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Who Pays for Progress? Accident Law in Florida, 1845-1886

by James L. Hunt

Few residents of twenty-first-century Florida are unfamiliar with the notion of legal liability for accidental injuries. The image of the “ambulance chasing” attorney, the call for “tort reform,” and a recurring medical malpractice insurance “crisis” are well-known to the casual observer of affairs. In fact, much of the modern business of Florida trial courts concerns automobile accidents, injuries from products, and professional malpractice. In 2000-2001, approximately 35,000 such cases were filed in the state’s circuit courts, roughly 23 percent of all civil cases. About 2,000 involved professional malpractice, 4,600 products liability, and 17,000 automobile accidents.¹ Despite its current prominence, legal responsibility for accidental injury to persons or property is not a new phenomenon. Since 1845, individuals, companies, and the state have been confronted with the need to create and implement rules that address accidentally caused

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1. These numbers are significant, but they constitute only a small part of the caseload in Florida trial courts, which amounted to almost 2.8 million civil and criminal filings in 2000-2001. Even within the subcategory of civil cases in the circuit courts, most were disputes over contracts, not accidental injury. Criminal, juvenile, and domestic cases (divorce and child custody, e.g.) are of much greater numerical importance in modern Florida than accident cases. Florida Office of State Courts Administration, *Statistical Reference Guide: Florida’s Trial Courts, 2000-2001* (Tallahassee, Fla., 2002), sec.1: 2, 5; sec. 3: 1, 3, 9, 10.

death, maiming, and property damage. The persistent question has been, "Who should pay for unintended injuries to persons and property?"

One answer has been the legal doctrine of negligence. In general, negligence rules are not complex. Liability based on negligence is determined by whether the person's action or inaction was "unreasonable" or lacking in "ordinary care" under the circumstances. In order to recover damages, an injured person must also show that there was a sufficient causal connection between the unreasonable action and any injury. Under the rule of "contributory negligence," the injurer's responsibility might be diminished or even eliminated if the injured person acted unreasonably. Although the legal principles are straightforward, their application to real disputes has often raised difficult problems. During the past 150 years, lawyers and judges have written volumes about the meaning of "negligence" in specific contexts. Predictably, given the uniqueness of each accident and the economic costs at stake, judges, legislatures, and juries have expressed contrasting views about who should bear the costs of injuries.²

The law of accidents and its history should not concern only judges, juries, lawyers, legal scholars, or the injured. Historians of all kinds can learn a great deal about the priorities of government and the patterns of shifting social and economic relations: how a society defines and treats victims of harm and the persons who cause harm is an important measure of its social, economic, and political values. Florida historians, however, have not fully integrated this story into the state's past. As a result, this article seeks to shed light on life and law in nineteenth-century Florida by describing the state's experience with accidental injuries between 1845 and 1886. It explores the decisions of Florida's Supreme Court, accident cases in several of the state's trial courts, and the actions of the state legislature. The special characteristics of nineteenth-century Florida provide unique grounds on which to use legal history to evaluate political, social, and economic conditions in the early history of the state.³

2. On the essential elements of negligence, see Dan D. Dobbs, *The Law of Torts* (St. Paul, Minn., 2000), 269-73.

3. Florida legal history is fortunate in that several fine studies address its state and federal courts. See Walter W. Manley II, E. Canter Brown, and Eric W. Rise, *The Supreme Court of Florida and its Predecessor Courts, 1821-1917* (Gainesville, Fla., 1997); Kermit L. Hall and Eric W. Rise, *From Local Courts to*

No legal system develops in a social and economic vacuum, and Florida's has been no exception. A critical early influence was the low degree of urbanization, mechanized transportation, and industry. Although permanent European settlement began in the 1560s, for the next three hundred years immigration was slow and largely restricted to the peninsula's northern half. When admitted to the Union in 1845, there were no towns of any size. Jacksonville contained just over 1,000 souls in 1850, while Key West counted less than 3,000. Nonetheless, the rate of growth in the fifteen years before and after statehood was substantial. The population grew from 34,000 in 1830 to about 140,000 in 1860. The state's first economy was almost entirely agricultural, with black slavery and livestock particularly important. Manufacturing fared poorly, and compared to other southern states, railroad development progressed at a snail's pace. This economic background is critical to understanding accident law. Outside Florida, industrial development, including railroads, was the most consistent source of accidental injury to persons and property. Steam power, despite its great benefits, caused death, personal injury, and property damage. Yet, little railroad mileage was constructed in Florida before 1860, and much of it covered only short distances. River, ocean, and gulf traffic, some of it steam-driven, remained the primary

National Tribunals: The Federal District Courts of Florida, 1821-1990 (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1991); James M. Denham, "A Rouge's Paradise": *Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Florida* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1997). A broad discussion of accident law is beyond the scope of any of these books, however; see for example, Manley et al., *Supreme Court of Florida*, 180-81; Hall and Rise, *From Local Courts to National Tribunals*, 47. Two other studies that address relevant topics in Florida's legal history are James M. Denham, "From a Territorial to a State Judiciary: Florida's Antebellum Courts and Judges," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 73 (April 1995): 443-55; Robert B. Lewis, "Railroad Cases in the Florida Supreme Court, 1845-1887," *Florida Supreme Court Historical Society Review* 1 (winter 1985): 3-5, 10-12. The nature and purpose of accident law has generated considerable heat and light among legal historians, but unfortunately little of this learning has been incorporated into the dialogues of American historians outside that specialty. Some of the contours of this debate can be gleaned from Lawrence M. Friedman and Thomas D. Russell, "More Civil Wrongs: Personal Injury Litigation, 1901-1910," *American Journal of Legal History* 34 (July 1990): 296-414; Morton Horwitz, *The Transformation of American Law, 1780-1860* (New York, 1977), 85-99; Gary T. Schwartz, "Tort Law and the Economy in Nineteenth-Century America," *Yale Law Journal* 90 (July 1981): 1717-75; John F. Witt, "Toward a New History of American Accident Law: Classical Tort Law and the Cooperative First Party Insurance Movement," *Harvard Law Review* 14 (January 2001): 690-841.

means of long-distance transportation. Altogether, slavery, the dominance of agriculture, the lack of urban areas, and the persistence of a water-based transportation system shaped the state's earliest experiences with accidental injuries.⁴

Between 1845 and 1865, the clearest legal effect of Florida's undeveloped economy was that the use of negligence law concepts was infrequent, both in the state's trial courts and in the Florida Supreme Court. A review of circuit court minute books and other trial court records from Escambia, Marion, Leon, Gadsden, Madison, and Hillsborough Counties during the first two decades of statehood reveals few cases that might have been based on accidental harm. All of these counties maintained "minute books" of the circuit courts, which listed the names of cases and any disposition by the court. They also signified the type of case by noting the technical name for its pleading, the form in which the dispute was presented to the court. The typical form of pleading for an accident case in antebellum Florida was "trespass on the case." Unfortunately, the "trespass on the case" pleading was sometimes used in cases involving facts other than accidents. Still, it was apparent from the minute books that all uses of "trespass on the case" were rare, suggesting claims based on negligence were infrequent. They were certainly insignificant compared to the flood of criminal prosecutions and disputes over debt that dominated Florida's circuit courts. Civil disputes in Florida usually involved breaches of contract and competing claims to property ownership. The new railroad companies occasionally appeared as participants in cases, but generally as debtors or creditors.⁵

4. The frontier nature of pre-Civil War Florida is surveyed in Michael Gannon, ed., *The New History of Florida* (Gainesville, Fla., 1996), 40-230; Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, Fla., 1971), 133-98. On the limitations of early Florida railroads, see Gregg Turner, *A Short History of Florida Railroads* (Charleston, S.C., 2003), 12-32; George W. Pettengill Jr., *The Story of the Florida Railroads, 1834-1903* (Boston, 1952), 10-28.
5. An impediment to trial-level research is that nineteenth-century court records are stored by county clerks rather than at the state archives, producing widely varying circumstances of maintenance and access. Altogether, I contacted clerk's offices in Escambia (Pensacola), Franklin (Apalachicola), Gadsden (Quincy), Leon (Tallahassee), Jefferson (Monticello), Madison (Madison), Columbia (Lake City), Alachua (Gainesville), Duval (Jacksonville), St. Johns (St. Augustine), Marion (Ocala), Hillsborough (Tampa), and Monroe (Key West) Counties about nineteenth-century trial court records. Several offices, including those in Duval, Columbia, and Franklin, reported that their records for the years before 1880 had been destroyed. Others had real difficulty

Despite the infrequency of accident claims, surviving case files in Escambia and Marion Counties indicate that antebellum Florida lawyers were well aware of the negligence concept. In *Goodman v. Ramsey*, an 1851 Pensacola case, the plaintiff claimed he lost \$600 worth of lumber when the defendants “negligently, carelessly, and improperly conducted themselves.” In *Shield v. Pendleton*, heard in 1859 also in Pensacola, the plaintiff sought damages for hides lost in a wrecked ship. Another shipping case was *Howard v. McGahagan*, decided in Marion County just before the Civil War. There the defendant warehouse owner, according to Howard, “carelessly and negligently conducted themselves” so as to destroy \$1,200 worth of cotton. Importantly, all of these cases involved losses in commercial contexts, specifically in the transportation of goods—lumber, hides, and cotton—to market.⁶

Naturally, the lack of accident litigation extended to the antebellum supreme court, which depended on the trial courts for its business. During the 1840s and 1850s, there was not a single reported appeal in Florida involving a negligently caused injury among persons or companies lacking a prior business relationship. Nor were there any personal injury cases, including employee injury cases. There were not any appeals involving damage to either livestock—a critical part of the Florida economy—or to persons resulting from railroad collisions. Moreover, the Florida Supreme Court did not address in any depth the standard of liability for freight carriers, a hot and common dis-

identifying what they might have. A few counties, including Escambia and Marion, have preserved both minute books and a significant number of original case files with pleadings and evidence. Alachua County has placed a huge variety of its records on the clerk's web page, making them available around the globe; see <http://www.clerk-alachua-fl.org/clerk>. I also consulted copies of Justice Court (a small claims court) documents for Hillsborough County (1850-1885) in the Special Collections Department at the University of South Florida Library, Tampa. For a good discussion of antebellum trial courts and their records, see Denham, *A Rogue's Paradise*, 24-58, 212-13, 339-41. A succinct presentation of the highly technical question of “trespass” and nineteenth-century pleading in accident cases is Dobbs, *The Law of Torts*, 25-27, 259-63.

6. *Goodman v. Ramsey*, file no. 2054, and *Shield v. Pendleton*, file no. 3515, both in Escambia County Clerk's Office, Pensacola, Fla.; *Howard v. McGahagan*, file no. 1657, and *Howard v. McGahagan*, Marion County Circuit Court Minutes, 1 May 1860, both in Marion County Clerk's Office, Ocala, Fla.

pute in neighboring states. As a result, the rural and agricultural condition of the state delayed the full development of negligence law before 1865.⁷

Nonetheless, the antebellum supreme court did consider a few cases involving accidental injury. In fact, its earliest confrontations with liability for accidents provide strong evidence of how American law drifted across state borders. One subtle influence was the fact that Florida in the 1840s and 1850s was a state of immigrants, a condition that of course applied to its judges. The forces propelling the importation of law were so strong that they occurred despite limited printed resources. In the 1850s, the supreme court confessed, "Unfortunately, we have no [access] to [law] books, and particularly those bearing most directly on the points [at issue], and are confined, in some degree, to digests."⁸ The "Catalogue of Books" in the state's judicial library reflected the primitive state of Florida's law libraries at late as 1861. The court possessed incomplete reports, digests, and statutes from other states, some federal reports and statutes, and a few treatises, altogether less than a few hundred volumes. Given that the state library was probably the best law library in Florida, it is not surprising that many of the court's early opinions dealing with accidental injury relied on presumed general principles of law.⁹

The antebellum supreme court considered accidental injuries in several contexts. Its first cases arose out of situations involving special agreements or public duties. The small number of these appeals addressed the obligations of attorneys,¹⁰

7. In *Bennett v. Filyaw*, 1 Fla. 403 (1847), an early decision involving the loss of three boxes of tobacco on a steamboat, the supreme court defined common carriers to include steamboats and certain ferries for hire. The court held, in upholding liability against a steamboat owner, that the burden was on him to demonstrate that "in virtue of some special public notice, or other good legal ground" that he was not liable as a common carrier. The rule governing the liability of carriers was liability without negligence, or fault, the traditional common law doctrine. The lost tobacco was carried on the Appalachicola River to Appalachicola in December 1842.

8. *Kelly v. Wallace*, 6 Fla. 690, 707 (1856).

9. Supplement, 10 Fla. at I-VIII.

10. *Hale v. Crowell's Admr.*, 2 Fla. 534 (1849), a curious Leon County case involving a disputed contract, addressed the "negligence" of an attorney who obtained a default judgment which was actually to the disadvantage of his clients. The court allowed the default to be reversed. *Waterson v. Seat and*

cities,¹¹ and parties in bailments,¹² with the last, as in other southern states, primarily involving injuries to hired slaves.

Slave hire accidents were the most frequent disputes involving accidental injury considered by the Florida Supreme Court. The legal rules governing the slave cases were similar to those adopted in other southern jurisdictions. For example, in an appeal involving a slave, Esop, who died while hired to lay track for the Pensacola and Georgia Rail-Road in Leon County, the justices announced that "Courts of the Southern States, in adjudicating the question as to what shall constitute negligence in the bailee of a slave, have justly and humanely defined the rule to be any failure

Crawford, 10 Fla. 326 (1864), a dispute over ownership of lumber in Hillsborough County, provided that the "negligence" of an attorney could be the basis of an action for damages by the attorney's client.

11. *Tallahassee v. Fortune*, 3 Fla. 19 (1850), a case in which a city was successfully sued for property damage, involved a gully in a public road that caused the death of the plaintiff's horse. The plaintiff tied the horse in front of his tin shop in the town, but the horse got loose, was injured, and died. The case file reveals that the plaintiff sought \$200 for "trespass on the case," alleging that the city was "in no wise ignorant of the premises, but [was] unmindful of its duty in this behalf" by not filling the ditch. The city responded that as a municipal corporation it could not be liable for trespass and that the plaintiff had negligently tied the horse. The "contributory negligence" of the plaintiff—his failure to act with "ordinary care"—the city suggested, should bar any recovery. The supreme court, however, held that the gully was a nuisance, that under its charter Tallahassee had the power to remove nuisances, and that it was therefore obligated to remove nuisances and would be liable to the plaintiff unless the injury to the horse occurred by the plaintiff's own gross negligence, which was defined as an absence of "ordinary care." The court found the plaintiff was not negligent because horses often escaped from their hitchings, and this horse was likely trying to get back to its stall. A trial judgment against the defendant city was affirmed; *Tallahassee v. Fortune*, Florida Supreme Court Folder 0854, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.
12. A bailment is the delivery of personal property to a person (the bailee) in trust to be used by the bailee for some particular purpose and then returned. This was the legal arrangement for the hiring of slaves, who were considered personal property. In *Ferguson v. Porter*, 3 Fla. 27, 38-39 (1850), the court held that a bailee who receives no benefit from a bailment is only liable for "gross negligence." In contrast, a bailee who benefits from the arrangement, such as someone who hires a slave, is to act with "diligence and skill." If the bailee failed to follow the instructions of the property owner, he was liable for any injury to the property. *Ferguson* involved a business transaction in Monroe County in which Porter agreed to ship arrowroot to New Orleans but instead shipped it to Charleston where it was lost. The trial court found in favor of the defendant, but the supreme court reversed on the ground that the duty of the defendant was not properly considered. The issue of slave bailments in law is addressed at length in Thomas D. Morris, *Southern Slavery and the Law* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996), 132-58.

to bestow that degree of care and attention which a kind and humane master would bestow under the circumstances."¹³ In another dispute, involving the drowning of a hired slave, Peter, at a lumber mill in Duval County, the court imposed a duty on the slave hirer to not subject a slave to work for which he was not fit. Peter was sent into an area of the mill where the water was up to eight feet deep, but he could not swim. The court affirmed a finding of liability in the trial court.¹⁴

The most important case involving the liability of slave hirers was *Forsyth & Simpson v. Perry*, in which the court refused to apply

13. *Tallahassee R.R. Co. v. Macon*, 8 Fla. 299, 304 (1859). Esop was sub-leased by the defendant to the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad, apparently a common practice; Larry E. Rivers, *Slavery in Florida* (Gainesville, Fla., 2000), 30-32, 80-81. The core of the claim was that Esop fell ill, and the railroad failed to provide medical care. The railroad responded that it allowed Esop to stop work when he did not feel well (he was ramming dirt under new cross-ties), gave him alcohol, pills, and a visit from a physician. The parties quibbled over Esop's age, as it naturally affected the damages. Esop's owner claimed he was between forty and forty-five years of age and valued at \$1,500; the railroad said he was an old man only worth \$300. The court affirmed a verdict for the plaintiff for \$600; *Tallahassee R.R. Co. v. Macon*, Florida Supreme Court Folder 0853, Florida State Archives. In *McRaeny v. Johnson & Moore*, 2 Fla. 520, 527 (1849), the court stated, apparently without any sense of irony, "In cases of injury to this species of property [slaves], the American courts, by a spirit of enlightened humanity, have extended a more enlarged protection than prevails in cases of mere chattels." Of course, the slave in all of these cases was either dead or injured, and at any rate could not benefit from any damages that instead went to owners. In fact, in *McRaeny*, a white man beat the slave Sam to death. The lawsuit was about who owned Sam and therefore who had the right to compensation for his death.
14. *Kelly v. Wallace*, 6 Fla. 690, 704-705. The mill owner beat and otherwise harassed Peter and routinely sent him to recover logs in deep water although he knew Peter could not swim. The trial judge charged the jury that the claim was based on "negligence and want of ordinary care," and that a key question was whether the slave received an order that "no ordinary prudent man would have given"; *Kelly v. Wallace*, Florida Supreme Court Folder 0776, Florida State Archives. Another slave bailment case, originally filed in 1860, was *Pensacola & Georgia R.R. v. Nash*, 12 Fla. 497 (1869). A slave, Jackson, was hired as a locomotive fireman. He was ordered to jump from the locomotive and attach a rope to a moving train as it pulled into Tallahassee from St. Marks. He fell while getting back on the locomotive, and the engine crushed his foot. After its amputation, Jackson's leg became infected and he died of "lockjaw." The slave's owner argued that Jackson was hired only as a fireman and was not hired for the more dangerous job of coupling and uncoupling cars. The defendant claimed that it was all Jackson's fault. He was not ordered to try to get back on the moving locomotive. That was his negligent decision and should bar any recovery. The supreme court accepted the latter argument and reversed an \$1,800 jury verdict for the plaintiff; *Pensacola and Georgia R.R. Co. v. Nash*, Florida Supreme Court Folder 0837, Florida State Archives.

the fellow servant rule. The rule, well established in other states, provided that a worker could not recover damages if his on-the-job injury was caused by the negligence of a "fellow servant," or co-worker.¹⁵ Given that any injury of a worker was likely to be the result of errors of "fellow servants," the rule presented a substantial barrier to recovery. In *Perry*, a slave in Santa Rosa County drowned while attempting to follow an order to jump to a steamboat from a flatboat. The slave tried but fell into the water and drowned.¹⁶ In his defense, the boat owner argued that the mate, not the owner, was negligent.¹⁷ The court interpreted this as an argument that the employer was not responsible for the actions of his employees, and that workers in general assumed all risks of injury or death resulting from the negligence of fellow servants.¹⁸ Although the court agreed the rule applied to free workers, it rejected its application to a case involving a slave, reasoning that "[u]nlike white persons, the slave does not, upon entering into the service of another, voluntarily incur the risks and dangers incident to such service."¹⁹ Further,

The [fellow servant] rule applies to [free] *persons* necessarily—those who are competent to contract, and who, while they are responsible for the consequences of their own misconduct, have the same rights and remedies as their co-agents. Why [include] slaves, when it is manifest they have none of those rights or remedies against others, and are not liable in a civil suit for their own acts and misconduct? . . . Apart from the views we have presented, considerations of public policy, the interest of the master, and humanity to the slave, require that . . . [the slave] should be shielded from the unrestricted control and oppression of irresponsible subordinates. The liability of the employer . . . , for the misconduct of his subordinates, will naturally add to the personal security and protection of the slave.²⁰

15. *Forsyth & Simpson v. Perry*, 5 Fla. 337 (1853). On slaves as fellow servants, see Morris, *Southern Slavery and the Law*, 147-58.

16. *Forsyth & Simpson v. Perry*, 5 Fla. at 341.

17. *Ibid.*, 5 Fla. at 341-42.

18. *Ibid.*, 5 Fla. at 342. The only citation was to Joseph Story's *Commentaries on the Law of Agency* (Boston, 1839).

19. *Forsyth & Simpson v. Perry*, 5 Fla. at 343.

20. *Ibid.*, 5 Fla. at 343-45.

In the court's mind, it was more "humane" in this context to view slaves as property than persons.²¹

Courts were not the only part of Florida's government concerned with accidents. Before the Civil War, the state legislature passed a number of statutes dealing with the potential for injury. Most important, in 1859 and 1861, it adopted laws describing what should happen when railroads killed or injured livestock, suggesting that livestock was already being killed by locomotives. Florida was a common pasturage jurisdiction; owners of roaming livestock could let their herds range freely over others' property. Landowners wishing to keep livestock out of their land had the legal burden of "fencing out" the animals. Otherwise, they could not complain about damages caused by foraging livestock. Showing a desire to protect the free-range property right, the general assembly challenged the use of a negligence standard in this context. Its statutes provided that railroad companies "shall pay for all cattle and other live stock killed" regardless of any need to prove fault by the company. The laws established a process of informal application to the railroad companies for payment. Further, engineers and conductors were required to report all livestock injuries to their employers, and the railroads were charged with keeping public records of all livestock accidents.²² The statutes clearly intended to protect the state's livestock interests by making it easier to impose liability on the new railroads.

Altogether, the infrequent application of accident law in antebellum Florida was caused by a lack of urban, industrial, and transportation development. The economic context of the few decided cases—lost goods on a steamboat, killed slaves hired out to a lumber mill or a ship owner, Tallahassee's poor streets, and the mistakes of attorneys—suggests the relevance of the urban and industrial capacity to kill or to damage property. Yet, there was not much that was either urban or industrial in early Florida, evidenced especially by the general absence of railroads. Moreover, the few disputes addressing liability for accidental harm arose out of existing legal relationships: carriers and shippers, bailors and bailees, cities and citizens, and attorneys and their clients. All of the earliest disputes involved injury to property, often slaves. The

21. *Ibid.*, 5 Fla. at 344.

22. *Digest of the Statute Law of Florida* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1872), 125-27.

general assembly's interest in accidents was directed to railroads and livestock. In pre-Civil War Florida, personal injury claims arising out of accidents were simply not a meaningful component of the state's law.

In this environment both the general assembly and the supreme court did not mind crafting rules that held injurers of property liable. In fact, under Florida law livestock killings by railroads and injury to property on common carriers such as steamboats resulted in liability even without the fault of the defendant. Similarly, the supreme court did not apply the fellow servant rule to slaves, and towns and attorneys were held liable for their negligence. The willingness to impose responsibility, however, was not the result of any animus toward modern devices. Florida's legislature actively participated in the development of railroads, and in 1859, the supreme court proclaimed that "Railroads in cities and towns cannot with propriety be termed nuisances. . . . They are in use in the principal cities of Europe and this country, and, when regulated by proper restrictions, are valuable aids to commerce."²³ Instead, accident law in early Florida tried to balance the interests of old and new forms of property, seeking a middle ground among slave owners, boat owners, the new railroads, and livestock owners that held injurers to account in an environment in which personal injury was not a factor and the overall numbers of claims was small.

The antebellum liability system did not last, however, as economic transformation between 1865 and 1886 changed the meaning of accident law in Florida. Slave hires, which had generated the most common kind of pre-Civil War accident case, ended with Emancipation. After a series of setbacks related to railroad line destruction during the Civil War and financial corruption during Reconstruction, railroads expanded at an unprecedented pace. Between 1880 and 1885, railroad mileage increased from less than 500 to more than 1,650. The total was just under 2,500 in 1890. The number of Floridians also grew, if slowly. In 1880, the state's population was less than 270,000, one of the lowest in the federal union. No place had more than 10,000 persons, including

23. *Geiger v. Filor*, 8 Fla. 325, 332 (1859). For a discussion of state sponsorship of railroad construction before and after the Civil War and the personal financial interests of supreme court justices in internal improvements, see Lewis, "Railroad Cases in the Florida Supreme Court," 3-5, 10.

Jacksonville, Pensacola, and Key West, the leading towns. Tampa counted less than 1,000.²⁴ Nonetheless, legislators and judges gave increased attention to the injuries that resulted from improvements in transportation.

As before the Civil War, the supreme court decided several lawsuits involving goods destroyed while being transported. Damages to goods shipped on railroads produced appeals for the first time. One such case, heard in 1872, arose when shoes, clothes, and furniture shipped from New York to Gainesville were lost. The court reversed a trial verdict against the Florida Railroad Company on the ground that the more than \$700 awarded was excessive.²⁵ In another appeal, a dentist's implements valued at more than \$500 were lost on a steamer in the St. Johns River. The supreme court, however, refused the plaintiff compensation for his inability to practice dentistry and also denied any special recovery for the tools, which allegedly were set with gold, diamonds, and rubies.²⁶ In contrast, in *Southern Express Co. v. Van Meter*, the court held an express company in Alachua County liable for a misdelivered package under the prevailing strict liability standard for common carriers.²⁷ Altogether, the results in the carrier cases were primarily determined by the terms of agreement between the shipper and carrier. The contractual basis of carrier liability law in Florida, as opposed to negligence, was recognized in an 1885 statute requiring common carriers to deliver freight strictly according to their agreements with the shipper, whether represented by a bill of lading or some other document.²⁸

A second type of property case, the accidental killing of livestock by railroads, had received the legislature's attention before the Civil War. After the war, the issue of liability for livestock killings produced a dramatic and well-defined contest between the legislature and the supreme court. The conflict was predictable. Divisions in Florida politics frequently resulted from disagree-

24. Turner, *A Short History of Florida Railroads*, 33-92; Pettengill, *The Story of the Florida Railroads*, 8; Gannon, ed., *The New History of Florida*, 249-86. On the general failure of Florida's railroads to expand between 1865 and 1880, see Edward C. Williamson, *Florida Politics in the Gilded Age, 1877-1893* (Gainesville, Fla., 1976), 7-8, 15-16, 30-31; Manley et al., *The Supreme Court of Florida*, 261.

25. *Florida R.R. v. Gensler & Silberstein*, 14 Fla. 122 (1872).

26. *Brock v. Gale*, 14 Fla. 523 (1874).

27. *Southern Express Company v. Van Meter*, 17 Fla. 783 (1880).

28. *Revised Statutes of the State of Florida* (Jacksonville, Fla., 1892), s. 2348.

ments about the legal status of railroads, and competition between farmers and the railroads in livestock cases was simply part of that larger contest.²⁹ Property in livestock was often the critical capital of the yeoman farmer, a class that possessed considerable political clout in late nineteenth-century Florida. And legally the livestock owner had long held an established property right in the free range of his animals. Further, prior to the Civil War, the Florida legislature endorsed both an abbreviated legal process and railroad liability for livestock killings even without any negligence by the railroad.

After the Civil War, the growth of railroads produced more livestock accidents, and for the first time the property rights of the farmer became subject to evaluation in the supreme court. During the 1870s, the state's Reconstruction legislature passed a provision that made it illegal to allow any animals to stray onto railroad tracks. With Republicans in retreat as Reconstruction ended, a Conservative-Democratic legislature overturned this potentially radical pro-railroad change by providing that companies "shall be held liable" for damages to livestock caused "by the cars or trains of such company." Proof of damages could be provided by affidavit of the owner, reaffirming antebellum principles.³⁰ The legislature also permitted levies on railroad property and garnishment of railroad depot agents in order to collect damages for livestock injuries. Still, the legislature repealed former provisions requiring informal claims before instituting a lawsuit in a court.³¹

The legislature's preference for railroad liability was not tested in the supreme court until 1886 with *Savannah, Florida and Western Ry. Co. v. Geiger*. Florida statutory law provided that railroads "shall be held liable" for injuries to stock.³² *Geiger* involved a claim for damages to livestock in Nassau County for which the plaintiff won a verdict at trial. Yet, *Geiger* was not simply a contest over a few ani-

29. According to Edward C. Williamson, arguments over the financial and political power of railroads, especially those controlled by out-of-state interests, were at the forefront of state politics after 1880; *Florida Politics in the Gilded Age*, 144-62, 193.

30. *Digest of the Laws of the State of Florida* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1881), 125-26, 856; *Savannah, Florida and Western Ry. Co. v. Geiger*, 21 Fla. 669, 685-86 (1886).

31. *Digest of the Laws of the State of Florida*, 125-26, 856.

32. *Savannah, Florida and Western Ry. Co.*, 21 Fla. 669; *Digest of the Laws of the State of Florida*, 356.

mals. It confronted the supreme court with the larger question of the relative property rights of farmers and industry and who would be asked to bear the costs of modernization. Few policy questions in a capitalist economy were more important than the definition of relative property rights. Farmer Geiger's predicament was undoubtedly common. Ten of his cattle, two sheep, and five hogs were killed by the railroad in less than a year. Fed up, he proceeded to court on the evidence of carcasses found alongside the tracks and claimed roughly \$150 in damages. His claim relied on ancient property rights as well as the livestock statute: "The custom of the County is that stock graze [*sic*] in the woods wherever they please, and it was the same custom before the [Savannah, Florida & Western] was built." From the beginning, the key legal question was the standard of liability. The railroad maintained that the claim failed because there was no allegation of negligence. Geiger responded, "[T]here is no law requiring him to set out or prove negligence." The trial court, following the livestock statute, agreed with Geiger and instructed the jury that the killings were *prima facie* evidence of negligence. The jury awarded Geiger \$146.³³

Savannah, Florida & Western Railway appealed to the supreme court. Robert Davis, a Jacksonville attorney who represented the railroad, prepared an elaborate six-page printed brief in which he argued that negligence could not be presumed; it had to be proven by the plaintiff. He attacked the livestock statute as imposing unfair punishment when there was no evidence of fault. The statute "attempts to hold all railroad companies in this State liable for damages to live stock on their roads absolutely, and provides an *ex parte* method of proving the amount of the damage by the affidavit of a witness." According to Davis, this violated economic efficiency because "it would be absolutely impossible for the engineers to run their trains so as to make half the time now universally required by the traveling public without occasionally killing an animal." He believed the law considered the "efficient operation of railroads" to be of much more importance "than the avoiding of injury to live-stock." As a result, locomotives were not required to slow down when livestock was seen. Economics aside, according to

33. *Savannah, Florida, and Western Ry. Co. v. Geiger*, Florida Supreme Court Folder 0808, Florida State Archives.

Davis, the statute was invalid because of the due process requirements of the federal and Florida constitutions. As a matter of constitutional law, the legislature could not impose liability without fault. It could not take the property of one person and give it to another without proof of negligence. Davis conceded that livestock owners would probably not be able to prove negligence very often, given that all that would be left after a killing would be a rotting carcass. Yet, the "law is the law, work a hardship on whom it may." Further, because 90 percent of these cases were for small amounts and brought before justices of the peace, where there were no written pleadings, the companies were unable to adequately defend claims under the current standard. Altogether, economic efficiency, due process, and the informal procedural context (which hampered railroad defense strategies) required a negligence standard.³⁴

Geiger's response, handwritten by his attorney on three pages, put the matter in a different light. It maintained that the legislature clearly intended to change the common law negligence rule: "[A]ll the Plaintiff has to prove is the killing[,], the value of property[,], and ownership which make a prima facie case." Still, the burden was on the defendant to prove the killing was unavoidable, reflecting the sound policy that railroads should "Exercise the utmost care and diligence in the Exercise of their privilege." On a practical level, the legislature's rule was just common sense. The company had at least two witnesses—the fireman and the engineer—present at every killing, while the "Plaintiff is at his house following his daily business." As a result, the plaintiff could never produce evidence of negligence. Further, according to Geiger, the plaintiff was never at fault while the railroad always caused the killing. Surely the legislature had the power to take such matters into consideration when devising a rule of responsibility.³⁵

The court took its time in reaching a decision. Anxiously, the railroad contacted the court's clerk several times, and on November 16, 1885, Attorney Davis rather oddly requested that "as soon as the case is decided you will send us a copy of the decision provided the decision is in favor of the Rail Road Company, which I have every reason to believe will be the case." He need not have been concerned. The supreme court's decision began with a dis-

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

cussion of fence laws in territorial Florida, which since 1823 recognized "a right in resident owners of stock for their cattle and other domestic animals to range and graze on all uninclosed lands free of change, and without any liability for any damage resulting from their going upon or grazing on any lands whatsoever not inclosed by a lawful fence." The court concluded, "No special interest is of as much if any more moment to our State, and none elicited earlier legislative attention than stock raising."³⁶ The court believed the current livestock liability statute, passed in 1875, did not impose any legal duty on livestock owners to keep their animals off railroad tracks. Despite this background, the court rejected the liability standard articulated by the legislature. It maintained that liability for livestock killings depended on whether both parties exercised proper care and that the plaintiff must prove the defendant's negligence in order to prevail.

The *Geiger* ruling defended the negligence principle, as opposed to liability without fault. It defined negligence as "reasonable care under the circumstances" and stated there could be no recovery if the livestock killing could not have been avoided by the railroad or was caused by the plaintiff's own negligence. The court disagreed with *Geiger's* idea that the burden of disproving negligence should be on the railroad. It assumed that even though a railroad might be dangerous, it was nonetheless lawful, and its lawfulness acted as notice to the livestock owner that the state would tolerate its dangers. The court considered but eventually rejected a rule that presumed the negligence of a railroad in livestock cases, a rule common before the Civil War in some southern states. Instead, in "running at ordinary speed, [a railroad] is doing nothing forbidden, but the very thing required by its organization and required by the commerce of the country."³⁷ Moreover, the court concluded that Florida's statutes did not impose a presumption of negligence.³⁸ The court dismissed the notion that the applicable statute, with its "shall be held liable" language, could possibly impose liability without fault. Citing the Michigan jurist Thomas Cooley's writings on limitations on legislative powers, it held that such a standard would violate constitu-

36. *Ibid.*; *Savannah, Florida, and Western Ry. Co.*, 21 Fla. at 684.

37. *Savannah, Florida, and Western Ry. Co.*, 21 Fla. at 689-96.

38. *Ibid.*, 21 Fla. at 697-700.

tional due process: "The legislature cannot thus create judgment, even as to the single element of the amount of the damage upon the basis of an ex-parte affidavit, nor as to such element [regarding] those of the killing or injury and negligence."³⁹

The court's reference to due process and to Cooley implied a substantive due process constitutional right to negligence before a railroad corporation could be held liable. This astonishing conclusion was not really explained. The opinion was not clear whether it derived the right from the federal constitution, the state constitution, or both, as no specific provision was referenced. Nonetheless, the supreme court's citation to Cooley suggests it was willing to imply a substantive due process right to negligence for a corporation from the federal Fourteenth Amendment. Thus, the 1886 *Geiger* decision predated the important series of decisions in the United States Supreme Court between 1887 and 1898 that established substantive due process as a federal limitation on state regulation of business. Equally remarkably, the court presumed without explanation that a corporation as well as a natural person was entitled to constitutional protections, although the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted to protect the civil rights of former slaves, not incorporated businesses. That critical issue was not addressed in the United States Supreme Court until May 1886, several months after *Geiger*.⁴⁰

Analysis of the decision is noteworthy in other ways. It was issued by a Democratic and ex-Confederate majority. One would expect such men to have little sympathy for expanding the reach of the Fourteenth Amendment, a product of Radical Republican Reconstruction, but apparently their interest in railroad development overcame any possible doubts. The composition of the court had changed dramatically in the months preceding the *Geiger* decision. The new governor, former Confederate general and Democrat Edward A. Perry, appointed Democrats George G. McWhorter and George P. Raney to the court in 1885. McWhorter was a leading figure in the West Florida faction of the party, a close ally of William D. Chipley, manager of the Louisville & Nashville

39. *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations Which Rest upon the Legislative Power of the States of the American Union* (Boston, 1874); *Savannah, Florida, and Western Ry. Co.*, 21 Fla. at 698-99.

40. On the corporation as legal person, see *Santa Clara County v. Southern Pacific R.R. Co.*, 118 U.S. 394 (1886).

Railroad, and an eager supporter of railroad construction. McWhorter even endorsed West Florida's secession from the state and incorporation into Alabama if the legislature did not subsidize railroad construction. He eventually resigned from the supreme court to chair Florida's railroad commission. As for Raney, as an attorney he represented the state's internal improvement fund, which was designed to help fund railroad construction. He helped to negotiate the sale of four million acres of land to Philadelphia businessman Hamilton Disston, a critical factor in facilitating railroad expansion in the 1880s. After leaving the supreme court, Raney became counsel for the Seaboard Air Line Railway.⁴¹

The radical potential of the court's ruling cannot be overemphasized. In the 1873 *Slaughterhouse Cases*, the United States Supreme Court repudiated a proposition for a substantive due process right under the federal Constitution similar to that proposed by the railroad in *Geiger*. That decision was still good law in early 1886.⁴² Moreover, *Geiger*, although emanating from backwoods Tallahassee, was published just a few months after the more celebrated case of *In re Jacobs*, in which the New York Court of Appeals, the most important state court in the nation, held a labor regulation invalid under the state's constitution as an arbitrary deprivation of liberty and property.⁴³ *Jacobs* is often viewed as a precursor to the development of the doctrine of substantive due process under the federal constitution. But *Geiger* could be viewed as more sweeping, given that it concerned competing rights to protection of property for accidental harm without the complications of contract and labor regulations.

Geiger triggered a contest over liability standards between the court and the legislature. The supreme court had expressed a philosophical and constitutional preference for negligence. As a result, *Geiger* identified the kind of property the supreme court was most willing to protect. Livestock owners would have an increased share of the burdens resulting from the new transportation network. As everyone understood, the practical difficulty of proving railroad negligence in livestock cases—railroad employees were usually the only human witnesses—made claims less likely or even

41. Manley et al., *The Supreme Court of Florida*, 261, 266, 275-83; Williamson, *Florida Politics in the Gilded Age*, 73-80.

42. *The Slaughterhouse Cases*, 83 U.S. 36 (1873).

43. *In re Jacobs*, 98 N.Y. 98 (1885).

impossible. The legislature perceived this and immediately expressed extreme hostility to *Geiger*, enacting a law requiring railroads to fence their tracks and making them strictly liable for any injury "whether [acting] negligently or not" if there was inadequate fencing. The legislature imposed a process by which the owner of killed livestock would make a direct claim to the company for compensation, allowing the claim to be enforced by attachment and lien against the railroad, and providing that if the railroad failed to pay the claim and it was necessary for the livestock owner to seek enforcement in court that the court should award the value of the livestock plus 50 percent interest on the livestock from the date of the initial claim, and attorney's fees. Two years later, the legislature imposed a presumption of railroad negligence in livestock cases, further overruling *Geiger*.⁴⁴

The supreme court also heard property damage cases after 1865 that did not involve goods on carriers or livestock. Most concerned the application of negligence concepts to duties imposed by contract or on a local government. Post-Civil War bailment disputes, for example, tended to be decided in the context of well-established doctrine. In adjudicating liability arising from a horse bailment in Jackson County, in which a man hired a horse but mistreated it, the supreme court restated the principle formerly applied to slaves that a bailee is required to exercise "ordinary diligence," which is "such as men of common prudence generally exercise about their own affairs."⁴⁵ In a dispute involving Jacksonville, a plaintiff had fallen through the Hogans' Creek Bridge and "his buggy was broken, his harness ruined, and his horse seriously injured and rendered unfit for . . . use thereafter." The court held that an incorporated municipality could be liable for injuries on its streets and bridges if its charter included a duty to maintain public streets.⁴⁶ Other property cases addressed the negligence of an attorney,⁴⁷ a timber operation that obstructed the

44. *Revised Statutes of the State of Florida*, ss. 2271-76, 2280.

45. *West v. Blackshear & Co.*, 20 Fla. 457 (1884); *McMurray v. Bassett*, 18 Fla. 609 (1882) (without the permission of its owner, a mare became pregnant while being held at the defendant's livery stable).

46. *Jacksonville v. Drew*, 19 Fla. 106 (1882) (city charged with the control and regulation of its streets and bridges).

47. *Young v. Whitney*, 18 Fla. 54 (1881) (negligence unsuccessfully used as a defense to paying attorney's fee).

Escambia River,⁴⁸ the negligence of a partner in running a business,⁴⁹ and a fire set by a railroad.⁵⁰ The last, against the South Florida Railroad Company in Orange County, involved a railroad's attempt to burn woods adjacent to its property. The fire spread and destroyed a house and several orange trees.

Two other property cases addressed negligence concepts in special business relationships. In *O'Brien v. Vaill*, decided in 1886, a man who left a trunk at a St. Johns County hotel—the trunk was later stolen—claimed the innkeeper was responsible. The court held that because the man checked out of the hotel and left the trunk without any compensation to the innkeeper, the hotel was responsible only if it was grossly negligent. Unfortunately for the plaintiff, there were no facts to support such a finding.⁵¹

In another dispute, the Western Union Telegraph Company failed to deliver a message in Pensacola sent from Barbados. The message concerned an agreement to hire a vessel in Barbados that would come to Pensacola and carry lumber to the United Kingdom. Thinking the deal was final, the ship sailed to Pensacola only to discover that, because its accepting telegram had not been delivered by Western Union, the shipper hired another ship. There was no doubt that the failure to deliver the message was negligence. Instead, the question was what damages could be allowed: the mere cost of sending the telegram or the consequential damages flowing from the fact that the message was not delivered. Despite the potential burden on telegraph companies, and a contrary rule in other jurisdictions, the court held that the sender could recover damages resulting in the usual course of business from the failure to deliver the message. It affirmed a trial judgment against Western Union for more than \$600.⁵²

After the Civil War, property damage cases still made up the majority of all Florida accident cases. Damages to goods shipped

48. *Sullivan v. Jernigan*, 21 Fla. 264 (1885) (defense of claim depended partly on whether there was a breach of "the care, diligence and skill ordinarily exercised by timber raftsmen on the Escambia river"); *Simpson & Co. v. Daniels*, 16 Fla. 672 (1878) (Blackwater River in Santa Rosa County obstructed by logs, other logs damaged).

49. *Richardson v. Ross*, 14 Fla. 463 (1874).

50. *Saussy v. South Florida R.R. Co.*, 22 Fla. 327 (1886) (A verdict for the railroad was reversed on the grounds that its attorney improperly questioned a witness).

51. *O'Brien v. Vaill*, 22 Fla. 627 (1886).

52. *Western Union Telegraph Co. v. Hyer Bros.*, 22 Fla. 637 (1886).

by common carriers, injuries to livestock by railroads, poorly maintained municipal streets, the incompetence of an attorney, a horse mistreated by a person other than its owner, rivers obstructed by timber, goods lost in a hotel, a spreading fire, and an undelivered telegraph message were the factual contexts for applying the law. With the notable exceptions of the livestock cases, which generated intense debate between the legislature and the supreme court, and the spreading fire case, all of the claims arose out of failures in contract performance or the duties of local government. As a result, accident law concepts in property cases between 1865 and 1886 were predominantly linked to failures in meeting reasonable expectations in commercial or government relationships.

Despite the continued prominence of property claims, by 1886 there were hints that the greater future of accident law and negligence would be with personal injuries. One variety of this kind of case involved injuries to railroad passengers.⁵³ The only Florida passenger case before 1887, which generated two appeals in the 1880s, involved an injury to an elderly man riding a Jacksonville streetcar.⁵⁴ Plaintiff Adolpho Chappell, apparently using a crutch, claimed that a streetcar driver started the horse-drawn vehicle in a manner that shook the car and then threw him to its floor before he could get seated. He claimed damages of \$5,000. In the first appeal, a trial verdict for Chappell was reversed on the ground that there was no proof of negligence. According to the court, the mere fact of an accident did not establish negligence by the street railway, and moreover, the relevant standard was "ordinary care and prudence." It saw "no proof of such acts or omissions upon the part of the driver as show a failure to observe such care, precaution and vigilance as the circumstances demanded—in a word, no affirmative proof of negligence."⁵⁵ A new trial was awarded on appeal, but before the second trial, Chappell died. His wife pursued the case and won another verdict in Duval County. Yet, on appeal the court gave a narrow view of the state's wrongful death

53. An infrequent type of personal injury litigation involved claims against local government. A rare decision finding liability against a city arose when lawyers for Jacksonville neglected to file a required bill of exceptions so as to perfect an appeal; *Jacksonville v. Lawson*, 16 Fla. 321 (1878) (plaintiff fell into a ditch).

54. *Jacksonville Street Ry. Co. v. Chappell*, 21 Fla. 174 (1885); *Jacksonville Street Ry. Co. v. Chappell*, 22 Fla. 616 (1886).

55. *Jacksonville Street Ry. Co. v. Chappell* (1885), 21 Fla. at 183-85.

statute, which permitted certain legal actions to continue after one's death, in holding that Chappell's action for personal injury did not survive under the statute. The statute provided that "Hereafter all actions for personal injuries shall die with the person, to wit: assault and batteries, slander, false imprisonment and malicious prosecution, all other actions shall and may be maintained in the name of the representative of the deceased." The court read the types of claims after "to wit" to not include Chappell's case.⁵⁶

The supreme court also confronted a personal injury to a pedestrian on railroad tracks. Much as in the livestock area, the legislature had already perceived the potential for this kind of injury and, in 1874, required railroads to erect signs and ring bells at crossings and to not exceed a speed of four miles per hour in cities.⁵⁷ The crossing cases were particularly well suited to the defense of "contributory negligence." This rule provided that any negligence—or absence of "ordinary care"—by the plaintiff eliminated the liability of the railroad, even if the railroad also acted without "ordinary care." A particularly dramatic use of contributory negligence was *Louisville & Nashville R.R. Co. v. Yniestra*, in which Moses G. Yniestra, walking along the company's tracks in Pensacola, was killed. This was the only appeal in Florida between 1845 and 1886 involving a claim for negligent personal injury by someone who had no contractual relationship with the defendant or when the defendant was not a unit of government.⁵⁸

Yniestra was walking along track through the company's switchyard early in the morning when it was mostly dark. The track was laid on one of Pensacola's public streets. Yniestra had walked through the switchyard on his way to and from work for about three years. In a backing maneuver, the train, allegedly ringing its

56. *Jacksonville Street Ry. Co. v. Chappell* (1886), 22 Fla. at 625, 627. The court did not decide whether a case by the representative of a deceased passenger based on the contract of carriage could survive. It only held that a claim of negligence alone could not. The railroad had argued that "all actions" in the statute meant all actions, and that the list after "to wit" was simply an illustration of the actions barred, not a restriction. Of course, this rendered the reference to "all other actions" meaningless. The supreme court apparently agreed; *Jacksonville Street Ry. Co. v. Chappell*, Florida Supreme Court Folder 0767, Florida State Archives.

57. *Revised Statutes of the State of Florida*, s. 2264.

58. *Louisville & Nashville R.R. Co. v. Yniestra*, 21 Fla. 700 (1886).

bell and traveling at about three to four miles per hour, ran over Yneistra. Earlier, workers on the train had seen Yneistra on the track, but there was no light on the back of the train nor was there any lookout. The only witnesses to the killing were company employees.⁵⁹ Judge W. Douglas King instructed an Escambia County jury on a full range of negligence issues. Was the engine property equipped? Was the engine run with due care? Did Yneistra have "plenty of warning"? If the jury believed the railroad was liable, it should award such damages as the deceased's life was worth to his wife. The jury found no contributory negligence and awarded \$25,000 to Yneistra's widow, who was left to care for ten children.⁶⁰

The supreme court agreed with the lower court ruling that the company was negligent in not seeing Yneistra walking near the rear of the train. Yet, citing New York and Pennsylvania law, it concluded that recovery depended on whether the accident was entirely the fault of the company.⁶¹ It held that Yneistra was contributorily negligent because he knew of the property's use as a switching yard, even though the railroad track on which he was killed was part of a public street. In essence, the justices accepted the railroad's argument that Yneistra did not need to walk on the track, even though it was located on a public road, and consequently rejected the argument that Yneistra had a right to walk on the road and track and that, as a result, he was not negligent.⁶² Chief Justice Raney, who wrote the opinion, admitted his unease about the prospect of a negligent railroad having no liability for killing a person:

[T]he operation of the principle of contributory negligence is unjust and inequitable. By the law, as it unquestionably stands, no matter how negligently or with what amount of care trains are run, if a person injured by one of them has failed to exercise care on his part, he cannot recover. As it happens in nearly every instance of collision, if not all, that the person on the track is alone

59. *Ibid.*, 21 Fla. at 723.

60. *Yneistra v. Louisville & Nashville R.R. Co.*, File 1884-7818, Escambia County Clerk's Office, Pensacola, Fla.; *Yneistra v. Louisville & Nashville R.R. Co.*, Florida Supreme Court Folder 0809, Florida State Archives.

61. *Louisville & Nashville R.R. Co. v. Yneistra*, 21 Fla. at 729.

62. *Yneistra v. Louisville & Nashville R.R. Co.*, Florida Supreme Court Folder 0809.

injured or killed, the train receiving no damage, there is no present incentive of personal safety on the train hands to use caution, nor a fear of being compelled to make pecuniary compensation when they can rely upon being absolved from their admitted negligence by some careless act of the plaintiff.

Raney endorsed a rule of comparative negligence, which would apportion damages based on the relative fault of the parties, but he thought it was up to the legislature to change the law.⁶³

Chappell and *Yniestra* were the most important personal injury appeals in Florida between 1845 and 1886. The supreme court did not decide any employee injury cases during this time, although such claims became an increasingly important variety of appeal in other states.⁶⁴ Because *Chappell* and *Yniestra* both lost their appeals, the only personal injury verdict in favor of an accidentally injured plaintiff upheld by the supreme court between 1845 and 1886 involved a claim against Jacksonville (a place notorious for its poor roads) for a man's fall into a ditch.⁶⁵ Altogether, the use of negligence to obtain recovery for personal injuries in Florida before 1886 was extremely rare. None of the normal sources of such cases in other states—railroad injuries to passengers, railroad collisions with pedestrians, or injuries to railroad workers—generated many appeals.

Despite the predominance of property cases and the infrequency of personal injury claims between 1865 and 1886, Florida was clearly on the path to a modern conceptualization of accident law. Following a national trend, the supreme court tried to enshrine negligence as the doctrine that would determine liability when there was no prior relationship between the injured and injurer, most notably in the livestock and pedestrian cases. The court relied heavily on the decisions of other states and on legal writers, freely importing doctrine in concluding that negligence was the best way to address the problems created by economic development. Further, it was no accident that almost all of the

63. *Louisville & Nashville R.R. Co. v. Yniestra*, 21 Fla. at 730, 737-38.

64. An indication that injuries happened, however, is *Peninsula Railroad v. Gary*, 22 Fla. 356 (1886), in which the court discussed the ability of railroad company employees to bind the railroad to agreements entered into with physicians for medical services to railroad workers.

65. *Jacksonville v. Lawson*, 16 Fla. 321 (1878).

court's personal or property damage cases involved some modern device such as a railroad or telegraph, or took place in one of Florida's few urban settings. The legislature was also an important factor in shaping accident law. It realized that a technological watershed had been reached by the mid-1880s, yet it was much less willing than the supreme court to view negligence as the proper means of assessing responsibility for personal and property injuries, particularly in the absence of a contract or some public duty. It adopted a spate of laws that touched on liability issues, especially for railroads. Many of these statutes specifically rejected the law as developed by the supreme court and gave greater protection to the injured. In 1887, the legislature overruled the contributory negligence doctrine of *Yniestra* and adopted the apportionment approach of comparative negligence. It criminalized drunkenness, failure to deliver goods, and gross negligence by railroad employees. It abolished the fellow servant rule. It permitted actions by the victims of persons killed by the negligence of others to survive their death, effectively rejecting the *Chappell* decision. Further, in 1887 and 1889, the legislature imposed a fencing requirement on railroads and higher than ordinary negligence standards for the killing of livestock. This was a manifest rejection of the court's decision in *Geiger*. Finally, a regulatory body to oversee railroad rate and service issues, the Railroad Commission, was established in 1887.⁶⁶

Nineteenth-century Florida's experience with accidents and their consequences is not just a subject for lawyers or legal historians. The history reveals broad and important characteristics of the state's political and economic life. From the beginning, accidents were linked to problems of technology and urbanization. From the 1850s through the 1880s, the legislature and the supreme court tried to fashion rules that would allocate risk according to the evolving values of the decision makers. Florida's experience with accident law was unique. Its slow economic development pre-

66. *Revised Statutes of the State of Florida*, ss. 2271-76, 2280-84, 2342-44, 2346, 2692-95. The 1887 legislature also passed the first Jim Crow railroad car law; *ibid.*, s. 2268. The legislature had adopted a number of safety statutes in 1874, for example concerning crossings and prohibiting locking the doors of passenger cars; *Digest of the Laws of the State of Florida*, 286-89. A discussion of the contest over the railroad commission is found in William G. Thomas, *Lawyering for the Railroad: Business, Law, and Power in the New South* (Baton Rouge, La., 1999), 110-12.

vented the large numbers of cases that were common in other states. There were few supreme court accident decisions before the mid-1880s that were not based on a contractual relationship between the injured and injurer. And property damage cases, not personal injury cases, dominated litigation into the mid-1880s. Also important is that the legislature preferred strict liability in some factual contexts and specific liability standards in others that tended to increase burdens on injurers, especially railroads. It modified or rejected key supreme court rulings in order to protect persons and property other than railroads. In contrast, the supreme court embraced the negligence standard, with its requirement of fault. When given the opportunity, the court imposed a full spectrum of negligence rules and defenses from other states, even giving those rules a level of constitutional significance in *Geiger*. By the late 1880s, Florida possessed a robust body of statutory and court-created rules for accidental property and personal injury. Above all, the rules showed that industrial progress had real costs and that Florida's lawmakers sometimes disagreed about who should bear those costs. In fact, the question of an appropriate allocation of burdens for accidental injury has proved to be so intractable—and inherently political—that it continued to generate disagreement into the twentieth century and beyond.

Violence, Racial Etiquette, and African American Working-Class *Infrapolitics* in Jacksonville during World War I

by Robert Cassanello

Before the 1980s, many historians thought that working-class African Americans were victims of racism and consequently played passive roles in history. With the emergence of the new social history, scholars of African American and urban history reexamined previous notions of black culture. They came forward with sources and interpretations suggesting that working-class blacks played a major role in shaping race relations in urban America.

Still, there has been little consensus about how working-class blacks actively informed and created their own history. Employing James C. Scott's notion of *infrapolitics*, or the covert methods of daily working-class resistance that challenged the authority of the social structure, Robin D.G. Kelley argued that working-class African Americans engaged in racial *infrapolitics* to challenge white supremacy daily in the Jim Crow South. Unlike marches, strikes, and other public protests, everyday resistance was like "hidden transcripts," meant to be invisible and to challenge the power structure. According to Kelley, resistance by

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blacks was hidden and never part of open interactions with whites.¹

Other historians have interpreted working-class black resistance as more blatant and confrontational. In their study of working-class blacks in Memphis, Kenneth W. Goings and Gerald L. Smith concluded that resistance was purposely more discernable than Kelley's "hidden transcripts."² J. William Harris, in his study of World War I-era Vicksburg, Mississippi, linked blacks' overt willingness to defy traditional racial boundaries to the rise of lynching. He found that whites expected African Americans to adhere to a strict racial etiquette intended to maintain a static color line. When blacks challenged racial mores whites reacted violently. Although Harris pointed to a link between violations of racial etiquette and violence, he maintained that white frustrations over black northward migration catalyzed interracial violence as well. Further creating a link between out-migration and lynching, E.M. Beck and Stewart E. Tolnay found a correspondence between southern counties with high rates of outward black migration and high rates of lynching.³

However, a careful study of racial violence in Jacksonville challenges the idea that black out-migration was inherently a flight from or a catalyst for violence, identifying the primary cause for interracial tension squarely on African American challenges to racial etiquette. Similar to Memphis and Vicksburg, black working-class resistance in Jacksonville was overt during the World War I era. Other forms of protest, some of which were also overt, were more interpersonal, sometimes in response to

1. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, Conn., 1990), 183; Robin D.G. Kelley, "We Are Not What We Seem: Rethinking Black Working-Class Opposition in the Jim Crow South," in *The New African Americans Urban History*, ed. Kenneth W. Goings and Raymond A. Mohl (Thousand Oaks, Calif., 1996), 187-229.
2. Kenneth W. Goings and Raymond A. Mohl, "Toward a New African Americans Urban History," in Goings and Mohl, eds., *New African Americans Urban History*, 1-13; Kenneth W. Goings and Gerald L. Smith, "'Unhidden' Transcripts: Memphis and African Americans Agency, 1862-1920," in Goings and Mohl, eds., *New African Americans Urban History*, 142-63.
3. J. William Harris, "Etiquette, Lynching, and Racial Boundaries in Southern History: A Mississippi Example," *American Historical Review* 100 (April 1995): 387-97; Stewart E. Tolnay and E.M. Beck, "Racial Violence and Black Migration in the American South, 1910-1930," *American Sociological Review* 57 (February 1992): 103-16.

segregated seating in public transportation or white expectations of black deference in public. Jacksonville became a milieu for black migrants leaving the rural South rather than a point of departure for blacks fleeing the South. In the years of the First World War, displays of working-class black *infrapolitics* not only became more frequent but also became more confrontational and created the environment that culminated in Jacksonville's first recorded extra-legal lynching.

One of the most significant events marking Florida's incorporation into the New South was a black labor crisis that handicapped Jacksonville from the summer of 1915 through the summer of 1916. The city's board of health reported that the black population declined by five thousand during that period, including approximately twenty-five hundred African American laborers. While the Board's estimates were probably exaggerated by black migrants' seasonal patterns in the turpentine industries of rural north Florida, an increased out-migration by black Jacksonvillians remained a serious problem.⁴

Initially, then, the racial dynamics of Jacksonville appeared very similar to those of Vicksburg. While African American movement northward was primarily a response to the draw of better economic opportunities, it represented a rejection of white leaders' pleas, paternalism, and expectations of racial deference and etiquette. As blacks migrated to New York, Chicago, Cleveland, and other northern cities, they wrote letters to northern African American newspapers explaining their reasons for moving. Most wanted better pay, but others believed that southern whites were generally hostile, and that poor whites took potential jobs away from the black working class. Writing on behalf of fellow workers at the Florida East Coast Railway Company, one correspondent claimed, "all [we] want is fairly good wages and steady work." Some blacks were disgruntled by a working environment that failed to provide for entire families. In the hopes of finding family opportunity in the North, one woman advertised how she "can wash chamber mad [*sic*] dish washer nurse or wash and my boy can work my sister can cook or wash or nurse my husband is a good work[er]." Either as indi-

4. (Jacksonville) *The Artisan*, 26 July 1915.

viduals or as families, many blacks found Jacksonville's working environment lacking.⁵

White businessmen discouraged the exodus, appealing to working-class blacks to remain and help maintain Jacksonville's industrial production. They promised that "with the return of great prosperity, which will undoubtedly follow the termination of the war in Europe, labor will share in this prosperity."⁶

By the end of the summer, some in the African American middle class—principally lawyers, preachers, and local businessmen—joined in the chorus of restraint. Among those blacks leaving Jacksonville were clients and customers of black businesses. Large-scale migration threatened economic stability across racial boundaries.⁷ Jacksonville's black leadership tried to dissuade the exodus arguing that life in the North would be too harsh. Politician and lawyer Joseph E. Lee warned would-be migrants that they could not survive severe northern winters. Forced to remain indoors during the winter months, he concluded, they would lose valuable labor opportunities. If workers stayed in Jacksonville, however, life could improve for all.⁸ (Still, at least some black professionals encouraged and even benefited from the migration. In December 1916, for example, police arrested a black lawyer and a black preacher who recruited labor for northern businesses out of their offices.)⁹

The concerns of middle-class whites and blacks were premature. The labor shortage of 1916 coupled with the emergence of war industries to open up new economic opportunities in Jacksonville. By the end of 1917, forty thousand African Americans lived in the city, enlarged by more than eight thousand

5. Emmett J. Scott, "Letters of Negro Migrants of 1916-1918," *Journal of Negro History* 4 (July 1919): 315, 327, 337, 339-40; idem, "Additional Letters of Negro Migrants 1916-1917," *Journal Of Negro History* 4 (October 1919): 427, 431, 445. J. William Harris found a similar pattern of northern flight among Vicksburg's blacks; see Harris, "Etiquette, Lynching, and Racial Boundaries," *American Historical Review* 100 (April 1995): 387-97.

6. (Jacksonville) *Florida Times Union*, 30 July 1916.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., 6 August 1916; Carole Marks, *Farewell—We're Good and Gone: The Great Black Migration* (Bloomington, Ind., 1989), 1-17; Ronald L. Lewis, "From Peasant to Proletarian: The Migration of Southern Blacks to the Central Appalachian Coalfields," *Journal of Southern History* 55 (February 1989): 78.

9. *Florida Times-Union*, 15 December 1916. The paper was unclear if these men were actually from Jacksonville.

citizens since 1910.¹⁰ The white population grew as well. In 1915, whites had numbered over thirty-five thousand. Although the figure dropped by four thousand during the labor crisis, by 1917, it had rebounded to thirty-eight thousand. By 1920, whites comprised 54 percent of the population, the first time since Reconstruction that whites outnumbered blacks in Jacksonville.¹¹

As one cohort of black resistance abandoned the city, making the racial demographic shift possible, another remained. Their presence in a white-majority city posed new challenges to race relations. During the summer of 1916, African American employees at Seaboard Air Line staged a large-scale strike thinking they could use the labor shortage to pressure for increased wages and better working conditions. Their attempt failed. The company pitted African American strikebreakers against the strikers.¹² Within a

10. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910*, Vol. 8: *Manufactures 1909, General Report and Analysis* (Washington, D.C., 1913), 94; idem, *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920*, Vol. 8: *Manufactures 1919, General Report and Analytical Tables* (Washington, D.C., 1923), 225; idem, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910*, Vol. 4: *Population 1910, Occupations* (Washington, D.C., 1923), 275; idem, *Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920*, Vol. 9: *Manufactures 1919, Reports for the States, with Statistics for Principal Cities* (Washington, D.C., 1923), 244; idem, *Fourteenth Census of the United States*, Vol. 2: *Population 1920, General Report and Analytical Tables* (Washington, D.C., 1922), 61, 198; City of Jacksonville, Florida, *Annual Report for the Year 1916*, 45; idem, *Report of the City Commissioners of the City of Jacksonville, Florida Covering the Years 1917 to 1920* (Jacksonville, 1921), 157.
11. City of Jacksonville, Florida, *Annual Report of the Board of Health for the Year 1915*, 1. It was hard to highlight the origins of many migrants. According to census data for 1910 and 1920, the largest majority of citizens born in another state came from Georgia. The number of citizens born in Georgia increased by 54 percent during this decade. Many of the other migrants most likely came from other parts of Florida. Numerically there was a slight gain in rural population for both states throughout these ten years. The census did not detect a decline in rural inhabitants until 1925. *Fourteenth Census*, Vol. 2: *Population*, 669, 672, 675; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910*, Vol. 1: *Population 1910, General Report and Analysis* (Washington, D.C., 1913), 770, 772, 774, 776, 778; idem, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910*, Vol. 6: *Agriculture 1909 and 1910, Reports by States, with Statistics for Counties Alabama-Montana* (Washington, D.C., 1913), 68-79; idem, *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year, 1920* Vol. 6: *Part 2 Agriculture, Reports for the States, with Statistics for Counties* (Washington, D.C., 1922), 304-17, 364-69; idem, *United States Census of Agriculture 1925: Reports for States with Statistics for Counties Part 2* (Washington, D.C., 1927), 403-21, 538-45.
12. P.K. Edwards, *Strikes in the United States 1881-1974* (New York, 1981), 133; William M. Tuttle, *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* (New York, 1970), 108-10.

few months, the Seaboard Line replaced the striking workers, increasing the number of baggage handlers and unskilled laborers by 13 percent.¹³

A few days after the strike, a large crowd gathered at a labor recruiter's office. The local sheriff previously had closed the office among others in order to retard northern recruitment of Jacksonville's black labor force. As he shut down recruitment offices, the sheriff eliminated opportunities for African American laborers. Consequently, a black crowd gathered and demonstrated. When the men would not disperse, Mayor J.E.T. Bowden ordered them arrested for vagrancy.¹⁴

It was an effective maneuver that inspired further definition of vagrancy laws. Six months after the protest around the recruiter's office, Jacksonville's city council realized that a broad definition of vagrancy would allow the city to combat union organization and strikes. In past editions of the civil codes, vagrancy had never been clearly defined, although certain immoral behaviors—gambling, begging, and prostitution—had been categorized as vagrant behavior. In 1917, another description of vagrancy beyond its immoral characterization became part of the civil codes. Jacksonville's 1917 code book stated that "persons able to work but habitually living upon the earnings of their wives and children shall be deemed vagrants." The city council imagined this new definition would deter strikes and labor activism by both black and white workers.¹⁵

13. *Florida Times-Union*, 27 July 1916; Railroad Commission of the State of Florida, "Annual Report of the Seaboard Air Line Railway Company," 31 December 1916, 510-11, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.

14. (Jacksonville) *Florida Metropolis*, 29 July 1916. Howard Rabinowitz noted in his study of the urban South during Reconstruction that whites used vagrancy laws to incarcerate African Americans, who they believed did not have "gainful employment." Rabinowitz concluded that whites felt threatened by "idle" African Americans; Howard Rabinowitz, *Race Relations in the Urban South, 1865-1890* (New York, 1978), 35-36.

15. City of Jacksonville, Florida, *Ordinances of the City of Jacksonville* (Jacksonville, Fla., 1868), 10; idem, *Charter and Ordinances of the City of Jacksonville* (Jacksonville, Fla., 1889), 58-59; idem, *Charter and Ordinances of the City of Jacksonville 1901* (Jacksonville, Fla., 1901), 102-103; idem, *Charter and Ordinances of the City of Jacksonville 1917* (Jacksonville, Fla., 1917), 226. The first phase of this change in vagrancy laws occurred in 1912 during the street-car strike against white labor, but was soon modified and codified against African Americans and white striking.

Other African American workers tried to maneuver through more traditional means to redress labor problems. On December 26, 1918, twenty-one black porters employed by the Florida East Coast Railway filed a complaint with the Department of Labor's Division of Negro Economics. Earlier that year, the department had warned railway companies that they could no longer force porters to perform duties reserved for flagmen, brakemen, and conductors, which had been a common money-saving practice. The porters documented company violations and demanded either back pay for the additional duties or formal promotion to the skilled positions with commensurate increases in pay.¹⁶ Although the Division of Negro Economics found in favor of the railway company, these men publicly had challenged discriminatory policies.¹⁷

While higher profile episodes kept black labor issues in the public eye, more common forms of resistance transpired in interpersonal encounters with working-class whites, often in places where African Americans and whites came into regular contact. One February morning in 1915, Robert C. Williams, an employee at the Carpenter-O'Brien Mill, took a company river boat to work as always. While in transit, he sat in the "whites only" section. A white worker subsequently argued with Williams, took a gun out of his coat, and shot Williams dead.¹⁸ On March 11, 1917, Henry James passed a group of young white men moving a soda fountain. The foreman made an offensive racial remark. James protested the foreman's comments, and a full-scale altercation developed with white observers quickly rushing to the foreman's aid. The police arrived and removed James as the crowd viciously threw rocks and bottles.¹⁹ Occasionally, these interpersonal conflicts involved not only racial status but challenged prescribed gender roles. On November 5, 1918, an African American man interceded as a white man publicly beat a young black girl. The white man

16. R.E. Stillman to W. S. Carter, 26 December 1918, in *Black Workers in the Era of the Great Migration, 1916-1925* (Frederick, Md.: University Publications of America, 1985), reel 10, frame 476-502, microfilm.

17. W.S. Carter to R.E. Stillman, 24 September 1919, in *ibid.*, reel 10, frame 504; R.E. Stillman to W.S. Carter, 10 November 1919, in *ibid.*, reel 10, frame 507-508.

18. *Florida Times-Union*, 26 February 1915.

19. *Ibid.*, 11 March 1917.

turned on the would-be hero, and other whites soon joined in beating the black man senseless.²⁰ White racial etiquette expected that black men would be passive and deferential to white authority. When blacks, both men and women, confronted that authority, they not only challenged prescribed racial roles but images of black masculinity as well.

As in other southern cities, Jacksonville's police department was the institutional enforcement of racial etiquette. Often working-class migrants themselves, these law officers—all whites—frequently harassed African American citizens. As historian Robert A. Taylor demonstrated, the city's police department developed an abusive relationship with the black community by the end of the nineteenth century. Police officers arrested blacks for "being of suspicious character." Such spurious charges were made against working-class, middle-class, and professional African Americans.²¹

By the late 1910s, however, blacks were willing to challenge police harassment. On the night of November 6, 1917, Frank Cox, a working-class African American, was walking home with a package of whiskey. A police officer stopped Cox for being "suspicious." When the officer demanded to inspect the package, Cox objected. The police officer then shot and killed the suspect. Although the package actually contained nothing suspicious, the officer was exonerated at the inquest as having acted within the law.²² On February 23, 1918, another police officer stopped J.E. Sturgis, a working-class African American, for having a "suspicious" package. When Sturgis resisted search, the officer shot him; Sturgis died at the scene. The coroner's inquest concluded that while Sturgis carried nothing suspicious, the officer had acted reasonably. Although Sturgis was not a criminal, his behavior was "criminal," particularly within Jacksonville's system of racial etiquette.²³

Even though agents of white authority maintained strict codes of conduct for blacks, there were certain infractions that did not

20. Ibid., 6 November 1918.

21. Howard Rabinowitz, "The Conflict Between Blacks and the Police in the Urban South, 1865-1900," *Historian* 39 (November 1976): 75; Robert A. Taylor, "Crime and Race Relations in Jacksonville, 1884-1892," *Southern Studies* 2 (spring 1991): 31-32; *Florida Times-Union*, 6 November 1918; Rabinowitz, *Race Relations*, 35-36.

22. *Florida Times-Union*, 9 November 1917.

23. Ibid., 24 February 1918.

merit punishment. Courts and juries recognized the right of husbands to protect not only property within their homes but also the virtue of their wives. Under a nineteenth-century defense known as "the unwritten law," juries acquitted husbands of murdering their spouse's lovers.²⁴ In the summer of 1917, African American Edward Thompson found a wealthy white tourist in bed with his wife. An argument ensued, and Thompson killed the man. Indicted by a grand jury for first-degree murder, Thompson was acquitted a month later by an all-white jury. The paper explained that Thompson was justified in his actions through "the unwritten law."²⁵

Sporadic resistance and violence in the mid-1910s prefaced the summer of 1919, an especially turbulent year in American racial history. African American migration to urban areas had increased steadily, heightening racial tensions. Chicago, Knoxville, and Omaha experienced large "race riots."²⁶ Anticipating a summer of racial tension, Jacksonville's white businessmen and local politicians pleaded for "harmony" since the Florida Purchase Centennial Exposition was considering Jacksonville as the site for the state fair. Believing this would bring added business and attention to the city, they wished to ensure calm racial relations.²⁷

The plea for "harmony" was not new to Jacksonville. White business leaders had feared racial violence throughout the city's history. At the turn of the twentieth century, during the Jim Crow streetcar movement, white citizens had feared a race riot. Racial violence followed the Jack Johnson and Jim Jefferies boxing match of 1910, but no one had died.²⁸

24. Hendrik Hartog, "Lawyering, Husbands' Rights, and 'the Unwritten Law' in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of American History* 84 (June 1997): 67-98.

25. *Florida Times-Union*, 1 August 1917.

26. Allen H. Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890-1920* (Chicago, 1967), 223-31; Matthew Lakin, "'A Dark Night': The Knoxville Race Riot of 1919," *Journal of East Tennessee History* 72 (2000): 1-29; Clayton D. Laurie, "The U.S. Army and the Omaha Race Riot of 1919," *Nebraska History* 72 (spring 1991): 135-43. Race riots were not unique to urban areas during the summer of 1919; see Jeannie M. Wayne, "Low Villains and Wickedness in High Places: Race and Class in the Elaine Riots," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 58 (spring 1999): 285-313.

27. *Florida Times-Union*, 28 July 1919.

28. (Jacksonville) *Florida Times-Union and Citizen*, 6 November 1901; *Florida Metropolis*, 5 July 1910, *Florida Times-Union*, 6 July 1910.

During the summer of 1919, however, fears of yet another episode of racial discord reflected heightened racial tensions. Earlier that summer, police found two black hack drivers murdered. Other drivers believed that the killings evidenced anti-black violence, since the last known passengers of the murdered men had been white. Additionally, their bodies were found in a white neighborhood. Protesting the lack of police cooperation in solving the cases, black drivers refused to carry white passengers.²⁹

Early on the evening of August 20th, two African American drivers refused service to George Du Bose, a prominent white insurance manager with customers in several black neighborhoods. The drivers informed Du Bose that they no longer provided service to whites. As a large African American crowd gathered, Du Bose argued and pulled a gun from his coat, aimlessly firing shots. He did not injure anyone, but the crowd retaliated with rocks and other objects. By the time the police arrived, Du Bose was dead. Those who witnessed the event from their windows refused to help police.³⁰

Later that evening, the police questioned African American cab drivers and eventually retained and charged John Morine and Bowman Cook with murder.³¹ Leading black citizens immediately released a statement to the *Florida Times-Union*. Fearful of white mob action, they called for swift and equitable justice and offered assistance in the investigation, reiterating white businessmen's pleas for law and order. For three days, the sheriff swore in special deputies and police to prevent mob violence.³²

As the Du Bose hysteria died down, another episode arose. The police arrested Ed Jones, an African American, for allegedly assaulting a thirteen-year-old white girl. The sheriff again feared mob violence. He personally took Jones to a jail in nearby St. Augustine.³³

Unaware of Jones's relocation, a crowd of masked men broke open the jail doors and "overpowered" the only guard. When they could not find Jones, they referred to a written list and asked the

29. *Florida Metropolis*, 21 August 1919.

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Florida Times-Union*, 22 August 1919; *Florida Metropolis*, 11 September 1919. Many were released because they were appearing in a movie. Jacksonville was home to one of the first African American movie studios. During their off-hours, hack drivers would act in films.

32. *Florida Metropolis*, 8 September 1919.

33. *Florida Times-Union*, 9 September 1919; W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880-1930* (Urbana, Ill., 1993), 84-85.

jailer for Cook and Morine, still jailed for the murder of Du Bose. The guard released both men to the lynch mob, which took the two hack drivers to the edge of town and shot them.³⁴ Morine's body lay in a ditch; Cook's body, tied to the back of a car, was dragged through the African American neighborhood.³⁵

Some blacks believed that insurance agents led the mob, exacting revenge for the murder of one of their own. However, after years of sporadic black challenges to racial etiquette, such a horrifically violent episode gave whites opportunity to assert racial supremacy.³⁶ Lynching was a method of intimidation, reminding African Americans to stay "in their place." Ironically, despite white leaders' pleas for harmony, it was a white mob that resorted to racial violence—in the same week that the exposition committee considered Jacksonville.

Although the actions of the mob demonstrated intent to send a message to the black community, a grand jury investigation concluded that the lynching was a premeditated plot to avenge Du Bose's murder. Investigators criticized the sheriff's handling of the lynchings, inferring that he had played a role. Agents of law enforcement often gave tacit approval to mob actions or actually took active roles. Even though the investigation implicated the sheriff in the lynchings, no one was ever brought up on charges.³⁷

The Chamber of Commerce, the Rotary Club, and the Kiwanis all publicly condemned the lynchings; other groups claimed they wanted legal actions taken. As throughout the South, however, white political leadership distanced itself from the episode, remaining fairly quiet. Only when African Americans, like activist Ida B. Wells, caused a stir in denouncing lynching did white leaders join, out of fear that they might suffer economically from bad publicity.³⁸ Jacksonville's business and political leadership similar-

34. *Florida Times-Union*, 9 September 1919.

35. *Ibid.*

36. (Chicago) *The Half Century Magazine*, March 1920; (New York) *Messenger*, March 1920; Stewart E. Tolnay and E. M. Beck, *A Festival of Violence: An Analysis of Southern Lynchings, 1882-1930* (Chicago, 1995), 239-58.

37. *Florida Times-Union*, 11, 12 September 1919; James R. McGovern, *Anatomy of a Lynching: The Killing of Claude Neal* (Baton Rouge, La., 1982), 63-77; Dennis B. Downey and Raymond M. Hysler, *No Crooked Death: Coatesville, Pennsylvania and the Lynching of Zachariah Walker* (Urbana, Ill., 1993), 29-51.

38. Brundage, *Lynching in the New South*, 172-81; David M. Tucker, "Miss Ida B. Wells and Memphis Lynching," *Phylon* 32 (summer 1971): 121; *Florida Times-Union*, 10, 12, 17, 20 September 1919.

In fact, blacks in Jacksonville became more defiant in the face of violence. By early 1920, Jacksonville blacks pulled insurance policies from white-owned companies, and many financed a black firm as part of a boycott against the perceived perpetrators of the lynchings. Black newspapers argued that the boycott was meant not only to send a message to lynch mob leaders but also to protest the treatment of blacks on streetcars and in polling booths. Eventually, white insurance companies employed black agents to work segregated neighborhoods; and when entering black homes, white agents removed their hats and used "Mr." and "Mrs." as signs of respect.⁴⁷

Also in early 1920, black cleaning women employed by the Pullman Railroad Company petitioned the United States Railroad Administration, claiming the company promoted them as supervisors without increasing pay, in contrast to white supervisors who received raises with promotion. The women also claimed sub-standard working conditions, including being prohibited from using the company toilet and restricted to a sand-box in their own quarters. While the Railroad Administration investigated the claim and took no action, the women's decision to petition demonstrated further defiance inspired by the previous year's violence.⁴⁸

In October 1920, the Klan paraded through Jacksonville, seeking to intimidate black voters, specifically black women who had recently gained suffrage. Like other blacks over the past five years who had refused to cower at white demands, many African American women attended the parade, shouting at the Klansmen and calling them "poor white trash."⁴⁹ More notably, however, is that black response to white antagonism was less violent than white reactions to black resistance.

Between 1915 and 1920, Jacksonville's blacks demonstrated that they would not be intimidated or restrained by white expectations of racial etiquette. Undeterred by fear, black migration to Jacksonville increased as racial violence increased. White busi-

47. *The Half Century Magazine*, March 1920; *Messenger*, March 1920.

48. Petitions of Betty Paul, Betty Span, and Women Cleaners to United States Railroad Administration, 19 February 1920, in *Black Migration*, reel 11, frame 664-68.

49. Walter F. White, "Election by Terror in Florida," *New Republic* (12 January 1921), 195-97; idem, "Election Day in Florida," *Crisis*, January 1921.

move, many showed up at his execution as a show of support, another symbolic and overt challenge to white supremacy and the verdict.⁴³

Jacksonville's white leadership used the execution as propaganda. The *Florida Metropolis* allegedly reported Howell's last statement as a plea for the races to work together for "harmony."⁴⁴ More directly, like the Bowman and Cook lynchings a month earlier, the trial and execution sent a message to African Americans to stay "in their place."⁴⁵

Still, some whites did not think blacks had learned that lesson. On November 9th, a black chauffeur named Albert Lewis boarded a streetcar. The white conductor, J.D. Cone, refused Lewis's transfer because he had not entered the car at the "right place," a separate entrance in the back for black passengers. Lewis was familiar with Jim Crow on the streetcars, however, and had deliberately chosen to contest the policy. As the two men argued, the conductor pulled out a gun and shot Lewis dead.⁴⁶

The Bowman and Cook lynchings, the Howell execution, and Lewis's killing marked a particularly violent year in Jacksonville. Whites were concerned; African Americans were not accepting messages of racial etiquette; and white violence was not restoring social order to Jacksonville.

43. *Florida Metropolis*, 17 October 1919.

44. *Ibid.*

45. Jacksonville had two major newspapers during this period, *Florida Times-Union* and *Florida Metropolis*. The *Times-Union* had a statewide circulation and was Florida's preeminent paper. The *Metropolis*, which could not compete with the *Times-Union*'s circulation, remained a largely local paper. In order for the *Metropolis* to compete with the *Times-Union*, editors targeted African American readers who had at least two other newspapers, although no copies exist. Beginning around the turn of the century, the *Metropolis* included a paragraph devoted to the African American community, chronicling church meetings and names of prominent blacks visiting Jacksonville. By the 1910s, the *Metropolis* offered its African American readers a full page of "News for the Colored People." Race relations had deteriorated so much by 1920, however, that the paper stopped printing any news devoted to the black community.

46. *Florida Times-Union*, 10, 11 November 1919; *Florida Metropolis*, 24 October 1919, 11, 12, 17 November 1919. Another incident involved a white passenger who considered the sign designating the African American section too close to the white section. He ordered the conductor to move it. When the conductor refused, the man threw the sign at him and shot him three times in the legs.

In fact, blacks in Jacksonville became more defiant in the face of violence. By early 1920, Jacksonville blacks pulled insurance policies from white-owned companies, and many financed a black firm as part of a boycott against the perceived perpetrators of the lynchings. Black newspapers argued that the boycott was meant not only to send a message to lynch mob leaders but also to protest the treatment of blacks on streetcars and in polling booths. Eventually, white insurance companies employed black agents to work segregated neighborhoods; and when entering black homes, white agents removed their hats and used "Mr." and "Mrs." as signs of respect.⁴⁷

Also in early 1920, black cleaning women employed by the Pullman Railroad Company petitioned the United States Railroad Administration, claiming the company promoted them as supervisors without increasing pay, in contrast to white supervisors who received raises with promotion. The women also claimed sub-standard working conditions, including being prohibited from using the company toilet and restricted to a sand-box in their own quarters. While the Railroad Administration investigated the claim and took no action, the women's decision to petition demonstrated further defiance inspired by the previous year's violence.⁴⁸

In October 1920, the Klan paraded through Jacksonville, seeking to intimidate black voters, specifically black women who had recently gained suffrage. Like other blacks over the past five years who had refused to cower at white demands, many African American women attended the parade, shouting at the Klansmen and calling them "poor white trash."⁴⁹ More notably, however, is that black response to white antagonism was less violent than white reactions to black resistance.

Between 1915 and 1920, Jacksonville's blacks demonstrated that they would not be intimidated or restrained by white expectations of racial etiquette. Undeterred by fear, black migration to Jacksonville increased as racial violence increased. White busi-

47. *The Half Century Magazine*, March 1920; *Messenger*, March 1920.

48. Petitions of Betty Paul, Betty Span, and Women Cleaners to United States Railroad Administration, 19 February 1920, in *Black Migration*, reel 11, frame 664-68.

49. Walter F. White, "Election by Terror in Florida," *New Republic* (12 January 1921), 195-97; idem, "Election Day in Florida," *Crisis*, January 1921.

nessmen's pleas for harmony were often rejected by black laborers who wanted better working conditions or more equitable pay. Protest sometimes took the form of overt challenges to discrimination, but protests and other confrontations were usually hidden in private moments between black and white participants. Collective white reaction to such incidents brought Jacksonville's racial discord into the public eye, and ironically, in their attempts to fortify racial status, whites aided African Americans in disrupting racial harmony.

Between Encounter and Experience: Florida in the Cuban Imagination

by Louis A. Pérez Jr.

The antecedents of the relationship between Florida and Cuba reach deeply into the sixteenth century, almost with the inception of European colonization. The peninsula loomed large in the imagination of the island. The enduring facets of this connection assumed discernable patterns early, principally in the form of successive waves of migration northward, spanning centuries, first by such personalities as Pánfilo Narváez and Hernando de Soto and most recently Elián González. It is perhaps worth recalling that there was a time when Florida was once a dependency of Cuba, populated and subsidized from the island.

There was a point in the past when the geopolitical imperative of the middle latitudes of the New World cast Florida as the northern defense perimeter of Cuba and what lay beyond to the south. It was to be a matter of time when the pendulum of power swung northward and converted Cuba into the southern defense perimeter of Florida and what lay beyond to the north.

Migration developed into the central motif by which *La Florida* entered the Cuban imagination, certainly as a place of promise, a place of possibilities for re-invention, perhaps rejuvenation—if only the Fountain of Youth could be located—a place to find peace even while preparing for revolution. Over the last two hundred years, Florida has filled so many Cuban needs: a place to invest and a

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place to shop, a site of honeymoons and vacations, a place to study and a place to live, and of course a site of expatriation of all types.

Florida insinuated itself deeply in Cuban historical sensibilities and was early incorporated into those realms by which Cubans came to define their well-being. In profoundly existential ways, Florida came to belong to Cuba. The history of the island cannot be written without obligatory acknowledgment of the ways that the drama of Cuba was played out in and/or by Florida—and, it should be added, the history of Florida could hardly be imagined without the presence and participation of Cubans.

Cubans migrated to Florida in search of respite from past adversity and future uncertainty. The displaced and the dispossessed arrived continuously, together with the unemployed and the unemployable, men, women, and children, black and white, young and old, of all social classes, sometimes as entire families but just as often as shattered households. They reconstituted themselves into new communities throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, along the Gulf coast and on the Atlantic seaboard.

The nineteenth-century émigré communities in Florida assumed a conspicuous presence. Much in the struggle for *Cuba Libre* was enacted in communities across Florida: in Cayo Hueso (Key West), in Ybor City and West Tampa, in Martí City (Ocala), in Jacksonville.¹

1. The most informative accounts of these communities include Rolando Alvarez Estévez, *La emigración cubana en Estado Unidos, 1868-1878* (Havana, 1986); Gerardo Castellanos y García, *Motivos de Cayo Hueso* (Havana 1935); Manuel Deulofeu, *Heroes del destierro. La emigración. Notas históricas* (Cienfuegos, 1904); Gerald E. Poyo, "With All, and for the Good of All:" *The Emergence of Popular Nationalism in the Cuban Communities of the United States, 1848-1898* (Durham, N.C., 1989); Gary R. Mormino and George Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City* (Urbana, Ill., 1990); Armando Mendez, *Ciudad de Cigar: West Tampa* (Tampa, Fla., 1994); Diana Abad, "Las emigraciones cubanas en la Guerra de los Diez Años: Apuntes," *Santiago* 53 (March 1984): 143-84; José Rivero Muñiz, "Los cubanos en Tampa," *Revista Bimestre Cubana* 74 (January-June 1958): 5-140; Durwood Long, "The Historical Beginnings of Ybor City and Modern Tampa," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 60 (July 1966): 31-44; Gerald E. Poyo, "Key West and the Cuban Ten Years War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 57 (January 1979): 289-307; idem, "Cuban Patriots in Key West, 1878-1886: Guardians of the Separatist Ideal," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 61 (July 1982): 20-36; Louis A. Pérez Jr., "Cubans in Tampa: From Exiles to Immigrants," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 57 (October 1978): 129-41; L. Glenn Westfall, "Martí City: Cubans in Ocala," in *José Martí in the United States: The Florida Experience*, ed. Louis A. Pérez Jr. (Tempe, Ariz., 1995), 81-93; Susan D. Greenbaum, "Afro-Cubans in Exile: Tampa, Florida, 1886-1984," *Cuban Studies/Estudios Cubanos* 15 (winter 1985): 59-72; and Susan D. Greenbaum, *More than Black: Afro-Cubans in Tampa* (Gainesville, Fla., 2002).

Filibustering expeditions destined for the fields of insurgent Cuba routinely departed from isolated coastal locations of Florida. The American Expeditionary Army of 1898 set sail out of Port Tampa. It was out of the rural landscape of central Florida that in 1892 José Martí obtained the metaphor by which to designate the new generation of liberation:

Suddenly the sun broke through a clearing in the woods, and there in the dazzling of the unexpected light I saw above the yellowish weeds, proudly rising from among the black trunks of the fallen pines, the flourishing branches of new pines. That is what we are: new pines."²

"*Pinos Nuevos*"—an entire generation came to define itself through an allegory inspired by the Florida brush.

It was not all hyperbole when Cubans advanced a claim to Florida as a place properly and entirely within the historical realm of the island. As early as 1897, while visiting Tampa, Carlos Trelles could not conceal his astonishment: "He who passes along Seventh Avenue or 14th Street, would not believe that he is in the United States, for such is the large number of Cubans that one meets and the many business establishments of all kinds that one sees in which all signs are only in Spanish."³ More than fifty years later, in 1955, the Havana daily *El Mundo* affirmed: "Tampa is linked to our history. . . . Our parents emigrated to Tampa in search of wider horizons of liberty; our men settled in Tampa in search of work; our youth traveled to Tampa for their education. That Tampa has the meanings that it has for us today is due to the fact that its prosperity was obtained by the sweat of our workers and the bones of our émigrés." And *El Mundo* again in 1956: "For Cubans Tampa is Cuban. Tampa revealed itself to the Cuban immigrant as a piece of land offering refuge and work. It was also a place in Florida at the disposition of Cubans in search of security. . . . Tampa is for Cubans a page in the history of Cuba."⁴

2. José Martí, "Discurso conmemorativo," 27 November 1891, in José Martí, *Obras completas*, ed. Jorge Quintana, 5 vols. (Caracas, Venez., 1964), 1: 40.
3. Carlos M. Trelles, "A Tampa," *Cuba y América* 1 (1 July 1897): 4. This article was reprinted as "Tampa: Documentos cubanos raros o inéditos," *Bohemia* 47 (26 June 1955): 132, 137-38.
4. (Havana) *El Mundo*, 29 March 1955, A-6; 16 October 1956, A-6. Other articles celebrating the historical connection between Tampa and Cuba include



José Martí, ca. 1891, Key West, Fla. *Courtesy of the Centro de Estudios Martianos, Havana, Cuba.*

Mariblanca Sabas Alomá, "Tampa cubanísima," *Carteles* 13 (30 June 1929): 12, 56; Herminio Portell Vilá, "Cuba y Tampa," *Bohemia* 46 (26 June 1955): 10, 112; Gervasio G. Ruiz, "Tampa conmemora el centenario de su fundación," *Carteles* 36 (3 July 1955): 32-33, 108, 113; "Tampa es la ciudad de la emigración," *El Mundo*, 30 April 1955, D-4.

Cuban emigration to Florida in the nineteenth century assumed fully the proportions of a diaspora and transformed the economic demography of Key West, Tampa, and Jacksonville, anticipating by nearly a century the Cuban impact on Miami. These were Cubans introducing capital, industry, and technological innovation into the United States, assembling the material and human resources to promote economic development and material well-being. The cigar factories in particular, first in Key West during the 1860s and 1870s and later into Tampa, Ocala, and Jacksonville during the 1880s and 1890s, transformed the local economies of communities across Florida. Nearly two hundred factories were operating in Key West by the late 1880s, employing an estimated eight thousand workers. Key West grew from a population of less than seven hundred residents in 1840 to more than eighteen thousand by 1890 as the value of cigar manufactures in Key West increased from \$20 million in 1882 to \$100 million in 1892. In Tampa, the total value of the 150 factories surpassed \$17 million, employing a labor force of more than ten thousand workers, generating an average weekly wage of \$200,000, representing 75 percent of the total city payroll.⁵

These same cigar magnates also introduced industrial innovation and improvement. In Key West, Francisco Marrero developed commercial and residential property. Eduardo Hidalgo Gato organized the Key West Street Car Association which established the first trolley system in Key West. Most local banks were organized by Cubans. The most important, the Bank of Key West, was owned by Hidalgo Gato. Cubans established the first municipal fire department and introduced gas lighting. Commented the U.S. Consul in Havana Ramon Williams in 1892: "In fact, Key West has been built up by Cubans. . . . The people here [in Havana] look upon Florida as so much a part of their own country that very often they come here and say 'I want to go to the Key,' just as in Baltimore they would say, 'I am going over to Washington.'"⁶

5. See U.S. Congress, Senate, *Proceedings of the Cuba and Florida Immigration*, 52nd Cong., 2nd Sess., Report No. 1263 (Washington, D.C., 1893); U.S. Congress, Senate, Immigration Commission Report, *Immigrants in Industries: Cigars and Tobacco Manufacturing*, part 14 (Washington, D.C., 1910); A. Stuart Campbell, *The Cigar Industry of Tampa, Florida* (Gainesville, Fla., 1939).

6. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Proceedings of the Cuba and Florida Immigration*, 52nd Cong., 2nd Sess., Report No. 1263, 3, 5.



The Martínez Ybor Cigar Factory, Tampa, Fla., ca. 1890s. *Courtesy of Special Collections, University of South Florida, Tampa.*

It was precisely within these communities that José Martí summoned the vision of the ideal of nation: cigar workers organized in peculiarly North American small-town form—Key West, Tampa, Jacksonville, and Ocala: townships of Cubans of all classes, black and white, men and women, united by a vision of nation, governed by officials elected from among their own ranks. It was in this environment in Tampa and Key West that the Cuban Revolutionary Party was founded in 1892 and served to give institutional structure and political form to the liberation project.⁷

But Florida—or perhaps more correctly, the idea of Florida—seized hold of the Cuban imagination in far more contemplative ways, with far reaching consequences. Precisely because Florida dwelled in the Cuban field of vision as an extension of Cuba, because Cubans could presume familiarity with Florida—with its fauna and flora, its factories, its climate (there were after all Cuban communities the full length of the state)—the state developed as a

7. See Juan J. E. Casasús, *La emigración cubana y la independencia de la Patria* (Havana, 1953); Néstor Carbonell y Rivero, *Tampa: Cuna del Partido Revolucionario Cubano de José Martí* (Havana, 1957).

parallel universe of Cuba, something of a counterpart, as a standard by which to take measure of the Cuban condition.

It was in this sense that the experience of emigration was decisive to the ways Cubans arrived at nationality and identity. It suggested adaptation as a means of survival, of borrowing as a means of becoming. The deployment of migratory energies propelled vast numbers of Cubans into Florida, to chart new territories and explore new possibilities, but mostly to survive change and change to survive. Emigration provided distance from the old and proximity to the new, an occasion to decipher meaning and determine purpose, a time of transition from past to future. It was an occasion to discard the old and adopt the new, to leave behind old identities and assume new ones: often to acquire new canons of conduct, new modes of self-representation, new methods of self-actualization.

Florida served as the subject of Cuban ruminations all through the closing decades of the nineteenth century. In Raimundo Cabrera's partly autobiographical novel *Ideales* (1918), the protagonist Tomás returns to Cuba in 1885 after several years of residence in Key West. The experience is telling and clearly has affected the normative hierarchies by which Tomás experiences the world. He is horrified by the backward state of a provincial city in Cuba and in this instance it is Key West that serves as the standard by which Tomás takes measure of the Cuban condition. He reflects: "The streets of the town were virtually deserted. . . . The streetcar, the popular vehicle of urban transportation, was conspicuous by its absence; the coming and going on the streets that ordinarily attest to activity and movement in large cities were replaced by a monotonous silence." And there was more: "The pavement of the streets was gravel—uneven, full of potholes, with deep and open ruts in the middle of the road. Off to the side, on streets without sidewalks, weeds had spread everywhere, like debris. The fronts of houses were in disrepair. The tiles on the roofs were hanging in rickety fashion, supported by four wooden posts driven directly into the ground, without foundation or shafts." Tomás murmurs disapprovingly under his breath: "Such backwardness! Such backwardness!"⁸

These experiences in the nineteenth century were defining, of course, as Tomás's comments suggest, for what occurred signified

8. Raimundo Cabrera, *Ideales* (1918; reprint, Havana, 1984), 232-33.

a transformation of consciousness by which vast numbers of Cubans acquired the vantage point from which to see themselves and/or their world in the condition of the Other. The Florida experience served as both source of change and the effect of change.

In many important ways, the communities fashioned by cigar workers in Key West, Tampa, Ocala, and Jacksonville were nineteenth-century phenomena: products of specific needs, under specific historical circumstances. It is true too that the centers of the Cuban emigration, and particularly Tampa, would continue to play a part in the drama of the new republic. All through the early years of the twentieth century, a bond of uncommon vitality connected Tampa and Havana, as friends and families continued to travel back and forth between both cities. Cigar workers on strike in Havana often migrated to Tampa for work, and vice versa. Trade unions in one city provided financial aid and moral support to strikers in the other.

But the days of the cigar industry in Florida—that is, the cigar industry as it had flourished in the nineteenth century—were numbered. Mechanization dealt one blow. The Depression delivered another. Households scattered, neighborhoods broke-up. Many families headed northward—mostly to New York—in search of a new livelihood and a better life. World War II hastened the dispersal of the Cuban community. Urban renewal dealt the final blow to the old Cuban neighborhoods. Ybor City and West Tampa passed into decline. Eventually, too, successive generations of *Tampeños*—as they increasingly called themselves—passed over into the mainstream of the larger world outside of Ybor City and West Tampa. By the mid-twentieth century, Key West and Tampa had developed into sentimental tourist sites for Cubans on the island. Tampa in particular was actively promoted by the Chamber of Commerce as place for Cubans to connect with their history: the stairs of the Martínez Ybor cigar factory from which José Martí spoke to the cigar workers in 1892, the home of Paulina Pedrosa, the old Cuban Club, and Martí Park.

Even as the Cuban connection with Key West and Tampa was passing into spheres of sentimentality, Miami was beginning to capture the attention of a new generation of Cubans. Miami loomed large in early twentieth-century Cuban narratives on nation and nationality. From the outset, a special structural relationship developed between Miami and Havana. Both cities were

shaped by similar forces and acted upon each other in ways that were at once defining and definitive. They developed as representations of one another, a complex relationship that was at one and the same time complementary and competitive, a relationship that assumed fully the characteristics of a border culture, much like the reciprocal interactions of cities located along both sides of the U.S.-Mexican border.

Miami was itself, in part, a product of the vogue of things Cuban in the United States during the 1920s and bore distinctive markings of its origins. Developers chose a Spanish colonial style, inspired largely by the urban landscape of the Cuban capital. Miami developers and architects visited Havana frequently during the early 1920s in search of ideas to incorporate into the new urban design of south Florida. Havana was fashionable, and this fashionableness insinuated itself into the vision of Miami: foreign, tropical, exotic, through Spanish-language usage and landscaped with Royal Palms—with more than slight insinuations of sex and sensuality—always as ambience and circumstance. New subdivisions were named in Spanish, with intimations of Cuba in street names and in the names of hotels. Construction materials were imported from Havana. This was nothing less than instant antiquity as weathered and worn building materials were incorporated into new constructions. Miami developers paid top prices for old clay barrel roof tiles, floor tiles, hardwood doors, cabinets, and hewn stone obtained from Cuba. Havana landlords razed entire buildings for construction material to sell to Florida contractors. An odd symbiotic imperative linked Havana and Miami in an inexorable relationship: Havana aspired to modernity; Miami invented itself in antiquity.⁹

Havana itself was appropriated as a Miami tourist attraction, as local travel agents organized daytrips to Cuba from the Atlantic coast. As early as 1920, the Havana-American Steamship Corporation inaugurated direct service between Miami and Havana. Affirmed the *Miami Herald* in 1934: "Havana now is definitely a part of our tourist appeal."¹⁰

9. Kenneth Ballinger, *Miami Millions* (Miami, 1936), 22; Ann Armbruster, *The Life and Times of Miami Beach* (New York, 1995), 38-41; Miguel A. Bretos, *Cuba and Florida: Exploration of an Historic Connection, 1539-1991* (Miami, 1991), 111, 113. The phenomenon of Spanish street was especially pronounced in Coral Gables. For a very informative history of this process, see Joaquín Roy, *The Streets of Coral Gables: The Names and their Meanings* (Coral Gables, Fla., 1989).

10. *Miami Herald*, 3 February 1934, 6.

The presence of Cubans in Miami expanded slowly during these years. Miami entered the realms of Cuban awareness as a place of refuge and residence: it was readily accessible, the cost of living was reasonable, and most of all it was vaguely familiar. A city conceived by local developers as a version of Havana could not fail but to feel familiar to Cubans. The small Cuban community expanded during the 1920s, made up principally of workers, musicians, and entertainers whose presence was related to local "color" in the rendering of Miami as tropical. It was in this setting that Desi Arnaz made his debut before an American public in the 1930s. The south Florida tourist economy increasingly developed around the proposition of Miami as "foreign." Nightclubs and cabarets filled with Cuban orchestras and *rumba* dancers, all part of the tropical ambience designed to confer on Miami its "Latin" appearance.

The Cuban presence increased steadily during these years, largely in the form of political exiles implicated in political upheavals, first as opponents of the Gerardo Machado government and subsequently as supporters of the fallen Machado government. By the late-1930s, an estimated six thousand Cubans lived in Miami.¹¹

In the years that followed, Miami filled with Cubans who had fallen from power and out of grace, former officeholders and future ones. Each change of government, whether by ballot or by way of the barracks, produced personnel turnovers, a succession of dismissals and discharges, retirements and resignations, and inevitably a new cycle of migration to Miami: through the 1930s, after the presidential elections of 1940, 1944, and 1948, during the years following Batista's military coup in 1952, and of course, especially after the triumph of the Cuban revolution in 1959.

During the 1940s and 1950s, too, Cubans arrived to Miami increasingly as tourists, on short holidays and long vacations, on daytrips and weekend excursions, as sightseers and honeymooners. The 22-year old Fidel Castro and his young bride Mirta Díaz Balart were among the many thousands of Cuban newly-weds to honeymoon in Miami after World War II.

Cuban travel to Miami was both cause and effect of changes

11. Jess Losada, "La contrarrevolución de cerca," *Carteles* 20 (14 January 1936), 36.

over-taking the Florida tourist industry. Post-war Miami was expanding into a year-round vacation site, extending the traditional "high" winter season into the "low" summer one. Increasing numbers of hotels and vacation apartments remained open, offering attractive economy summer rates. That summer vacations in Miami could be considered at all was in large measure made possible by the advent of air conditioning, providing welcome respite from the blistering south Florida heat.

Summer was also the traditional vacation season in Cuba, and Florida had much to offer Cuban visitors. Florida provided access to many more public beaches than were available in Cuba, where many of the best beaches had been withdrawn from public use by hotels and private resorts. Certainly, too, budget summer rates placed Miami vacations within reach of growing numbers of Cuban middle-class families, often at far less cost than comparable facilities on the island.

Transportation also improved. Service increased, costs decreased. Steamship service expanded, and by the early 1950s, the cost of round-trip travel was less than \$40. Automobile ferry service between Key West and Havana expanded. But it was the remarkable development of air services that consolidated the link between Miami and Havana. The Miami-Havana route quickly became one of the busiest international connections in the world. During the 1940s and 1950s, National and Pan American Airlines scheduled an average of nearly forty flights daily and during peak periods often had departures every twenty minutes. Air travel was not only convenient—forty minutes between Havana and Miami—but it was also economical. The standard round-trip fare during the 1950s was \$30. Special tour packages often reduced costs even further.

Cuban visitors arrived by the tens of thousands: 40,000 annually during the 1940s increased to an average of 50,000 a year during the 1950s. The Cuban tourist business in 1948 was sufficiently brisk to keep 225 of the total 338 Miami Beach hotels open all year. Reported *Newsweek* in 1949: "In the summer planes from Havana wing in, bringing Cubans by the thousands: rich Cubans, poor Cubans, clerks, professional men, skilled workers, even domestic servants. . . . The Cubans are leaving their mark on Florida. . . . Last summer it sounded as if as much Spanish as English was being spoken on Miami streets. Shops hired Spanish-speaking clerks and

the city broke out with a rash of signs reading '*Se habla español*.'" By 1957, one observer concluded that "Spanish is fast supplanting English in Florida."¹²

Miami tourist promoters systematically targeted Cuba as the principal market of summer tourism. During the spring and summer, the travel sections of Cuban newspapers and magazines filled with advertisements for Miami: from hotels, motels, and vacation apartments, restaurants, cabarets and nightclubs to airline carriers, steamship companies, bus lines, and auto rental agencies. Miami was advertised as an extension of Cuba, similar and familiar, where no effort was spared to arrange conditions to accommodate Cuban needs. Such hotels as the Blackstone, the Clyde, the Saxony, the Columbus, the Sands Commodore, and Versailles were among the many to include in their advertisements: "*Se habla español*." The Miami Beach Sands Hotel publicized the availability of "Spanish speaking personnel." The Hotel Whitehart spoke Spanish but also offered "free English lessons."¹³

An environment so fully flavored with things Cuban created opportunities of other types. In time, Miami became Cuban in more than atmosphere and ambience. Cuban investors contributed to the post-war economy of south Florida. Numerous small Cuban-owned businesses of all kinds—retail shops, restaurants, and tourist-related services—expanded throughout the 1950s, designed in large measure to serve the growing Cuban tourist presence. Cuban real estate investments also grew. Hundreds of millions of dollars were invested in south Florida, principally in apartment houses, hotels, and office buildings. Commented *El Mundo* as early as 1948: "Cuba has conquered Miami without firing a shot."¹⁴

In fact, many of these investments were of dubious origins. Much of this cash flow was generated by the rampant corruption and official malfeasance that dominated Cuban political life during the 1940s and 1950s. Public officials at all levels of government, from presidents, cabinet ministers, senators, congressmen, and judges to army officers and police officials lived off bribery,

12. Pan American Airways, Miami, Box 357, Cuba Folder, University of Miami Library, Coral Gables, Fla. I am grateful to Catherine M. Skwiot for bringing this material to my attention. *Time* 52 (29 November 1948): 43; *Newsweek* 34 (4 July 1949): 36; *Times of Havana*, 11 July 1957, 9.

13. Advertisements appeared in *El Mundo*, *Diario de la Marina*, and *Bohemia* (1951-1957).

14. *El Mundo*, 24 April 1948, 5.

ALBION MIAMI BEACH

LENCHEN BEACH A una cuadra del mar. Doble Doble

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Millas de playa gratis. Ideal para el verano. A una cuadra de Lincoln Road. Restaurantes y bares. Plazas en las grillas. Cuidado con el agua de la playa. Plazas en las grillas. Cuidado con el agua de la playa.

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\$5 por persona

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Tamiami Hotel

Playa sencilla y 77

\$16 por persona

Plazas Privada. Situado en el centro de la ciudad y de la playa. Cuidado grande y fresco. Cuidado con el agua de la playa.

HOTEL MORRIS

1000 Ocean Drive. Situado en el centro de la ciudad y de la playa. Cuidado grande y fresco. Cuidado con el agua de la playa.

\$14 por persona

Plazas Privada. Situado en el centro de la ciudad y de la playa. Cuidado grande y fresco. Cuidado con el agua de la playa.

Roney Plaza

Miami Beach

\$10 por persona

Plazas Privada. Situado en el centro de la ciudad y de la playa. Cuidado grande y fresco. Cuidado con el agua de la playa.

Hotel RICHMOND

Playa sencilla y 77

\$10 por persona

Plazas Privada. Situado en el centro de la ciudad y de la playa. Cuidado grande y fresco. Cuidado con el agua de la playa.

Edison Hotel

Playa sencilla y 77

\$10 por persona

Plazas Privada. Situado en el centro de la ciudad y de la playa. Cuidado grande y fresco. Cuidado con el agua de la playa.

Hotel WHITELAW

100 COLLINS AVE.

\$12 por persona

Plazas Privada. Situado en el centro de la ciudad y de la playa. Cuidado grande y fresco. Cuidado con el agua de la playa.

BARCLAY PLAZA HOTEL

Playa sencilla y 77

\$10 por persona

Plazas Privada. Situado en el centro de la ciudad y de la playa. Cuidado grande y fresco. Cuidado con el agua de la playa.

Hotel SHORE PARK

Playa sencilla y 77

\$10 por persona

Plazas Privada. Situado en el centro de la ciudad y de la playa. Cuidado grande y fresco. Cuidado con el agua de la playa.

Hotel IMPERIAL

Playa sencilla y 77

\$10 por persona

Plazas Privada. Situado en el centro de la ciudad y de la playa. Cuidado grande y fresco. Cuidado con el agua de la playa.

Shorecrest Hotel

Playa sencilla y 77

\$10 por persona

Plazas Privada. Situado en el centro de la ciudad y de la playa. Cuidado grande y fresco. Cuidado con el agua de la playa.

PLAN ESPECIAL AMERICANO

Desayuno, Almuerzo y Comida

\$200 por persona

Plazas Privada. Situado en el centro de la ciudad y de la playa. Cuidado grande y fresco. Cuidado con el agua de la playa.

PLAN ESPECIAL AMERICANO

Desayuno, Almuerzo y Comida

\$200 por persona

Plazas Privada. Situado en el centro de la ciudad y de la playa. Cuidado grande y fresco. Cuidado con el agua de la playa.

PLAN ESPECIAL AMERICANO

Desayuno, Almuerzo y Comida

\$200 por persona

Plazas Privada. Situado en el centro de la ciudad y de la playa. Cuidado grande y fresco. Cuidado con el agua de la playa.

Colonial Hotel

Playa sencilla y 77

\$10 por persona

Plazas Privada. Situado en el centro de la ciudad y de la playa. Cuidado grande y fresco. Cuidado con el agua de la playa.

ALQUILE AUTOMOVIL NUEVO DEL 1953

EN LA FLORIDA

\$35.00 A LA SEMANA

Plazas Privada. Situado en el centro de la ciudad y de la playa. Cuidado grande y fresco. Cuidado con el agua de la playa.

ALQUILE AUTOMOVIL NUEVO DEL 1953

EN LA FLORIDA

\$35.00 A LA SEMANA

Plazas Privada. Situado en el centro de la ciudad y de la playa. Cuidado grande y fresco. Cuidado con el agua de la playa.

ALQUILE AUTOMOVIL NUEVO DEL 1953

EN LA FLORIDA

\$35.00 A LA SEMANA

Plazas Privada. Situado en el centro de la ciudad y de la playa. Cuidado grande y fresco. Cuidado con el agua de la playa.

Representative advertisements for vacation accommodations in Miami. *El Mundo*, 5 July 1953, C-2.

payoffs, and fixes. *Carteles* characterized Miami in 1949 as “the Mecca of Cuban thieves,” a view shared by columnist Manuel Bisbé, who described Miami as “the beachhead of Cuban corruption.”¹⁵

15. *Carteles* 30 (15 May 1949), 21; Fernando Alloza, *Noventa entrevistas políticas* (Havana, 1953), 37.

Havana and Miami closed in on one another, shaping and being shaped by each other in constant interplay. Bankers, real estate agents, and developers actively pursued clients in Cuba. Miami retailers and department stores routinely advertised in Havana newspapers. The University of Miami advertised special English-language summer classes.

Municipal and state agencies also promoted Florida in Cuba. Daytona Beach designated March 24 as "Batista Day" and proclaimed the Cuban president an honorary citizen. But Miami most actively pursued Cuban tourists, proclaiming July 11th as "Cuba Day," a one-day commemoration preceded by week-long festivities that included dinners and dances, parades and parties, visits by Cuban dignitaries, a courtesy call by a Cuban naval vessel, and a baseball game between the Miami and Havana teams of the Florida International League. The Miami city government advertised an "invitation to our Cuban neighbors: visit Miami soon and often. You are only minutes away. Bring your family. Your children will enjoy their recreation. And a visit to the United States will be educational." The Miami Department of Information struck a similar note in a 1953 advertisement: "In Miami you will feel as if you are in your own home. Spanish is spoken in the hotels, restaurants, shops and theaters. The great department stores and specialty shops of Miami offer summer sales in all types of merchandise, especially in sports clothes and accessories designed for comfort in the tropics."¹⁶

The allusion to retail stores was neither unimportant nor unintentional. On the contrary, it was both product and promotion of what had become one of the principal attractions of travel northward: shopping. The Florida Development Commission advertised in Havana newspapers in 1957: "Florida has the solution to all your shopping needs. Whether you are a businessman buying specialized equipment or a housewife in search of famous wardrobe articles made in Florida or an entire family in search of a marvelous vacation. Florida is the closest place where you can obtain products and services of the U.S.A. And '*Se habla español*' almost everywhere."¹⁷

Shopping in Miami represented substantial savings and must be considered as an important strategy by which scores of Cuban

16. *El Mundo*, 18 May 1952, C-3, 12 July 1953, C-2; *Bohemia* 50 (1 June 1958): 100.

17. *Bohemia* 49 (19 May 1957): Supp. 10.

households sought to maintain living standards. A 4-percent customs duty, as well as a variety of sales taxes and consular fee, together with added transportation costs and local distribution markups combined to raise the purchase cost of American imports in Cuba to exorbitant levels. Shopping in Florida developed into something of a national pastime. During the 1950s, Cuban visitors to Florida were spending an estimated \$70 million annually.¹⁸

Miami slowly developed into a Cuban metropolis. In Miami, commented *El Mundo*, Cubans found the "most famous shops in the world . . . in which to obtain the most exclusive items, the most elegant styles, and a million knickknacks at prices within reach of all pockets." Columnist Eladio Secades commented perceptively on the Miami phenomenon. "All we Cubans have gone to Miami by now," he observed in 1957; "Miami is the city of hotels and store windows. . . . The sign is visible in numerous establishments: 'SE HABLA ESPAÑOL.' Spanish is spoken everywhere in Miami: in restaurants, in the shops, in the hotels, on the streets. There are moments in which the foreigner could think that what is not spoken in Miami is English."¹⁹

Retailers in Havana did not mistake the meaning of travel to Miami. The spectacle of Cuban shopping sprees in Miami caused deepening consternation among Havana merchants—and with justification. Havana retailers responded with planned annual sales, timed to coincide with peak summer travel months and designed to compete directly with Miami. One Havana department store announced "a great sale at prices cheaper than Miami." In fact, Miami prices became the standard by which to characterize sales: the refrain "at Miami prices" became Cuban retailers' sale pitch.²⁰

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, Cubans by the tens of thousands traveled annually to Miami, an encounter that assumed fully the proportions of ritual and was incorporated into the cosmology of Cuban. Miami loomed large in the Cuban imagination, a place to take measure of daily life in the most personal and intimate terms. Without perhaps being entirely conscious of the larger

18. *El Mundo*, 9 March 1949, 1; *Times of Havana*, 8 July 1957, 13; *Newsweek* 34 (4 July 1949): 36.

19. *El Mundo*, 1 July 1951, 31; Eladio Secades, "Ir a Miami," *Bohemia* 49 (12 June 1957): 151, 160.

20. See for example advertisements in *El Mundo*, 19 July 1953, B-7.

FIESTA EN MIAMI BEACH

OFERTA ESPECIAL HASTA DICIEMBRE 1ro., 1953

Días deliciosos en uno de los más bellos Hoteles de Miami Beach



Pan American Airways
Cubana de Aviación
Aviolineas "Q"
E. L. M.
National Airlines

Haga sus reservaciones en cualquiera de estos tres Oficinas

CUBA FIESTA TOURS
Hotel Presidente
Tel. FO-3003

HAVANA FIESTA TOURS
Hotel Toledo
Tel. UO-9541

FARE TOURS
Prado No. 6
A-6565 A-2614 W-5080

A SU DISPOSICION TAMBIEN: Apartamentos en secciones selectas de Miami Beach, de 2 y 3 habitaciones, para 4 ó 6 personas, bellamente amueblados y totalmente equipados (utensilios, ropa, baño, cubiertos, etc.). Científicamente ventilados. Alquiler por semana, mes o temporada. Servicio de criados si se desea. Precios módicos. Pida informes en las oficinas indicadas arriba.

7 DIAS
(9 NOCHES)
SOLO \$17⁵⁰

INCLUYENDO TAMS DEL
Y AL AVION O BARCO
POR PERSONA*

AÑADA EL COSTO DEL PASAJE POR AVION O POR BARCO, MAS IMPUESTOS.

DOS EN UN CUARTO,
CON BAÑO PRIVADO



Gestionamos sus pasajes y nos ocupamos de su Pasaporte y Visas.

Advertisement for vacation in Miami. *El Mundo*, 12 July 1953, C-3.

implications of the experience, vast numbers of Cubans engaged in a complex meditation on the Cuban condition, setting into motion far-reaching forces that would extend into the next century. Miami became a place of the Cuban familiar, perceived as a representation of things Cuban at their best and appropriated directly as the model of Cuban. Miami was an "extension" of Havana, commented many Cubans, with "the same blue sky and the Royal Palm." Cubans often quipped that "Biscayne Boulevard [was] merely an extension of Havana's Prado."²¹ In fact, in many ways it was.

21. *Bohemia* 26 (4 February 1934): 24-25.

Miami was rendered as the ideal of the condition of Cuban—fashion and style, comfort and convenience—and inevitably subject to appropriation. Affirmed columnist José Montó Sotolongo: “To go to Miami is so common, as if to go to a city in Cuba itself. Sometimes even more so, and in comfort, hygiene, ambience—everything—it is so pleasant and familiar for us. . . . To speak here of Flagler Street, Biscayne Boulevard, Lincoln Road, Miami Beach, the Seminole, the pools, and the area of Coral Gables, for example, is to talk about our own places.” Commented another Cuban visitor in 1955: “Miami is not simply close to us in kilometers but it is close by way of identification, which everyday becomes more palpable. . . . At this time there are no *Habaneros* in the beautiful Florida city who do not feel as if we are in our own capital. The names of the stores, streets, restaurants, avenues, and bus lines are as well known to the Cuban as those of the capital, or those of the city where one resides.”²²

Miami entered Cuban consciousness as fulfillment of a Cuban ideal, a representation of what Havana could become. It occupied an anomalous place in the Cuban consciousness: a city so near, so similar, but so different in ways that seemed to matter most. Invidious comparisons were inevitable, and inevitably a source of disquiet and deepening Cuban angst. The contrast stood in sharp relief and could not but invite comparison. Things were so different . . .

Miami offered open public access to magnificent beaches, and thereby set in relief that which was unavailable in Cuba. Columnist Antonio Iraizoz gave poignance to the Cuban meditation: “The beach: that clean and expansive beach that appears to us as symbol of a functional democracy. Everyone can bathe on the beach. . . . The beach belongs to everyone and it is for all.” Iraizoz wrote of the annual summer migration to Miami to escape “our unruliness, our disorder, our official torpor, our uncivilized life, our noise, the lack of beaches, the absence of water, the lack of shame of the men who rule in the country that could be the best and provide everything that Miami has—and more!”²³

22. José Montó Sotolongo, “Por los Estados Unidos,” *El Mundo*, 8 July 1956, C-10; “Miami, la cercana,” *El Mundo*, 25 September 1955, C-2.

23. Antonio Iraizoz, “En Miami está el amor,” *El Mundo*, 5 May 1950, 12; Antonio Iraizoz, “Fuga hacia Miami,” *El Mundo*, 2 May 1950, 12.

At almost every turn, there was something that invited contrast and comparison. Miami loomed large in Antonio Patiño's 1957 *Ritmo de la juventud*. The novel's protagonist writes to a friend from Miami: "Everything is clean, everything is cared for. There are no beggars or guides who force themselves on one, or hustlers who make the life of foreigners miserable." Writer Mario Guiral Moreno traveled often to Miami and could not but draw the comparison explicitly: "In Miami . . . the pavement of all the streets are in perfect condition, without the potholes and crevices that are found in Havana. Nor does one find there, like we do here, those huge holes . . . where water gathers and sits after rain. . . . It is likewise true that the sidewalks of all the public streets in Miami are always found clean, because they are scrupulously swept daily, in contrast to what happens in our capital, where the streets—even the principal ones—are seen constantly dirty."²⁴

Havana and Miami were reciprocal formulations, seeming always to reproduce each other, relentlessly, a place where Havana saw its image reflected in imaginings of what Havana could become. The weekly *Carteles* used Miami editorially in 1941 as the standard against which to measure the state of the nation: "Cuba, we have proclaimed many times, with minimum effort, could be the most prosperous and pleasant place in the universe." However, "indolence, apathy, and lack of will" has combined to sap national morale. In Miami, in contrast, a city "that until a few years ago was hardly more than an inhospitable sand pit," visitors are astonished to discover the beauty created by a dedicated citizenry. "In Cuba, things are different: there is no public spirit, no civic pride."²⁵

The dominant discursive structure of the Havana-Miami narrative was contrast and comparison. It perhaps could not have been any other way, for to be in Miami was like being in Havana but more so: the recognition of similarities could not occur without the realization of differences. One columnist described friends who vacationed in Miami and who "upon returning to our capital were rudely shocked by the violent and disagreeable impression, due to the contrast observed in the order, tranquility,

24. Antonio Patiño, *Ritmo de la juventud* (Havana, 1957), 158; Mario Guiral Moreno, "Contraste entre Miami y La Habana," *El Mundo*, 19 April 1950, 12.

25. "Antítesis criolla," *Carteles* 22 (2 February 1941): 21.

the good education, the mutual respect among residents, and the cleanliness of Miami, with the disorder, the insufferable noise, the misconduct, and the individual egoism of Havana."²⁶

Miami was itself a city in transition, in large part driven by the logic of the Cuban experience and the power of Cuban needs. After 1959, of course, this transformation assumed dramatic dimensions. From its very beginnings, Miami had appropriated the motif Cuban as part of pretension and panache: it fashioned itself as "Latin," traded on mild winter weather, Royal Palms, Spanish colonial architecture, Spanish street names, and night-clubs with exotic names booking tropical acts. Certainly this was a powerful source of appeal to North American tourists.

But Cubans traveled to Miami for many of the same reasons and found Miami sufficiently recognizable, whereupon they proceeded to make it more familiar, more authentic, more to their liking, and inevitably more their own. Powerful economic and cultural forces had set in place the basic structures that would facilitate and indeed foster the vast migration after 1959. The more Miami became familiar, the more it became Cuban. Many hundreds of thousands of Cubans experienced Miami as an extension of home, a process that had antecedents early in the twentieth century.

In the end, familiarity with Florida may well have contributed decisively to the ease with which the Cuban revolution consolidated itself. Tens of thousands of Cubans began what was to be their interminable exile in the belief that their stay in Miami would be hardly more than an extended vacation and shopping trip to south Florida during which unsettled conditions on the island would be resolved, whereupon they would return home to resume life as they had known it.²⁷

Most who departed early expected to return shortly. For vast numbers the most familiar place outside Cuba was Miami, and indeed this familiarity must be seen as a condition central to the process of emigration. The Cuban presence in Miami had expand-

26. El Curioso Parlanchín, "Por el ornato limpieza y embellecimiento de La Habana," *Carteles* 21 (28 April 1940): 72.

27. See, for example, Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Cuban Revolution: Origins, Course, and Legacy* (New York, 1993), vi; Pablo Medina, *Exile Memories: A Cuban Childhood* (Austin, Texas, 1990), 113; Gustavo Pérez Firmat, *Next Year in Cuba* (New York, 1995), 20; Edmundo Desnoes, *El cataclismo* (Havana, 1969), 57, 165; Eduardo Machado, *Once Removed* (New York, 1986), 2.

ed markedly during the 1940s and 1950s. Cubans owned and operated shops and restaurants, apartment houses and hotels, restaurants and retail shops, movie theaters, and nightclubs. As many as twenty thousand Cubans resided in Miami prior to the triumph of the revolution in 1959. Many times that number had visited frequently, as shoppers and travelers, to work and play, to study, sightsee, and invest. The narrator in Juan Arcocha's 1962 novel *Los muertos andan solos* captured the appeal of Miami after the revolution: "At times Carmen also felt the desire to leave for Miami. It was such a pleasant place. She had been there many times on her vacation and always took advantage of the trip to buy clothing at low prices. She was fascinated by the easy life of the tourists, the acquaintances that were made on the beach and in the hotel with people one never saw again. The Americans certainly know how to live well."²⁸

Cubans waited to return. Months turned into years and years into decades. Miami was transformed into Havana in exile, what María Cristina García called "Havana USA."²⁹ Miami began as an imitation of Havana in the 1920s and 1930s, and was imitated by Havana during the 1940s and 1950s, and in the 1960s it was a copy of a copy that was copied.

Many Cubans prospered in the years that followed and became successful as bankers, industrialists, real estate developers, sugar planters, merchants, and shop owners. They revitalized south Florida. Within decades, Cubans owned and operated nearly tens of thousands of businesses, including banks, car dealerships, movie theaters, radio and television stations, supermarkets, travel agencies, and retail stores. Spanish was the requisite language of employment. It was now the turn of Cuban retailers to place propitiatory signs in their store front windows affirming: "English Spoken Here." Miami had become like Tampa and Key West before it. The musings of writer Eladio Secades, who, in 1983, captured the sensation of Cuba in exile in Miami with insight and affection:

Exile in Miami feels less like exile. It has intimate compensations that the Cuban does not find elsewhere. The émigré who goes north will have to adapt. Those who

28. Juan Arcocha, *Los muertos andan solos* (Havana, 1962), 136.

29. María Cristina García, *Havana USA* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996).

have stayed in Miami have formed here a miniature Cuba, marvelous and new. The pain of the lost country is much reduced by the sensation that one lives in a city conquered peacefully. And for the same reason, almost as if it belonged to us. There are so many Cubans in Miami and the manner of living has assumed a tone and flavor so *criollo* that at times we even reach the point of thinking that the North American is a foreigner. We suddenly hear English spoken on 8th Street and we believe that it is an unfortunate tourist who has lost his way.³⁰

It remains to be seen how events in Cuba in the years to come bear on the world of Miami-Havana.

30. Eladio Secades, *Las mejores estampas de Secades* (Miami, 1983), 37.

Historic Notes and Documents: The Mix Diaries

by Gayle Penner

On the evening of March 22, 1836, Capt. Mervine P. Mix, U.S.N., brought the USS *Concord* to anchor in Key West harbor. The island was a good place to repair several damaged sails and to rest after the long voyage from the Portsmouth Navy Yard in New Hampshire. The *Concord*, 127 feet long with a 17-foot draft and mounting 18 guns, was one of the navy's finest sloops-of-war. Under its first commander, Matthew C. Perry, the *Concord* traveled some 2,800 miles, visiting ports in Russia, France, Spain, Italy, and the Greek Islands. With Mix in command, the ship sailed from one end of the Gulf of Mexico to the other, assigned as an integral part of the West India Squadron to provide naval support during concurrent conflicts—the struggle between Texas and Mexico, and the Second Seminole War.¹

While the crew patched up the *Concord's* lower yards, Mix wrote to William A. Whitehead, the Key West Collector of Customs:

Gayle Penner is Assistant Librarian and an archivist in Special Collections at the University of South Florida, Tampa. She would like to thank Dr. Derrie Perez, Larry Heilos, Dr. Robert P. Ingalls, and Dr. Gary R. Mormino for their assistance.

1. Private Journal of M.P. Mix, 22 March 1836, Special Collections, University of South Florida, Tampa. The *Concord* was built at the Portsmouth Navy Yard in 1827, launched in 1828, and placed into commission in 1830. It sailed to Florida with 170 officers and sailors plus a detachment of thirty-three marines; Howard I. Chappelle, *The History of the American Sailing Navy: The Ships and Their Development* (New York, 1959), 358. Perry, renowned for his expedition to Japan in 1852, commanded the *Concord* from April 1830 to December 1832; John H. Schroeder, *Matthew Calbraith Perry: Antebellum Sailor and Diplomat* (Annapolis, Md., 2001), 58-67.

U.S. Ship Concord
Off Key West
March 23, 1836

Sir,

I take the liberty of communicating to you a fact that seems to have been overlooked by the Treasury Department, viz; the want of buoys on the rocks in this harbor. They are situated S.S.E. from Key West Light House, distant three miles.

The U.S. Ship Concord, under my command, struck upon them yesterday; and they are exactly in the line of ships making into the harbor, one of them not having more than twelve feet of water over it. They are almost unknown to the pilots, and if they are not buoyed off may be the cause of great injury to our commerce, as well as of danger to our ships of war and merchant vessels. . . .

I am very respectfully,
Your Obedient Servant
M.P. Mix, Commander²

Hazardous situations concerned Mix, a veteran officer with more than twenty years of sailing experience on a dozen different ships. His distinguished naval career began in September 1813, the same month Isaac Chauncey took charge of the American Squadron on Lakes Erie and Ontario during the War of 1812. Mix distinguished himself under Chauncey's authority. In early November 1813, while commanding the warship *Growler*, he captured the British sloop *Elizabeth* and the *Mary Hatt*, a British merchantman. When he helped defeat Sir James Yeo in a spirited 1814 battle, Commodore Chauncey rewarded Mix with a ship-board promotion from sailing master to lieutenant.³

2. M.P. Mix Letter Book, 22 March 1836, Special Collections, University of South Florida, Tampa. William A. Whitehead served as the port's first collector of customs from 4 January 1831 to 21 March 1838; U.S. Customs Service, *A Biographical Directory of the United States Customs Service, 1771-1989*, 1st ed. (Washington, D.C., 1985); Thelma Peters, "William Adece Whitehead's Reminiscences of Key West," *Tequesta* 25 (1965): 3-42.
3. Mix was born circa 1787 in Connecticut and entered the navy on 22 September 1813; *American State Papers: Naval Affairs*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1832-1861), 4: 764; hereafter cited as ASPNA. According to historian Robert Malcomson, "Promotion from sailing master to lieutenant was rare

During the generally peaceful years following the war with the British, Mix perfected his nautical skills on ships of various sizes, classes, and functions. In the early 1820s, he cruised the Gulf of Mexico with the West India Squadron and Commodore David Porter. By the time he attained the rank of master commandant in 1831, he had served on two ships of the line, several sloops and schooners, a brig, and a store ship. When Secretary of the Navy Mahlon Dickerson sent him to the Gulf of Mexico in January 1836, Mix had distinguished himself from several dozen commanders who were "waiting orders" and could have been chosen for the important assignment.⁴

Although few details of his family and personal life have been discovered, Mix almost certainly received some education; he was intelligent, industrious, skillful, and above all, creative. He served on the Naval Courts-Martial for the New York station and the executive committee of the Naval Lyceum. While stationed on the *Delaware* during a cruise to Labrador, he invented a safety device for lowering the ship's anchor. While commanding the *Concord* in the spring of 1836, he constructed a signpost for ships navigating the tricky entrance to Tampa Bay.⁵

Mix also excelled as a writer, most notably while engaged in the Gulf campaigns. His elegantly penned private journal and

and indicated the high esteem in which the commodore held Mix"; *Lords of the Lake: The Naval War on Lake Ontario, 1812-1814* (Annapolis, Md., 1998), 384 n 34. Congress confirmed his promotion on 14 December 1814; *ASPNA* 1: 367.

4. Mix received his commission on 3 March 1831; *ASPNA* 4: 764. Commanders of ships were commonly addressed as "Captain," regardless of official rank. Mahlon Dickerson, a former governor and U.S. Senator from New Jersey, served as the tenth Secretary of the Navy from 1 July 1834 to 30 June 1838; Patrick W. Strauss, "Mahlon Dickerson," in *American Secretaries of the Navy*, ed. Paolo E. Coletta, 2 vols. (Annapolis, Md., 1980), 1: 155-63. For evidence of "waiting orders," see *ASPNA* 4: 637. Mix commanded the *Decoy*, a storeship, during his first cruise with the West India Squadron; Gardner W. Allen, *Our Navy an the West Indian Pirates* (Salem, Mass., 1929), 96.
5. Mix was appointed to the Naval Courts-Martial in 1821; *ASPNA* 2: 50. The Naval Lyceum, a cultural organization formed in New York in 1833 by a group of naval officers, collected "books, maps, charts, pictures, drawings, minerals, shells, coins, curiosities, &c" for their library and museum; "The United States Naval Lyceum," *Military and Naval Magazine* 2 (February 1834): 355-58. Mix and his family contributed several books, copper coins, and various shells to the Lyceum; James Cheevers, Associate Director and Senior Curator, U.S. Naval Academy Museum, to author, 24 April 2002. For an overview, see S. de Cristofaro, "The Naval Lyceum," *United States Naval Institute Proceedings* 77 (August 1851): 868-73.

his extensive correspondence, recorded in a letter book, include vivid first-hand accounts of the early stages of the Second Seminole War (1835-1842). Collectively known as the "Mix Diaries," the two manuscripts chronicle naval operations, troop movements, scouting expeditions, and engagements with the Indians. His striking sketches of Key West, Tampa Bay, and Pensacola, along with poignant descriptions of the Seminoles, add a unique perspective—that of a naval officer—to the prodigious body of contemporary eyewitness literature of Florida in the 1830s.⁶

Through good fortune, the University of South Florida Library recently acquired the Mix Diaries, and a team of librarians and historians has transcribed them. Both manuscripts, though more than 165 years old, remain in excellent condition, intact, and remarkably legible. Mix composed his private journal between January 12, 1836—the date he accepted command of the *Concord* and joined the West India Squadron—and August 15, 1837, the date the navy granted his request for a leave of absence. His letter book, compiled between March 1836 and February 1837, includes copies of correspondence to government officials, military officers, *Concord* crew members, and captains of other vessels.⁷

From headquarters at the Pensacola Navy Yard, Commodore Alexander J. Dallas directed the Gulf activities of the *Concord* and the other vessels of the West India Squadron. Since its activation in 1823, the squadron (one of five fleets the U.S. Navy deployed around the world) maintained an anti-piracy presence throughout the Gulf of Mexico, Caribbean Sea, and West Indies. Instead of operating as a traditional fleet with organized maneuvers and exer-

6. John Bemrose, *Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War*, ed. John K. Mahon (Gainesville, Fla., 1966); Meyer M. Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns*, facsimile ed. (Gainesville, Fla., 1964); Henry Prince, *Amidst a Storm of Bullets: The Diary of Lt. Henry Prince in Florida, 1836-1842*, ed. Frank Laumer (Tampa, Fla., 1998); George A. McCall, *Letters from the Frontiers* (Philadelphia, 1868); Woodburne Potter, *The War in Florida* (Baltimore, 1836); John T. Sprague, *Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1848).
7. The University of South Florida Library acquired the Mix Diaries from a contributor in Maine. Apparently, at one time, they were in the possession of Miss Rose Mix, who inscribed her name and "great grand daughter of Capt. M.P. Mix" inside the front cover of the letter book. Carol Ann Borchert, Paul E. Camp, Brian J. Falato, Jana Futch Martin, and Katherine M. Whitley assisted in diligently transcribing the diaries.

cises, the ships generally cruised individually, responding to tactical orders issued by Dallas, Secretary Dickerson, and other officials.⁸

As tensions between Texas and Mexico escalated in the summer of 1835, various sloops, schooners, steamers, and revenue cutters protected American merchant ships caught up in the conflict. When Secretary Dickerson added the *Concord* to the squadron, Mix expected to join the *Vandalia*, *St. Louis*, *Warren*, and *Grampus* then on rotation in the western Gulf. "I am informed by the Secretary," he wrote, "that my cruising ground is to be the coast of Texas."⁹

In the fall of 1835, when Brigadier General Duncan L. Clinch, USA, requested the navy's help in rounding up Seminoles, the sloop *Vandalia* was ordered to patrol Florida's coast between Charlotte Harbor and Tampa Bay. Clinch, then commander of a small—and in his opinion, inadequate—force of U.S. troops, had been negotiating with the Seminoles for several years. He hoped they would surrender peacefully but anticipated trouble. With the navy's help, he planned to corral the Seminoles at Fort Brooke, load them on transports, and send them to Indian Territory, west of the Mississippi. Even though several thousand men, women, and children eventually migrated, just as many refused to leave their Florida homeland. A number of hostile outbreaks, including

8. Alexander J. Dallas, former commandant of the Pensacola Navy Yard, assumed command of the West India Squadron on 16 July 1835; *Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary of Notable Americans*, 10 vols. (Boston, 1904), vol. 3. One reporter described him as "a prudent and vigilant officer, which gives the citizens full confidence in him"; *Army & Navy Chronicle* 5 (4 February 1836): 75. The law "authorizing an additional naval force for the suppression of piracy" passed on 20 December 1822, and by February 1823, Commodore David Porter commanded seventeen vessels; Report from the Navy Department, 12 January 1825, in ASPNA 2: 185. The other squadrons were stationed in the Pacific, Mediterranean, East Indies, and off the coast of Brazil; House Report 205 (23-1) Serial 261. For the early years of the West India Squadron, see Allen, *Our Navy*, 24-40. George E. Buker, *Swamp Sailors: Riverine Warfare in the Everglades, 1835-1842* (Gainesville, Fla., 1975), 3, 31, analyzes single-ship operations. For the squadron's Gulf activities, see Report of the Secretary of the Navy, in House Document 2 (24-2) Serial 301, 443. This report also appears in *Niles Register* 51 (17 December 1836): 252.
9. K. Jack Bauer, "The United States Navy and Texas Independence: A Study in Jacksonian Integrity," *Military Affairs* 34 (April 1970): 44-48, examines the Texas-Mexico situation. For the vessels in commission with the West India Squadron, see ASPNA 4: 672; M.P. Mix to Capt. Thomas T. Webb, 30 March 1836, Mix Letter Book.



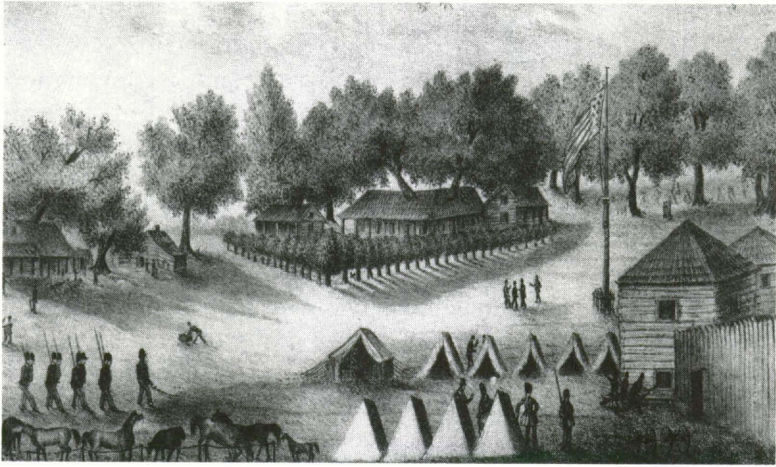
From John Lee Williams, *The Territory of Florida: Or, Sketches of the Topography, Civil and Natural History, of the Country, the Climate, and the Indian Tribes, from the First Discovery to the Present Time, with a Map, Views, &c.* (New York: A.T. Goodrich, 1837).

the massacre of Major Francis L. Dade and his troops in December 1835, left little doubt about Seminoles' resistance to removal.¹⁰

By the time Mix and the *Concord* arrived at Tampa Bay from Key West at the end of March 1836, the *Vandalia* was scheduled to return to Pensacola for supplies and repairs. Commodore Dallas delayed the *Concord's* cruise to the Texas coast, asking Mix to continue operations at Tampa, the main anchorage for Fort Brooke and the centralized location for naval activities. During the spring and summer of 1836, while the *Concord* served as a base of operations for a detachment of marines and several revenue cutters, Mix directed scouting expeditions along the coast, south to Charlotte Harbor and Sarasota and north to the Withlacoochee River, St. Marks, and Tallahassee.¹¹

The following selections, drawn from both Mix manuscripts and presented in chronological order, highlight several of the

10. The *Vandalia* also received orders to blockade any illegal trade in arms and slaves between the Seminoles and Spanish fishermen; Buker, *Swamp Sailors*, 35-36. For Clinch's request, see Mahlon Dickerson to Alexander J. Dallas, 29 October 1835, in *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, Vol. 22-26: *The Territory of Florida, 1834-1839*, comp. and ed. Clarence E. Carter (Washington, D.C., 1960), 25: 190-91; Rembert W. Patrick, *Aristocrat in Uniform: General Duncan L. Clinch* (Gainesville, Fla., 1963). The *Vandalia*, launched in Philadelphia in 1828, sailed to Japan with Perry in 1852 and later took part in the Civil War; Buker, *Swamp Sailors*, 18 n 3. For Dade's Massacre and a full description of the war, see John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842*, rev. ed. (Gainesville, Fla., 1985); Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (Norman, Okla., 1932), 315. Florida territorial governor John H. Eaton estimated a force of three thousand armed Seminoles, including blacks; Gen. Winfield Scott to R. Jones, Adj. Gen., U.S.A., 16 February 1836, in House Document 78 (25-2) Serial 323, 351.
11. The Treasury Department loaned several revenue cutters, including the *Dexter*, *Washington*, *Jefferson*, and *Dallas* to the Navy to transport teams of sailors and marines into shallow areas along the coast. In 1832, at the time of its official move from the Department of Navy to the Treasury, the Revenue Cutter Service consisted of ninety-two officers and eighteen vessels; Horatio Davis Smith, *Early History of the United States Revenue Marine Service or (United States Revenue Cutter Service) 1789-1849* (Washington, D.C., 1989), 36-37. For the cutters operating in Florida, see *Record of Movements: Vessels of the United States Coast Guard, 1790-December 31, 1933*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1989), 1: 129-35. The *Concord*, *Constellation*, *St. Louis*, and *Vandalia* transported more than sixty marines to Tampa Bay during the first six months of 1836. By the end of the year, over three hundred officers and men were deployed in Florida. At first, the marines protected navy ships, military posts, convoys, and expeditions, then later engaged the Seminoles alongside sailors, soldiers, and volunteers; Edwin H. Simmons, "The United States Marines on the Gulf Coast," in *The Military Presence on the Gulf Coast*, ed. William S. Coker (Pensacola, Fla., 1978), 68; Joseph G. Dawson III, "With Fidelity and Effectiveness: Archibald Henderson's Lasting Legacy to the U.S. Marine Corps," *Journal of Military History* 62 (October 1998): 741; Allan R. Millett, *Semper Fidelis: The History of the United States Marine Corps* (New York, 1980), 71-73.



"Barracks and Tents at Fort Brooke in Tampa Bay" (Charleston, S.C., 1837), lithograph. *Courtesy of the Florida Photographic Collection, Tallahassee.*

naval operations launched from Tampa Bay between March and August 1836. During this period Mix recorded his views on Territorial Florida along with his observations and impressions of the Seminoles.¹²

March 22nd

The Island of Key West is long, narrow and barren, producing little else than lemons and bananas, and these in small quantities. The inhabitants are, of course, dependent upon the main for most or all of the articles of subsistence. The town, or rather city of Key West, (for it is, it appears, incorporated as such) has a population of from 400 to 500, and derives its importance from its local situation, especially its harbor, which, tho' small, is said to be very safe, and the only one for a great distance along the coast. The inhabitants are all engaged, it is said,

12. Mix described many of his expeditions, only some of which are included here. The remaining portions of his journal and letter book chronicle his assignments with the West India Squadron, primarily in the western Gulf. While he usually expressed himself in clear, logical, and complete sentences, he also consistently misspelled certain words such as "detachment," and used a remarkable number of dashes and capitals. Most of these grammatical mudsles have been updated, for smoother reading.

directly or indirectly in the business of wreckers, that is, of saving as far as may be, ships and vessels that have been wrecked and their cargoes—bringing them into Key West, where a court has its stated settings—and decide upon the amount or per cent for salvage &c.

There are several small islands or keys in the neighborhood of Key West, and these, together with the groups scattered over the Bahama Banks, where the navigation is exceedingly difficult and very dangerous, cause the destruction, yearly, of a very large amount of property.

There is published at Key West a small, but well executed newspaper, called the "Key West Inquirer" by J. Atkinson.¹³

March 29th

Arrived off the mouth of Tampa Bay, and on the 30th sent a boat, in charge of Lieut. Ellison, on shore.¹⁴

April 2nd

. . . The town of Tampa is some twenty miles distant at the head of the Bay, and contained about forty dwelling houses some two months since, at which time the owners and occupants set fire to them and destroyed to prevent their destruction by the Seminole Indians, who have committed many depredation and barbarity in the neighborhood. The inhabitants such as have been unable to escape now live within the fort or in tents so near it as that they may be protected by it, but in a state of great discomfort or suffering from the difficulty of getting sufficient food and other necessities. The town was

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13. In 1834, a Key West observer said the dues collected by Customs were "derived from wrecked cargoes of foreign vessels, which are brought into the harbor and there disposed of, either by public sale, or by private composition with the owners, and the consequence is that every person resident on the island is engaged in one out of only two occupations; he is either a government officer, or he is a wrecker"; *Military and Naval Magazine* 3 (March 1834): 19. Jesse Atkinson published the *Key West Inquirer* from 1834 until the autumn of 1836; Douglas C. McMurtrie, "The Beginnings of Printing in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 23 (October 1944): 90.
 14. The *Concord* sailed from Key West on 26 March 1836. Lt. Francis B. Ellison was born in New York and entered the navy on 28 May 1819; *ASPNA* 4: 770.

situated on elevated ground and is represented always to have been remarkably pleasant and healthy, particularly so for Florida.

Fish are found in the bay in great variety and abundance, sheepshead and pompano especially. Both are excellent and rich fish. Oysters also are taken in great abundance, and are said to be very good.

The islands in the bay are low and formed of sand and shells, and are covered with the palmetto, a beautiful tree, and the mangrove, with an underbrush of laurel, prickly pear, and a few other shrubs, and sprinkled over with a variety of pretty wildflowers.

The U.S. ship *Vandalia*, Captain Webb, is at anchor near the fort.¹⁵

April 6th

The *Concord* got under way this morning from the anchorage in Tampa Bay and went to sea. There is in the fort, at Tampa, about two hundred men including invalids, and the garrison is commanded by Major Sands of the U.S. Army.¹⁶

15. McCall commented on Tampa Bay's abundance of redfish, sheepshead, drum, flounder, sole, mullet, and sea trout in 1823; *Letters*, 139. When Gen. Edmund P. Gaines conducted an official inspection in 1827, he declared Fort Brooke "one of the most healthful posts south of New York"; Gaines to Roger Jones, 30 January 1827, in *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, 7 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1832-1861), 4: 115. Capt. Thomas T. Webb was born in Virginia and entered the Navy on 1 January 1808. Before the *Vandalia*, he was assigned to the *John Adams*, *Alert*, and *Macedonian*, and later commanded the schooner *Shark*; *ASPNA* 1: 458, 2: 783, 3: 794, 4: 674.
16. The *Concord*, in need of provisions and a few repairs, left Tampa on 6 April, arrived the Pensacola Navy Yard on 9 April, and returned to Tampa on the 23rd. Maj. Richard M. Sands entered the army on 20 May 1813 and received his commission on 30 April 1829; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of the United States Army, from Its Organization, September 29, 1789, to September 29, 1889*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1890), 1: 570. Sands left New Orleans on 9 February with Lt. Col. David E. Twiggs and three hundred volunteers on board the *David Brown* for Florida; *Army & Navy Chronicle* 2 (25 February 1836): 124. When Gen. Gaines withdrew from Fort Brooke on 14 February with one thousand troops, he left Sands in command of the fort "with about 150 effective men"; *Ibid.* (10 March 1836): 131. Henry Prince dates the death of a Maj. Sands on the Suwannee on 31 September 1836; *Amidst a Storm*, 58.

April 9th

Came to anchor yesterday afternoon in the harbor of Pensacola, where I found the *Constellation*, Commodore Dallas, with which ship I exchanged salutes.¹⁷

April 12th

Pensacola is . . . situated on the western margin of the Bay, which is a very spacious and beautiful sheet of water. It is one of the oldest settlements in Florida, and altho' the streets are regularly laid out, the town, or rather city!!! (for it is such) has a very antiquated appearance. This arises in some measure from the mode or style of building, the lower or basement story being generally of brick, and the upper of wood—and the absence of paint and of window blinds does not add to their cheerful aspect. The few public buildings here, as the churches, &c are small but pretty—the public square quite so. It is covered with grass plats and bordered with fig trees, now in full leaf, but might be much improved by adding flowering shrubs, and a greater number of ornamental trees.

Pensacola has a population of about 1200 inhabitants, who derive their support principally from a very limited local trade, and the public money scattered among them as a naval station, the rendezvous of the W. India Squadron, and a military post.

Companies have very recently been chartered, and the stock taken up, to construct a rail road from Pensacola to Blakly in Alabama, and another to Columbus in Georgia, and great benefit is anticipated for Pensacola when these projects shall be completed, particularly the latter—as it is expected that a large and productive trade (at least carrying trade) will be diverted from Appalachicola. The road will intersect at Columbus the great chain of rail road communication between New York and New Orleans, now in the course of completion.

17. The *Constellation*, a thirty-six-gun second-class frigate and flagship for Commodore Dallas, was built in Baltimore in 1797 by David Stodder. It previously served in the Quasi-War with France, the War of 1812, and the Opium War; Lincoln P. Paine, *Ships of the World: An Historical Encyclopedia* (Boston, 1997), 119-20; *ASPNA* 4: 672.

The Bay is of great extent, and capable of receiving any number of ships in safety, and is protected at its entrance by two fortifications—one, Fort Pickens, at Santa Rosa Point, which, it is said, when completed, will mount 250 guns. The other fort is on Foster's Island, nearly opposite, which is intended to be a very strong fortress, tho' not as extensive as Fort Pickens.

The Navy Yard is some two miles above the forts, and some six miles below the town, and its local situation is well adapted to the purposes to which it is applied.

The houses appropriated to the use of the officers of the yard as also the other public buildings within the yard have not only the appearance of durability, but some of them are handsome. The shade and ornamental trees that have been already set out, and the grass plots that are forming, together with the little improvements of a like character that are in progress must, in doing, add much to the cheerful, if not beautiful appearance of the yard.

The soil in the immediate neighborhood of Pensacola, and indeed for many miles in the interior, is said to be quite barren and unfit for cultivation.

At the head of the Bay, clay suitable for bricks, and timber that may be converted into building materials are found in abundance.

The hospital, a spacious edifice, is about a mile below the N. Yard, near the shore, has neat walks in front, and is surrounded by the magnolia and other beautiful shade trees. Near it is a neat dwelling for the use of the medical officers.

Still farther on, near the Light House, is the old fort taken possession of by General Jackson during the Seminole War. The walls appear to be still entire, tho' probably of great age.¹⁸

18. The West India Squadron moved its headquarters from Key West to Pensacola in 1825. "The station at that place [Key West] having been found unhealthy, a surrender of the buildings occupied by the War Department, at Pensacola, was obtained for the purpose, and arrangements made, early in the spring, for the removal of the stores, &c., to them"; Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy, 2 December 1825, in *ASPNA* 2: 99. The Alabama, Florida & Georgia Rail Road Company was formed in 1835; George W. Pettengill Jr.,

April 15th

A light wind springing up, the ship was enabled to get to sea, this afternoon, from Pensacola (Navy Yard), the U.S. Rev. Cutter Washington, Captain Ezekiel Jones, in company.¹⁹

April 19th

The weather since leaving Pensacola has been alternately clear and cloudy, tho' generally pleasant. During most of the last night there was vivid lightning and heavy thunder, accompanied by showers of rain. This is the second thunder storm of the season, thus far. As the wind has either been very light, or ahead, our progress has been very slow.²⁰

April 23rd

We came up the Bay yesterday with a strong breeze, but as the wind came out ahead were compelled to let go the anchor some five or six miles below the Vandalia, at 6 o'clock p.m.²¹

The Story of the Florida Railroads: 1834-1903 (Boston, 1952); Charles H. Hildreth, "Railroads Out of Pensacola, 1833-1883," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 37 (January-April 1959): 397-417. Dr. Isaac Hulse entered the navy on 12 May 1823. He became the fleet surgeon for the West India Squadron and also supervised the Pensacola navy hospital; *ASPNA* 4: 774; Charles J. Werner, *Dr. Isaac Hulse, Surgeon, U.S. Navy, 1797-1856: His Life and Letters* (New York, 1922). Engineers expected Fort Pickens, when completed, to hold 260 guns, 20 mortars, and 28 carronades; Secretary of War, 9 February 1827, in House Document 88 (19-1) Serial 152. For Jackson and the First Seminole War, see *Correspondence Between Gen. Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun* (Washington, D.C., 1831).

19. Capt. Ezekiel Jones, a United States Revenue Marine, commanded the cutter *Washington* on coastal expeditions from Charlotte Harbor to Tampa. The vessel, which had been built in New York in 1832, was returned to the Treasury Department in 1837 and soon after retired from service; *Record of Movements*, 1: 129-35.
20. Mix maintained detailed daily reports and monthly logs on weather conditions, and he consistently recorded the number of *Concord* crew on the sick list. He also routinely described incidents aboard ship and at sea, noted passing vessels, and recorded news brought by travelers. Neither manuscript, however, contains any personal information, letters or references to his family, reminiscences about past cruises, or other significant events in his personal life.
21. The *Concord* generally anchored at the entrance to Tampa Bay, near Egmont or Passage Key.

April 25th

Letter to Capt. Thomas T. Webb, U.S.S. Vandalia,
Tampa Bay

Sir,

I deem it my duty to send you a copy of an order of the Commander in Chief, Commodore Dallas, directing Captain Jones of the Revenue Cutter Washington to "report to me to be employed on the coast of Florida, in such manner as I may deem most expedient for the public interest."

I shall have this ship's launch and 1st cutter in readiness for an expedition on the 27th inst. And if you have no objections, it is my wish to send the cutter and the boats to the mouth of the Amazura.

Will you be pleased to give me your views on the subject, that I may make the necessary preparations?²²

April 30th

Letter to Commodore Alexander J. Dallas, Pensacola

Sir,

. . . The post [Fort Brooke] is situated at the head of Hillsboro Bay, twelve miles from Gadsden's Point and fourteen miles from this anchorage being the nearest point of approach for a ship of the Concord's draught of water. It seems to me to have been situated more for the beauty of the situation, than for its capabilities of defense in a military point of view. It consists of a stockade, not capable of containing more than two or three hundred men, located on a projection of land in Hillsboro Bay. The depot of provisions is situated half a mile from it on the river running into the head of the bay.

The volunteers are now embarking, which will reduce the force to between two and three hundred regular troops? a force in my opinion inadequate to the defense of

22. Amazura was an early name for the Withlacoochee River; James Clarence Simpson, *A Provisional Gazetteer of Florida Place Names of Indian Derivation*, ed. Mark Boyd (Tallahassee, Fla., 1956), 134.

the place. The Indians are assembling in all directions, with a determination, as they threaten to destroy the fisheries in the bay, and to burn the transports at anchor in Hillsboro harbor, or such of them as may remain after the departure of the volunteers.

A force of about seven hundred men, regular troops and volunteers, were sent out on the 27th inst. under the command of Col. Foster of the U.S. army, for the purpose of drawing in the troops at Fort Alabama. They met with little interruption on their way out from the Indians, and lost but one man. They constructed a mine within the fort, so arranged as to blow it up on the opening of a door to one of the houses; and when on their return march, about a mile from it, the fort did blow up with a tremendous explosion; and it is supposed that many Indians were killed by it, as the fort was surrounded by them in great numbers, and it is presumed also, that they rushed into it as soon as it was abandoned. Soon after this, the detachment, while on their return to Fort Brooke had a smart engagement with another party of Indians, about four hundred strong, in which they lost five killed and eighteen wounded. The enemy suffered a great deal and were seen to carry off many of their killed and wounded. They fought most desperately, and advanced up on our troops to within thirty paces under cover of the bushes, but were dislodged by a piece of artillery under the direction of an officer of the artillery.

Under all these circumstances, and the state of anxiety which exists as to the future intentions of the enemy, the commanding general has requested that the Concord may remain here, and for the same reasons the Marines also, under Lieut. Walton [Waldron]. I think, however, that they will not be long detained, as I do not believe the stockade tenable against the immense force which the enemy will undoubtedly bring against it.

The cutter Washington's provisions will be expended the early part of the next month, and the time of service of most of her crew will then expire, when she will, agreeably to your orders, return to Pensacola. Before, and by all other opportunities I shall have the honor of reporting to you all the events that may transpire. The troops have

been withdrawn from Charlotte Harbor, and the fishermen and inhabitants, about one hundred in number, are on their way to Espiritu Santo Bay [Tampa Bay] for the purpose of fixing themselves on one of the islands at the entrance of the bay. The Indians, it is said, will send their periogues [pirogues] from Charlotte Harbor with the intention of destroying the rancho and fishery belonging to Captain Bunce; and also, any inhabitants they may find on either of the other islands which they can probably easily accomplish, as we are about thirty miles distant. I shall however occasionally send the launch with a twelve pound Howitzer, accompanied by one of the other boats for their protection.

I am happy to inform you that the officers and crew of this ship continue in good health, the number of our sick list being but three.²³

May 2nd

Letter to Lt. Francis B. Ellison, USS Concord, Tampa Bay

Sir,

You will proceed in the launch, armed and equipped, with one midshipman, her crew, sixteen in number, a corporal and two Marines, to the mouth of the Great Manatee River, which you will examine, taking care to guard against a surprise by the enemy, and ascertain if there are any

23. For Fort Alabama/Foster, see Michael G. Schene, "Fort Foster: A Second Seminole War Fort," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 54 (January 1976): 319-39. Col. William S. Foster, U.S.A., was born in New Hampshire, commissioned Lt. Col. on 8 June 1836, and died 26 November 1839; Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1: 274. For the mine, see House Document 78 (25-2) Serial 323. Several others have reported the same incident: John Lee Williams, *The Territory of Florida* (Gainesville, Fla., 1962), 234; Cohen, *Notices*, 194; Potter, *War in Florida*, 183. First Lt. Nathaniel S. Waldron, U.S.M.C., was born in New Hampshire and entered the service on 23 September 1831; *ASPNA* 4: 797. A pirogue was a canoe, or dugout, hollowed from the trunk of a tree. William Bunce, a sea captain from Baltimore, engaged in various business enterprises in Florida before establishing several fishing ranchos around San Carlos Bay, Tampa Bay, and Charlotte Harbor. He also served as the pilot for the *Concord* and other ships passing in and out of Tampa Bay; Dorothy Dodd, "Captain Bunce's Tampa Bay Fisheries, 1835-1840," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 25 (January 1947): 246-56.

Indians in that vicinity which you will be able to do from their tracks, from smoke, &c. You will then examine the coast as far as the islands at the mouth of the harbor, visiting each of them, for the same purpose, viz: Bunce's New Rancho, the first island south of it, and Egmont Key, after which you will proceed to Mullet Key where you will send the cutter Washington, which vessel will tow you up after you have filled your water.

You will keep a correct journal of your proceedings, with observations on the character of the coast, and islands?the soundings, &c, &c from which you will make a report to me in writing.

You will not permit the men to interfere with the inhabitants at Bunce's Rancho, nor allow them to encamp on that island.

Keep your Howitzer at all times loaded as well as your small arms and be at all times prepared to operate against any force that the enemy may bring against you.

A party of American inhabitants from Charlotte Harbor are daily expected to fix themselves on some of the islands at the mouth of the harbor. If you fall in with them, you will treat them with great kindness. . . .²⁴

May 7th

Letter to Capt. Ezekiel Jones, Cutter Washington,
Tampa Bay

Sir,

You will proceed to Sarasota tomorrow morning, on which island, it is reported there are a number of American citizens who are in doubt whether to remain there, or to fix themselves at Bunce's Island. I wish you to

24. Howitzers, which could fire shells at a high trajectory with excellent precision, were easily moved from one post to another and into areas where the Seminoles might be hiding. The "American inhabitants" residing around Charlotte Harbor and Sarasota may have instead been rancho fishermen and their families or perhaps black Seminoles; E.A. Hammond, "The Spanish Fisheries of Charlotte Harbor," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 51 (April 1973): 377; Canter Brown Jr., "The 'Sarrazota, or Runaway Negro Plantations': Tampa Bay's First Black Community, 1812-1821," *Tampa Bay History* 12 (fall/winter 1990): 5-19.

advise them to the latter course, as their united force will be sufficient to repel any descent on that island by the hostile Seminoles.

When you return and report you will receive instructions to proceed to Pensacola, and it is most probable that Commodore Dallas will direct you, or one of the other schooners to return and remain in the vicinity of the island?this you can communicate to them.

Be pleased to ascertain the number of individuals, their general character, &c.²⁵

May 9th

Letter to Lt. William L. Howard, U.S. Ship Concord,
Tampa Bay

Sir,

You will proceed to Stoney Point, ten miles south of the island of Sarasota, with the launch and first cutter under your command in tow of the Revenue Cutter Dexter, for the purpose of ascertaining the character of twenty five canoes supposed to be filled with hostile Indians, and if they should prove to be such, you will do all in your power to capture or destroy them.

The launch will be armed with a twelve pound Howitzer, and twenty three officers and men, including Marines, each provided with a musket, pistol, and cutlass. The first cutter will have eighteen officers and men armed in like manner, and each boat will be furnished with provisions for a week.

I expect from your diligence and activity a happy result of this expedition. . .²⁶

25. At Sarasota, about twenty Indians and Spanish, including women and children, were found fleeing from the hostile Seminoles; Report of Capt. Jones, *Record of Movements*, 1: 32.

26. Lt. William L. Howard was born in New Jersey, entered the navy on 10 January 1815, and previously served on the *Enterprise*, *ASPNA* 4: 57, 770. The Revenue Cutter *Dexter* was built in New York in 1831 and assigned to the navy in 1836; *Record of Movements*, 1: 81-82. The *Concord* was equipped with muskets, musket balls, bayonets, flints, cutlasses, priming wires and brushes, cartridge papers, punch barrels, and screw drivers; Log of the U.S.S. *Concord*, National Archives and Records Service, Records of the Bureau of Naval Personnel, Record Group 24 (Washington, D.C., 1969).

May 11th

Cantonment Brooke, or Fort Brooke, is situated on a level and somewhat elevated plat of ground at the head of Tampa Bay; commands a fine view of the bay in front, and is bounded on one side by a pretty river of fresh water. A mound of considerable elevation, a short distance from the stockade, affords a still more extensive view both of the bay and surrounding country, and both together form a beautiful landscape. The mound is supposed to be artificial, and to have been raised in honor of the dead, tho' nothing certain is known of this, as of innumerable other like elevations found all over the country, even tradition is silent in regard to them.

The site of the Cantonment covers a large surface of ground, and before the destruction of the barracks, which were capable of accommodating a thousand men, and especially, before the destruction of the long lines of orange and fig trees, which had been planted with great regularity, and of the gardens which had been enclosed, cultivated, and embellished with great care and taste by the officers, it must have been a very desirable and delightful residence at least for the military. Almost within a stones throw also, fish in the greatest variety may be had, and oysters in any quantities and of excellent quality.

At present there is little else in the way of defense or accommodation, than a small stockade rudely thrown together, with two block houses of like construction.

Altho' many hundreds of the fruit trees have been destroyed, (and it's said 1500 orange trees were wantonly destroyed by the volunteers! In one night!!) there are still many orange, fig, and live oaks sprinkled over the grounds, which are now its principal ornaments, especially the orange trees which are all sizes, young and flourishing.

There are a few houses, perhaps half a dozen, and a large storehouse, which are all the buildings that remain at Tampa.

The orange, fig, and live oak flourish very much, and

the latter, in addition to its other valuable qualities is a fine shade tree.²⁷

May 28th

Letter to Commodore Alexander J. Dallas, Pensacola
Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that I have planted a beacon on Egmont Island, to point out the entrance to Tampa Bay. It is a spar 80 feet high with a *barrel* on it, painted *white* and *black* and may be seen before the land.

To enter the bay in safety, bring the beacon to bear E ? S. by compass, then run for it until you strike 3 ? fathoms water, which will take you over the bar, ? then steer E ? N. until the beacon bears E. by S. and then follow the northern bank which can always be seen a cable's length. Run for the beacon to near a cable's length and you will have 10 fathoms water, the beacon bearing South, then run E by S to 4 ? or 5 fathoms, then E. N. E. 6 miles, and N. E. to 3 fathoms off Mangrove Point, then North to 4 fathoms and N. E. to the anchorage at Gadsden's Point.²⁸

May 28th

Letter to Gov. R.K. Call, St. Marks
Dear Governor,

I have this moment received your letter dated the 20th inst. and at daylight tomorrow morning sixty men, under Lieut. Adams, will be on their way to St. Marks. All you will have to do will be but to direct the mode in which they can serve their country, and be assured it will be accomplished, or they will perish in the attempt.

27. Col. George M. Brooke described the "very fine commissary and quartermaster's store house" which the soldiers erected in the spring of 1824; Col. George M. Brooke to Gen. Thomas S. Jesup, 25 April 1824, in Carter, *Territorial*, 22: 930.

28. This letter was printed in *Niles Register* 50 (16 July 1836): 330; *Army & Navy Chronicle* 3 (14 July 1836): 25; *Naval Magazine* 1 (July 1836): 407-408. The first lighthouse was built on Egmont Key in May 1848; John W. Stafford, "Egmont Key: Sentinel of Tampa Bay," *Tampa Bay History* 2 (spring/summer 1980): 15-29.

I send, likewise, the launch and first cutter of this ship, and the revenue cutter *Washington*, now acting under my directions. They are all provisioned for twenty five days with an abundant supply of ammunition.

I am mortified beyond description that I cannot join in this glorious expedition with this ship, but her draft of water is too great to admit her entrance into the passage your refer to. . . . I have increased the forces to 75 men, and the want of the means of conveyance alone, prevents my augmenting it still more.²⁹

June 7th

Passage Key or Island at present occupied by the friendly Indians, who have been driven from the main, is little else than a sandy bank without trees or vegetation except a weed somewhat resembling the reeds.

These people are a mixed race, and complexions of every hue from a jet black and Indian brown to quite fair are to be seen amongst them?the Indians, the Spaniards, the Negro, and every degree of mixture. They seem to be but very little advanced from a primitive state of existence except in the dress of the young, and more advanced in age,?the children, it seems, are not burdened with this *superfluity*, unless beads or some similar *ornament* suspended about their necks are deemed an exception. Their huts are constructed in the most simple form and of the most simple materials.

Crotched sticks are driven into the ground at proper distances and heights, poles are placed across them, and the sides, as well as roof, thickly covered and secured with the palmetto or some other leaf, and the dwelling is finished. There is no flooring, nor divisions, and the fire is kindled in the center of the apartment, an aperture being

29. Richard Keith Call, who served two terms as territorial governor, also commanded the Florida militia; Herbert J. Doherty Jr., "Richard K. Call vs. the Federal Government on the Seminole War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 31 (January 1953): 163-80. Capt. Jones, cutter *Washington*, said the purpose of the expedition was "preventing a junction between the Creeks and Seminoles which appears to be apprehended by Governor Call"; *Record of Movements*, 1: 135. Lt. Henry A. Adams was born in Pennsylvania, entered the navy on 14 March 1814, and previously served on the sloop *Erie*, *ASPNA* 4: 56, 769.

left in the roof for the smoke to escape. Bedsteads, tables, &c are also made with crotched sticks and poles, and covered with matting, &c.

They have pots, kettles, &c for cooking, but for eating they use bowls, spoons, &c made by themselves of some hard wood. Their corn is *ground* by a mortar and pestle of equally rude construction, and is done by the children. Their principal food is fish, oysters and game and as these abound, little labor is required to sustain them and they are consequently very indolent.

The males wear shirts and trousers, the former over the latter, the females, a short gown and under dress, the latter so full that one might suppose they had taken the Turkish trousers for a model. Their movements betray an absence of familiarity with these evidences of a more advanced state of civilization. These articles are made of calico, and odd figures and bright colors seem to be the prevailing taste among these ladies. Add to this simple dress, a great profusion of beads of all colors, and sometimes of other ornaments suspended upon their necks, and I believe the costume of the Indian belle complete for I think the present *mode* with her is not to call to her aid "foreign ornament" to *beautify* the extremities?her head and feet.

The Indians of both sexes here, appear to be a taller and stronger race than their white brethren,?their features larger and more striking, but less agreeable than those of the northern tribes. Their children, at least some of them, are an exception, for their features are regular with good teeth, and a remarkably bright, intelligent eye.³⁰

30. The rancho fishermen of Charlotte Harbor "live in palmetto huts, and in the most simple manner, their chief articles of food being the fish they catch. They salt and send to Havana (each establishment having a small schooner for the purpose) from 6 to 8,000 quintals annually, the usual price being from 3 to 4 dollars per quintal [a quintal equals 101.43 lbs.];" William Whitehead to Lewis McLane, Secretary of the Treasury, 17 November 1831, in House Document 201 (22-1) Serial 220. George A. McCall regarded the Seminoles as "in some respects not below the standards of the white man: they have equal, perhaps superior, quickness and perception, but want strength and depth of reason, and consequently are without sound judgment"; *Letters*, 140-41.

June 28th

Letter to Commodore A.J. Dallas, Pensacola

Sir,

After closing my letter of yesterday I landed on one of the islands near our anchorage and obtained the following information, viz.

One of the friendly Indians went to the main to hunt and fell in with an Indian of the Mickasookee tribe. They approached each other in great distrust, but at length a conversation ensued between them, the purpose of which was that the Mickasookee Indian declared it to be the intention of his tribe to attempt no hostile acts until the corn should be ripe and gathered in. He likewise stated that the greater part of his tribe were now in the Everglades near Cape Florida, and declared that the Seminoles could never again be on friendly terms with the 'pale faces' who had attempted to take their country from them, and that no consideration would ever induce them to surrender it. During this interview, each was armed with a rifle and kept in a position for immediate use.

Believing as I do that this intelligence may be relied on, I thought it might be important to communicate it.³¹

June 29th

The expedition which returned from St. Marks on the 24th inst. consists of Lts. Adams and Howard, P. Midshipman White, Midshipman Davis, Weed & O'Shaunese, and a detachment of 60 men and Marines from the Concord. They sailed on the 2nd inst. in the cutter Washington with the launch and first cutter of the ship in tow, and arrived at St. Marks Light House on the 5th. They remained there until the 13th on which day an express was received from Gov. Call at Tallahassee by Lt. Adams urging him to make all haste to that place with his

31. Many Seminoles moved south to the Everglades because it was an area where they felt at home, and "the white man could not go without an Indian or a Negro guide"; Mahon, *History*, 129.

command, as the Indians were said to be advancing upon it with a force 2,000 strong. He set forward immediately and arrived at Tallahassee on the 14th where it was soon ascertained by scouting parties that the rumored movements of the Creeks were all a fabrication. On the 19th, as no indications of hostility on the part of the enemy were known and the alarm occasioned by the false reports had subsided, the detachment left Tallahassee on their return and got to St. Marks again on the 20th. As there was no good cause for their further detention at that place, they embarked on board the cutter and got under way on the 22nd, and came to anchor near the Concord on the 24th inst.

Doct. Parsons also accompanied the expedition.

During their absence but one Indian was seen and he is supposed to belong to one of the friendly families near St. Marks. This result shows how little reliance should be placed on the thousand rumors, however plausible, that are always set afloat by people acting under the influence of fear and especially the fear of the Indians.

St. Marks is situated on the Appalachee river at the head of the Bay of that name, and some eight miles above schooner anchorage. It is remarkable as the scene of some of General Jackson's exploits. It was here that by the sentence of a "Drum Head" Court Martial, Arbuthnot and Ambrister were executed as spies. The site of the town is on low, marshy ground and it is said to be quite unhealthy, and to contain a population at present not exceeding 200 souls.

Tallahassee is 23 miles north of St. Marks, is built on much higher ground, and is said to be very healthy. As the capital of the Territory of Florida it has some good public buildings and a few good private dwellings, and is said to be increasing in consideration and population. The number of its present inhabitants is supposed to be about 1500.

The detachment were escorted into Tallahassee, on their arrival there by some volunteer companies of that place and from thence to their encampment near the

town which was named Camp Mix by the citizens in honor of the commander of the Concord.³²

July 6th

Letter to James P. McKinstry, Sailing Master, U.S.S. Concord, Tampa Bay

Sir,

You will proceed with the officers and men under your charge to the first good place for encamping to the northward of the Withlacoochee River. Your object will be to watch the movements of the Seminoles, and to ascertain whether they are in any numbers along the coast between the north bank of the river and Tampa. You will therefore take care to remark all appearances of tracks, &c &c. To obtain this result, I do not wish you to run any unnecessary risk of losing your officers and men, and if the appearance of the shore at the mouth of the Withlacoochee is such as to afford shelter to the Indians to the prejudice of your command you will not enter the river.

Having the utmost confidence in your skill and discretion, I trust your prudence will not permit you to run any risk that the object required of you will not justify. On your return from the north you will make a survey of the coast, noting the bearings of the remarkable points, headlands and their latitude and longitude, and the soundings at the entrance to rivers, &c.

32. According to Passed Midshipman William Chandler, U.S.N., of the *Constellation*, the Seminoles threatened to hold a green corn dance; "A Tallahassee Alarm of 1836," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 8 (April 1930): 197. Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert Ambrister, British citizens whose sympathies for the Seminoles enraged Andrew Jackson, were executed at St. Marks on 29 April 1818, shortly after their highly controversial trial; *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, 7 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1832-1861), 1: 721-35; Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire, 1767-1821*, 1st ed., 2 vols. (New York, 1977); Charles R. Paine, "The Seminole War of 1817-18" (M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1938). An 1853 gazetteer described the Appalachee River as "navigable . . . for vessels drawing 8 feet of water," "very crooked," and "impeded by oyster bars." It also noted a number of public squares, a state house, courthouse, jail, and academy in Tallahassee; John Hayward, *A Gazetteer of the United States of America* (Hartford, Conn., 1853), 560, 592.

You will have little time to effect these objects as our relief is expected by the 15th inst. by which time you will return; you will therefore use all dispatch.³³

August 1st

The Concord was got under way this morning at 2 o'clock for Pensacola, it being 108 days since she left that place (the 15th April) and 101 days since she arrived at Tampa Bay (on the 22nd April)?came to anchor at 8 o'clock off Egmont Key, no wind?at 12 o'clock let go the anchor some miles distant from Egmont, no winds.³⁴

After several weeks at the Pensacola Navy Yard, the *Concord* joined the *Boston*, *St. Louis*, and *Natchez* on regular rotation between Pensacola, New Orleans, Matamoros, Tampico, and Vera Cruz. During the following year the sloop completed several additional rotations in the western Gulf and made two trips to Cuba. While visiting Tampa Bay in March 1837, Mix heard reports that the war had ended, and that the Seminoles were arriving daily at Fort Brooke. The war was far from over, however, and evolved into a riverine conflict as parties of sailors and marines searched for the Seminoles in the swampy and marshy areas of south Florida and the Everglades.³⁵

33. Sailing Master James P. McKinstry was born in New York and entered the navy on 1 February 1826; *ASPNA* 4: 780. The duties of sailing masters, who ranked above enlisted men but below commissioned officers, included navigation, instructing midshipmen, and checking weather conditions; William M. Fowler Jr., *Jack Tars and Commodores: The American Navy, 1783-1815* (Boston, 1984), 130, 139.

34. On 6 August, the *Pensacola Gazette* reported "The U.S. Sloop of War Concord arrived here on Thursday last from Tampa Bay. Officers and crew all well."

35. The *Pensacola Gazette* noted, "The U.S. Sloop of War Concord, sailed on Monday last [Aug. 23] on a cruize, it is said, off the Balize and the Texian and Mexican coasts." For the convoys, blockades, and Texas raiders, see Bauer, "United States Navy," 47. The *Army & Navy Chronicle* 3 (14 July 1836): 27 describes the blockade of Texas ports and the large Mexican force "assembling for a descent on Texas"; also 18 March, Mix Private Journal. For the capitulation of the Seminoles, see Gen. Thomas S. Jesup to Brig. Gen. R. Jones, 6 March 1837, in House Document 225 (25-3) Serial 348. Buker describes riverine warfare as "the extension of naval power to restricted, often shallow, coastal and inland waterways"; *Swamp Sailors*, 5. Also United States Naval History Division, *Riverine Warfare: The U.S. Navy's Operations on Inland Waters* (Washington, D.C., 1969), 15-18.

On August 15, 1837, the navy granted Capt. Mix a leave of absence and on September 9th, two days after relinquishing command of the *Concord*, he left Pensacola. The *Army & Navy Chronicle* reported that Captain Benjamin Page Jr. had been ordered "to the command of the U.S. Ship Concord, now on the West India station, in the place of Com'r Mix, relieved." In February 1838, Commodore Dallas notified Secretary Dickerson that the sloop was in commission along the Texas-Mexico coast under Captain Andrew Fitzhugh. In 1843, after thirteen admirable years of service, the *Concord* was lost near Mozambique on the coast of Africa while under the command of Captain William Boerum.³⁶

In 1839, Commodore Dallas resumed his duties as commandant of the Pensacola Navy Yard. In 1843, the navy assigned him to the command of the Pacific Squadron. He was on board the U.S. Frigate *Savannah*, anchored in the harbor of Callao, Peru, when he died of paralysis on September 5, 1844. As news of his death reached Pensacola, flags in the harbor as well as those at the Navy Yard and Navy Hospital were lowered to half-mast. In recognition of his service to Florida during the Second Seminole War, the Army named its post at the mouth of the Miami River overlooking Key Biscayne Bay, Fort Dallas.³⁷

A year and a half after Mix left Pensacola, the *National Intelligencer* reported his death in New York on February 8, 1839, after a "lingering illness." He was fifty-two years old. Some years

36. 15 August 1837, Mix Private Journal; *Army & Navy Chronicle* 5 (14 September 1837): 172; *ibid.*, 5 (7 September 1837): 153. Benjamin Page Jr. was born in England, entered the navy on 17 December 1810, and previously served on the *Franklin* and *Congress*; ASPNA 1: 748, 903; Dallas to Dickerson, 22 February 1838, in Carter, *Territorial*, 25: 484-85. Andrew Fitzhugh was born in Virginia, entered the navy on 9 June 1811, and served on the *John Adams*, *North Carolina*, and *St. Louis*; ASPNA 1: 458, 919; 2: 445; 3: 794; Chapelle, *History*, 358. William Boerum was born in New York, entered the navy on 1 September 1811, and previously served on the *Nonesuch*, *Cyane*, and *Constitution*; ASPNA 1: 748, 903.

37. *Twentieth Century*, vol. 3; Edward C. Anderson, *Florida Territory in 1844: The Diary of Master Edward C. Anderson, United States Navy*, ed. W. Stanley Hoole (University, Ala., 1977), 56; William M. Straight, "Fort Dallas, A Most Salubrious Post," *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* 69 (August 1982): 706-707.

later his widow, Ann, attributed his death to "a disease contracted upon the inhospitable coast and rivers of Florida."³⁸

For the thousands of soldiers, sailors, marines, and volunteers who took part in the Second Seminole War, the chances of dying from a noxious disease were better than being scalped and disemboweled by hostile Indians. "[A]s it is in most wars," historian John Mahon reminded us, "disease was the greatest murderer." The navy reported sixty-nine deaths but some men, like Mix, succumbed long after their service in Florida ended. The actual number of casualties may never be known.³⁹

The Second Seminole War was the largest Indian conflict in which the navy played a role. Sailors of the West India Squadron carried out coastal expeditions, rescued terrorized citizens, marched as foot soldiers, fought the Seminoles, and helped defend military posts. At Tampa Bay, Mix commanded Gulf operations, coordinated with army forces on inland campaigns, directed revenue cutters along the coast, and supervised detachments of marines. His nautical expertise, good judgment, and superior leadership made him an excellent choice for the undertaking.

38. *National Intelligencer* (11 February 1839); "List of Deaths in the Navy, As Ascertained by the Department, Since the 1st of Dec., 1838," in House Document 2 (26-1) Serial 363. In November 1839, the navy awarded Ann Mix a pension of \$30.00 a month from the date of her husband's death; *ibid.*, 588. The navy also eventually paid her \$5,000 for the unlimited use of Mix's invention, U.S. Patent #998. Although his "cable chain stopper" had been installed on numerous ships, Mix had never been compensated by the navy; House Document 56 (26-1) Serial 364, House Report 476 (26-1) Serial 371; House Report 74 (29-1) Serial 488; and *Congressional Globe* 46 (29 April 1846): 728.

39. Mahon, *History*, 325.

Book Reviews

Florida's Colonial Architectural Heritage. By Elsbeth K. Gordon.
(Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002. xxvi, 319 pp.
Foreword, preface, abbreviations, introduction, appendices,
notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

All reviews ought to offer some criticisms and, conversely, find some merit, even in bad books. I can find little to criticize in Gordon's study of colonial architecture, however. Perhaps her chosen chronology is suspect. Florida before 1821, when it became part of the United States, had a long history of changing borders, basically shrinking from Spanish definitions of Florida. Borders changed during the twenty years of English rule (1763-1783) and then again during the Second Spanish Period. Gordon has limited her survey of colonial architectural heritage to the geographic Florida of today with borders established when it became an American territory in 1821. This means, for example, that nothing of the rich architecture of Mobile (part of Florida during the Second Spanish Period) is included. (An exception is an illustration of a house in Pascagoula, Mississippi, dating from about 1718 to show an architectural form used in the Gulf Coast region.)

Despite that minor complaint, this is a highly recommended book. There are over 150 illustrations, nine of which are maps and all of which are of excellent quality. Some of these are "conceptual drawings," such as the Franciscan Monastery and Church, the Governor's House ca. 1593, and the British Statehouse of 1773-1785, all originally located in St. Augustine. Reflecting historical reality, the greatest number of illustrations deal with St. Augustine and Pensacola. Others relate to the Florida Indians. For example, there is an Indian shell mound in New Smyrna Beach and a Creek

Indian house plan of the 1770s. The recent reconstructions of an Apalachee chief's house, the council house circa 1656, and the mission church at San Luis are also portrayed. Since a casual reader will enjoy more the illustrations than the scholarly text, Gordon's selections are especially praiseworthy.

Among those expert in colonial Florida history, the foreward, preface, and well-done introduction will be very well received. She reminds us that "buildings are cultural history books." While much has disappeared, some remains have been recovered and others have been restored, giving us a visual impression of the state's colorful and ethnically diverse past. The oldest structures were pre-European native buildings, then the Spanish missions and the early Spanish structures of what the author calls the age of wood, which basically ended with the destructive English siege of St. Augustine in 1702. Following were more permanent buildings using "the power of stone," with such materials as coquina and tabby. "The St. Augustine style was drafted at the site" as "a unique regional style of architecture." While Pensocola's architectural heritage does not date as far back into Florida's history, we are told that "all that exist today of the British buildings are subterranean brick foundations and a well, and beautifully drawn floor plans . . . in the National Archives of Great Britain and the Library of Congress." Many of these plans are reproduced for the reader.

Gordon also provides some new insights on haciendas and plantations, particularly the Kingsley Plantation. A relevant map shows the location of the twenty-five haciendas and plantations covered, among which are the Hacienda La Chua of the seventeenth century, the New Smyrna Plantation, and the New Smyrna Sugar Mills Ruins. There are interesting illustrations, including two portraits of Beauclerk's Bluff Plantation on the St. Johns River in the late eighteenth century where there was indigo production. The great majority of the haciendas and plantations originated in the English period, and all are located in the northeast corner of the Florida peninsula, a few west of the St. Johns River but most along the Atlantic coast.

The Kingsley Plantation, a large property in the Jacksonville area on Fort George Island, originated in the late eighteenth century. With ten excellent illustrations, the chapter on Kingsley is fascinating, based on primary and little known secondary sources. Zephaniah Kingsley had Quaker roots but "owned slave ships and bought and sold slaves." His wife, Anna Jai, was a strong-minded woman born in Senegal and taken as a slave to Cuba where

Kingsley bought her. She was described as "black as jet but very handsome." Mrs. Kingsley herself later owned slaves who were treated benevolently for those times. Today much is restored, part of the National Park Service and open to the public.

There are two most useful appendices. One is a glossary of over one hundred terms used by colonial builders; for example *tabia*, *tappi*, *tabby*, *companario*, *atrio*, and *bousillage*. The other one is a welcome "English Pound Sterling Equivalents" for the English period. "Respectable wood frame houses on Florida's plantations could be erected for pounds sterling 100 or less." But a "theater ticket at St. Augustine's statehouse theater were 5 shillings for the pit and 4 shillings for the gallery." Unfortunately, no such equivalence is given for the Spanish periods.

In her introduction, Gordon confesses that she was motivated to do this study when "an eminent educator from New England," being shown some of the Spanish architecture of St. Augustine, stated that "this early architectural history did not count, because it was Spanish!" Gordon demonstrates that it indeed does count, adding that "we are what we build." She ends with what the celebrated Majorie Stoneman Douglas related about the house she built in 1926 and in which she lived (never with air conditioning; I as a friend of Majorie can attest to this), "the house was a great influence on my life."

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Sealed With Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America. By Sarah J. Purcell. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002. 304 pp. Introduction, afterword, notes, index, acknowledgments. \$35.00 cloth.)

America's memory of the Revolutionary War shaped and in many ways created a national identity. Many who died in the struggle for independence became part of an emerging national mythology. Dr. Joseph Warren, a physician and president of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, was one of the first to suffer a sudden and bloody death at the Battle of Bunker Hill. Local newspapers quickly declared him a martyr for the cause of liberty. His heroic image was celebrated by journalists, politicians, and public speakers alike.

Warren and others like him became local and often national symbols that inspired Americans in the face of ubiquitous battle-field defeats. The promise of heroic remembrance transformed the anxiety of war into a patriotic crusade. Funeral orations and commemoration ceremonies elevated the dead and wounded into immortal heroes. Nationalism was fired as liberty became a higher goal than safety. Creation and perpetuation of these military memories united and galvanized Americans in their long and arduous grasp for liberty and nationality.

Sealed with Blood reveals how an American identity was forged by ritualizing the public memory of momentous war heroes and events. Elevating locals like Joseph Warren, Richard Montgomery, George Washington, Nathaniel Greene, and Ethan Allen to saintly status served as a source of national inspiration that resonates in the American spirit even today. These commemorations not only united Americans but during the early days of the war legitimized the cause.

As Purcell explains, every colony had its local heroes and battlefield commemoration ceremonies. The people of Charleston, South Carolina, celebrated Palmetto Day to commemorate the city's valiant victory over the British onslaught of Sullivan's Island in 1776. Massachusetts commemorated heroes at Lexington. New York had its Evacuation Day, and the nation as a whole celebrated Independence Day. However, at times, these events became tools to promote political agendas. Purcell describes how, in the early 1800s, antebellum southern society turned Palmetto Day into a celebration of southern nationalism and the defense of slavery.

Despite existing class distinctions, all people laid claim to and often participated in the emerging national myth. Military commemoration events were attended by men, women, and children of every economic type and of mixed ethnicity. As these people grasped their rightful share of post-war public memories, a sense of equality grew. Widowed women, orphaned children, and later, descendents of war veterans experienced an enhanced societal stature by association with heroic memories. Over time this would have a democratizing effect on the citizens of the new United States.

About five thousand African Americans, many in bondage, fought for their freedom on the side of the Continental Army. Freedom was granted only to a few at the war's conclusion. Even though emancipation did not come, most slaves shared the common memory of a war for liberty. However, liberty had a deeper, more personal meaning, and as the nation faced the paradox of a

democracy that tolerated slavery, African American abolitionist Henry Highland Garnet used Revolutionary War memories against pro-slavery southerners, claiming owners of slaves had no right to claim the revolutionary heritage of liberty.

Commemoration of the Revolutionary War was not only used to affect racial and class situations but to promote political agendas. Political factionalism threatened unity in the early days of the new nation. As the two-party system emerged, both Federalists and Democratic-Republicans claimed a piece of the wartime glory. Each party interpreted and celebrated past events in ways that best suited its political goals. History was, at times, revised to defend the virtue of specific issues. What began as patriotic memory became an instrument for acquiring social, political, and economic distinction and success.

Purcell's description of the Marquis de Lafayette's return to the United States in 1824 is interesting. She demonstrates that even after forty years, public military memory still resonated with Americans. Wherever Lafayette traveled, throngs of people gathered to see and hear him speak. Parades marched down the main streets of America, monuments were erected, people clamored to view the wartime hero during commemoration ceremonies, picnics, and dinner parties held in his honor. For those who could not participate, souvenirs were constructed and sold. Americans rich and poor wanted to share in the increasingly mythical memory of a heroic past.

Purcell's book is organized chronologically, and her thesis is set against significant national events, effectively contributing to the body of research on military memory as a significant force in the shaping of the American national identity.

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Spain and the Independence of the United States: An Intrinsic Gift. By Thomas E. Chavez. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002. xii, 330 pp. Preface, introduction, conclusions and epilogue, appendices, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

This is a useful book which stresses the significance of Spain's role in the American Revolution, and the consequential worldwide struggle for revenge and ascendancy. Thomas E. Chavez provides

a good review of well-known aspects of the Spanish contribution to the American struggle for independence and details other less known diplomatic and military action (primarily outside the limits of the present-day United States) which were of great assistance to the American cause.

Chavez begins his study with the assumption that Spain's role in helping Americans gain their independence is "not well known in the United States." This is simply not correct. To historians of the period, Spain's contributions are understood; and to the extent that Americans are aware of anything other than the most superficial story of the American Revolution, the role of the Spanish is also known. Yet, Chavez has expanded our knowledge. His most important contribution is his use of previously unmined Spanish archival sources. These sources enlarge the story of Spanish contributions to West Florida, Louisiana, and the Illinois country. Still, scholars will find little new information. Curiously, East Florida receives very little attention.

Perhaps the most significant portions of the book are those dealing with Spanish activity in Guatemala, Venezuela, the West Indies, Brazil, Nicaragua, and Europe. Spanish attention in these areas, Chavez correctly suggests, directed British attention significantly away from the rebelling colonies, providing important assistance to the American cause.

Ironically, while the use of Spanish archival sources is one of the strengths of the book, it exposes one of the weaknesses. Chavez acknowledges the extent to which scholars have researched the British, French, and American sides of the story, and the contributions that scholars such as Jack D.L. Holmes, Gilbert Din, Light Cummings, Eric Beerman, and many others have made to our understanding of the Spanish contribution to the American Revolution. In light of these acknowledgments, Chavez suggests "a more balanced understanding" of the American War for Independence is possible. But Chavez himself had the opportunity to use the additional archival material to write that work.

More problematic are some of Chavez's claims: "United States independence, as we know it today, probably would not have happened without Spain"; "The overall Spanish strategy is what finally resulted in the defeat of Great Britain." While the author does his best to present the Spanish contribution as the key factor in American success, the result is unconvincing. That Spain's involvement was important, perhaps even critical, is unquestionable. But

in his attempt to argue significance, Chavez went beyond what the evidence provides.

The press did not do a very commendable job either. The lack of a sufficient number of detailed maps makes the action quite difficult to follow, especially in discussions of Central and South America. Good maps would have been far more useful than the plates (although the latter can be appreciated). Consequently, *Spain and the Independence of the United States* is a useful book detailing some of Spain's contribution to American independence, but scholars and enthusiasts will find little that is new.

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William Henry Drayton: South Carolina Revolutionary Patriot. By Keith Krawczynski. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001. 358 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, abbreviations, bibliography, index, map. \$49.95 cloth.)

William Henry Drayton (1742-1779) remains a relatively neglected leader of the American Revolution in South Carolina. This new biography by Keith Krawczynski seeks to rescue him "from the ash heap of history" by providing "a fuller, more detailed examination of Drayton's youth, education, family relations, character, political philosophy and revolutionary activities in South Carolina and abroad." The book also offers a more nuanced explanation of Drayton's remarkable conversion to the Patriot cause as well as the unbending commitment with which he ultimately embraced it.

Drayton was the eldest son of John Drayton, a member of South Carolina's creole elite and, according to Krawczynski, a domineering, disaffectionate patriarch who "invested only money in his sons." After receiving an education at Westminster School, London, and then at Balliol College, Oxford, the younger Drayton returned to the province, married, and in 1765, embarked upon a political career in the Commons House of Assembly, motivated largely by "a desire to please his father and attain the position of authority demanded of him." He utterly failed. Drayton lost his assembly seat in 1768, squandered much of his fortune through gambling and financial mismanagement, and grew increasingly estranged from John, who partially disinherited him.

Partly to "regain the respect and affection of his father" and "resurrect his public image," Drayton stood against South Carolina's nonimportation association, engaging in a well-known polemical controversy in the pages of the *South Carolina Gazette*. All but ostracized from the colony due to his unpopular, proto-loyalist position, he sailed to England seeking preferment, securing an appointment to the provincial council. However, Drayton's emotional desire "to be noticed by both the king and his father" went largely unfulfilled, resulting in a deepening "internal psychic anxiety." He was passed over for crown appointments, failed to win his father's approval, and grew angry with the behavior of royal place-men. When Parliament passed the Coercive Acts, Drayton decided to join the revolutionary cause, not simply to defend American liberty against imperial encroachments but also to assuage his psychosis. It gave him "something he failed to secure from either the Crown or his father," Krawczynski claims.

In the months following his cathartic conversion, Drayton emerged as one of the most important Patriots in South Carolina, apparently finding the approval he yearned for so desperately. In 1774, he penned a letter to the Continental Congress advancing a dominion theory of the British Empire. Later in the same year, he issued a series of grand jury charges which fomented resistance and won him considerable popular support. He was elected to the first provincial congress and chaired several revolutionary governing committees, helping to prepare the colony for war and winning over many to the American cause. His efforts to suppress loyalism in the backcountry were critical. So, too, was Drayton's support for colonial independence. Elected president of the second provincial congress, he "became the first leading figure in South Carolina to openly call for independence."

During the next three and a half years, Drayton served the state in a variety of capacities, as privy councilor, assemblyman, chief justice, and delegate to the Continental Congress. He co-authored South Carolina's 1778 constitution, which helped to ensure the control of lowcountry elites, and like many of his Carolina counterparts he remained socially and politically conservative. His numerous proposals for revising the Articles of Confederation established him "as South Carolina's foremost authority on the national charter" and reveal much about his emerging political philosophy, particularly his desire to insulate the state's aristocracy from challenges to its authority.

This desire probably motivated Drayton more than anything else, both before and after his conversion to the Patriot cause; and Krawczynski repeatedly references its significance, intimating that it was the central reason Drayton joined the revolutionary movement and why South Carolina ultimately decided to join the other mainland colonies in revolt. He also suggests that it guided Drayton's thinking and behavior during the last years of his life, when he "helped shape the purpose of the local rebellion." Yet, this theme gets lost in the author's use of Freudian psychology to analyze Drayton's personality. Rather than seeing Drayton as a man of deep conviction who was motivated by a desire to preserve South Carolina's peculiar version of ordered liberty, one is left with the impression that his ideas as well as his actions were directly related to his youthful striving for identity against his patriarchal father, revealing Drayton as a shallow, emotionally troubled individual who did what he did for purely personal, selfish reasons. This picture hardly serves to resurrect Drayton's image as a leader of the Revolution in South Carolina.

Still, this is a thought-provoking book. It is by far the most comprehensive and detailed biography of William Henry Drayton in print and generally serves to effect Krawczynski's stated objectives, adding significantly to the historiography of the American Revolution. Drayton played a key role in what is arguably the single most important event in South Carolina's history. Now we finally have a study of his life that is in many ways commensurate with his contribution.

Thomas J. Little

Emory & Henry College

Creating an Old South: Middle Florida's Plantation Frontier before the Civil War. By Edward E. Baptist. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. xiv, 392 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$59.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

Among the several "Black Belts" of the Old South perhaps the most understudied is the Middle Florida "Cotton Kingdom." Indeed, among the many monographs to appear in the last forty years that have attempted comprehensive coverage of various Old South themes, Florida is often ignored. Fortunately, this neglect

seems to be on the wane with recent studies by Larry Rivers, William W. Rogers, and most recently, Edward Baptist whose investigation of Leon and Jackson Counties adds substantially to our understanding of this region and to the Old South's dynamics of expansion. Until now, the most comprehensive study of the growth and development of the Middle Florida plantation belt was Clifton Paisley's neglected yet fine study, *The Red Hills of Florida, 1528-1865* (1989). While Paisley's book focused primarily on the agricultural productions in Middle Florida's five counties (Madison, Jefferson, Leon, Gadsden, and Jackson), Baptist's book is a far different kind of history, closely mirroring works by Joan Cashin, Stephanie McCurry, and Christopher Morris that use the dynamics of class, gender, family relationships, and migration patterns to understand what made society tick. But if Baptist subjects his historical actors and their actions to current scholarship of manhood, masculinity, honor, power, and mastery, he also weaves finely crafted stories of Middle Florida's well-known and lesser known migrants into his narrative.

Baptist begins his story not in Florida but in the worn out, unproductive lands of North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland. He paints a picture of an economy and a society in decay. With fortunes declining, proud families with famous names like Eppes, Gamble, Branch, Randolph, and Randall looked south and west for virgin fields that might restore and extend wealth and patrimony. Both in the decision to migrate and in the migration itself, family relationships were at the heart of the move. Those who migrated often borrowed money from wealthier kinfolk to buy lands. They might rely on other kin already there to select the best lands, clear fields, or even use political influence in the purchase of choice tracts.

If planters' decisions to migrate to Florida were disruptive to white families, they were catastrophic to slaves, who, similar to whites, also had extended kin networks. But of course the law did not recognize these relationships, and thus slaves were at the mercy of their owners' decisions to migrate. Planters tended to bring young male slaves to Florida, leaving behind older males and females. Thus Baptist contends that "Planters' removals from the old states disrupted African-American ties of kinship and community there, but slaveowners also undermined the possibilities of rebuilding kinship and community among those that they moved." Baptist uses Freedman's Bureau Bank records, WPA slave narra-

tives, and deed records to reconstruct the lives of African Americans wrested from their homes and families in the older states and brought to the Middle Florida plantation district.

While he fully admits that class distinctions among whites are fuzzy, Baptist nevertheless plows forward with much energy to shed light on these differences (and conflicts). He divides white society into two antagonistic groups: planters—those who owned twenty or more slaves—and countrymen—those who owned ten or less slaves. According to Baptist, conflict rather than consensus, marked the relationship among these groups. For Baptist, the conflict (often physical) for wealth, power, and “mastery” between elite planters and “countrymen” was the basis of most economic, social, and political interaction among whites. While factions of elite planters struggled to secure all the wealth and benefits of this new country for themselves, those on the outside (“countrymen” and of course slaves) did not sit idly by but struck back to assert their “manhood” against these usurpers in various ways.

The key to the quick riches that awaited migrants was control of Middle Florida’s fertile cotton lands. Richard Call and his associate George W. Ward used their influence and connections to powerful patrons outside the territory to have themselves appointed to posts from which they could control the federal land office. The enemy of Call, Ward, and other members of the “Nucleus” was a faction led by Joseph M. White, who served as territorial delegate for more than a decade during the time that Call and Ward enjoyed the patronage of Washington. As an adherent of preemption rights for settlers, White was the countrymen’s champion. Struggles for “mastery” between the Call and White factions played out in the newspapers, polling places, the streets, and the dueling ground. “The feud between Call and White,” Baptist writes, “shows some of the constituent elements of politics in the early years of Middle Florida. Elite factions composed of ‘hot-blooded fellows’ fought over the rewards of land speculation and office. Ties of personality and kinship brought them capital and political appointments The most basic beliefs held by many planter men,” he continues, “as well as the dynamics of the frontier’s mad scramble for resources, meant that Call and his peers simply did not value the idea of equality among white men. They always had to have the last word, to trump everyone else’s card, to finish one up in every symbolic exchange. They carried out a never-ending battle to show that they dominated all people around them as they dominated their legions of slaves.”

For Baptist, the operations of the Union Bank of Florida (which Baptist portrays as a kind of early nineteenth-century version of crony capitalism) was yet another example of the efforts of well-connected elite planters to expropriate the benefits of the new territory for themselves alone. "The Union Bank epitomized Middle Florida's factional, family-based political system. A clique of planters seized control of the reins of power and used their position to distribute the rewards of office and credit, rightfully possessed by all white men, to their kinsmen and allies." But when the bubble burst in the early 1840s, the "countrymen" would make their play for political power. Even before the fall of the "ragocracy," "Countrymen turned against them trickery, defiance, and other tactics, asserting their own manhood." As struggles over the politics of the Union Bank and the conduct of the Second Seminole War played themselves out among elite Middle Florida planters and countrymen, the struggle for mastery and manhood reached new heights. The economic and political conflicts also buffeted the lives and material conditions of African Americans, and Baptist tells their story through an imaginative reading of primary sources.

While many will quarrel with Baptist's conclusions, few will be able to question his research. No other scholar of antebellum Florida has done more archival research in and out of Florida. Baptist's mining of archives in North Carolina and Virginia and holdings in Florida is extremely impressive, as is his imaginative and creative use of those sources. While certainly controversial, this book is an impressive achievement.

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The Legal Ideology of Removal: The Southern Judiciary and the Sovereignty of Native American Nations. By Tim Alan Garrison. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002. xiii, 331 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Tim Alan Garrison has carefully researched the relatively unexploited and fertile ground of the legal ideology of the southern antebellum state judiciary and its impact on Indian nations and American law. In doing so, he reveals important influences of

that judiciary in the development of American Indian law and maintains that concentration on U.S. Supreme Court decisions has likely "seriously distorted our understanding of the manner in which law developed in the United States." He asserts, "the law is often not what the U.S. Supreme Court declares it to be, but what the American public accepts or institutional power deems to enforce."

Garrison deftly discusses the origins and legacy of the legal ideology in three state court cases involving the extension of state jurisdiction over Indian nations. The decisions in these cases—*Georgia v. Tassels* (1830), *Caldwell v. Alabama* (1831), and *Tennessee v. Forman* (1835)—had disastrous consequences for the tribes in their resistance to removal. The ideology and legal precedents used by southern state justices to undermine tribal sovereignty and treaty rights during the removal crisis came from the writings of European scholars as well as from U.S. Supreme Court justices, including Chief Justice John Marshall.

Prior to his ruling in *Worcester v. Georgia* in 1832, asserts Garrison, Marshall was "coy and reserved" on the rights of Indians and failed to establish a legal firewall against raging southern demands for the extinguishments of Indian title. Marshall's earlier decisions, especially his ruling in *Johnson v. McIntosh* (1823), aimed at "delicately protecting the authority of the Court" and avoiding "constructing a permanent obstacle to American expansion into the West." By not issuing an official enunciation of federal supremacy over Indian affairs, his legal arguments "unwittingly invited southern politicians and judges to challenge Congress's authority and allowed a states' rights boil to fester into what eventually became the crisis of the Indian Removal."

Georgia and Alabama justices "joined the rout against Indian rights and interests" in 1830 and 1831, respectively, by upholding state laws abolishing tribal governments. These victories for states' rights removal ideology were led by men who consciously relegated the Indians to second-class subjects: men who "envisioned a South ethnically cleansed of Indians, engined by African-American labor, and ruled by whites."

In 1832, Marshall, whose views had been evolving, attempted to "clear his conscience of his earlier opinions . . . and place the Court in a position of high moral authority." The Chief Justice's newfound "judicial courage and clarity" regarding Indian sovereignty in *Worcester*, however, constituted "a revolution with few

adherents." Southern governors, legislators, justices, and laymen already had created an environment conducive to removal and had employed legal and intellectual arguments from the chief justice's earlier decisions, and, like President Andrew Jackson, understood that Marshall's *Worcester* decision was stillborn. When in 1835 the supreme court of Tennessee blatantly refused to follow the precedent set down by Marshall in 1832 (and courageously upheld by state judge Jacob Peck in his minority opinion), it reaffirmed with "fumbling logic and internal inconsistencies" that the law pertaining to tribal sovereignty in the South was simply what Southern courts declared it to be.

Until 1959, when the U.S. Supreme Court revitalized its *Worcester* precedent in *Williams v. Lee*, concludes Garrison, "American Indian law was as much influenced by the thought represented by the southern state removal cases as it was by *Worcester*" and Marshall's ruling "no more protects the tribes . . . today than it did in the 1830s." In the 1950s and 1960s, for example, Public Law 280 enabled a number of states, including Florida, to extend its jurisdiction over the Indian country in the state. As long as judges have the luxury of choosing precedents that suit their ideological or political agendas, warns Garrison, Indian nations "are by no means secure from the ghosts of *Tassels*, *Caldwell*, and *Forman*."

This is a well-crafted study of a fascinating topic that has generally escaped historical scrutiny. It will be of great interest to historians and legal scholars who focus on the American South, Native American history, and constitutional issues.

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Listening to Nineteenth-Century America. By Mark M. Smith. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001. x, 372 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

Listening to Nineteenth Century America is nothing if not ambitious. Mark M. Smith (in what he assures us is only a partial listing) wants to analyze and refine our understandings of "the coming of the Civil War, antebellum class formation, slavery, freedom, modernization, the war itself, and Reconstruction." What enables Smith to make sense of such a vast expanse of American

history is an approach that he believes to be revolutionary. Smith "listens to" antebellum America in order to understand how elites "heard" their worlds, how non-elites contested those perceptions, "and how soundscapes were heard along increasingly sectional lines."

The first two sections of the book describe the sounds associated with the rapidly changing social order and the relentless attempts of elites, North and South, to impose aural discipline upon their respective and fractious subordinates—slaves, Indians, poor whites, immigrants, and working classes. Here, Smith's debt to Marxist theory is especially apparent. Unfortunately, so too is it obvious that he does not wield concepts of class conflict with any dexterity; Smith's is an antebellum America in which planters and merchant princes alike (whose interests and values are constantly and necessarily opposed to those of the lesser ranks) successfully manipulate the "core values and social and economic relations" of their respective sections.

A shaky argument becomes far shakier in Part III—"Aural Sectionalism." Here, Smith tries to convince the reader that the ways in which the North and South "heard" one another were a key component in the coming of the Civil War. Northerners "heard" screaming slaves and did not hear the hum of industry; Southerners "heard" the noise of soulless industrialism and the rumble of propertyless mobs. Thus, "elites north and south constructed one another aurally."

The last sections of the book are concerned with "listening to" the Civil War and Reconstruction. Here Smith argues that the Civil War radically reordered soundscapes on both battlefields and homefronts. In the South, moreover, such new noises "enervated white southerners" and thus contributed to their defeat. During Reconstruction, the Southern elites briefly lost control of their soundscapes, but eventually regained control after the North lost the will to continue the experiment of remaking the South.

So, does "listening" to the past lead to path-breaking insights into sectionalism, the Civil War, and its aftermath, or is it a dead-end exercise in academic navel-gazing? Certainly such meaningless statements as "most nineteenth century Americans experienced their worlds through their senses" suggest the latter.

At points, the approach seems to be little more than a rhetorical device: "coveting social order and quietude, Whigs tended to respect the throb of industrial capitalism, and they were not

unknown to accuse Democrats of courting the noisy mob. Whigs wanted to hear the gentle pulse of economic progress, not the cacophony of democracy." But Smith, of course, claims far more and, indeed, is adamant that his is a revolutionary approach with the potential to free "deaf" and "parochial" historians from their "fetish with the ocular." Such benighted scholars who fail to appreciate the wonders of "acoustemologies" and insist upon studying "the past through the eyes rather than the ears of historical actors" are heuristically bankrupt, frozen within the "grip of ocularity."

Irritating terminology aside, there are a number of things wrong with this argument. First, though few have concentrated solely on "aurality," good historians have always related the physical reality of the past—the din of early modern cities, the silences of nineteenth-century prisons, the songs and screams of southern slaves. And what military history is complete without a description of the moans of the wounded and dying in the aftermath of a battle? Second, the aural/visual dichotomy that Smith imposes on historical scholarship is just wrong-headed. Who limits their sources to evidence solely "visual" (in Smith's narrow sense of the word)? Certainly large numbers of intellectual and cultural historians will bristle at the allegation that they ignore all but the visual.

In more sober moments, Smith suggests that the practice of "acoustemology" complements traditional methods of studying history. "Understanding aural sectionalism *helps to explain* how and why tensions and passions ran so high" (emphasis added). Later, warming to his subject, Smith argues that these "soundscapes" were "critical"—a "powerful influence"—on events in mid-nineteenth century. By the end of the book, Smith has graduated to rhapsodic self-congratulation: "Writing about heard worlds of the past is not unlike groping for illumination in a dark room and finding all the light switches at once." Rather than brilliantly illuminating vast stretches of American history, however, Smith's approach leads straight to stunningly absurd interpretations. For example, Smith argues that "by shaping the heard world of the plantation, slaves protected themselves. Screams when one was whipped or about to be sold, for example, reminded masters of slaves' humanity and so played on calloused ears to save delicate flesh." To assert that slaves protected themselves by screaming when whipped is nothing short of perverse.

As if the terminology and methodology were not distracting enough, Smith's prose will divert even the most determined reader. Speaking of the slaveholders' desire for improved access to markets, Smith writes that "Railroads chuffed happily in their ears." Abolitionist Angelina Grimke was given to "tease at her listeners' guts and hearts." Slaveholders "were not foolish enough to howl at the moon." Confederates on the homefront believed "they could hear delicious bites of victory."

The problem, stated most simply, is this: Smith attempts to elevate perception above that which was perceived. Focusing on one medium through which the nation's crisis was experienced leaves unanswered far more significant questions as to what realities underlay these sounds—whether as actually heard or, as was much more commonly the case, imagined. At points, Smith seems to glimpse the problem, as when he writes "Federalists realized that Confederate sounds by themselves posed little threat unless there was substance behind them." Precisely.

The book could certainly be commended for its attempt to stretch our boundaries of how to approach the past and what constitutes evidence of that past. A more temperate study of this type might lead to some insights. But *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America*, though full of sound (and, when Smith attacks the supposed shortcomings of most historians, not a little fury), does not signify much of anything. Smith no doubt would dismiss these criticisms as the narrow-minded objections of an ocularcentric reactionary. But any way you look at it, this book is far too clever for its own good.

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Reconstruction in the Cane Fields: From Slavery to Free Labor in Louisiana's Sugar Parishes, 1862-1880. By John C. Rodrigue. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001. xvi, 224 pp. Acknowledgments, abbreviations, introduction, appendix, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

In *Reconstruction in the Cane Fields*, John C. Rodrigue challenges the widely accepted view of post-Civil War labor relations that focuses on the victimization of newly freed slaves to argue that "the particular demands of sugar production accorded freed-

men considerable leverage" in negotiating a new labor system. Such a bold thesis requires a reassessment of planter omnipotence in the politics and economy of the postwar South as well as a recognition of the limitations on freedmen's actions: Rodrigue negotiates the tricky terrain with considerable aplomb and persuasiveness.

By his own admission, Rodrigue takes on a number of southern history shibboleths. To support his claims for a reassessment of Reconstruction, he engaged in extensive research in the Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections and an equally exhaustive mining of state and federal documents. Grounding his study in the localized world of Louisiana sugar production, Rodrigue convincingly portrays the complexity of the Reconstruction South as being most visible in the often contentious negotiations between planters and their former slaves.

As Rodrigue points out, sugar production differed substantially from that of cotton or tobacco, and therefore both the limitations and the possibilities for freedmen deserve closer inspection. More industrialized and economically riskier than other southern staple crops, there was little margin for error in the growing and processing of cane. Freedmen recognized the exigencies of sugar production, accepted the necessity of centralized plantation control, and quickly "mastered the rudimentary workings of the free labor market" to their own advantage.

Like freedmen elsewhere, Louisiana sugar workers initially anticipated the acquisition of small plots of land confiscated from defeated ex-Confederate planters. When the futility of that hope became apparent, sugar workers, unlike other former slaves, adopted the strategies of industrial wage laborers to protect their interests. Returning to the old plantation living quarters, they acted collectively to obtain the benefits of the new economy—cash wages, regularly paid throughout the year—while simultaneously demanding continuation of benefits and privileges instituted during slavery. By timing their demands to increase the pressure on planters at the most vulnerable times of cane planting and processing, the freedmen forced compliance with their demands.

Rodrigue suggests that the strategy proved successful only as long as Reconstruction politics marginalized planter political power. Republican officeholders needed African American votes and withheld the militia support during labor disputes that would

have tipped the balance in favor of the planters. However, the waning days of Reconstruction pointed toward a different future for black sugar workers. In 1874, Republican governor William Pitt Kellogg reluctantly dispatched troops to Terrebonne Parish after sugar workers threatened those who refused to honor a strike against wage reductions. The confrontation ended without violence but suggested the future: planters had previously resorted to extralegal measures to maintain control, while freedmen called upon the state for protection. Now, freedmen recognized that protection was not absolute: protection of property weighed as heavily as protection of men. Simultaneous with their 1874 "victory," planters stepped up paramilitary tactics to intimidate black voters and remove Republican officeholders. Although some planters condemned the White League's methods, the African American community felt the increasing pressure to return politics to white southern leadership. Thus, although the end of Reconstruction in 1877 did not end freedman political activity, the redemption of Louisiana decisively altered the political climate as the coercive power of the state shifted into the hands of white planters.

The power of the Bourbon-dominated government was made evident in the strikes that erupted in the cane fields in 1880 and more fully in 1887. In the first instance, the Democratic governor's quick dispatch of the militia prevented violence but contrasted with earlier reluctance to support planters. Seven years later, the so-called Thibodaux Massacre resulted from the new circumstances generated by both blacks and whites in a three-week strike that produced unprecedented violence. Cane workers engaged in new labor strategies: they had been organized by the Knights of Labor, made new demands with regard to wage rates and payment methods, and for the first time in their struggles with planters, interrupted the rolling season. In response, planters, with a renewed voice in state government, responded as "southern white men asserting authority over black people [and] as men of property in Gilded Age America confronting labor militancy."

One of the strengths of Rodrigue's analysis lies in his close attention to the subtle shifts in the planter-labor relationship over time. Advantage for the planter or the freedman was never absolute and had to be renegotiated repeatedly. Ultimately, planters could not re-enslave their former bondsmen, and freed-

men could not control their former masters. Using the strikes of 1874, 1880, and 1887, Rodrigue demonstrates the social and political consequences of Redemption and the Gilded Age political economy. He has written a thoughtful and thought-provoking analysis that will certainly open new questions about Reconstruction and the planter-freedman relationship.

Connie L. Lester

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Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory. By David W. Blight. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001. 512 pp. Prologue, epilogue, notes, acknowledgments, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

In this important work, historian David Blight examines the ways in which Americans remembered the Civil War in the decades following the conflict's close. Above all, the author admits, "[I] have kept my eye on race as the central problem in how Americans made choices to remember and forget their Civil War." By examining issues such as Reconstruction politics, veterans' reunions and reminiscences, the origins of Memorial Day, monument building, and the development of southern Lost Cause mythology, Blight contends that Civil War memory evolved into three competing visions of reconciliation, white supremacy, and emancipation. By the early twentieth century, he argues, many reconciliationists had merged their vision of the conflict with that of white supremacists to present a view of the war that was decidedly segregated and pro-Southern and that promoted national unity over racial concerns.

Competing memories of the war began even before the conflict's close, which Blight makes evident from the wartime speeches of Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass, and the wartime writing of Walt Whitman. During Reconstruction, Horace Greeley promoted an early form of national reconciliation based on providing political rights for freedmen, amnesty for Southerners, and an effort to simply forget the unpleasant aspects of the past conflict. Though premature, Greeley's efforts foreshadowed later efforts towards reunion that might "bypass the heart of the Civil War's meaning."

Post-war efforts to memorialize cemeteries, erect monuments, and establish veterans' organizations initially divided along the

lines of these competing visions, but by the late 1800s a white "Blue-Gray reconciliation" had begun to force emancipationists to fight "endless rear-guard actions" in an effort to remind Americans of blacks' participation in the war. In addition, the ending of Reconstruction in 1877 brought Southern Redeemers and Northern Republicans into "an odd sort of political coalition, [and] a strange but effective memory community devoted to the ends of national reconciliation and good business."

Eventually, in an effort to reunite white America, the racial aspects of the Civil War, including the Emancipation Proclamation and the participation of nearly 200,000 black Union soldiers, were deliberately downplayed or even ignored. Consequently, the reconciliationist vision ultimately "overwhelmed the emancipationist vision in the national culture." The fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg in 1913, according to Blight, "represented a public avowal of the deeply laid mythology of the Civil War that had captured the popular imagination by the early twentieth century. The war was remembered primarily as a tragedy that forged greater unity, as a soldier's call to sacrifice in order to save a troubled, but essentially good, Union, not as a crisis of a nation in 1913 still deeply divided over slavery, race, competing definitions of labor, liberty, political economy, and the future of the West."

By the time of the outbreak of World War I in Europe, the majority of white Americans, both North and South, had settled on a common memory of the Civil War that emphasized national unity over race. "Reconciliation [had] joined arms with white supremacy in Civil War memory at the semicentennial in an unsteady triumph," Blight argues convincingly, and "had left the country with a kind of southern victory in the long struggle over Civil War memory." Popular films such as *Birth of a Nation* and, later, *Gone With the Wind* only reinforced these beliefs. While African Americans and white "neo-abolitionists" kept alive the emancipationist legacy of the war, they remained in a distinct minority by the early twentieth century. Only the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s-1960s would begin to alter this perception. Forcefully argued and elegantly written, *Race and Reunion* makes a major contribution to our understanding of the war and its aftermath, and particularly as to how the memory of the conflict evolved in the half century following its conclusion.

Close Harmony: A History of Southern Gospel. By James R. Goff Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. xiv, 394 pp. Preface, introduction, conclusion, notes, index. \$45.00 cloth, \$24.95 paper.)

Music is one of the most popular forms of southern cultural expression. Consequently, scholars have studied a variety of indigenous musical styles such as jazz, the blues, country, and rock. One form that has remained virtually ignored, however, is gospel. In *Close Harmony*, James Goff fills a significant void in the historical genre by examining the music of white evangelicals. The book has several ambitious goals, most of which Goff successfully fulfills. On a broad scale, the author maintains that southern Gospel "has both borrowed from and contributed to the larger musical culture of America in ways that few comprehend." Simultaneously, Goff traces the development of gospel from its nineteenth-century southern origins to its position as the soundtrack for modern American conservatives. The broad scope and time frame results in some analytical shortcomings, but the strengths of *Close Harmony* far outweigh its flaws.

The most practical aspect of the book is Goff's examination of the origins and evolution of gospel music. He links the importance of music to southern evangelicism from the 1801 Cane Ridge revivals through the rise of the shape note movement in the early 1900s. The shape note movement simplified musical learning, which proved particularly important in the rural South. Because more could read music, singing schools and songbook publishing houses proliferated in the region. All of these trends came together with the rise of gospel quartets. Popular white quartets, such as the Vaughan and Stamps Quartets, performed at singing conventions and local events with the primary objective of selling gospel songbooks for the publishers they represented. The development of radio and phonographs spread the popularity of gospel and proved extremely profitable for songbook companies. Over time, though, the quartets professionalized and needed no association with publishing houses for exposure. Although Goff laments the transformation of the quartets, he does a remarkable job of detailing their origins and importance within gospel's growth.

Another intriguing aspect of *Close Harmony* is Goff's examination of southern gospel's importance within the growing conserva-

tive movement of the post-1960s era. As the popularity of gospel increased after 1945, Goff argues that its evangelical mission deteriorated. In the 1980s, however, a rebirth of southern gospel occurred. The music promoted the traditional values that the conservative right espoused, but differed from other contemporary religious music in message and performance. Most importantly, southern gospel had become a national movement. It represented tradition, comfort, and spiritual escape, but not regional distinctiveness. Due to the numerous changes, Goff concludes that southern gospel is "an industry still in search of its own identity."

The transformation of gospel is a fascinating narrative, yet it illuminates the book's main problem. Goff reveals several important issues concerning southern gospel but provides little analysis concerning the conflicts mentioned. For example, what does the nationalization of southern gospel mean for its native region? Is this evidence of the "southernization of America" or proof that cultural distinction no longer characterizes the area? Goff also neglects comprehensive themes that might have enhanced the book's relevance, such as the importance of gospel within American culture. What does gospel contribute to the nation's musical heritage, and what features do other genres share with southern gospel? Another theme Goff might have addressed is the constant struggle between the sacred and secular in southern society. For example, does evangelism, financial matters, social standing, or all motivate the publishing houses and musicians discussed? Finally, the author offers little on the role of women within the movement. Goff references family quartets that included women and even mentions some all-female groups, yet provides little information on their existence. Where did they come from and why did they form? What did male singers think of their ministries? How did audiences receive them? It seems necessary to explain the presence of women in this male-dominated field, but Goff fails to do so.

Despite the interpretative gaps of *Close Harmony*, it is a valuable contribution to southern cultural scholarship, providing a near-encyclopedic account of several key gospel quartets that is accessible for both gospel fans and academics. In summary, Goff has produced an invaluable reference for those seeking a complete understanding of southern music.

The Architecture of Leisure: The Florida Resort Hotels of Henry Flagler and Henry Plant. By Susan R. Braden. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002. xxiii, 395 pp. List of illustrations, foreword, preface, introduction, notes, review of the literature, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

In the final decades of the nineteenth century, Henry M. Flagler and Henry B. Plant led the movement to modernize Florida as they pushed the boundary of settlement southward with their railroad lines and hotels. Their efforts produced the strange sight of great structures rising in Byzantine splendor from palmetto scrub. In Florida, the hardy frontier pioneer arrived in a Pullman Palace Car and settled, at least for the winter months, in fabulous hotels dedicated to luxurious living.

Susan R. Braden's *The Architecture of Leisure* explores how Flagler and Plant "brought urban Gilded Age cultural ideas to nineteenth-century Florida." The book is divided into two major parts: Part One is an interpretive analysis of hotel society; Part Two describes each of the Flagler and Plant hotels and traces its history.

It is Braden's thesis that the great winter resort hotels transplanted the leisure class society of the North—especially New York City—to Florida. The flamboyant architecture of Flagler's and Plant's earliest hotels catered to high society's escapist interest in the exotic. Flagler's "Spanish Renaissance" Hotel Ponce de Leon and Plant's "Islamic Revival" Tampa Bay Hotel provided the perfect sites for displays of conspicuous consumption and leisure by the new money set. Yet, the Flagler and Plant hotel systems, which helped define the concept of the "luxury resort," also epitomized modern values of uniformity and efficiency, just as did Standard Oil.

Braden presents brief portraits of Flagler, Plant, and the other individuals who populated the top levels of resort society, but she is also concerned with how the other half lived in the social order. She devotes some of her text to the lives of the armies of working men and women, white and black, who staffed the hotel systems. She also contrasts the local year-round residents with the winter visitors.

Another area of particular interest to Braden is the concept of "gendered spaces," such as "ladies' parlors," that separated women from men in the hotels. It is her contention that such divisions

quickly passed from the scene when away-from-home resort activities encouraged the sexes to mingle freely in a variety of diversions.

The second part of the book is a comprehensive examination of each and every one of the Flagler and Plant hotels. The primary focus is on the architecture and construction methods. Flagler's establishments receive more than twice the pages devoted to Plant's hotels, but this is a fair division since Flagler's chain of hotels was more extensive and more architecturally significant. Each of these hotels has previously received attention from specialized publications, but this is the first book to bring them all together with this depth of treatment. Braden even devotes attention to the 1920s vintage Breakers, Casa Marina, and Belleview hotels (and the 1990s Casa Monica) that carry the Flagler and Plant traditions down to the present.

This book has the virtues of good history. It is broad in analytical, interpretive, and cross-disciplinary visions. It is accurate and very well-researched, although most of the sources used are secondary. The author has found a great number of interesting photographs, many of which have not been commonly published before. The press also did its part well, presenting us with a very handsome volume containing crisp illustrations, including twenty-four pages of color. The book can be profitably read by scholars, local history enthusiasts, and the general public.

Thomas Graham

Flagler College

Jacksonville Greet the 20th Century: The Pictorial Legacy of Leah Mary Cox. By Ann Hyman and photo editor, Ron Masucci. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002. xix, 125 pp. Illustrations, foreword, acknowledgments, bibliography. \$29.95 cloth.)

A century ago, Leah Mary Cox was a seamstress and milliner in Jacksonville, as well as an amateur photographer. Beginning circa 1900, Cox spent the next twenty years carrying a large, unwieldy box camera and tripod around Jacksonville and vicinity, photographing scenes from everyday life. Eventually, she accumulated more than four thousand glass plate negatives that she carefully boxed and stored in the basement of her Jacksonville home until her death in 1953 at the age of eighty-six.

Leah Cox lived in anonymity, and she would have remained unknown and forgotten except for these glass negatives, which passed first into the possession of Ron Masucci and his wife Susan, who is Cox's grandniece, and recently to the Jacksonville Historical Society. Cox obviously had a gift for photography, and she left vivid portraits of life in early twentieth-century Jacksonville. Except for her photographs of the devastation following Jacksonville's 1901 fire and the subsequent rebuilding of the city—several of which appeared in a more dramatic, panoramic format in the Jacksonville Historical Society's recent *The Great Fire of 1901*—Cox's photographs are directed toward places, people, and the more ordinary aspects of life in northeast Florida. *Jacksonville Greets the 20th Century* includes intriguing photographs of picnickers at Ft. George Island, riverboats and steamers along the St. Johns River, horse-drawn carriages and automobiles covered with decorative flowers for the annual Gala Week parade, and tourist attractions like the Ostrich Farm and Dixieland Amusement Park.

While Cox left a rich "pictorial legacy," unfortunately not much of that legacy appears in this volume. Only sixty-one of her four thousand photographs are included, although sixty-one pages of narrative by Ann Hyman, a former newspaper writer and columnist for Jacksonville's *Florida Times-Union*, accompany them. Still, there is no story to tell. Cox left no journal or written records, and the recollections of those who knew her are from relatives who remember her as a stern, not-very-approachable old woman, not the energetic, vibrant young woman behind the camera.

Born in England, Cox was raised in Ohio and Nebraska before her family moved to Tallahassee in 1885. Three years later, at the age of twenty-one, she set off for Jacksonville in search of independence. But her father died later that year, leaving her, as the oldest of six children, to care for her invalid mother and five younger siblings. She devoted her next years to supporting her family, and not until her brothers and sisters had grown did she have time to pursue photography as a hobby. She never married, but spent her life working for unknown employers and lived for more than thirty years in a house that she and a younger sister (also a spinster) built. Hyman stretches those snippets of an obscure life into sixty-one pages through lengthy descriptions of events of the period and speculative musings about what Cox may have thought or done.

This reviewer would have preferred less narrative and the inclusion of more photographs, which one assumes was the point of the book. There is an excellent seven-page foreword written by James B. Crooks, a retired University of North Florida history professor. Crooks succinctly places Cox and her photographs into the context of turn-of-the-century Jacksonville. Perhaps this foreword was all the narrative needed.

David J. Ginzl

Jacksonville, Fla.

Mama Learned Us to Work: Farm Women in the New South. By Lu Ann Jones. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. xiv, 272 pp. Preface, foreword, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

Cotton and tobacco have long-dominated southern agricultural history, but important aspects of farm life have remained in the shadows. Lu Ann Jones has coaxed one important group onto center stage with *Mama Learned Us to Work*. Importantly, and thankfully, these women spring not from the pages of *Tobacco Road* but belong for the most part to the middling class of southern landowning families who were intent upon making life better for themselves, as well as for their children. These were intelligent, active, hard-working women who saw their families through good and bad times. And in the South, the hard economic times were long and hard indeed. As Jones points out, the farm economy might revolve around cash crops raised by men, but a family's well-being rested upon the shoulders of the farm wife's skill in the domestic sphere. Jones points out clearly that the domestic sphere must be broadly defined when studying these women. Ironically, the very women who were the focus of so much attention by rural reformers have only begun to take historical focus in studies such as this one. Through this study Jones broadens our understanding of the myriad internal forces that converged to bring the South into the modern world. Jones asserts convincingly that southern farm women played a crucial role in reshaping the economic landscape of the twentieth-century South.

The vast majority of women operated from within the confines of the home and farm, of course, but a significant number moved outside those bounds as home demonstration agents. On the

farm, women played a central economic role as producers of vegetables, eggs, chickens, and dairy products, the proceeds of which often made a substantial impact on a family's budget. Jones explores the impact of such economic activity, as well, on the farm family and the region. In terms of the former, money represented independence; in terms of the latter, women played an important role in linking the South into a larger market economy by both producing goods for regional and national markets, as well as by purchasing goods produced by American industry.

Ironies and tensions abound in the relationships Jones explores. Cotton feed sacks, for example, represented both "making do" and affluence. Women used feed sacks to make clothing by hand, but the fact that families purchased feed in sacks reflected a shift in how the southern farm economy was changing during the twentieth century. Home demonstration agents were professionals who taught women how to live better at home, when the agents themselves had chosen a path that diverged from that trod by the very women they sought to help. Jones also illuminates the role of the itinerant merchants who traded with farm women. While the country store has received a great deal of historical attention, Jones asserts that traveling merchants often operated outside the societal expectations of southern society by giving women and African Americans an option to barter, sell, and buy beyond the white male world of the crossroads store. Itinerants offered a glimpse into a larger, more exotic world far beyond the often dull and isolated cotton or tobacco farm. Women also played an important role in moving the region toward increased poultry production.

Jones's own labor to explore and document the lives of southern farm women has borne an excellent harvest. Much to her credit, Jones does not play favorites. It is clear that she has tremendous respect for all of the women, farm wives and professionals, whose lives she explores. Jones challenges historians to examine the region with more subtlety, and with an eye toward the less obvious currents in the historical stream. When they do, the result will be a more complete portrait of the South—one that does more than just acknowledge the importance of farm women but understands how and why they were important. *Mama Learned Us to Work* is an excellent model of how to proceed with this task.

Selling the Old-Time Religion: American Fundamentalists and Mass Culture, 1920–1940. By Douglas Carl Abrams. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001. xi, 168 pp. Preface, introduction, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

For those who find the vibrancy of fundamentalist religion in a modernist world mysterious, one of the most perplexing of these mysteries centers on how the proponents of old-timey values make effective use of new-fangled machinery. Worldwide, we see Muslim fundamentalists using the most sophisticated technology to spread their message, and here in the United States, Protestant fundamentalists have built religious and political empires upon their effective use of the airwaves. It seems paradoxical that many of these groups who have been so good at using technology are often at the forefront of condemning the cultures and societies in which those technologies thrive. Douglas Carl Adams sets out to unravel a portion of that conundrum by examining America's interwar period, a time in which fundamentalism crystallized.

Adams's short explanation is that fundamentalists "imitated mass culture, not to be like the world but to evangelize it." This emphasis on evangelism sits at the heart of the fundamentalists' approach to the world. They placed primary emphasis on the need to bring "fundamental" Truth to a sinful world, and believed they should employ the most effective means of conveying it. Hence, they turned to the mechanisms of mass culture: print, film, and most important, radio.

Striving to be in the world but not of the world occasioned unease among fundamentalists. Some were suspicious that the trappings of modern culture would bring corruption, while others believed that they could make use of the form while rejecting its content. The most vexing issues came down to the question of where to draw the line of acceptability, for as Adams rightly points out, fundamentalists did not perceive the world as naturally divided into secular and sacred. The issue brought forth arguments that would seem absurd to outsiders, such as the dispute between the presidents of Wheaton College and Bob Jones College as to whether football was worldlier than theater. (Wheaton supported a football team, while Bob Jones Sr. declared that "any young people attending [his] school would go to . . . plays or would go home.")

Adams elucidates his arguments in four readable chapters whose titles mirror the progression of his argument: "Embracing the Consumer Society," "Reflecting on the Consumer Society," "Encountering Popular Culture," and "Judging Popular Culture." Each chapter gives a rich array of information drawn from the papers and publications of major fundamentalist groups and their leaders. The bulk of the monograph presents their ambivalent responses to such issues as advertising, broadcasting, movies, dancing, and women's rights—all of which, Adams argues, traced back to a common spring in modern consumer culture. In the end, the author concludes that fundamentalists accepted and accommodated to many of the tenets of consumer culture that emphasized efficiency, productivity, and a businesslike focus on results. Consequently, they "lost sight of a purer spiritual vision" and neglected such traditional emphases as holiness and Christ's second advent in favor of "politics and the family."

Adams bases his conclusions on a wide and deep reading of the work and correspondence of many of the major figures in Protestant fundamentalism. Although the reader will not get a portrait of any individuals, one can see the ideological conflicts between some of the men—and they are primarily men—who shaped what to outsiders can seem to be a monolithic force. The resulting interpretation brings depth and nuance to a group that has been so vital in shaping the contours of social and political debate. The analysis is not distinctly regional, but scholars of Florida will be pleased to find that the state crops up repeatedly (among other gems that attract Adams's attention are the first attempt at a college that Bob Jones established in the panhandle and William Jennings Bryan's sermons to Miami tourists).

This is a book that will appeal more to students of religion than to other historians, but others should not dismiss it. It is a readable, thoughtful account of the interaction of two of the most powerful forces in recent American history—the church and the market. In this particular account, the reader learns how the church, or at least one form of it, ultimately bent to the market's will.

Nations Divided: America, Italy, and the Southern Question. By Don H. Doyle. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002. xvii, 130 pp. Foreword, preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 paper.)

In *Nations Divided*, Vanderbilt professor Don Doyle provides an overview of the historical influences of nationalism, regionalism, and separatism within a framework that compares Italy to the United States. A historian of the American South, Doyle makes the comparison with agility, utilizing the American experience as a model of nationhood that relied on a commitment to political ideals rather than shared ethnicity, that "derive[d] its inspiration not from an imagined past . . . but instead from an imagined future." He offers the American experience as one of promise, particularly in the post-Cold War era when religious strife, ethnic cleansing, political fragmentation, and a new tribalism threaten to unleash ever greater instability.

Doyle recalls that, while traveling in Naples and Sicily in 1999-2000, he observed the Confederate battle flag on bumper stickers applied by southern Italians as a symbol of defiance of the northerners who had "conquered" and historically oppressed the Italian South. Inspired by an international conference in Naples and encouraged by experts in Italian history, Doyle composed a series of lectures (presented at Georgia Southern University in October 2000) that led to this book, a succinct and cohesive treatment of the comparative, collective experiences of the two peoples.

The idea of such a comparison has intrigued others, having provided the stimulus for panels and books, most recently an anthology entitled *The American South and the Italian Mezzogiorno*, edited by Enrico Dal Lago and Rick Halpern. However, if the concept itself is not original, *Nations Divided* takes an interesting tack, especially in Doyle's review of the current scholarship of nationalism, nation-building, and related topics. Readers will be especially drawn to Doyle's intelligent assessment of revisionist views of nationalism and post-modernist deconstruction of the topic. Recent scholarship, Doyle explains, has rejected the earlier "primordial" view of a nation (from the Latin *natio*, birth) as a place whose residents share common characteristics of race, religion, and language in favor of the current view of a nation as an artificial construct. A nation is now widely viewed by scholars as an imagined community invented through a series of ceremonies, ideologies, and influences of political socialization. In a refreshing display of skepticism and irony,

Doyle relates an instance in which a prominent post-modernist, addressing a conference in Armenia in 1997, informed his audience that Armenians had exaggerated past atrocities in order to support their nationalist movement. The subsequent question-and-answer session became so heated that security guards were forced to escort the scholar from the auditorium in the face of the enraged audience. "I sometimes imagine one of today's postmodern scholars impaled on the bayonet of some fanatical nationalist," Doyle muses.

Using current scholarship as a framework, Doyle interweaves the parallel experiences of the two Souths: nation-building, the continuing rekindling of patriotism by means of holidays, education, war, postwar celebrations of heroes, and the cultivation of common enemies. It is in this context that Doyle provides his most original contribution, taking issue with some important current scholarship. Many revisionist scholars condemn nationalism as a top-down, elitist fabrication that reached its depths of chauvinism and violence in the twentieth century. While not entirely rejecting that idea, Doyle suggests that historians focus not on the elite that generated nationalist propaganda, but on the masses who accepted it—and not because they were duped, but because various elements of nationalism appealed to real needs. As a case in point, Doyle cites the famous quote attributed to the Piedmontese politician-intellectual Massimo d'Azeglio at the time of Italian unification: "We have made Italy, now we must make Italians." According to Doyle, to understand d'Azeglio—and to understand nationalism—"requires looking at the nation from the ground level, where nationalism was received, shaped, embraced, or rejected by citizens."

Examining both nations and the forces that have divided them, Doyle provides a series of interpretations of the fortunes and misfortunes of popular patriotism. Public education, a traditional substructure of political socialization, served to inform patriotism primarily in America's northern cities, notably in Noah Webster's textbooks, McGuffey's *Readers*, and George Bancroft's histories. In contrast, Doyle argues, Italian schools, although organized in a national system, failed to engender nationalism because of widespread illiteracy in formal Italian (even among schoolteachers), endemic truancy, and the Roman Catholic Church's opposition to public education. The Fourth of July, celebrated shortly after American independence, became by the nation's fiftieth anniversary "the 'National Sabbath' of the new civil religion," later to be adopted also by the temperance movement and by freedmen in the

South. Italy's equivalent, Statuto (constitution) Day, fizzled badly, as did other such nationalist celebrations until Italians finally embraced a patriotic holiday, April 25, Liberation Day, in celebration of the partisan insurrection against Nazis and Fascists in 1945.

Ironically, but not surprisingly, it was war and its heroes that provided a more effective instrument of nationalization. Both the United States and the Kingdom of Italy mobilized conscripts and volunteers to fight their wars and, in the process, reinforced national identity among their respective masses. In turn, each war generated national heroes and memorial monuments. The veneration of American heroes often took the form of place names, while Italians favored lionizing Garibaldi and King Victor Emmanuel II, in whose honor one of Italy's more recognizable—some would say hideous—monuments, the Vittoriano, or “wedding cake,” dominates the Roman landscape. “The Vittoriano,” Doyle notes, “represents perfectly the effort by the state to impose the national ideal from on high.”

In his concluding chapter, “Imagined Enemies,” Doyle most effectively integrates theory and historical record to portray the two Souths—both victimized by stereotypes, “demonized” as threats to their respective nations, and thus used as counterpoint to enhance the idealized myths of the nations themselves. In one instance, Doyle seems to overreach: “Like their American counterparts behind Generals Ulysses S. Grant and William T. Sherman, the Garibaldini went south on a mission to liberate an enslaved people.” That aside, and in spite of a somewhat cursory Italian case, Doyle has provided a useful contribution to the literature, particularly in summarizing recent thought on nationalism. In the process, in lively prose, Doyle has posed to his readers a series of provocative analogies in the histories of the two peoples.

Charles Killinger

University of Central Florida

A Seminole Legend: The Life of Betty Mae Tiger Jumper. By Betty Mae Tiger Jumper and Patsy West. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001. xv, 198 pp. Preface, introduction, authors' notes, epilogue, bibliography, index, photographs. \$24.95 cloth.)

It was both fitting and inevitable—in a non-traditional sense—that Betty Mae Tiger Jumper should find a public vehicle through which to make her voice heard, yet again. She has been, inar-

guably, one of the true non-traditional forces for change among the Florida Indians in the twentieth century. Further, her life-long drive to record her own personal point of view has made her the rightful first author of this work. Her voice dominates the text and adds much immediacy to the telling of her story. Unfortunately, a great deal of the flavor of Betty Mae's self-expression, her personhood, has been lost by the decision to Anglicize her speaking and writing styles. Betty's unique transposition of English into a part-Maskókî, part-Mikkósuukî vernacular is a central element of her charm. It wraps iron and anger around a velvet core. It is sad that readers do not have the opportunity to hear her in her own, intimate voice, but her life speaks volumes.

Once again, as in so many other instances, Betty Mae has become a pioneer. Her story is told in the first public Seminole voice of the modern era. It is a vignette from a shifting image—a transitional life, lived between the moment when the last survivors of the Wars of Removal were passing on, and the moment when today's Elders were beginning to meet the mass of new Floridians on an economic, rather than a military, playing field.

It is altogether fitting that this first modern voice should be that of a woman, since women have played such critical roles in the survival and guidance of the Seminoles and their ancestors over time. She may have been the first elected woman leader in the current era, but the Spaniards recorded the power and leadership of women as early as the sixteenth century—a social system that, surely, had been well established for centuries before the Europeans glimpsed it. Seminole men today readily acknowledge the centrality of women in the processes of deliberation and decision making. To have failed to listen to Betty Mae simply would not have been possible. She is strident, but passionate. She chooses an objective and, in words borrowed from a culture not her own, it is "Damn the torpedoes, full speed ahead!" Her life mantra is "My grandmother told me never to start anything that I wouldn't finish, and I promised her that I wouldn't!"

West has chosen to assemble the story with the focus on Betty Mae's early life and work in health and politics, which span the middle half of the twentieth century. Her recent life and activities since the 1980s, including her tenure as Editor in Chief of the modern *Seminole Tribune* and her continuing outspoken commitment to her beliefs, are covered in a couple of short chapters, as denouement. West's contribution to Betty Mae's story has been to

add historical texture to the personal life images, and she has gleaned much from Betty Mae's own notes and occasional writings, and from newspaper reports.

Betty Mae and West have presented the reader with the opportunity to open a door into a world barely seen and never truly understood by non-Natives. This world has been neither pristine nor idyllic, and its straightforward telling may startle some readers at times. While recounting the story of the forced Removal of her Snake Clan ancestors during the Second Seminole War, she states matter-of-factly the fears of the female prisoners, because "the soldiers had begun using the younger women." This memory is not unique to a single Clan. The story of rapine is one which never appears in the military reports or the history books, but it is nevertheless universal among Seminole women in Florida and Oklahoma. Consequently, it must be taken seriously. The Seminoles have dealt with a degree of reality that is beyond the experiences of most of the people who will read this book.

Nevertheless, this is a rich and fascinating life in its own right but also, to a great extent, because it has been played out against the backdrop of the Florida Indians' first-ever non-belligerent movement towards a symbiosis with the Euroamerican world. The two major weaknesses of the product are, first, that the book has breadth but too little depth. Too many fascinating facts are presented as factoids without preamble or explanation, and the reader is left with esoteric information and unanswered questions. Second, in a number of instances, decisions to gloss over historical contexts have resulted in inaccuracies. Admittedly, this could have been a much larger book. The changes that have occurred around the edges of the Indian world in Florida in the twentieth century have not failed to have impact upon them. Individuals such as Betty Mae who have, for example, chosen to turn away from much traditional liturgy and towards Western Christianity, have been undeniable agents for change among the people. Putting her life in richer context would have made her actions all the more visible.

Even at this late date in her life, Betty Mae remains a controversial figure among the Seminole people, both for her willingness to deal with the non-Native world and for her identification with Christianity. Nevertheless, the numerous anecdotes which make Betty Mae's such an fascinating life to understand, such as

those in Chapters 8 and 9, illustrate a critical element of her character, and one which remains to this day despite age and ill health: the force of her will. Whether defending her brother or herself from the unfairnesses of life, or defending her people from the ravages of curable ills, Betty has never hesitated to commit herself to the fray. Win, lose, or draw, that's the whole story of the Seminole people.

Patricia Wickman

Seminole Tribe of Florida

The Puerto Rican Nation on the Move: Identities on the Island and in the United States. By Jorge Duany. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. xv, 360 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, notes, works cited, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

After the Spanish-American War, the passage of the Jones Act of 1917 changed Puerto Ricans' status from immigrants to migrants because it declared them to be citizens of the United States. Furthermore, the Jones Act sanctioned population mobility between the island and the mainland. In the year of its passage alone, job opportunities, congressional legislation, and favorable transportation routes combined to bring thousands of Puerto Ricans to the United States. Rather than creating a strong cultural identity with the host society, this unique migration pattern solidified Puerto Rican identity. In this study, Duany adeptly describes and analyzes how this situation developed.

Organizing his work chronologically, Duany appeals to elements of sociology and anthropology. He draws primarily from such sources as ethnographic fieldwork, material objects, the little utilized documents at the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture and the Commonwealth's Migration Division, and photographic collections. Eleven chapters cover the major issues of Puerto Rican migration to the United States, cultural nationalism in Puerto Rico, the concept of circular migration, and the struggle Puerto Ricans face having a transnational identity.

In his thesis, Duany contends that Puerto Rico is a nation on the move, defining it as a translocal community based on shared history, language, and culture. Furthermore, Duany argues that Puerto Ricans display a strong cultural identity, exemplified time

and again by their unwillingness to assimilate into the American mainstream and by their pendulous and transient migration to and from the island. For Duany, this migration raises an important question: how can most Puerto Ricans imagine themselves as a nation without supporting the constitution of a separate nation state? The answer lies in the concepts of cultural and political nationalism.

Puerto Rico achieved commonwealth status in 1952. In order to maintain a cultural identity independent of the mainland, Puerto Ricans developed a form of cultural nationalism based on the assertion of the moral and spiritual autonomy of people. Cultural identity is based on commonly shared myths, rituals, language, and symbols such as the flag. Emphasis is placed on the rejection of outside influences. The ideology of political nationalism among Puerto Ricans, however, has also been compromised because Puerto Ricans do not feel that their cultural independence is in any way predicated upon political independence.

No work on Puerto Rico or its people could be complete without an extensive discussion of migration, and Duany's study is no exception. Duany argues that "diasporic" communities are an integral part of the Puerto Rican nation because Puerto Ricans continue to be linked to the island by a circular movement of people, identities, and practices. Further, migration to the mainland and back has deterritorialized and transnationalized identities. This migration has also created a reluctance to incorporate into U.S. mainstream culture and has even strengthened national identity on the island. In short, boundaries only exist in the geographic sense and are minimized by increasingly affordable transportation and communication, making distinctions between the language and culture of Puerto Rico and the mainland practically non-existent.

Among the hundreds of books that have been written on the subject of Puerto Rico and the migration of its people to the mainland and back, Duany's work offers a fresh approach by not only studying groups in their new host society but also taking the reader back to Puerto Rico and offering a glimpse of how commonwealth status and mass migration have affected those who choose to stay on the island and those who have found their way back there.

Downtown: Its Rise and Fall, 1880-1950. By Robert M. Fogelson. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001. x, 492 pp. Introduction, epilogue, notes, acknowledgments, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

For those who blame interstate expressways and so-called urban renewal practices for the decline of America's downtowns, this book proposes a corrective. By the end of the 1940s, according to M.I.T. professor Robert Fogelson, downtowns were already in full retreat, mainly due to market forces that favored decentralization. Those forces derived from particularly American ideas concerning property and homes, specifically, that homes should not be near businesses and industry. The Anglo-American sense of "proper domestic life" imbued Americans with the conviction that a place of commerce was no place for a home. In the late nineteenth century, that desire to keep homes separate from businesses caused transportation to become increasingly important to the American central city. Streetcars, subways, and "els" (elevated railways) accelerated residential dispersion and the proliferation of houses, which differentiated U.S. cities from the European style of blocks of flats and townhouses.

That pattern of residential dispersion drew businesses away from central districts and stimulated further dispersion into outlying districts. Downtown stakeholders puzzled over responses to competition that their property faced from alternatives on the periphery. Intense concentration of businesses in the central districts prompted the construction of skyscrapers, which in turn led to conflict over the ideal shape of the urban center and sharp debate over the nation's first building-height ordinances. The current national debate over designs for the replacement of the twin towers of New York's World Trade Center shows that such differing visions of downtown persist.

During the 1920s and 1930s, dissent lent energy to those who questioned the basic function of downtowns and called the central business district "obsolete." The trend toward decentralization increased, in response to rising automobile ownership and the standardization of retail merchandising. Then the exigencies of the Great Depression rattled the confidence of downtown real estate investors, some of whom demolished buildings in favor of parking garages. Such market conditions threatening downtowners' economic hegemony were reinforced during the 1930s and 1940s by

government policies at the local, state, and federal levels, allowing overloaded mass-transit systems to deteriorate while increasing public-works investment in highways that connected downtowns with suburbs. By World War II, decentralization was attractive as a way to enhance the security of the nation's war industries, even as the "total war" effort displaced attempts to ameliorate domestic problems such as urban congestion and decaying infrastructure. Upon the war's end, Americans were poised to buy automobiles and spread out into the suburbs, escaping from traffic-choked downtown districts. From then on, federal responses to urban problems were ultimately influential. When they commenced during the New Deal, and accelerated through the late 1940s with Fair Housing legislation, they were highly politicized and driven by housing shortages rather than any holistic concern for the overall health of urban political economies. With that analysis, Fogelson is faithful to such classic studies as Mark Gelfand's *Nation of Cities*.

Downtown serves as a reminder that the public financing of mass transit has a legacy of vigorous debate and alternative policy outcomes that Americans might better understand. The book looks effectively at American urban systems, and includes southern cities (such as Tampa), but does relatively little toward examining regional distinctions. Nor does Fogelson attend much to the changing demographic structure of downtown residents, or the impacts of the first and second Great Migrations. Indeed, the author sees downtowns as a product of forces far removed from neighborhoods. Nevertheless, this book tackles questions that matter, as contemporary American downtowns strive for a twenty-first-century renaissance. It is a top-down account of power and space, property and politics, with elites in the forefront of the narrative, for which Fogelson makes no apology. It was, after all, property owners, business owners, and public officials whose territory included America's most expensive real estate, per square foot. Critics of contemporary "new urbanism" charge that its designs are driven by the ideals of similar elites. Fogelson points out, however, that the best prospect for downtowns lies (ironically) in their appeal as places for more Americans to *live*, as opposed to merely visiting for work or shopping. Planners have long understood the problem. Still, its solutions remain elusive. Only with that change will America turn away from becoming a "nation of suburbs."

The Sporting World of the Modern South. Edited by Patrick B. Miller. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2002. x, 355 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, contributors, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

Among the unique religious and political characteristics of the South, sports serve as one of the few cultural expressions able to unite the region's cacophony of racial, class, and gender differences. Despite three full decades of commitment to social history, however, too few historians have examined the ways sports reflected notions about southern honor, memory, independence, masculinity, femininity, and collective values. In addition to Saturday transformations of sleepy hamlets like Athens, Auburn, and Starkville into raucous autumnal exhibitions of gluttony, fashion, and manhood, sports have shaped the way southerners have viewed themselves and outsiders, a lens which reinforced some stereotypes while challenging others.

Patrick Miller has provided a superb collection of essays which document the distinctive way southerners have infused their sporting life with social, cultural, economic, political, and religious connotations. *The Sporting World of the Modern South* succeeds in showing how "the rituals and spectacles of sporting competition have often played into the values, ideals, and popular images of modern southern culture." The authors include historians, archivists, kinesiologists, and speech communications experts. General readers will enjoy a book remarkably free of jargon and specialists will applaud the ways the contributors link southern sports into larger issues of continuity, change, exceptionalism, and assimilation.

Miller weaves the thirteen essays into three sections which trace the transformation of sport in the decades before and after the turn of the twentieth century, the evolution of sport in a desegregating South, and the symbolism southerners continue to apply to sport in the modern world. Pamela Dean's "Dear Sisters and Hated Rivals" traces the way administrators, players, and society at large viewed female participation in exercise and competition. Robert Gudmestad documents the way Richmond, Virginia, used its fledgling baseball teams in the 1880s to idealize romantic notions of the Civil War. "In short," Gudmestad concludes, "it was difficult not to remember the Confederacy when attending a Virginias game." Charles Martin details the process of integrating the esteemed New

Year's Day bowl games. Jack Davis documents a similar transition as Florida cities gradually integrated spring training games and accommodations while trying to hold social separation elsewhere in the community at large. When two local watering holes refused to provide service to Boston Red Sox pitcher Earl Wilson in 1966—two years after the passage of the landmark Civil Rights Act and in the midst of a year he would win a combined eighteen games for Boston and Detroit—he noted his preference for Mississippi. “There,” the hurler noted, “you know you’re not wanted.”

Andrew Doyle documents the regional and state identities that Bear Bryant created with his remarkable run as coach of the Alabama Crimson Tide football team. Though Bryant was revered in Alabama, outsiders, such as *Atlanta Journal* sports writer Furman Bisher and *Los Angeles Times* scribe Jim Murray, blasted him for teaching dirty tactics and refusing to schedule integrated opponents. Ted Ownby chronicles the way notions of manhood have changed across the spectrum of southern sports. Ownby's discussion of the changing socioeconomic ramifications of hunting reveals the way elites coopted folk culture and transformed it for their own purposes: “Modern hunting does not help man gain independence; it simply represents freedom from the job. Hunting is rarely part of being a helluvafella; with the many limits on hunting, the sense of limitless freedom is a distant memory.”

With other articles on stock car racing, wrestling, baseball, college football, athletics at historically black colleges, and women's basketball, *The Sporting World of the Modern South* offers a glimpse at how southerners of every sex, race, and class have assigned cultural values to recreation, competition, and entertainment. It is a thoughtful and provocative work deserving of a wide readership.

Jeff Frederick

Auburn University

In the Eye of Hurricane Andrew. By Eugene F. Provenzo Jr. and Asterie Baker Provenzo. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002. xv, 183 pp. Series editors' foreword, preface, notes, appendices, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

On August 24, 1992, Hurricane Andrew unleashed horrendous destruction upon Miami and South Florida. The aftermath of the Category 4 storm included over a quarter-million people left

homeless and damage estimated as high as thirty billion dollars. It was "the most costly natural disaster in modern American history." In this engaging book, Eugene F. Provenzo Jr. (professor of education at the University of Miami) and Asterie Baker Provenzo (author and community historian) present the results of nearly one hundred interviews conducted after the storm. The interviews remain accessible in the Archives and Special Collections Department at the University of Miami's Otto G. Richter Library.

Bryan Norcross, a meteorologist who emerges as a hero of sorts for his calming reassurance during the storm's fury, remarked that the storm "was a sociological, as well as a meteorological phenomenon," and it is with this mindset that the Provenzos wrote their book. The work is not intended as a comprehensive history of the hurricane but rather a community study of "a selected group of South Floridians, about survivors and rescuers and heroes and villains." The book functions best according to this measure, which determines both its strengths and weaknesses.

Many facets of the storm's ramifications—ecological, financial, societal and even personal—are depicted, from looters to neighborhood volunteers, insurance scammers to corporate benevolence, and the guilt of survivors conjoined with the resentment of victims. The interviewees revealed increased feelings of vulnerability, new beliefs in the fragility of life, and ambivalence towards material objects. The Provenzos document a wide-ranging cross-section of Miami's reactions to the hurricane's impact on their lives. Through the sheer accumulation of interesting details and compelling human voices, the Provenzos capture an event that few imaginations can comprehend.

This distinctly human element of the story makes the Provenzos reluctant to incorporate their own voices to summarize or analyze their interviews. When they do, the result is casual; the authors are content to conclude that "life will never be the same." The narrative remains strictly anecdotal, though highly readable, relying foremost on the oral histories with occasional recourse to journalistic coverage. Although the book contains a useful bibliography of writings on Hurricane Andrew, this information is not absorbed or communicated by the authors in their own work. The net result is a lot of questions begged by the Provenzos' findings. The most glaring example of this regards criticism of city, state and federal officials for disjointed attempts towards disaster relief.

There is no sustained examination of the merit of, or explanation for, such indifference. There are also occasional redundancies or unclear references in the examples used by the authors.

In essence, the Provenzos are so successful at documenting the ground-level response to Hurricane Andrew that they leave the reader desiring more contextual and analytical information to take away deeper understanding from these hard-won lessons. In a guarded conclusion, the Provenzos warn that the ripple effects of Hurricane Andrew on South Florida risk being forgotten. They note that the hurricane brought into sharp relief the lack of collective memory from many South Floridians, most of whom had never lived through a hurricane and many of whom dismissed the storm's destructive potential. Florida, as a state comprised largely of migrants, needs reminding of its past, and the Provenzos' book is a helpful compendium of raw information towards that end.

Benjamin Houston

University of Florida

Book Notes

by Charles E. Crosby

The Cambridge Historical Dictionary of Disease. Edited by Kenneth F. Kiple. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. xiii, 412 pp. Preface, index. \$75.00 hardback, \$27.00 paperback.)

This compendium is the perfect reference for anyone who needs to augment his or her knowledge of human maladies. Entries for 161 diseases include information on their discoveries, transmission, symptoms, histories, treatments, and cures. This 412-page volume is a condensed version of *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, and went to print with the intention of making the material more accessible. The omission of bibliographies and graphics alleviates the feeling of mulling through such a dense scientific work, and consequently researchers seeking a more detailed discussion of the indexed diseases should seek out the original text. However, as a quick-reference guide, this tome makes the abstract world of disease much more accessible for wider audiences.

Historic Indian Towns in Alabama, 1540-1838. By Amos J. Wright Jr. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003. xix, 240 pp. Preface, foreword, maps referenced, abbreviations, appendix, references. \$55.00 cloth, \$22.95 paper.)

An astounding and exhaustive work, this encyclopedic volume contains entries for 398 Indian towns located at various places and times in Alabama history. *Historic Indian Towns in Alabama, 1540-1838* offers ethnic affiliations, time periods, geographic locations,

descriptions, and movements (if any) of these villages culled from maps spanning over three hundred years of the state's past. From the wanderings of Hernando de Soto to the official government monitoring of Indian removal, author Amos J. Wright Jr. supplements many of the entries with information from colonial town lists, censuses, and travel narratives. The inclusion of a map for reference would have been helpful for the reader unfamiliar with Alabama's geography; but even without such an aid, this text will be useful for archaeologists and anthropologists, Native American historians, and those interested in Alabama history.

Liquid Land: A Journey Through the Florida Everglades. By Ted Levin. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003. xvii, 286 pp. Preface, bibliography, acknowledgments, index. \$29.95 hardcover.)

Consider Ted Levin a tour guide offering his readers an intimate look at Florida's magnificent River of Grass. By air, water, and land, he introduces the majestic plants, animals, and landscapes that not only reflect the state's past, but also help preserve the present ecological balance. The Everglades serve as sanctuary for Florida's threatened and endangered species, including panthers, manatees, and alligators. By recreating the majesty of the land and its inhabitants in the pages of *Liquid Land*, Levin brings home the urgency of preserving this unique Florida environment.

Unfortunately, despite frequent assertions that the Everglades are a place where past, present, and future seem to merge into one, the author emphasizes that by taking this natural wonder for granted in the past, its future is dependant upon massive preservation efforts and financial support. Half of the original 14,000-square-mile expanse has disappeared, and modern drainage systems have created pollution and salinity problems that threaten the remaining swampland. *Liquid Land* is a peaceful yet powerful reminder of humanity's responsibility to its surroundings.

Orlando, Florida. By Geraldine Fortenberry Thompson. (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2003. 128 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction. \$19.99 paper.)

Though the title might convey an air of triviality to this book, do not be fooled by its simplicity. As part of the Black America

Series from Arcadia Publishing, the Orlando referred to in this concise volume is one often hidden from the public eye. Over one hundred years of images demonstrate the proud and prominent heritage of Orlando's African American community, exemplifying a political, social, economical, and cultural awareness that has been ignored and forgotten for too long. Spirituality, education, commerce and industry, leisure activities, and politics are a few of the topics examined by Thompson, the founding president of the Association to Preserve African American Society, History, and Tradition and former member and commissioner of the Florida Commission on Human Relations. From the agricultural laborers of the city's pioneer days to the activism and participation of the late twentieth century, this insightful volume is an essential companion to any history of the greater Orlando area.

Sanford. By the Sanford Historical Society, Inc. (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2003. 128 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue. \$19.99 paper.)

Tallahassee. By Erik T. Robinson. (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2003. 128 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction. \$19.99 paper.)

Dominating the southern shore of Lake Monroe, the city of Sanford carved its place in Florida history as the "The Gate City of South Florida." The combination of accessibility to the St. John's River and the emergence of the railroad industry nearby allowed founder Henry S. Sanford to realize his vision and create a transportation hub and trade center that assumed center stage in Florida's industrialization. Sanford persevered through a devastating fire, disease, and a devastating freeze to become a stalwart producer of vegetables and citrus. Today, the community retains its progressive sensibilities, showcasing the unique combination of a successful agricultural and industrial past and an indisputable small-town charm.

Tallahassee took a much different road to recognition as one of Florida's leading cities. It was incorporated in 1924 with the specific function of serving as the capital city, and today's bustling municipality serves that purpose just as admirably. The history of the town represents a collection of diverse communities—prehis-

toric Native Americans, Spanish missionaries and their local converts, multiple colonial administrations, and American citizens—who called Florida's panhandle home. The city's emergence as a center of higher learning has only contributed to the ceaseless confluence of varied cultures. Whether one of the many transient students and legislators who pass through the city each year or a permanent resident, the ambiance of Tallahassee reminds all visitors of its territorial past and dynamic future.

Celebrating the history of neighborhoods, towns, and cities across the country, the *Images of America* series brings the distinct histories of Sanford and Tallahassee to light in these two new volumes. These chronological compilations of approximately two hundred photographs with brief historical anecdotes memorialize the growth of our nation's people and places by demonstrating the uniqueness of these communities in the context of national growth. These volumes serve as invaluable contributions to the local histories of the cities they honor.

The Papers of John C. Calhoun, Vol. XXVIII: *A Disquisition on Government and A Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States*. Edited by Clyde N. Wilson and Shirley B. Cook. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003. viii, 244 pp. Introduction, index. \$59.95 cloth.)

The release of this volume marks the culmination of more than fifty years spent sifting through the public and private thoughts of John C. Calhoun. The two essays on display, "A Disquisition on Government" and "A Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States," were halted short of completion in 1850 by the South Carolinian statesman's death. Later polished by personal friend and colleague Richard Kenner Crallé, they were long considered separate works until, while preparing the letters, speeches, and remarks that constitute the preceding volumes, co-editors Clyde N. Wilson and Shirley B. Cook discovered evidence to the contrary. The Calhoun Papers staff discovered that the author penned the two as a single, critical examination of political thought, constitutional history, and the republican experiment in America. True to that spirit, this final volume of *The Papers of John C. Calhoun* offers them in tandem to be counted among the classical texts of American political thought.

The Confederate Belle. By Giselle Roberts. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003. xi, 245 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$32.50 cloth.)

The American Civil War marked an important transition in the roles of women in southern society. Elite, young, southern women were forced to compromise their traditional understandings of femininity and gender roles, and acquiesce to an emergent patriotic womanhood in a society immersed in war. But, as Giselle Roberts demonstrates, Southern belles did not forsake the identities for which they had been groomed since birth. Instead, the patriotic actions undertaken by these women were fortified by the conceptions of honor instilled in them since birth. Southern honor legitimized their obligations to the wartime household, framed their relationship to the cause, and fashioned their role as patriotic women.

By categorizing these elite young women together with plantation mistresses or by failing to distinguish Southern women by age, historians such as Anne Firor Scott, Catherine Clinton, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Drew Gilpin Faust, and Marli Weiner have neglected the unique experiences of the Southern belle. In *The Southern Belle*, Roberts seeks to resolve this oversight by focusing specifically on these women. Using diaries, letters, and memoirs, she brings the wartime experiences of young ladies in Mississippi and Louisiana to the forefront. This monograph is an important addition to Southern history, women's history, and Civil War collections.

The Early History of the St. Johns River. By Ed Winn. (n.p.: Winn's Books, 2003. 50 pp.)

Florida's Great King: King Carlos of the Calusa Indians. By Ed Winn. (n.p.: Winn's Publishing, 2003. 50 pp. Acknowledgments, sources.)

My Florida Soul: Florida History with Some Humor. By Ed Winn. (n.p.: Winn's Books, 2002. 200 pp. Dedication, acknowledgments, forward.)

As a storyteller, author, and native Floridian with nearly seven decades of experience living Florida history, Ed Winn's unique perspective on the subject is complemented by his genuine inter-

est in it. Each text offers historical interpretations, but the substance of Winn's contribution is in his front-porch style. The casual literary delivery enhances the accessibility of the information, inviting wider audiences to enjoy the author's passion for Florida's past.

The Early History of the St. Johns River and *Florida's Great King: King Carlos of the Calusa Indians* are brief forays into their respective topics. The author clearly has done research to supplement his narratives, and the absence of citations indicates the author's inclination toward readability. Historians will likely find little new information on either topic; in fact, Winn attributes much of the material in *Florida's Great King* to the work of William Marquardt, curator of archaeology at the Florida Museum of Natural History. Similarly, *My Florida Soul: Florida History with Some Humor* is told "to give the reader a better 'feel' of Florida." It is an oral history (or, more precisely, a collection of oral histories, since Winn incorporates brief reminiscences of five other Floridians) placed in its historical context. Such popular volumes are invaluable for their contributions to increasing awareness and interest in Florida history.

Miami: A Backward Glance. By Muriel V. Murrell. (Sarasota, Fla.: Pineapple Press, 2003. vi, 191 pp. Acknowledgments, index. \$18.95 cloth.)

Miami is known the world over as an entertainment mecca, a place where the rich and beautiful gather to cut loose and relax. While the city's reputation is much deserved, its history is often neglected as a result. In *Miami: A Backward Glance*, native Miamian Muriel Murrell seeks to revitalize that past in a series of charming vignettes. The pioneer experience in south Florida, the economic ebb and flow of the Roaring Twenties and the Great Depression, and the threats posed by Nazi submarines along the coast are just a few of the vivid recollections recounted in this volume. In total, they reflect the diverse experiences of Miami's residents, from the simple pleasures of bygone days to detailed descriptions of the city's notable visitors. Murrell uses her casual literary style to provide historical depth to one of the world's great party destinations.

Florida's Great Ocean Railway: Building the Key West Expansion. By Dan Gallagher. (Sarasota, Fla.: Pineapple Press, 2003. ix, 198 pp. About this book, acknowledgments, references, index. \$19.95 cloth.)

Numerous and daunting challenges faced planners, engineers, and builders as they endeavored to extend the Florida East Coast Railway southward to Key West. The primitive communication networks, limited supply lines, and volatile weather conditions in early twentieth-century south Florida presented new obstacles on a daily basis, and the completed project stood as a testament to the perseverance of all involved. *Florida's Great Ocean Railway: Building the Key West Extension* commemorates the efforts and sacrifices of thousands of laborers dedicated to the successful completion of this monumental task. Dan Gallagher's vivid photographs and informative supplementary text offer a glimpse at the enormous dedication and sacrifice needed to link the Florida Keys by rail, including the construction of bridges spanning more than seventeen miles of open water. Historians of Florida and railroad fanatics alike will clearly sense the deep-seated pride that inspired the author in his work.

History News

In Memoriam

William S. Coker

Bill Coker, past president of the Florida Historical Society and emeritus professor of history at the University of West Florida, passed away on December 13, 2002. William Sydney Coker graduated from Lockhart High School, Lockhart, Texas, and received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from the University of Southern Mississippi, and his Ph.D. from the University of Oklahoma. He served in the United States Air Force and was a veteran of World War II and the Korean Conflict, retiring as a Senior Master Sergeant in 1962.

In 1969, Bill came to the University of West Florida, where he embarked on a distinguished career as a preeminent historian of Spanish Florida before 1821. In 1970, he began the Pantón, Leslie and Company project, an attempt to document the activities of the largest trading company and empire in the southern United States. This quest took him to libraries in at least six foreign countries, and in the end, he amassed an archives of 200,000 documents covering the company from 1783 through 1847. This project produced a twenty-six-reel microfilm publication of papers and his opus *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands* (1985), which he co-authored with Thomas D. Watson.

At the University of West Florida, Bill served as University Marshall from 1978 to 1980 and was awarded the Distinguished Faculty Award for Research. He was instrumental in founding the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference (now Gulf South History Conference) and established the annual William S. Coker Award, which is given to the best graduate student presentation.

Noting the need to promote publication of West Florida history, Bill established Perdido Bay Press with his wife Polly. He published many books, notably quite a few that he authored such as *Spanish Censuses of Pensacola, 1784-1820* and *The Siege of Pensacola, 1781*. His published works include seventeen books and over seventy articles, introductions, book reviews, and the like. Additionally, Bill served the Florida Historical Society in many capacities, including President, and in 2002 was awarded the coveted Dorothy Dodd Lifetime Achievement Award.

He was preceded in death by Polly, his first wife of forty-five years and the mother of his four daughters; and his second wife, Frances Camferdam Coker. He is buried in Barrancas National Cemetery, Pensacola.

Dean Debolt

University of West Florida

John K. Mahon

Dr. John K. Mahon died October 11, 2003. He was an author, environmentalist, historian, and social activist. Born in 1912 in Ottumwa, Iowa, he graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Swarthmore College in 1934. He returned to wholesale grocery business until, as he said, World War II "liberated" him. He entered the army as a private in 1942, fought in Europe, and was discharged in 1946 as a Captain in the field artillery.

Mahon enrolled at UCLA and received his Ph.D. in history in 1950. At UCLA, he was a teaching assistant for John Higham, who was to become the leading historian of ethnic America (and who died one month before Mahon). Higham once commented about Mahon that he was "intimidating." Higham was a young beginner with a forty-year-old, white-haired, war-officer, graduate assistant sitting *ramrod straight* in the back of his classrooms. Following his graduation, from 1951 to 1954, Mahon served as Civilian Military Historian, Office of the Army's Chief of Military History in Washington, D.C.

In 1954, he accepted a teaching position in the History Department of the University of Florida. His interest in military history led to important studies, including *The Second Seminole War* (1967) and *The War of 1812* (1972), both of which remain in print. He wrote a history of the civilian soldier entitled *History of the*

Militia and the National Guard for Macmillan's series on America's Wars, and numerous articles for encyclopedias and historical journals. He served as Chair of the History Department from 1965 to 1973, retiring in 1982. The annual John K. Mahon Undergraduate Teaching Award was endowed in his honor.

In retirement, Dr. Mahon remained active as an historian, as well as in environmental and social issues. He helped start the Alachua Audubon Society and the Florida Defenders of Environment. He was past president of the local chapter of the Sierra Club and board member of the Alachua Conservation Trust. He was also past president of the Florida Historical Society and board member of the Seminole Wars Historic Foundation. Other groups of which he was an active member include the United Nations Association, Retired Faculty of the University of Florida, the Athenaeum Society, and the American Civilization Seminar.

Dr. Mahon's boundless energy and commitment to good causes were a source of inspiration to all who know him. He was preceded in death by his wife of fifty-four years, Enid, and survived by his son, John, and grandson, Sam. He is buried at the Florida National Cemetery for Veterans in Bushnell. The family suggests a donation to the Seminole Wars Historical Foundation, the Sierra Club, or a cause of your choice.

David Chalmers, Professor Emeritus

University of Florida

Awards and Grants

The Florida Historical Society announces the following awards:

Michael Gannon has been named the recipient of the 2004 Jillian Prescott Award for a Lifetime of Achievement in Florida History; Joe Akerman of Madison has been named recipient of the 2004 Dorothy Dodd Service Award.

Conferences

"Visions of Paradise: Technology, Environment, and Culture in Florida" is the theme of the 102nd **Annual Meeting of the Florida Historical Society**, to be held in Melbourne from April 14 to 17, 2004. The conference will be sponsored by the Florida Institute of Technology and will convene at the Hilton Melbourne Rialto Place

Hotel, 200 Rialto Place. Dr. Larry E. Rivers will be the Kathryn Prescott Scholar and Lecturer. All individuals and panels of scholars of all eras of Florida history are invited to submit proposals. Graduate students are highly encouraged to participate. Send inquiries and proposals for papers and/or panels to Prof. Gordon Patterson, Program Chair, Department of Humanities and Communication, Florida Institute of Technology, 150 W. University Blvd. Melbourne, FL 32901. Submissions also may be made via e-mail to the conference co-chairs: Prof. Patterson at patterso@fit.edu or Prof. Robert Taylor at rotaylor@fit.edu. All proposals should include a title, a short vita, contact information, and suggestions for fellow presenters or session chairs; and they must be received by January 15, 2004.

The annual meeting of the **Florida Conference of Historians** will be held March 4-6, 2004, in Lake City. The conference will feature scholarly papers, book vendors, and a banquet. Keynote speaker will be Paul Boyer of the University of Wisconsin at Madison. For further information, contact Sean McMahon at mcmahons@lakecitycc.edu or (386) 754-4293.

The Florida Historical Society

The Historical Society of Florida, 1856
The Florida Historical Society, successor, 1902
The Florida Historical Society, incorporated, 1905



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Dating its origins to 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; (321) 254-9855. The Society's research collections—housing over eight hundred rare maps, six thousand volumes of Floridiana, and an extensive collection of documents relating to Florida history and genealogy—is located in the Alma Clyde 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>).

