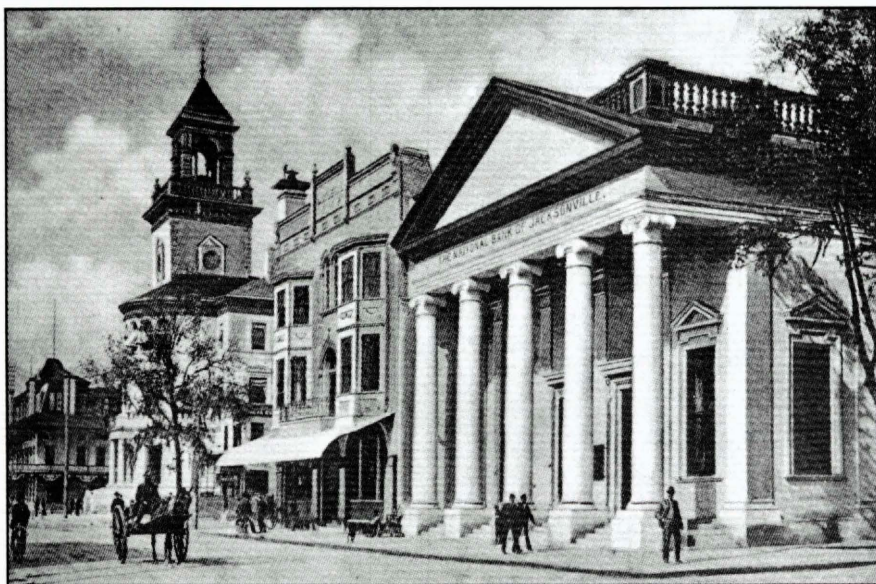


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Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to Editor, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Department of History, University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL 32816-1350; (407) 823-6421; fax: (407) 823-3184; email: <flhisqtr@pegasus.cc.ucf.edu>. Manuscripts should be submitted in duplicate. Additional guidelines for preparing manuscripts will be supplied on request. The Florida Historical Society and the editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* disclaim responsibility for statements whether of fact or opinion made by contributors.

THE

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Summer 2000

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Cover Illustration: Postcard view of Forsyth Street, Jacksonville, including the Barnett's National Bank of Jacksonville, circa 1905.
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Fort Mitchell and the Settlement of the Alachua Country

by Chris Monaco

Fort Mitchell, the former capital of the "Republic of East Florida" during the Patriot War, has never attained distinction. Erected in January of 1814, the twenty-five-foot square, two-story block-house was reported to have been abandoned in May of the same year.¹ When viewed in either military or political terms, the fort was a failure. However, this small outpost on the Alachua frontier was originally intended as the nucleus of a self-sustaining, long-term agricultural colony.² While short-lived, Fort Mitchell is especially noteworthy because it was the first substantial Anglo-American settlement in the interior of Spanish East Florida.³ By 1821, seven years after the fort was abandoned and after Florida was ceded to the United States, many former rebels returned permanently to the area and achieved positions of prominence, becoming sheriffs,

Chris Monaco is an independent scholar and documentary filmmaker. He is the author of several recent articles on Florida pioneer settler, Moses Elias Levy.

1. *Savannah Republican*, 26 May 1814; Rembert Patrick, *Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border, 1810-1815* (Athens, 1954), 282.
2. Buckner Harris to Thomas Pinckney, 28 February 1814, State Department Records, RG 59, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Harris described the Patriots' intention to "cultivate our Lands & attend to our farms"; see "Extract from a letter by a Patriot Officer," 27 January 1814, quoted in *Savannah Republican*, 1 March 1814; Patrick, *Florida Fiasco*, 277.
3. By 1804, a large proportion of the population of East Florida was former citizens of Georgia. It is unlikely they ventured far into the interior. See John Solomon Otto, *The Southern Frontiers, 1607-1860* (New York, 1989), 110.

judges, militia officers, and legislators.⁴ This finding challenges the view of historians who have portrayed Patriots—most of whom were Georgians—as anti-social scoundrels.⁵ Unfortunately, the true nature and achievements of these Florida pioneers, deeply rooted in the “emotion of manifest destiny,” have gone largely unrecognized.⁶

The Fort Mitchell group was composed of soldier-settlers who refused to abandon their cause during the waning days of the Patriot War and instead took refuge in a vast, remote area of the interior called the “Chua” by the Spanish.⁷ Before the war, many of these men were members of the Georgia militia and worked either as yeoman farmers or in the lucrative lumber business that existed along the St. Marys River.⁸ Patriotic and expansionist sentiments generated by the War of 1812, as well as promises of generous Flor-

4. Aside from James Dell, Simeon Dell, Francis R. Sanchez, William Cone, and Harmon Holliman, former Patriots Britton Knight and Thomas J. Prevatt also attained positions of authority as Justices of the Peace. See “Deposition of Samuel Worthington,” 19 March 1846, in “Notes Re: Arredondo Family,” n.d., P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History (hereafter cited as PKY), University of Florida, Gainesville, typescript, 18. Although titled as “notes,” this manuscript includes depositions of the “Spanish Land Grants in Florida.” Also see “Acting Governor McCarty to the President of the Legislative Council,” 28 January 1828, in *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, ed. Clarence Edwin Carter 28 vols., (Washington, D.C., 1934-1975), 23: 1017.
5. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco*, 268-294; Joseph Burkholder Smith, *The Plot to Steal Florida, James Madison's Phony War* (New York, 1983), 178; Frank Marotti Jr., “Edward M. Wanton and the Settling of Micanopy,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 73 (April 1995): 461-2, 470.
6. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco*, 2-3. Patrick devotes a scant few pages to the forces of expansionism and does not refer specifically to the concept of Manifest Destiny. For an examination of Manifest Destiny before and after the War of 1812, see Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny, A Study of Nationalist Expansionism in American History* (Gloucester, Mass., 1958), 43-99, 101.
7. The Spanish usage of “La Chua” (literally “the sinkhole”) had two variants. On the one hand was the “Hacienda de la Chua,” a ranch that once encompassed the same general area as Paynes Prairie. “Tierras de la Chua,” on the other hand, was a vast territory of uncertain boundaries that stretched from the interior to almost the western shore of the St. Johns River. Anglicized versions of La Chua include Elotchaway, Lotchway, and Auelatchawau; see “Map of Gordon and Fish's claims to land in Florida,” in James Covington, “The British Meet the Seminoles, Negotiations Between British Authorities in East Florida and the Indians: 1763-68,” *Contributions of the Florida State Museum*, ed. James W. Covington (Gainesville, 1961). For more on Tierras de la Chua, see Crown Collection of Photographs of American Maps, Series 3, #129-30, PKY.
8. The initial force consisted of “125 Georgia civilian and militia volunteers”; see Patrick, *Florida Fiasco*, 68; Smith, *Plot to Steal Florida*, 158. General Mathews's recruitment centered in St. Marys, Georgia, a center for the lumber trade; see Buckner Harris to David B. Mitchell, 11 September 1810, Letterbook of Governor David B. Mitchell, Georgia State Archives, Atlanta.

ida land grants, inspired these Georgia frontiersmen to join the volunteer force that gathered to seize East Florida from the Spanish.⁹

Fort Mitchell was named in honor of former Georgia governor and one-time United States Commissioner David Mitchell. According to contemporary reports published in the *Savannah Republican*, the fort stood close to a large prairie “7 or 8 miles wide and 20 long.”¹⁰ Historical accounts, including Rembert Patrick’s seminal work, *Florida Fiasco*, fail to provide an exact location for the fort. The Patriots’ inclusion of an erroneous latitude—29°14’—in virtually all correspondence from the fort, coupled with the absence of longitude, makes the problem of identifying the fort’s exact location seem especially formidable. Following latitude alone, one historian, T. Frederick Davis, actually placed the settlement “a few miles east of the site of Ocala, probably near Lake Bryant.”¹¹ Since there is no record of Patriot activity in the region, this is a most unlikely area. If the Patriot legacy in Florida is ever to achieve proper recognition and permanence, final agreement regarding the location of Fort Mitchell is essential.

An important clue comes from a letter written by Patriot leader General Buckner Harris and addressed to Major General Thomas Pinckney, President James Madison’s commissioner during the last phase of the rebellion. “We have now a strong Block House,” Harris wrote, “well garrisoned with about 150 men, on the Pirara, near Payne’s former residence.”¹²

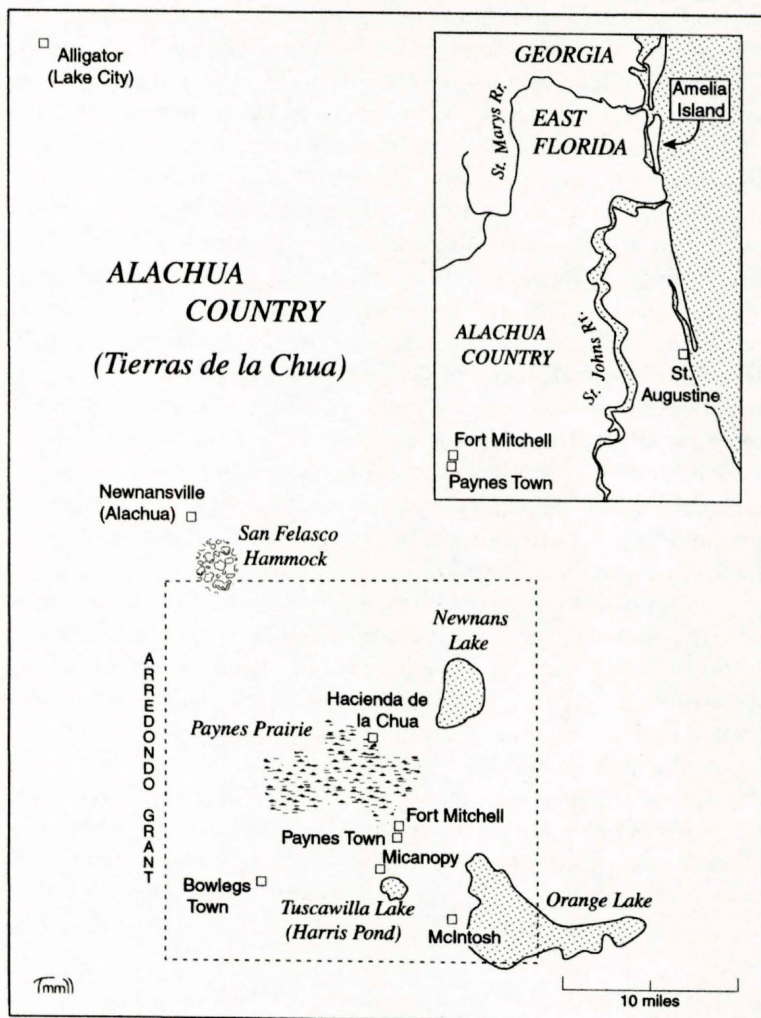
Despite the unknown meaning of “Pirara,” clearly Harris’s ultimate destination was in close proximity to Paynes Town—the former head village of the Alachua (La Chua) band of Seminoles and the residence of “King” Payne. Rembert Patrick also placed the village as the focal point of the Patriot march from Georgia, but he

9. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco*, 49. The author identified land ownership in Florida as the prime factor in recruitment. For an analysis of the political climate that would have affected the Georgians’ decision to enlist, see Bradford Perkins, *Prologue to War: England and the United States, 1805-1812* (Berkeley, Calif., 1961), 409; Norman K. Risjord, “1812: Conservatives, War Hawks, and the Nation’s Honor,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 18 (April 1961): 202. Risjord disputed the idea that the majority of southerners approved of the war, but concedes southern border states like Georgia.

10. These dimensions bear a striking resemblance to present-day Paynes Prairie; see “Extract from a Letter by a Patriot Officer,” 27 January 1814.

11. T. Frederick Davis, “Elotchaway, East Florida, 1814,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 8 (January 1930): 145.

12. Buckner Harris to Thomas Pinckney, 2 February 1814, State Department Records, RG 59.



Map of Patriot settlements, Seminole villages, and early territorial towns in the Alachua Country. Created by Susan Trammell.

reiterated the latitude provided by the rebels and never precisely stated the location of the village.¹³ Unfortunately, Patrick's reference to a two-day interlude before the start of construction may

13. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco*, 279.

lead some to speculate that the settlers continued southward toward Ocala. Harris's letter proves this was not the case.

Although largely ignored, maps of the Arredondo Grant in Alachua County reveal Payne's former residence about one-half mile from the current city limits of Micanopy.¹⁴ Additionally, University of Florida archaeologists have confirmed the exact location of the village.¹⁵ Although these reports, one of which dates from 1962, have never been published, a recent site evaluation by the Bureau of Archaeological Research reaffirmed these findings and established Paynes Town's eligibility for the National Register.¹⁶ Local oral history in Micanopy has long held that Fort Mitchell and Paynes Town were in close proximity to one another and that their location was on the southern rim of Paynes Prairie.¹⁷

Once the error in latitude is acknowledged, a host of pertinent details can finally be viewed in proper context. One reason why the Patriots selected Paynes Prairie as the site for Fort Mitchell was that, unlike most of the interior, it was fairly well known to them. Early in February 1813, detachments of Tennessee militia and federal troops marched into the prairie for retribution against "King" Payne's Seminoles. The military intended to demolish the very center of Indian power. This action came in response to an earlier Seminole offensive that ended Patriot ambitions to capture the fortress of Castillo de San Marcos in St. Augustine and to take

14. Arredondo Map (1848), Fairbanks Papers, File 42, Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee; Arredondo Grant Map (1833), Maps and Plans Group, Old Map File, Florida 2, RG 49, National Archives at College Park, Maryland. Also see "Survey of Jorge Clarke," 15 June 1818, Ancient Records (1826-1848), Alachua County Records Department, Gainesville.

15. Nancy Mykel, "Seminole Sites in Alachua County," 1962, Florida Museum of Natural History, University of Florida, Gainesville, typescript. Also see Sue Ann Mullins, "Archeological Survey and Excavation in the Paynes Prairie State Preserve" (M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1977), 33-4, 74-9.

16. Ryan Wheeler, site update for AL00366, 3 August 1998, Bureau of Archaeological Research, Florida Division of Historical Resources, Tallahassee.

17. Mykel, "Seminole Sites." Mykel described an incident that took place in Micanopy on 18 May 1962: "Mrs. Archie Carr, Charles Hoffman and myself [Mykel] went with Mr. Bruce Zetrouer, 86 years old, to the site of what I had understood would be an old trading post. Mr. Zetrouer pointed to a wooded area near the highway and north of Painestown and said 'That's the site of old Fort Mitchell.' I had never mentioned my suspicions about the location of the fort, and although no artifacts were discernible in the wooded stretch which he indicated, I feel it may be significant. His grandfather was shot at by Indians on the prairie. It was his father who told Bruce about Ft. Mitchell."

complete control of Spanish East Florida. Instead of a major confrontation, however, the troops found the once prosperous villages abandoned and proceeded to burn them to the ground. This foray was also in reaction to Colonel Daniel Newnan's earlier engagement of 1812—an indecisive battle between the Georgia militia and the Seminoles which coincidentally resulted in the death of eighty-year-old chief Payne. The confrontation, near present Newnan's Lake, was not far from Payne's village. After the chief's demise, organized resistance ceased and most Seminoles headed either to the Suwannee River or to an area south of their Alachua homeland.¹⁸ Since the Patriots were now assured of relative safety, their leaders reasoned that if they could not take St. Augustine, they could at least transform the former Indian stronghold into their own capital.¹⁹

It appears that Buckner Harris's general strategy for settlement during the Fort Mitchell phase of the war included appropriation of the rich agricultural lands surrounding the abandoned Seminole villages, including the former Indian town of Alligator (present Lake City).²⁰ Recent findings indicate that a contingent of Patriots traveled north to reconnoiter Alligator after establishing themselves in the Paynes Prairie region.²¹ These villages held political significance, since both served as bases for earlier attacks on Georgians well before the onset of the Patriot War. In 1810, Buckner Harris informed Governor Mitchell of the "Depredations" committed by Indians against settlers in the St. Marys region and advised the governor of a possible retaliatory strike against "one of the Indian Towns either Alligator or Lockeway [Alachua]."²²

18. James W. Covington, *The Seminoles of Florida* (Gainesville, 1993), 33. See also Sebastian Kindelan to Peter Early, 31 March 1815, Letterbook of Peter Early, Georgia State Archives.

19. John H. McIntosh to David B. Mitchell, 11 September 1813, Letterbook of Governor David Mitchell. McIntosh admitted, "If we cannot succeed against St. Augustine, we think of taking possession of the Latchaway Country."

20. *Levy v. Arredondo* (4 January 1832), Exhibit A, Series 73, Carton 1, Florida State Archives. I would like to thank Dr. Joe Knetsch for bringing this document to my attention. Prior to the Patriot War, Alligator was an Indian village of "sixty or seventy families" and was called Alligator Town or *Alpata Telopka*. Descriptions of this village, given by former Patriots, can be found in Deposition of Enoch Daniels, 5 May 1846; and Deposition of John D. Osteen, 4 April 1846, both in "Notes Re: Arredondo Family," 15, 19.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Buckner Harris to David Mitchell, 11 September 1810, Letterbook of Governor David Mitchell.

The Indian economy prior to 1812 differed little from prosperous Anglo-American hamlets in the frontier South.²³ The Alachua Seminoles maintained the Creek tradition of building substantial log cabin dwellings.²⁴ Agriculture coexisted with an increasing dependence on free-range cattle. These feral cows roamed Paynes Prairie in large numbers during the Fort Mitchell occupation and, according to one Patriot officer, "The cattle . . . are as fat as I ever saw killed in the woods."²⁵ Buckner Harris bragged to Major General Pinckney that should the United States decide to annex the "District of Alachua," there would be no problem supplying the army with beef of the "best quality."²⁶

The Alachua Seminoles, once known as "the most wealthy of American tribes," sold cattle to the trading house of Panton, Leslie & Company, which had exclusive rights to all Indian trade.²⁷ One contemporary observer noted that Payne's brother, Bowlegs ("Boleck"), sold one thousand head of cattle annually.²⁸ Payne himself could afford to build a "European-style plantation house."²⁹ This residence reflected both high status and considerable affluence. It was no coincidence that Buckner Harris decided to construct Fort Mitchell near the remains of what was once the most imposing house in the Alachua country—the residence of the head chief. The communal farm lands that surrounded the former village continued for a distance of two miles, right to the edge of the prairie.³⁰ These lands would make farming easier and eliminate the arduous task of clearing trees.

23. Charles H. Fairbanks, "The Ethno-Archeology of the Florida Seminole," in *Tacachale—Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeastern Georgia during the Historic Period*, eds. Jerald Milanich and Samuel Proctor (Gainesville, 1994), 175.

24. Wilfred T. Neill, *Florida's Seminole Indians* (St. Petersburg, 1956), 65-6; Fairbanks, "Ethno-Archeology," 174, 187; Covington, *Seminoles of Florida*, 13.

25. "Extract from a Letter by a Patriot Officer," 27 January 1814.

26. Buckner Harris to Thomas Pinckney, 2 February 1814.

27. William H. Simmons, *Notices of East Florida* (Charleston, S.C., 1822), 75; Bruce S. Chappell, "Report on Documentation Relating to the History of the Diego Plains Region in Second Spanish Period Florida—1784-1821," 1976, PKY, typescript, 8.

28. Simmons, *Notices of East Florida*, 75.

29. Covington, *Seminoles of Florida*, 29. Covington described the contents of the plantation house as "full of articles acquired from traders." In Mykel, "Seminole Sites," the author noted the chief was also known as William Pain. The western-style abode and name indicate a large degree of acculturation and suggest that Payne (Pain) may have been the son of an English trader. Such a scenario was not uncommon. See Jerrilyn McGregory, *Wiregrass Country* (Jackson, Miss., 1997), 14.

30. Covington, *Seminoles of Florida*, 13.

Paynes Prairie, or what naturalist William Bartram called "the great Alachua Savanna," had a long history of cattle production that actually preceded the Seminoles by over one hundred years.³¹ Established sometime before 1637, the Spanish cattle ranch, Hacienda de la Chua, became the largest cattle operation in Florida, shipping beef to St. Augustine and Cuba.³² Unfortunately, successive attacks from Timucua Indians, French pirates, and English-led Creeks weakened Spanish control of the prairie. The last assault by Creek Indians in 1705 put an end to the Hacienda.³³ Some of the prized cattle, however, remained and multiplied unattended. By the time of Bartram's visit to the prairie in 1774, the newly arrived Seminoles exhibited a remarkable ability to adapt to a free-range cattle economy, an uncommon activity among southeastern Indians.³⁴ This venture resulted in marked prosperity until, once again, outsiders—this time Patriot settlers—appropriated the remaining Spanish herds.

The Patriots were also attracted to the rich soil of the Alachua country. The hardwood hammocks located throughout the southern rim of the prairie consisted of what was known in the nineteenth century as "Portsmouth sandy loam."³⁵ Compared to the nutrient-poor soils that supported the ubiquitous pine and wiregrass of southern Georgia, this loamy, productive soil attained almost legendary status among the Patriot farmers. "The Aulotchewau [Alachua] country," reported one awe-struck settler, "excels any I have ever seen."³⁶ Not only did the rich soil produce luxuriant grass for cattle, but orange trees appeared to grow "spontaneously," and wild vegetables were seen in abundance.³⁷ Climate also played a factor in the minds of the settlers, and the mild winter that the Patriots apparently enjoyed in 1814 heralded a long and productive growing season.

31. William Bartram, *Travels of William Bartram*, ed. Mark Van Doren (1791; reprint, New York, 1928), 163-4.

32. Henry A. Baker, "Spanish Ranching and the Alachua Sink Site: A Preliminary Report," *Florida Anthropologist* 46 (June 1993): 82.

33. *Ibid.*; John H. Hann, *A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions* (Gainesville, Fla., 1996), 210, 269.

34. Fairbanks, "Ethno-Archaeology," 168.

35. Thomas Rice and W. J. Geib, "Soil Survey of the Gainesville Area," in *Field Operations of the Bureau of Soils*, ed. Milton Whitney (Washington, D.C., 1904), 281-82.

36. "Extract from a Letter by a Patriot Officer," 27 January 1814, quoted in *Savannah Republican*, 1 March 1814.

37. *Ibid.*

The reverence that the rebels showed for the land, coupled with their quick establishment of farms, illustrates a key tenet of Manifest Destiny—what historian Albert Weinberg has called “The Destined Use of the Soil.”³⁸ When viewed apart from the rampant expansionist ideology that was prevalent before and after the War of 1812, the Patriot appropriation of Indian lands does indeed seem to be grossly unjustified. However, as Weinberg has stated, “an expansionist society ‘never admits that it is doing violence to its moral instincts.’”³⁹ Instead, the Patriots, like many others in the United States, held to a religious and political dogma that stated that their right to possess Indian land was, in the words of one Georgia statesman, “by virtue of that command of the Creator delivered to man upon his formation—be fruitful, multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it.”⁴⁰ The Patriots assumed the natural superiority of Anglo-American civilization to develop the land and criticized the inability of Indians to “properly” cultivate and manage the gift that God had bestowed upon all “his rational creatures.”⁴¹ As proper cultivators, Patriots were merely doing God’s will and adhering to His commands. They expressed these sentiments in documents sent to Washington, D.C., as a statement from the Legislative Council at Fort Mitchell illustrated:

When we view the situation of the former Inhabitants compared with those that now possess the soil, we are ready with every expression of gratitude to the All-Wise disposer of Events, to acknowledge his Providential hand in bringing us into the Possession of this most Fertile and in other respects most desirable part of North America.⁴²

The fact that this land, once occupied by members of the “Savage Race,” also belonged to a foreign nation again offered no moral quandaries within the framework of Manifest Destiny. Since the

38. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny*, 72-99.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*, 83.

41. “Petition for Admission into the Union,” 25 January 1814, Patriot War Documents, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Tebeau-Field Library of Florida History, Cocoa, Fla. (hereafter cited as TFL). For transcriptions of this and other important Patriot documents, see T. Frederick Davis, “Elotchaway, East Florida, 1814,” 143-55.

42. “Resolution by the Legislative Council of the Elotchaway District,” 25 January 1814, Patriot War Documents.

American Revolution had legitimized the concept of the "natural rights" of man to pursue liberty, the citizens of East Florida, many of whom happened to be small-scale farmers from Georgia, believed they had every right "to shake off the Spanish Yoke."⁴³ The notion that rebels came from across the border in order to free people suffering under the bondage of a European power did not conflict at all with the principles of American democracy. In fact, the Patriot leadership chose to refer to the conflict not as war but as "revolution."⁴⁴

Weinberg's "doctrine of geographical predestination" places expansionist actions in Florida into perspective.⁴⁵ The Spanish colony had long been viewed as a "natural appendage" of the United States, particularly following the Louisiana Purchase.⁴⁶ Increasingly, Americans expected "a water boundary to the south," and Florida's contiguous relation to the southern states made expansion inevitable.⁴⁷ Many believed the United States had a natural right to this territory, a right that superseded any claim made by a foreign and distant power such as Spain. The rivers that flowed from the United States into the Gulf of Mexico were held as further proof of entitlement to the Floridas, a concept Weinberg calls "the principal of territorial nexus."⁴⁸ Undoubtedly, Revolutionary War hero General George Mathews utilized this expansionist ideology to his advantage while recruiting volunteers during the beginning of the Patriot War. As the Patriot documents indicate, these soldier-settlers continued to adhere to these distinctive ideas as they went about colonizing the Alachua country.

The potential reward for settlement of the Paynes Prairie region appeared to be well worth the perceived low risk of Indian attack. Despite Patriot claims to legitimacy, however, the mere presence of Georgian rebels on land belonging to Spain was itself a highly provocative act, certain to incur the wrath of the Spanish

43. "Petition for Admission into the Union," 25 January 1814, Patriot War Documents; Otto, *Southern Frontiers*, 110.

44. Buckner Harris to "the Honorable Legislative Council of the Republic of East Florida," n.d., Patriot War Documents; "The Constitution of East Florida," 17 July 1812, Patriot War Documents.

45. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny*, 43-71.

46. *New Orleans Gazette*, 28 March 1806, quoted in Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny*, 49; Norman A. Graebner, "Concrete Interests and Expansion," in *Problems in American Foreign Policy—Documents and Essays*, ed. Thomas G. Paterson, 2 vols. (Lexington, Mass., 1978), 1: 205.

47. *Ibid.*

48. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny*, 50.

governor in St. Augustine. The Fort Mitchell group also had to contend with geographical isolation. The Georgia border was a six-day journey from the Alachua frontier.⁴⁹ Most significantly, the Patriots' political position had degenerated. Military assistance from United States forces could no longer be expected, and the defections of Patriot Director John Houstoun McIntosh and Colonel Commandant Lodowick Ashley from the ranks of senior leaders compounded an already weakened position.

The Patriots' reversal of fortune coincided with a state of virtual anarchy in East Florida.⁵⁰ In the months preceding the Fort Mitchell founding, a renegade faction of Georgians led by the adventurer Samuel Alexander terrorized and robbed citizens of East Florida with impunity. Despite the fact that Alexander was operating as a free agent and not acting under orders from the Patriot Army, these actions further tarnished the rebel cause.⁵¹

The new Fort Mitchell leadership included General Buckner Harris as the Director of the Republic of East Florida. Francis Roman Sanchez, one of the few Patriots of both Hispanic and American parentage, was President of the Legislative Council.⁵² James Dell, a native Georgian, replaced Lodowick Ashley as Colonel Commandant.

After constructing their blockhouse in January 1814, the Patriots drafted a petition to Congress asking for admission of the "District of Elotchaway [Alachua] in the Republic of East Florida" as a United States territory. They depicted Fort Mitchell as the Patriots' first attempt "to extend their settlement" into the remote interior—their "solitary Country."⁵³ The petitioners not only asked for annexation to the United States but also offered their services as soldiers "to aid . . . in her present struggle with the British Nation and her Heathen Allies," a reference to the War of 1812.⁵⁴ The document states that some petitioners had resided in East Florida before the rebellion and had

49. "Extract from a Letter by a Patriot Officer," 27 January 1814.

50. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco*, 268-83; Smith, *Plot to Steal Florida*, 287-88.

51. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco*, 275.

52. Francis R. Sanchez's mother was Sarah Hill, a daughter of a plantation owner from South Carolina who moved to Florida in 1785. His father, Francisco Xavier Sanchez, was a wealthy planter and merchant from the Diego Plains region. See Edith Graham, *Double Cousins* (Charleston, S.C., 1987), 15-6, 22; Chappell, "History of the Diego Plains," 9.

53. "Petition for Admission into the Union," 25 January 1814, Patriot War Documents.

54. *Ibid.*

"suffered in the hands of the Spanish." Furthermore, in stating their case against Spanish rule, the petitioners emphasized lack of religious freedom and denial of public worship in any form but the "established order." They condemned the arming of slaves and Indians by Spanish authorities, which resulted in "desolation and slaughter," as an especially heinous and dishonorable act.⁵⁵

Written at the end of a two-year struggle, the Fort Mitchell petition can hardly be viewed as an objective statement. Not surprisingly, the petitioners refrained from admitting that they had initiated the conflict or were themselves responsible for much of the mayhem that held sway in East Florida. However, to dismiss all Patriot documents as "misrepresentations" or "anti-Spanish propaganda," as Rembert Patrick suggests, is to ignore the wealth of information contained in them. A dismissive attitude further denigrates the Patriots' status and reinforces the depiction of these men as merely renegades and outcasts.

The petition asserts that 150 men "gathered at the fort and in the country," but does not explain why only 105 signed the document.⁵⁶ Whatever the precise number, these figures do not significantly differ from the 125 men who assembled during the first days of the rebellion.⁵⁷ Some women and children were present at the Fort Mitchell settlement, although they were not specifically mentioned in Patriot documents. On March 15, 1814, Alexander Bonaparte Sanchez was born in the Alachua country, the first of thirteen children of Francis and Francisca (Young) Sanchez.⁵⁸ Harris's description of Patriot farms suggests that other families were present.⁵⁹ Colonization progressed well during the early months, with no visible threat from the Indians. Harris remarked with confidence, "we meet no opposers in the Alachua country."⁶⁰ He eagerly anticipated the arrival of more settlers from Georgia and fully expected that their total would soon reach two hundred.

Buckner Harris possessed the power of persuasion. One of his officers confided that Harris had become the "sole support of the cause" and that without him all would surely be lost.⁶¹ Very little is

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

57. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco*, 68.

58. Graham, *Double Cousins*, 13, 27.

59. Buckner Harris to Thomas Pinckney, 2 February 1814.

60. Ibid.

61. "Extract from a Letter by a Patriot Officer," 23 May 1814.

known about him other than his previous involvement in the lumber business and, reputedly, in the slave trade along the St. Marys River. While not a wealthy plantation owner, Harris was still a credible force among the ruling elite during the early days of the rebellion. Like many of his contemporaries, he was a veteran of the American Revolution, during which, while still in his teens, he fought alongside his father at the Battle of Kettle Creek.⁶² After the Revolution, he lived with his family in the western part of Wilkes County, Georgia. His wife, Nancy Matilda Early, was related to two most prominent Georgians: General George Mathews (former governor and President Madison's first commissioner during the Patriot War) and Governor Peter Early.⁶³ Whether family connections played a role or not, Buckner Harris was a bona fide militia general before the East Florida invasion, a title he resumed only toward the end of the rebellion.⁶⁴ Evidently, Harris's relationship with his wife's first cousin, Peter Early, took a negative turn. In February 1814, Early, acting as the newly elected governor of Georgia, disavowed any connection with the Fort Mitchell faction and even went so far as to suggest that the Spanish either capture or drive them off.⁶⁵

Rembert Patrick labeled Buckner Harris a "turbulent escapee" from a debtors' court in Georgia.⁶⁶ Likewise, he stated, "many of his associates were of similar or worse character."⁶⁷ Patrick does not mention either Harris's Revolutionary War service or his close association with Governor Mitchell before the rebellion. He even suggested that Harris's rank as general was merely an honorary appellation that his followers gave to him.⁶⁸ Additionally, Patrick ignored the possibility that Harris's economic troubles in his home state could have been the direct result of two years of voluntary military service. Financial troubles were universal. The most notorious case was the plight of John H. McIntosh who suffered significant hardships, including an annual loss of \$36,000 in lumber sales

62. *Revolutionary Soldiers' Receipts for Georgia Bounty Grants* (Atlanta, 1928); *Roster of Revolutionary Soldiers in Georgia*, ed. Mrs. Howard H. McCall 3 vols., (Baltimore, 1968-69), 3: 105-6, 276.

63. *Ibid.*, 72. Nancy Early's first cousin, Lucy, married Col. Charles Mathews, youngest son of Gov. George Mathews.

64. General Buckner Harris to Governor David B. Mitchell, 18 August 1813, Letterbook of Governor Mitchell.

65. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco*, 281.

66. *Ibid.*, 43.

67. *Ibid.*, 281.

68. *Ibid.*, 271.

throughout the duration of the Patriot War.⁶⁹ As historian Charlton Tebeau noted, fear of financial ruin was the precise reason why most "slave runners and smugglers" avoided the "risks of revolution" by siding with the Spanish and not the insurgents.⁷⁰

While impugning both the character of Harris and his "associates," Rembert Patrick did not consider the later accomplishments of top aides James Dell and Francis R. Sanchez. Fifteen years after Fort Mitchell, in 1829, Dell was appointed to the Legislative Council of Florida.⁷¹ Earlier that year, he was nominated by General Richard K. Call as the Federal Marshall of East Florida.⁷² In his letter of nomination to President Andrew Jackson, Call described Dell as "an honest, firm and intelligent man" who "has been your devoted friend."⁷³ The record of Francis R. Sanchez also defies any lawless characterization. He served for several years in such judicial positions as Justice of the Peace, and in 1834 he was appointed judge of the Alachua County Court—a post that he continued to fill during the turmoil of the Second Seminole War.⁷⁴ Sanchez also held the position of militia colonel during the war; afterwards, he spent the remainder of his life as a prosperous rancher and planter.⁷⁵

Viewed in the context of the Patriots' waning political support during Harris's leadership and their unfortunate negative image, it is hardly surprising that the motivations of these men continue to be criticized. One historian, Frank Marotti, was quite blunt. In his view "greedy Georgians" were involved in nothing less than a "race war."⁷⁶ It is true that the existence of black communities among the

69. "East Florida Claims, Case of John H. McIntosh," n.p., n.d., 3, PKY. This unidentified pamphlet is most likely part of a collection of similar claims against the United States.

70. Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, Fla., 1971), 106. Buckner Harris believed that smugglers were engaged in a propaganda campaign to discredit the Patriots by "multiplying [their] mode of retaliation into crimes of the blackest dye"; see Buckner Harris to "the Honorable Legislative Council of the Republic of East Florida," TFL.

71. "Proclamation *Re* Election of Councilors," 18 July 1829, in *Territorial Papers of the United States*, 24: 252-53.

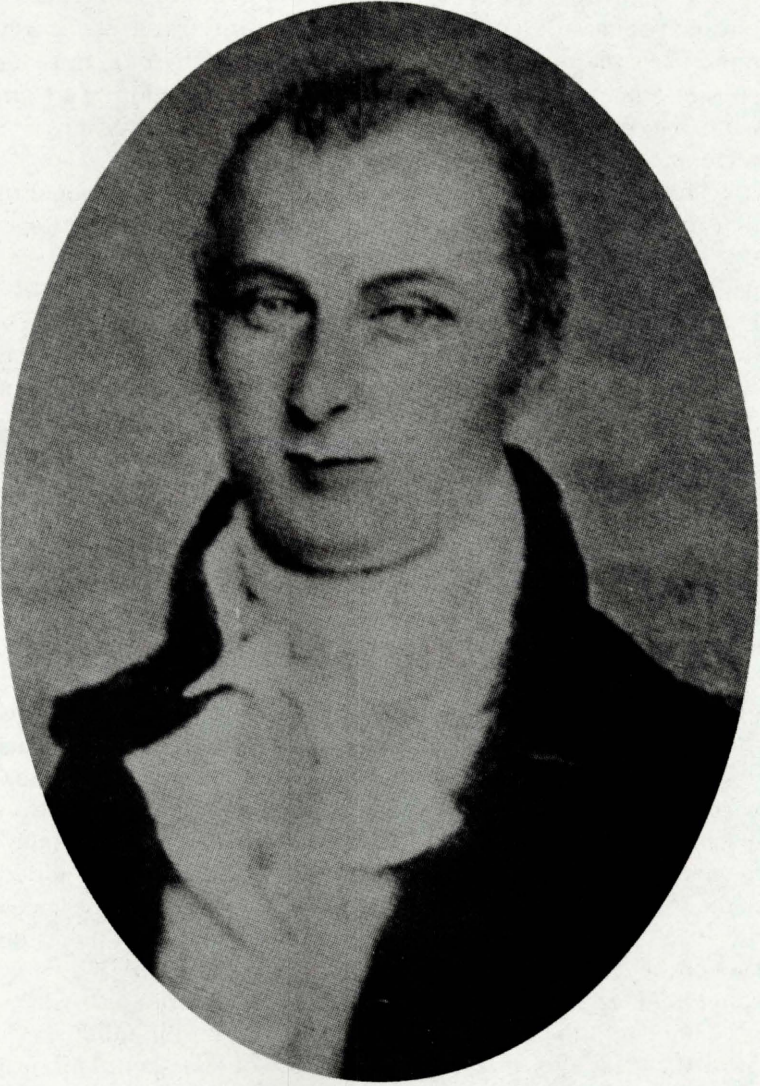
72. Richard K. Call to the President [Jackson], 28 April 1829, in *Territorial Papers of the United States*, 24: 208.

73. Ibid.

74. R. K. Call, "Nominations to Territorial Offices," 10 February 1838, in *Territorial Papers*, 25: 478.

75. Graham, *Double Cousins*, 22-25. For Sanchez's role as commandant of the Alachua County militia, see Governor Call to the Secretary of War, 28 April 1836, in *Territorial Papers*, 25: 279-82.

76. Marotti, "Edward M. Wanton," 461-62.



John Houstoun McIntosh (undated), wealthy plantation owner and the first Director of the Territory of East Florida. *Courtesy of the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.*

Seminoles and the appeal of Florida as a destination for escaped slaves created volatile reactions among Georgians, but to imply that racism was the sole or overriding factor in the Patriot War is a dis-

tortion. Individual motives certainly differed among the Patriots, but the promise of land grants rather than racial violence is a far more likely reason these men joined the ranks. Absent in most discussions, including Marotti's, is any serious recognition of a legitimate nationalist fervor among the rebel forces, especially as it related to the Fort Mitchell group.

The Fort Mitchell Patriots articulated a genuine nationalism that represented the culmination of American expansionist fervor that initiated the East Florida rebellion. Since the new focus was on permanent colonization rather than the continued pursuit of a hazardous military campaign, this period was qualitatively different from any other time during the war. Although isolated geopolitically, the settlement represented the rebels' first opportunity to implement their deeply held notions concerning the establishment of representative democracy in Florida, ideas embodied in their "Constitution" of 1812.

Harris moved to establish courts, appoint judges, and send an ambassador to Washington, D.C., with the hope of annexing the territory to the United States. Far from acting like rogues and criminals, the Fort Mitchell faction made law and order an immediate concern, and great effort was made to mirror the judicial and governmental ideals of the land of their birth. Their "noble" cause replaced a "corrupt, jealous and arbitrary . . . Government of Spain" with "liberty & independence."⁷⁷ Viewed in this context, the Patriots' designation of a "Legislative Council of the Republic of East Florida" becomes much more than hyperbole. In the minds of these frontiersmen at least, Fort Mitchell became symbolic of representative democracy as a whole—albeit in miniature—complete with "judges of the Inferior Court" and a "Minister Plenipotentiary."⁷⁸ The laws of the state of Georgia and of the United States were adopted as the laws of the "Infant Republic," and no person convicted of a felony could hold "any office or appointment of honor, profit or trust."⁷⁹

Ultimately, the Patriots' intentions would not be fulfilled. On April 19, 1814, after much delay, Secretary of State James Monroe officially denied their petition for admission into the Union. The

77. "East Florida, A Proclamation," 30 March 1814, in T. Frederick Davis, "Elotchaway, East Florida, 1814," 144; Ephraim Douglass Adams, *The Power of Ideals in American History* (New Haven, Conn., 1913), xii.

78. "East Florida, A Proclamation," 30 March 1814, in Davis, "Elotchaway, East Florida," 144.

79. "The Constitution of East Florida," 17 July 1812, Patriot War Documents.

Patriots' disappointment, especially after Monroe's remarks that their conduct would be "liable to censure," must have been keenly felt.⁸⁰ After all, the Madison administration had not only fomented the revolution in East Florida but, by 1814, had engaged in the military occupation of all Spanish territory west of the Perdido River in West Florida—a provocative and risky venture that defied international law. The final blow, however, came on May 5. Buckner Harris, traveling alone and lulled into a false sense of security by the apparent absence of Indians, was ambushed and killed by a small party of Seminoles. In order to receive a large bounty, an Indian hand-delivered Harris's scalp along with his "pocket book" containing maps and surveys to the Spanish governor, Sebastian Kindelan.⁸¹ These newly discovered details open the possibility that the killing of Buckner Harris was the result of a carefully planned assassination rather than a random act of violence, as is presumed by Patrick and others. The brutal elimination of Harris seriously damaged Patriot ambitions and because this action fell short of any full-scale attack on the settlers, there was no likelihood of American reprisals.

Most historians agree that Harris's death marked the end of the Patriot movement. Not willing to face Indian hostilities and cut-off from United States support, Patriots started to abandon the Fort Mitchell settlement during May. On June 2, 1814, an intelligence report sent to the governor in St. Augustine declared that the "bandits at La Chua" had left.⁸² The bold undertaking had failed.

While the Spanish assumed that all Georgians had vacated the area, a maverick group, again under the direction of Samuel Alexander, caused an uproar in St. Augustine by their continued presence in the prairie a full year after Harris's death. Sebastian Kindelan was so vexed as to write a letter to Peter Early, complaining that "to this day, there exists on this same soil, a portion of those committing similar excesses."⁸³ The men were clearly engaged in rustling cattle. By 1818, however, a newly established set-

80. Quoted in Patrick, *Florida Fiasco*, 282.

81. I am grateful to Dr. Joe Knetsch for uncovering this evidence. "Testimony of Horatio Dexter," circa 1831, *Levy v. Arredondo*, Series 73, Carton 1; Joe Knetsch, "The Big Arredondo Grant: A Study in Confusion" (paper presented at the Micanopy Historical Society, 13 September 1991), 1. The Spanish placed bounties on all Patriot scalps; see Covington, *Seminoles in Florida*, 29.

82. Thomas Llorente to Sebastian Kindelan, 2 June 1814, East Florida Papers, Reel 62, Bundle 150g12, Doc. 1814-111, PKY.

83. Sebastian Kindelan to Peter Early, 31 March 1815, Letterbook of Governor Peter Early.

tlement of Miccosukee Indians on the western edge of the prairie, under the leadership of the famed chief John Hicks, curbed any further encroachment by Georgians.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, "King" Payne's young nephew and heir, Micanopy, decided to forsake his Alachua homeland and to lead his people about fifty miles south to safer territory. They settled in a village called Okahumpka.⁸⁵ For a brief period then, the Miccosukees, rather than the original Alachua band of Seminoles, possessed the bountiful prairie.

By the time Florida became a United States territory, the Patriot movement had long ended. Rembert Patrick's description of former Patriots as "wanderers" who sought "seclusion in sparsely populated Georgia frontiers" or who lost their prior "identity in the American West" is contradicted by the fact that almost half of the Fort Mitchell Patriots actually returned to Florida.⁸⁶ A few never left. An event in the newly established hamlet of Micanopy in 1821 demonstrated the continued appeal of the Alachua country as an early destination for these men. According to a deposition by former Fort Mitchell Patriot Harmon Holliman, "[Holliman] visited Paine's Prairie together with James Dell and his brothers, Maxey and Simeon Dell. They stopped for 2 days at Edward Wanton's place, 2 miles south of Paine's Town and northeast of Harris Pond."⁸⁷

Edward Wanton, an employee of the Florida Association—a private company engaged in the settlement of the Alachua country—was the first successful white settler in Micanopy, the area that Holliman stated was two miles south of Paynes Town.⁸⁸ The identities of Wanton's four visitors have largely gone unnoticed. In actuality, all these men recorded their signatures as Patriots during the winter of 1814.⁸⁹ Their encounter with Wanton must have included a certain degree of apprehension on both sides. Wanton was, after all, a loyal Spanish subject and Indian trader who, in 1812, had sup-

84. Mark F. Boyd, "The Seminole War: Its Background and Onset," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 30 (July 1951): 18.

85. Horatio Dexter to William Duval, 20 August 1823, in Park DeVane, *DeVane's Early Florida History*, 2 vols. (Sebring, Fla., 1979), 2: 1, 8.

86. *1830 Florida Census*, ed. Aurora C. Shaw (Jacksonville, 1959); "Memorial to Congress by Citizens of Alachua County," 1825, in *Territorial Papers*, 23: 407.

87. Deposition of Harmon Holliman, 24 November 1832, in "Notes Re: Arredondo Family," 33.

88. This distance corresponds to Wanton's location and not to the present city limits of Micanopy.

89. "Petition to Congress," 25 January 1814, in Davis, "Elotchaway, East Florida," 150-53.

plied valuable intelligence and accurately foretold when Seminoles would attack the Patriot encampments outside St. Augustine.⁹⁰ During the war, the Patriots had imprisoned Wanton and destroyed his property. To compound his misery, in 1815 a renegade faction of Georgians raided Wanton's establishment near the St. Johns River and carried away his son's black wife and children.⁹¹

In contrast, the two-day visit by Holliman and the Dell brothers appears to have been pleasantly uneventful. The scene of Edward Wanton acting as innkeeper to his former foes was merely one of many ironies to transpire in the region during the transition to American rule. Holliman's usage of "Harris Pond" indicates his previous knowledge of the area and suggests that Buckner Harris had claimed nearby Tuscawilla Lake for his own. Harmon Holliman later became Sheriff of Nassau County, and the Dells also quickly rose to distinction in the territory, a startling reversal of their previous status as "bandits" under Spanish jurisdiction.⁹²

Contemporary observers noted the close proximity and friendly relations between Wanton and his Indian allies.⁹³ Certainly the Georgians could not have entered the Alachua country without the lengthy negotiations previously undertaken by both Edward Wanton and his partner, Horatio Dexter.⁹⁴ The Miccosukees had a significant presence in the Micanopy area, as is attested by company records indicating the names of chiefs who received presents during this time.⁹⁵ The reappearance of former Patriots in the Alachua frontier and the corresponding lack of hostility is notable. This period of peaceful co-existence would soon end, however, when the Indians were forced to leave in accordance with the Treaty of Moultrie Creek.⁹⁶

The brief encounter between Wanton and the former rebels did not evolve into an invitation to settle in the immediate vicinity

90. Marotti, "Edward M. Wanton," 463.

91. *Ibid.*, 464. Wanton's family was eventually returned.

92. "Acting Governor McCarty to the President of the Legislative Council," 28 January 1828, in *Territorial Papers*, 23: 1020.

93. Simmons, *Notices of East Florida*, 48-9; Marotti, "Edward M. Wanton," 472.

94. It appears that Dexter and possibly Wanton were double agents working for both the Arredondo partnership and the Indians. For Dexter's "agent" status with the Indians, see Secretary of War [John C. Calhoun] to John R. Bell, 28 September 1821, in *Territorial Papers*, 22: 221.

95. "The Alachua Company to the Volusia Establishment," September 1821 to February 1822, in James David Glunt, "Plantation and Frontier Records of East and Middle Florida, 1789-1868" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1930), 150.

96. Boyd, "Seminole War," 18.

of Micanopy. The policies of the Florida Association, strongly influenced by proprietors who still held Spanish sympathies, would certainly have been opposed to such a move. Land owners, such as the Arredondo family of St. Augustine, preferred to let their partners, including a group of New York land investors, bear the responsibility of transporting northern colonists to the remote Alachua frontier.⁹⁷

The patriarch of the family, Don Fernando de la Maza Arredondo, a respected *peninsulare* and merchant, had served the colonial government as Indian commissioner during the Patriot War.⁹⁸ His son, José, a captain in the militia, was wounded in an assault against Buckner Harris's rebels near Amelia Island.⁹⁹ Significantly, after the assassination of Harris, Governor Kindelan handed over the Patriot leader's "pocketbook," containing maps of the Alachua country, to Fernando Arredondo.¹⁰⁰ Then, in 1817, he was awarded possession of 289,645 acres in the Alachua country as a dividend for services during the war.¹⁰¹ The only major stipulation was the settlement of two hundred Spanish families. Arredondo then subdivided this large parcel of land—known as the Arredondo Grant—among various partners. After the cession to the United States in 1821, the requirement for settlers remained but their composition was now open to any nationality. An Arredondo business associate, Moses Elias Levy—a former merchant and sugar planter from Havana—was the only proprietor to move to the area and reside on the land.¹⁰²

As a consequence of the proprietors' diverse backgrounds, early lists of Micanopy settlers account for newcomers from New York and

97. For an overview of this partnership, see Knetsch, "Arredondo Grant."

98. Arredondo Sr. was a native of Valle de Ruesga in the Bishopric of Santander, Spain; see "Notes Re: Arredondo Family," 2.

99. General Buckner Harris to Governor David B. Mitchell, 18 August 1813, Letterbook of Governor Mitchell; "Petition of J. M. Arredondo to Governor Copinger," 18 March 1817, in "Notes Re: Arredondo Family," 60-61.

100. "Testimony of Horatio Dexter," circa 1831, *Levy v. Arredondo*, Knetsch, "Arredondo Grant," 1.

101. *Ibid.*, 2.

102. "Horatio S. Dexter's Account with the Alachua Proprietors," 18 February to 18 July 1822, in Glunt, "Plantation and Frontier Records," 125; Leon Huhner, "Moses Elias Levy, Florida Pioneer," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 19 (April 1941): 319-45. Levy is noteworthy because of his efforts to settle European Jews at his plantation; see M. E. Levy to Rachel [Levy] Henriques, 1 September 1853, David Levy Yulee Papers, PKY.

New Jersey, as well as from France, Germany, and England; significantly, none were Georgians.¹⁰³ However, in 1824, John H. McIntosh Jr., the eldest son of the first director of the Republic of East Florida, moved to Orange Lake, a few miles south of Micanopy and established a sugar plantation (the site of present McIntosh).¹⁰⁴ Former Patriots returned later, perhaps filling the void left by those settlers who did not stay or who died from disease.¹⁰⁵ By 1829, eight citizens who petitioned President Andrew Jackson to establish a military post in Micanopy had also been soldier-settlers at Fort Mitchell.¹⁰⁶ The lead petitioner was none other than James Dell.¹⁰⁷ Additionally, the census of 1830 and other records indicate that one-time Patriots were returning in increasing numbers. Of the recorded 105 citizens of Ft. Mitchell, at least forty-two settled again in Florida and of that number, twenty-four were located in Alachua County.¹⁰⁸ This number, of course, does not reflect extended families. It should also be remembered that, in 1830, Alachua County was quite large and the exact number of former Patriots in the immediate vicinity of the Paynes Prairie/Micanopy area may never be known. Nevertheless, the very presence of these men in the Alachua country may indicate a relaxation of control by the Florida Association. By the late 1820s, all owners were facing myriad legal and financial difficulties associated with the original Spanish land grant, and further settlement attempts would be suspended.¹⁰⁹

The Dell brothers moved north of the grant boundary and helped found Newnansville (present-day Alachua), named after Patriot hero Daniel Newnan. Also called Dells in the early days, Newnansville quickly surpassed Micanopy in population and became the largest settlement in the interior of East Florida and the county seat

103. Knetsch, "Arredondo Grant," 5-7; Deposition of LeGrand Jarvis, 30 October 1824, in "Notes Re: Arredondo Family," 55-56.

104. Moses Levy to Reuben Charles, 17 August 1824, Reuben Charles Papers, Meta Shaw Coleman Collection, PKY; "Last Will and Testament of John Houston McIntosh," McIntosh Manuscripts, PKY. The present town of McIntosh is built on the original plantation fields; see *McIntosh Journal: Walking Tours* (McIntosh, Fla., 1976), introduction.

105. "Copy of a Statement written by Julia Edwards in 1885 concerning her father James Edwards of Micanopy," Manuscripts Collection, PKY.

106. Knetsch, "Arredondo Grant," 11.

107. James Dell et al. to the President, [1829], in *Territorial Papers*, 24: 282-7.

108. *1830 Florida Census*; "Memorial to Congress by Citizens of Alachua County," 1825, in *Territorial Papers*, 23: 407.

109. In 1827, settlement was suspended; see Glunt, "Plantation and Frontier Records," 83.

of Alachua.¹¹⁰ In 1827, Simeon Dell was appointed the county's first sheriff and held a commission as lieutenant colonel in the militia.¹¹¹ His brother James Dell became colonel in the same militia regiment, the rank he held during the Patriot War. Also in Newnansville, Bennett Maxey Dell built the area's first Methodist Church and became a prominent planter and miller.¹¹² Judge Francis Sanchez's ranch, San Felasco, was located about four miles from Newnansville and is now a 6,500-acre state wildlife preserve.¹¹³ Between 1814 and 1820, four of his children were born in the Alachua country which indicates that Sanchez did not leave after Fort Mitchell was abandoned.¹¹⁴ Other Patriots, such as Jacob Summerlin, stayed on in the area of Alligator (Lake City). His son, "Jake" Summerlin, moved south and became one of the wealthiest cattlemen in Florida.¹¹⁵ Patriot Captain William Cone, who had been wounded in Colonel Newnan's 1812 expedition, represented Columbia County in the Legislative Council and, in 1854, served as state senator.¹¹⁶

The rapid growth of Newnansville, coupled with a certain rough-and-tumble reputation, stands in stark contrast to the fledgling settlement of Micanopy (alternately known as Wanton's). Unlike Newnansville, the collective ownership of Micanopy was very selective in who would be allowed to settle. At least in the eyes of the proprietors, Micanopy was the ultimate "company town," as an advertisement in the *New York Gazette and General Advertiser* made perfectly clear: "The patronage of the association will only be extended to such as produce . . . satisfactory recommendations for morality and industry, it being the intention of the association to do all in their power toward establishing a good moral and industrious population on the land."¹¹⁷

110. James M. Denham, "A Rogue's Paradise": *Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1861* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1997), 50.

111. *Ibid.*, 218; "List of Territorial Appointments," 9 February 1827, in *Territorial Papers*, 23: 781.

112. Mary Lois Douglas Forrester, *Lest We Forget: A Town, Newnansville, Florida* (n.p., 1997), 65; Nell Thrift, telephone interview with author, 5 April 1999.

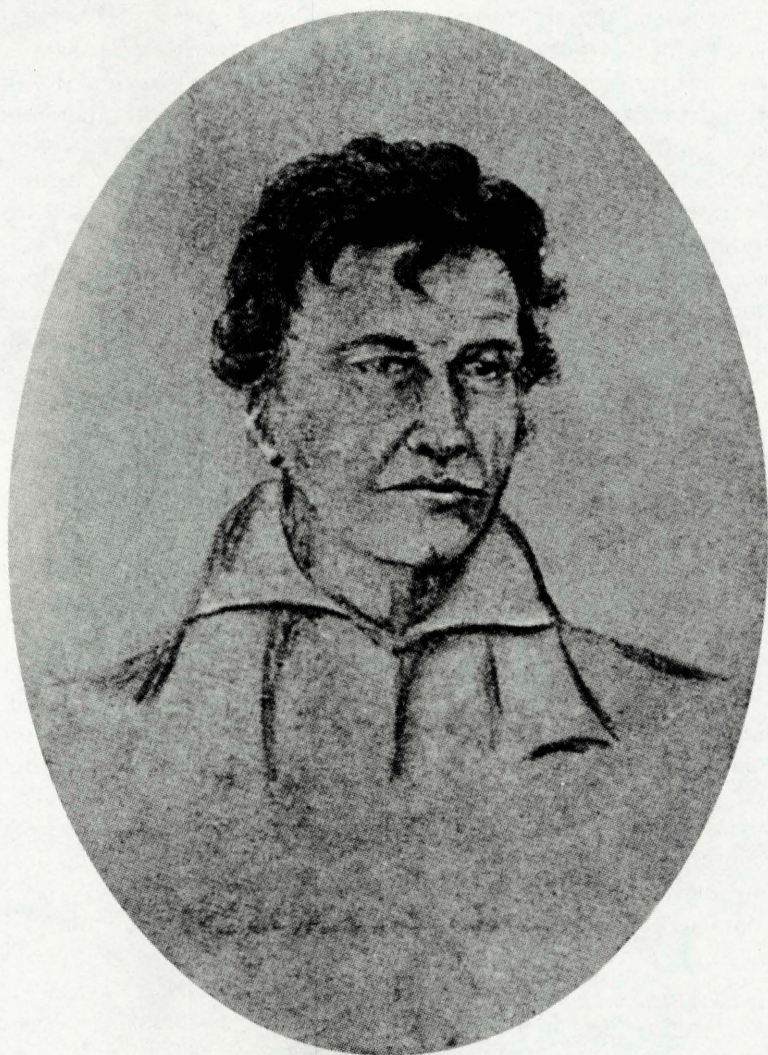
113. Graham, *Cousins*, 23. San Felasco Hammock State Preserve is four miles from present-day Gainesville.

114. *Ibid.*, 25.

115. *The Bartow (Fla.) Informant*, 20 October 1883; *Bartow (Fla.) Courier-Informant*, 8 November 1893.

116. Colonel Daniel Newnan to Governor David Mitchell, 19 October 1812, in *National Intelligencer*, 5 December 1812; Captain William Cone, print collections, PR02011, Florida State Archives.

117. *New York Gazette and General Advertiser*, 28 October 1823, in "Notes Re: Arredondo Family," 59, PKY.



Captain William Cone (undated), Florida legislator, Fort Mitchell Patriot, and veteran of Colonel Newnan's expedition against the Seminoles. *Courtesy of the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.*

What these fine examples of "morality and industry" would find upon their arrivals was something quite different from the descriptions found in the New York newspapers. Unaccustomed to the extreme heat and humidity and fearful of Indians, most of

these new immigrants were psychologically and physically unsuited to the Florida frontier. To compound matters, shortly after the first settlers from New York arrived, the entire town was threatened with destruction by a group of Miccosukees, led by none other than one of the settlement's former superintendents, a disgruntled Horatio Dexter.¹¹⁸ Edward Wanton later recalled that Dexter (a former Spanish subject, Indian trader, and plantation owner) incited his Indian allies to "burn the houses and destroy the colony" for reasons that remain unknown. Although the Indians did not carry out their threats, this incident gives credence to earlier charges reportedly made by Moses Levy that Dexter was "an assassin, an incendiary, a scoundrel and a rascal."¹¹⁹

Conflict almost by definition seemed to dominate the frontier, and early Alachua County was no exception. Historian Gregory Nobles's definition of the frontier as "a region in which no culture, group, or government can claim effective control or hegemony over others" is particularly apt.¹²⁰ In this isolated environment, each faction vied for dominance, but no one group reigned supreme until after the Second Seminole War. In the end, the best intentions of the Florida Association failed, as did Moses Levy's planned refuge for European Jews.¹²¹ The ultimate possessors of the Alachua land would be Georgians and other yeoman farmers from throughout the Deep South. As historian David Weber has noted about Spanish borderlands in North America, "In frontier zones . . . the old orders are transformed and new orders arise out of the maelstrom of contention."¹²² The final irony, of course, is that the new, emerging leadership in the Alachua frontier was composed almost entirely of former Fort Mitchell Patriots, the very group whose character and honor has traditionally been the most maligned.

118. Marotti, "Edward M. Wanton," 472; "Deposition of Edward Wanton," 8 October 1823, in "Notes Re: Arredondo Family," 48.

119. *Horatio Dexter v. Moses Levy* (1824), Civil Cases St. Johns County, Box 134, Folder 31, St. Augustine Historical Society, St. Augustine. The result of this \$10,000 slander suit is unknown. It is highly doubtful that Dexter would have collected such a sum.

120. Gregory H. Nobles, *American Frontiers: Cultural Encounters and Continental Conquest* (New York, 1997), introduction.

121. Levy's plans came to an end when his sugar plantation was burned by Indians in 1835; see M. E. Levy to Rachel [Levy] Henriques, 1 September 1853, Yulee Papers.

122. David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven, Conn., 1992), 12-13.

The expansion by the United States into the Florida peninsula was to be the final destination for many pioneer families who started their initial migration southward from Virginia and the Carolinas into Georgia soon after the Revolution. Whether referred to as "persons of no character" or, to use Anglo-Spanish loyalist George J. F. Clark's terminology, "Georgian vagabonds who desire nothing beyond an opportunity for robbery," dispersions made during the Patriot War years may hamper more dispassionate appraisals.¹²³ Unfortunately, historians have often reverted to caricature in discussions concerning backcountry Patriots. A blatant example is Rembert Patrick's use of the term, "shifty-eyed 'white trash,'" when referring to poor Georgian farmers.¹²⁴ Despite such noxious remarks, a careful look at one-time Fort Mitchell settlers who returned to Florida reveals a responsible and law-abiding group indeed. When the stereotype of the "despised" Georgian is finally put aside, the more compelling framework of Manifest Destiny—with its merging of nationalism, expansionism, and economic self-interest—emerges as the most important motivating factor among the East Florida Patriots.

As John H. McIntosh distastefully noted to James Monroe in 1812, "to be beggared and branded as traitors is wretchedness indeed to men who thought they were acting as some of their forefathers had in 1776."¹²⁵ To be sure, most Patriots did not experience the fall from honor as acutely as had McIntosh, the aristocratic planter. However, the motivations of the backcountry farmers who once followed McIntosh have been especially suspect. Perhaps, in time, the one-time Patriots who returned to the new United States territory and proclaimed their relief from "Fronteer anarchy & distress" will be judged less harshly.¹²⁶ Some may even be included in that category Rembert Patrick once reserved for the majority of early Florida pioneers: "These yeoman farmers, strong, self-dependent, and courageous . . . solid citizens of the type who had made America great."¹²⁷

123. George J. F. Clarke to Governor Estrada, 11 April 1813, quoted in Julius W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1812* (New York, 1925), 240.

124. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco*, 53.

125. John H. McIntosh to James Monroe, 30 July 1812, in *Inhabitants East Florida*, 23rd Cong., 1st sess., 1834, House Report 368, 16-8.

126. "Memorial to Congress by the Inhabitants of East Florida District," 25 November 1822, *Territorial Papers*, 22: 565-6.

127. Rembert W. Patrick, *Florida Under Five Flags* (Gainesville, Fla., 1960), 43.

William B. Barnett and Sons: Florida Banking Pioneers

by David J. Ginzl

In January 1998, NationsBank completed its acquisition of Barnett Banks Inc., the last major banking company headquartered in Florida. The bank traced its origins to May 1877, when William Boyd Barnett opened The Bank of Jacksonville. During the next 120 years, with five generations of Barnetts working for the bank that eventually bore the family name, it grew to be a major financial institution with more than six hundred offices throughout Florida and \$44 billion in assets. Based upon the writings of the founder's son, Bion, and other extant bank records, this study examines the pioneer banker and the challenges that he and his two sons faced in late-nineteenth-century Florida.¹

The Barnetts traced their ancestry back to Scotland and to a family member who fought in Oliver Cromwell's army that conquered Ireland in the seventeenth century. A John Barnett settled in Pennsylvania in the 1730s, as part of a Scotch-Irish group that colonized along the Susquehanna River.² One of his descendants, William Barnett, served as a captain in the Pennsylvania militia during the War of 1812 and married Jane Murray, the daughter of a Revolutionary War leader. A brick and stone contractor, Captain

David J. Ginzl received a Ph.D. in American history from Syracuse University. He is an independent historian in Jacksonville, Fla.

1. The Barnett Bank records are in the possession of the Barnett Historic Preservation Foundation, Inc. in Jacksonville, Fla. They are in the process of being donated to the Florida State Archives in Tallahassee and will be available to researchers by mid-2000. References to this collection will be cited as Barnett Bank Historical Papers (BBHP).
2. Undated biographical portrait of W. B. Barnett in BBHP.

Barnett moved to Virginia to construct a bridge across the Kanawha River. His son, William Boyd Barnett was born September 2, 1824, in Nicholas County, Virginia, a part of the state that later became West Virginia. The following year, Captain Barnett moved his family to Greenfield, Ohio, where he became a drover, purchasing cattle and hogs in Ohio and Kentucky and then driving them across the mountains to be sold in Baltimore. He built a successful business but, in 1838, suffered a major financial setback when he endorsed a note to help a friend purchase a boatload of cattle to be shipped to New Orleans. The boat sank, drowning his friend and the cattle, and leaving Barnett obligated to pay the note.³

With the family fortunes in ruin, fourteen-year-old William B. Barnett dropped out of school and apprenticed himself to a saddle and harness maker. After a three-year apprenticeship, he worked odd jobs in his trade for another three years, managing to save \$100. Moving farther west, he settled in Leesburg, Indiana, and invested his money in a harness and saddle shop. He married Sarah Jane Blue and later became a partner in a prosperous country store.

In 1857, William B. Barnett again succumbed to the lure of the West. As his son later recounted, "He had heard the glowing account of the fertility of the Kansas prairies and the pioneer spirit was strong within him. In the fall of 1857 he went to Kansas on a prosperity tour and became infatuated with the country about Hiawatha."⁴ The region was still recovering from bitter fighting between free-state and slave-state settlers that characterized "Bloody Kansas" in the mid-1850s. By the time Barnett visited the sparsely settled northeast corner of the state, free-state settlers had begun to gain control of the newly organized Kansas Territory. The legislature had just divided the territory into counties and named Hia-

3. The most complete account of the early life of W. B. Barnett is a family history entitled "My Children," written by his son Bion in 1914. The original manuscript, prepared for Bion's four children, appears to have been typed by Bion himself. Other copies show that it was later revised to include additional material and to improve spelling, punctuation, and paragraphing. Copies of "My Children" are in BBHP. Biographical sketches of W. B. Barnett, obviously based upon information provided by the Barnett family, can be found in several state and local histories, notably Pleasant Daniel Gold, *History of Duval County, Florida* (St. Augustine, 1928), 246-47; and Rowland R. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida*, 2 vols. (Atlanta, 1902), 1: 430-32.

4. Barnett, "My Children."

watha—the site of a major free-state convention that year—as the county seat for Brown County. Foreseeing good business opportunities, Barnett purchased large tracts of land around Hiawatha and then paid H. R. Dutton seventy-five dollars for the country store.⁵

Returning to Leesburg, Barnett liquidated his business interests. In the spring of 1858, he moved his wife and two young sons—William D., age six, and Bion, less than six months old—to the Kansas frontier. The family traveled to St. Louis and then by steamboat up the Missouri River to St. Joseph. From there, they journeyed forty miles over the prairie to Hiawatha “which then consisted of half a dozen small frame houses and the country store.”⁶

W. B. Barnett tried farming, but soon discovered that “he was a better merchant than a farmer.”⁷ He concentrated his efforts on his country store and built a profitable mercantile business. Barnett left no record of his thoughts about whether or not the territory should allow slavery, leading to assumptions that he remained somewhat indifferent. His primary interest was business. When the Civil War erupted, Barnett, then thirty-six years old and with a family to support, appears to have made no effort to join the conflict.

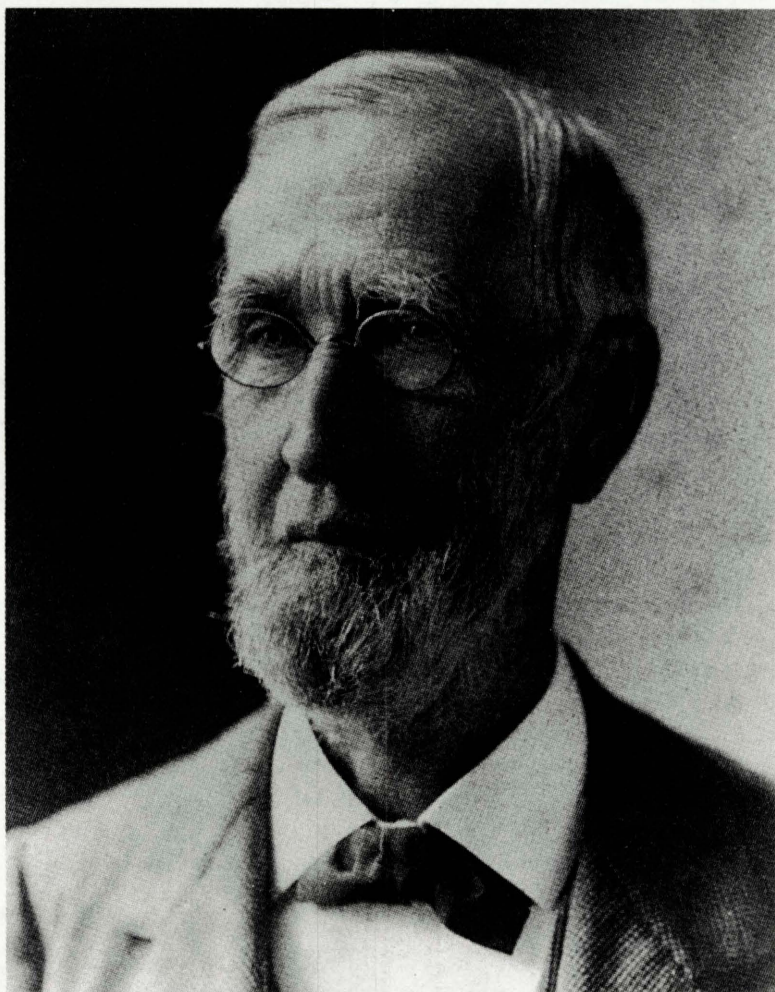
Barnett soon became involved in local government, serving on the board of county commissioners and as county treasurer. He also became a vocal proponent of railroad expansion as a stockholder and treasurer of the Northern Kansas Railroad. He actively participated in state Republican politics and worked closely with Major E. N. Morrill, a former territorial legislator (who later became governor of Kansas), to lobby successfully for the extension of the St. Joseph & Grand Island rail line through Hiawatha. Railroad expansion undoubtedly enriched Barnett, who had extensive land holdings in the area, and its completion in 1870 benefited the town of Hiawatha. The following year, Barnett sold his store and joined with Morrill and merchant Lorenzo Janes to organize a private bank—Barnett, Morrill and Company, with capital of \$1,500.⁸ As one local historian described him, Barnett was “a real forceful leader, an important, useful factor in the building of Hiawatha,

5. A. N. Ruley, *History of Brown County* (Hiawatha, Kan., 1930), 36.

6. Barnett, “My Children.”

7. *Ibid.*

8. The bank is still in existence. Its anniversary publication, “The First 100 Years of Morrill & Janes Bank and Trust Co.,” discusses Barnett’s role in the founding of the bank. Also see H. L. Schram (president of Morrill & Janes) to W. R. Barnett, 31 August 1964, BBHP.



William B. Barnett, founder of Barnett Banks Inc. *Courtesy of the Barnett Historic Preservation Foundation Inc. of Jacksonville, Fla.*

and even of the whole county, a man of sterling worth, and extended influence.”⁹

Barnett’s oldest son, Will, opened a dry goods business in Hia-watha in 1869 after attending the State Agricultural College at Manhattan. In 1872, he married Lilla Candes Harrison, but two

9. Ruley, *History of Brown County*, 396.

years later, because of ill health, he sold his business and moved to Jacksonville, Florida.¹⁰ Why Will Barnett chose Jacksonville as his new home is unknown. Nevertheless, in 1875, his parents journeyed there for a visit. During their stay, the elder Barnett noticed that his wife, Sarah, who suffered from migraine headaches, enjoyed improved health in the Florida climate. Returning to Hiawatha, he sold his interests in the bank and other business ventures. Joined by their youngest son, Bion, who decided to leave the University of Kansas in the middle of his senior year, the Barnetts moved to Jacksonville, arriving on St. Patrick's Day in 1877.

The Florida to which the Barnetts migrated in the mid-1870s was still an undeveloped frontier, sparsely populated along the northern stretch of the state from Pensacola to Jacksonville, with small pockets of settlement in Tampa and Key West.¹¹ The state's finances were in ruin, and the Internal Improvement Fund that controlled state lands was insolvent. There were only three railroads operating, and they were in receivership. The few hundred miles of track were in poor repair.

Jacksonville was the largest city in the state, although after being burned twice by Union troops, it was more of a frontier town than a city. While a hub for shipping lumber, naval stores, and cotton, and an emerging destination for northern tourists seeking a more temperate winter climate, Jacksonville offered few amenities. The city had no paved roads, electricity, city water, or sewers. Poor sanitary conditions contributed to periodic outbreaks of yellow fever, including one that struck shortly after the Barnetts arrived.

With a population of less than ten thousand, Jacksonville probably had too many financial institutions in 1877. Of the five banks operating in Florida, three were located in Jacksonville.¹² Unde-

10. The best biographical portrait of William D. Barnett is in *Florida Edition, Makers of America: An Historical and Biographical Work By An Able Corps of Writers*, 4 vols. (Atlanta, 1909), 3: 257-59.

11. Bion H. Barnett, "Early Banking Days in Florida: An Informal Talk Before the Florida Bankers Association, Orlando, Florida, April 25, 1924," pamphlet, BBHP.

12. The existing banks were Ambler's Bank (established 1870), First National Bank of Florida (1874), and Greeley and Payne's Florida Savings Bank (1874). See T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity, 1513 to 1924* (St. Augustine, 1925), 478-79; J. E. Dovell, *History of Banking in Florida, 1828-1954* (Orlando, 1955), 66-67; and Bion H. Barnett, "Old Jacksonville—1877," memorandum prepared for the bank's sixtieth anniversary advertising campaign, 1937, copy in BBHP. An excellent summary of banking institutions in Jacksonville, focusing on banks from territorial days to the 1930s, is Daniel G. Cassidy, *The Illustrated History of Florida Paper Money* (Jacksonville, 1980), 80-101.

tered and optimistic about business prospects, W. B. Barnett rented a room in the Freedmen's Bank Building at the southwest corner of Pine (now Main) and Forsyth Streets.¹³ The location was close to Jacksonville's principal business district along Bay Street. With a capital investment of \$43,000, Barnett opened The Bank of Jacksonville; his staff consisted of his nineteen-year-old son Bion as bookkeeper and another clerk.¹⁴ It seems quite remarkable that Barnett would have left a successful business career in Kansas and, at the relatively advanced age of fifty-two, begun a new business venture in a distant city where he had no friends and few business contacts other than through his elder son.

Banking in the 1870s was a tedious business. There were no typewriters, telephones, or other labor saving machines. All transactions had to be entered with pen and ink into a series of large leather-bound volumes—daybooks, deposit ledgers, general ledgers—and then cross-referenced and balanced daily. The ledger from the bank's first day of business, with entries in Bion's own handwriting, shows that five customers—including W. B. himself and son William D.'s furniture business, Barnett & Knapp—deposited over \$3,000 in the bank. Barnett also approved the first loan, \$500 to C. W. Blew. Evaluating credit risk at the time was not a scientific process but rather a combination of character assessment and an intuitive business sense, which appears to have been one of W. B. Barnett's strengths. In August, Blew repaid this first loan with fifty new ten-dollar United States Treasury Notes. Barnett placed these notes in the vault, where they remained as part of the bank's cash reserves for the next seventy years.¹⁵

In a frontier town like Jacksonville, banking was not for the timid. In its first year of operation, The Bank of Jacksonville suf-

13. The Freedmen's Savings Bank, a supplement to the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, had been established to accept the savings of newly emancipated blacks and teach them the virtues of thrift. The Jacksonville office of the Freedmen's Bank opened in 1866 and was liquidated in 1874; Doyell, *History of Banking in Florida*, 63-65.

14. Unbeknownst to W. B. Barnett, the choice of the bank's name was an unfortunate one. Prior to the Civil War, there had been two previous institutions named Bank of Jacksonville and both had failed. Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 475-77; Bion H. Barnett, "The Three 'Banks of Jacksonville,'" 1 June 1937, BBHP.

15. The Bank of Jacksonville Daybook, with the first entries from 7 May 1877, is in the BBHP. To commemorate the bank's seventieth anniversary, Bion Barnett, still active at the age of eighty-nine, presented the "Blew Money" notes as presents to the bank's directors and officers. One of the original notes, framed for presentation as a gift, together with an explanation of the first loan and its repayment signed by Bion H. Barnett, 7 May 1947, is also in the BBHP collection.

fered a major robbery. Clerk Jacob W. Swaim sat alone in the office while Barnett and his son were at lunch. One robber distracted Swaim as an accomplice sneaked into the office by a side door and stole a large stack of bank notes. Then, another man attempted to extort an additional \$1,000 by demanding payment to identify the thieves. Barnett, six-feet tall and toughened by life on the edges of American civilization, confronted the would-be informer and held him at gunpoint until the local sheriff arrived. The entry in the bank's ledger for April 3, 1878 stated simply, "Capital Stolen - \$7,550." The stolen money was never recovered—a large loss for the new bank—but it did not discourage the Barnetts.¹⁶

The first years were difficult. Bion later recalled: "I remember distinctly in 1877 when my father first organized the bank as a private institution. It was somewhat of a courageous move to start a bank in those days. Matters looked gloomy the first year, and when the year's business was summed up the deposits were shown to aggregate only \$10,000."¹⁷ Despite these gloomy results, after its first year of operation, Barnett offered Bion a partnership and a share of the small profits. He also gave his son five business rules to follow, which Bion recalled more than fifty years later, "I have never found a flaw in it. It's good advice today."

- 1st Follow the Golden Rule. You can't go wrong treating the other man as you would be treated.
- 2nd Give a man fifty cents if you can make a dollar out of him. In other words, be liberal in your dealings but always have a net profit. Don't do business at a loss.
- 3rd If a young man is of good habits, honest, capable, saving, giving close attention to his business, making progress but lacking in capital—help him. The young man of today is the business man of tomorrow.
- 4th Never make a promise you can't and don't fulfill. Investigate carefully before granting a line of credit;

16. The Bank of Jacksonville Daybook, BBHP; and Richard A. Martin, "A Century of Banking in Jacksonville, 1877-1977," BBHP. The robbery also is mentioned in Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 479.

17. April 1908 news clipping in William D. Barnett Family Scrapbook, in possession of his great-grandson, William Bion Barnett (hereafter referenced as "Family Scrapbook").

once granted, there being no adverse change in your client's financial condition, fulfill your promise. Your word must be as good as your bond.

- 5th Watch your expense account and your losses; your profits will take care of themselves.¹⁸

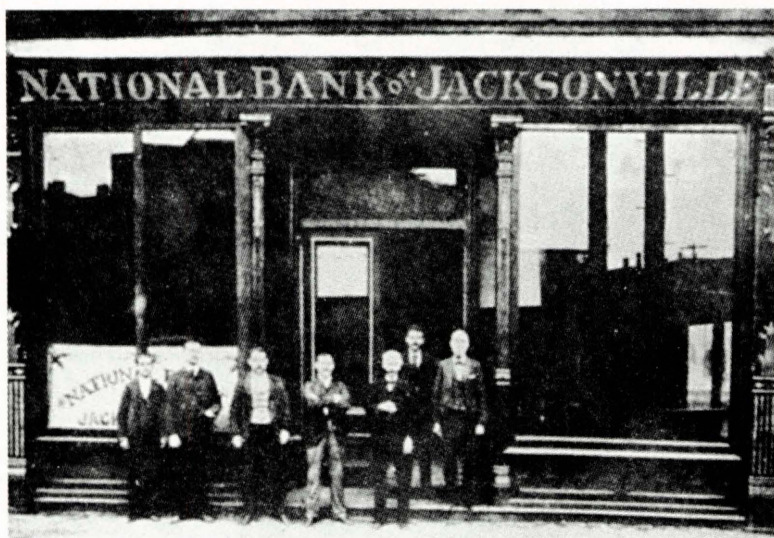
Like most banks in the state, The Bank of Jacksonville was a private institution, with neither legal requirements to be met nor regulatory oversight. The National Bank Act set standards that were onerous for a poor, sparsely settled, undercapitalized state like Florida; only one bank—the First National Bank of Florida (chartered in 1874)—had been able to meet the guidelines. The 1868 state constitution had equally restrictive provisions, and only one bank received a state charter under its provisions. Consequently, most banks were private, often established by individual businessmen as a financing adjunct to their merchant activities.¹⁹ All one needed when establishing a private bank was a safe and the ability to inspire sufficient trust and confidence so that fellow townspeople would entrust their cash to the entrepreneur's safekeeping. That a recent arrival to town (and a Yankee at that) could successfully accomplish that task was a testament to William B. Barnett's personality, vision, and solid business sense.²⁰

The Barnetts downplayed their Yankee background and enthusiastically involved themselves in the civic affairs of their new city. Soon after they settled in Jacksonville, a yellow fever epidemic struck. Bion, a member of the First Florida Light Artillery militia, manned one of the unit's two twelve-pound brass howitzers that fired volleys through the city streets in the belief that it would clear

18. Bion H. Barnett memorandum, concerning advice from his father and "maxims he was fond of quoting," 7 January 1931, BBHP.

19. Dovell, *History of Banking in Florida*, 61-62, 66-67, 73-74.

20. Actually a number of northern entrepreneurs like Barnett moved to Florida and operated commercial enterprises. Maurice Vance found that Florida had proportionately more northerners than any other former Confederate state. He dismissed one contemporary account that half of the residents of Jacksonville were from the North as "a little exaggerated," estimating that, in 1880, northerners made up less than one in seven residents of the city. Still, Vance noted that among their numbers was the mayor, captain of the police force, and many businessmen. The influx of northerners accelerated after 1880. Utilizing the biographical sketches of "leading Floridians" included in Rowland R. Rerick's *Memoirs of Florida*, Vance concluded that nearly 25 percent of the state's business leaders and nearly 40 percent of its bankers and insurance agents were from the North; Maurice M. Vance, "Northerners in Late Nineteenth Century Florida: Carpetbaggers or Settlers?" *Florida Historical Quarterly* 38 (July 1959) 2, 10, 13-14.



The staff of the National Bank of Jacksonville, outside the institution's second office at the corner of Bay and Laura Streets (which it occupied from 1890 to 1898). From left to right: B. A. Leite (Assistant Collection Clerk), W. H. Treadwell (Collection Clerk), Tom Hutchinson (General Bookkeeper), R. E. Wheeler (Teller), S. H. Kooker (Bookkeeper), L. C. Emery (Bookkeeper), and W. B. Barnett. *Courtesy of the Barnett Historic Preservation Foundation Inc. of Jacksonville, Fla.*

the atmosphere of yellow fever. "Colonel Lucius Hardie, who owned the Honeymoon Nurseries . . . had a theory that the germs of the fever floated in the air (he was not far wrong—mosquitos) and that they could be killed by concussion," Bion remembered. "Our battery was requested by the health authorities to test his theory; so for several nights we took the guns up to St. James Park and concussed. Mr. Arthur Williams was No. 1 on one gun and I on the other; there was great rivalry between the two squads to see which gun could be fired the more rapidly." Meanwhile, William B., armed with a shotgun, served as a captain of armed citizen guards who patrolled Jacksonville enforcing its quarantine regulations.²¹

William B. Barnett had been active in Kansas Republican politics, but after moving to Jacksonville he avoided political involvement, not wishing to jeopardize business opportunities. Having been a Mason for over thirty years before he moved to Jacksonville,

21. Barnett, "Old Jacksonville—1877"; Martin, "A Century of Banking in Jacksonville."

he focused his efforts on the local Masonic order. He became an active leader in Masonic activities, especially the construction of the city's first Masonic Temple. Otherwise, the elder Barnett tended to keep a low public profile.²²

His two sons, by contrast, became more visible in the community. In July 1877, Bion was one of the founders of the First Florida Light Artillery, as much a social organization as a military one. He served as its first treasurer. William D. joined the Light Artillery (which became known as Wilson's Battery, named after its first commanding officer) and eventually rose through the ranks to become captain. He also served as a city alderman for a short period.²³

Single, athletic, and charming, Bion actively participated in the city's social life. He met Caroline Hallowes L'Engle through her older brothers. In 1880, they married. At the time, it proved a most fortuitous union. Caroline, known as Lina, was a descendent of Francis Philip Fatio, the patriarch of an extended family with many influential offspring throughout northeast Florida. Thus, Bion married into a large, interrelated web of cousins, allying the Barnetts with the Daniels, Flemings, and others who made up the civic and social elite of Jacksonville.²⁴

In 1880, William D. sold his furniture business and joined the family firm. That same year, The Bank of Jacksonville got its big break from Henry L'Engle. One of Lina's cousins, L'Engle was a member of the Light Artillery and also the tax collector for Duval County. He had complained to Bion about the fees routinely assessed by another Jacksonville bank, which kept the county's account. Required by the state treasurer to send tax receipts to a New York bank, the institution charged a fee of one-quarter of 1 percent. The exchange charge the previous month had amounted to \$6.25, which came directly out of L'Engle's pocket since the state made no provision for paying fees. Bion agreed to waive the charge, and L'Engle transferred the county's tax accounts to The Bank of Jacksonville.²⁵

The next year, newly elected Governor William Bloxham appointed Henry L'Engle state treasurer. Subsequently, L'Engle moved

22. Gold, *History of Duval County*, 242.

23. *Makers of America*, 258.

24. To trace the many branches of the Fatio family, especially through his granddaughter Susan Phillippa Fatio L'Engle (Lina Barnett's grandmother), see Gold, *History of Duval County*, 224-45, 250-53.

25. Bion H. Barnett, "Reminiscences of Fifty Years in the Barnett Bank," in *Fiftieth Anniversary, 1877-1927* (Jacksonville, 1927).

the state's depository accounts to The Bank of Jacksonville. All state warrants were stamped "Payable at The Bank of Jacksonville," which "advertised the bank from Pensacola to Key West, greatly increased its current deposits, and put the bank on a profitable basis from which it has never receded."²⁶ The Bank of Jacksonville not only prospered, it quickly became the largest bank in Florida.

The bank's new role as state depository coincided with the Disston land purchase, a watershed event in Florida's history that ushered in a period of prosperity. Governor Bloxham negotiated the sale of four million acres of unimproved land to Philadelphia industrialist Hamilton Disston for twenty-five cents per acre. The sale stabilized Florida's shaky financial condition. It permitted the state's Internal Improvement Fund, debt-ridden and embroiled in lawsuits over defaulted railroad and canal bonds, to avoid receivership and renew the sales of public lands.²⁷

As the state depository, The Bank of Jacksonville benefited from the state's improved financial fortunes and even played a role in the land sale. Disston sold half interest in his land claim to English ship-builder Sir Edward Reed, who had difficulty raising his \$500,000 share of the payment. In December 1882, The Bank of Jacksonville loaned Reed the balance needed to complete the deal, conditioned upon his pledge of a substantial portion of the purchased land. The Internal Improvement Fund trustees approved the deeding of 500,000 acres to William B. Barnett. He actually selected lands, primarily in Taylor and Lafayette Counties, but the bank never executed its lien on the properties. Bion remembered that "Reed was slow in paying us and it was only after we had notified him we were going to enforce our lien on the collateral that he raised the money in New York."²⁸

26. (*Jacksonville*) *Florida Times-Union*, 30 April 1937. This was part of a series of advertisements, "Sixty Years Ago . . . and Today," based upon Bion Barnett's recollections for the bank's sixtieth anniversary, copy in BBHP.

27. T. Frederick Davis, "The Disston Land Purchase," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 17 (January 1939): 206-10; J. E. Dovell, "The Railroads and the Public Lands of Florida, 1879-1905," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 34 (January 1956): 236-38, 241-43; Nelson Manfred Blake, *Land Into Water—Water Into Land: A History of Water Management in Florida* (Tallahassee, 1980), 42-43, 73-83.

28. Bion H. Barnett, "Early History of Florida Timber Lands, Including Putnam Tract," *The Southern Lumber Journal* 44 (April 1940): 30. While Reed requested and the Internal Improvement Fund trustees agreed to the deeding of 500,000 acres to William B. Barnett, as documented by the minutes of the trustee's 26 December 1882 meeting, the transfer of title never took place. Blake erroneously stated that Reed sold 500,000 acres to Barnett. Davis, "Disston Land Purchase," 208; Blake, *Land into Water—Water Into Land*, 78.

Although Disston's grand scheme to drain the swamplands of Florida drove him to financial ruin, the land purchase spurred the economic growth of the state and "assisted in opening an era of prosperity for Florida."²⁹ Northern capital flowed south, as did construction workers and settlers. Railroad construction boomed, along with the planting of citrus and other agricultural products that could now be shipped more easily to northern markets. The Barnetts shared in the state's growth and business expansion. By the end of 1887, The Bank of Jacksonville's deposits had grown to \$358,873, nearly double the deposits of all the city's banks ten years earlier. Its original capital of \$43,000 had increased to over \$75,000. Barnett sold stock to other businessmen, including prominent government official Joseph H. Durkee, wholesale grocer John G. Christopher, and dry goods merchant Leopold Furchgott. With capital of \$150,000, he applied for a national charter. In May 1888, the bank was renamed the National Bank of Jacksonville, with W. B. Barnett as president and Bion H. Barnett as cashier.³⁰

Shortly afterwards, another yellow fever epidemic broke out and threw Jacksonville into a panic. The city became "a place of utter despair," with nearly 5,000 cases of fever and 427 deaths reported. Among the prominent citizens who died during the epidemic was Henry L'Engle, head of the State Bank of Florida and the former state treasurer who had given the Barnetts the state depository accounts seven years earlier.³¹ The Barnetts kept their bank open, even though the fleeing citizenry and a strict quarantine imposed on those left behind paralyzed business activity. Three of the bank's clerks died. The elderly William B. Barnett was stricken, but recovered.³² "At the end of the fever, three-fourths of our loans were past due," Bion recalled, "but, in time, we got it all straightened out and paid. We only lost one note of fifty dollars, the maker of which died, leaving no estate."³³

29. Dovell, "Railroads and Public Lands of Florida," 242; Davis, "Disston Land Purchase," 209-10.

30. Barnett, "Reminiscences of Fifty Years in the Barnett Bank."

31. Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 180-86.

32. While William B. was stricken, his wife Sarah volunteered to fight the epidemic. According to one source, "The trying times of the epidemic brought to light many heroes and heroines. The report of the Auxiliary Association mentions the work of Mrs. William B. Barnett in connection with St. Lukes Hospital"; Gold, *History of Duval County*, 177.

33. Barnett, "Reminiscences of Fifty Years in the Barnett Bank."

Having outgrown its original quarters by 1890, the National Bank of Jacksonville moved to a new location at the southeast corner of Bay and Laura Streets. During the next decade, the bank weathered periodic crises, including the phosphate speculation boom of the early 1890s, the financial panic of 1893, and the severe freezes during the winter of 1894-95 that destroyed the state's citrus crop.

The discovery of phosphate rock in 1890 set off a speculation frenzy that drove up land prices and encouraged the organization of numerous mining companies. Those seeking their fortunes from phosphate, a key component in the manufacture of fertilizer, flocked to areas in and around Marion County, and soon "middle Florida was swarming with phosphate adventurers."³⁴ Barnett worried about runaway speculation and refused to do business with the companies involved, rejecting their deposits and denying them loans. He warned, "There is too much wild speculation. We will keep out of it; all these companies cannot succeed; we will wait until it becomes a settled industry. Some of these companies will survive and be solvent; we will then do business with them." When the boom finally ended after two years, the National Bank of Jacksonville remained unscathed, but as Bion remembered, it "resulted ultimately in the failure of two national banks in Jacksonville, a badly crippled third, and other failures in the State."³⁵

Bion also learned an important personal lesson from the phosphate speculation. He too contracted the speculative fever, with visions of making a quick \$100,000 on a \$3,000 investment. When he asked his father if he should make the investment, explaining that he had saved \$3,000 in his account at the bank, his father advised him to do so. As Bion later told the story, "I thanked him and turned away much elated, when he added, 'You will lose it, but I think it will be a good thing for you, and will probably save you money in future. It will teach you the dangers of speculating.' I lost it, all right, but I have never since made a speculative investment."³⁶

This incident illustrates the important role of William B. Barnett, whose austere, demanding personality and cautious operat-

34. Arch Fredric Blakey, *The Florida Phosphate Industry: A History of the Development and Use of a Vital Mineral* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 25-35.

35. Barnett, "Reminiscences of Fifty Years in the Barnett Bank." One of the banks fatally wounded by its phosphate investments was the First National Bank of Florida, the first nationally chartered bank in the state, which was finally placed in receivership in 1903; Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 479.

36. Barnett, "Reminiscences of Fifty Years in the Barnett Bank."

ing philosophy dominated the bank. He could be characterized as a conservative banker, a style he passed along to his sons. He scrutinized all loan requests and carefully analyzed the personal habits and business acumen of applicants. All loan requests required the approval of both William B. and Bion (and also, during his years with the bank, William D.)—if any one of the Barnetts objected, the loan was refused.³⁷

While the Barnetts took a very cautious approach to approving and monitoring loans, the elder Barnett also had a firm rule against lending money to the bank's principal managers. Upon being made partners in the bank, both of his sons had to pledge to "never overdraw our accounts or borrow any money from the bank even if we offered undoubted security." When the bank received a national charter in 1888, this prohibition against an officer borrowing from the bank was incorporated into the by-laws and became a long-standing rule.³⁸

Thus, the management of the bank revolved around the Barnetts who made all major decisions. By the mid-1890s, they only employed a staff of ten—all men. William L. Gibson was assistant cashier, and there were two tellers, three bookkeepers, two collection clerks, a utility clerk, and a porter.³⁹ William B. Barnett believed that the management needed to work hard and set a good example for all employees. One of the elder Barnett's favorite maxims—"the eye of the master is worth two of his hands"—was often repeated in later years. Bion explained his father's advice at one employee meeting: "If you do not give close attention to your business, you cannot expect promptness and efficiency from your subordinates."⁴⁰

William D. Barnett left Jacksonville in 1888. Whether or not he fled the yellow fever epidemic that year is unclear. William D. moved his family to Hendersonville, North Carolina, where he operated a general merchandise business until 1893. He then returned to Jacksonville and became treasurer and paymaster for two failed railroads operating in receivership. William D. did not return to the bank until 1897. During his absence, Bion assumed an ever increasing role in management.⁴¹

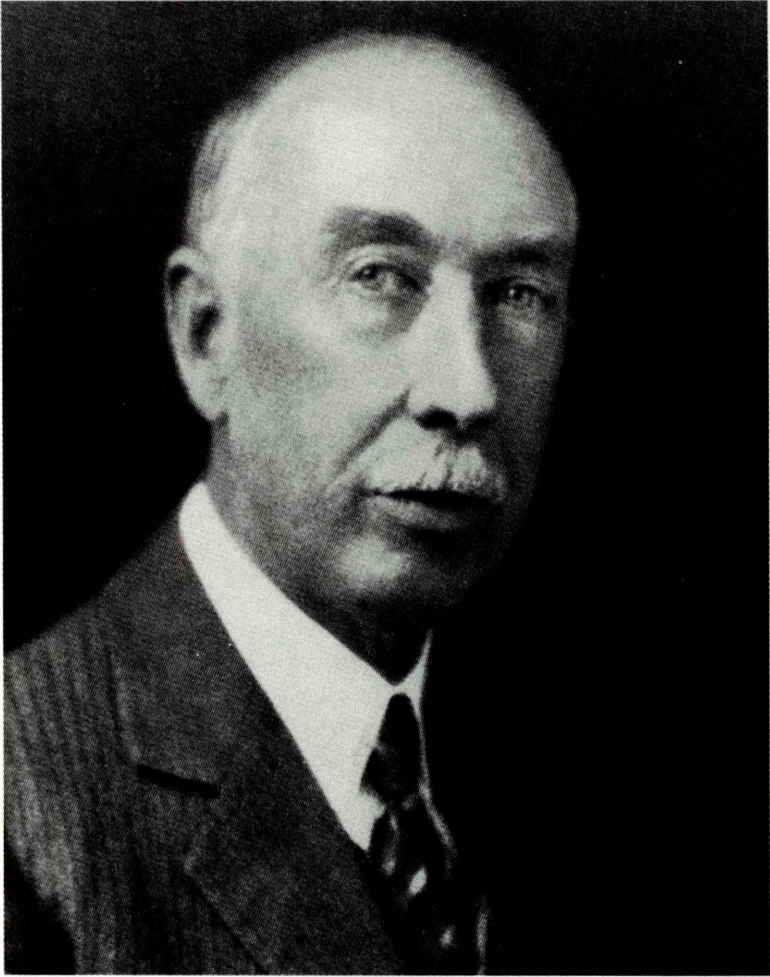
37. Bion H. Barnett, "Bank Credit," 1 June 1936, BBHP.

38. Idem, "Barnett Policies," 14 December 1936, BBHP.

39. "List of Officers and Clerks in the National Bank of Jacksonville—July 1895," BBHP.

40. Barnett, "Barnett Policies."

41. *Makers of America*, 258.



Bion H. Barnett. *Courtesy of the Barnett Historic Preservation Foundation Inc. of Jacksonville, Fla.*

By 1893, deposits at the National Bank of Jacksonville had passed \$1 million, but then came the Panic of 1893. Nearly one-half of its deposits were withdrawn. Fortunately, the bank carried large amounts in cash and had sizeable deposits with its New York correspondents. It placed no restrictions on withdrawals and paid all checks and obligations in cash, scrambling to ensure that it had adequate currency to meet any crisis of confidence. As Bion later re-

called, "We managed to buy what was needed in the streets of Northern cities, paying at times as much as 4% premium for it. While this course was expensive, it was worth while to us, as it added much to the credit and standing of the bank throughout the State."⁴²

The bank soon recovered, but then the 1894-95 freeze devastated the agricultural industry of North Florida. With blizzard conditions leaving snow on the ground for up to three days and temperatures as low as eleven degrees, the freeze destroyed citrus trees, as well as strawberry and tomato crops. Damages to agricultural interests were estimated at between \$50 to \$75 million, "one of the greatest calamities to occur in one of the United States to that time." The North Florida citrus growers were ruined, and the citrus region shifted to the more southern areas of the state.⁴³ Bion described the freeze as "a crushing disaster" that "coming so soon after the '93 panic, made business dull for some time."⁴⁴

Bion Barnett not only directed the family bank through these periodic crises, he also made a name for himself in Florida banking circles. He helped to found the state bankers organization in 1888 and served as president of the Florida Bankers Association for four years in the late 1890s. He spent considerable time helping to draft new banking legislation, which passed the state legislature in 1889.⁴⁵ He also gained national notoriety when he successfully challenged the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency (OCC)—the agency of the Treasury Department that supervised nationally chartered banks—concerning the priority of creditor claims in the liquidation of collateral. Bion's dispute with the OCC resulted from the failure of the First National Bank of Palatka during the phosphate frenzy. When that bank failed in July 1891, it owed the National Bank of Jacksonville \$10,000 secured by various pledged notes, as well as another \$6,000 in unsecured drafts. The receiver appointed to handle the liquidation of the bank followed guidelines from the OCC requiring that the pledged collateral be sold, the proceeds credited to the amounts owed, and a claim filed for the balance. Bion objected to the procedure: "I claimed the right to file our claim for the full amount and apply proceeds from the collateral to

42. Barnett, "Reminiscences of Fifty Years in the Barnett Bank."

43. Dovell, *History of Banking in Florida*, 80-81; Gold, *History of Duval County*, 190-91, 196.

44. Barnett, "Reminiscences of Fifty Years in the Barnett Bank."

45. Bion H. Barnett, undated memo, BBHP; Dovell, *History of Banking in Florida*, 211-14.

any deficiency. This was denied and we brought suit, winning our case in the lower courts, and finally in the Supreme Court of the United States, thus upsetting the Comptroller's rulings of thirty years."⁴⁶ When finally resolved in 1899, *Merrill v. National Bank of Jacksonville* became a precedent-setting case.⁴⁷

In 1897, William D. Barnett returned to the bank as cashier and Bion moved to vice president. William B. remained president, but in a less active capacity. The bank purchased a lot at the northwest corner of Forsyth and Laura Streets, and the following year, the Barnetts constructed a new office building on the site, a massive stone building with Greek columns that quadrupled the institution's floor space.

With its new banking quarters and a business revival spurred by the military build-up in Jacksonville during the Spanish-American War, prospects for the National Bank of Jacksonville looked bright as the new century began. Then, on May 3, 1901, the city was nearly destroyed by a devastating fire that burned over 450 acres in the oldest and most populated portion of the city. As the fire approached the National Bank of Jacksonville, terrified clerks wrote "Fire" across the page of the daily balance book and fled the building without balancing and reconciling the day's accounts. When the inferno finally died out after eight hours, it had destroyed 148 city blocks and 2,368 buildings, sparing only a narrow fringe of the downtown business district, those blocks west of Laura Street and south of Adams Street to the river.⁴⁸ Among those buildings that survived the fire was the stone structure of the National Bank of Jacksonville; it was the only bank building in the city not destroyed. In the days that followed, illustrating the spirit of cooperation that emerged among

46. Barnett, undated memo.

47. *Merrill v. National Bank of Jacksonville* (1899) was at the center of the Supreme Court decision in *American Surety Co. of New York v. Bethlehem National Bank of Bethlehem, Penn. et al.* (1941). In his dissent, Justice William O. Douglas opined, "The only virtue possessed by *Merrill v. National Bank of Jacksonville* is the fact that it has been on the books for over forty years. It held that a secured creditor could receive dividends on the face amount of his claim even though that claim had been reduced by the value of the collateral between the date of insolvency and the date of distribution. That rule of distribution is inequitable and unfair to the run of depositors. It gives an advantage to the secured creditor unwarranted by any provision of his contract"; *American Surety Co. of New York v. Bethlehem National Bank of Bethlehem, Penn. et al.*, 314 US 314 (1941).

48. Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 219-28; James B. Crooks, *Jacksonville After the Fire, 1901-1919: A New South City* (Jacksonville, 1991), 13, 16-18; National Bank of Jacksonville's Daily Balance Book, May 1901, BBHP.



The National Bank of Jacksonville's office at the corner of Laura and Forsyth Streets opened in 1898. It was the only banking office in the city to survive the 1901 fire. With several renovations over the years, it continued in operation until razed in 1961. *Courtesy of the Barnett Historic Preservation Foundation Inc. of Jacksonville, Fla.*

Jacksonville's dazed citizenry as they struggled to rebuild, the Barnetts opened their banking office to their competitors, offering each bank a safe in their vault in which to keep cash and other valuables until they could get established in new quarters.⁴⁹

All of the Barnetts, who lived in a four block area between Main Street and Hogans Creek, lost their homes in the fire.⁵⁰ With the flames approaching Bion's home on Washington Street, he, his wife Lina, and their four children packed china, crystal, and other valuables onto a carriage and wagon and drove through the streets alongside terrified people fleeing toward the St. Johns River. According to an account written years later by his granddaughter, Bion "managed to get horses, carriage, wagons, across the river to where

49. Barnett, "Reminiscences of Fifty Years in the Barnett Bank."

50. J. Wiggins & Co's *Jacksonville Directory, 1900* (Jacksonville, 1900). William B. Barnett lived at 308 Ocean Street, William D. at 217 East Church Street, and Bion at 224 Washington Street.

they were safe from the flames, found a house which was half built, and there the family spent the night, lying on the unfinished floors."⁵¹

The Barnetts soon rebuilt their lives and their community. Sarah Barnett, William B.'s wife of fifty-four years, had died a month before the fire, and the recent widower moved in with his oldest son who built a new home in the Springfield area at 25 East First Street. Bion rebuilt his family home in the new suburbs of Riverside and took an active role in reconstructing the city. Within days, the most influential citizens of the community organized the Jacksonville Relief Association to help those left without homes and jobs. Bion served on the finance committee. He also remained a member of the Board of Bond Trustees, which he had joined in 1896. Comprised of leading businessmen, the board had enormous power over the operations of the city and the establishment of policies for urban development. This powerful yet unelected board supervised the management of important civic functions and, over the years, acquired authority for the electric power plant, water works, fire department, public works, and board of health. During this critical period of rebuilding, the bond trustees played a key role. Bion served fourteen years on the board and, from 1907 to 1910, acted as board chairman.⁵²

The decade that followed the fire was a prosperous boom time for Jacksonville, despite a brief slowdown caused by the Panic of 1907. Port facilities and rail service expanded, further augmenting Jacksonville's role as a major transportation, shipping, and regional wholesale distribution center. New banks started; department stores and office buildings opened; residential suburbs grew.

Bion directed the National Bank of Jacksonville as it helped finance the reconstruction of the city. In February 1901, just before the fire, the bank's Report of Condition showed loans of \$1.2 million and deposits of \$1.8 million. By September 1903, loans had increased by 50 percent to \$1.8 million and deposits totaled \$2.4 million.⁵³ In that same time, the bank doubled its capital stock from

51. Madeleine L'Engle, *The Summer of the Great-grandmother* (New York, 1974), 212-14. Madeleine L'Engle, award-winning author of *A Wrinkle in Time*, is Bion Barnett's granddaughter.

52. (*Jacksonville*) *Florida Times Union and Citizen*, 7 May 1901. For the important role of the Board of Bond Trustees, see Crooks, *Jacksonville After the Fire*, 46, 50; and Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 291-92.

53. Report of the Condition of the National Bank of Jacksonville, 5 February 1901, 9 September 1903, BBHP.

\$150,000 to \$300,000 through the sale of additional shares. A news article headlined "Jacksonville's Oldest and Florida's Strongest Banking Institution" described the bank's philosophy: "The management is liberal, yet careful, no questionable risks are taken. . . . To give ample security to depositors and liberal accommodations to borrowers is the constant aim of the management."⁵⁴

In October 1903, William B. Barnett died at the age of seventy-nine. Funeral services with a full Masonic ceremony were conducted at his son's new Springfield home. All of Jacksonville's banks closed at 1:00 p.m. "as a mark of respect to this distinguished citizen and successful businessman." *The Metropolis* commented that "few men have ever lived in this community more benevolent than W. B. Barnett. He did not like publicity, and notwithstanding he has aided hundreds financially, nothing was said of it."⁵⁵

Bion now became president; William D. moved from cashier to vice president; and William D.'s son, Harlow, who had been working at the bank as a teller, took his grandfather's seat on the bank's board of directors. In 1908, with the twenty-year charter of the National Bank of Jacksonville about to expire, Bion proposed that the bank be re-chartered and named the Barnett National Bank in honor of his father. For the next ninety years, the Barnett name remained associated with the Jacksonville bank, and eventually, through acquisitions and the opening of newly chartered banks elsewhere in Florida, it became prominent throughout the state.⁵⁶

During the three decades since its founding in 1877, the bank owned and managed by William B. Barnett and his two sons had a

54. Unidentified newspaper clipping, "Family Scrapbook."

55. Clipping from *The Metropolis*, October 1903, "Family Scrapbook."

56. The Barnett family continued to be active in the bank. Bion Hall Barnett served as president or chairman of the board until 1952, with the exception of a seven-year period prior to World War I when he left the bank for familial reasons. He retired from management at the age of ninety-four. His son Donald Murray Barnett worked at the bank for thirty-five years and played a key role in Barnett's Depression-era expansion to other Florida cities. He had become vice chairman of the board at the time of his death in 1948. William D. Barnett became chairman of the board when his brother temporarily left bank management in 1911 and remained in that position until his death in 1920. Harlow Barnett stayed at the bank until 1912, but after the death of his wife that year he left Jacksonville and thereafter lived at his father's citrus grove property in Tangerine. Harlow's oldest son, William Randle Barnett, began working at the bank part-time in the mid-1920s, eventually becoming president of the bank from 1958 to 1963. The year that William R. became president, his son, William Bion Barnett, began working at the bank. He was an officer of Barnett Banks Inc. at the time of its sale to NationsBank.

major impact on Jacksonville. The Barnetts promoted the economic development of their new community and provided financing to businessmen and entrepreneurs, despite periodic epidemics, recessions, and the devastating 1901 fire. During the same time, the Barnetts followed conservative fiscal policies that ensured that their institution, in a time when many banks were poorly capitalized and the failure rate was high, maintained a sound financial condition.

The Barnetts also played an important role at the state level. The bank, by then Florida's largest and most stable, met all of its obligations during the financial panics of 1893 and 1907, and provided the financing needed to complete the Disston land purchase. During the Panic of 1907, Bion used his influence to reverse an ill-advised action by the state treasurer, who sent a telegraphic order to tax collectors throughout the state to accept no checks, but cash only. Fearing that this order, if made public, would alarm already nervous bank customers and precipitate runs on deposits, Bion took a night train to Tallahassee to meet early the next morning with the state treasurer and comptroller. Guaranteeing them that his bank would provide the state government with all of the currency needed to operate, Bion convinced the two state officials to reverse their order. To Bion, this action by the state treasurer and comptroller to accept his pledge represented "the greatest compliment ever paid our bank."⁵⁷ It also demonstrated the stature and financial reputation that the Barnetts, Florida's pioneer banking family, had achieved.

57. Barnett, "Reminiscences of Fifty Years in the Barnett Bank."

Space University: Lift-Off of Florida Institute of Technology

by Gordon Patterson

At 9:47 on the morning of February 20, 1962, Lt. Colonel John "Shorty" Powers delivered the message that millions of Americans had waited four years to hear: "Glenn reports all spacecraft systems go! Mercury Control is go!"¹ A little over three hours later Friendship 7 landed in the Atlantic Ocean. From the White House Rose Garden, President John F. Kennedy sent congratulations to the astronaut and "all of those who participated with Colonel Glenn at Canaveral. We have a long way to go in this space race," Kennedy declared, "but this is the new ocean, and I believe the United States must sail on it and be in a position second to none."² In Melbourne, Jerry Keuper, missileman and president of fledgling Brevard Engineering College (BEC), linked Colonel John Glenn's mission with BEC's success. "The first practical space shot," Keuper explained, "has now proved it can be done and done well. Our push for a progressive college will be coupled with a re-dedication of purpose to our college." The launch, Keuper declared in Kennedyesque language, had "revitalized our people into new heights of action and renewed vigor to make the college world renowned."³

Gordon Patterson is a Professor of Humanities at Florida Institute of Technology in Melbourne.

1. Quoted in Loyd S. Swenson Jr., James M. Grimwood, and Charles C. Alexander, *This New Ocean: A History of Project Mercury* (Washington, D.C., 1966), see <<http://www.hq.nasa.gov/office/pao/History/SP-4201/ch13-4.htm>>.
2. Ibid. Also see <<http://www.hq.nasa.gov/office/pao/History/SP-4201/ch13-5.htm#source50>>.
3. "Space Age Educational Center," *Orlando Sentinel (Brevard Edition)*, 23 February 1962, in Scrapbook 2: 63, Jerome P. Keuper Historical Collection 1958, Special Collections, Evans Library, Florida Institute of Technology, Melbourne (hereafter cited as Scrapbook).

Keuper's words were prophetic. The next eighteen months were critical to BEC's development. "This college is unique," Keuper explained, "in that faculty and students work in their spare-time. . . . Everyone has a full-time job, most have family responsibilities and this college work is over and above other duties. I think it is the only institute of higher learning operating in this country on a spare-time basis."⁴

Keuper, who led RCA's Systems Analysis Division at the Missile Test Project, launched BEC in 1958 to provide engineering and science courses for missilemen at the Cape.⁵ During the school's first four years, Keuper and his confederates were too busy launching missiles and teaching classes to worry about the college's institutional standing. Then, in 1961, he secured a gift of thirty-five acres of land to provide a permanent campus. By 1962, however, Keuper realized that the school could not survive on a "spare-time" basis. Threatened with the creation of a new state university at its doorstep, BEC responded with new programs and initiatives, and flirted with the possibility of joining the Disciples of Christ to form Florida Christian University. Simultaneously, BEC forged new friendships in Tallahassee with Florida's Secretary of State as well as members of the legislature.⁶ Two years after Glenn's historic flight, BEC was in the final stages of preparation for its launch as a full-time, accredited, technical and engineering college.

Two weeks before Glenn's mission, Keuper received news that state officials in Tallahassee had approved BEC's application for incorporation as a non-profit organization. Tom Adams, Florida's Secretary of State, granted BEC "exclusive use of the name Florida Institute of Space Technology Inc."⁷ Keuper announced the corporate name change at a news conference. He told his audience that for the immediate future the school would continue to be known as Brevard Engineering College, but explained that in changing its name the school was "thinking more of the future for use of the new

4. "Brevard Engineering College Expands Facilities for Spring Term," *Radiation Ink*, March 1962, in Scrapbook 2: 68-69.

5. Gordon Patterson, "Countdown to College: Launching Florida Institute of Technology," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 77 (fall 1998): 163-180.

6. "Tom Adams to address BEC Grads," *Melbourne (Fla.) Daily Times*, 10 June 1962, in Scrapbook 3: 9.

7. Dick Fackler, "College Gains More Stature," *Melbourne Daily Times*, 22 February 1962, in Scrapbook 2: 63.

name.”⁸ More significantly, Secretary of State Adams’s decree “empowered BEC to award degrees up to the doctor’s degree.” “I like to think,” Keuper concluded, “that the college is in a ‘go’ condition.”⁹

The new charter contained other changes. The Board of Regents became a Board of Trustees that was divided into three groups with varying terms of office.¹⁰ The president, vice-president and between three and seven trustees formed the school’s executive committee. Both president and vice-president held their positions “until death, resignation, or removal for just cause by a majority vote by the entire Board of Regents.”¹¹

The name change and revision of the board’s by-laws were part of an overall strategy to win community support. Relations between the college and local political leaders were troubled. In 1959, Keuper criticized the Brevard County School Superintendent. A year later the school’s search for a permanent home provoked a contentious struggle between local municipalities. Community relations reached a low point in October 1961. Keuper and the Board of Trustees invited nineteen community leaders to a cocktail party at the new Melbourne campus. Only one person showed up. “Somewhere along the way,” Keuper confided to the board in an internal memorandum, “we have seriously bungled our Public Relations, and I would appreciate having your very frank comments as well as some concrete suggestions for future planning.”¹²

The cocktail party fiasco was inconsequential when compared to the threat posed by the Education Committee of the Governor’s Council of 100. Florida had grown tremendously in the 1950s, but the state system of post-secondary education had not kept pace. Governor Farris Bryant made this issue a priority. He charged the prestigious Council of 100’s Education Committee with drafting a plan for the state’s post-secondary schools. It was rumored that the committee considered recommending the creation of a new state

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. The trustees were: (term expiring 31 August 1963) Cliff Mattox, Garrett Quick, George Shaw, Norman S. Lund, Sr., C. Robert Brown; (term expiring 31 August 1964) J. J. Finnegan, K. M. McLaren; Reverend Alex Boyer; B. G. McNabb; W. J. Pettigrew; (term expiring 31 August 1965) Joseph Boyd, George S. Cherniak, O. E. Tibbs, George Hess, G. Denton Clark; List of Trustees, 1962-00 Folder, Keuper Collection, mimeograph.

11. Florida Institute of Technology By-Laws, 1962-00 Folder, Keuper Collection, mimeograph.

12. Invitation to Open House, 1961-00 Folder, Keuper Collection.

university at Cape Canaveral. This posed a direct threat to BEC. Keuper contacted Kyle Lockeby, a Melbourne businessman and influential member of the city's Civic Improvement Board, and asked for his help. Lockeby, known for his political connections, agreed to persuade the Council of 100 that BEC was the institution best suited to meet the Cape's educational needs. In October 1961, Lockeby met with Stanton B. Sansom, Chairman of the Education Committee of the Council of 100. Lockeby's overture had two positive outcomes. First, Sansom wrote to Governor Bryant "commending [BEC] and recommending that it be incorporated into the governor's plans."¹³ And, second, Sansom agreed to meet with Lockeby and Keuper in December where the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) was holding its annual meeting.

Keuper led the delegation of BEC faculty members to the SACS meeting. The Florida Association of Colleges and Universities was holding its annual meeting in conjunction with the SACS meeting. A year earlier the Florida schools had turned down BEC's application for membership. BEC was allowed to "sit-in" on the 1961 meeting as an unofficial observer to the proceedings. There was still, Keuper confided to the board, "considerable opposition" to BEC's application for membership in the Florida association. Behind the scenes, Keuper, Tom Putnam, and Ray Work lobbied for an accreditation visit. Lockeby, Keuper, and Putnam visited Stanton Sansom's hotel room where Sansom showed Keuper part of the Education Committee's report that applauded BEC's contributions to the education at the Cape. But when Keuper asked Sansom to join BEC's Board of Trustees, Sansom turned down the offer, indicating that he would consider the appointment only after completing his report for the governor.¹⁴

During the next three months, Keuper and Lockeby continued their efforts to win support for the college. Securing a new charter for the institution in January was a first step. The challenge was to build a political base for the upstart school. Locally, Keuper enlisted Jim Lyons, president of the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce, to advance BEC's cause. Lyons and Lockeby introduced Keuper to Tom Adams. BEC would need allies in Tallahassee if the college were to withstand the threat of a new public university. Ad-

13. "Confidential Brevard Engineering College Report to the Board," 1961-00 Folder, Keuper Collection.

14. *Ibid.*

ams, a rising political star who many thought destined to become the next governor, became one of the college's staunchest supporters. In January 1962, he approved BEC's new charter and awarded the college exclusive use of the name Florida Institute of Space Technology.¹⁵

Early in March, Robert Bruce presented Keuper and Lyons with a remarkable proposal. Bruce, who served as executive chairman of the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce, told Keuper that a major Christian denomination was interested in making a substantial, financial contribution to the institution. The church group was the Disciples of Christ whose Christian Missionary Society had founded Texas Christian University. "This bustling, booming community, already noted as the commercial hub of the Missile County," Al Wood wrote in the *Orlando Sentinel*, "may become noted nationwide as an educational center."¹⁶ The Disciples of Christ were rumored to be considering a twenty-million-dollar capital investment in the college.¹⁷

Robert Bruce had a reputation as a rainmaker. While serving as assistant director of the St. Petersburg Chamber of Commerce in the 1950s, Bruce organized a campaign to found a liberal arts college in the St. Petersburg area. In 1958, his efforts paid off; he was recognized as one of the "prime movers" in the creation of Florida Presbyterian College.¹⁸

Bruce was convinced that he could repeat his St. Petersburg educational success story in Brevard County. Known as a "running bundle of nerves," Bruce began rallying support for the idea of a church related comprehensive university.¹⁹ The plans took shape in February and March. If established, the new university would consist of four schools. Bruce and Keuper envisioned that BEC's engineering and science courses would form the core of the institution. Moreover, there would be a specialized Space Institute of Technol-

15. Jerome Keuper, interviewed by author, Melbourne Beach, Fla., 9 April 1997.

16. Al Wood, "Melbourne Eyed as University Site," *Orlando Sentinel (Brevard Edition)*, 23 March 1962, in Scrapbook 2: 71.

17. Ibid.

18. Florida Presbyterian College was founded in 1958. In 1972, the college's trustees changed the name to Eckerd College. Homer Pyle, "New University Started at Melbourne," *Miami Herald (Brevard Edition)*, 24 March 1962, in Scrapbook 2: 73.

19. Al Wood, "Operation College Gaining Backing," *Orlando Sentinel (Brevard Edition)*, 23 March 1962, in Scrapbook 2: 71.

ogy, a traditional liberal arts college, and a seminary.²⁰ In February, Bruce told Keuper that the Disciples of Christ were interested in helping the school, possessing considerable financial resources that would create a Florida version of Texas Christian University. The word "money" got Keuper's attention. "I didn't see anything wrong with that," Keuper remembers, "It was a pretty good church, nothing off-beat. On the whole, I thought it sounded pretty good."²¹

In April, George Shaw, President of Radiation Inc. and BEC trustee, lent indirect support for the proposal. Shaw warned that Cape Canaveral "could find itself the Kitty Hawk of the Space Age within a decade if Florida does not pursue immediately an active scientific educational set-up in Brevard-Orange [counties] community." "Here at the Cape," he continued, "we need a Stanford, a Berkeley, or an MIT."²² Shaw called for BEC to join with Rollins College and Brevard Junior College to "form a learning complex for the engineers and missile scientists who are today the architects of the American existence and progress in the world of tomorrow."²³

Six days later, BEC announced that Sterling Hawks, a Melbourne businessman, would lead the school's newly created college development office. Keuper charged the development office with overseeing the college's public relations and discussions with the Disciples of Christ. The Reverend John Updegraff, Fort Lauderdale based chairman of the Florida Christian Missionary Society's Board of Directors, represented the Disciples. By May, Updegraff and BEC's administrators had hammered out a working agreement for a merger.²⁴

The merger proposal was presented at the 71st annual meeting of the Disciples of Christ on May 17, 1962, in Lakeland. Keuper spoke to the church delegates, telling them that the objective of the new university would be to create a college in which science and religion would join together. Reverend Updegraff declared, "This is probably the first time in history that a technical school has invited a church group into an educational venture. On the basis of

20. "Church-Sponsored University Set for Melbourne," *Melbourne Daily Times*, 23 March 1962, in Scrapbook 2: 70.

21. Keuper interview.

22. Al Wood, "Cape Leadership Tied to Area Tri-Campus Setup," *Orlando Sentinel (Brevard Edition)*, 6 April 1962, in Scrapbook 2: 74.

23. *Ibid.*

24. "Christian Church Votes Today on University at Melbourne," *Melbourne Daily Times*, 17 May 1962, in Scrapbook 2: 81.

the interest and spirit of the administration of Brevard Engineering College, on the basis of the unique opportunity to the Disciples to establish a college in a location that commands the attention of the entire world, our special committee unanimously and enthusiastically agreed that we as a church cannot afford to pass up this opportunity.”²⁵

The Disciples debated the proposal. No one questioned the worthiness of the project, but a handful of delegates worried over the merger’s cost. In Melbourne, Lyons and Bruce nervously awaited the vote’s outcome. Keuper phoned with the news: the Disciples of Christ had approved the resolution. “We just beat Scott Carpenter into orbit,” Melbourne mayor J. J. Spitznogle declared triumphantly.²⁶ Jim Lyons was jubilant. “This may be the day for the biggest announcement in Melbourne’s history,” Lyons told the press. “It has been a privilege for the Chamber to help bring together the Christian Missionary Society and Brevard Engineering College.”²⁷ Frank Brown, internationally known as a leader for education reform, declared, “I consider this a virtual tribute to that small corps of dedicated educators who have in the face of terrific obstacles done such a terrific job for Brevard Engineering College.”²⁸ Bruce explained the delegates’ universal support for the merger proposal in historical terms. “When they saw the school these scientists had built,” he declared, “starting out with 34 or 36 cents, when they saw what it is today, when they learned of all the heartaches these men had had, they said this project cannot fail.”²⁹

In Tallahassee, Governor Bryant applauded the Disciples of Christ’s decision. “The academic challenges of the space age,” Bryant observed, “cannot be met without a well balanced program of higher education including both state and private institutions.”³⁰ Bryant’s political ally, State Senator Fred Dickinson, echoed the governor’s praise, declaring that the members of the Council of 100 “are pleased beyond expression by this announcement.” BEC’s transformation into Florida Christian University held tremendous

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. “C-C, School Heads Plug for College,” *Melbourne Daily Times*, 17 May 1962, in Scrapbook 2: 81.

28. Ibid.

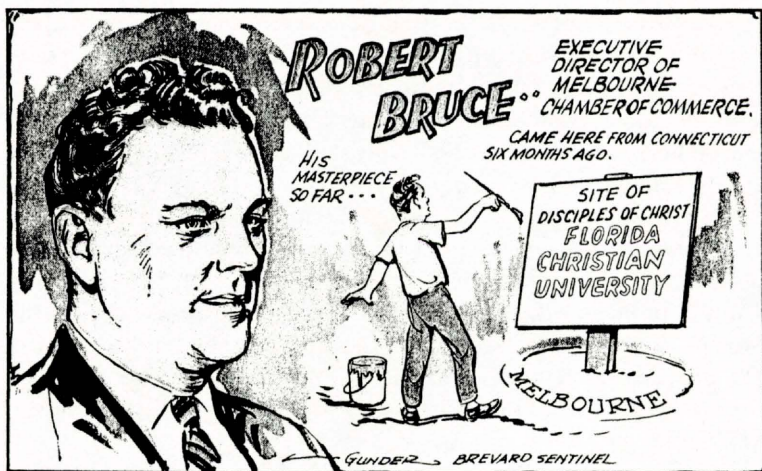
29. Ibid.

30. “Bryant Comments on Education Move,” *Melbourne Daily Times*, 18 May 1962, in Scrapbook 2: 83.

promise for the state. "The possibilities for this to become a great educational institution," Dickinson opined, "attuning itself to the needs of the space age in advanced technical training, is a supremely realistic example of our accepting the challenge of this age."³¹

Initially, everything looked favorable for the creation of Florida Christian University. Brevard County seemed the perfect place for the venture. In ten years, the county's population had skyrocketed from 23,653 to 135,000 making it the fastest growing county in the United States.³² The Lakeland convention ended with a statement announcing that BEC's leaders and officials of the Disciples of Christ agreed to form a working committee to iron out the details of the merger.

Difficulties, however, soon emerged in the discussions. The college and the church had completely different expectations for the new university. BEC desperately needed financial support, and Bruce had told Keuper that the Church was willing to commit sev-



Commentary on Robert Bruce's dreams for Florida Christian University; *Orlando Sentinel* (Brevard Edition), 31 May 1962.

31. Ibid.

32. Ted Smart, "Cape Canaveral Launches Money Boom in Florida," *Chicago's American*, 22 May 1962, in *Scrapbook* 2: 84.

eral million dollars to the school. Yet, Bruce had apparently told the leaders of the church that BEC was not asking for money.³³

The church did not have any money to contribute. The Reverend John C. Updegraff made this clear in no uncertain terms: "During these four years, I have known moments of unforgettable satisfaction and moments of utter frustration." "Those low moments," Reverend Updegraff explained, "have come when bright opportunities for expanding our Christian witness have had to be set aside until a more propitious time. This is a dignified way of saying 'until we have sufficient funds to do what God called us to do.'"³⁴ To Updegraff and the other members of the church's negotiating team the proposed merger was not about money. Rather, they saw the merger as an opportunity for "expanding our Christian witness."³⁵

Given the participants' conflicting objectives the negotiations had little chance of success. Years later Keuper acknowledged his mistake. "I didn't look beneath the surface," he explained. "It turned out that they didn't have any money. Bruce had made it up or was misinformed. Bruce had told us one thing and told the church another."³⁶ Instead of ending quickly, the negotiations dragged on for almost a year.

Less than a week after the announcement heralding the marriage of science and religion in Florida Christian University, the Education Committee of the Council of 100 presented its report to the governor. The committee's nine recommendations presented a bold plan for expanding Florida's state university system. The report ended on an ominous note, however. Dickinson and his allies recommended that the state "establish a space science university, a scientific and technical information center and a graduate institute."³⁷

The committee's concluding recommendation posed a direct threat to BEC's survival. Apparently, Senator Dickinson had reversed himself. A week earlier he had praised the creation of Florida Christian University as meeting the "challenge" of the space age. The Council's report opened the possibility of a state university in direct competition with BEC. The Education Committee called

33. Keuper interview.

34. Dan Paulick, "Disciples of Christ Resolve to Build College at Melbourne," *Lakeland (Fla.) Ledger*, 18 May 1962, in Scrapbook 2: 88.

35. Ibid.

36. Keuper interview.

37. "\$200 million University 'Inaccurate,'" *Daily Times* (Melbourne), 1 June 1962, in Scrapbook 3: 1.

for expenditure of "100 to 200 million dollars for the creation of a space education complex in the Cape Canaveral-Orlando area."³⁸

Keuper dispatched Kyle Lockeby and Jefferson Speck to Tallahassee to rally support for the college. Lockeby told reporters that he wanted an explanation from state officials of why BEC had been "ignored" in the Committee's recommendations. Speck, who served on the college's development board, declared that the proposed "Space University" was "unrealistic" and "smacked of politics." Lockeby lambasted the Council of 100's recommendations. "All the fanfare," he declared, "boils down to the fact that they have not recognized that Brevard Engineering College is already in the process of doing this job."³⁹

The proposed "Space University" in the Cape Canaveral-Orlando area forced Keuper to strengthen his commitment to the Disciples of Christ. If he broke off the merger talks, it would be interpreted as a sign that BEC could not fulfill the missilemen's scientific and educational needs. Keuper appealed to Governor Bryant for support. "We are gratified," he declared, "that the Florida Council of 100 recognized the need for a university and scientific center in Central Florida." There was, however, no justification for the creation of a public university. On the contrary, Keuper noted, "four years ago, Cape Canaveral's outstanding engineers and scientists recognized this need for a space science university in the center of our space science effort. The Brevard Engineering College was founded to accomplish this, and today it trains hundreds of engineers in its Institute of Space Technology."⁴⁰

Keuper's letter to Governor Bryant was part of a campaign to rally support for BEC. Lockeby and Speck took responsibility for meeting with Sansom and the Council of 100. Their job was to publicize BEC's accomplishments. Locally, Joe Boyd, vice president of Radiation Inc., presented BEC with a \$200 check as "a token of faith that Radiation would contribute significantly to the fund-raising effort [for Florida Christian University] when it was in full swing."⁴¹ The Board of Directors of First Federal Bank contributed \$5,000 to

38. Mary Ann Thomas, "Brewer Supports State Space School; Would Help Fla. Christian," *Melbourne Daily Times*, 30 May 1962, in Scrapbook 2: 95.

39. Homer Pyle, "Melbourne Steps up Church-College Plans," *Miami Herald (Brevard Edition)*, 12 April 1962, in Scrapbook 2: 76.

40. *Ibid.*

41. "Radiation Supports New School," *Melbourne Daily Times*, 30 May 1962, in Scrapbook 2: 94.

the fund drive "in the hope it would be an impetus for other organizations and the entire county to get behind the university."⁴²

Lockeby and Speck's efforts to persuade the Council of 100 to reconsider their recommendations failed. Max Brewer, Chairman of the Joint Community Impact Coordination Committee, argued that a public "Space University" would not harm the private Florida Christian University. "I think the creation of a Space Science University . . . in the Brevard-Orange County area will help and not hurt plans for the new Florida Christian University at Melbourne," State Senator Dickinson declared in the meeting. The Committee's report described the efforts of Rollins College, the University of Florida, the University of Miami, Orlando College, and Brevard Engineering College as "attempting to fill the [area's educational] void." "None," the Committee emphasized, "are at present meeting the need of this area of the state."⁴³

Behind the scenes, Keuper contacted Secretary of State Adams. Adams, a native of Jacksonville, entered politics in 1956 when he was elected to the state senate. One year later, he was named "most outstanding freshman senator" by his colleagues; and in 1959, he was voted "the most valuable member of the legislature." Adams was elected Secretary of State in 1960, and the next year he received the Allen Morris Award as the "most outstanding administrator in state government."⁴⁴

Florida's constitution gave considerable power to the state cabinet, which allowed cabinet members to stand for reelection but barred governors from doing so. Adams used BEC's second commencement exercise to publicly declare his opposition to the creation of a state-funded "Space University."

BEC's second commencement took place on June 14, 1962. Thirty-eight individuals received degrees. Adams and astronaut Gus Grissom received the school's first honorary doctorates at the ceremony, making Grissom the first United States astronaut to receive an honorary Ph.D. "This is indeed keeping with the leadership of this college," Keuper declared referring to the astronaut's recognition, "in being the first in the nation to offer a graduate de-

42. "First Federal Gives \$5,000 to School," *Melbourne Daily Times*, 27 May 1962, in Scrapbook 2: 93.

43. Thomas, "Brewer Supports State Space School."

44. "Tom Adams to Address BEC Grads," *Melbourne Daily Times*, 10 June 1962, in Scrapbook 3: 9.

gree in space technology.”⁴⁵ Keuper justified Adams’s award on the grounds of the Jacksonville politician’s “dynamic” leadership in state politics.⁴⁶

Thirty-seven men and one woman made up the graduating class. Adams focused his commencement address on BEC’s accomplishments, declaring his opposition to the creation of new public universities. Looking over his audience Adams declared, “It is here that will unfold a partnership of religion and science in the quest for eternal truth which education must be dedicated. This is truly an institution with its feet planted firmly in the ground and its eyes riveted on the heavens.” He predicted great achievements for the Florida Christian University. The new school would be “second to none, . . . a space age institution in the truest sense. It is geared to the future.” Adams admonished his colleagues in Tallahassee to call a halt to the “creation of additional public universities with diluted graduate programs.” It would be a waste of taxpayers’ money to create second-rate programs in Orlando. “We are,” Adams concluded, “on the brink of excellence in many fields of higher education. . . . Our present need today is for two or three public institutions with high quality professional and graduate programs.”⁴⁷

Adams proposed that post-secondary educational institutions should be broken into four classes: junior colleges, two-year upper division colleges, and four-year undergraduate colleges and universities. The University of Florida, Florida State University, and Florida A & M should receive “primary attention” for the state’s graduate programs.⁴⁸ There was no need to create a state-financed engineering university program in the Cape Canaveral-Orlando area. “Why, then not up-grade what we have?” Adams asked at the commencement exercises; “Why spend hundreds of millions of dollars to create a new public engineering university when by expanding a portion of that amount on an existing quality program . . . one that has been physically and financially starved . . . we can produce a program equivalent to the finest that the nation possesses?”⁴⁹

45. “BEC to Honor Adams, Grissom,” *Melbourne Daily Times*, 13 June 1962, in Scrapbook 3: 8.

46. *Ibid.*

47. Mary Ann Thomas, “Diluted Education Programs Hit in Talk to BEC Grads,” *Melbourne Daily Times*, 15 June 1962, in Scrapbook 3: 10.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*

Adams's speech was praised in Gainesville and Tallahassee. An editorial writer for the *Gainesville Sun* declared that the remarks were "overdue." "With new institutions mushrooming all over the state," the editorial continued, "Adams sees a danger in trying to spread a thin line of mediocre graduate programs through the new institutions before they have proven themselves in undergraduate work. We heartily agree with the outspoken Adams."⁵⁰

The widespread newspaper coverage inspired by the commencement address made it essential that BEC not break off negotiations with the Disciples of Christ. Undoubtedly, proponents of a publicly financed university would benefit if the merger collapsed. Adams's impassioned call for support of private education could be turned to their advantage. To many it appeared that the state had to step in because the private sector was either unwilling or unable to undertake the work of creating a scientific and technological university.

The merger talks continued over the summer. During the summer term 448 students enrolled in classes: 313 undergraduates and 135 graduate students.⁵¹ In August, the college announced a \$250,000 fund-raising campaign. The money was to be used for the construction of two new classroom buildings.⁵² Jim Lyons agreed to lead the local fund raising drive. In September, he invited James Sowell, vice president and executive director of Texas Christian University, to visit Melbourne and speak on BEC's behalf. "Frequently," Lyons told a newspaper reporter, "Texas Christian University has been used to inspire us to build our own college as strong as possible so that when Florida Christian University is born it will very quickly be similar to TCU."⁵³

In October 1962, Jerry Keuper resigned his position with RCA. Keuper realized that BEC could not survive on a spare-time basis. Earlier in the summer Cliff Mattox, chairman of BEC's board, had visited Denton Clark and discussed the idea of Keuper assuming full-time duty as BEC's president. Clark, RCA's base manager, approved of the plan and agreed to join BEC's Board of Trustees.

50. "Congratulations Mr. Adams," *Gainesville Sun*, 17 June 1962, in Scrapbook 3: 15.

51. "Brevard Now Registering," *Orlando Sentinel (Brevard Edition)*, 13 July 1962, in Scrapbook 3: 22.

52. "Brevard Engineering College Launches \$250,000 Campaign," *Cocoa (Fla.) Tribune*, 31 July 1962, in Scrapbook 3: 30.

53. "Educator to Speak Here on Community University," *Melbourne Daily Times*, 16 September 1962, in Scrapbook 3: 43.

Mattox and Clark organized a farewell luncheon for Keuper at the Patrick Air Force Base Officers Club where Clark presented Keuper with a pin for his service to RCA. "Jerry's been with RCA for about five years now," Clark declared in his remarks, "And I want him to know that I have complete admiration for what he is about to do."⁵⁴

BEC continued to grow during the fall quarter. The previous summer, nearly five thousand technicians and engineers working at the missile center were questioned about their educational plans. One thousand and six of the respondents indicated that they anticipated enrolling in BEC courses.⁵⁵ More than 670 students enrolled in classes in the fall.⁵⁶ Keuper projected enrollment to grow to 1,400 students within three years.⁵⁷

Discussions with the Disciples of Christ were going nowhere. The differences between the two sides became clear when the church committee presented a list of officers and administrators for the new university. Everyone in BEC's leadership lost his job—"including me," Keuper declared.⁵⁸

In the middle of the failing negotiations, Keuper and John O'Connor, a celestial mechanics physicist at the Cape who worked with Keuper, became embroiled in a potential public relations fiasco involving the Fort Lauderdale police and Keuper's passion for palm trees. Periodically, Keuper and O'Connor rented a U-Haul truck and drove to Miami or Fort Lauderdale to dig up palm trees to landscape BEC's new campus. Normally, they collected the trees, spent the night in a motel, and returned the next day. One Friday evening they were returning to their motel with a load of palm trees already on the truck when a police car pulled them over.

Thirty-five years after the episode, Keuper remembered the incident in graphic detail. The Fort Lauderdale policeman ordered him to step out of the truck. When the officer asked why he had not dimmed his headlights, Keuper explained that it was a rented truck and he was not accustomed to the instrument panel.⁵⁹ To compli-

54. "Departing Keuper Given Farewell Party at PAFB," *Melbourne Daily Times*, 4 November 1962, in Scrapbook 3: 66.

55. "Survey Indicates BEC Enrollment Jump," *Melbourne Daily Times*, 29 June 1962, in Scrapbook 3: 16.

56. R. Hart Phillips, "Missile Workers go to 'Space College' in Florida," *New York Times*, 21 October 1962, in Scrapbook 3: 65.

57. Homer Pyle, "BEC Gets Full-time President," *Miami Herald (Brevard Edition)*, 21 October 1962, in Scrapbook 3: 62.

58. Keuper interview.

59. *Ibid.*

cate matters, Keuper had left his driver's license in Melbourne. The officer arrested the two men and took them to the Fort Lauderdale jail. Keuper called Adams in Tallahassee; "I've got the state police but these are local cops," Adams responded, "There's nothing I can do. I can't help you."⁶⁰

Sometime after midnight a gigantic, black trustee in prison stripes came to Keuper and O'Connor's cell with a ring of keys, opening the door and saying in a somber voice, "Come Jerome." Keuper did not know what to expect as the trustee led him to the chief's office. Having discovered that these two guys were rocket scientists, the chief was willing to let them go if they could get someone to vouch for them in Fort Lauderdale. Keuper remembered that Reverend Updegraff's church was nearby; it was probably after two in the morning when he rang Mrs. Updegraff. Before he could get his apologies launched, she said "We are so grateful to you. We are so pleased and privileged that you would think of us" and proceeded to confirm Keuper's identity for the chief. The Fort Lauderdale police released Keuper on the condition that when he returned to Melbourne he would take his driver's license to the local state police station.⁶¹

Despite the Updegraffs' assistance in Fort Lauderdale, by January 1963, Keuper acknowledged that the "engagement" between BEC and the Disciples of Christ might "not result in a wedding."⁶² "From what I've seen I'm not encouraged," Keuper explained. He gave lack of money as the principal reason for the breakdown in the discussions. There was, however, no reason for concern. "Even without the church, the school is healthy," Keuper declared; "We're making progress."⁶³

Part of Keuper's optimism came from his belief that Adams had succeeded in efforts to block the creation of a public "Space University." The commencement address had sparked a heated debate about the Council of 100's recommendations. Governor Bryant responded by creating a blue-ribbon committee of experts to study Florida's scientific and technological educational needs.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

62. Al Wood, "College-Church Merger Now Dim," *Orlando Sentinel (Brevard Edition)*, 13 January 1963, in Scrapbook 3: 87.

63. Homer Pyle, "Merger Plans by Church, BEC Snagged," *Miami Herald (Brevard Edition)*, 20 January 1962, in Scrapbook 3: 92.

Dr. Ralph McDonnell, president of Bowling Green State University, was chosen to lead Florida Space Era Education Committee.⁶⁴

In January, the committee held public hearings in Tallahassee. Keuper left the state capital convinced that Adams and his confederates had won the debate. There would be no new state university. "I want people to rest assured," Keuper told a *Miami Herald* reporter, "that this college is and will continue to be the institution for science and engineering in the so-called Orlando-Cape Canaveral area. There isn't going to be another one in the next ten years and I doubt in our lifetime."⁶⁵ Ralph McDonald responded that it was "premature" to form any conclusions about what his committee's final recommendations would consist.⁶⁶ In fact, McDonald noted the board of control had authorized \$100,000 for the "study of the need for a university in the Cape-Orlando area."⁶⁷

Governor Bryant was disappointed if he believed that a blue-ribbon panel of outside experts would dampen the controversy. Both money and prestige were involved in this decision. Senator Scott Kelly charged that the supporters of a state-funded "Space University" consisted of "land speculators and glib-tongued politicians." Kelly's blistering remarks came at a dinner meeting of the Eau Gallie Chamber of Commerce where he claimed that a group of land speculators "were using Florida's need of improvement in higher education as a smoke screen. The land speculators have moved into the Orlando-Cape Canaveral area and have formed an unholy alliance with a few ambitious politicians who dream of an empire based upon our state's position of prominence in the field of space exploration."⁶⁸

64. Other members included Dr. H. Guyford Stever, Head of Mechanical and Aeronautical Engineering, MIT; Dr. Walter O. Robertson, Director of the National Center for Atmospheric Research at the University of Colorado; Dr. Lyman Spitzer, Chairman of the Astronomy Department, Princeton University; Dr. Lewellyn Boelter, Dean of Engineering at the University of California; Arthur Adams, former President of the American Council of Education; and Dr. Clifford Hardin, President of the University of Nebraska. See John Wasik, "Florida Debates Second Space University," *Product Engineering*, 4 March 1963, in Scrapbook 4: 1.

65. Homer Pyle, "BEC to Stay Main Facility—College Head," *Miami Herald (Brevard Edition)*, 19 January 1963, in Scrapbook 3: 91.

66. Robert Delaney, "Area Could Still Gain Space School," *Orlando Sentinel (Brevard Edition)*, 26 January 1963, in Scrapbook 3: 94.

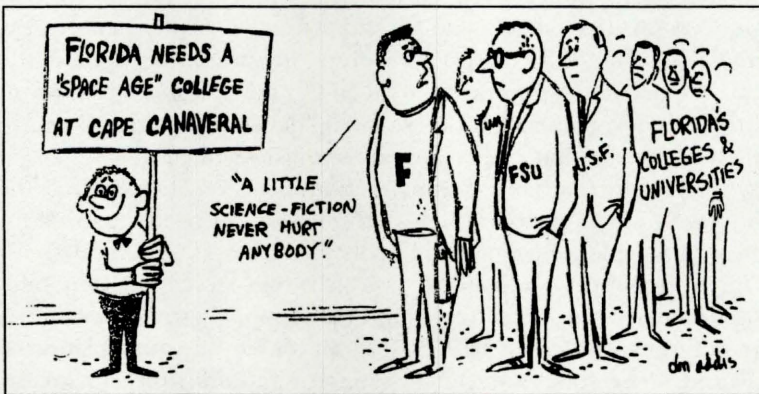
67. *Ibid.*

68. "Space College Seekers Hit as Land Speculators, Politics," *Melbourne (Fla.) Sunday Times*, 3 February 1963, in Scrapbook 3: 96.



"Let's Stop Whittling"

"Let's Stop Whittling," *Orlando Sentinel (Brevard Edition)*, 21 January 1963.



Designs for a "space-age" college met particular opposition from the established institutions in Florida's higher education system, including this cartoon from the student newspaper at the University of Florida; *Gainesville Florida Alligator*, 12 February 1962.

Kelly supported Adams's position. "Instead," he declared, "of building a nebulous something out in the boondocks between here and Orlando, the University of Florida should be authorized to meet immediate and future needs through its Institute of Continu-

ing Studies.”⁶⁹ Kelly proposed the creation of a graduate and professional program in space studies which would be administered by the University of Florida and Florida State University. He adamantly opposed founding a new university, believing that the need for a space university could be met by “using the existing facilities of Brevard Junior College and in cooperation with Brevard Engineering College.”⁷⁰ He warned that “political zealots” sought to turn the “pie-in-the-sky university of rocketry” into an emotional issue even before the blue-ribbon committee’s report was written. Reason, Kelly concluded, must prevail: Florida must not “condone mediocrity and cannot afford duplication in this field.”⁷¹

BEC continued to draw strong local support. “Give it a little thought,” John Wasik wrote in the *Melbourne Daily Times*, “and you’ll probably find out that Jerry Keuper is the only guy who really wants a ‘Space University’ and not just a chance to sell real estate, make points politically, etc.”⁷² In May, William Javert, manager for the A. C. Sparkplug Division of General Motors at the Cape, presented BEC with a \$1,000 contribution. No one had asked for the missile contractors’ perspective in the debate. “I’d rather give money,” Javert declared, “to a school that’s already meeting the area’s needs.” Still, Javert’s recommendation was to base the state’s space education program at BEC. “I’d rather see politicians satisfy whatever needs that exist today,” Javert concluded, “and to me it looks as if that can be best accomplished by BEC.”⁷³

Ironically, Javert’s recommendation came on the day that the Florida Senate’s Appropriations Committee authorized the funds for the establishment of a new university in the Cape Canaveral area.⁷⁴ The proponents for a new state university had succeeded in mobilizing tremendous political and economic support for their position. A new university would create jobs and win votes for the politicians who favored it. In May, Kurt Debus, launch operations director at the Cape, publicly “urged the earmarking of funds for construction of

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid.

72. John Wasik, “Missile Memo,” *Melbourne Daily Times*, 30 January 1963, in Scrapbook 3: 97.

73. Larry Miller, “Cape University Opponent Donates \$1,000 to Brevard,” *Miami Herald (Brevard Edition)*, 2 May 1963, in Scrapbook 4: 18.

74. Ibid.

higher education facilities in the Cape Canaveral area.”⁷⁵ In a speech to the Eau Gallie Chamber of Commerce, Colonel Paul Siebneichen, Debus’s spokesman, explained why a new university was needed: “Brevard Engineering College is not being ignored by NASA,” the colonel declared, “in fact it is carrying the major portion of the [educational] load.” The problem, Siebneichen added, was that “being a private institution the tuition is high.” Nevertheless, “they are doing a tremendous job and we feel they have a terrific future.”⁷⁶

The Appropriation Committee’s decision was but the latest setback for BEC. A few months earlier, Keuper announced that negotiations had broken down between the BEC and the Disciples of Christ. There would be no Florida Christian University in Melbourne. Speaking for the Disciples of Christ, Reverend Updegraff explained the public’s disappointment because “the church and college were married in the public eye before the courtship.”⁷⁷

The final break in the negotiations came over the denomination’s demand that it exercise complete control over the college’s administration. In October, Keuper had resigned his job with RCA. He feared that a majority of the Board of BEC might go along with the Church’s idea of ousting the college’s leadership. Keuper refused to allow the church to steal the school from its founders. “People had worked hard,” he recalled, “We were not going to give it away. So I decided to do what Roosevelt had done when he tried to pack the Supreme Court.” Keuper’s solution was to expand the Board of Trustees to include local leaders of the aerospace industry. He went before the newly constituted board and described the situation, telling them that the Church wanted to steal the school. The Board voted unanimously to discontinue negotiations. In a somber news conference, Keuper and Updegraff announced the decision to scuttle Florida Christian University.⁷⁸

On June 13, 1963, BEC held its third commencement exercises. Twenty-one students received degrees. General John Medaris and Hugh McKean, president of Rollins College, were awarded honorary doctorates. Five years earlier, Keuper had listened to General Medaris announce the successful launch of Explorer 1.

75. Bill Peterson, “Space Education Funds Urged Now,” *Melbourne Daily Times*, 12 April 1963, in Scrapbook 4: 20.

76. Ibid.

77. Bill Peterson, “BEC, Christian Churches Part Quietly,” *Melbourne Daily Times*, 13 February 1963, in Scrapbook 3: 99.

78. Ibid.

Like the American space program, BEC had faced great challenges. And the school's advocates looked to the future with confidence. Enrollment continued to grow. In the spring quarter, more than eight hundred students signed up for classes.⁷⁹ In Huntsville, Alabama, Werner von Braun praised BEC for its contribution to the American space program. "Often called 'Countdown College,'" von Braun wrote in *His Careers in Astronautics and Rocketry*, "[BEC] gives workers in the missile field advanced education in the fields of astronautics, space technology, and similar fields."⁸⁰

There were other positive signs. Shortly before the commencement exercises, John Nelson, Executive Secretary of the Education Impact Committee, announced a potential cut in the budget of the Florida Institute of Continuing University Studies Program (FICUS). FICUS was the state's effort to bring the existing space science programs in the state's universities to the Cape. "I'm discouraged," Nelson admitted, "about the fact that the Atlantic Missile range personnel and contractors have shown an apparent lack of interest in the program." In the spring, Nelson had "to scratch around to find as many as 15 students interested enough in a particular course."⁸¹ Brevard Engineering College, Nelson explained, was the reason for "the dearth of interest in FICUS courses."⁸²

During the next six months, politicians and real estate developers argued over where to locate the proposed state "Space University." In November, the State University System Board of Control decided upon Orlando. Howls of protest went up along the Space Coast. "In one of the greatest debasements of common sense since they castigated Galileo for demonstrating the Copernican Theory," Charles Jean declared in an editorial in the *Melbourne Daily Times*, "the Board of Control ruled out choice Brevard sites for this academic and economic plum."⁸³ Senator Kelly warned that "an unholy alliance" was at work to create a "pie-in-the-sky university of

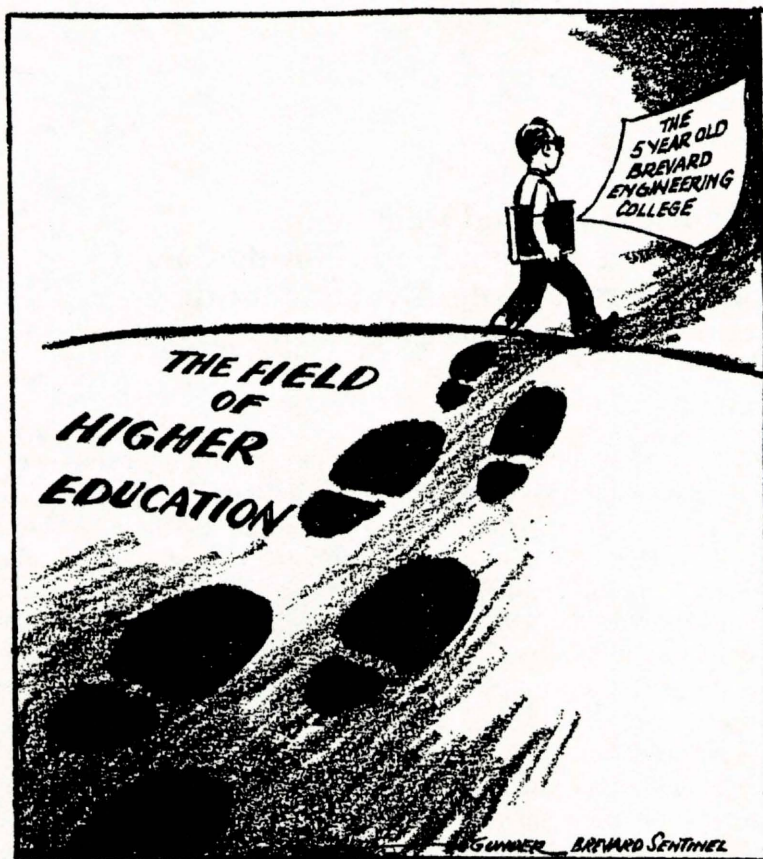
79. "BEC Commencement," *Melbourne Daily Times*, 12 June 1963, in Scrapbook 4: 25.

80. "New Books Recognizes Brevard College," *Titusville (Fla.) Star-Advocate*, 24 June 1963, in Scrapbook 4: 30.

81. Larry Miller, "Space Age Education Program Stalled," *Miami Herald (Brevard Edition)*, 25 April 1963, in Scrapbook 4: 19.

82. *Ibid.*

83. Charles Jean, "Closer Look," *Melbourne Daily Times*, 12 November 1963, in Scrapbook 4: 72.



"Mighty Big Footprints," *Orlando Sentinel (Brevard Edition)*, 3 July 1963.

rocketry."⁸⁴ "The Board of Control's shining new space school," Jean concluded, "may find itself playing second fiddle to BEC when it comes to counting heads of the men it was allegedly created for."⁸⁵ For Jean, Kelly, and others, BEC was the real Space University in "missile county."

84. "Space College Seekers Hit as Land Speculators, Politics," *Melbourne (Fla.) Sunday Times*, 3 February 1963, in Scrapbook 3: 96.

85. Jean, "Closer Look."

Historic Notes and Documents: Evidence Pertinent to the Florida Cabildo Controversy and the Misdating of the Juan Márquez Cabrera Governorship

by John H. Hann

Before 1764, did Spanish Florida possess the traditional municipal institution known as the *cabildo*? Since the 1964 publication of John Jay TePaske's *The Governorship of Spanish Florida, 1700-1763*, the more common opinion among authorities on Colonial Florida is that St. Augustine housed the *cabildo* only from the time of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's founding of the city in 1565 until about 1570 when most of his fellow migrants left the colony.¹ Paul E. Hoffman and Eugene Lyon took a similar stand in 1969, arguing that because St. Augustine lacked a *cabildo* in the mid-sixteenth century, the governor could not comply with the Crown's requirement of a yearly audit of accounts by "availing himself of the laws that allowed him to audit the royal books with the aid of two *regidores* and a notary."² Amy Bushnell challenged that conventional wisdom a dozen years later in *The King's Coffin*, maintaining that the *cabildo* survived in Florida long after the time of Pedro Menéndez and presenting as her most detailed evidence the administration of Juan Márquez Cabrera.³ In a more recent work, David J. Weber reaffirmed the older position, highlighting the *cabildo*'s tendency to fall into dis-

John H. Hann is Site Historian at the San Luis Archaeological Site in Tallahassee.

1. John Jay TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida, 1700-1763* (Durham, N.C., 1964), 26-27.
2. Paul E. Hoffman and Eugene Lyon, "Accounts of the *Real Hacienda* of Florida, 1565 to 1602," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 48 (1969): 64-65.
3. Amy Bushnell, *The King's Coffin: Proprietors of the Spanish Florida Treasury, 1565-1702* (Gainesville, 1981), 107, 115-116.

use in frontier communities like St. Augustine in which governors and their subalterns were military officers.⁴

Recent examination of documents from *residencias* of the 1680s undermines Bushnell's thesis about Florida's *cabildo* and calls into question the dates "9-28-1680?—4-11-1687" that she sets as the limits of Juan Márquez Cabrera's governorship.⁵ St. Augustine's notary stated explicitly in 1688 that neither the city nor its provinces had a *cabildo* and that he was not aware that it had ever had one "at any time at all."⁶ A letter written by Márquez Cabrera—one that Bushnell cites as evidence for Florida's having had a *cabildo* in the 1680s—may be interpreted differently.⁷ And multiple other documents indicate that Bushnell's tentative statement of the limits of Márquez Cabrera's term as governor was in error.

One of Hispanic America's great legacies from Spain during the long colonial era that followed Columbus's first voyage to the New World is the local form of government known as the *cabildo*. The *cabildo* is a lineal descendent of the Roman *civitas* and, in the colonial era's beginnings, appeared very much like its progenitor. In accordance with that tradition, the municipality included the region surrounding a city, thereby making it "the basic unit in political organization."⁸ As historian Hubert Herring noted, Spaniards loyal to that tradition enshrined the city or, more precisely, "the city-state, with a considerable area dominated by the municipal center . . . magnifying the city to a degree unfamiliar to those of English heritage."⁹ As one of their first acts upon beginning their conquest, Spain's conquistadors created a city on paper by establishing a *cabildo*. This differentiated Spanish America from British America, as historian Bernard Moses explained: "In the English colonies of America the town grew up to meet the needs of the inhabitants of the country; but in the Spanish colonies the population of the

4. David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven, Conn., 1992), 324-325.

5. Bushnell, *The King's Coffer*, 142.

6. Alonso Solana, certification, 1 September 1688, in Antonio de Heredia, *Residencia* for Juan Márquez Cabrera, folio 26, Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), Escribanía de Cámara, bundle 156A, microfilm 27J, roll 2, *residencia* series, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

7. Juan Márquez Cabrera to the king, 14 June 1681, AGI, Santo Domingo (hereafter SD) 226, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

8. Harold E. Davis, *History of Latin America* (New York, 1968), 124.

9. Hubert Herring, *A History of Latin America: From the Beginning to the Present*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1968), 157.

country grew up to meet the needs of the town."¹⁰ In Spanish America, accordingly, the *cabildo* was usually the basic instrument in the initial establishment of royal authority. Yet, the *cabildo* did not play such a role in St. Augustine because of the failure of Menéndez de Avilés's grandiose plans for the settlement. St. Augustine was destined to remain little more than a garrison ruled by a governor who was a military man. Spain might well have abandoned the settlement altogether were it not for its strategic position vis-a-vis the Bahama channel. Missions rather than settlers controlled the countryside for Spain.

The *cabildo's* principal officers were known as *alcaldes ordinarios* and *regidores*. Two *alcaldes ordinarios*, or municipal magistrates, constituted the *justicia* of the town. Its *regidores*, or aldermen or councilors, usually numbered four to eight and were known as the *regimiento*. *Justicia* and *regimiento* sitting together formed the municipal council known as a *cabildo* or *ayuntamiento*. As towns grew, other posts such as constable (*alguacil mayor*), tax collector, general procurator (who was the town's attorney and spokesman), and notary were added. In frontier communities such as St. Augustine with a military man governing political life, *cabildos* often became dormant despite royal regulations that required a *cabildo* for the municipality's executive and judicial functions.¹¹ That discrepancy between legal precept and actual practice may be responsible, at least in part, for the difference of opinion among historians on the *cabildo's* survival in St. Augustine.

At St. Augustine, two officials appointed by the Crown represented something of a check on the governor's potential autocracy. They were the treasurer and the accountant, referred to collectively as "the royal officials." As Bushnell noted, "the proprietors of the treasury in St. Augustine were not powerless before the governor's military role of captain general" and could "exert influence on him in a number of ways."¹²

Another check on the governor's power was the *residencia*, a judicial inquiry to which officials such as governors were subjected at the end of their term. In Florida, the incoming governor normally conducted the *residencia* for his predecessor. The documents presented

10. Ibid.

11. Lyle N. McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World 1492-1700* (Minneapolis, 1984), 135; Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 324-325.

12. Bushnell, *The King's Coffin*, 103.

here are drawn largely from the *residencias* held for Governor Pablo de Hita Salazar, who governed from May 1675 until November 30, 1680 and for Juan Márquez Cabrera who succeeded him.¹³ Márquez Cabrera held the *residencia* for his predecessor. But, because of the turmoil that marked Márquez Cabrera's administration, the unusual circumstances of his abrupt abandonment of his post prior to the end of his term, and his arrest and imprisonment when he returned and tried to reclaim the post, a special judge was sent from Cuba to conduct the governor's *residencia* rather than entrusting the task to Márquez Cabrera's appointed successor, Diego de Quiroga y Losada.

During a *residencia*, time was set aside for anyone to complain against the governor's rule. The judge was to survey the records from the administration, looking for indications of malfeasance and holding inquiries into matters about which he harbored suspicions. This well-intentioned procedure has received mixed reviews from historians. Speaking specifically about the *residencia* for viceroys, Herring remarked that this institution in some instances "served the cause of justice, in others it facilitated the revenge of lesser men, and in still others corrupt viceroys were able to buy a favorable verdict from complacent judges."¹⁴ Some historians think that it was enforced more effectively against lesser officials in the provinces.¹⁵ Weber argued that frontier governors like those of Florida had little to fear from this institution because they could quash any charges by bribing their judges.¹⁶

As to St. Augustine's possession of a *cabildo*, TePaske unequivocally states:

The *cabildo* made only one brief appearance in Florida. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés established a town council in St. Augustine almost immediately after he arrived and used it as a governing body while he was absent from the colony. When most of the original migration left Florida in 1570, however, the *cabildo* disappeared and did not reappear despite periodic agitation for its revival.¹⁷

13. Alonso Solana, certification, 20 December 1680, AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, bundle 157A, folio 19, microfilm 27I, roll 1, *residencia* series.

14. Herring, *A History of Latin America*, 160.

15. Helen Miller Bailey and Abraham P. Nasatir, *Latin America: The Development of its Civilization*, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968), 152.

16. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 129.

17. TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida*, 26-27.

As an example of the unsuccessful attempts to restore the *cabildo* in St. Augustine, TePaske cites a movement in the late 1750s by a group of "colonists and clergymen" exasperated with the governor's arbitrary rule. They hoped to curb his "wide power by establishing a *cabildo*." Authorities in Spain proved receptive. Early in 1761, King Charles III ordered the setting up of such a body composed of nine members. The interim governor at the time refused to establish the *cabildo*, however, informing the king that the law required "that only distinguished men with a long record of community service" could serve as *cabildo* members. He had found no one in St. Augustine who satisfied that requirement; and the English assumed control of the city before nine good men could be found.¹⁸

Bushnell remains the major proponent for the view that the *cabildo* survived in Florida long after the time of Menéndez de Avilés, who died in 1574.¹⁹ She proposes that "It has often been written that there was no *cabildo* in Florida after the departure of Pedro Menéndez. It is true that there was no municipal government house, no complement of municipal bailiffs and justices after the first twenty years or so, and perhaps no separate chest for municipal revenues, but a *cabildo* did exist, serving as both the council for the 'noble and loyal city of St. Augustine,' and the 'assembly of the republic.'"²⁰ The crux of her thesis is that, in her bare-bones *cabildo*, "membership was exactly the same as that of a general treasury council." Bushnell defines a general treasury council as a special meeting of the treasury officers in the presence of a notary, a meeting that the governor summoned "with an agenda of his own" and in which he "authorized extraordinary expenditures personally" to deal with some emergency. The normal treasury council consisted of a routine weekly meeting of its officers and a notary, which the governor could attend if he chose.²¹ In support of her argument about the *cabildo*'s survival at St. Augustine, Bushnell states that treasury officials in a capital city were simultaneously *regidores* on that city's *cabildo*. Maintaining that this privilege was never revoked in Florida, she concludes that *cabildo* memberships continued to be awarded concurrently to those who purchased treasury offices.

18. *Ibid.*, 27.

19. Eugene Lyon, "Settlement and Survival," in *The New History of Florida*, ed. Michael Gannon (Gainesville, 1996), 57.

20. Bushnell, *The King's Coffin*, 107.

21. *Ibid.*, 58-62.

Still, Bushnell concedes that this was an exceptional situation and that "except for the royal officials there were no regidores, none elected by the cabildo and none appointed by the governor. This is why the council had no need of separate headquarters, separate meetings, or even a separate chest or book of resolutions."²²

Nonetheless, Bushnell speaks of St. Augustine's *cabildo* as a functioning entity during a prolonged period that extended at least into the 1680s. The instance that she cites in most detail involved the Márquez Cabrera governorship. After remarking that this governor "regarded a cabildo with a membership of only three, counting himself, . . . as no cabildo at all," she claims that, "In order to have a true deliberative body he appointed two more regidores: Pedro Benedit Horrutyner and Domingo de Leturiondo." Bushnell went on to explain that "he said he wanted to avail himself of the law permitting him to audit the accounts with the aid of two regidores and a notary, and he could hardly do so with two regidores who were treasury officials."²³

Bushnell's conclusions are not substantiated by the sources.²⁴ In an abridged and partially translated transcript in the Jeannette Thurber Connor Collection, Márques Cabrera's March 5, 1681 "*Autto* concerning the nomination of the Deputies of this *R* (Real)" begins:

Marques Cabrera ever since his arrival has observed the necessity of naming two persons who in the guise of deputies (*diputados*) together and meeting with the acting accountant and treasurer shall vote, confer, and discuss with them what they see to be most appropriate for his Majesty's service, keeping in mind that there is no *Cavildo* or municipal government (*ayuntamiento*) in this City as in other cities, towns (*villas*), and places.²⁵

22. Ibid., 107.

23. Ibid., 115-16.

24. Bushnell identified her sources for those statements as "Gov. Marques Cabrera, 3-5-1681, SD 226/76 and 6-14, 1681, SD 226 JTC 3"; and for the third statement about the auditing of accounts with the aid of two *regidores*, "Hoffman and Lyon, pp. 64-65; Gov. Marques Cabrera, 5-30-1684, SD 226/116, JTC 3"; see *The King's Coffey*, 182 nn. 75, 76.

25. Juan Márques Cabrera, *Autto* for the nomination of the Deputies of this *R*, 5 March 1681, enclosed with Document No. 76, AGI, Seville, SD 226, Jeannette Thurber Connor Collection (hereinafter JTCC), reel 3. The underlined portions of this quotation appear in English in the Connor transcript.

The governor was rather emphatic in saying that the *cabildo* did not then exist in St. Augustine, although he wished the Crown to create one, judging from his remarks in a June 14, 1681 letter. He repeated his statement about the *cabildo*'s absence in St. Augustine, noting that in order to have a place in which to hear the Indians'

complaints and grievances, I have proposed to your majesty how appropriate it will be for the good practice and administration of justice that an assembly (*ayuntamiento*) of *regidores* be formed in this republic. And in the meantime I have named four deputies so that, assembled and meeting together, they may decide and resolve what is most appropriate to the service of God and your majesty.²⁶

Although the Hoffman-Lyon article that Bushnell cites in note 76 is germane to the statement about the auditing of accounts, there seems to be nothing pertinent to this issue in Márquez Cabrera's letter of May 30, 1684, which she also cites. And even though Márquez Cabrera did possibly refer implicitly to the auditing procedure in the June 14th letter, noting that he "named four deputies" to meet in the meantime to decide on matters "appropriate to the service of God and your majesty," that is a far cry from Bushnell's claim that "he said he wanted to avail himself of the law permitting him to audit the accounts, etc."²⁷

Whatever Márquez Cabrera's intentions may have been when he appointed Horrutyner and Leturiondo as "deputies," notary Alonso Solana's hitherto unused statement in 1688 certifying St. Augustine's lack of a *cabildo* then or earlier seems to remove any doubt. It appears in documentation from Antonio de Heredia's *residencia* for Márquez Cabrera. Solana stated explicitly that he was not aware that

at the present, nor at any time at all (*ni en tiempo ninguno*) have there been in this city or its provinces *Rejidores*, *alcaldes hordinarios* or those of the brotherhood (*hermandad*), general procurators, notary publics belonging to the government number and *cabildo* or other public offices other

26. Márquez Cabrera to the king, St. Augustine, 14 June 1681, AGI, SD 226, JTCC, reel 3.

27. Bushnell, *The King's Coffers*, 115-16. For her use of the Hoffman-Lyon article and Márquez Cabrera's letter, see 182 n 76.

than solely the offices of the notary for the public and for the government, which I exercise, and the lieutenants that there have been in the provinces.²⁸

If the *cabildo* had been in existence, the notary was the one person who would have most certainly known of its existence. As Bushnell concedes, "without this notary's presence there could be no legal gathering for government business, no public pronouncements, and no official action or message. Any letter not in his script was considered a rough draft; his signature verified a legal copy."²⁹

Solana's statement, then, raises the question as to what prompted him to feel a need to certify St. Augustine's lack of a *cabildo*. Unfortunately, we do not know as yet what circumstances prompted that statement. The most likely reason is found in a reply from the Council of the Indies to Márquez Cabrera's letter of June 14, 1681—in which the governor informed the Crown that he was appointing Domingo de Leturiondo as "Protector of the Indians."³⁰ In a subsequent letter from Márquez Cabrera dated January 28, 1682, which was devoted exclusively to the same topic, the Council of the Indies nullified the appointment and adopted its fiscal's recommendation that "the defense of the Indians should be made the duty of *Alcaldes* and justices as is done in the rest of the provinces." The Council's decision reflected its members' belief that St. Augustine possessed a *cabildo* like most, if not all, Spanish cities. The Council ruled that if Leturiondo had been paid anything for his service in that capacity, "let him pay it back and that the justices and ordinary *alcaldes* serve as protection for the Indians and if they do not do so, let them be charged in the *residencia*."³¹ Solana's certification may well have been aimed at disabusing council members of their assumption.

Documentation that escaped Bushnell's attention similarly indicates that she misdated the Márquez Cabrera governorship. People needing to know the dates or years when Colonial Florida's

28. Solana, certification, 1 September 1688.

29. Bushnell, *The King's Coffey*, 58.

30. Márquez Cabrera to the king, 14 June 1681. What I refer to as "a reply from the Council" alludes to comment notes that Council members or the Council's fiscal officer frequently made in margins or other open space in the letters received from governors and royal officials. It was the king rather than the Council who penned the official reply, based on the Council's advice.

31. Márquez Cabrera to the king, 28 January 1682, AGI, SD 226.

governors ruled during the First Spanish Period are thankful that both Bushnell and TePaske compiled chronologies. An appendix to Bushnell's *The King's Coffers* lists governors and acting governors from 1565 to 1706. As this sort of appendix does not lend itself to citation of sources, she alerts the user about dates for which her data was less than satisfactory by appending a question mark. With good reason, she did that for her listing of "9-28-1680?" as the beginning of Márquez Cabrera's governorship.³²

Most Spanish Florida governors sailed from Havana to St. Augustine to assume their duties. But Márquez Cabrera entered Florida by way of the Gulf Coast port of St. Marks, landing in what was known in 1680 as the native province of Apalachee. After an inspection of that province's missions and haciendas, he proceeded eastward slowly through Timucua territory. He was installed formally as governor only on November 30, 1680, two days after his arrival in that city.

It is not clear what source moved Bushnell to choose September 28, 1680 as the inception of Márquez Cabrera's governorship. He did not leave Havana harbor for Apalachee until nightfall, October 15, eighteen days after Bushnell's suggested date for his installation. He sailed on the frigate *El Santo Xpto (Christo) de la Soledad*, a ship owned by Diego de Florencia, a member of Apalachee's most prominent Spanish family but also identified in 1680 as a citizen (*vecino*) of Havana. Márquez Cabrera reached Apalachee Province around November 1.³³

Multiple sources (including Márquez Cabrera himself) establish November 30 as the formal beginning of Márquez Cabrera's governorship and the date on which the administration of Governor Pablo de Hita Salazar ended. That event occurred two days after his arrival in St. Augustine after his trip overland from Apalachee. In folio 6 of Márquez Cabrera's *residencia* for Hita Salazar, Don Juan de Argotte, the royal notary from Havana, recorded how he and Márquez Cabrera entered St. Augustine together on November 28. On folio 52 of the same *residencia*, the St. Augustine Treasury's accountant certified that Hita Salazar's administration ended on the last day of November. In his certification, Salvador de Zigarroa provided a roster of soldiers to whom

32. Bushnell, *The King's Coffer*, 142.

33. Juan de Argotte, certification of the departure of Juan Márquez Cabrera for Florida, 15 October 1680, in *residencia* for Pablo de Hita Salazar, 1681, AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, bundle 156A, microfilm 271, roll 1.

Governor Hita Salazar granted leave during his term of office. Reel 3 of the Connor Collection, which Bushnell heavily employed, contains a note (written by Connor or her transcriber) attached to a copy of a December 8, 1680, letter to the king by Márquez Cabrera stating that "He gives account of having taken possession of that government on November 30."³⁴

Residencia documentation indicates also that Bushnell dated Márquez Cabrera's desertion of his post two days earlier than the event seemingly occurred. Similarly, there are discrepancies between the *residencia* documentation pertaining to the beginning and end of the interim governorship of Pedro de Aranda y Avellaneda and Bushnell's dates for those events. Inconsistency in dating Aranda y Avellaneda's rule, in turn, impacts the dating of his successor's assumption of the office, namely that of the accession of Governor Diego de Quiroga y Losada.

Juan de Argote, Certification of the departure of Juan Márquez Cabrera for Florida, 15 October 1680, in *Residencia de Hita Salazar, 1681, Archivo General de Indias, Escribanía de Cámara, Residencia Series, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, microfilm.*

I don Juan de Argote, notary . . . Havana, a resident of it, certify and give true testimony how (*qº*) on Tuesday, which is reckoned to be the fifteenth of October of the present year, at nightfall, the señor governor and captain general don Juan Márques Cabrera . . . embarked in my company *el gover de* [illeg.] *Nai* [illeg.] in the frigate named *El Santo Xpto de la Soledad*, of which the Captain Diego de Florencia is the owner, a resident of this said city. And so that it may be evident where it is appropriate, I am providing the following certification in . . . Havana on October 15 of sixteen hundred and eighty.

Dn. Juº de Argotte
Royal Notary

34. Salvador de Cigarroa, certification, 7 January 1681, and certification, n.d., in Márques Cabrera, *residencia* for Pablo de Hita Salazar, 1681, folios 52 and 12, AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, bundle 156A, microfilm 27I, roll 1; Márquez Cabrera to the king, 8 December 1680, AGI, SD 226, JTCC, reel 3; Solana, certification, 1 September 1688.

Pablo de Hita Salazar to the king, 7 December 1680, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Santo Domingo 226, Jeannette Thurber Connor Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, microfilm.

Sire:

The sergeant-major Don Juan Márquez de Cabrera arrived at this Presidio of St. Augustine of Florida on the twenty-eighth of November of this year and I handed over the government to him in virtue of the Royal Title from Your Majesty. That he took possession, with which I have remained without the concerns that accompanied me relative to fears of enemies while finding myself so short of people, equipment, and munitions that he brought so abundantly from everywhere so that he might be able to promise himself consolation and resources in order to achieve successes for the greater service of Your Majesty. . . .

Juan Márques Cabrera, St. Augustine, 8 December 1680, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Santo Domingo 226, Jeannette Thurber Connor Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, microfilm.

Sire:

Your governor and Captain general of the provinces of Florida, the sergeant-major Don Juan Márques Cabrera is giving Your Majesty an account of how he took possession of the said government on the thirtieth of the past month. . . .

Alonso Solana, certification, 20 December 1680, in Antonio de Heredia, *Residencia* for Juan Márquez Cabrera, Archivo General de Indias, Escribanía de Cámara, *Residencia* Series, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, microfilm.

[Pablo de Hita Salazar took possession of the governorship] on the third day of the month of May of sixteen hundred and seventy-five and held the governorship until November 30, sixteen hundred and eighty, when he handed it over to Juan Marquez Cabrera.

Salvador de Cigarroa, Certification of the end of Hita Salazar's term, 7 January 1681, in Márques Cabrera, *Residencia* for Pablo de

Hita Salazar, 1681, Archivo General de Indias, Escribanía de Cámara, *Residencia* Series, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, microfilm.

I sergeant-major Salvador de Cigarroa, accountant . . . certify that by way of the lists of people of war belonging to the two companies of this presidio and the rest that are [mentioned] in the Royal Counting House under my charge, it is established and appears that from the third of May . . . of the year sixteen hundred and seventy-five, when . . . Pablo de Hita Salazar took possession until the last day of November, he gave the following leaves: . . .

to Jacinto Roque [Pérez] to be away from this presidio—in Apalache.

to Juan Ignacio in order to be away . . .

to Joaquín de Florencia, within this presidio . . .

Juan Márquez Cabrera, *Autto* for the nomination of the Deputies of this R, 5 March 1681, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Santo Domingo 226, Jeannette Thurber Conner Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida History, Gainesville, microfilm, excerpt.

St. Augustine, March 5, 1681, Márques Cabrera ever since his arrival has observed the necessity of naming two persons who in the guise of deputies together and meeting with the acting accountant and treasurer shall vote, confer, and discuss with them what they see to be most appropriate for his Majesty's service, keeping in mind that there is no *Cavildo* or municipal government in this City as in other cities, towns, and places . . . mentions great extent of jurisdiction . . . remarks that there is no *alcalde mayor* ordinario nor any other justice to assist him in administration of said justice; wherefore he names Pedro Benedit Horrutyner and Domingo de Leturiondo to such deputies. They are notified and duly sworn in.³⁵

35. All the underlined portions of this document were in English in the Connor transcript. The first part, at least, of those lines also paraphrases the document rather than translating it.

Márquez Cabrera's Arrival in Apalachee and Installation as Governor, 19 May 1681, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Santo Domingo 226, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, microfilm.

. . . Turning to the most lamentable aspect of this matter, we continue by saying that Your Honor arrived at the province of Apalache around (*por*) the first of November of last year [1680], in whose port he had scarcely landed when he began to fight (*chocar*) with the first Religious Ministers of those provinces whom he met. . . .

Márquez Cabrera's letter to the king, 14 June 1681, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Santo Domingo 226, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, microfilm.

For the Christian princes and judges, who are placed by God, having recourse to and begging [it] of his divine majesty, it is indubitable that he should give them light for the better success in his holy service and in the administration of the justice that they provide and that the Holy Spirit will enlighten them for the achievement of the good results that they desire and that they may emerge from the councils and juntas in which divine help is invoked. For, although a sinner, I believe that his divine majesty gives me inspiration for the reforms that have been evident up to now in what I have done and what I am doing, having named a protector and general defender for the welfare and protection of the native Indians, which never has existed in these provinces. And in order to place the hearing of the justification of their complaints and grievances, I have proposed to your majesty how appropriate it will be for the good practice and administration of justice that an assembly (*ayuntamiento*) of aldermen (*regidores*) be formed in this republic. And in the meantime, I have named four deputies so that, assembled and meeting together, they may decide and resolve what is most appropriate for the service of God and of your majesty, choosing the persons who are well known to be the most suitable for knowledge, conscience, and experience, [such] as is recognized [to exist] in the two royal officials [and the] sergeant-majors

Pedro Benedict Horruytiner and Domingo de Leturiondo, something inescapable since these provinces were conquered and settled, a copy of which I am remitting.

Márquez Cabrera to the king, St. Augustine, 28 January 1682, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Santo Domingo 226, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, microfilm.

[Notes made on its cover sheet at the Council of the Indies]

Council 26 of August 1682

Bring it to the señor fiscal.

The fiscal speaks against the confirmation of a protector of the Indians whom the governor of Florida has named. Neither should a salary be assigned . . . and the defense of the Indians should be made the duty of *Alcaldes* and justices as is done in the rest of the provinces. M. de [illeg.] Sept., yr. ([illeg.] *as*) of 1682.

+ Council 23 of Sept 1683

As the sr. fiscal rules, and if he has been paid anything, let him pay it back and that the justices and ordinary *alcaldes* serve as protection for the Indians. And if they do not do so, let them be charged in the *residencia*.

Done.

Alonso Solana, notary for the public and for the government, Certification about the *Cabildo* in St. Augustine, 1 September 1688, in Antonio de Heredia, *Residencia* for Juan Márquez Cabrera, Archivo General de Indias, Escribanía de Cámara, *Residenica* Series, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, microfilm.

I the adjutant Alonso Solana, notary for the public and for the government of this city and presidio of St. Augustine of Florida, certify and give true testimony in the part where it is appropriate to the señores who see the present [certification] how, on the thirtieth day of November of the past year of sixteen hundred and eighty, the señor captain and sergeant-major, don Juan Márquez Cabrera, took possession of the government of this city and of [its] provinces by virtue of a royal title from his Majesty. And he con-

tinued in it until the thirteenth day of April of the past year of sixteen hundred and eighty-seven that he absented himself from this said city and provinces, sailing out by way of the bar on a privateering galliot belonging to his majesty for the reason that is stated in the order that he left at the time of his departure, the original of which remains in the Royal Counting House of these provinces in the *autos* that were issued concerning the said absence. Because of this [absence], the sergeant-major, don Pedro de Aranda y Avellaneda entered upon the governing of this said city and provinces on the seventeenth day of the said month of April of the said year in virtue of Royal decrees from his Majesty with the Royal officials of these provinces delivering the said governorship to him. And he continued in it until the twenty-first day of August of the said year of eighty-seven on which he handed it over to the señor captain of Spanish Armored Cavalry, Don Diego de Quiroga y Losada in virtue of a title from / folio 26v. his Majesty whose *auttos* about the said absence remain in their original copies, as has been said. He made ([illeg.] *hiço*) *autos* about the said absence. The originals remain, as has been said, in the Royal Counting House of these provinces.— And likewise, I certify and give true testimony that it is not evident to me that, at the present nor at any time at all, have there been in this city or its provinces *Rejidores* (aldermen), *alcaldes hordinarios* (mayors) or of the *hermandad* (brotherhood), general procurators, notary publics belonging to the government number, and *cabildo* (*cauildo*) or other public offices other than only solely the offices of the notary for the public and for the government, which I exercise, and lieutenants that there have been in the provinces.³⁶ And that those whom there have been [exercising those posts] are registered by the Royal Counting House. And in order that this may be evident, in fulfillment of the *auto* on the sheet preceding this one, about which I was notified by Sevastian de Abarca, Royal notary, provided by the señor Licentiate, don Anttonio de Heredia, Judge for the *Residencia* in this city, I give the present [certification] in St.

36. The lieutenants were the deputy-governors who Florida's governor appointed to administer the various mission provinces.

Augustine of Florida on the first of September of the year
sixteen hundred and eighty-eight and in witness of it

I make my sign in

witness of the truth³⁷

Alonso Solana

notary for the public and for the government

(*s^{no} Pu^o y degouⁿ*)

37. The notary's elaborate special mark occupied the open space in the middle of this line.

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Serials

Book Reviews

Government in the Sunshine State: Florida Since Statehood. By David R. Colburn and Lance deHaven-Smith. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999. xvi, 168 pp. Foreword, preface, acknowledgments, introduction, bibliography, index. \$19.95 cloth.)

The authors manage to pack a great deal of information into the one hundred fifteen pages of actual text which comprise this small volume. The foreword is by former governor Reubin O'D Askew, with favorable comments by pre-publication readers ranging from Senator Bob Graham to Professor Michael Gannon of the University of Florida. David R. Colburn is professor of history and director of the Reubin O'D Askew Institute on Politics and Society at the University of Florida and Lance deHaven-Smith is professor of public administration and associate director of the Florida Institute of Government at Florida State University, also named after former governor Askew.

The book has a tremendous bias in favor of more government and more spending as well as an impatience with the Florida voter who does not seem to appreciate that this is what is really needed to solve the state's problems. Thus, Colburn and deHaven-Smith write of "the public's notoriously hostile attitude toward taxes" (124), while advocates of small government might see this as an admirable quality. The authors' view reflects more than a little of the "mandarin expert" attitude of academics and bureaucrats, dating back to the Progressives at the turn of the twentieth century, that the public simply cannot understand the complex problems of modern government. At least the Progressives did not share the authors' disdain for the idea of public referenda, but instead encouraged it.

In their discussions of environmental problems, urban sprawl, and other aspects of growth management, the authors seem frustrated with a voting public that does not appreciate the need for

more government involvement and spending. They appear unaware that, along with the economic prosperity of the 1990s, the state's budget more than doubled between 1989 and 1999, from a little over \$23 billion to over \$48 billion. One is tempted to inquire of them, how many more billions of dollars would be needed to achieve their ambitious governmental agenda? In other writings on growth management, deHaven-Smith has always maintained that growth management will never work unless its powers are greatly expanded and greater funds poured into the program. It is difficult to disagree with that assessment!

It is fitting that both men should be associated with institutes bearing the name of former governor Reubin Askew, for it was in his governorship (1970-1978) that perhaps "bigger government" advocacy reached its high point. In the 1980s and since, both the nation and Florida have increasingly sought market solutions to problems, especially with the collapse of communist nations that disdained any such market ideas. While former governor Lawton Chiles began to seek such solutions in a limited way, this book is devoid of a discussion of that whole approach to government's potential role.

It is not as if such market solutions have not been discussed by some policy analysts in Florida. To any reader exploring this small book, this reviewer recommends Randall G. Holcombe's *Public Policy and the Quality of Life: Market Incentives Versus Government Planning* (1995) for a totally different paradigmatic approach to many of the environmental and growth management problems for which Colburn and deHaven-Smith seek expanded governmental intervention. Holcombe offers market-based solutions to a number of problems such as natural resources, the environment, urban sprawl, growth management, land use, housing and homelessness, regulation of quality standards, health care, health insurance, and public health.

In short, instead of the Colburn/deHaven-Smith view of government with task of increased size and spending, Holcombe offers a view in which government is the mechanism that sets the rules within which markets can seek to solve these problems. Indeed, as Floridians begin to explore emerging public policy issues in the twenty-first century, this little volume may well be viewed as a classic, the "climax" of the neo-mercantilist, interventionist worldview.

Santa María de Galve: A Story of Survival. Edited by Virginia Parks. (Pensacola: Pensacola Historical Society, 1998. x, 174 pp. List of maps and illustrations, acknowledgments, index. \$14.95 paper.)

In 1559, the ill-fated Tristán de Luna y Arellano colonizing expedition to Pensacola Bay, Florida, failed miserably because of a hurricane and incompetence. It would be nearly 140 years before the Spanish once more attempted a colony at the site. Thanks largely to Spanish fears of a French colony on the Gulf Coast, a renewed effort was made to find a suitable outpost for Spain. Admiral Andrés de Pez and Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora reported favorably in 1693 of the Pensacola Bay area, urging their superiors to set up a presidio (a combination fort, village, and church). Their recommendations were heard, and in 1698 the Spanish established the first permanent colony at Pensacola in the form of the Presidio Santa María de Galve, situated on the bluffs overlooking the pass to the Gulf. The presidio existed from 1698 to 1722, eventually falling victim to a French attack. After the French were removed the Spanish moved the colony to the shifting sands of Santa Rosa Island until 1752. Surviving hurricanes on a barrier island finally convinced the Spanish to move again, this time to the mainland where the present-day city of Pensacola stands. The original colony of Santa María de Galve fell into oblivion, with only a succession of fortifications marking the area over the next few hundred years. In 1995, archaeological excavations at the Pensacola Naval Air Station confirmed the existence of the original presidio, and a wealth of data emerged. To celebrate the 300th anniversary of Santa María de Galve, the Pensacola Historical Society published *Santa María de Galve: A Story of Survival*, which offers readers an exemplary account of this first permanent Pensacola.

The book is a collection of articles by both historians and archaeologists, and overall the editor succeeds in blending a true description of this colonial epoch. Little in-depth scholarly research had been conducted on this episode in Spain's colonization of Florida, and so the articles are truly enlightening. For Florida historians, the heart and soul of this volume is "The Presidio Santa María de Galve: The First Permanent European Settlement on the Northern Gulf Coast, 1698-1722" by William S. Coker and R. Wayne Childers. Utilizing newly translated Spanish documents, the authors provide a detailed and comprehensive account (84 pages of the book) of the presidio, complete with splendid economic,

cultural, military, social, and political details. Coker also provides a chapter which delineates the role of Admiral Andrés de Pez in the re-establishment of Pensacola.

Judith A. Bense contributes a chapter on the archaeological investigations at the presidio, and the rediscovery of the site and the archaeological detective work is riveting. Sandra Johnson examines the often complex relationship between the French in nearby Mobile and the Spanish in Pensacola. Though traditional enemies, both colonies interacted with each other in their common struggle for survival. Jane E. Dysart's chapter explores the role of the Native Americans in West Florida and the region near the presidio. The book is rounded off with an introduction by Jesse Earle Bowden and attractive illustrations by Dave Edwards. Appropriate maps, photographs, and an index complement the volume.

Too many times historians and archaeologists fail to utilize each other's resources, so it is rewarding to see a splendid marriage of history and archaeology in this volume. As a resource tool for this period of Pensacola's colonial history, the authors and publisher have created an attractive and readable scholarly account that will be the standard work for many years to come.

Pensacola Junior College

BRIAN R. RUCKER

Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 1: Assimilation. Volume 2: Resistance and Destruction. By John E. Worth. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. List of figures and tables, foreword, preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth each.)

On the eve of the European conquest of Florida in the sixteenth century, the area of the peninsula between the St. Johns River region of the Atlantic coast and the Aucilla River of the Big Bend was inhabited by dozens of small, independent aboriginal chiefdoms. Living by farming, hunting, fishing, and gathering, these native people were relatively dispersed across the landscape, although they did at times join in alliance to flex their military muscle against European intrusion, most notably in a large pitched battle against De Soto's conquistadores in 1539 when four hundred warriors surprised the advancing Spaniards. But for the most part these interior chiefdoms remained peripheral to the larger schemes of Spanish conquest until the end of the sixteenth century, when Florida assumed a new role in the Spanish colonial empire.

With all hope of extracting rich mineral wealth long since dashed, the Spaniards looked to Florida as guardian and protector of the Bahama Channel, through which passed Spanish ships laden with New World treasure on their westward voyage across the Atlantic. Early in the seventeenth century a second role for Florida emerged, as a buffer against the southward expansion of the French and British presence. In this rapidly changing world, the aboriginal people of the Florida interior suddenly achieved greater importance. Within decades, the Timucua Indians, as they came to be called, were swept into the European colonial economy and became, for a time, major players in the precarious global balance of power. This is the story historian and anthropologist John Worth tells in his masterful two-volume study, *Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida*.

Worth is interested in following the path of cultural change among the Timucua, one that ultimately led to their complete assimilation into the Spanish colonial system. At the core of his study (most of Volume Two) is the most detailed examination in print of the causes, events, and consequences of the Timucuan Rebellion of 1656, the largest concerted effort by the Timucuan chiefs to overthrow Spanish colonial authority. Using newly discovered sources long buried in the Spanish archives until his trips to Seville and Madrid in the early 1990s, the full versions of known documents previously used in shortened or annotated form, and the results of archaeological excavations at several key Timucuan missions, Worth provides a fresh historical and anthropological reconstruction of Timucuan culture. Worth makes several points clear and returns to them in both volumes. The Spaniards needed to create and control a pool of Timucuan labor for the military draft, for agricultural production, and as burden bearers. The Spaniards needed to control the Timucuan territory in order to safeguard the Camino Real as it passed from the agriculturally rich Apalachee Province to the west through the interior to the capital at St. Augustine. And, in order to accomplish these objectives, the Spaniards needed to control the Timucuan chiefs, who sat at the key nodes of social, political, and economic control in aboriginal society.

From the perspective of Spanish needs, the establishment of the mission system provided the perfect solution to the problems of control. Dispersed aboriginal populations could be moved to centralized mission villages, either through enticement or reduction. Once there, they were countable and controllable by the priest or occasional armed representatives of the Crown. Further,

the missions provided a fixed location for the one-to-one relationship between priest and chief, an interaction that almost always resulted in conversion. Although the Timucuan Province itself was too agriculturally marginal to contribute significantly to the Spanish colonial economy, when the missions were at their prime in the middle decades of the seventeenth century prior to the rebellion, Timucua was indeed the backbone of the colonial enterprise. The processes through which the Timucuan chiefdoms were integrated into the mission system are the focus of Volume One.

Volume One: Assimilation opens with two chapters on the cultural and archaeological baselines for the study of the Timucuan chiefdoms. Here Worth correlates as closely as he can the various archaeological complexes throughout north Florida with historically identifiable chiefdoms, and he addresses both demographic decline and the reconfiguration of native society and politics following initial European contact. The next two chapters describe the early years of missionization between 1587 and 1630 and stress that the formal establishment of missions could only take place with the chief's approval. Three chapters are then devoted to each of the major political jurisdictions coexisting in seventeenth-century Spanish Florida—the Republic of Indians, the order of Franciscan priests, and the secular Spanish military government. Worth's figure 5.1 nicely diagrams the relationship between these powers and hints at the structural tensions which eventually resulted in the system's demise.

In the second half of the volume, Worth explores the economic dimensions of the mission system, particularly emphasizing the negative consequences that Florida's dependency on royal provisions had on the Indian Fund. The primary economic relationship between the Spanish colonial government in St. Augustine and the mission provinces revolved around the production and distribution of corn. In many ways this was an all-encompassing relationship, as the cultivation of corn in the provinces and its movement to St. Augustine depended on Indian muscle and sweat.

On top of the agricultural work in the mission fields, a system of draft labor known as *repartimiento* brought Indian workers to the fields of St. Augustine, where they had to be fed for the duration of their stay. In overview, the net gains and losses in such a system were never far apart. Timucua's role was to keep the flow of corn and labor from the more prosperous Apalachee Province secure, minimize losses of goods and services in transport, and pro-

vide a ready source of draft labor or militia when needed, all precariously balanced on the good will of the chiefs. Lacking a strong military presence in the interior and therefore not realistically able to threaten coercion, the Spaniards relied on skillful diplomacy and cultivated Indian self-interest to keep the system functioning.

Laced throughout Volume One are numerous references from original Spanish sources to cimmarones, not meaning the later Seminoles to whom the name came to be applied, but rather Timucuan fugitives fleeing the missions. In the pre-rebellion years, favored destinations for the refugees were the inaccessible regions of the Okefenokee Swamp and the upper St. Johns River of central Florida. After the 1656 rebellion, the meaning of the word shifted slightly to apply to those Timucuas fleeing Spanish retaliation. Particularly in the post-rebellion era, bands of cimmarones were perceived as threats to Spanish attempts to regain control of the province and were sought out by military patrols.

Volume Two: Resistance and Destruction focuses on the causes and consequences of the 1656 Timucuan Rebellion and the ultimate collapse of the Timucua mission system. Worth carefully synthesizes the documentary evidence for both the immediate and systemic causes of the rebellion. His presentation also unveils the growing political tensions that threatened to bring the European colonial empires to a flashpoint in the New World theater. Acting under the presumption of an impending British attack on the Spanish colony at St. Augustine, Governor Rebolledo had no choice but to call up the Indian Militia as reinforcements. But the militia, consisting of the chiefs and highest ranking warriors from each village, were required to carry their own food to St. Augustine, and once there, to be responsible for provisioning themselves. Unknown to the new governor, this order violated the fundamental protocol of Spanish-Indian relations, that the status and prestige of the chiefly office and native social distinctions would be respected. Rebolledo's further mismanagement of the Indian Fund exacerbated the ill feelings of the chiefs.

Several chiefs, attempting to stave off what seemed to be the intentional undermining of their power, called for the murder of all secular Spaniards in the province. In a brief fit of violence lasting several days in late spring of 1656, seven people were killed in the Timucua Province, two of whom were African slaves working at the La Chua ranch. The rebellion failed to overthrow Spanish authority and proved to be counterproductive to the chiefs' interests. The

main conspirators were garroted, the region pacified through a resettlement plan which brought all villages within ready access of the Spanish military. This plan proved to be the doom of Timucua, as these new missions proved easy targets for English-backed raids by Yamasee and Apalachicola warriors between 1685 and 1706. By 1706, five towns of Timucuan refugees had settled within the protective sight of the Spanish fortress at St. Augustine, and despite some level of cultural mixing with other refugees and stability, only sixty or so Timucas were surviving by 1763 when Florida was turned over to the British crown. These few survivors quickly dwindled in number after relocating to Spanish Cuba.

This is a masterful study, notable both for its depth of coverage and its overarching anthropological framework. Although largely successful in synthesizing the anthropological concern for cultural process and the historical need for tight chronological control, there is some room for minor disappointment. Worth never engages the archaeological record as an independent line of evidence, relegating it instead to a supporting role. Worth acknowledges this choice early on and justifies it, but in so doing leaves the door open for new perspectives more fully informed by archaeological interpretation. This small point aside, Worth's remarkable two-volume study is a major contribution to our knowledge of the Timucua chiefdoms and the Spanish colonial enterprise.

University of South Florida

BRENT R. WEISMAN

Southern Women in Revolution, 1776-1800: Personal and Political Narratives. By Cynthia A. Kierner. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998. xxviii, 253 pp. Acknowledgments, editorial method, list of abbreviations, introduction, appendices, select bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

Although the title of Cynthia Kierner's book suggests an encompassing history of southern women in the Revolutionary War period, the volume more accurately covers the history of women's petitions to government at a critical moment in early American history. In the period of the War for Independence and its aftermath, the rate of women's petitioning to state authorities expanded enormously. Kierner collected and presented here, according to her calculations, one-eighth of the petitions women presented to the legislatures of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia between 1776

and 1800. The book is organized into five thematic chapters: one on "Families at War," one each on the costs borne by Whig and Loyalist women, a chapter on women and citizenship, and a final chapter on "the limits of revolution" in failing to redress inequitable laws relating to slavery, marriage, and property. Each chapter begins with a short, very readable essay introducing the topic, and then reproduces fourteen to twenty-five short documents. Kierner introduces each document with a paragraph describing the context of each petition and identifies individuals and events mentioned in the passages in her thorough footnotes.

Analyzing the rhetoric women invoked in the service of their requests, Kierner recovers women's voices, while simultaneously showing the parameters imposed on them and limiting their speech. Whig women found it useful to stress their political allegiances with those in the legislatures, and many of their petitions reflect a political streak while, conversely, some Tory women found that they needed to stress their submission to conventional gender expectations to explain their wartime acceptance of their husbands', as well as British, authority as a means to recover property. Other widows and wives of Tory men, also seeking to recover land and slaves forfeited during the war, stressed their separate identities as a means to distance themselves from their British alliances. The outcome petitioners hoped to achieve affected the degree of political knowledge and loyalty that these women chose to invoke. As a result, although the book's title balances the "private" and "public" nature of the petitions as narratives, the reader is left to decide how far these women's petitions reflect expediency and how far they suggest women's public voices. Certainly, Kierner offers an impressive and compelling series of public narratives that contain information on women's wide range of wartime activities, but these petitions are a particular kind of text, written to sway potentially hostile legislators. As a result, the personal dimension of those narratives as a story-telling device remains somewhat suspect—the desired result demanded that these women present their accounts within a particular framework. The reader is left to wonder how far women's voices in their petitions resemble that of their other writing, where any survives. Still, this is a refreshing dilemma. Early American women's history, more than accounts of later periods, has stressed women's private words and actions.

The book includes compelling passages that will interest the general and academic reader alike. Professors teaching women's

history and the Revolutionary War period may find this a useful set of primary sources to have shelved at their institutions' libraries in order to be able to assign interesting term papers topics from it. The volume will be particularly interesting for readers of this journal in part because it establishes a southern tradition of women's petitioning, an act associated in the antebellum period primarily with northern anti-slavery activists. More specifically related to Florida is the significance of East Florida as a destination for Loyalists who fled the rebelling colonies only to migrate from their new homes when the British then turned it over to the Spanish. Some of the petitioners themselves were involved in the multiple migrations to East Florida and then on to Jamaica, Canada, Britain, and Sierra Leone, but other petitioners remained in their homes in the South attempting to recover property or obtain clemency for husbands forced out by their political allegiances. This volume provides useful materials for understanding women's public writing and, with Kierner's *Beyond the Household* (1998), offers an interesting overview of the ambiguities and contradictions inherent in the ways Americans understood gender in the Revolutionary War period and afterwards.

Beloit College

LINDA L. STURTZ

Historical Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814-15 with an Atlas. By Arsène Lacarrière Latour. Edited with an introduction by Gene A. Smith. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999. xlii, 358 pp. Editor's acknowledgments, editor's introduction, preface, introduction, notes, appendices, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

Latour wrote this book in French, had it translated into English, then in 1816 published it in Philadelphia. The state of Florida printed a facsimile in 1964 through the University Press of Florida as part of the Quadricentennial Facsimile and Reprint series. In 1999 the Historic New Orleans Collection, again using the University Press of Florida, reissued this invaluable historical work. It is a new printing, taken word-for-word from the 1816 original without a single error. The resultant volume is far handsomer than the facsimile and is manageable in size and print.

The original had one volume of text and one of maps. Its eight maps, accurately copied, are included in the current edition packaged in an envelope. The original priced at \$5.00 did not cover

costs; the new issue is priced ten times higher. It contains forty-two pages of introduction, 160 pages of Latour's text, and 165 pages of documents collected by Latour and coded to the text.

Jane deGrummond wrote the introduction to the 1964 facsimile, including what little was known then about Arsène Lacarrière Latour. The 1999 edition in contrast starts with an informative introduction by Gene A. Smith, offering much more about Latour than has ever appeared before in print. The man was an engineer and an architect, sometimes in the service of the United States, sometimes as an agent for Spain. All of his life he had to struggle for financial security.

Born in France in October 1778, Latour lived through part of the French Revolution. Next, residing in San Domingue, he observed an attempt by a Napoleonic army to take control of that island. Then he made his way to the United States in time to participate in Andrew Jackson's New Orleans campaign during the War of 1812. Since most of the army engineers were involved in conflict in the Great Lakes Theater, Jackson had need of and used Latour as an engineer with the rank of major. His first assignment was to map the Gulf Coast from the Escambia River to the River LaFourche. The resultant maps, together with others Latour drew of battle sites, are indispensable in the study of the War of 1812.

Latour was closely involved throughout Jackson's remarkable campaign. It was he who told the General that the British would probably advance against New Orleans via Lake Borgne and its bayous. They came that way reaching within seven miles of the city without being discovered. Sixteen days later on January 8, 1815, Jackson's motley army stopped them with great slaughter on the left bank of the Mississippi River. Disaster loomed on the other bank, but Latour insisted that if the defense line he had chosen there had been used, it would have been secure. John Lambert, the only British major general still able to command, stunned by the fearful losses across the river, hastily withdrew the force from the right bank.

Latour, who was in touch with the Lafittes at Barataria, left the only contemporary account of the fateful meeting between Jackson and Lafitte which brought the guns and expert gunners from Barataria into the American line with devastating effect. Latour contended that the Baratarians were not pirates, but rather privateers with letters from either France or Cartagena.

Andrew Jackson was Latour's hero, showing the ultimate in personal courage and firmness and composure under stress. The

saving of New Orleans from rapine and plunder was due to one man: Andrew Jackson. What a triumph he wrought: inflicting 2444 casualties, while losing only 336 Americans—seven to one. The Administrator Apostolic of the Diocese of Louisiana in a sermon before the General gave the principal credit to God, adding that God had endowed Andrew Jackson with a superior brain.

In this book the enemy is the perfidious Briton. Jackson's aide, Thomas Butler, told the citizens of New Orleans that they were facing the common enemy of mankind, the highway robber of the world. Britain was waging a war of vengeance marked by cruelty, lust, and horror unknown to civilized nations.

Latour's language and the quotes from documents in the book are in the romantic mood. To Latour the War of 1812 was glorious; an evaluation not adopted by later generations. When Andrew Jackson issued a farewell proclamation to his troops he wrote, "Go then my brave companions full of honors and crowned with laurels that will never fade." The laurels did in time fade. The reissue of this indispensable book in attractive form is welcome and useful.

Gainesville

JOHN K. MAHON

Amidst a Storm of Bullets: The Diary of Lt. Henry Prince in Florida, 1836-1842. Edited by Frank Laumer. (Tampa: University of Tampa Press, 1999. xxiv, 166 pp. Illustrations, foreword, preface, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

The Second Seminole War's importance to Florida, southern, and United States history should not be underestimated. The 1835-1842 conflict stirred national controversy that engulfed several presidential administrations, drained a treasure of government revenues, forced the rethinking of prevailing military concepts, trained a good part of the army and navy officer corps, and devastated peninsular Florida before launching the territory on a bitter and divisive trail to statehood. Beyond that, the war prompted what may have been the nation's largest slave rebellion before compelling the relocation of thousands of Creeks, Seminoles, Mikasukis, and Black Seminoles to Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas.

We have been both fortunate and unfortunate in gaining access to information about the war. Several historians, most notably John K. Mahon with his *History of the Second Seminole War*, have offered in-depth examinations. Yet, the few readily available contem-

porary accounts consist mainly of surgeon Jacob Rhett Motte's journals, released by editor James F. Sunderman and the University of Florida Press in 1963; Bartholomew M. Lynch's journals, published in 1965 as a Florida State University master's thesis; and, to some extent, John T. Sprague's classic *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War*, issued in 1848. Huge gaps remained to be filled, though. Among them were soldiers' day-to-day experiences, the war's impact upon civilians, and the key roles of black warriors and slaves.

Fortunately, Lieutenant Henry Prince's diary now affords us an excellent additional resource. Essentially lost for well over one century, the document came to light thanks to the discerning eye of Frank Laumer, respected historian of the Dade Massacre. With assistance from numerous volunteers, including Professor Mahon, Laumer meticulously transcribed and annotated his find. The original then was deposited for researchers in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

The diary records Prince's Second Seminole War experiences beginning January 10, 1836, and ending April 25, 1842, but the lieutenant's absences from Florida during May 22, 1837 to January 3, 1838, and during 1839 to April 5, 1842, left large gaps. When the author was on the scene, however, he proved an articulate chronicler from a participant's day-to-day perspective. Since orders took Prince to virtually all key battlefields, he left us with careful description of each one. Dozens of the officer's wonderful drawings, which were entered directly into the diary, supplement his words. Sometimes, they provide the only illustration available on their subjects.

Almost half the diary's content deals solely with the war's first year, and here the author's prose crackles with the excitement and dread of white-hot war or else evokes the boredom and isolation endured in waiting for action. Word pictures of fighting at the Withlacoochee River bring those long-ago days alive, as do passages concerning Fort Drane, Fort King, Fort Izard, Fort Brooke, and similar places.

His experiences left the lieutenant with grudging respect for his black and Indian foes, but his sentiments ran harder when it came to white Floridians, for whom he felt little affection. "Farewell ye Crackers! & ye cracker girls & a farewell ye *one-roomed* log houses where lives, & sleeps, a generation," he penned at one point. "Farewell the dirty foot, slipshod, but never knew a stocking; the unwashed face; ropy hair; the swearing, lazy, idle, slut!," he continued

before adding, "Ye drinking, drawling, boasting, cowardly slig-gards—Fare ye well!" (118).

The editor has taken pains to provide helpful supplementary material for the reader. Beyond annotations, Laumer has included in an introduction and an epilogue a well-researched biographical essay on Henry Prince, and in a preface he has detailed the diary's provenance and the steps he and his associates took to preserve and make available the diary's contents.

Mention should be made that, with this and other recent publications, the University of Tampa Press has contributed significantly to studies in Florida history and culture, always doing so in a manner reflecting high standards of quality.

Frank Laumer and the Seminole Wars Historic Foundation, Inc. deserve commendation for bringing the Prince diary forward in so useful a fashion. It should find a valued place in collections of Florida and United States military history.

Florida Supreme Court Historical Society

CANTER BROWN JR.

The Croom Family and Goodwood Plantation: Land, Litigation and Southern Lives. By William Warren Rogers and Erica R. Clark. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999. xvii, 290 pp. List of illustrations, preface, acknowledgments, appendix, bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

For the past thirty years, historians have been writing book-length accounts of southern elite families and their migration from one part of the upper South to the lower South or the Southwest. But few can rival the competence and completeness of William W. Rogers and Erica Clark's efforts. Their new book, *The Croom Family and Goodwood Plantation: Land, Litigation and Southern Lives*, gives a detailed description and analysis of Hardy Bryan Croom's undertaking to migrate from North Carolina, the place of his birth, to either Charleston, South Carolina, or Leon County, Florida. The authors clearly show the importance and role of extended family in helping to shape the saga of the Crooms, as well as the story of Florida's early development, growth, and history. A large number of the Crooms not only migrated to Florida, but they persuaded close friends to do the same.

At its center, this study chronicles the unfortunate death of Hardy, his wife, and three children at sea in 1837. Subsequently, lawsuits ensued as to which family members would inherit his vast

holding of bondservants, land, cotton bales, and household furnishings in North Carolina and, to a large extent, Florida. After twenty years of rancorous fighting among family members, Hardy's mother-in-law Henrietta Smith of North Carolina and his wife's family inherited the lion's share of the vast estate.

Rogers and Clark place Hardy's life experiences in the context of his times. A somewhat enigmatic individual, the authors portray him as a free spirit in search of direction and his particular place in Southern society. Prior to his death in 1837, Hardy rose high in the social circles of Leon County. Yet, unlike many Middle Florida planters, he rarely participated in local politics. Educated at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the planter spent, instead, a considerable amount of his time as a botanist, author, and world traveler. And because of his many activities, he became one of many absentee planters in the region during the territorial period. Still, Hardy needed Goodwood Plantation to help sustain his life-style and that of his family in North Carolina.

Developments at Goodwood mirrored those at many other similar plantations throughout the South. It became a large self-sufficient cotton plantation operated by slaves toiling under the gang labor system. Given that this study focuses primarily on the white Crooms and their relatives and friends, one can glimpse the lives of the bondservants who labored at Goodwood. Contrary to the example of planters' sons who migrated from the eastern seaboard to the South and Southwest, Hardy maintained paternalistic attitudes toward his slaves, who numbered at one point over thirty. Hardy, much like his parents, did not mask his dependence on slave labor. For example, he wrote to the overseer, "Tell Fortune to do the best he can [with the cotton] and I will reward him when I come out" (37). Hardy regarded his slaves as investments. He replaced overseers who abused them.

Yet, not uncharacteristic of other slaveholders, the planter sold and purchased slaves. But, he kept together one particular slave family and its kinfolk on the Goodwood plantation. Here the authors traced the nuclear and extended family members through three generations. Fortune, his wife, children, grandchildren, and other relatives were a close knit group that increased in number over time. Hardy, his brother Bryan, and various overseers regarded Fortune as an important cog in the plantation machinery. They apparently tried to keep the patriarch's family and kinfolk together because of their obvious high regard for him.

This book is well documented by use of census records, manuscript collections, newspapers, and tax rolls. It succeeds at placing this particular planter-class family and its twisted web of kinfolk within the overall context of southern society from the 1800s to the Civil War. Students of Southern, Florida, and American history, and those interested in slavery will find this study of the life and times of Hardy and Bryan Crooms to be of significant interest.

Florida A&M University

LARRY E. RIVERS

Far, Far From Home: The Ninth Florida Infantry in the Confederate Army.

By Gary Loderhose. (Carmel: Guild Press of Indiana, 1999. x, 126 pp. Introduction, preface, afterword, notes, index. \$22.95 cloth.)

The basic unit of all Civil War armies was the regiment. Fierce pride in one's regiment often existed and helped soldiers endure in camp and on the battlefield. Florida sent proportionately a high percentage of its sons in such regiments to fight for the Confederacy in both main theaters of the war. So far few histories of individual Florida regiments have appeared, though now Gary Loderhose's *Far, Far From Home* fills the void in the case of the Ninth Florida Infantry.

Loderhose builds his study around two Florida soldiers pulled reluctantly into war by entering the ranks of the Ninth Florida. William A. Hunter and his teenaged son Young, both of Columbia County, enlisted in the same company and shared the rigors of army life. A slaveholding farmer and ardent secessionist, the elder Hunter was the first to volunteer in December, 1863 under pressure from Confederate conscription laws. Their independent local defense company first tasted battle at Olustee in 1864 as part of the Sixth Florida Battalion. However pressing rebel manpower shortages led to the unit's subsequent reorganization into the Ninth Florida Regiment and its abrupt transfer to Virginia. Both Hunters marched northward with heavy hearts as they left family behind all but unprotected from the Union enemy.

Letters home graphically describe the movement to Richmond, the ravages of illness, hunger, fatigue, and finally the terror of facing deadly combat. The Ninth Florida arrived in time to participate in the 1864 campaign raging in Virginia, and soldiered from Cold Harbor to the trenches at Petersburg. Loderhose chron-

icles the longing for home these Floridians felt and how the climate change caused them a special misery and decimated their numbers as surely as Yankee bullets. Some 64 percent of the Ninth's soldiers would be admitted to hospitals during their Virginia sojourn. Constant petitions to transfer Florida troops back to the state to spare them from such suffering fell on deaf ears however.

Unfortunately, Private William A. Hunter's luck ran out at the clash at the Weldon Railroad when he sustained a gunshot wound. The forty-two-year-old died in a Richmond hospital on August 24, 1864, leaving his wife and several small children at home. Young Hunter stayed with his company through the long siege of Petersburg and finally laid down his arms with the remnant of the Ninth Florida that made it to Appomattox Court House.

While an interesting tale, *Far, Far From Home* is not without flaws. The narrative at times skips around in time and needs an overall tighter focus. The author does not really tap into the voluminous number of secondary sources that pertain to his subject, and some of the secondary works that were consulted are a bit dated. No student of Civil War soldiers can afford not to use the seminal works of James M. McPherson or Reid Mitchell in any attempt to understand the feelings and motivations of these men. In some places sources are quoted without a corresponding citation. References to the struggle at Olustee as being the only battle fought in Florida during the war and to an "8th Colored Corps" fighting there need revision.

All that aside, *Far, Far From Home* does make a contribution to our understanding of the Civil War experience for Floridians as one of the few recent regimental histories yet produced. Hopefully, others will follow this author's example and examine the rest of Florida's Confederate units.

Florida Institute of Technology

ROBERT A. TAYLOR

The Antietam Campaign. Edited by Gary W. Gallagher. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. xv, 335 pp. Introduction, bibliographic essay, contributors, index. \$32.50 cloth.)

September 17, 1862 marked the bloodiest day of the American Civil War. Robert E. Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia finally had taken the war to the Union, confronting George McClellan and the Army of the Potomac on the banks of Antietam Creek. In *The Antietam Campaign*, the most recent volume in the *Military Cam-*

paigns of the Civil War series, Gary Gallagher has selected ten articles that reevaluate Antietam's impact on both the North and the South. Although Gallagher claims this as a work of military history, most of the essays move beyond the traditional battles and tactics scholarship that has dominated Civil War historiography. This work scrutinizes the interaction of battlefield events with social, political, and economic issues.

Gallagher begins his own essay by challenging scholars to reassess Antietam's effect on Confederate morale. Rather than viewing the battle as a Southern defeat, he argues that Confederates regarded it as the culmination of a successful campaign. Robert E. Lee had freed Richmond from the Union's grasp, driven most Northern soldiers from Virginia, and taken the war to the enemy's own doorstep. Although Lee's retreat back to Virginia disappointed many Confederates, the Army of Northern Virginia's triumphs in the summer and fall of 1862 reinvigorated the South. Complementing Gallagher's piece, William Blair discusses the Confederates' disappointment at the cool reception they received during the Antietam campaign. Although initially disheartened, most Southerners concluded that their Maryland allies resided in parts of the state through which the Army of Northern Virginia did not pass. Another invasion of the North might have brought Marylanders into the fold.

In separate pieces, Brooks Simpson and Keith Bohannon address the supply difficulties confronting both armies during the battle. Simpson argues that enlisted men as well as officers respected McClellan for his hesitancy to fight the Confederates until more weapons, foodstuffs, and soldiers bolstered his command. The division within the officer corps was not as pronounced as other scholars have contended; McClellan's subordinates knew the difficulties they would face leading such a poorly equipped army into battle. Likewise, Bohannon details the obstacles the Confederacy faced in supplying its men. While the Southern government was not prepared logistically to sustain its armies in 1861 and 1862, it learned from its mistakes, implementing many reforms at the local, state, and national levels.

The other contributors provide more traditional military history essays but tie them to wider political, social, and economic events. Robert K. Krick describes the carnage of the "Bloody Lane" and its psychological impact on the soldiers who fought there. Robert E. L. Krick examines the Southern artillery's role at Antietam,

contending that the battle ranked among one of this branch's most impressive performances thanks to J. E. B. Stuart and John Pelham. While Krick condemns the South's chief artillery man, William Nelson Pendleton, Peter Carmichael addresses why Lee repeatedly forgave this officer's military blunders. He concludes that Pendleton's friendship with Jefferson Davis saved him from Lee's wrath. Scrutinizing the men available to McClellan, D. Scott Hartwig maintains that the Army of the Potomac's conduct at Antietam was admirable in view of the number of green troops in its ranks. Lesley Gordon examines one of these units, the 16th Connecticut Infantry, and shows the process by which these men came to view their dismal military performance as a brave and desperate struggle for the good of their nation. Her essay speaks volumes to the difficulties scholars face in using not only postwar memoirs but also letters penned within days of an event. Concluding the book, Carol Reardon explores the United States Army's use of staff rides at Antietam to prepare its officers for World War I.

The Antietam Campaign provides innumerable insights into this pivotal battle. It falls short in only one crucial respect—Antietam's outcome. How did the poorly supplied and inexperienced Army of the Potomac force the more veteran but ill-equipped and outmanned Army of Northern Virginia from Maryland? Although the work does not address this issue, it provides us with new interpretations and frameworks from which to tackle this question for Antietam as well as for other battles. Equally important, *The Antietam Campaign* shows us how intimately linked battlefield events were to the political, social, and economic course of the war.

Ohio State University, Newark

MICHAEL S. MANGUS

Jefferson Davis's Generals. Edited by Gabor Boritt. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. xvii, 217 pp. Introduction, notes, bibliography, contributors. \$27.50 cloth.)

This volume is the latest in a series of published essays delivered at the Civil War Institute in Gettysburg. The book mostly deals with Jefferson Davis and his relationships with selected Confederate generals, although three chapters explore other issues involving marriages of Davis and his generals, Davis's image in visual formats, and Davis and military strategy.

The essays on Davis and his generals reflect previous writings by most of the authors. Thus, those familiar with recent historiography in this area will find little new, but will relish having basic theses in one volume.

Joseph E. Johnston biographer Craig L. Symonds reiterates his views of the often bitter Davis-Johnston feud. Symonds concludes that "the whole is *less* than the sum of the parts" (25). Symonds blames Johnston more than Davis for their troubles, noting that whatever merit there may have been to the general's grievances, he should have made a greater effort to serve his commander-in-chief.

Robert E. Lee biographer Emory M. Thomas discusses the Lee-Davis relationship as it impacted strategic thinking about the war. Thomas argues that despite the long-held view that the two had a close working relationship and common vision, Lee was much more interested in the offensive part of the offensive-defensive strategic equation than Davis. Thomas sees this conflict as a major contributor to Confederate defeat in the eastern theater.

T. Michael Parrish, who is nearing completion of a biography of P. G. T. Beauregard, finds the Louisiana general behaved much as Symonds indicates Johnston should have. Though he had many confrontations with President Davis and bore bitter feelings as a result, Beauregard embraced the "sanctity of civilian authority" (46). Parrish asserts that Beauregard never let conflicts with Davis interfere with his duties as a general.

Steven E. Woodworth, long-time defender of Braxton Bragg, notes that Bragg lacked the ability to make quick adjustments on the battlefield and the ability "to inspire admiration, respect, and obedience even when his army did not achieve success" (83). Nevertheless, Woodworth predictably argues, Davis could have made a useful general of Bragg if he had given the general proper support from Richmond and a better supporting cast of subordinates.

John Bell Hood is examined by Herman Hattaway who relies heavily upon Hood biographer Richard M. McMurry's work. Hattaway concludes that Hood was a dedicated soldier who did the very best he could under difficult circumstances, especially after Davis gave him command of the Army of Tennessee on the outskirts of Atlanta in 1864. Hood followed a disastrous course, which simply, in Hattaway's view, proved that the general had been elevated to a command level far above his capabilities.

In the remaining chapters, Lesley J. Gordon, Harold Holzer, and James M. McPherson examine other aspects of generals and

the president. Gordon looks at the marriages of the Davises, Johnstons, Braggs, Beauregards, and Lees, concluding that the wives' stories illustrated both traditional and non-traditional behavior. Gordon notes that Varina Davis, Lydia Johnston, and Elise Bragg were outspoken both in advising and giving comfort to their beleaguered husbands. Holzer examines the images, especially in political cartoons, of Jefferson Davis as a commander-in-chief who was viewed more as a military commander than civilian president. Holzer's look at Davis from the depths of imprisonment to the heights of Lost Cause hero-worship is particularly instructive in understanding his lasting image in the South. McPherson concludes with a well-conceived look at Davis and Confederate military strategy. McPherson argues that Davis was particularly defensive-minded, that he should not be overly-criticized for trying to appease governors, that the east versus west debate has no easy answer, and that it should not be forgotten that northern armies had more than a little to do with Confederate defeat.

These well-written essays provide good source material for those interested in the various nuances of Jefferson Davis as war leader. A look at his relationships with other generals would have enriched the overall effect. One thinks of Edmund Kirby Smith, John C. Pemberton, Sterling Price, and Earl Van Dorn. Also an index would have enhanced the reference value of the book. These quibbles aside, this volume is highly recommended.

Mississippi State University

MICHAEL B. BALLARD

The East Florida Expeditions of Clarence Bloomfield Moore. Edited by Jeffrey M. Mitchem. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999. viii, 432 pp. Preface, editorial note, publisher's note, introduction, indexes. \$39.95 paper.)

Shell mounds, sand mounds, and shell fields that were built by early Indians of Florida have lured archaeologists for excavation and study. The late comparative anatomist, Dr. Jeffries Wyman of the Harvard Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, was one of the first individuals to study Florida's shell middens and mounds along the St. Johns River. He began his work in 1852 and continued to excavate and publish his results until his death in 1874.

Following in the footsteps of Wyman was Clarence Bloomfield Moore (1852-1936), a wealthy native of Philadelphia. Although a complete biography of Moore has not been completed, in *The East Florida Expeditions of Clarence Bloomfield Moore*, Mitchem gives new unpublished facts and anecdotes about the man. Clarence Moore graduated from Harvard University in 1873. He probably came into contact with Wyman at the Peabody Museum, evidently getting his first introduction to Florida archaeology. In January 1873, he excavated his first shell heap located in a swamp north of Palatka, Putnam County, Florida.

The East Florida Expeditions of Clarence Bloomfield Moore, edited and with an introduction by Jeffrey M. Mitchem, is a compilation of seventeen papers by Moore that relates to his Florida studies. Among the papers featured in the book are "A Burial Mound of Florida," "Supplementary Investigation at Rick Island," "Mounds in Florida," "Certain Shell Heaps of the St. John's River, Florida, Hitherto Unexplored," "Certain Sand Mounds of the St. John's River, Florida, Part I," "Certain Sand Mounds of the St. John's River, Florida, Part II," "Tobacco Pipes in Shell-heaps of the St. John's," "Additional Mounds of Duval and of Clay Counties, Florida," "Recent Acquisitions," "A Cache of Pendent Ornaments," and "Sheet-Cooper from the Mounds is Not Necessarily of European Origin." All of the papers concern Moore's studies primarily along the St. Johns River and its tributaries of east peninsular Florida. The two maps of the St. Johns River in these papers that show names and locations of the mounds are especially valuable. Moore's maps are far superior and more instructive than Wyman's single map which appeared in his "Fresh-Water Shell Mounds of the St. John's River, Florida" (Peabody Academy of Science, Salem, Mass., 1875). One should be cautious in using both Moore's and Wyman's maps, however, as place names have changed; for example, both Moore's and Wyman's name of Silver Spring is Silver Glen Spring today.

Mitchem provides a tabulation of archaeological sites extracted from Moore's works by name and site number, largely compiled from the Florida Master Site File, the official repository of records on Florida archaeological and historic sites maintained by the Florida Department of State's Division of Historical Resources in Tallahassee. It is certainly an essential documentation for Florida researchers studying shell mounds on the St. Johns River.

Another beneficial feature is Table 3 entitled, "Regional Chronologies of Florida (Archaeological Cultures)." This detailed chro-

nological chart shows the names and time periods of various Florida cultures dating from BC 12000 to AD 1800. Individuals with little background in Florida archaeology can easily determine and understand from this tabulation the chronology and history of ancient cultures.

There are two minor complaints one might make of *The East Florida Expeditions of Clarence Bloomfield Moore*: its flimsy paper cover, and its oversized (14 × 10 inches) format. Yet these drawbacks are outweighed by the book's illustrations: the photographs and artwork that complement the text. Reproduction of the images has been superbly accomplished. The artwork is certainly the most "eye-catching" feature of the book. Novices will enjoy just looking at the pictures.

University of Central Florida

WALTER KINGSLEY TAYLOR

Freedpeople in the Tobacco South: Virginia, 1860-1900. By Jeffrey R. Kerr-Ritchie. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. xv, 345 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 hardcover, \$18.95 paperback.)

The dreaded "d" word is never mentioned in the introduction or text of Jeffrey R. Kerr-Ritchie's *Freedpeople*, but one can easily detect without looking under Unpublished Sources in the bibliography that this is a dissertation, perhaps somewhat revised. The book is very detailed with numerous paragraphs so chocked with facts and figures that they are difficult, if not impossible, to understand. Not a single person is brought to life, despite passing reference to hundreds of people.

Marxist ideology so weighs down the thesis that the major points seem devoid of time and place. Although the book contains excellent maps and a specified time frame, one wonders if the announced thesis—"slave emancipation combined with transformed market conditions gradually eroded traditional forms of social discipline" (4-5)—could not be a generic plantation system at most any place or time in the world. As a result, the book fulfills Kerr-Ritchie's announced intention to have a macro and well as micro focus.

A self-proclaimed "working-class Londoner," Kerr-Ritchie forthrightly acknowledges his intellectual debt to British Marxist historians who stress economic conflict over the progressive political

historians who hailed the enlightened leadership class. He compares early studies of England that trumpeted a long happy period of nation building by an enlightened establishment with a similar picture of Virginia's "benign and exceptional past." He concedes that social historians in recent years have "touched up" this classical portrait but still sees "vestiges of benignity and exceptionalism." He also chastises social historians for de-emphasizing work as a vital cultural component of people's lives.

As if taking on earlier historians and social historians is not enough, Kerr-Ritchie tilts his lance at post-modernists for their "simplemindedness" in contending there is no "history except historians." Most post-modernists, however, would respond that Kerr-Ritchie has fulfilled their dictum to a tee. As an advocate of social justice, Kerr-Ritchie comes to the evidence, no matter how nobly, with a pronounced agenda. While historians have dismissed the older "simplemindedness" of the classic German seminar approach that believed the evidence speaks for itself, one still has to struggle with the "objectivity question." Kerr-Ritchie takes steps in this direction but in an awkward and confusing manner. What, for example, does he mean in the following two statements: (1) the book's method is different from its theoretical premises; and (2) he "attempts to use historically accurate language even while recognizing its limitations" (9).

Despite an announced time frame of 1860 to 1900, five of Kerr-Ritchie's eight chapters are within the Reconstruction era. The themes in these chapters will not surprise anyone who has read Eric Foner's monumental study of Reconstruction. Kerr-Ritchie does launch into one significant set of evidence—labor contracts—that has potential, but he obscures his analysis by blithely announcing without any explanation that he has carefully examined forty-one of six hundred labor contracts. The reader has to assume that the one in fifteen examinations is representative.

In addition to the chronological imbalance, Kerr-Ritchie lets the focus of his work—the freedpeople—become a stage prop for his Marxist-Leninist mindset. He contends without any supporting evidence that the Virginia election of 1867 demonstrates the "freedpeople's communal activities and their class consciousness" (76). He cannot resist the Leninist model for capitalist development in chapter seven entitled "The Highest Stage of Tobacco Alliance." The American Tobacco Company, he contends, explained "monopoly capitalism . . . through the notion of articulation" (182). Only

the most confirmed Marxist will understand what this means. He also examines key legal cases in Virginia that upheld the rights of the landlord and asserts that from this emerged the "agricultural proletariat" with an accompanying "immiseration" of workers.

Even if we dismiss the paternalistic, romantic, and post-modern perspective of Virginia's past, surely we can do better than the ideologically pat conclusions of this book. It is perfectly understandable that historians favor social justice, but one has to wonder what is being achieved when the historian so patently cooks the evidence, no matter how extensive, to fit a preconceived ideology. It is doubtful that many people will read this narrowly defined, overly detailed, ideologically weighed down work even for the paperback price of \$18.95.

Christopher Newport University

ROBERT M. SAUNDERS

But Now I See: The White Southern Racial Conversion Narrative. By Fred Hobson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. xiv, 159 pp. Preface, introduction, bibliography, index. \$30.00 cloth, \$14.95 paper.)

The journey toward enlightenment was the same for a growing number of twentieth-century southern white writers: a sense of wrongdoing, wrestling with guilt, and confessing one's sin. The sin itself was personal. It lacked meaning within the white regional culture, its schools, churches, and families. The sin was that of threatening one's racial other—African Americans—as inherently inferior. Enlightenment reflected "a sort of secular salvation," finding inner peace in one's relationship with other humans, not necessarily with God (4). The enlightened minority then confessed their journey in what literary scholar Fred Hobson describes as modern-day "conversion narratives" reminiscent of Puritan New England.

Recognizing that many twentieth-century southern writers traveled a difficult road to transcend the racism of their people represents nothing new to scholars. What is new is gathering these individual experiences in an analytical synthesis. Although short, Hobson's gracefully written book deals with a score of writers, delivers much thoughtful analysis, and incorporates the best of existing scholarship.

After a few false pregnancies and miscarriages in the nineteenth century, the racial conversion narrative was finally given birth in the 1940s. Hobson looks primarily at the autobiographical work, as opposed to fiction, of prominent writers like Lillian Smith, James McBride Dabbs, Sarah Patton Boyle, Willie Morris, and others. Most of his subjects were raised in middle-class comfort and virtually all came from church-going families. Even as many rejected the manifest racism of the southern white church, their religious upbringing influenced the process of their conversion and the language they used to describe it. The converted fell back on familiar words, such as "sin," "repentance," "Baptism," "awakening," and "guilt." Will Campbell, for example, ordained a Baptist minister when still a teenager, continued to use the language of an evangelical even after he became a sidewalk-pounding civil rights activist and self-proclaimed steeple dropout.

To different degrees of directness and stridency, the "racially born again" usually spoke out against the moral duplicity of regional whites (140). Some writers went as far as exposing their family's dirty laundry, prompting Hobson to entitle one of his chapters, "The Sins of the Fathers." All the writers told stories about or alluded to their guilt and subsequent enlightenment.

When examining these confessions, Hobson shows his scholarly talents. He cautions against interpreting the personal stories of select individuals as being representative of large society. His subjects were (and are) exceptional people whose consciences were out of sync with most southern whites. Lillian Smith's guilt-ridden *Killers of the Dream*, for example, should be read with the following caveat: it reflects the confessions of an emotionally and morally troubled intellectual projecting personal feelings on a society where no collective guilt existed. Whites saw themselves as neither racists nor perpetrators of wrongdoing in their treatment of blacks.

Hobson offers a particularly informative discussion about race and class. He points out that many of his main subjects reverted to the upper- and middle-class habit of regarding the lower classes as the repository of "the most virulent southern racism" (134). Hobson looks at recent memoirs, including those of Rick Bragg and historian Melton McLaurin, and finds evidence of a class consciousness of a Huck Finn-and-Jim variety, complete with intolerant and drunken fathers (McLaurin excluded) between the subject and a childhood friend. Ultimately, the racism in "proper" families that condemned the use of the word "nigger" was no less malignant

than the racism in families where the "n" word fell from lips with unconscious habit.

Some readers might find Hobson's study of racial conversion narratives lacking in the larger context of historical change. The conversion of Larry L. King, for example, came when he was forced to serve in a desegregating military in the late 1940s. Hobson points this out, but the historian reader will probably want Hobson to more fully flesh out the impact of the war, Truman's 1948 executive orders, and the Civil Rights Movement on the minds of white southern intellectuals.

The book has nothing directly to do with Florida, save Lillian Smith's birth in Jasper. But students of the South should appreciate the intellect of Hobson and the importance of *But Now I See*.

University of Alabama at Birmingham

JACK E. DAVIS

The Pain and the Promise: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Tallahassee, Florida. By Glenda Alice Rabby. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999. ix, 330 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, afterword, notes, bibliography, index. \$40.00 hardcover.)

While every U.S. history textbook and every work on African American history highlights the story of the Montgomery bus boycott, few even mention in passing that less than six months later another city-wide boycott began in Tallahassee, Florida, in May 1956. The description and interpretation of that successful protest, and of Tallahassee's subsequent civil rights activism and white resistance to yield more than the minimum necessary to maintain a facade of order, is the important and chastening chapter in Florida's and the nation's histories that Glenda Alice Rabby so competently examines.

In Tallahassee, as would later prove true in many other locales in the South, the daring and courage of black college students (Florida A&M) served as the catalyst for protest activity, and the resolve of their mothers and aunts—the churchwomen of the community—provided the support necessary to overcome the white establishment's oppression and distrust of change. Similarly, in Tallahassee and elsewhere, black minister Charles Kenzie Steele became the leader and symbol of nonviolent demonstrations while the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People supplied essential financial and legal assistance. In mid-Feb-

ruary 1960, as the sit-ins begun in Greensboro spread across North Carolina, black students in Tallahassee sat down at the Woolworth lunch counter, requested service, and, after being refused, remained at the counter. Few local African Americans, besides Steele, initially supported the students. But the extraordinary perseverance and leadership of the Stephens sisters—Patricia and Priscilla—soon catapulted the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and evermore militant direct action protests to the fore in Florida's capital. Indeed, it would require ever larger and more aggressive demonstrations to sweep away the vestiges of legal segregation in public accommodations; and equally courageous, resolute activism to open the voting booths to blacks in northern Florida. However, just as the gains of the Civil Rights Movement became tangible, the white backlash, clearly manifest by 1966, blocked further progress in race relations and brought the Republicans, fanning the fires of white fear and discontent, to power in the state (30).

More than any other issue, school desegregation encapsulated the struggles of Tallahassee blacks to achieve equality and the stubborn refusal of white fear and mistrust to recede. It would prove to be the longest and most bitter chapter in that community's civil rights conflict. Despite more progressive political and business leadership than the states of the Deep South, as well as a population with fewer African Americans and more recent northern transplants than its neighbors, Florida too did all it could to delay compliance with the Supreme Court's ruling to end school segregation. It enacted duplicitous pupil placement and freedom-of-choice plans—which permitted various subterfuges by local school boards—to forestall desegregation for a decade, and then utilized the courts to continue to keep black and white schoolchildren as separate as possible, for as long as possible. In this, Tallahassee whites had their most potent ally in federal district judge Harold Carswell. Fittingly, President Richard Nixon would appoint this adopted son of Tallahassee to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, as part of his strategy to woo white southerners away from George Wallace and the Democrats, and then nominate Carswell to the U.S. Supreme Court. Because of his dilatory record on civil rights, however, and membership in a whites only club, the Senate rejected the nomination.

Four decades after the bus boycott, much has changed in Tallahassee and throughout Florida, yet much remains the same. The color line has been erased but a racial (and class) divide looms

large. To a significant extent, Tallahassee blacks and whites disagree on fundamental issues, vote differently, and live in separate neighborhoods. Median household income for blacks is still only about half that of whites, and the rate of poverty among Tallahassee African Americans is more than twice as high as that for whites. Although a minority of the population, 75 percent of the local jail population is black; and Florida A&M's student body is 90 percent black. Still, many blacks in Tallahassee have experienced enormous improvements in education, employment, participation in governmental affairs, and the constitutional protections afforded them. And, perhaps the chief legacy of the Civil Rights Movement, the struggle for black equality continues.

For some two decades now, scholars have been issuing calls for studies of the struggle for civil rights at the local and community level. While few disagreed with the need, fewer undertook the work. We are indebted to Rabby for so thoroughly unearthing this important and previously neglected chapter in this nation's civil rights history. Personally, I wish Rabby had done more to set the scene by illuminating Tallahassee's civil rights struggle prior to 1956, as well as spotlighting current civil rights activity in the city. But quibbles aside, I strongly recommend this massively researched and elegantly written book to all students of Florida history and all interested in the struggle for racial equality.

University of New Hampshire

HARVARD SITKOFF

Dixie Before Disney: 100 Years of Roadside Fun. By Tim Hollis. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1999. xiii, 193 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, bibliographical essays, index. \$45.00 cloth, \$25.00 paper.)

Florida historians may not wish to publicly acknowledge this, but the fact is modern Florida was built on tourism. And not just classic Flagleresque tourism, but tacky, culturally-shallow, gaudy tourism. There is no escaping this fact, and thus it is rather refreshing to see a scholarly volume which explores the role of such tourism in the South, Florida included.

Tim Hollis's illustration-packed *Dixie Before Disney: 100 Years of Roadside Fun* is the first book to truly examine the phenomenon of Southern tourism before 1971 (the year Walt Disney World opened

in Florida). Hollis begins with the twentieth-century impact of the automobile and a new, improved road network which for the first time allowed average Americans to enjoy vacations. This road network finally culminated with the Interstate Highway system of the 1950s, which offered both advantages and disadvantages to the tourism industry. The history of Southern tourist "institutions" is illuminated, from Holiday Inns to Colonel Sanders to Horne's to the ubiquitous Stuckey's (whose founder, William S. Stuckey, once stated, "Thank God the North won the war. It would have been awful if there hadn't been any Yankees to sell to.") Florida institutions like Captain D's and Red Lobster (Lakeland), Burger King (Jacksonville), and Lum's (Miami) are not neglected.

The Smoky Mountains, the Ozarks, and other Southern vacation spots get their fair share, but Florida naturally claims the lion's share of Hollis's attention. He explores the numerous attractions that shot up across Florida in the twentieth century, and tidily summarizes their various histories. Chapter Three is especially a must-read for Florida fans, where the history of the state's beaches is highlighted, as are Miami's Marineland, Fort Walton Beach's Gulfarium, St. Petersburg's *Bounty* exhibit, Panama City Beach's Goofy Golf, and many, many more. This chapter is one of the enjoyable aspects of the book—it neatly brings together the stories behind virtually every major Florida attraction before 1971.

There is a chapter for the fantasy worlds, which includes Lake Wales's Spook Hill, Tampa's Fairyland, and the "Jurassic Park" of Daytona Beach's Bongoland. A chapter on historic sites gives homage to St. Augustine's heritage (along with—Believe It Or Not—the gaudy tourist traps that eventually sprouted there), and in a chapter on natural beauty spots the Bok Singing Tower (Lake Wales) and Cypress Gardens (Winter Haven) are featured. One chapter is devoted to springs and naturally Florida wins this one hands down, with Ocala's Silver Springs (and the later Bartlett Deer Ranch), Wakulla Springs, Rainbow Springs, Homosassa Springs, and the famous "mermaids" of Weeki Wachee Spring. Another chapter features McKee's Jungle Gardens (Vero Beach), Monkey Jungle and Parrot Jungle (Miami), Lion Country Safari (Palm Beach), and Busch Gardens (Tampa) to name a few. Some Florida attractions were just out of place, like Panama City Beach's Jungle Land which featured a "genuine" smoking volcano and a cave to the "magma chamber," with tour guides who looked like extras from *One Million Years B.C.* (the "volcano" is still there, though now converted into

an Alvin's Island department store). And, reflecting the nationwide television fad of the late 1950s and early 1960s, were the "Wild West" cities of Six Gun Territory at Ocala and Panama City Beach's Tombstone Territory and Petticoat Junction.

This book is fun, profusely illustrated, and has a genuine wealth of material relating to Florida's pre-1971 tourism industry. There are no footnotes, but the scholarly arranged bibliographic essays provide a treasure trove of information on Southern tourist attractions (especially valuable because many such attractions, by their very nature, left few sources). The author's tongue-in-cheek writing (with wonderful puns) should not distract those who wish to find a well-organized and informative history of tourism in Florida and the rest of the South before the Mouse arrived. Florida, after all, is based on tourism, and it is a delight to see a cultural history of this nature addressed by a university press. The author also reminds us in his epilogue just how jaded we have become, when we have to be delighted by more spectacular attractions each new year, and how we have lost the ability to enjoy more simple pursuits. The changing American ideas of fun that he addresses can provide the basis for a whole new book.

Pensacola Junior College

BRIAN R. RUCKER

North Carolina Women Making History. By Margaret Supplee Smith and Emily Herring Wilson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. xx, 382 pp. Foreword, preface, acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

This book demonstrates how public history and sound scholarship can be combined into a final product of surpassing importance. The impetus for this publication began when the North Carolina Museum of History recognized that women had been excluded from exhibits about North Carolina's past. To remedy this oversight, the Museum created the North Carolina Women's History Project coordinated by Margaret Supplee Smith, Professor of Art at Wake Forest University. In 1994, Smith and her associates presented a large exhibit bearing the same name as this volume.

In an effort to sustain the impact of this initiative, Smith worked with independent scholar Emily Herring Wilson to put the research into a permanent format. They have produced a volume

that retains much of the visual impact of the exhibit. The oversized book contains 112 color and 238 black and white illustrations. In addition, there are transcriptions of historical documents presented much as they were at the museum. At the same time, the authors have provided a detailed history of North Carolina women from early American Indian settlements through the end of World War II. The narrative is supplemented by twenty-two separate biographical sketches of significant North Carolina women—two of the portraits are collective studies of Moravian women in Salem and slave women on the Somerset Plantation in Washington and Tyrrell counties.

For scholars of southern and women's history, this volume fills an important void. It provides the first comprehensive review of women's history in North Carolina. The text is based on a thorough analysis of printed primary sources and the most current secondary studies. The authors are careful to note places where scholarly interpretations differ and invite the readers to weigh the evidence. While there is a consistent interpretive framework—that women have been consistently undervalued and unequally treated—the authors are not heavy handed in presenting it. The authors also correctly note that women shared with men substantial class and racial prejudices. Thus, Smith and Wilson show that many women endorsed actions or programs that worked to the detriment of their sisters. This intellectual honesty means that scholars can use this study with confidence.

The book is divided into three sections and nine chapters. The first section covers North Carolina history to 1800. The introductory chapter describes the evolution of American Indian women's lives from hunter and gatherer societies to the more settled agriculture and hunting communities. Smith and Wilson then describe the settlement, frontier advancement, subsistence living, and social and economic differentiation that characterized North Carolina during the colonial period. They carefully describe the important role played by African American women—slave and free—in the process. Not without some irony, the authors note that the maturing of the state's society meant that years of revolution and political independence brought increasing and legalized discrimination against women.

The second section describes the lives of North Carolina women from 1800 to the end of Reconstruction. The authors analyze the tragedies endured by Indian women, the indignities and

hardships faced by slave women, and the crucial economic contributions made by yeoman and tenant farmer wives. The chapter on the Civil War and Reconstruction is particularly strong because women from all social and economic groups are quoted more extensively than at any other period covered by the book.

The last section covers the years 1877 to 1945. The chapter on the New South period unblinkingly examines the growth of legal racial restrictions and the hardships borne by women factory workers. Despite the passage of the national suffrage amendment in 1919, the authors note that women's lives changed little before 1941. More women had access to higher education and urban environments, but these forces of change had relatively little impact. The great crisis of World War II provided unparalleled opportunities for North Carolina women, and many were able to secure financially rewarding and challenging positions inside and outside of the state.

This very fine book is most distinguished by its comprehensiveness and balance. Unlike many previous surveys of the state's (predominantly male) history, Smith and Wilson are careful to cover all geographical regions during all historical epochs. Equally innovative is their interweaving of the stories of women of all social and economic classes. The result of this inclusion of a wide variety of materials is a study of great appeal to general readers and of significant value to scholars. That is a very rare and considerable accomplishment.

Berea College

GORDON B. MCKINNEY

Book Notes

The Tropic of Cracker. By Al Burt. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999. 224 pp. \$24.95 cloth.)

Published as part of the Florida History and Culture series, this anthology includes both Al Burt's old essays and some new additions. As a journalist he has an ear for a good story, and his provocative tales will entertain the most discerning reader. Crackers may have been cow hunters, but the men and women that interest Burt have a variety of occupations. To Burt, a retired prison officer who advocates the death penalty is as much a Cracker as the catfishermen who haul a living from Lake Okeechobee. Norton Baskin, husband of writer Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, describes himself as a Cracker and reveals himself as a great storyteller too. These characters are not historical figures; they are modern individuals. The term "Cracker" defies definition, but by sharing his vision of the word's meaning Burt brings his readers closer to these elusive people.

The Quotable George Washington: The Wisdom of an American Patriot. Compiled and edited by Stephen E. Lucas. (Madison, Wis.: Madison House Publishers Inc., 1999. 102 pp. \$17.95 cloth.)

We do not usually remember George Washington for his words; Thomas Jefferson occupies the wordsmith's place among the Founding Fathers. Nevertheless, Washington wrote prolifically throughout his long career and during his retirement. Stephen Lucas has collected quotations from Washington's public and private correspondence. This slim volume, therefore, includes Washington's thoughts on such diverse topics as war, government, and marriage. Since he had speech writers' assistance, the public words may not be entirely his own but the sentiments surely are. He did not

say "I can't tell a lie," but he did write "Mankind are not yet ripe for the millennial state": a quotation for our time indeed.

Fighting Joe Hooker. By Walter H. Hebert with an introduction by James A. Rawley. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999. 354 pp. \$15.95 paper.)

Now available in paperback, this 1944 profile primarily investigates Joseph Hooker's military engagements with particular reference to Chancellorsville. Although Hooker is remembered for leading the Union Army to one of its worst defeats, he never repeated the mistakes of Chancellorsville and later secured victories at Chattanooga and Atlanta. Walter H. Hebert portrays Hooker as a talented administrator and able commander whose judgement failed at its greatest test. Despite its age, this work remains the definitive account of Hooker's career and includes a wealth of detail. A deep knowledge of the Civil War is unnecessary to enjoy this biography because Hebert writes in an easy style suitable for all interest levels.

An Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery in the United States of America to which is prefixed An Historical Sketch of Slavery. By Thomas R. R. Cobb. Introduction by Paul Finkelman. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999. 600 pp. \$65 cloth.)

First published in 1858, this important legal work is once more available. Thomas Cobb was a lawyer and politician who helped to codify Georgia's laws and founded Georgia's first law school. He assisted in drafting the Confederate Constitution and remained a staunch confederate until his death at the battle of Fredericksburg. Cobb designed his book for use in training southern lawyers, and he hoped that it would undermine northern legal arguments against slavery. The book comprises two parts: first, a pro-slavery, racist, and southern nationalist account of slavery from ancient times; second, a manual for lawyers that defends slavery and southern interests. Although slavery was abolished shortly after its publication, Cobb's work continued to influence the courts in ruling against freedmen even during Reconstruction. Surprisingly easy to read, this work will interest many, and scholars will find it a significant primary source.

At the Right Hand of Longstreet: Recollections of a Confederate Staff Officer.

By G. Moxley Sorrel. Introduction by Peter S. Carmichael. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999. 315 pp. \$14.95 paper.)

G. Moxley Sorrel's narrative of his activities as Longstreet's aide is now available in paperback and augmented by Peter Carmichael's introduction. Sorrel does not succumb to opportunities to criticize Longstreet as did many of his contemporaries nor does he go to the opposite extreme and eulogize his superior. Instead, he offers a balanced portrait of the man frequently blamed for losing the battle of Gettysburg. Unlike his peers, Sorrel does not worship Lee or the Lost Cause ideal though he eagerly supported the Confederacy. His account, then, is a balanced view of personalities, places, and events that makes an entertaining read and provides a useful primary source for academics.

Recollections of a Southern Daughter: A Memoir by Cornelia Jones Pond of Liberty County. Edited by Lucinda H. MacKethan. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998. 160 pp. \$24.95 cloth.)

Unlike most writers recalling the Antebellum and Civil War periods, Cornelia Jones Pond never intended her memoir for publication. She dictated her life story to her daughter so that her descendants could know how she had lived. This book, therefore, has a conversational tone that seduces the reader into seeing the Antebellum South as an ideal society. As Lucinda H. MacKethan points out, however, Pond is blind to the violence inherent in a slave culture. Historians are already familiar with the people and places that Pond describes because Fanny Kemble wrote about the same area. Consequently, Pond's omissions are very clear. MacKethan does not credit Pond with purposely bending the truth but with the blindness associated with having no experience of living without slaves. For that reason Pond could not see the problems that were so obvious to outsiders. Nevertheless, she gives us a meticulously detailed view of plantation society from the perspective of a white participant.

The Northwest Florida Expeditions of Clarence Bloomfield Moore. Edited and with an introduction by David S. Brose and Nancy Marie White. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999. 528 pp. \$49.95 paper.)

While its lack of narrative makes difficult reading, this book offers incomparable encyclopedic descriptions of Northwest Flor-

ida's archaeological sites. Clarence Bloomfield Moore was independently wealthy and able to indulge his passion for archaeology. In the early twentieth century he made several expeditions to Florida's pre-historical sites. Although an enthusiastic amateur, he contributed greatly to our knowledge of the area, and his descriptions formed the foundations of later studies. His book is amply illustrated, and David S. Brose and Nancy Marie White add to its utility by placing Moore's work in the context of his time and interpreting its value to us today.

A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida. By Bernard Romans. Edited and with an introduction by Kathryn E. Holland Braund. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999. 376 pp. \$44.95 cloth.)

A noted cartographer and botanist, Bernard Romans published *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* in 1775. Kathryn E. Holland Braund's introduction enhances this version by giving a biographical sketch of Romans. He was born in the Netherlands and trained in surveying and navigation. Later he became deputy surveyor of Georgia, principal deputy surveyor for the Southern District, and eventually botanist for East Florida. Both the English and the Americans used his maps during the war for independence, but Romans only fought for the patriots. An argumentative man, he managed to disagree with almost everyone with whom he worked throughout his career. Nevertheless, Braund explains that *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* gives an accurate account of the region, and she believes that Romans was a scholar of distinction. Romans intended his book as a navigational aid and as a treatise to promote trade and settlement in the region. To this end, his work included navigational charts and comprehensive accounts of flora and fauna, the use of slaves, the Indian tribes he encountered, and advice to settlers. Braund's new edition makes this rare manuscript readily available to modern scholars for use as a primary source and to those with a less academic interest in Florida's past.

Yankee Dutchman: The Life of Franz Sigel. By Stephen D. Engle. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. 368 pp. \$19.95 paper.)

This 1993 account is now available in paperback and affords everyone an opportunity to explore the Civil War from an unusual

perspective. Stephen D. Engle's work is more than a biography because it investigates German Americans' attitudes toward the Civil War and the limits to their acculturation. Although Franz Sigel was not a great general, he was highly respected by fellow German Americans because he had participated in the 1848 revolutions that swept Europe. Despite his shortcomings, he managed to procure appointments because his presence induced support from German Americans that would otherwise not have been forthcoming. His leadership of his own people was matched only by his ability to upset his colleagues and superiors with his stereotypical German rigidity and arrogance. In writing with these broader issues in mind, Engle has produced a scholarly work that is also an enjoyable read.

Writing the Civil War: The Quest to Understand. Edited by James M. McPherson and William J. Cooper Jr. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998. 260 pp. \$45 cloth.)

A short perusal of the book reviews and notes in the *Quarterly* will testify to the extensive academic and popular interest in the Civil War. In *Writing the Civil War*, specialists survey this literature and highlight some major topics for debate. While no one volume can cover everything written on the subject, this book includes military history, politics, social history, economics, gender, and slavery. Additionally, the contributors point to areas that require still more attention from scholars, for example, issues such as prisoners of war and naval strategy have yet to receive adequate scrutiny. While many studies exist on presidents Lincoln and Davis, more investigation is required into the influence each congress had on the war. These historians also suggest that comparing the confederacy with other revolutionary movements could foster a better understanding of the Civil War. This overview will be indispensable to students yet provide interest for casual readers as well. Doubtless, it will also inspire a new generation to produce many more interesting books on the Civil War.

Flight Into Oblivion. By A. J. Hanna. With a new introduction by William C. Davis. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. 306 pp. \$17.95 paper.)

At first sight this book appears to be a work of fiction, but it is, in fact, a classic work of history that has been republished. Traditionally, Civil War histories end at Appomattox, and Reconstruction

histories begin a new era for the South. This framework ignores the fate of the Confederate leaders. A. J. Hanna fills that historical gap by explaining what happened to all the Confederate cabinet members after Appomattox. Only two managed to escape: John C. Breckinridge and Judah P. Benjamin fled separately through Florida to Cuba. Disguised alternately as farmers, fishermen, or pirates, these men outwitted the Federal authorities. Others were not so lucky; Jefferson Davis's capture, dressed as a woman, is well known, but Hanna explains it from Davis's perspective. Still, Hanna does not neglect Federal opinion and devotes much space to details of public demands for Confederate leaders' executions. A new introduction by William C. Davis enhances this edition, and the original drawings and maps add even more flavor to this thrilling drama.

Soliloquy of a Farmer's Wife: The Diary of Annie Elliott Perrin 17 December 1917-31 December 1918. Edited by Dale B. J. Randall. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1999. 384 pp. \$19.95 paper.)

When Annie Elliott Perrin traveled to Florida in 1917, she received a diary as a gift from her children. Perrin and her husband made the trip to investigate their prospects if they moved from Ohio. Despite the tropical climate and abundant oranges, however, Florida did not attract Perrin. She may have found writing more congenial because, on her return to Ohio in March 1918, she continued to write daily notes. Her diary, therefore, chronicles both her abortive trip to Florida and her routine life in Ohio. She includes details of the influenza epidemic and the trauma of sending a son off to war. Her grandson, Dale B. J. Randall, has edited her diary for publication and gives substantial biographical information and notes that help explain Perrin's short entries.

My Father, Daniel Boone: The Draper Interviews with Nathan Boone. Edited by Neal O. Hammon. With an introduction by Nelson L. Dawson. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999. 169 pp. \$19 cloth.)

An interest in the frontier led Lyman Draper to avidly collect significant manuscripts and preserve them for later generations. He interviewed Nathan Boone, Daniel's only surviving child, in 1851. Nathan used the opportunity afforded by the interview to dispel the myths that had grown up concerning his father, Daniel Boone,

who personified that national hero—the frontiersman. Published for the first time, these papers are an invaluable source of information about Daniel Boone. Neal O. Hammon has gently edited these important documents to make them accessible to everyone.

Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom: The Escape of William and Ellen Craft from Slavery. By William Craft. With a new foreword and biographical essay by R. J. M. Blackett. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. 102 pp. \$14.95 paper.)

William and Ellen Craft escaped from slavery in 1848. Since Ellen had white skin, she posed as her husband's master. They fled from Georgia to Philadelphia and then to Boston. As William Craft was illiterate when he escaped, his publication of their experiences in 1860 represented a remarkable achievement. He tells their story with humor and determination but without bitterness. Richard Blackett's biographical sketch completes the story of their lives after they gained their freedom. They worked in Britain for abolition and returned to Georgia after the Civil War. Although they bought a plantation, social and economic pressures contributed to its failure. The Crafts did not live to see its final sale. This book is a lasting monument to their efforts.

Chickamauga: A Battlefield Guide with a section on Chattanooga. By Steven E. Woodworth. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999. 216 pp. \$16.95 paper.)

Gettysburg: A Battlefield Guide. By Mark Grimsley and Brooks D. Simpson. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999. 212 pp. \$17.95 paper.)

First-time and returning visitors will appreciate these wonderful guides. Both books give directions for getting to each landmark, then orientations to explain the view that the participants in the battles would have had. Not only do the guides explain what happened, but they also provide an analysis of the events and anecdotes that make the events realistic. Almost every page has a map so the owners of these books will never look aimlessly around wondering if they are in the right place. It takes about six hours to complete one of these tours so they are not for the faint-hearted, but they do not require significant mobility. These guides will ensure that those who wish may see everything and miss nothing.

Florida History in Periodicals

Compiled by Judith Beale

This selected bibliography includes dissertations and scholarly articles in the fields of Florida history, archaeology, geography, political science, and anthropology published in state, regional, and national periodicals in 1999. Articles, notes, and documents that have appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* are not included in this listing since they appear in the annual index of each volume.

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- Baber, Marlena Yvette, "Parent Involvement and Practices in East Tampa: The Impact of Court-Ordered Desegregation in Hillsborough County, Florida," (Ph.D. diss., University of South Florida, 1999).
- Baker, Henry A., "Fifteen Years on Bulow Creek," *Florida Anthropologist* 52 (March-June 1999): 115-124.
- Baszile, Jennifer Lynn, "Communities at the Crossroads: Chiefdoms, Colonies, and Empires in Colonial Florida, 1670-1741," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1999).
- Bradley, Ed, "Fighting for Texas: Filibuster James Long, the Adams-Onís Treaty, and the Monroe Administration," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 102 (January 1999): 322-342.
- Brown, Christopher L., "Empire Without Slaves: British Concepts of Emancipation in the Age of the American Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly* 56 (April 1999): 273-306.

- Bush, Gregory W., "'Playground of the USA': Miami and the Promotion of Spectacle," *Pacific Historical Review* 68 (May 1999): 153-172.
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- Croucher, Sheila L., "Ethnic Inventions: Constructing and Deconstructing Miami's Culture Clash," *Pacific Historical Review* 68 (May 1999): 233-251.
- Dawkins, Mary, "The West Florida Board of Land Commissioners," *Pensacola History Illustrated* 5 (summer 1999): 2-5.
- Deverell, William, and Greg Hise, "Orange Empires: Comparing Miami and Los Angeles," *Pacific Historical Review* 68 (May 1999): 144-152.
- Dewey, Scott H., "The Fickle Finger of Phosphate: Central Florida Air Pollution and the Failure of Environmental Policy, 1957-1970," *Journal of Southern History* 65 (August 1999): 565-603.
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- Grange, Roger T. Jr., "The Turnbull Colonist's House at New Smyrna Beach: A Preliminary Report on 8VO7051," *Florida Anthropologist* 52 (March-June 1999): 73-84.
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- Griffin, Patricia C., "The Halifax-Mosquitoes Plantation Corridor: An Overview," *Florida Anthropologist* 52 (March-June 1999): 5-24.
- Halbirt, Carl D., "'... a Great Farmer and Gardener': Archaeological Evidence of Governor James Grant's Farm, St. Augustine, East Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* 52 (March-June 1999): 57-72.

- Halley, Robert B., and Leanne M. Roulier, "Reconstructing the History of Eastern and Central Florida Bay Using Mollusk-Shell Isotope Records," *Estuaries* 22 (June 1999): 358-368.
- Knetsch, Joe, "Early Surveying in West Florida, *Pensacola History Illustrated* 5 (summer 1999): 6-15.
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- Moore, Dorothy L., and Dana Ste. Claire, "Dreams and Promises Unfulfilled: Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony," *Florida Anthropologist* 52 (March-June 1999): 31-46.
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History News

In Memoriam

John J. Guthrie Jr.
1955-2000

Associate Professor of History and Economics
Daytona Beach Community College

John Guthrie earned his B.S. and M.S. at Radford University and a Ph.D. in History at the University of Florida. At the time of his death, the department committee had just recommended his promotion to full professor. His works include *The Florida Land Boom*, a story of developers, land speculators, and promoters in Florida from 1913 to 1925, coauthored with William Frazier; *Keepers of the Spirits*, a study of prohibition and the Florida courts from 1915 to 1925; and a forthcoming study of the professional sports business in America since 1950. He also just completed a collaborative editing of *Cassadaga: The South's Oldest Spiritualist Community* which has just been released by the University of Florida Press. He was in the process of completing a manuscript with Frank J. Wetta on the Louisiana Scalawags. He was a member of the Florida Historical Society, the Southern Historical Association, and the Organization of American Historians. Professor Guthrie received the DBCC Faculty Senate Award for Research and Professional Development in 1995 and 1999.

In addition to his scholarly pursuits, Dr. Guthrie was a popular teacher who taught five to six classes each semester. When someone once asked him how he could teach so much and pursue his research interests at the same time, he replied, "Well, I don't own a TV." He was faculty sponsor of the History Club. In 1995, he was honored with the DBCC Students' Choice Award for Most Effective

Teacher. As one student put it in an evaluation, Professor Guthrie "is good at what he does, he's funny, and we learn something at the same time." High praise, indeed.

Donations in his memory can be sent to the The John Guthrie Memorial Fund for Faculty Development in History and the Humanities, Daytona Beach Community College, 1200 International Speedway Blvd., Daytona Beach, FL 32120.

Frank J. Wetta
Dean, Arts & Sciences
Daytona Beach Community College

Conferences

"The Gulf South in the 1930s and Other Topics in Gulf South History." The nineteenth annual meeting of the Gulf South Historical Association will be held October 12-14, 2000, at the Hampton Inn on Pensacola Beach. The Association also sponsors the William S. Coker Award for the Best Graduate Level Paper presented at the conference. For further information, contact Ginny Malston at 850-484-1425.

"Contextualizing the Caribbean: New Approaches in an Era of Globalization." A conference sponsored by the Caribbean Literary Studies Group will be held at the University of Miami from September 29-30, 2000. For more information, contact Kathryn Morris at the Department of English, University of Miami, Coral Gables, FL 33124 or at <kmorris@umsis.miami.edu>.

"At the Crossroads: Transforming Community Locally and Globally." The annual meeting of the Oral History Association will be held October 11-15, 2000, at the Marriott Hotel, Durham, North Carolina. For more information, check the association's web page at <<http://omega.dickinson.edu/organizations/oha/>>.

Southern Historical Association. The sixty-seventh annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association will be held November 8-11 at the Galt House in Louisville, Kentucky. For more information, refer to the association web page at <<http://www.uga.edu/~sha/>>.

“Celebrate Freedom!” One of the largest veteran celebrations will take place in Pigeon Forge, Tennessee. Various events include a military history book fair, November 10-12, 2000, and scholarly symposiums November 9, 10, 20, 21, 2000 with authors and scholars such as Stephen E. Ambrose, Samuel Hynes, John W. Chambers, Judy Barrett Litoff, and D’Ann Campbell. In addition, the Center for the Study of War and Society announces a concurrent conference, “The Veteran and American Society,” to be held in Knoxville on November 12-13, 2000. The Center promotes the study of the history of the American veteran from the Revolutionary War to the Persian Gulf from a variety of disciplinary perspectives that examine. For more information contact: G. Kurt Piehler, Center for the Study of War and Society, 220 Hoskins Library, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN 37996-0411; <gpiehler@utk.edu>.

“Making Environmental History Relevant in the Twenty-First Century.” The first joint meeting of the American Society for Environmental History and the Forest History Society will be held in Durham, North Carolina, from March 28 through April 1, 2001. For conference information, contact Dale Goble at <gobled@uidaho.edu> or at 208-885-7976.

Call for Papers

“Community and History in Florida.” The Department of History at the University of Central Florida invites proposals for individual papers, complete panels, and roundtable discussions for a regional conference to be held April 6-7, 2001 focusing on the theme “Community and History in Florida.” Papers are particularly welcomed on the definition of “community,” the relationship between history and community, and the development of Florida communities broadly defined. We encourage papers that examine community within the context of the American south, the Caribbean, and/or the Atlantic world. The conference is part of the department’s three-year series of events on “Community and History.” Send a vita (including an email address) and four copies of a one-page abstract to Ed Kallina, Department of History, HFA 551, University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL 32816-1350 by October 1, 2000. For more information, see the program website at <http://pegasus.cc.ucf.edu/~flhisqtr/com&his.html> or contact Ed Kallina at <kallinae@pegasus.cc.ucf.edu>.

Manuscript Acquisitions and Accessions

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* occasionally publishes a section in which recently acquired holdings of research libraries, university and college special collections, historical societies, museums, and other institutions are listed. The editor is seeking contributions to this catalogue, particularly primary documents and rare secondary sources that institutions may want known to researchers. To contact the editor about the listing, call Craig Friend at 407-823-0261 or via email at <flhisqtr@pegasus.cc.ucf.edu>. An example of the appropriate format for the listing may be found on the *Florida Historical Quarterly* web page.

Florida Historical Quarterly Web page

Readers with internet access may now find information about submissions, reviews, advertising, future tables of contents, and other issues concerning the *Florida Historical Quarterly* at <<http://pegasus.cc.ucf.edu/~flhisqtr/quarterly.html>>.

*Awards***Awards Recently Made by the Florida Historical Society**

Inaugural James J. Horgan Book Award. This award, with a stipend of \$100, honors the late Dr. Horgan of St. Leo's College and is presented to Benjamin D. Brotemarkle for *Beyond the Theme Parks: Exploring Central Florida* published by the University Press of Florida.

Frederick Cubberly Prize for Best High School Essay in Florida History. The Frederick Cubberly Prize was created through an endowment to the Society by the late Mrs. Helen Ellerbe of Gainesville. This award carries a \$250.00 stipend for the winner and a beautiful plaque. The winner for the 1999-2000 academic year is Andrew J. Guyton of the PATS Center, Pensacola, for "The Establishment of the Cradle of Naval Aviation."

Cubberly Teacher of the Year Award. The sponsoring teacher of the winning Cubberly Essay Prize receives a \$250.00 stipend and a plaque denoting the individual to be the Outstanding Teacher of

the Year. The winner for the 1999-2000 academic year is Connie Brown of the PATS Center, Pensacola.

Rembert Patrick Annual Book Award. This award is open to any author or press for the publication of a scholarly book on a Florida history topic during the preceding calendar year. Co-authors are also considered. The Patrick Book Award carries a stipend of \$200.00 per year and the recipient(s) receives a plaque noting his/her accomplishment. The winner for 1999 is David McCally for his *The Everglades: An Environmental History* published by the University Press of Florida.

Charlton Tebeau Annual Book Award. The Charlton Tebeau Book Award is open to any author or press for the publication of a general interest/youth oriented book on Florida history published within the calendar year 1 January-31 December of the preceding year. Co-authors are also considered. The Tebeau Book Award carries a stipend of \$200.00 and the recipient(s) receives a plaque noting his/her accomplishment. The winner for 1999 is Idella Parker for *From Reddick to Cross Creek* published by the University Press of Florida.

Arthur W. Thompson Award for Best Article in the *Quarterly*. There are no formal nominations for this award. A special committee, selected by the Editor of the *Quarterly*, makes the decision for this award based on articles which have appeared in the journal during the previous publication year. This award carries a stipend of \$250.00 and a plaque. The winner for Volume 78 is Timothy J. Minchin of St. Andrew's University in Scotland for "'There were two job in St. Joe Paper Company, white job and a black job': The Struggle for Civil Rights in a North Florida Paper Mill Community, 1938-1990," *FHQ* 78 (winter 2000): 331-59.

Dorothy Dodd Lifetime Achievement Award. This award is open to all individuals who have given more than two decades of service to the study and promotion of Florida history. The award is open to professional and amateurs without special preference given to a single category. The winner for 1999 is Pensacola's J. Earle Bowden.

Hampton Dunn Awards for Electronic Media. Two Hampton Dunn Awards for Electronic Media are given annually. The first cat-

egory is open to audio productions, such as interviews, oral histories, public service announcements, continuing programs, or other productions dedicated to the promotion of Florida history and/or the heritage of the state and its peoples. The winners for 1999 are Joseph Cooper and Paul George for "Topical Currents," a regular Florida history feature of WLRN Radio, Miami. The award for the second category, video productions, is presented to Jeff Mustard Deerfield for *Deerfield Days*, produced in association with the Broward County Historical Commission.

Hampton Dunn Award for Print Media. This award, for outstanding local history publication in print media, has been awarded to the Broward County Historical Commission's *Broward Legacy*.

Governor LeRoy Collins Prize for Best Graduate Essay in Florida History. This award is open to any graduate student in a master's or doctoral program in any university or college in the United States who writes an essay or research paper for a recognized college/university class on a Florida history topic. The Collins Prize consists of a \$200.00 stipend and a plaque. The award is made annually if the nominees are judged to be of sufficient quality to merit an award. The winner for the 1999-2000 academic year is the University of South Florida's Pam Iorio for "Colorless Primaries: Tampa's White Municipal Party."

Carolyn Mays Brevard Prize for Best Undergraduate Essay in Florida History. This award is open to any undergraduate student in any university or college in the United States who writes an essay or research paper for a recognized college/university class on a Florida history topic. The Brevard Prize consists of a \$200.00 stipend and a plaque. The winner for the 1999-2000 academic year is "The Joe Waller Mural Incident" by Anita Cutting, University of South Florida.

Presidential Citations. This year Hunter Scott is awarded the Society's special presidential citation for his tireless efforts in securing justice for Captain Charles B. McVay and the men of the U.S.S. *Indianapolis*. Benjamin Brotemarkle and Ulen Hodges also receive Presidential Citations for their video "Well'sbuilt Hotel: A New Guest Checks In" featured on WMFE-TV, Orlando's Public Broad-

casting Station. R. Eugene Burley receives his presidential citation for *Mount Dora: The Rest of the Story, Plus* published by Displays for Schools, Inc. in Gainesville.

Awards Recently Made by the Florida Historical Library Foundation

Chairperson's Award. The Foundation is pleased to award Gilbert A. Tucker for his book *Before the Timber was Cut*, published privately in Rockledge, Florida.

Carolynn Washborn Book Award. This award is made annually by the Florida Historical Library Foundation for the Tebeau-Field Library of Florida History. The award is open to any book, monograph, or special publication which promotes the study of Florida history and heritage. A special emphasis is placed on travel books and books aimed primarily at a general or youth audience. There is no stipend attached to this award, but the recipient will receive a plaque noting his/her accomplishments. The winner for 1999 is Eliot Kleinberg for *War in Paradise: Stories of World War II in Florida* published by the Florida Historical Society Press.

Pioneer Award. This award is made annually to an individual or organization who provides material for a book, monograph, documentary, or oral history interview dealing with a Florida family whose residency in the state can be traced back for a minimum of four generations. The winner for 1999 is Mary Call Collins of Tallahassee.

Harry T. and Harriette V. Moore Award for Best Social and Ethnographic History. Presented for the first time in 1998, this award is co-sponsored by the Florida Historical Library Foundation and the Florida Institute of Technology. The award is designed to recognize the best overall book or monograph relating to Florida's ethnic population or which deals with a significant social issue from a historical perspective. The winner for 1999 is Ben Green of Tallahassee for *Before His Time: The Untold Story of Harry T. Moore, America's First Civil Rights Martyr* published by The Free Press.

Awards Recently Made by the Florida Historical Confederation

Marinus Latour Volunteer of the Year Award. This award, named after former Society president Marinus Latour of Gaines-

ville, recognizes the contributions made by an outstanding volunteer to a local society, library, museum or other Florida history program/organization. The winner for 1999 is Robert Gross, Tebeau-Field Library of Florida History and the Brevard County Historical Commission.

Patrick D. Smith Florida Literature Book Award. This award recognizes the valuable contributions made by writers of Florida fiction in stimulating the promotion and study of the state's history and heritage. The winner for 1999 is Maity Schrecengost for *Panther Girl* (Gainesville: Maupin House Publishers).

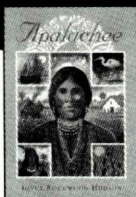
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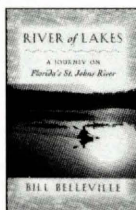
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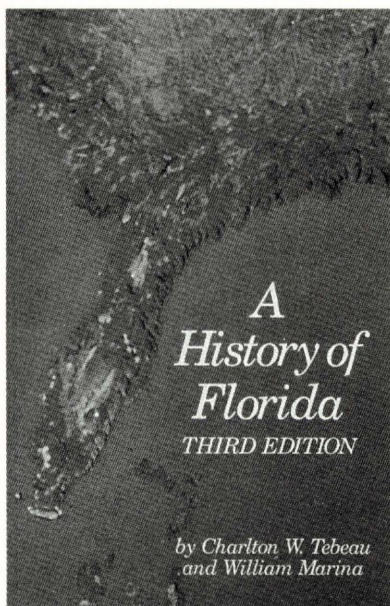
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Founded in St. Augustine in 1856, the Florida Historical Society is the oldest existing cultural organization in Florida and serves as the only statewide historical society. The Society is dedicated to the preservation of Florida's past through the collection, archival maintenance, and publication of historical documents and photographs; to scholarly research and publication through the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, and a variety of awards for the researching and publishing of Florida history; and to public history, historic preservation, and youth education through *Journeys for the Junior Historian*, the Society's annual meeting, awards recognizing the teaching of Florida history, and the Printe Shoppe—a book and gift store offering over five hundred texts in Florida history.

The Society's official headquarters are located in Historic Roesch House, an 1890s frame vernacular house at 1320 Highland Ave., Melbourne, FL 32935; (407) 254-9855. The Society's research collections—housing over eight hundred rare maps, six thousand volumes of Floridiania, and an extensive collection of documents relating to Florida history and genealogy—is located in the Tebeau-Field Library of Florida History, 435 Brevard Ave., Cocoa, FL 32922. Further information about the Florida Historical Society may be found on the internet at <http://www.florida-historical-soc.org>.

