown). A generally inexperienced and largely disorganized Congress played little role in the process. The defeat of the nation did not, however, rest on internecine politics, but moreso on military and economic failure.

The ebb and flow of military events form a vital backdrop for political developments. Davis’s notorious spats with Generals Joseph E. Johnston and P. G. T. Beauregard are detailed, as is the

President's dubious support for Braxton Bragg and John Pemberton. Only the noble Robert E. Lee emerges untarnished by incompetence or pettiness. As Rable notes, Davis was held hostage by his commanders, and their success on the battlefield strongly influenced his efforts to promote Confederate nationalism.

*The Confederate Republic* is a well written and well researched addition to the literature. There are, however, geographic and verbal boundaries to the study. The focus is Richmond, Georgia and North Carolina with Florida receiving but a passing glance. The author is also reluctant to examine critically the political rhetoric of the combatants. Those seeking a new interpretation of the interplay of philosophy and politics with the military command structure will welcome this provocative work. Others interested in government's role in society and economics will have to search elsewhere.

*University of South Florida*

JOHN M. BELOHLAVEK

*War in Kentucky: From Shiloh to Perryville.* By James Lee McDonough. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994. xvii, 386 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, photographs, illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$32.00.)

A good case can be made that the highwater mark of the Southern Confederacy came in the autumn of the Civil War's second year. General Robert E. Lee had taken command of the Army of Northern Virginia in June, 1862; three spectacular months later, Virginia was clear of any major Union force. Lee thereupon took the war into the North by invading Maryland.

At the same time, in Tennessee, Confederate General Braxton Bragg initiated a countermovement by striking northward with his Army of Tennessee. His goal was to gain control of Kentucky, the most important neutral state in the struggle. Seizure of the Bluegrass Country would either bring a victorious end to the war, or significantly change the complexion of the conflict.

Lee's drive ended along the banks of Antietam Creek in a battle that remains the bloodiest single day in American history. Bragg's invasion also ended in setback. The fragmented advance, conducted as well in an aura of uncertainty, came down at last to a battle for drinking water at Perryville. Whether the North won or Bragg lost is speculative. The Confederate general gathered his

units, blamed everyone for his mistakes, and sullenly returned to Tennessee. The Confederacy's most optimistic moment had come and gone. The road to Appomattox lay ahead.

For a number of reasons, Lee's campaign in Maryland has always overshadowed Bragg's efforts in Kentucky. Yet the potentialities in the Western theater at the time were many. Prospects were exceedingly good at the outset. That Southern morale on the western side of the mountains started a steadily downward drift after Perryville is proof how critical the defeat truly was.

Auburn's James Lee McDonough is well-known for published campaign histories of the first major battle in the West at Shiloh, the 1862-1863 clash at Stones River, and the 1864 massacre of Confederates at Franklin. This book seeks to fill one of the gaps between two of his studies. It follows the same pattern of presentation. McDonough begins with the post-Shiloh confusion in April, 1862, and takes the story over the next six months through Perryville to Confederate defeat.

The author makes clear that the Southern offensive was bungled from the start and never improved. Bragg, like Union Generals George B. McClellan and Joseph Hooker, was a first-rate organizer of troops. Unlike the two Federal officers, Bragg lacked charisma and the ability to install confidence and drive in his soldiers. His two-prong invasion of Kentucky offered the Federals a great opportunity to react in a divide-and-conquer manner. Even so inept a commander as Union General Don Carlos Buell was able to take advantage of enough Confederate mistakes to claim the victory.

McDonough plumbed manuscript sources at several depositories. Although half of his endnotes are references to the basic and well-used *Official Records*, many of the other references are to fresh and useful material. The author's habit of referring to Confederates and Federals as "Rebels" and "Yankees" is annoying (and doubtless offensive to many descendants, particularly Southerners). Still, this is a straightforward, balanced, and carefully presented chronicle of perhaps the largest might-have-been of all of the Confederate undertakings in the West.

While McDonough concludes by giving the Western theater more importance than a majority of Civil War historians would concede, no doubt exists but that the Southern nation desperately needed the border states if ultimate success was to crown its efforts. The Confederacy lacked the strength, resources, and the talent to

secure Kentucky. Those same weaknesses made eventual defeat all but inevitable.

*Virginia Polytechnic Institute  
and State University*

JAMES I. ROBERTSON, JR.

*The Third Day at Gettysburg & Beyond.* Edited by Gary W. Gallagher. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994. x, 217 pp. Introduction, photographs, maps, illustrations, bibliographic essay, contributors, index. \$24.95).

This is a book of six essays, dealing with topics broadly related to the third day of the Battle of Gettysburg. Edited by Gary W. Gallagher, it inaugurates a series to be known as the military Campaigns of the Civil War. Gallagher also wrote the first of the essays. Entitled "Lee's Army Has Not Lost Any of Its Prestige: The Impact of Gettysburg on the Army of Northern Virginia and the Confederate Home Front," the essay questions the popularly accepted view of Gettysburg as "a debacle that spread gloom across the South." (p. vii) Gallagher first admits that "various witnesses did portray [Gettysburg] and Vicksburg as comparably devastating reverses, questioned Lee's generalship, or believed the campaign weakened the morale and reduced the physical prowess of the Army of Northern Virginia." (p. 2) However, Gallagher goes on to cite what he describes as "a substantial body of testimony" (p. 4) indicating that most Southerners did not view Gettysburg in the same light as Vicksburg, which was generally considered an unmitigated debacle and disaster for Confederate arms. Gallagher's article is thought-provoking, regardless of whether or not one accepts his conclusion.

The second article is by one of the recent biographers of General James Longstreet, William Garrett Piston, and examines the plans of Longstreet and Lee for the third day's battle. Piston pointedly reminds the reader that available sources are disappointingly meager and consequently it is difficult to reach solid conclusions. The author makes criticisms of both Lee and Longstreet, but, as stated in the introduction, readers who are comfortable with views of Lee "inspired by the Lost Cause school of authors" (p. viii) are the most likely to "find Piston's essay unsettling." (p. viii)



Carol Reardon's essay next focuses upon "Pickett's Charge." The work is concerned not so much with the actual charge, however, but with "the literary war" that soon ensued and was waged for years, when charges and countercharges among Virginians and other Southerners, about who achieved and who failed in the so-called "high water mark of the Confederacy," filled many articles and books. This piece is an interesting exercise in tracing the development of distortion and myth.

The fourth essay is Robert K. Krick's "Armistead and Garnett: The Parallel Lives of Two Virginia Soldiers." Lewis A. Armistead and Richard B. Garnett were Confederate generals who died in the charge against the Union center at Gettysburg on July 3. Krick says the two "experienced remarkably parallel lives during virtually their entire" (p. 93) time on earth. The dual biography seems carefully researched and is well presented. Only a small portion of the essay concerns the July 3 assault.

Next, Robert L. Bee, "Fredericksburg On the Other Leg," focuses on Sergeant Ben Hirst of the 14th Connecticut Infantry, who was one of the Union defenders on Cemetery Ridge when Pickett's Charge took place. Hirst wrote letters home that concerned the third day of fighting. They are revealing letters, both for what they say and, sometimes, perhaps for what they do not say.

A. Wilson Greene presents the book's last essay, an examination of George G. Meade's generalship from the repulse of the Southern attack on July 3rd until the Rebels were safely across to the Virginia side of the Potomac River. Should Meade have launched a counterattack on July 3? Should he have pursued Lee more aggressively? Did he miss a chance to administer a decisive defeat when the Confederate army lay with its back to the flooded Potomac for several days? In a well researched and balanced account, Greene says that President Lincoln's displeasure with Meade's pursuit of Lee has "resonated through many subsequent accounts of the Gettysburg campaign," (p. 173) both in the nineteenth century as well as in modern times. Greene judiciously examines Meade's own words, comparing them with the situation and the general's actions, concluding that while Meade's generalship was not without flaws, his performance was "cautious, competent, and committed to combat." (p. 193) He believes Meade's "opportunities often have been exaggerated and his blunders magnified." (p. ix)

Overall, the reader will get more of the "Beyond" than of "The Third Day" at Gettysburg in this book. But anyone possessing a basic knowledge of the Gettysburg battle, who wants to read more on the general subject, will find it rewarding.

*Auburn University*

JAMES LEE McDONOUGH

*Medical Histories of Confederate Generals.* By Jack D. Welsh, M.D. (Kent State University Press, 1995. xvi, 297 pp. Introduction, list of abbreviations, glossary, bibliography. \$35.00.)

This book is required reading for Civil War buffs, teachers, researchers, and everyone interested in Civil War history or Confederate medicine. The author recounts the illnesses, accidents and battle wounds of 425 Confederate generals. As a number of these generals served in the United States Army prior to the Civil War, the author also describes medical events which they experienced during the Seminole Wars, the Mexican War and the Indian Wars in the west. To provide follow-up, he traces the health of those who survived the Civil War until their death and whenever the records permit, he provides the diagnosis on the death certificate. In recounting the 425 cases, he describes one or more non-fatal medical events in 325, and fatal events in 96.

Whenever possible the clinical details of the illness or the wound, the immediate care on the field, the mode of transportation to a field or general hospital and the details of the treatment are described. This has required a prodigious amount of research which is well-documented in his endnotes and bibliography.

Dr. Welsh makes no attempt to analyze the effect of the described medical event upon the outcome of a battle or a campaign. He expressly leaves that to others more versed in the military history. Rarely does he describe the location on a battlefield where the injury or death occurred, or the opposing units involved. His descriptions are as objective as possible with no attempt to portray heroes or glorify the event.

The glossary of medical terms suffers, in several instances, from a failure to clearly delineate the concept of the term in Civil War times from the meaning of the term today.

This collection of medical biographies recounts many details of human interest that cast light on the attitude toward illness and disease in the mid-nineteenth century. It is a book the history buff

will enjoy for casual reading and the researcher will use as a valuable source of information and suggestions for further investigation.

Miami, Florida

WILLIAM M. STRAIGHT, M.D.

*Gullah Statesman: Robert Smalls from Slavery to Congress, 1839-1915.* By Edward A. Miller, Jr. (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995. xi, pp. 285. Preface, photographs, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

In the early morning of May 13, 1862, Robert Smalls, a slave, stole a Confederate ship, the *Planter*; sailed it out of Charleston harbor and surrendered it, a cargo of guns, and several slaves to the Union squadron blocking the port. This daring act made Smalls an instant celebrity and contributed immeasurably to his later substantial political success. During the remainder of the war Smalls utilized his invaluable knowledge of local waters and placement of Rebel mines to assist Union forces. At the War's end Smalls settled in Beaufort, South Carolina, where he became a landowner, businessman, member of the state constitutional convention, South Carolina assemblyman and senator, and United States congressman.

Although Miller's portrait of Smalls is not particularly flattering, he concludes that Smalls "made the most of the limited opportunities he had and . . . faithfully served the people of Beaufort County and township and his nation." (x) In fact, *Gullah Statesman* adds limited knowledge of Smalls' personal life to Okan Edat Uya's, *From Slavery to Political Service: Robert Smalls, 1839-1915* (1971), but the author more thoroughly places Smalls in the context of his times and in South Carolina political life. Indeed, Miller correctly suggests that *Gullah Statesman* could have been entitled, "The Rise and Fall of the Republican Party in South Carolina." (ix) He is quite critical of Republicans, national and state. The Republicans' real motive in passing the 1866 Civil Rights' Act and the Fourteenth Amendment, Miller declares, was to maintain Republican majorities in congress. Reconstruction survived after 1875 because corrupt politicians could use it as a distraction. The motives of at least some Republicans were undoubtedly more complex.

Miller's discussion of Reconstruction in South Carolina is decidedly one-sided. He emphasizes political corruption and interne-

cine battles among blacks far more than the Republicans' positive contributions and seems to be more sympathetic to the interpretations of older state studies. In the chapter on state reconstruction, Miller cites Simkins and Woody, *South Carolina During Reconstruction* (1932) five times as frequently as Joel Williamson's classic, *After Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction, 1861-1877*. Neither does he mention, as Williamson does, that the diary used by Democrats to prove the corruptness of Republican Reconstruction might contain some inaccuracies. Changes in pagination and use of terms which became current later indicate that the original diary may have been altered. Miller often quotes negative statements from Democratic newspapers without attempting to counter them and gives a relatively favorable treatment of Wade Hampton, the architect of redemption in South Carolina. It should be added that Miller also severely condemns the violence and racism of more extreme Democrats such as Martin W. Gary and Ben Tillman.

Miller is at his best when tracing Smalls' many political campaigns and the infighting among Republicans. Despite fierce Democratic opposition, a controversial bribery conviction, and frequent opposition within his party, Smalls managed to hold elective office until 1886 and then served several years as collector of customs for the port of Beaufort. He never completely lost his political base in heavily black populated Beaufort County, which Ben Tillman contemptuously referred to as "niggerdom." Smalls also managed to amass significant property, much of which he purchased at tax sales, engaged in business and honestly acquired sufficient wealth to enable him to live comfortably in his former owner's home.

Although one might quibble with some of Miller's interpretations and emphases, *Gullah Statesman* is well researched, engagingly written, and useful to Reconstruction historians.

Florida State University

JOE M. RICHARDSON

*The John Couper Family at Cannon's Point.* By T. Reed Ferguson. (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1994. viii, 228 pp. List of photographs, coda, appendix, acknowledgments, bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

Scholars of the antebellum South have often written of the Couper family of St. Simons, Georgia regarding its varied accom-

plishments. Robert S. Starobin, in his analysis of industrial slavery, Thomas P. Govan, addressing the question of slavery's profitability, Kenneth Stampp writing of medical care of slaves, and E. M. Coulter studying scientific plantation agriculture, have found the Coupers worthy subjects. T. Reed Ferguson is the first to attempt a comprehensive study of the family's founder John Couper and his son James Hamilton Couper, a task made especially difficult because the plantation records of John Couper were lost during the Civil War.

In broad outline, the family story is fascinating. John Couper emigrated from Scotland as a sixteen year old indentured servant, landing at the Georgia port of Savannah in 1775. Soon, Couper and his loyalist employer were in exile at St. Augustine, Florida. The young Scot returned to Georgia after the revolution, became a merchant, land speculator, Free-Mason, patron of education, and slave dealer, before purchasing acreage on the virtually uninhabited St. Simons (or St. Simon) Island, south of Savannah in 1794. His first plantation there was Cannon's Point, but he and his son James Hamilton Couper, subsequently owned or managed other large estates in the vicinity, notably Hopeton Plantation where, according to Kenneth Stampp, existed "a model hospital where ailing slaves received the best medical attention the South could provide."

John Couper, who lived until 1850, was by all accounts a knowledgeable, witty, humorous and humane man. E. M. Coulter described Couper as the leader of "a remarkably well-knit social group of high intelligence and culture . . . John Couper was the greatest of these." He served at times as judge, legislator, state constitutional convention member, founder of an agricultural society, and contributor of numerous articles to the *Southern Agriculturalist*. He knew, said Coulter, "something about everything agricultural."

Couper's life at Cannon's Point was disrupted briefly by a British invasion at the close of the War of 1812. Couper lost about sixty slaves on that occasion, but gained a son-in-law, as his daughter Sarah fell in love with and later married a young officer from the British force. The planter prospered after the war, acquiring more land, experimenting with sugar cane and olive orchards, and writing prolifically on various agricultural subjects. His son James Hamilton Couper carried on for the father up to the time of Georgia's secession, but like other land and slave owners of the region, was broken in fortune and spirit by the war, and died in 1866.

Ferguson narrates this tale with skill, judiciously speculating where historical evidence is wanting. He conveys a vivid sense of the social life of coastal planters of that time and place.

The author makes no claim of general expertise in the history of the period, and his limitations there do not detract significantly from the book's merits. Some errors might, nevertheless, have been avoided by more careful editing. The War of Spanish Secession (1701-1714) is called "ongoing" at the time of Georgia's founding in the 1730s; it is elsewhere referred to as the War of Spanish Secession, 1701-1763. We are told that John Couper chaired a committee in 1807 which drafted a resolution "to send to Washington to support President Madison in his opposition to the British." In vain do we look for any evidence of the cotton planter's opinion of President Jefferson's Embargo of 1807.

Least satisfying to students of the period may be Ferguson's handling of slavery at Cannon's Point. The Couper family evidently treated their slaves relatively better than did most owners. Modern scholars such as Kenneth Stampp as well as contemporaries, including no less a critic than Couper's neighbor for a time, Frances Kemble Butler, testified to that effect. But Ferguson argues beyond the evidence he presents when he asserts that the Coupers and their slaves shared a "deep mutual respect and loyalty,"

This study relates an always interesting, at times fascinating, family history and contributes to the corpus of St. Simons and coastal plantation history. Scholars of the era will find the work of limited general value.

Gordon College

HUTCH JOHNSON

*Iron and Steel: Class, Race, and Community in Birmingham, Alabama, 1875-1920.* By Henry M. McKiven Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995. xiii, 223 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, tables, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$37.50 cloth, \$14.95 paper.)

They called it "The Magic City" – Birmingham Alabama. In the decades following the Civil War, its boosters touted an idealistic image in an effort to attract a labor force and capitalize on the area's extensive coal and iron deposits to promote an industrial boom out of the ashes of defeat.

Historian Henry M. McKiven, Jr., focuses on the aspects of class and race in this well-organized and carefully documented analysis of nearly a half-century of Birmingham's industrial development. From the start, race was a more important factor than class. Anxious to prevent a unified working-class-conscious front, employers recruited northern and southern whites with a blatant appeal to racial superiority on the shop floor. White workers would enjoy the prosperity of skilled jobs; blacks would be subordinated to the more demeaning positions.

Among McKiven's most engrossing sections is his description of how this played out in the various job categories of iron work. "Puddlers" supervised six two-hour plus furnace "heats" a day, chemically purifying 600 pounds of raw pig iron at a time. "Heaters" processed the wrought iron "blooms," and "rollers" produced bars, plates, and rails. "Patternmakers" and "sand cutters" fashioned cast iron molds for manufacturing finished iron products. These were all skilled jobs of experience and judgement. In Birmingham, they were dominated by white men.

More disagreeable was the task of "top fillers," who labored 80-to-100 feet above the ground in fearful heat amidst choking fumes at the crown of the furnace, distributing iron ore around the hopper. Similarly arduous was the work of "iron breakers," who chopped off "pigs" from the casting machine with sledgehammers, and "carriers," who hefted 125-pound iron bars over to railroad cars 250 times each shift. These were considered unskilled jobs of stamina and brawn. In Birmingham, they were overwhelmingly the lot of black men.

One might wonder why white iron workers did not recognize their common interest with their black cohorts in resisting company exploitation. But most, goaded by corporate executives and politicians, did not transcend their perverse racial attitudes. What is more, they even took steps through their own union work rules to preserve white supremacy in the workplace. "Reinforcing the bond between white labor and white capital," writes McKiven, "was shared devotion to the subordination of blacks."

Companies fostered division and control in a variety of ways: clapboard shotgun shacks for unskilled workers in racially segregated districts, with hogs and chickens roaming freely in the narrow streets; spacious two-story homes for skilled workers, with indoor plumbing and enough pay to make livestock-raising unnecessary. Educational classes emphasized order and discipline; recre-

ational programs discouraged saloon-loitering; company newspapers promoted maintenance of the social order.

The interracial philosophy of the Knights of Labor took the separatist approach of organizing workers into segregated locals. White unions even assisted companies in breaking the strikes of all-black laborers. The emergence of the steel industry in the 1890s—with increased mechanization and the concomitant decrease in skilled craft positions—led to the open shop movement at the turn of the century and the general decline of union strength.

Using demographic studies, census surveys, neighborhood maps, and rigorous detail, Henry McKiven provides a thorough exploration of political, economic, and social conditions in industrial Birmingham. It turned out to be no Magic City after all. Genuine progress for workers, he concludes, would have to await another generation and the actions of the civil rights movement, Congress, and the courts.

*Saint Leo College*

JAMES J. HORGAN

*The CIO, 1935-1955.* By Robert H. Zieger. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995. x, 491 pp. Preface, abbreviations, introduction, photographs, illustrations, conclusion, notes, index. \$39.95.)

Professor Zieger recounts the familiar tale of how John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers led the industrial unions out of the moribund AFL and sent organizers into the mass production sector. He vowed that the CIO could break the power of the corrupt cabal of financiers that he believed dominated America's economy. Beginning in early 1936, there was a wave of strikes and frenetic organizing campaigns in the rubber, steel, auto, oil, smelter, electrical appliance, textile, and packinghouse industries, among others. The actual conduct of the campaigns and strikes invariably rested on a handful of activists, while most workers hung back until more favorable odds developed. The National Labor Relations Act, and the board it created, greatly facilitated unionization by restoring the jobs and granting back pay to the unionists who had been fired for their labor activities. Despite several sit-down strikes and mass demonstrations, the CIO favored taking disputes off the streets and into negotiating chambers and championed stable contractual relations.



Through the defense buildup and war, 1940-1945, most Americans wanted to crack down on labor, but the Roosevelt administration saw to it that the CIO grew increasingly enmeshed in the federal machinery overseeing defense production. More or less in exchange for a no-strike pledge, President Roosevelt established the National War Labor Board, which allowed union membership to expand through its maintenance-of-membership rulings. War-time strikes were unpopular and numerous, but involved a very low percentage of working time and were often called by the workers themselves rather than the unions.

Postwar strikes were relatively free of corporate violence, reflecting the revolution in labor law in the 1930s and World War II. The public and the government had endorsed collective bargaining. Yet several non-industrial states, including Florida, had adopted so-called right-to-work measures, banning all forms of union security. Moreover, the strike wave of 1946-1947 angered the public, and Congress adopted the Taft-Hartley Act, designed to hinder unionism. Also, the CIO's efforts to move massively into the South bogged down, and the CIO's internal divisions, especially over Communism, nearly wrecked the movement. In 1949 and 1950 the expulsion of the Communist dominated unions deprived the CIO of some of its most effective activists, especially on civil rights matters. But the author agrees with the majority of the CIO that the apologists for the brutal Joseph Stalin regime in the Soviet Union had to be purged. In its political operations the CIO remained more successful in raising funds for Democratic candidates than in consistently mobilizing the blue collar work force. One of its several bitter defeats in 1950 was the loss of Claude Pepper in Florida's Democratic senatorial primary.

This reviewer quibbles with the author's omission or bare mention of innumerable local CIO events around the nation, compelling human dramas lost in the big picture. Space limitations are the obvious reason, but it does make the book a bit drier, perhaps, than a labor history ought to be. Yet Dr. Zieger effectively tells the story of the CIO's major contributions to American society. It brought an angry working class activism into coherent focus in the 1930s helped to win the war against fascism in the 1940s and created labor's best political action vehicle. It also played a positive role in the civil rights struggle, opposed Communism at home and abroad in defiance of many on the left, and established new standards of material well-being for blue collar workers in the postwar period.

This book is the most balanced, best organized, and best documented history of the CIO and an instant classic in the labor history field.

*The University of Texas  
at Arlington*

GEORGE NORRIS GREEN

*Armed with the Constitution: Jehovah's Witnesses in Alabama and the U.S. Supreme Court, 1939-1946.* By Merlin Owen Newton. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995. xvi, 222pp. Acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, about the author. \$29.95).

This sympathetic account explores the role of Jehovah's Witnesses in the national movement to expand individual civil liberties that unfold during the late 1930s and early 1940s. Tracing the development of two successful test cases initiated by the Witnesses in Alabama, *Jones v. Opelika* and *Marsh v. Alabama*, Merlin Owen Newton places them in their political and legal context. Besides stinging the nation's conscience, these cases, Newton argues, spurred the judiciary to define and uphold First Amendment safeguards.

Newton begins by examining the efforts of Witnesses to spread the gospel. Conveying their message throughout the South, they preached, disbursed booklets, and played records of sermons. Yet as they proselytized, the Witnesses met solid resistance from the "white male elite" in small Alabama towns, where the poor and underprivileged found the sermons particularly appealing. The dominant whites then felt threatened, according to Newton, and began lashing out at the sect. Consequently, many Witnesses suffered imprisonment, physical abuse and/or other forms of persecution at the hands of government officials.

Reacting to such harassment, leaders of the faith launched a widespread legal campaign to confront state and local authorities with the Constitution. To that end, they directed Rosco Jones, a black man, and Grace Marsh, a white woman, to spearhead their crusade in Alabama. The campaign began in earnest in April 1939, when Opelika police arrested Jones and his wife for selling religious booklets without a permit. The case worked its way through the state tribunals and finally reached the U.S. Supreme Court in October 1941. There, lawyers for Jones argued that the creed of

Witnesses required its followers to disburse religious literature without obtaining a license. The Opelika ordinance thus violated freedom of conscience and was an unreasonable restriction on the dissemination of ideas. Despite such reasoning, a divided Court initially ruled against Jones. Only after a media blitz that denounced the decision and praised the dissenters, did the high tribunal cave in, grant a rehearing, and overturn the original ruling. "[C]anvassing of homes and the distribution of religious tracts," the court concluded, "were old and constitutionally protected forms of missionary work" (p. 103).

The second case arose in December 1943, when police arrested Grace Marsh for dispensing similar literature in the business district of Chickasaw, a company owned town in Alabama. Charged with trespassing, she ultimately brought her case to the nation's highest court by maintaining that private property used commonly by the public should be open for distributing religious writings. In January 1946, the Supreme Court sided with Marsh declaring that "the freedoms protected by the First and Fourteenth Amendments did not stop at the gate of a company town" (p. 131).

In her final chapter, Newton evaluates the impact that Jones and Marsh had on later reform movements. Here, her analysis begins to drift and becomes too speculative. Instead of ending with the sound conclusion that the litigation won by the Witnesses broadened the meaning of religious freedom and buttressed the notion of equality before the law, Newton suggests that the cases provided a model for succeeding activists to follow. By observing the tactics employed by Witnesses in the 1930s civil rights activists in subsequent decades, Newton contends, learned how to utilize martyrdom to win public sympathy and to shame their oppressors. Yet, since Newton ignores earlier civil rights litigation, one could as easily speculate that the Witnesses modeled their legal strategy after that of the NAACP.

That criticism aside, Newton's small book makes a big contribution to the growing scholarship on the legal history of the South. Extensively researched and well written, *Armed with the Constitution* provides a fitting tribute to the persistent struggle to secure those liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

*Sex, Race, and Science: Eugenics in the Deep South.* By Edward J. Larson. (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. ix, 251 pp. Preface and acknowledgments, photograph, notes, notes on sources, index. \$35.00.)

In Edward Larson's account of the eugenics movement in the Deep South, his lineup of "good guys" and "bad guys" reverses recent historical scholarship. His villains are pro-Darwinism scientists, mental health reformers, Planned Parenthood, Federated Women's Clubs, the Russell Sage Foundation, birth control advocate Margaret Sanger, feminists, Progressive and New Deal politicians, and physicians. Heroes include Ku Klux Klan-backed and racist politicians such as Alabama's Governor Bibb Graves and Georgia's Eugene Talmadge, Roman Catholic and fundamentalist Christians, and populist organized labor.

In portent of what is to follow, Larson begins by noting that "progressive" non-southern states such as Indiana and California, where scientists and physicians had considerable influence, were the pioneers in compulsory sterilization of "defective" people. The Deep South adopted eugenics late, and then only because of the growing influence of state medical associations and politicized women's organizations.

Eugenicists in America sought to "purify the race" by four strategies: stricter marriage laws; sexual segregation of patients within mental institutions; involuntary sterilization; and restriction of immigration from southern and eastern Europe. Progressive Southerners, anxious for their region to "catch up with" the more enlightened North and West, led the eugenics movement in the Deep South.

Florida was in some ways typical. During the First World War, the state's medical community and women's clubs began to agitate for segregation of the feeble-minded in order to prevent their reproduction. In many ways, this effort merged into contemporary struggles to prevent tuberculosis, venereal disease, undesirable immigration, and efforts to improve maternal and infant welfare. In all these crusades, some level of state compulsion was necessary to protect and improve society.

In other ways, Florida's experience was atypical. By the 1930s when compulsory sterilizations in the Deep South averaged 2,500 a year, Florida experienced a sharp reversal of opinion on the sub

ject. In fact, when compulsory sterilization bills were introduced in the 1933 and 1935 legislative sessions, they were defeated by thunderous ridicule and criticism. Amendments to the bills, for instance, limited forced sterilization to those over 70 years of age, required the operation to be performed on a moonlight night by a clairvoyant, and mandated a statewide referendum on the matter by female voters on a cold Florida day in July. Both the Florida Medical Association and the state's women's clubs withdrew support. At a time when forced sterilization was being enacted, strengthened, or regularly practiced in other Deep South states, Florida was a notable exception.

The author hypothesizes that the change resulted from Florida's promotion of tourism, retirement, and more cosmopolitan environment. But the explanation is not convincing, and it would be interesting to see how the state's small but influential Jewish population and Nazi Germany's active promotion of forced sterilization affected the debate. Furthermore, California, a state also promoting tourism and retirement and boasting a population as "cosmopolitan" as Florida's, continued to lead the nation in the number of forced sterilizations. How did Florida's Protestant and Catholic communities react in 1933 and 1935?

Resistance to sterilization elsewhere came particularly from Catholics and fundamentalist Christians. In fact, the author attributes the South's extreme individualism and traditional religious values as chief factors in the opposition to eugenics.

This is a chilling book. Contemporary American politics, harnessed to opposition against welfare and scientific theories about intelligence, is frighteningly similar to the dominant mood of the years discussed by Larson.

My single criticism of Larson's book is the title. His narrative suggests strongly that class concerns were in fact far more pronounced among Deep South eugenicists than race. Poor whites—especially those confined to alms houses, institutions for the feeble-minded, and mental hospitals—were more likely to be forcibly sterilized than blacks. In fact, this book is about sex, class and science more than it is about sex, race and class. This criticism notwithstanding, Larson's book will take its place beside Jim Jones's ground-breaking *Bad Blood*, the history of the Tuskegee syphilis experiment, as an example of how well-intentioned, progressive, scientists and "reformers" can misuse medicine. It is a model of

thorough scholarship, creative analysis, and graceful writing, and it is as non-polemical as a book can be on such a disturbing subject.

Auburn University

WAYNE FLYNT

*Hidden Histories of Women in the New South.* Edited by Virginia Bernhard, et. al. (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1994. viii, 253 pp. Editors' introduction, tables, afterword, notes on the contributors, index. \$34.95.)

Initial forays into the field of women's history focused on the lives and actions of white, middle class, northern women. Southern women, black and white, remained "hidden" within the realm of Civil War and New South History. *Hidden Histories of Women in the New South* attempts to correct this exclusion, by examining the interactions of gender, race, class, and ideology within the context of southern history.

The ten essays compiled for this book were initially presented as papers at the 1991 Southern Conference on Women's History. The authors range from prominent scholars to new Ph.D. graduates. Editors Virginia Bernhard, Betty Brandon and Elizabeth H. Turner, arranged the essays under three general sections—"Institutions of Social Control," "Gender Roles and Government," and "Racial Cooperation and Reform Movements." Each essay addresses the challenge of identifying and defining both the similarities and differences among southern women without compartmentalizing or fractionalizing women's history.

The first three essays examine public institutions that dealt with women who deviated or rebelled against the values of middle class society. Prisons, mental asylums, and birth control clinics attempted to control women's sexual and personal freedom to ensure the maintenance of middle class society. Southern society mandated that white women embody the characteristics of purity, spirituality, and domesticity. African American women were also encouraged to maintain these same ideals, but white society viewed subservience as their most important characteristic.

Though some women rebelled against the confines of gender prescriptions, others turned it to their advantage by justifying their involvement in public policy based on women's inherent duties to "home and motherhood." Elizabeth York Enstam examines Dallas

women who employed gender prescriptions to campaign for better schools, sanitation, pure food and drug legislation, and eventually for female suffrage. Antisuffragists also used gender roles to combat suffrage legislation. Elna Green's article reveals the unique characteristics of southern society that supported antisuffragists and led to their dominance within the region. She also offers a unique look at African American antisuffragists and their reasons, many similar to those of white southerners, for denying black women the right to vote.

Though separate sphere ideology placed both black and white women within the home, differences arose over gender-sanctioned work within the two racial realms. Two articles dealing with United States Department of Agriculture policy and Home Demonstrations Clubs offer new insights into southern progressivism and racial ideology.

Attempting to promote social reform, white southern women not only employed separate sphere ideology, but also, briefly formed alliances with black women. Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore uncovered an attempt by North Carolina women to unite both blacks and whites within the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The inability of white women to treat black members as equals fractured the organization and foreshadowed the underlying racial tension within the future civil rights movement. Christina Greene's essay on the Southern Student Organizing Committee examines the conflict between the majority white organization and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Women within the civil rights movement, especially black women, fought for social equality while also struggling to maintain socially prescribed gender roles. Cynthia Griggs Fleming examines these emotional conflicts through the biography of Ruby Doris Smith Robinson, executive secretary of SNCC and wife and mother.

*Hidden Histories of Women in the New South* offers a unique glimpse of women traditionally left out of mainstream American history. The use of prison and asylum records, municipal documents, and oral interviews, not only reveals the "hidden histories" of these women, but also provides information for further research into these areas. Readers interested in women and southern history will gain valuable insights from this collection of essays.

*Daughters of Canaan: A Saga of Southern Women.* By Margaret Ripley Wolfe. (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1995. Pp. xii, 281. Paper, \$14.95, cloth, \$37.50.)

In this amazing book, Margaret Ripley Wolfe has managed to digest and synthesize the huge outpouring of studies concerning southern women. She includes, not only the findings of recent works (some still forthcoming when she wrote), but older sources antedating the rise of the subfield of women's history. At the same time, her narrative effortlessly weaves together the stories of women of all races, classes, and conditions in the various southern regions.

Furthermore, Wolfe, in the southern tradition, is a wonderful storyteller. With breathtaking audacity, she includes the ribald and racy incidents of those who were courageous and admirable. Always her stories make their point allowing real human beings to spring from her pages. While these women often lived and labored under tremendous disabilities, many had no trouble speaking their mind. In the process, though they often sustained severe losses, they managed to retain their self respect.

At one point, Wolfe characterizes the southern novelist, Walker Percy, as writing in a style that is an "admixture of dry humor and stark realism" (184). She should know, for that is how she writes. What is most surprising for a book of this kind is that, working on the excellent models of synthesis provided by writers such as Nancy Woloch and Sara Evans, Wolfe manages to infuse her narrative with her own well-chosen themes. Furthermore, they are not forced on the material but flow out of it naturally.

The title highlights her view that the South has been more a land of promise than a land of realization for women. From the earliest days, Wolfe argues, southern men evaluated females in terms of the services they provided and their capabilities as breeders. It was the role of the southern woman to serve and to sacrifice and, if respectable, to be pure, however her male relatives and spouses behaved. By the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, however, the myth of the southern lady had emerged as another burden for white women (and with strong repercussions for women of color as well). The burden of that myth continues to haunt southern women down to present day.

In the end, Wolfe finds that the South has undergone tremendous changes. She identifies greater educational opportunities,



more effective birth control methods, and urbanization that has broken down rural isolation as factors that have advanced the status and opportunities for southern women. Overall, however, she concludes that the region, like the United States in general, has “made more progress in race relations than in sex equity” (204). And she warns that, while “the patriarchy has been eroded; it has not been eliminated” (207).

Although this work synthesizes scholarship both old and new, the author has her own opinions, which she is not afraid to state. She sees, for example, the second generation of female activists as being more helpful to women of the South than the first generation or more recent feminists, especially those from outside the region. Not all readers will agree with her on all these points, but Wolfe obviously knew that when she put herself on record.

Students of women’s history and southern history will welcome this volume that scholars have needed for several years now. It is so entertaining and vibrantly written, however, that many in the general public—especially those from southern backgrounds who want to understand more fully the world of their female ancestors and gain some idea of what the future holds for their daughters—will find this work engrossing.

*University of Central Florida*

SHIRLEY A. LECKIE

*The South Through Time: A History of an American Region.* By John B. Boles. (Prentice Hall, 1995. xiv, 569 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, photographs, maps, guide to further reading, index. \$35.00).

The South is a place of great diversity in landscapes, environment, peoples and economies, and it has been so since its founding. Yet, it is still often perceived by newcomers and non-academics as a monolith, defined by the myths of the antebellum days. John Boles’ fine survey of the region provides a very readable volume for the public, students, and scholars who want to keep up with the enormous literature on the South’s social, political and economic history.

*The South Through Time* consists of just five chapters covering the period from first settlement to the modern era. “The Southern Colonies,” discusses Native Americans, early settlement, creation of

the plantation system, origins of slavery, the back country, and even a section on the Latin South of Louisiana and Florida. "The National South" covers the French and Indian War, the break with England, the revolution and the South's vital role in the new nation. Southerners prominent in the revolution, Constitution-making and early presidencies, such as Washington, Jefferson, Madison and others, through their political writings and power, contributed greatly to making the United States a viable nation and the South a leading section.

Boles writes next of "The Southern Nation," the years of growing dependence on King Cotton, the development of a distinctive culture based on slave labor and the rifts that developed because of slavery which finally led to the Civil War. Following the Civil War, the region became, as Chapter 4 is designated, "The Colonial South," a devastated place undergoing reconstruction, return of white rule, racial violence, urban growth, the Populist revolt and its own peculiar style of Progressivism.

Finally, the twentieth century witnessed the rise of "The American South," the years of changes and continuities since World War II. The single most important change was the Civil Rights movement, but other shifts greatly affected the South, such as the growth of cities, the economic boost provided by the defense industry and the political party switch which began in the 1960s. The overview of the politics of race is particularly useful for comprehending the current situation in the South and the nation.

The concise narrative is strong in its emphasis on the many souths within the South and its analysis of the complexity of the region throughout its long history. Politics, society, culture, economic trends, religion and race relations are all adequately addressed using the latest research of many respected historians. Boles accomplishes his task in clear prose spicing it with witty phrases that evoke the flavor of Southern language and culture.

In a comprehensive one-volume history it is difficult to include everyone, but more attention to Southern women, blacks, Native Americans and Hispanics would be a worthy goal. In part, the lack is due to fewer writings on these people. However, the gap is being filled now, and the new research and interpretations should be incorporated into future works claiming to be complete histories. The twentieth century South needs increased coverage; however, until more scholars turn their attention to this time period, a complete synthesis will be impossible. It is time to focus on the years

since 1900, and Boles' study reveals fields in need of additional research.

Nevertheless, Boles demonstrates his broad comprehension of the literature in a flowing narrative and achieves his goal of providing a book for lay readers and non-specialists. *The South Through Time* would make a fine gift to new arrivals to the South who want to understand its past and appreciate its unique culture.

Jacksonville State University

SUZANNE MARSHALL

*America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750*. Edited by Karen Ordahl Kupperman. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995. xiii, 428pp. Foreword by Norman Fiering, acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, figures, tables, conference program, contributors, index. \$39.95, cloth; \$19.95, paper.)

These twelve essays are the result of the international "America in European Consciousness" conference held at Brown University in June 1991 to examine whether and how information from the New World was reflected in history, literature, linguistics, religion, and the sciences by European thinkers in Spain, France, and Great Britain from 1492 to 1750. The period prior to 1750 was chosen because the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution led to an explosion of information, making an examination after 1750 unwieldy. In her attempt to examine the assimilation of America into European culture, the editor has thrown a wide net. Although written by authors from a variety of disciplines and diverse in their topics, these essays are connected by a common, albeit sometimes thin, thread: The information coming from America was assimilated "not so much to generate new departures as to reinforce existing proclivities and predispositions, including often contradictory ones" (p. 403). The stream of information between the Old and New worlds is often seen as unidirectional, with Europeans imprinting their culture on the native inhabitants of conquered territories. *America in European Consciousness* seeks to show that the New world had an effect on Europe beyond obvious economic and dietary changes, and impacted on "conscious expression, on intellectual life and articulated forms of culture" (p. x).

The essays are diverse, ranging from "America and the rewriting of World History," and "A Reconsideration of Montaigne's *Des*

*cannibales*," to "The Holy See and the Conversion of the Indians in French and British America, 1486-1760," and "The Collecting of American Indian Artifacts in Europe, 1493-1750." Although they share a common goal, they present opposing views: Peter Burke, for example, suggests that Europe was barely affected by American knowledge . . ." (p. 6).

A new world brought new problems and questions. As John Headley points out in "Campanella, America, and World Evangelization," it was on the religious front that the New World presented its greatest challenge to the established European order. The discovery of America forced Campanella and others not only to realize the existence of a larger, unevangelized world, but how to deal with it as well. The New World was a new source of wealth and labor, but also had souls to save. Even this opportunity challenged European ideas since there was "confusion in many minds over whether missionaries were recalling natives to Christianity or introducing it" (p. 9). And, as Kepperman explains, "colonization of America forced English backers to think about the essential ingredients of their society in unprecedented ways . . ." (p. 272). She also reviews (in the introduction) the sensitive issue of the European arrival in the New World.

*America in European Consciousness* succeeds in illustrating that Europeans saw the New World through a shifting lens, struggling to force New World information into Old World molds. It shows that the discovery and conquest of the New World, while enriching Europe, also changed it. Unfortunately, little space is devoted to examining the transforming effect America had on Europe as a whole. Also, "European consciousness" has a narrow and elitist definition here, reflecting only the upper levels of European society, culture, and religious administration. The essays are well written: but their esoteric nature does not recommend this work to the casual reader. Those seeking information on Florida will be disappointed as only two brief references to it are made. Despite these weaknesses, however, this work is a valuable examination of the complex effects Columbus's discovery had upon the Old World.

## BOOK NOTES

Through the pages of *A Portrait of St. Lucie County, Florida*, Lucille Riely Rights invites readers to “take a photographic journey back in time and travel the roads of St. Lucie County, Florida.” It is a fascinating journey. A lucid narrative accompanied by more than 250 photographs and a half-dozen well-placed maps take the reader from the earliest days when Spanish explorers first encountered the native Ais, through the centuries of Spanish and British possession of the peninsula, to U.S. acquisition in the 1820’s. Included is an account of the Spanish treasure fleets and their influence on the St. Lucie County area from the 18th century until recent times. There are also stories of the Second Seminole War which brought the founding of Fort Pierce near the Indian River Inlet, and the Armed Occupation Act which was the catalyst for the first permanent settlers. Succeeding chapters recount the growth of the region through the 19th century with its open-range cattle herds, fishing, trade boats and railroads, towns such as White City and Spruce Bluff, and early agricultural pursuits which included pineapples, citrus, and truck crops. Chapter XVI treats the local population in the early 20th century through the ups and downs of the 1920s and 1930s. Chapters XVII and XVIII address the impact of World War II and the enormous changes wrought in the years since 1945. *Portrait of St. Lucie County, Florida* is the story of a particular place and its people, but it also parallels the growth of peninsular Florida in general. Well-written and profusely illustrated, it will be informative for anyone interested in Florida history. It is available from the St. Lucie County Historical Museum, 441 Seaway Drive, Ft. Pierce, FL, 34945. The price is \$34.00 by mail, or \$30 at the museum.

Written by Mary Collar Linehan and Marjorie Watts Nelson, *Pioneer Days on the Shore of Lake Worth, 1873-1893* has just been published by Southern Heritage Press of St. Petersburg. This limited edition book tells the story of the first 84 families who settled along the shores of Lake Worth. It includes biographical sketches, stories by some of the pioneers themselves, and accounts of The Barefoot Mailman, the Jupiter Lighthouse, the stage line, and the famous Celestial Railroad. It is profusely illustrated by photographs, many

of which are previously unpublished. These are supplemented by a number of drawings by George Potter. The book may be obtained from Lake Worth Pioneers' Association, Attn: Beth Spencer, 1501 Avenue "C", Riviera Beach, FL, 33405 for a donation of \$35.00 per copy.

The recipient of the Society's Charlton W. Tebeau Book Prize for 1995, *Uncertain Seasons* was written by Elizabeth Shelfer Morgan and published by the University of Alabama Press. A work of creative nonfiction, it recounts the daily life of a child in Havana, Florida, a small agricultural community in Leon County near the Georgia border. Her story is interspersed with letters to the family from her Uncle Howard, a lieutenant in the U.S. Army. His letters begin in 1941, describing his military life in North Africa, Sicily, and England. They end with his death in France in 1944. There is a notable contrast between the young girl's innocence on the one hand and her uncle's mature views and his growing distaste for the business of war. Her story is one of changing scenes in a secure family and a well-ordered community as a contrast to her uncle's letters describing the accelerated pace of the world conflagration of which he was a part. The juxtaposition of these two worlds at a time when they were still separate make a compelling story for the readers who know from hindsight that they there were about to converge. *Uncertain Seasons* is available from the University of Alabama Press, 315 University Boulevard East, Tuscaloosa, AL, 35401. The price is \$24.95.

To celebrate the 75th Anniversary of the national League of Women Voters, the Seminole County League has published a limited edition of Georgetown: *The History of a Black Neighborhood* by Altermese Smith Bentley. This small book contains the story of a black community and its contribution to the growth of Central Florida from 1839 to the early 1920s. It includes accounts of business and professional people, churches and schools, and the role of its inhabitants on citrus, celery, and other important economic endeavors in the area. Ms. Bentley was assisted in her research for this work by Brenda J. Elliot. For more information about the book, contact Altermese Bentley at Sanford, Florida.

*Hupuewa: A Legacy of the Hooper Family of Nassauville, Florida*, by William James Jefferson was recently published by W. H. Wolfe As-

sociates, Alpharetta, Georgia. The result of many years of research by Mr. Jefferson, *Hupuewa* recounts the story of an American family from its roots in Africa, to Virginia, through Florida to Nassauville in Nassau County. It begins with the father of Moses Hooper who was brought from Africa to a life of slavery in America. Each succeeding generation is accounted for and there is also genealogical information on the extended families. The book is illustrated with numerous photographs. It is available from William Jefferson, P.O. Box 12776, Jacksonville, FL, 32209. The price is \$55.00 plus \$3.50 for mailing.

Kathleen Deagan and Darcie MacMahon, *Fort Mose: Colonial America's Black Fortress of Freedom* was published by the University Press of Florida in cooperation with the Florida Museum of Natural History. It tells the story of black slaves who escaped from South Carolina plantations and made their way to Spanish Florida. Arriving in St. Augustine, they were freed in return for service to the Spanish king and conversion to Catholicism. In 1738, the Spanish established the fort and town of *Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose*, the first legally sanctioned free black community in what has since become the United States. The site of Fort Mose is now a major point on the Florida Black Heritage Trail and has been designated a National Historic Landmark. The story of Fort Mose and the people who lived there challenges the notion of the American black colonial experience as slavery only, offering a more balanced view of the black experience in the Spanish colonies. The book is available from the University Press of Florida. The price is \$24.95, cloth, \$9.95, paper.

Mallory McCane O'Connor, director of the Santa Fe Gallery, Santa Fe Community College, in Gainesville, Florida, is the author of *Lost Cities of the Ancient Southwest*, published by the University Press of Florida. Bringing together scholarship from architecture, archaeology, and iconography, she discusses 20 sites of Mississippian culture and describes the religious patterns and art works of the inhabitants. She also treats the controversial topic of repatriation of Indian artifacts and the continuing problem of archaeological "looting" of Indian sites. Illustrated with maps, site plans, and photographs of the ruins of ceremonial centers along with sculptures, ceramics, and artifacts, the book depicts the beauty and technical sophistication of the art and architecture of pre-Columbian

America. The site photographs are by Barbara B. Gibbs. The price of *Lost Cities* is \$49.95.

The monumental *Biographical Rosters of Florida's Confederate and Union Soldiers, 1861-1865*, compiled by David Hartman with David J. Coles, has just been published in six volumes by Broadfoot Publishing Company. The result of many years of intensive research relying on compiled service records, diaries, family and local history, descendent's letters, wartime newspapers and the like, the work includes 25,300 names and 136 illustrations in its 2,910 pages. The biographical sketches vary from brief descriptions which include name, rank, date of birth, and date of enlistment and discharge, to longer narrative paragraphs where the information is available. Included is a cumulative, every name index. The book is available from Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1907 Buena Vista Circle, Wilmington, NC, 28405, telephone 1-800-537-5243. The price is \$70 per volume or \$400 for the set of six volumes.

According to Geraldine D. Rasmussen, *Toronita* is a Timucan word meaning "Land of Sunshine and Good Will." It is also the title of her recently published book which she describes as "an adventure into Florida's own colorful pageantry of history." and which deals with both the bad and good times of the Indians of peninsular Florida. *Toronita* may be obtained from Geraldine D. Rasmussen, 1609 S.E. 4th Street, Fort Lauderdale, FL, 33301. The price of \$10.95 includes the cost of mailing.

Peninsular Publishing Company has just issued the 1995-1996 *Florida Handbook*, compiled by Allen Morris, clerk-emeritus and historian of the Florida House of Representatives. This 25th edition of the biennial publication is the source for facts concerning the government, people, and lands of the State of Florida. Published in four colors and bound in a cloth hardcover, *The Florida Handbook* may be ordered from Peninsular Publishing, Attn: G. Alford, P.O. Box 5078, Tallahassee, FL, 32314, for \$38.95 plus \$4.00 for shipping.

*Serpent in Eden: H. L. Mencken and the South* by Fred Hobson and with a forward by Gerald W. Johnson, was first published in 1974. Hobson examined the irascible Mencken's love-hate relationship with the South, including his scathing criticisms of the "Sahara of



the Bozart" as well as his efforts to encourage southern writers to address the traditional values of their region. Applauded for its "engrossing study of this pivotal era," *Serpent in Eden* has just been made available in a handsome new paperback edition from Louisiana State University Press. The price is \$12.95.

The story of General Ulysses S. Grant's race with death to complete his *Memoirs* is fairly well-known in the United States as is the fact that they are considered among the best of that genre. Not so well-known is the furor set off by Matthew Arnold's review essay of that work. *General Grant by Matthew Arnold, with a Rejoinder by Mark Twain* was first published in the 1960s to correct that deficiency as well as to publicize the efforts of the Ulysses S. Grant Association to publish the papers of the general who once said that he had "never entered the army except with regret and had never left it except with pleasure." Arnold's sympathetic treatment of Grant, with its condescending tone toward America, raised the ire of many. Prominent among them was Mark Twain who in 1887 told the Army and Navy Club of Connecticut how he felt. Arnold's essay and Twain's hilarious rejoinder have been published in a second edition, with an excellent four-page introduction by John Y. Simon. This brief action-packed book is available from Kent State University Press, P.O. Box 5190, Kent, Ohio, 44242-0001. The price is \$7.00, paper.

Doris Louise Flexner, co-author of *The Pessimist's Guide to History*, has apparently decided to redress the balance with her new book entitled *The Optimist's Guide to History*. For those interested in an "unabashedly rose-colored view of dozens of joyous milestones in world history," Flexner's little book will be of interest. *The Optimist's Guide* is new from Avon Books and is available in paperback for \$10.00.

*Brokenburn: The Journal of Kate Stone, 1861-1868*, edited by John Q. Anderson, is now available in a sturdy trade paperback from Louisiana State University Press. The journal, beginning in May, 1861, with regular entries up to November, 1868, reveals much about Kate Stone's everyday life, the books she read, plantation management and crops, maintaining slaves in the antebellum period, the attitude and conduct of slaves during the war, the fate of refugees, and civilian moral. With a new forward by Drew Gilpin Faust, this paperback edition is available from Louisiana State University Press for \$16.95.

First published in 1971, Allen W. Trelease's *White Terror*, was hailed as the first scholarly history of the Ku Klux Klan in the South during the Reconstruction period. In addition to his treatment of the Klan, Trelease also dealt with other night-riding groups such as the Ghouls, the White Brotherhood, and the Knights of the White Camellia. Praised for its "balance of scholarship and readability," and its value for those interested in southern history, *White Terror* has just been released in a new paperback edition by the Louisiana State University Press. The price is \$17.95.

Robert G. Gardner's *A Decade of Debate and Division: Georgia Baptists and the Formation of the Southern Baptist Convention* covers the turbulent 1840s when the Baptists in the South decided that Northern opposition to slavery left them with only one option—formation of a new and separate denomination: the Southern Baptist Convention. Gardner shows that the delegates who gathered at Augusta, Georgia, for the meeting which led to the creation of what became America's largest Protestant group, were not only sympathetic toward the "peculiar institution," but, possessing far more slaves per capita than the average, had a vested interest in maintaining it. With extensive appendices, *A Decade of Debate* has value for historians of religion in America in general and Baptist life in particular. The volume is available from Mercer University Press in paperback. The price is \$15.95.

## HISTORY NEWS

Founded in 1974, the Oviedo Historical Society, with a present membership of 65, is establishing a museum in Seminole County. The Society will be collecting, cataloging and storing historical documents and artifacts relating to the history of Oviedo and surrounding communities while it concomitantly seeks a permanent facility. Materials already on hand are being prepared for temporary display in a storage facility of the Citizens' Bank of Oviedo where it presently holds its meetings on the third Tuesday of each month.

On March 3, 1995, the Northeast Florida Sesquicentennial Celebration Commission, Inc. and the Jacksonville Historical Society held a breakfast at the Prime Osborn Convention Center in honor of the Pioneer Families of northeast Florida and in celebration of the 150th Anniversary of Statehood. The breakfast was completely sold out with more than 1100 city officials, Rotarians, civic minded organizations, businesses and other birthday supporters participating. The Christopher, Haddock, Sapp, Huffingham, Floyd, Fatio, Turner, Leuders, Fleming, Myoream, Hull, Hibb, Moseley, Houston, Latimer, Dennett, Pomeroy, Richard, Kent, Yearty, Pickett, Solano, Bowden, Mubumati, MacLendon, Bryan, Priest, Green, Townsend, Drew, Burnham, Broward, and Plummer families were recognized as having lived in the area in 1845. If anyone knows of other families living there at that time, the Jacksonville Historical Society would welcome the information.

*Jacksonville Then & Now* is a magazine that highlights current historical events in Jacksonville and the surrounding area. It will feature calendars of family events, local church events, Free in America Stuff! (where to get it free!), holiday stories and biographies and histories. It will appear bi-monthly beginning with the August-September 1995 issue. For information contact Vaughn Publishing, PO Box 23401, Jacksonville, FL 32441 or call/fax 904-260-9198.

The Henry B. Plant Museum is the first museum in the state to receive the Organizational Achievement Award from the Florida

Trust for Historic Preservation. The award was accepted by representatives of the museum at the Trust's annual conference May 18-20, 1995, in St. Augustine. The Henry B. Plant Museum collects, preserves, and exhibits artifacts from the Tampa Bay Hotel and the Plant transportation and hotel systems, recreating the opulence of the original railroad resort and the Victorian way of life. It occupies and cares for the portion of the National Historic Landmark that retains the form and character of the 1891 Tampa Bay Hotel. Exhibits with special themes are displayed frequently. The museum's hours are 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., Tuesday through Saturday, and Sunday noon to 4:00 p.m.

Christian LaRoche, director of the Heritage Museum at 115 Westview Avenue, Valparaiso, Florida, announced that the museum has received a General Operating Support Grant from the Historical Museum's Matching Assistant Project of the Florida Department of State, Division of Historical Resources, for the year 1995-1996.

The Morikami Museum and Japanese Gardens, 4000 Morikami Park Road, Delray Beach, is open Tuesday through Sunday, 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. The museum presents exhibitions emphasizing Japanese culture, art, and history. Two exhibits currently being displayed are *The Name Above the Door: Japanese Shop Signs from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. David Abel* and *Discoveries in Small Spaces: Japanese Postcards from the Aaron M. Cohen Collection*.

On October 12, 1995, Society member Edward Mueller presented a lecture on "Steamboats on the Ocklawaha" as part of the Putnam County Sesquicentennial Lecture Series.

Clay County held its Historic Middleburg Festival and the Civil War Blue and Grey Ball on October 14.

The Artistic Arms Company of Augusta, GA, has produced a limited run of 150 Model '94 Winchester rifles commemorating the Florida Sesquicentennial. Each rifle is engraved with Florida scenes, including the state seal, the state flower, and St. Augustine. The company is at P.O. Box 14249, Augusta, GA 30919-0249.

The Putnam County Sesquicentennial Commission has produced a 320 page hard cover book detailing the chronology of North Florida. It will be available in September, 1995. The price is \$25.00.

The North Florida Scout Service Center announces the creation of a special Florida history merit badge and award for Scouts. The badge and award were created to promote awareness of Florida's 150th anniversary of statehood. Information is available from the Chairman of the Florida Award Committee, 521 South Edgewood Avenue, Jacksonville, FL 32205.

Until the end of December, 1995, the St. Petersburg Historical Society and Museum is featuring an exhibit, "St. Petersburg Goes to War, 1941-1945." Funded by the Florida Humanities Council, the exhibit depicts the changes St. Petersburg made to move from a resort city to a training and hospital center for the armed forces of the United States. For information about the exhibit, call 813-894-1052.

#### *Call for Papers*

The Arkansas Historical Society has issued a call for papers for its April 18-20, 1996 annual meeting in Little Rock. The theme is "Education in Arkansas: The Influence of History on Learning." Interested persons should contact Dr. Andre L. Guerrero, 4 State Capitol Mall, Room 405-B, Little Rock, Arkansas 72201. The telephone number is 501-682-5014.

Lee Formwalt, Editor of the *Journal of Southwest Georgia History* has issued a call for papers for a conference on south Georgia history to be held May 19-21, 1996. Sponsored by the Thronateeska Heritage Center and Albany State College, the conference will address "The Fabric of Our History: Cotton in South Georgia." Sessions will be held at Thronateeska Heritage Center, 100 Roosevelt Ave., Albany, and on the Albany State College campus. Proposals for sessions and individual papers on any aspects of south Georgia cotton culture are welcome and will be considered until December 1, 1995. Send all proposals to either Joseph Kitchens, Executive Director, Thronateeska Heritage Center, 100 Roosevelt Avenue, Al-

bany, GA 31701 or Lee W. Formwalt, Editor, *Journal of Southwest Georgia History*, Albany State College, Albany, GA 31705.

The Department of History, University of Mississippi is soliciting papers concerning all aspects of southern history from the colonial period to the present for its 1996 Graduate Conference on Southern History to be held March 8-9, 1996. The deadline for submissions is January 15, 1996. Submissions should include two typed double-spaced copies of the paper (or a two page abstract), and curriculum vitae. Submissions and questions should be sent to David Libby or Joe Wojak, Graduate Conference on Southern History, Department of History, University of Mississippi, University, MS 38677.

The University of Arkansas Press announces its new series, Civil War in the West. This ongoing series will focus on the Civil War in the Trans-Mississippi and Mississippi Valley Theaters, both long neglected regions in Civil War history. The Press is interested in receiving manuscripts on these subjects. Manuscripts and queries should be sent to Kevin Brock, Acquisitions Editor, University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville, AR 72701.

*The Frederick Cubberly Essay Prize*

The Frederick Cubberly Essay Prize— is awarded annually for the best essay by a Florida Student in grades 8-12. Entries must be between 1200 and 2500 words in length and must deal with some era, event, person, or subject relating to Florida history. Entries must be typed, double spaced, and must follow the MLA, APA, or Turabian documentation format. Five copies should be sent to Ms. Jean McNary, Florida Historical Society, P.O. Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687-0197. Entries must be accompanied by a letter from the sponsoring teacher with pertinent information about the class and student. A home telephone number for both teacher and student should be included. Winners will be notified by May 13, and a cash stipend of \$250 and a plaque will be awarded to teacher and student at the Annual Meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Melbourne on May 24. All participants will receive a certificate.

ANNUAL MEETING  
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
93RD ANNUAL MEETING

May 18-22, 1995  
Ramada Inn-Capitol View  
Tallahassee

Thursday, May 18, 1995

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION

8:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. Main Lobby	REGISTRATION-CONFEDERATION AND SOCIETY Ramada Inn-Apalachee Parkway
8:30 a.m.-9:00 a.m.	COFFEE AND CONVERSATION Main Lobby Ramada Inn-Appalachee Parkway
9:00 a.m.-9:30 a.m.	WELCOME TO TALLAHASSEE Honorable Scott Maddox, Mayor Veranda I
9:45-11:00	SESSION 1-CONFEDERATION Historical Records Preservation New Records Building [Map in Registration Package] Gerard Clark, Bureau of Records Management
12:45-2:00	CONFEDERATION LUNCHEON Veranda I [Buffet] Confederation Awards Program
2:00-5:00 p.m.	BOARD OF DIRECTORS' MEETING Veranda I
2:30-5:30 p.m.	SESSION 2-CONFEDERATION Genealogy and Public History

R. A. Gray Building  
 "The Computer and Genealogy: Practical  
 Programs"  
 Ernest Dibble, Nellie Bird Mims, and  
 Brenda Elliot

5:30-7:00 p.m.

FREE TIME

7:00-9:30 p.m.

PRESIDENT'S RECEPTION AT  
 GOODWOOD PLANTATION  
 Sponsors: Larry Paarlburg  
 Barnett Bank  
 Goodwood Plantation Foundation  
 Music by Florida State University  
 School of Music

Friday, May 19, 1995

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
 93RD ANNUAL MEETING

8:00-5:00

REGISTRATION  
 Main Lobby

8:30-9:00 a.m.

COFFEE AND CONVERSATION  
 Main Lobby

9:00-10:15 a.m.

CONCURRENT SESSIONS

Session 1: Veranda I— *Florida's Commercial Timber Enterprises*

Chair:

Tom Baker  
 Florida Department of Agriculture  
 "Timber Agents in Florida's Big Bend,  
 1870-1880"

Joe Knetsch  
 Department of Natural Resources  
 "Florida's Cedar Industry: Revelations from  
 the Dixon Company Scrapbook"

Brenda Elliott  
 Historical Researcher  
 "South Florida's Forests and the  
 Limits of Usefulness"



David McCally  
University of Florida

Session 2: Veranda II– *Social Issues Past and Present*

- Chair: Valerie J. Conner  
Florida State University  
“More Than Amenity Alone:  
The Spatial Redistribution of the Elderly  
in Florida, 1940-1980”
- Christopher E. Linsin  
Florida State University  
“Unsung Labors: The Contributions of  
Freedmen to Education in  
Reconstruction Florida, 1865-1877”
- David E. Ashwell  
University of Florida  
“It’s a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight:  
Jacksonville’s Ordeal by Fire”
- Stephen D. Parr  
Florida State University

(Session 3 was Cancelled)

Session 3: Veranda II-A *Sense of Community: Miami*

- Chair: Stuart McIver  
Lighthouse Point  
“Identity and Community: The Changing  
Face of a 20th Century City”
- Henry Green  
University of Miami  
“Promoting Miami”
- Gregory Bush  
University of Miami  
“Roddey Burdine: Miami’s Merchant  
Prince”
- Paul S. George  
Miami-Dade Community College

10:15-10:30 a.m. COFFEE BREAK  
Main Lobby

10:30-11:45 a.m. CONCURRENT SESSIONS

Session 4: Veranda I— *Caveat emptor and Florida in the New South*

Chair: Edward Keuchel  
Florida State University  
“Company Towns and Social Transformation  
in the North Florida Lumber Industry,  
1880-1930”

Jeffrey A. Drobney  
West Virginia University  
“The Phosphate Industry and the Florida  
Environment, 1880-1920”

Jeffrey P. Shepherd  
Florida State University

Session 5: Veranda II— *Gender, Law, and Industry in Florida's Gilded  
Age*

Chair: William Rogers  
Florida State University  
“Cultures of Subversion in the New South:  
Convicts, Commonfolks, and Industry in  
the Piney Woods, 1877-1890”

Miller H. Karnes  
University of Illinois-Urbana  
“Violence, Gender, and Honor in Florida,  
1890-1910”

Vivien Miller  
Middlesex University, London  
“Mary Ann Davis: Mother of Key Biscayne”

Joan Gill Blank  
Grapetree Productions

Session 6: Veranda III— *Florida in the Civil War*

Chair:

Robert A. Taylor  
 Florida Atlantic University  
 "Garnet and Gray: The West Florida  
 Seminary in the Civil War"

David Coles  
 Florida Department of Archives and History  
 "Florida Women During the Civil War"

Mary Ann Cleveland  
 Florida State University  
 "Everybody is Tired of this War:  
 An Examination of Desertion in  
 Confederate Florida"

Jessica Slavin  
 Florida State University

11:45 a.m.-1:30 p.m. LUNCH BREAK-ON YOUR OWN

1:30-2:45 p.m. CONCURRENT SESSIONS

Session 7: Veranda I— *Seminoles in Florida*

Chair:

John Mahon  
 University of Florida  
 "Dr. Betty Mae Tiger Jumper:  
 Seminole Spokesperson"

Patsy West  
 The Seminole-Miccosukee Photographic  
 Archive  
 "Alexander Arbuthnot: Attorney and  
 Diplomat for the Seminole Indians"

James W. Covington  
 Dana Professor Emeritus  
 University of Tampa

Session 8: Veranda II— *From Territory to Statehood: Social and Legal  
 Questions*

Chair:

William Goza  
 University of Florida

"From a Territorial to a Statehood Judiciary:  
Florida's Antebellum Courts and Judges"

James M. Denham  
Florida Southern College  
"Florida's Prison System, 1840-1923"

Ann Haw Holt  
Florida State University  
"Patriots, Prayers, and Planting: The  
Women of Middle Florida in the Civil  
War"

Amanda Holland  
Florida State University

1:30-2:45 p.m. CONCURRENT SESSIONS

Session 9: Veranda III— *African-Americans and Florida's Business  
Community*

Chair: Neil Betten  
Florida State University  
"Integration of the Northwest Florida Pulp  
and Paper Industry: A Case Study of the  
St. Regis Paper Company"

Philip Adkins  
Florida State University  
"The Battle to Integrate the Jacksonville,  
Florida, Schools"

Abel Bartley  
University of Akron  
"Black Business as a Vehicle for Social  
Reform: The Capitalist Side of Eartha  
White"

Adonnica Toler  
Florida State University

3:00-4:15 p.m. CONCURRENT SESSIONS

Session 10: Veranda I— *Florida in the 1920s and 1930s: Two Views*

Chair:

James Schnur

University of South Florida-St. Petersburg

“The Repeal of the Noble Experiment  
(Prohibition) in Tampa”

Frank Alduino

Anne Arundel Community College

“The Fame of Fellsmere: The Sugar Cane  
Industry During the Great Depression in  
Central Florida”

Gordon Patterson

Florida Institute of Technology

Session 11: Veranda III– *Social Change and Florida Women*

Chair:

Susan R. Parker

Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board

“The Career of Ruth Bryan Owen: Florida’s  
First Congresswoman and America’s First  
Woman Diplomat”

Sara P. Vickers

Jacksonville University

“World War II as an Agent of Change in the  
Lives of Rural Women in Clay County,  
Florida”

Bonita Deaton

University of North Florida

“The King’s Daughters as Angels of Mercy:  
Tallahassee’s Hospitals, 1894-1971”

Susan Hamburger

Florida State University

7:00-10:00 p.m.

WINE AND CHEESE RECEPTION

TALLAHASSEE MUSEUM OF

HISTORY AND NATURAL SCIENCE

Entertainment: Jan F. Godown

“Readings in Florida Folklore”

Music by the Tallahassee

Museum of History and Natural Science

Staff

Saturday, May 20, 1995

## THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

8:00 a.m.-12:30 p.m. REGISTRATION

Main Lobby

8:00-8:45 a.m.

COFFEE AND CONVERSATION

Main Lobby

8:45-10:00 a.m.

BUSINESS MEETING: Veranda I

Society Members Only

10:00-11:30 a.m.

CONCURRENT SESSIONS

Session 12: Veranda I— *Florida Statehood*

Chair:

Jane Dysart

University of West Florida

“Constitutions in Motion: Florida’s Frontier  
Constitution (1839) Versus Alabama’s  
(1819)”

Stephanie D. Mousalli

University of West Florida

“William D. Moseley: Florida’s First Elected  
Governor, 1845-1849”

Thomas R. Long, Jr.

University of West Florida

Commentator:

George B. Ellenberger

University of West Florida

Session 13: *San Luis Archaeology and Historic Site*

## New Perspectives on Early Settlers

Chair:

Bonnie G. McEwan

San Luis Archaeology and Historic Site

“The Tallahassee Region’s First European  
Settlers, 1675-1704”

John Hann

San Luis Archaeology and Historic Site

“The Minorcans: Eighteenth Century

Mediterraneans in a New World  
Environment"

Patricia C. Griffin  
Consultant

Southeastern Frontiers, Inc.  
St. Augustine

"The Floridano Exile of 1763: New Research  
in the Cuban Archive"

Jane G. Landers  
Vanderbilt University

5:00-7:00 p.m. WINE AND CHEESE RECEPTION  
Florida Museum of History  
R. A. Gray Building  
Sponsored by Florida History Associates  
and the Tallahassee Civil War Roundtable

7:30-10:00 p.m. ANNUAL MEETING BANQUET

Sunday, May 21, 1995

7:30-8:30 a.m. J. LEITCH WRIGHT ANNUAL RUN,  
WALK, OR CRAWL EXCURSION

12:00-2:30 p.m. ANNUAL MEETING PICNIC  
San Luis Mission Historic Site  
Tours Available after Picnic

END OF 1995 ANNUAL MEETING

AFFILIATED SESQUICENTENNIAL EVENTS

Thursday, May 18, 1995

FLORIDA WOMEN'S HISTORY SYMPOSIUM  
The Capitol Building  
Top Floor

PLENARY SESSIONS

"DOCUMENTING THE HISTORY OF WOMEN IN FLORIDA"

"INFUSING WOMEN'S HISTORY INTO THE COMMUNITY"

Saturday, May 20, 1995

- 9:30-11:30 a.m. TOUR OF OLD CEMETERY  
(See map in Registration Package)  
Sharyn Thompson
- 11:30 a.m. REMEMBRANCE OF WORLD WAR II  
Vietnam Veterans War Memorial  
Old Capitol
- 1:30 p.m. ANNUAL READING OF THE 1863  
EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION  
ON FRONT STEPS OF HISTORIC  
KNOTT HOUSE  
  
Cynthia Waddell  
Florida State University
- 1:30-400 p.m. MOBILE BLACK ARCHIVES  
James Eaton  
Black Archives Research and Museum  
Florida A & M University
- 1:30-4:00 p.m. TOURS OF HISTORIC KNOTT HOUSE  
AFFILIATED EVENTS

Saturday, May 20, 1995

THE FLORIDA LEGISLATURE: A Retrospective

- 9:30-11:30 a.m. THE FLORIDA HOUSE OF  
REPRESENTATIVES: PANEL  
DISCUSSION  
House Chamber of the Old Capitol
- Participants: Honorable Ralph Turlington  
George Phillippy  
Mark Ives (Ivestor)
- Moderator: Peter C. Doherty
- 2:00 p.m.-4:00 p.m. THE FLORIDA SENATE: PANEL  
DISCUSSION  
The Senate Chamber of the Old Capitol
- Participants: Honorable Reuben Askew  
Joan Morris  
Merri Lamonica



Moderator: Peter C. Doherty

LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE

CHAIR: Joe Knetsch

MEMBERS: Gwendolyn Waldorf  
Maxine Jones  
David Coles  
Walter Marder  
Peter C. Doherty  
Peter Cowdrey  
Cynthia Waddell

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Tallahassee Historical Society  
Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board  
Florida Records Management Association  
Society of Florida Archivists  
Tallahassee Museum of History and Natural Science  
Florida Heritage Foundation  
Micanopy Historical Society  
Owen Title Company  
North Florida Educational Credit Union  
Leon County Tourist Development Council  
Goodwood Plantation Foundation  
Barnett Bank of Tallahassee  
Florida Museum Associates  
Florida State University School of Music  
Phi Alpha Theta  
Florida State University Department of History  
Tallahassee Civil War Roundtable  
Tallahassee Genealogical Society  
Florida History Associates  
Leon County Sesquicentennial Commission  
FAMU Black Archives  
Florida Department of State

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
MINUTES OF THE BOARD MEETING

MAY 18, 1995

The annual meeting of the officers and board of directors of the Florida Historical Society convened at the Ramada Inn, Tallahassee, on May 18, 1995. Marinus Latour presided. Others attending were Patti Bartlett, William Coker, Jerrell H. Shofner, Jose B. Fernandez, Joe A. Akerman, Patrick Smith, Jenifer Marx, Jane Dysart, Patsy West, Larry Durrance, Jane Godown, Joe Knetsch, Jim Roth, Maxine Jones, James J. Horgan, Niles Schuh, Cynthia Trefelner, Robert A. Taylor, Thomas S. Muir, Jr., and Lewis N. Wynne.

Jerrell Shofner reported that the post office box at Gainesville has been closed and mail is being forwarded to the University of Central Florida. There is some backlog of articles and new ones are coming in. He has sent about 40 books for review since the move. Because it will result in savings from the post office, the *Quarterly* will be dated seasonally rather than by month.

Nick Wynne suggested the 1996 meeting be held in Melbourne. The theme will be the Space Age. The meeting would be held on the second weekend in May 1997. It was moved and seconded that the 1996 meeting be held in Melbourne. The motion carried. Nick further suggested that the 1998 meeting might be held in the Tampa Bay area with the Spanish American War as the theme. It was moved and seconded that the 1998 meeting be held in Tampa. That motion carried. Jerrell Shofner suggested that the hotel and room costs for the 1996 meeting be firmed up in time for the information to be included in the winter edition of the *Quarterly*.

Board Retreat. Nick Wynne reported that the majority of the board members requested an August date. The retreat will be held Saturday and Sunday, August 12-13.

Marinus Latour said that the majority of the papers submitted for the Florida Historical Society awards were from the University of South Florida, and asked the board for suggestions as to how to get more submissions from the other Florida institutions.

Jane Dysart suggested more publicity. She said she had received only one flyer on the awards. She suggested a poster be used with the same message-preferably something eye-catching. Jennifer Marx suggested getting the newspaper person from Boca Grande to design a suitable poster. Nick Wynne commented that

the Florida Historical Society has a very limited access to students. Mailings are to the university departments and it is hoped that the professors will pass the information on to the students. Robert Taylor suggested that we consider a two-year interval between awards. Jim Roth suggested we call people who have responded at the beginning of the year so they can design their curricula, and so the students' papers may be used for both the classes and for the Florida Historical Society awards. Cynthia Trefelner asked if there was an incentive in place for the professors.

Jane Dysart offered to compile a list of the professors who teach Florida history. Maxine Jones offered to develop a way to contact those professors. She also suggested that we approach Phi Alpha Theta, and offered to help with that agency. Nick Wynne can do the direct mailing to Phi Alpha Theta chapters. Jane Dysart and Jim Horgan asked that the promotional material be sent to them by September and January. The board agreed that a poster would be a good way to increase submissions.

President Latour mentioned that the papers receiving awards may also be of interest to the *Quarterly*. Joe Knetsch said the awards committee agreed the papers could be submitted to the *Quarterly* but the submission would not be a guarantee of publication.

The board discussed member recruitment. Jennifer Marx suggested contacting splinter history groups such as Civil War associations. Nick Wynne repeated his request that each Board member bring in membership mailing lists (with addresses) of local history groups. Jennifer Marx would like a "jazzier" Florida Historical Society brochure.

Joe Knetsch suggested that funding for member recruitment might be obtained by contacting local law firms to access *their* annual budgets. He suggested the donors/sponsors listed for this (May 1995) meeting be approached for membership.

Patti Bartlett suggested referring this matter to a subcommittee to formulate a plan and a budget, to be presented at the winter meeting in January 1996.

Nick Wynne reported that it was necessary to create a separate foundation for the Rossetter Trust in order to qualify for 501 (c) (3) status.

Relations with the University of South Florida. Marinus Latour referred to a letter sent to Board members in April 1995. The Society's current letter of agreement will expire on July 2. Nick Wynne met with the Vice President and Provost of the University of South

Florida and requested that the school's support be extended for a year. Other options include relations with the University of Central Florida at its new facility in Brevard County. They are interested but there is no commitment at this time.

Nick Wynne reported that the old bank building in Eau Galle— once under consideration for a library site— has been leased for a bistro. It is therefore presently unavailable and the price is still too high in any event. He suggested that there was a possibility of working out an arrangement with Brevard County for an unused building. He said that federal library grant funds are available for such facilities on a 50-50 basis. Judge Jimmy Knott of Palm Beach has agreed to help raise money for that purpose when needed.

The Board discussed a possible dues increase, including an increase of five dollars for *Journeys*. Individual membership dues should be brought to \$35. The increase would put us in the middle of non-profit organizations.

Jennifer Marx questioned the prerequisites for the different premiums for different levels of membership. Nick Wynne said that they seemed to help.

Joe Knetsch suggested the agenda for the retreat: the ironing out of details for the next annual meeting so that the local arrangements committee and the Florida Historical Society board will understand each other's roles.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

## TREASURER'S REPORT

January 1, 1994-December 31, 1994

<i>Current Assets:</i>	
Checking Account-Society .....	\$ 5,355
Checking Account-Confederation .....	510
Special Account-Interest Bearing .....	895
Dean Witter Investments .....	37,521
Mid-South Investment .....	180
Inventory .....	25,438
Total Current Assets .....	69,899

<i>Fixed Assets:</i>	
Office Equipment .....	10,935
Furniture & Fixtures .....	3,840
Accumulated Depreciation .....	(12,767)
Total Fixed Assets .....	2,008
TOTAL ASSETS .....	71,907

<i>Current Liabilities:</i>	
Accounts Payable .....	9,502
Total Current Liabilities .....	9,502
TOTAL LIABILITIES .....	9,502

<i>Fund Balance:</i>	
Fund Balances .....	130,107
Excess (deficit) for year .....	(67,702)
Total Fund Balance .....	62,405
TOTAL LIABILITIES & FUND BALANCE .....	71,907

<i>Revenues</i>	
Membership Income .....	46,367
Quarterly Income .....	1,758
Annual Meeting Income .....	9,574
Annual Appeal Income .....	3757
Dividend Income .....	1575
Deaccession of Bard Painting .....	60,000
Roesch Pres Grant S3066 Income .....	6,245
Roesch Pres Grant S4019 Income .....	6,367
Lowry Grant Income .....	2,513
Colonial Document Grant Income .....	600
Contrib. to Publications .....	40
Florida Portrait Sales .....	169
Florida Portrait Royalties .....	531
Proceedings Sales .....	11
Florida At War Sales .....	521
Pathfinder Sales .....	573
Ciudad de Cigars Sales .....	7,035
Income-Directory Sales .....	20
Income-Research .....	82
Income Publication Sales .....	50
Income-T-Shirt & Mug Sales .....	224
Income-U.S.F. for Services .....	15,000
Miscellaneous Income .....	10,090
TOTAL REVENUES .....	173,102

*Expenses*

Memb. Recr. & Retent. Printing Expense.....	1,121
Memb. Recr. & Retent. Postage Expense.....	497
Confed. Recr. & Retent. Printing Expense.....	115
Confederation Directory Expense .....	46
Quarterly Expense .....	21,428
Society Report Expense .....	3,453
Journeys Expense .....	2,688
Annual Meeting Expense .....	8,669
Award Expense.. .....	2,469
Golden Quill Award Expense .....	106
T-Shirt & Mug Expense .....	444
History Fair Expense.....	250
Sesquicentennial Expense .....	424
Annual Appeal Expense .....	1,481
Roesch Pres. Grant S3066 Expense.....	24,979
Roesch Pres. Grant S4019 Expense.....	8,490
Melbourne Endowment Expense.....	59,111
Roesch House-Utilities Expense.....	3,244
Roesch House-Landscaping Expense .....	421
Roesch House-Security Expense .....	584
Roesch House-Insurance Expense.....	2,401
Roesch House-Miscellaneous Expense .....	6,050
Melbourne Library Expense.....	942
Collection Preservation Expense .....	300
Lowry Grant Expense.....	6,863
Florida At War Expense .....	983
Pathfinders Expense .....	223
Ciudad de Cigars Expense.....	464
Brevard County Book Expense .....	6,963
President's Expense .....	375
Board of Directors' Expense .....	316
Executive Director's Expense .....	2,662
Office Exp.-Salary-Exec. Dir .....	33,000
Office Exp.-Salary-Assoc. Dir .....	8,154
Office Exp.-Payroll Taxes .....	3,148
Office Exp.-Unempl. Taxes .....	28
Office Exp.-Medical Insurance .....	3,118
Office Exp.-Retirement-Exec. Dir.....	2,000
Office Exp.-Retirement-Assoc. Dir .....	1,000
Office Exp.-Other.....	20,657
Depreciation Expense.....	1,137
TOTAL EXPENSES .....	240,804
NET INCOME/DEFICIT.....	(67,702)

## GREAT EXPECTATIONS . . .

1995

Oct. 5-7	Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Pensacola, FL
Oct. 19-22	Oral History Association	Milwaukee, WI
Oct. 27-29	Southern Jewish Historical Association	New Orleans, LA
No. 8-11	Southern Historical Association	New Orleans, LA

1996

Jan. 4-7	American Historical Association	Atlanta, GA
Mar. 28-31	Organization of American Historians	Chicago, IL
May 23	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	Cocoa Beach, FL
May 23-25	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY 94TH MEETING	Cocoa Beach, FL
Sept. 7-10	American Association for State and Local History	Nashville, TN

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

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All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Dr. Lewis N. Wynne, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, P. O. Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687-0917. Telephone: 813-974-3815 or 974-5204; Fax: 813-974-3815. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Wynne.

# ROVINE

