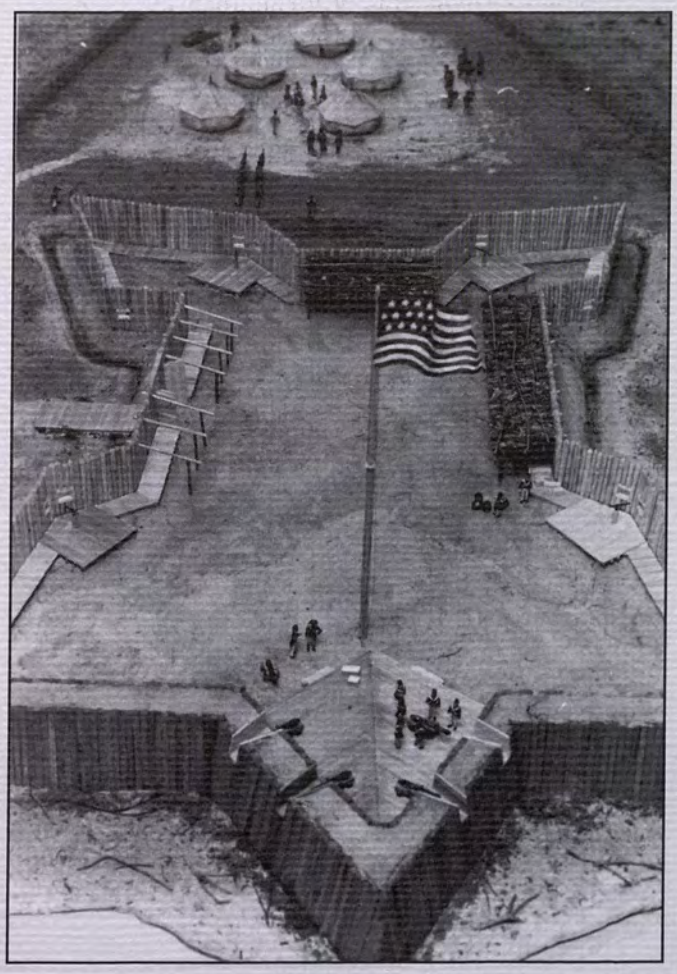
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

PUBLISHED BY THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY



VOLUME 94 · FALL 2015 · NUMBER 2

The Florida Historical Quarterly

Published by the Florida Historical Society

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The *Florida Historical Quarterly* (ISSN 0015-4113) is published quarterly by the Florida Historical Society, 435 Brevard Avenue, Cocoa, FL 32922 in cooperation with the Department of History, University of Central Florida, Orlando. Printed by The Sheridan Press, Hanover, PA. Periodicals postage paid at Cocoa, FL and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Florida Historical Society, 435 Brevard Ave., Cocoa, FL 32922.

Subscription accompanies membership in the Society. Annual membership is $50; student membership (with proof of status) is $30; family membership in $75; library and institution membership is $75; a contributing membership is $200 and higher; and a corporate membership is $500 and higher. Correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions, as well as orders for back copies of the *Quarterly*, should be addressed to Dr. Ben D. Brotemarkle, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, 435 Brevard Ave., Cocoa, FL 32922; (321) 690-1971; email: ⟨Ben.Brotemarkle@myfloridahistory.org.⟩

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HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Fall 2015
Vol. 94, No. 2

Cover Illustration: Miniature replica of Fort Gadsden for museum exhibit at park—Sumatra, Florida. Fort Gadsden State Historic Site in Sumatra was the site of two forts. The first was built on Prospect Bluff, fifteen miles above the Apalachicola River, by the British during the War of 1812. The fort was rebuilt by Lt. James Gadsden soon after its destruction in 1816. Image Courtesy of the State Archives of Florida, *Florida Memory*, http://floridamemory.com/items/show/117052.

Book Reviews

Sucking, Blood, and Fire: Timucuan Healing Practices in Spanish Florida

by Tamara Shircliff Spike

As a colonial holding, Spanish Florida was a provincial backwater. It was located on the periphery of empire and sparsely settled. Spain spent comparatively little time and effort developing the infrastructure of the colony.[1] However, it is for these very reasons that Florida reflects to a magnified degree a problem in mission fields throughout the Americas during the colonial period: how to combat disease in the mission populations while still working to extirpate Native practices seen as anti-doctrinal. Descriptions of healing rituals by Franciscan friars and other Europeans offer tremendous insight into how the Timucuans of Spanish Florida viewed their relationship with the sacred. Healing rituals often employ the most potent objects and symbols known to a culture to combat disease, purify the sick, and connect with the sacred. Healing rituals also offer insight into how individuals were able to negotiate both the pollution of disease and the purifying force of the cures, and these individuals had greater power

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1 For more information on the economic development and funding of the colony of La Florida, see Amy Turner Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994).

to interact with the sacred than the rest of society. Among the Timucuas, these groups included shamans (who were called sorcerers or priests in some of the documents),[2] herbalists, midwives, and a third gender group.[3]

When the Spanish and French first arrived in Florida, the Timucuas were a powerful cultural group that dominated the region of modern-day southeastern Georgia and north and central Florida. The precolonial Timucuas were likely made up of fourteen different tribes, and spoke at least ten different dialects. Although the most basic unit of governmental organization among the Timucuas was the individual village, alliances were formed, resulting in small-scale chiefdoms of related and allied villages. These alliances were formed due to the need for protection against

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2 Francisco Pareja, *Confessionario en Lengua Castellana, y Timuquana con algunos consejos para animar al penitente. Y asi mismo van declarados algunos effectos y prerrogariuas deste sancto sacramento de la Confession. Todo muy util y provechoso, asi para que los padres confessores sepan instruyr al penitente como para que ellos aprendan á saberse confessar. Ordenado por el Padre Fr. Francisco Pareja, Padre de la Custodia de santa Elena de la Florida. Relioioso de la Orden de nuestro Seraphico Padre San Francisco. Impresso con licencia en Mexico, en la Emprenta de la Vidua de Diego Lopez Daualos. Ano de 1613*, Manuscript 2401B, Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, DC; René Laudonnière, *L'Historie notable de la Floridae Situee es Indes Occidentale contenant les trois voyages faits en icelle par certains Capitaines & Pilotes Françios, descrits par le Capitaine Laudonnière, qui y a commandé l'espace d'vn quatrieme: à laquelle a esté adiousté vn quatriesme voyage fait pae le Captaine Gourges* (Paris: Guillaume Auray, M.D., 1586). In the 1613 confessional, Pareja consistently refers to a group of people as *hechizeros*, persons capable of making magic and casting spells and hexes. Questions throughout the confessional indicate that these persons were seen as a distinct, high status group not only by the friar, but also by Timucuan society. Laudonnière refers to a group with similar characteristics as priests. Based on their role as healers, magicians, and intercessors to the sacred, I argue that both groups were shamans.

3 Laudonnière, *L'Historie notable*, 8-9; Stefan Lorant, *The New World: The First Pictures of America, Made by John White and Jacques LeMoyne and Engraved by Theodore de Bry, with Contemporary Narratives of the Huguenot Settlement in Florida, 1562-1565, and the Virginia Colony, 1585-1590* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), 69. Third gender individuals are persons who, although possessing the biological body of a man or a woman, are considered by themselves and the community to be neither male nor female. Instead, they are viewed as a distinct category from men and women. Such individuals are often termed berdache or Two Spirit. For more information on the existence of a third gender among Native Americans, see Sabine Lang, *Men as Women, Women as Men: Changing Gender in Native American Cultures* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998); Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998); and Walter Williams, *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986).

mutual enemies. Alliances were cemented through intermarriage and paying tribute to the chief of the higher status village.[4]

Much of what we know about Timucuan healing practices comes from a handful of documents in French and Spanish. For the most part, all are geographically tied to the area of modern-day Jacksonville, Florida, a small portion of the area held by the Timucuas. The first of the documents include accounts from the French expedition of 1564, most importantly, the accounts of René Laudonnière and Jacques LeMoyne, Laudonnière's cartographer. After LeMoyne's return to Europe, he made a series of paintings depicting the French expedition, including many of the practices of the local Timucuan Indians. These paintings were sold to Dutch engraver Theodore de Bry, who made a series of engravings from them. Much controversy surrounds the authenticity of these illustrations. While the original paintings, with the exception of one, were lost, de Bry's engravings were published and widely distributed. Although LeMoyne's other works are known for their scrupulous attention to detail, the Florida engravings are littered with errors and inconsistencies, such as shells from the Pacific decorating the graves of chiefs and warriors carrying war clubs from Brazil. While some scholars attribute these oversights to de Bry taking artistic liberties with the originals, others hold serious doubts about whether an original series of paintings even existed. For these reasons, I do not use LeMoyne's images as part of my source base. I do, however, draw evidence from the accompanying narrative.[5]

One of the most important sources addressing healing practices among the Timucuas is Franciscan friar Francisco Pareja's 1613 confessional. Upon his 1595 arrival in Florida, Pareja was assigned to San Juan del Puerto, located on Fort George Island, near modern

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4 Francisco Alonso de Jesus, "1630 Memorial of Fray Francisco Alonso de Jesus on Spanish Florida's Missions and Natives," trans. John H. Hann, *The Americas* 5, no. 1 (June 1993): 95-97; John Worth, "Spanish Missions and the Persistence of Chiefly Power," in *The Transformation of Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760*, ed. Robbie Etheridge and Charles Hudson (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 40-42; John H. Hann, *A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 78-80; Jerald T Milanich, *The Timucua* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 45-46.

5 For more information about and evaluation of both the images and the text as historical sources, see Jerald T. Milanch, "The Devil in the Details," *Archaeology* (May/June 2005): 26-31; Anna Sezonenko, "New World Images in an Old World Mind: Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues's Memories of Florida," in *Florida Studies: Proceedings of the 2005 Annual Meeting of the Florida College English Association*, ed. Steve Glassman (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006), 67-74.

Jacksonville, Florida. The mission was probably established during the 1587 efforts, making it one of the earliest missions in Florida.[6] During his years of service in Florida, Pareja held important posts in the Franciscan order.[7] On several occasions, he seems to have served as the spokesperson for the friars of the province.[8] During his time in Florida, he also produced a grammar of the Timucuan language and several catechisms in Timucua. Of these, only the confessional offers information about healing practices.

It is likely that both groups of documents refer to Mocama peoples, who spoke a dialect of Timucua. By the seventeenth century, the Spanish identified the coastal mainland and barrier islands from the Altamaha River in Georgia to the St. Johns in Florida as Mocama.[9] The Mocama polity included both the Saturiwa, the chiefdom chronicled by Laudonnière and the French documents, and San Juan del Puerto, the mission served by Pareja.

Although Pareja's confessional and other writings likely drew largely from his direct experiences with his parishioners, he traveled widely throughout the Mocama and Timucua provinces, and as a representative of the Florida mission provinces, he would have communicated with friars throughout the area. His confessional, catechisms, and grammar were produced with the intention to educate mendicants who would come to serve in Florida. Documents like the confessional served as a new friar's introduction to the people and culture of his new post, and would be used for study

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6 Maynard J. Geiger, *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida, 1573-1618*, Studies in Hispanic American History, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America, 1937), 55. Although dated, Geiger's chronology of the establishment of the Florida missions is one of the most complete and thorough accounts available. Anthropologist Jerald Milanich, however, disagrees with the 1587 foundation of San Juan del Puerto, and states that Pareja probably founded the mission himself in 1595. See Milanich, *The Timucua*, 172.

7 Francisco Pareja, Petition to the Spanish Crown, St. Augustine, September 1, 1621. John Bannerman Stetson Collection (hereafter referred to as SC), PK Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

8 Pareja, Petition to the Crown, SC; Francisco Pareja and Alonso Peñaranda to the Crown, St. Augustine, November 6, 1620, SC; Francisco Pareja and Alonso Peñaranda to the Crown, St. Augustine, November 20, 1620, SC; Jerald T. Milanich and William C. Sturtevant, *Francisco Pareja's 1613 Confessional: A Documentary Source for Timucuan Ethnography* (Tallahassee: Florida Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, 1972), 13-14.

9 Keith H. Ashley, "Straddling the Florida-Georgia State Line: Ceramic Chronology of the St. Mary's Region (AD 1400-1700)" in *From Santa Elena to St. Augustine: Indigenous Ceramic Variability (AD 1400-1700)* American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers, 90, ed. Kathleen Deagan and David Hurst Thomas (Washington, DC: North American Archaeology Fund, 2009), 127.

as well as for practice. As one of the longest-serving and highest-ranking friars in the Timucuan provinces, Pareja had contact and experience with many of the diverse peoples, cultures, and dialects that made up Timucuan society. He would have written the confessional to address cultural traits that were found amongst all groups, as the confessional was intended to enumerate and describe supposedly sinful Native practices in order to eradicate them among their indigenous charges. Thus, although all of the healing practices in this article were certainly practiced by the Mocamas, it is extremely likely that there were largely present among the Timucuas in general.

Finally, the European accounts of Timucuan healing practices span roughly a fifty-year time frame, 1564-1613. Florida Indians experienced profound change over this period, including prolonged contact with Europeans, disease, missionization, shifting trade patterns, dietary changes, and slave raids, to name just a few. Native peoples' conceptions of identity, gender, culture, religion, and cosmology were challenged, if not outright attacked, during this time. Unfortunately, the limited source base does not allow for a deep understanding of change over time in Timucuan healing practices and its relation to Timucuan cosmology. Instead, this fifty-year period provides more of a snapshot of healing practices and their relation to cosmology approximately one generation after missionization.

The Timucua, like nearly all Natives of the Americas, suffered an enormous demographic collapse, in great part from the introduction of Old World diseases.[10] This collapse started even before the physical introduction of the missions to Florida; at least six epidemics swept through Florida in the years 1519-1559. Regional Natives likely suffered from smallpox, mumps, influenza, and other diseases.[11] The introduction of missions in Florida ensured the continuation, and even the intensification, of depopulation because of greater contact with Europeans and the concentration

10 Other factors for demographic collapse after contact include slaving and increased violence. For the Florida missions, changes in diet, lifestyle, and conscripted labor would have also contributed to demographic changes. See John Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 2: Resistance and Destruction* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998); Robbie Etheridge, *From Chicaza to Chickasaw: The European Invasion and the Transformation of the Mississippian World, 1540-1715* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 79, 116-117.

11 Christopher M. Stojanowski, *Biocultural Histories in La Florida: A Bioarchaeological Perspective* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 17.

of people in the *doctrinas*, or mission settlements, resulting in much larger communities than the typical Timucuan model.[12] Several epidemics ran through the province shortly after the establishment of missions, including one documented in 1595, the year that Franciscans began missionization efforts in the province in earnest.[13] A series of epidemics during the years 1613-1617 killed half the Timucuas living on missions. In 1617, the friars of the Florida province wrote to King Phillip II, "from four years ago down to the present half of the Indians have died because of the great plagues and contagious diseases that they have suffered...eight thousand Christians remain alive."[14] An unidentified "plague" struck St. Augustine in 1649, while the Spanish specifically listed smallpox as afflicting their colony in 1655.[15] During his 1657 visitation in Florida, Governor Diego de Rebolledo y Suárez de Aponte noted that in Guale and Timucua provinces, many Indians had died because of "the sickness of the plague and smallpox which they have suffered in the past years."[16] By 1700, there were only a few hundred Timucuas living in the Florida missions.[17]

The mission environment certainly acted as a force in spreading disease, both within the *doctrinas* and in erasing the buffer zones between mission provinces. Paul Kelton concludes that, "Mention of plagues most likely refers to high fever–causing diseases such as measles or yellow fever. Typhus...also could have become problematic. The disease especially would have thrived with the cultural changes that Catholicism induced. Prohibitions against nudity, less frequent bathing, and confinement in and near missions made Native peoples more vulnerable to the louse-borne disease...Florida's indigenous population undoubtedly suffered from multiple new diseases that arrived as Spanish colonialism expanded during the seventeenth century."[18] Moreover, the mission system resulted

12 Hann, *History of the Timucua*, 174-175; and Clark Spencer Larsen, "On the Frontier of Contact: Mission Bioarchaeology in La Florida," in *The Spanish Missions of La Florida*, ed. Bonnie G. McEwan (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993).

13 Jerald T. Milanich, "The Timucuan Indians of Northern Florida and Southern Georgia," in *Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, ed. Bonnie G. McEwan (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 11.

14 Francisco Pareja et al. to the King, January 17, 1617, Woodbury Lowery Collection, Library of Congress (hereafter referred to as WLC).

15 Paul Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement: Biological Catastrophe in the Native Southeast, 1492-1715* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 83.

16 Governor Rebolledo to the Caciques of Guale, April 20, 1656, WLC.

17 Milanich, "Timucuan Indians of Northern Florida," 11.

18 Kelton, *Epidemics and Enslavement*, 85.

in general declining health for Florida's indigenous peoples, in part because of dietary changes, lack of food, prohibitions against nudity and ritual cleansing, increased population density, and the forced labor system.[19]

Although modern scholars hypothesize about the exact diseases present in pre and post contact Florida, neither archival nor archaeological sources explicitly identify which diseases were present and problematic in the mission province. The friars' letters are vague, almost always referring only to "plagues" (*pestes*) and unspecified disease.[20] Archaeological evidence also cannot provide exact information on disease among the Timucuas, although some information has been preserved in the skeletal record, including a "striking increase" in the number of nonspecific infections (periosteal reactions) from the pre-contact period in the Southeast to the missionization period in Florida.[21] The Timucuas probably suffered from all the diseases common among the Native American populations after contact, including those introduced by the Europeans, such as influenza, smallpox, chicken pox, and measles, as well as those which were native to the Americas, such as tuberculosis, and treponema, a bacteria linked to syphilis.[22] Similar conclusions were reached from skeletal analysis of other southeastern indigenous groups.[23]

Through a study of healing rituals, we can better understand Timucuas' conception of the sacred. For the Timucuas, culture was structured by their conceptions of purity, impurity and pollution, a threefold system that regulated Timucuan interaction with the sacred, structured their societal relations, and shaped their worldview.[24] Rituals associated with these three states of being, including healing practices, "create unity in experience...By their means, symbolic patterns are worked out and publicly displayed. Within these patterns disparate elements are related and disparate experi-

19 Ibid., 85-86, 99; Larsen, "On the Frontier of Contact," 338-342, 345-347.

20 Francisco Pareja et al. to the King, January 17, 1617, WLC; Milanich, *The Timucua*, 201.

21 Larsen, "On the Frontier of Contact," 340.

22 Ibid.

23 Marvin T. Smith, "Aboriginal Depopulation in the Postcontact Southeast," in *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, ed. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 261.

24 Worldview, in this case, refers to the Timucuan perceptions and understanding of self, group, outsiders, and the world around them, and the relationships between these elements.

ence is given meaning."[25] These three states of being, purity, impurity, and pollution, defined Timucuan cosmology.

For the Timucuas, purity was linked with the sacred. Symbols/objects of purity in Timucuan culture included fire, blood, corn, tobacco, and black drink. Timucuas used these things to achieve a personal state of purity, to purify the environment, and to attract the attention of and interact with the sacred, including the ancestors and the gods. Although it seems that all Timucuas could achieve a temporary personal state of purity, it was not the normative state of being. Indeed, it was often dangerous for untrained individuals to interact with these symbols of purity. The second state present in the Timucuan cosmology was one of pollution, which represented a state that endangered the average person because it was also linked to the sacred. Just as symbols of the sacred had the power to purify individuals, symbols of pollution had the power to alter a person's state of being in bringing them closer to the Under World, the region of the cosmos associated with pollution. Symbols of pollution in Timucuan culture include menstrual and childbirth blood, dead bodies, and disease. Each of these states of being and collections of symbols were two different faces of the sacred. Thus, the concepts of purity and pollution are dyads interrelated to the sacred: sacred/pure, sacred/polluted. Although individuals could and did achieve a state of ritual purity and could become polluted, it endangered normal individuals. Thus, the third state for Timucuan cosmology was the impure. Impurity was associated with everyday existence: the normative state.[26]

For the Timucuas, the use of fire, black drink, tobacco, and corn offered the power to combat disease through the application of the sacred in its power to purify, the sacred/pure dyad. Conversely, disease and blood also provided a connection to the sacred as a pollutant. Both the state of illness and the shedding of blood represented a point in which a member of society entered a state which brought them closer to the sacred, whether in the process of death and dying (and thus becoming an ancestor) or through shedding the blood of the lineage, which linked the earthly family

25 Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 2-3.

26 Tamara Shircliff Spike, "To Make Graver this Sin: Conceptions of Purity and Pollution among the Timucua of Spanish Florida" (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2006), 8-11; Mary Churchill, "The Oppositional Paradigm of Purity Versus Pollution in Charles Hudson's The Southeastern Indians," *The American Indian Quarterly* 20, no.3-4 (1996), 567-568.

to the sacred family. In each case, this connection to the sacred (polluted and pure) venerates fertility, the basis of Timucuan and Southeastern cosmology.

Much of our understanding of both Timucuan healing practices and Franciscan attitudes towards them comes from the Pareja confessional. Pareja includes many questions about healing rites, and appears to have had at least some knowledge of how rites were conducted among his parishioners, as the confessional includes multiple sections of questions about healing. Moreover, Pareja recognizes and distinguishes several different types of healers, whom he addresses as *medicos, herbolarios, hechizeros,* and *parteras* (doctors, herbalists, sorcerers, and midwives).[27] There is no known source that provides specific information or ideas about what distinguishes practitioners in each of these categories. However, some general conclusions can be drawn from the kinds of tasks each group performs.

For Pareja, "doctor" appears to be a catchall category, as he uses the term in only one folio of the confessional, directed to "doctors, herbalists, and sorcerers." The questions of this section are somewhat general in nature, referring to extortion of the patient by the healer for more goods, curing with "prayers to the Devil," and producing a new fire as a cure for illness.[28] Each of the categories contain overlapping powers. For instance, all categories of healers are asked about healing with herbs and prayer, and lighting separate fires apart from the main household fire as a curing rite. Both sorcerers and herbalists are asked questions about their power of bewitchment. Herbalists and midwives are asked about their involvement in childbearing. Interestingly, the only questions about abortion and miscarriage are directed specifically to women, and not to herbalists and midwives.[29] Historically speaking, of course, most midwives were women across most cultures, and thus, the midwives would have been included in these questions, although not singled out as a category for questioning in this case. [30] Anthropologists Jerald Milanich and William Sturtevant also note that Pareja's line between sorcerer and herbalist was blurred.[31] All categories of healer, it appears, were able to interact with the sacred/pure and sacred/polluted.

27 Pareja, *Confessionario,* fol. 132, 148, 149, 150, 151,152, 153, 210, 211.
28 Ibid., fol. 148-149.
29 Ibid., fol. 132, 148, 149, 150, 151,152, 153, 210, 211.
30 Ibid., fol. 146, 147, 148, 210.
31 Milanich and Sturtevant, *Francisco Pareja's 1613 Confessional,* 42.

However, *hechizeros* were much more strongly associated with "magical" rites of all kinds, and probably functioned as shamans for the Timucuas. In addition to the shared powers of lighting separate fires, healing prayers, and bewitchment, shamans were associated with prayers and rites of first fruits rituals of agriculture, gathering, and hunting; could predict war, find lost items, and call down and stop the rains; make and distribute spells to cause harm to others and offer antidotes for these same spells; officiate marriages and seduce women by calling them forth from their houses; perform bloodletting; cause injuries; and cure with magical rites.[32]

Laudonnière notes a group of individuals that he refers to as "priests" who are "great magicians and great soothsayers and invokers of the Devil."[33] The priests have abilities that overlap those of Pareja's *hechizeros*, such as finding lost objects. Laudonnière says that the priests were diviners, conducted sacrificial rites, were advisers to the cacique, and served as doctors and surgeons, curing with science and knowledge of herbs. Upon death, a priest was treated very differently than others, as his body was placed inside his house and burned.[34] Shamans were also one of the small groups that were entitled to tribute labor performed in a *sabana* (agricultural field) assigned to him by the village *cacique*.[35] All of these characteristics suggest that shamans were more powerful, higher status individuals than herbalists and midwives.

LeMoyne describes third gender persons, whom he calls hermaphrodites, as a fourth category of person involved in Timucuan healing practices. Both LeMoyne and Laudonnière note the great number of third gender individuals in the region, and describe them as performing the heaviest types of labor because of their great strength.[36] Third gender peoples appear to have been caretakers of the sick and the dead. They transported those sick with contagious diseases to areas set aside for them (it is unknown whether this served as quarantine or for religious purposes) and fed and cared for them during their illness. Although third gender peoples were associated with healing, there is no evidence that they performed any of the rituals and medicinal treatments involved in the healing process. Instead, it appears that they functioned in

32 Pareja, *Confessionario*, fol. 132, 133, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152.
33 Laudonnière, *L'Historie notable de la Floridae*, 5.
34 Ibid., 5-7, 24.
35 John Worth, *Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Volume 1: Assimilation* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 167-168.
36 Laudonnière, *L'Historie notable de la Floridae*, 8-9; Lorant, *New World*, 69.

more of a nurse-like role, cooking, bathing, and performing basic tasks for the infirm. This brought them into close contact with a sacred purifier, the lighting of a separate fire. Separate fires were lit in areas housing the ill as well as for menstruating and postpartum women. These fires functioned as powerful symbols, as it was considered dangerous for unprepared or outside persons to approach the fire.[37] As the caretakers of the quarantined populations, third genders, like shamans, herbalists, and midwives, must have been among the select group that were able to successfully negotiate this spiritually dangerous atmosphere which combined the pollution of illness, the danger of the extreme fertility and heightened femininity of menstruating, laboring, and postpartum women, and the purifying agent of the fires, a hyper-charged environment of the sacred, both pure and polluted. Third gender people also served to prepare the body and transport the dead to the burial place.[38] For most Timucuas, this would be a charnel house. It is likely that the third gender also performed duties associated with the charnel house, possibly including de-fleshing and purifying the bones of the dead.[39] Here again, the third genders are able to negotiate both the pure and polluted; they also mitigate the danger of the pollution of death in completing or assisting in transforming the bones into a state where everyday men and women can interact safely with the dead.

The great majority of Timucuan healing practices appear to have been based on herbal medicine. The healing of disease by means of herbal cures was accepted by the Florida Franciscans as one of the most "legitimate" indigenous means of curing disease, a conclusion borne out by Pareja's repeated mention of the validity of herbs as a curative therapy.[40] Herbal remedies served the Timucuas in a variety of contexts, and certainly formed one of the chief means of fighting disease. Timucuas used herbs in healing disease, slowing down or accelerating childbirth, and in aborting unwanted fetuses.[41] Presumably, the friars would have proscribed the use of herbs for unacceptable practices. Identification of specific herbs and their applications as indicated in the confessional is difficult, as it never specifies any particular herb, instead relying

37 Pareja, *Confessionario*, fol. 124, 127, 133, 148.
38 Lorant, *New World*, 69.
39 Hann, *History of the Timucua*, 25; Spike, 62.
40 Pareja, *Confessionario*, fol. 127, 152.
41 Ibid., fol. 120, 149, 146.

on the amorphous term *yerba.*[42] Herbal medications were also an important part of treating disease for European physicians, and they quickly appropriated the use of plants that they found to be useful, including guaiacum wood, sassafras, quinine, and ipecac.[43] In his *Memoria*, Alonso de Letururiondo reported on the presence of some of these plants in Florida, noting that sassafras grows "to a great size' in the region.[44] These products were exported back to Europe and were also consumed by Europeans throughout the Indies. Spanish physicians of all types in the Indies often recommended indigenous herbs in place of scarce European medicines. In his *Tractado Brebe de Anathomia y Chirugia* of 1592, Agustin Farfán recommends almost sixty different treatments made from indigenous products for many different ailments.[45] For these reasons, much of the Timucuan use of herbs in treating disease on the missions was uncontested by the Franciscans.

After examining many different Timucuan ceremonies and rituals of healing, Pareja advises his fellow friars to counsel shamans and other healers "to heal only with herbs and medicines, as they were made by God for our health and illnesses without mixing them with useless words of the Devil." Pareja concludes his examination of healing by expressing his faith in the efficacy of the healers, writing that if they "cure with the name of Jesus and the symbol of the cross, God willing he will cure."[46] Aside from the admonition to keep out the "Devil," Pareja suggests that friars should accommodate many precolonial practices. Acts of healing and curing were of vital interest to the Spanish friars in Florida. Through the confessional, Pareja tried to provide a means for the friars to control the behavior of the Timucuan healers by using the sacrament

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42 *Yerba* is the general word for herb; in the context of the confessional, *la yerba* refers to an unknown kind of herb.

43 Mark Blumenthal, "New World Plants, New World Drugs," in *Columbus and the New World: Medical Implications*, ed. Guy A. Settipane (Providence, RI: Ocean Side Publications, 1995), 60.

44 Alonso de Leturiondo, Memoria al Rey, n.d. SC. In his 2004 inventory of the University of Florida Stetson Collection, John Worth notes that the Memoria was probably written sometime around 1700.

45 Guenter B. Risse, "Medicine in New Spain," in *Medicine in the New World: New Spain, New France, and New England*, ed. Ronald L. Numbers (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987), 48-49.

46 Pareja, *Confessionario*, fol. 152, 153. The original reads, "*sólo con las yerbas y medicinas cure, pues Dios las crio para nuestro remedio y enfermedades sin mesclar palabras essquisitas y del Demonio...Que para curar comience, con el nombre de Jesús, y la senal de la Cruz, que así Dios queriendo sanará, &c.*"

of confession to encourage healing practices that he considered beneficial, and to censure the practices that he deemed heretical. Among such "beneficial" practices were methods of healing familiar to Europeans, such as bloodletting.

Bloodletting (phlebotomy) is a medical treatment in which a doctor or other healer or medical practitioner cuts the flesh of a sick individual in order to let a certain amount of blood drain from the body. It was an extremely popular procedure throughout Europe, and was also present in many tribes in the Americas. In Europe, its roots stretched all the way back to Galen.[47] The Spanish employed bloodletting as one of their primary medical practices, used in health as well as in sickness. Phlebotomy, along with proper diet, was used as a means to control the humors of the body. In *De consideracionibus operas medicine*, physician Arnau de Vilanova held bloodletting to be the exemplar of all therapeutic activity for physicians. All classes of Spaniards, in Spain and the cities of the Spanish empire alike, practiced bloodletting, and both surgeons and common barbers performed the procedure. The role of the barber in bloodletting is probably one key to the popularity of the remedy, as it was cheap and readily available to the poor.[48]

Bloodletting was also an important means of healing throughout indigenous cultures of the Americas. In a manner similar to Western European practices, in North America many groups practiced phlebotomy as a means of relief for headache, fever, aches, and swellings. Although it was not a widespread practice in the Southeast, the Alabamas and Cherokees practiced phlebotomy on a limited basis.[49] The practice of bloodletting was far more commonly practiced among the Timucuas. The French cartographer LeMoyne gives a detailed account of Timucuan bloodletting

47 Risse, "Medicine in New Spain," 23.

48 John Tate Lanning, *The Royal Protomedicato: The Regulation of the Medical Professions in the Spanish Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1985), 282-286, 290-297; Michael R. McVaugh, *Medicine before the Plague: Practitioners and their Patients in the Crown of Aragon, 1285-1345* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 149-153; and Guy A. Settipane, "Introduction: Columbus: Medical Implications," in *Columbus and the New World: Medical Implications*, ed. Guy A. Settipane (Providence, RI: Ocean Side Publications, 1995), 4.

49 James Mooney, "Cherokee Theory and Practice of Medicine," *The Journal of American Folklore* 3, no. 8 (January-March 1890): 48-49; Lyda Averill Taylor, "Field notes and ethnographic material on Alabama, Choctaw, and Koasati," MS 4658, Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, DC (Hereafter NAA).

practices witnessed during the French expedition of 1564. Platforms were built for the sick individuals, who were laid out to receive the ministrations of the shaman or herbalist. A shaman or an herbalist performed the bloodletting by cutting the forehead of the patient with a sharpened shell. Afterwards, the shaman sucked out an unspecified amount of blood from the cut and spit it into a gourd bowl or an earthen jar.[50] Pareja includes only one question about bloodletting in his confessional, asking, "Have you ruptured someone?"[51] The question is directed only to *hechizeros*, indicating that only shamans were able to perform this procedure. The seemingly benign attitude taken by the confessional towards bloodletting, likely the result of familiarity with the practice in Europe and or the colonies, indicates that the Franciscans viewed the practice as a medical, or at least tolerable procedure rather than a magical, heretical one.[52] The fact that the confessional addresses questions about bloodletting to shamans only, however, shows that it was likely that Timucuas likely regarded bloodletting as a supernatural, "magical" means of healing.

Throughout the Americas, many indigenous groups regarded the ultimate source of disease as the result of a disturbed relationship with the supernatural. Because disease had its origins in the supernatural, it often had to be cured in a supernatural way. In most cultures, the practitioner of these supernatural or magical cures is a shaman, a person who has "supernatural sanction" to cure and heal. In this type of healing, shamans act as a "religio-magic" practitioner. The use of the term magic in reference to healing is certainly ambiguous at best; however, for lack of a better term indicating a specially sanctioned relationship with the supernatural or sacred, it is employed by anthropologists and historians alike.[53]

Contrary to the "legitimate" practice of bloodletting, the practice of sucking illness from the body (*chupando)* was a constant target of extirpation on the Timucuan missions. In this practice, a

50 Lorant, *New World*, 75.

51 Pareja, *Confessionario*, fol. 152. The original reads, "*Hecho potroso a alguno?*"

52 Robinson A. Herrera, *Natives, Europeans, and Africans in Sixteenth-Century Santiago de Guatemala* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 75-76, 90.

53 Åke Hultkrantz, *Shamanic Healing and Ritual Drama: Health and Medicine in Native North American Religious Traditions* (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1992), 14-9; John Reed Swanton, *Creek Religion and Medicine* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 614-615. Originally published as "Religious Beliefs and Medicinal Practices of the Creek Indians,"42nd Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1924/1925).

shaman or other healer would ritualistically heal by "sucking" the disease out of the sick individual with their mouth or a specialized instrument. Often, small bits of matter representing the cause of the disease were sucked from the body. These items included bits of trash and other "unclean" things. Practitioners of this rite were referred to as "*chupadores*" in confessionals for other regions.[54] Unlike bloodletting, the practice of sucking did not actually draw blood or break the skin. Among the Timucuas, shamans were the practitioners of sucking out illnesses. The individual was laid out for examination. A special biconical pipe was used to suck the sickness out of the afflicted body part. The shaman, likely using sleight of hand, then produced some sort of object that had been sucked out of the body. Apparently, the extraction of objects as the cause of the sickness was common among the Timucuas; Pareja says that these objects usually consisted of "a little piece of coal, at other times a small lump of dirt and other unclean things, things alive or as if alive."[55] From a Timucuan point of view, the extraction of such unclean objects was certainly associated with the removal of pollution from the body, restoring the individual to the normative state.

Pareja devotes a lengthy section of the confessional to the magical methods of healing used by the Timucuan shamans, which he describes in detail so that other friars will recognize the rites. In the first ritual, the shaman places white feathers, new hide, the "ears of an owl," and arrows stuck in the ground in front of the sick individual in order to draw out the sickness.[56] He then describes the method of sucking illnesses from the body, which he identifies as "another deceitful practice." The rite must be trickery, he alleges, as "no hole is left in the body" by the extraction of the foreign matter.[57] These two practices may be parts of a larger healing ceremony, as suggested by Milanich.[58] Owls seem to have special significance for the Timucuas. A large, wooden owl totem was recovered from a part of the St. Johns River associated with a Timucuan-speaking group called the Hororo or Jororo, the "people of the owl."[59] In the confessional, owls are associated with both evil and beneficial

54 Buckingham Smith, *Grammar of the Pima or Névume, a Language of Sonora from a Manuscript of the XVIII Century* (New York: AMS Press, 1970), 29.

55 Pareja, *Confessionario*, fol. 152.

56 Milanich and Sturtevant, *Francisco Pareja's 1613 Confessional*, 32. The original reads, "*Plumas blancas y gamuza nueva y las orejas del buho y flechas hincadas.*" This passage was adapted from Emilio Moran's translation of the document.

57 Pareja, *Confessionario*, fol. 152.

58 Milanich, *The Timucua*, 180.

59 Hann, *History of the Timucua Indians*, 118-119.

omens; hearing the cry of an owl can be an indicator of a coming evil, or that the owl "will have pity on you," depending on whom the hearer is and/or what activities they are engaged in at the time. An agriculturalist must take care not to scare an owl after it cries, lest "something awful" happen to him or her.[60] This dual association is present in the Timucuan language as well; linguist Julian Granberry identified two words for owl. The first, *hororo*, he defines simply as "owl." The second, *hitiqire*, derives from *hiti* (demon, evil spirit) + *qi* (wish), he notes.[61]

Disease could also be "magically" controlled through purification of the environment. The lighting of separate fires for a sick individual is a constant theme of the confessional; the lighting of a separate fire served in many contexts, all significant as "an important part of rituals on occasions of transition and impurity."[62] LeMoyne also notes that the lighting of a fire constituted a part of healing rites. After lighting a fire, he says, seeds are cast into it. The sick individual would then be placed face down on a platform close to the fire in order to breathe in the smoke, which "act[ed] as a purge, expelling the poison from the body and thus curing the disease."[63] Making fires separate from the main cooking fire of the household was common during illness, menstruation, and after childbirth. Fires were also lit in the council house when a man became a chief.[64] Finally, it seems that shamans proved themselves in part through their ability to interact with and manipulate fire. In his poem "La Florida," friar Alonso Gregorio de Escobedo says that, "those who can handle the fire are given sacred titles and laurels, while those who burn themselves lose their fame and force, their position and place." He then goes on to describe two individuals, perhaps initiates of the shamanic practice. The first fails in his attempt to handle fire; Escobedo says that he burned himself badly because his "knowledge [of shamanic ritual] failed." Because of this failure, the initiate "became wretched and poor." The second initiate prospered because of his success in manipulating the flames "with such skill that the mob took him for a holy man."[65]

60 Pareja, *Confessionario*, f. 125, 129. The original reads *Cantando el buho, has creído que tendrá misericordia de tí?*

61 Julian Granberry, *A Grammar and Dictionary of the Timucua Language*. Third Edition (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993), 136-137.

62 Milanich and Sturtevant, *Pareja's Confessionario*, 44.

63 Lorant, *New World*, 75.

64 Pareja, *Confessionario*, fol. 185.

65 Alexandra E. Sununu, "Estudio y Edicíon Anotada de "La Florida" de Alonso Gregorio de Escobedo, O.F.M" (PhD diss., City University of New York, 1993),

Escobedo's description shows that shamans proved their holiness through surviving some sort of rite of fire, thereby demonstrating their ability to interact with the sacred and manipulate the ritually pure and polluted.

In each case, the affected individual is moving from one state of being to another (sick to well, pregnant to postpartum, member of society to chief or shaman). Similarly, the fire represented a connection between three states of the Timucuan cosmology; fire (sacred/pure) was used to nullify illness or bloodshed (sacred/pollution) in order to restore the individual to a normative state of impurity. The lighting of a separate fire was both practical and symbolic; it delineated their separation from society and purified the separate environment, perhaps even the individuals present within its immediate vicinity. In each case, the act of making a separate fire not only set the individual symbolically apart from the rest of the society, it literally and physically separated them for a time, as the ritually pure or polluted individuals were removed from the immediate vicinity of the rest of the normal, impure population.

Fire was used in a variety of applications in the healing process. Beyond its symbolic value, it served as a conveyor of medication, uniting the forces of herbal and magical healing. In some cases, seeds or plants were thrown into the fire during treatment of a sick individual; the smoke from these seeds was inhaled as a purge, expelling poisons from the body and driving out the sickness.[66] This practice of purging oneself by inhaling the smoke of medicinal plants is unusual in the Southeast; tribes were far more likely to purge by vomiting or in a sweatbath.[67] Separate fires also served a functional purpose. Pareja indicates that these fires were lit to cook the food of the sick individual, away from the food of the rest of the household, effectively a kind of quarantine. The modern explanation indicates that food was cooked separately in order to control the spread of disease and to protect the rest of the household. It is possible that the Timucuas correctly assumed that this was the case. This explanation is not at all farfetched, as other Southeastern groups made the connection between diseases and Europeans. The Creeks and Cherokees both felt that there were

874.

66 Lorant, *New World*, 75.

67 Hultkrantz, *Shamanic Healing*, 105-112.

many dissimilar sources of disease, including many types of spirits, animals, and the "white man."[68]

Other Timucuan practices would support the idea that the separate fire during illness was lit to keep diseased and healthy individuals separate. LeMoyne notes that the Timucuan "hermaphrodites", third gender peoples, looked after individuals sick with contagious diseases until they are well again. He further notes that third genders took the sick people to "places selected for the purpose," and were responsible for feeding the sick.[69] The average size of a Timucuan structure would also suggest that the sick individuals were moved out of the house.[70] Archaeological evidence reveals that the fire of a Timucuan household was lit in a 40-80 inch depression in the center of the home, precluding an additional fire in the household.[71] It is likely that the sick were physically removed from the household for practical as well as cosmological reasons.

Separate fires were also closely linked to menstruation and childbirth. Pareja indicates that lighting a separate fire was a monthly ritual during menses. Additionally, a separate fire was lit during and after the delivery of a child.[72] It was considered dangerous or inappropriate for others to approach this postpartum fire.[73] Women were evidently expected to cook separately from men and other, non-menstruating women for an indeterminate period of time after giving birth, and every month during menstruation. Although it seems logical to assume that the separate fire remained lit until the end of menstruation, the length of time the post-delivery fire remained lit is uncertain. No mention of the duration of the "impure" or otherwise vulnerable period after delivery is made in the confessional or any other known document. It is likely that the Timucuas practiced ritual separation of men and women during menstruation and just after childbirth during the precolonial

68 John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States,* Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 137 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1946), 782.

69 Lorant, *New World*, 69.

70 One of the structures in the Timucua province believed to be an aboriginal structure is estimated as being 9x13 meters in size, making it unlikely that there would be enough room to light a second fire within the household. Brent R. Weisman, "Archaeology of Fig Spring Mission, Ichetucknee Springs State Park," in *The Spanish Missions of La Florida*, ed. Bonnie G. McEwan (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 179-185.

71 Hann, *History of the Timucua*, 87-88.

72 Pareja, *Confessionario*, fol. 133.

73 Ibid., fol. 124.

era.[74] During these times, women withdrew to menstrual huts, built just outside of the village, to avoid contact with men. It is presumed that this separation was based on a notion of impurity that was associated with the blood of childbirth and menses, which would supposedly pollute or otherwise damage a man and his goods. Such a belief fits with the ideas that separate fires are linked with pollution; the separate fire in the menstrual hut keeps the pollutant of menstrual blood away from men (and possibly non-menstruating women). Furthermore, if a woman had just given birth, a separate fire was lit, marking childbirth as both a time of pollution and a time of transition.

More recently, gendered analyses of women's rituals have changed the way in which anthropologists and historians think of rites associated with menstruation and childbirth. Their findings indicate that often, menstruating and postpartum women were separated from the rest of society because of the power of their fertility; the blood that they shed during these times was deemed by some Native communities to be especially potent and powerful.[75] In other words, women are most "quintessentially female" when pregnant, post-partum, or menstruating.[76] In this case, the blood is still "polluted," that is, dangerous; but rather than tainting the person it comes in contact with, instead, the blood overpowers the individual.[77] This fits well within the Timucuan cosmological category of sacred/polluted; the blood is the physical representation of the fertility of both the individual woman and the lineage, and is strongly connected to the sacred/polluted and thus the Under World, and dangerous to the average person.

Although there is no explicit documentation of archaeological evidence of the existence of menstrual huts among the Timucuas, this tradition fits with the Timucuan ethnological background, similar to that of the Creek, who also practiced ritual separation

74 Hann, *History of the Timucua*, 87.

75 Carolyn Ross Johnston, *Cherokee Women in Crisis: Trail of Tears, Civil War, and Allotment, 1837-1907* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 18-20; Patricia Galloway, "Where Have All the Menstrual Huts Gone? The Invisibility of Menstrual Seclusion in the Late Prehistoric Southeast," in *Reader in Gender Archaeology*, ed. Kelly Hays-Gilpin and David S. Whitley (London: Routledge Press, 1998), 203-204, 206; Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 4, 34-37; and Michelene E. Pesantubbee, *Choctaw Women in a Chaotic World: The Clash of Cultures in the Colonial Southeast* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 24, 121, 151-152.

76 Johnston, *Cherokee Women in Crisis*, 18.

77 Mooney, "Cherokee Theory," 48.

during these times.[78] It is possible that the archaeological evidence of menstrual huts in Florida is present, but has been misidentified; Patricia Galloway has argued for such a case for the Mississippian BBB Motor site (11 MS 595), based on the presence of jimsonweed (used as an abortifacient) and an association of artifacts with menstruation, including a large red crystal and a figurine of a woman whose outstretched arms end in fruit rather than hands, symbolizing the woman's fertility. This site was previously identified as a ritual space for men's purification rites.[79]

The Timucuas also practiced other prohibitions during menstruation and after childbirth. After birth, a woman dressed her hair with bear grease for an undetermined number of months. The black bear was fairly common in Florida at the time of contact, and was hunted by many peoples; bear grease was also a common hair dressing among the Southeastern Indians.[80] Although there is no explicit suggestion that there was any religious or healing connotation connected with this practice, the bear is the largest and most powerful animal in the lands surrounding Timucuan communities. Post-partum women may have applied the bear grease in order to absorb its strength in the period of recovery shortly after birth.[81]

Eating meat and fish was also prohibited during menstruation and after childbirth.[82] There is no other indication in any part of the document as to how long this period of ritual fasting lasted after delivery, but might have been linked to the duration of the separate fire. The prohibition against fish is especially interesting, as many Southeastern cultures identified fish as belonging to the Under World, the space connected with water, life, death, fertility, and pollution.[83] Cherokee women, for instance, avoided eating certain types of fish during pregnancy and abstained from eating fish altogether for the first two days post-partum so that the lochia would continue to discharge and flow normally during the period.[84] In one of the Cherokee origin myths, mankind originated after

78 Hann, *History of the Timucua*, 87, 93; Swanton, *Creek Religion and Medicine*, 651.
79 Galloway, "Menstrual Huts," 204-205.
80 Swanton, *Southeastern Indians*, 499.
81 Milanich and Sturtevant, *Pareja's Confessionario*, 46. Milanich and Sturtevant note that Pareja's confessional is the first document to imply that the practice of applying bear grease to the hair after birth was religiously motivated in any way.
82 Pareja, *Confessionario*, fol. 132, 133.
83 Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 128-129; Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, 34.
84 Johnston, *Cherokee Women in Crisis*, 21-23; Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, 321.

First Man struck his sister First Woman with a fish, and she became pregnant.[85] For the Timucuas, the connection between fish and fertility is strong; in addition to the taboos prohibiting postpartum and menstruating women from eating fish, other taboos conflate the two. According to Timucuan beliefs, hunters who have had sex with their wives would find empty fish traps for an indeterminate amount of time after sex; shamans who performed the most dangerous magical spells refrained from both having sex and from eating fish so as not to endanger themselves.[86]

Like other groups, the Timucuas also practiced geophagy, presumably during pregnancy. Pareja notes that some women were known to have eaten charcoal, dirt, bits of pottery, fleas, and even lice.[87] Pareja's confessional is not unique in asking pregnant women about geophagy.[88] It is possible that women consumed these substances not out of nutritional need, but as a medicinal remedy, as Pareja includes the question about geophagy in a section of questions that cites beliefs about specific foods, including the special treatment of gathered first fruits such as acorns and food taboos observed during menses.[89] Pregnant women require extra vitamins and minerals; like many different cultures, the Timucuan diet may not always have supplied enough varied foods to fill this need, forcing the women to resort to geophagy.[90] This was especially true for Native women at the missions of La Florida; osteological analysis of skeletal collections in Guale and Timucua show the effects of considerable biocultural stress and adaptation, much of it a result of a more limited, less nutritious diet, and increased sedentary patterns. The body was affected by the poor mission diet in a variety of ways still visible in the skeletal population, including dental caries, enamel hypoplasia, skeletal infections such as periosteal reactions, cribia orbitalia, porotic hyperostosis, and hypoferremia.[91]

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85 Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, 34.

86 Pareja, *Confessionario*, fol. 126, 132, 207.

87 Ibid., fol. 133.

88 Agustín de Quintana, *Confessionario En Lengua Mixe: Con Una Construcción De Las Oraciones De La Doctrina Mexes, Para Enseñarse a Pronunciar La Dicha Lengua* (Puebla, Mexico: Viuda de Miguel de Ortega, 1733), 49.

89 John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek and Their Neighbors*, Bulletin 73, Smithsonian Institution Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1922), 362.

90 Andrea S. Wiley and Solomon H. Katz, "Geophagy in Pregnancy: A Test of a Hypothesis," *Current Anthropology* 39, no. 4 (August-October 1998): 532-534.

91 Larsen, "On the Frontier of Contact," 338-342.

Midwives or herbalists attended childbirth, addressing prayers and offerings to an unknown god during childbirth, a common practice during all kinds of medical treatment in the Americas.[92] These healers had the power to delay and speed up birthing through the use of herbs. This is a common practice, and a variety of herbs may be employed for this purpose. Southeastern Native Americans used several families of plants for this purpose, including plants from the families of *polygonaceae, quercus, ulmus,* and *vitis.*[93] One particularly popular drug used as a gynecological/obstetrical aid in the Southeast was the *Ulmus* or elm family, including *Ulmus rubra* and *Ulmus Americana* (slippery elm and American elm), both as an analgesic and in order to stimulate contractions and induce labor.[94] American elm is very common in the area where Timucuas lived and was undoubtedly easy for them to find; slippery elm was less common, but present in the western portions of the Timucuan-speaking area.[95] Other common herbal gynecological remedies available in north Florida include *Veronica officinalis* (common speedwell), as well as other varieties of speedwell.[96] It is probable that Timucuan midwives and herbalists were able to help women in childbirth by speeding or strengthening contractions through the use of herbal drugs. The 1613 confessional indicates that among the Timucuas, medical practitioners were able to extort better payment from laboring women by using or withholding the appropriate drugs.[97]

In addition to information about birthing rituals, the 1613 confessional is filled with questions about abortion (*abortar*) and miscarriage (*mal parir*). Abortion of fetuses, including those conceived outside of marriage, seems to have been fairly common among the Timucuas.[98] Pareja makes mention of this practice in the confessional, stating, "If she were single and it were known the she is pregnant...she is not to abort or choke the unborn child as

92 Pareja, *Confessionario,* fol. 149.
93 Daniel E. Moerman, *Medicinal Plants of Native America, Volume Two* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1986), 172-174; 390-392; 495-496; 516-518.
94 James Mooney, "Cherokee Plants and Uses," MS 2235, NAA; Johnston, *Cherokee Women in Crisis,* 20.
95 Richard P. Wunderlin, *Guide to the Vascular Plants of Central Florida* (Tampa: University Presses of Florida, 1982), 163.
96 Mooney, "Cherokee Plants and Uses," MS 2235, NAA; Johnston, Cherokee Women in Crisis, 20.
97 Pareja, *Confessionario,* fol. 149.
98 Hann, *History of the Timucua,* 121.

they are accustomed to do."[99] This practice continued long after the establishment of missions throughout the province, possibly as a continuation of earlier cultural norms and practices. In 1694, visitor Joaquin de Florencia passed judgment on a woman who was living apart from her husband, yet was known to have terminated several pregnancies through ingestion of a liquid called *verudises.*[100]

The Timucuas used various herbal medications as a form of birth control. The confessional contains two questions back to back on this topic. The first asks, "Have you taken some herb so that you would not become pregnant?" The second reads, "Have you taken some herb in order to become sterile?"[101] These two questions may indicate that there was a perceived difference between the two kinds of medication. It is possible that one herb may have been taken to prevent pregnancy for a short period of time; the other had the explicit goal of making the individual incapable of ever conceiving. It is also possible that the former remedy may have been taken after sex to prevent pregnancy, while the later was taken on a continual basis, much like birth control pills today. Southeastern peoples had access to many different contraceptive herbal remedies.[102] Unfortunately, we will probably never know the exact plant used by the Timucuas given the scant descriptions. The fact that none of the herbs utilized by the Southeastern tribes as birth control are indigenous to Florida further complicates an accurate identification.[103]

Several methods of inducing abortion are mentioned in the confessional. It was thought that any woman could cause another woman to have a miscarriage by striking the pregnant mother, through an unspecified use of an herb, or by causing her to have a great fright. The pregnant woman herself could cause a miscarriage by taking a drink (possibly of *verudises,* the herb mentioned above) by striking herself, by "squeezing [her] belly to choke it [the fetus]," and by "lying badly across the bed and putting [her] arm on top...suffocating the unborn child."[104] These references to manual means of abortion probably stem just as much from knowledge of European practices as indigenous; seventeenth century Parisian master surgeon François Mauriccau advocated the

99 Pareja, *Confessionario,* fol. 147.
100 Hann, *History of the Timucua,* 121.
101 Pareja, *Confessionario,* fol. 215.
102 See Moerman, *Medicinal Plants.*
103 See Wunderlin, *Vascular Plants.*
104 Pareja, *Confessionario,* fol. 133, 134, 146, 147.

practice of manual rather than herbal abortion, in which a woman would lie across a bed with her knees held against her chest so that the physician could digitally enlarge the cervix, eventually inserting his hand into the womb to extract the fetus. Other non-herbal means of abortion advised by European physicians included douches, excessive bloodletting, vigorous physical activity such as jumping and horseback riding, and applying pressure to the femoral artery.[105]

Although the confessional records the various methods women used to miscarry or abort, it makes no mention of abortion or miscarriage in any question for herbalists, midwives, or shamans. Since abortion and infanticide seems to have been such a common practice among the Timucuas, it is possible that the general population had no need to consult specialized healers. Instead, these practices would fall under a general routine of health maintenance for individual women. There is no mention of ritual separation for women who have aborted or miscarried a fetus, although the common factor of fertility and the shedding of blood would indicate that a ritual separation and the purifying factor of a separate fire were necessary for the woman's (and society's) well-being. The lack of information in the confessional regarding rituals associated with abortion and miscarriage is probably a reflection of Pareja's status as both male and cultural outsider.

A recurring theme throughout the corpus of Timucuan healing rituals is the importance and power of blood. Shamans shed blood to cure illness and women segregated themselves while they were shedding blood at various stages of their reproductive cycles. Persons with serious injuries involving cuts and bleeding probably also segregated themselves from the rest of the community. This is never overtly stated in the sources, but is implied by LeMoyne's description of the role of the third gender individuals, who carried injured warriors from the battlefield and cared for them until they recuperated.[106] The representation of blood in these healing practices is ambiguous at best. Blood was evidently a dangerous substance, something to be closely controlled. The general population was kept segregated from spilled blood. Yet for nursing and pregnant women, blood was an agent that strengthened and fortified. Nursing mothers often drank the blood of "strong young

105 Londa Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 110-111.

106 Lorant, *New World*, 69.

men" to enrich their breast milk and strengthen their child.[107] This practice could be limited to the duration of the ritual separation or might have continued for the entire time a woman nursed her baby. Paradoxically, women drank blood that was extracted from sick individuals by a shaman, especially if it was from a "strong young man."[108] Pregnant women and nursing mothers were likely an exception to the rule of blood avoidance because they existed in a heightened state of fertility, linked to amenorrhea, the absence of their menstrual blood during pregnancy and the early stages of breastfeeding. The connections between blood and fertility through the Under World and the sacred/polluted could suggest that drinking the blood of young men was believed to enhance and increase the future fertility of the women through a "replacement" of her menstrual blood. But why take the blood from sick men instead of healthy? Several interpretations suggest themselves. Perhaps the women were considered to be protected from illness or danger caused by spilled blood during these times during which they themselves shed no blood. It is also possible that LeMoyne witnessed shamans taking blood from healthy young men to give to the women, and based on prior observations of bloodletting, assumed that they were sick. Given the dangers associated with blood, it is most likely that bloodletting and the deliberate spilling of blood was confined to times of illness and to ritual self-sacrifice, making sick individuals the only source of blood.

Although the documents that describe healing practices span only a fifty-year period, a few suggestions can be made about cultural change over this critical period, which includes the establishment of the Timucuan missions. First and foremost, there appears to be great similarities and stability in healing practices over this time. The practices of bloodletting, healing with herbs, and the importance of separate fires and blood and sacred agents as well as healing rites are all present in documents spanning the era. Shamans played a critical role in magical rites throughout the period, although the Franciscans marked some of the magical healing rites that they presided over for extirpation.

The biggest observable change in healing rites over the period is the absence of third gender peoples from sources after the establishment of the Florida missions. It is possible that significant cultural change occurred during this period, removing the third

107 Ibid., 75.
108 Ibid.

gender from Timucuan society under the influence of Christianization and Hispanization. This seems unlikely, as the French sources all note the great number of third gender peoples and the importance of their work and abilities to Timucuan society. It is far more likely that third gender peoples were still present, but "passing" as Timucuan men by dressing in men's clothes or in a masculine fashion, and by dressing their hair differently. Among many groups, it is common for Two Spirits to assume either masculine or feminine dress, depending on the task being undertaken. European observers often only noted the presence of Two Spirits and third gender peoples when dressed in feminine clothing; when dressed in masculine clothing, they apparently went unnoticed.[109] This is likely the case for the Timucuan third genders.

Examination of healing rituals offers great insight into the Timucuan culture and its belief structure. The ritual separation of the ill and injured indicates that disease was considered to be a danger, whether physiological or psychological, to the healthy members of the society, a result of its connections to the sacred/polluted. The segregation of the sick protected the bulk of the population while offering an environment in which the sick individuals could undergo treatment which included interaction with the sacred/pure through the lighting of a separate fire and treatment with purifying agents such as black drink, tobacco, and corn. Magical treatments, such as sucking diseases from the body and bloodletting, were practiced by the Timucuas. Treatment through magical practices seems to have been limited to shamanic practitioners, whereas both shamans, herbalists, and midwives administered herbal treatments. Third gender peoples played a caretaking role in healing. Like shamans, herbalists, and midwives, third gender individuals were able to negotiate the dangers on close contact with the sacred in pure and polluted forms. Finally, the Timucuas ascribed great importance to blood, surpassing all other parts of the body. Blood was simultaneously dangerous and nurturing. In part through the continuation of these pre-Columbian healing practices, the Timucuas were able to retain some semblance of a cosmological order based on states defined by purity, pollution, and impurity.

109 Williams, *The Spirit and the Flesh*, 71-76.

Reconstituting Power in an American Borderland: Political Change in Colonial East Florida

by Nancy O. Gallman

On his 10,000-acre plantation along the St. Johns River, Francis Philip Fatio had much to claim. With the labor of more than eighty slaves, Fatio and his partner investors established a thriving plantation in former Native territory soon after they arrived in British East Florida in 1771. Named in honor of his homeland, Fatio's "New Switzerland" plantation excelled in the production of timber, cattle, citrus fruits, and naval stores.[1] Historians once suggested that lasting only twenty-one years, East Florida's British period was too brief to have much impact on the development of the colony: "too short for the roots to take much hold of the soil."[2] New Switzerland's roots, however, survived the return of Spanish rule to East Florida in 1783 and continued to

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1 Susan R. Parker, "Success Through Diversification: Francis Philip Fatio's New Switzerland Plantation," in *Colonial Plantations and Economy in Florida*, ed. Jane Landers (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 69-82.

2 Charles Loch Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763–1784* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943), 149. For a different and more recent view of East Florida's British years, see Daniel L. Schafer, "St. Augustine's British Years, 1763–1784," *El Escribano* 38 (2001): 1–283; and Daniel L. Schafer, *William Bartram and the Ghost Plantations of British East Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010), 55–118. In his work, Schafer describes the many riverine plantations and other significant economic and political activities of East Florida's short British era.

build wealth and influence for generations of the Fatio family into at least the twentieth century.[3] Moreover, the colony's rich resources and diverse economy offered more than material success. On his plantation, Fatio also realized a new imperial vision for colonial East Florida after Spain ceded control of the territory to Great Britain in 1763, at the conclusion of the Seven Years' War.

Fatio's New Switzerland, and other plantations like it, developed in a colonial political culture that shifted as European possession of East Florida changed from Spain to Great Britain in the middle of the eighteenth century. After the Yamasee War (1715 – 1716), the Spanish cultivated a precarious political relationship with the Lower Creeks and Yamasees, refugees of the war. They based this relationship not on the cession of vast tracts of land that displaced large numbers of Native peoples, but on the construction of strategic, although weak, alliances meant to secure the place of both the Spanish and Native groups in the contested East Florida territory. When Great Britain took over East Florida in 1763, however, it brought a new vision of empire that emphasized the accumulation of Native lands in the hands of a few, elite, and entrepreneurial European planters. In the years following the Seven Years' War, the British introduced new formalities to the political process governing the relationship between East Florida's Native peoples and Europeans; accelerated the process of Lower Creek and Seminole land dispossession in East Florida; and redefined East Florida's political culture by replacing the Spanish imperial vision with a British vision of North American empire emphasizing extensive land possession, settlement, and global trade.

While neither a British native nor a particularly devoted British subject, Fatio took advantage of the empire's claims to authority in East Florida and its policy of converting Native land into private property. Wishing to convince British authorities to retain East Florida at the end of the American Revolution, Fatio argued that the colony constituted an important European asset, valuable for its fertile interior and abundance of trees. The best lands remained unsettled, he complained, "on Account of the frequent Eruptions of those Wild Indians."[4] In British East Florida, Fatio aimed to use

3 Parker, "Success Through Diversification," 71.

4 Francis Philip Fatio to Major John Morrison, "Considerations on the Importance of the Province of East Florida to the British Empire (on the supposition that it will be deprived of its Southern Colonies), By its Situation, its produce in Naval Stores, Ship Lumber, & the Asylum it may afford to the

the empire's vision of colonization to transform Native ground into his own.

Empires and Native Grounds In East Florida

During the eighteenth century, Spain and Great Britain shared at least two goals in their approaches to North American colonization. They wanted to expand the extent of their power and wealth and to establish a colonial social order which they would define and control. Both Spanish and British officials attempted to justify colonialism on the basis of race and other cultural differences.[5] Importantly, however, Native peoples outnumbered Europeans in the Southeast by more than ten to one at the start of the eighteenth century. By 1775, the European population had grown rapidly in Carolina and Georgia–from 3,800 to approximately 90,000. In the same year, however, the total Creek population outnumbered East Florida's European population by at least five to one.[6]

Over the course of the eighteenth century, the principal Native groups in the region–Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks–increasingly engaged in trade and gift-giving with Europeans. As traditional competitors for deer hunting grounds, southeastern indigenous peoples competed with each other to exchange deerskins for European metal, gunpowder, and guns. They relied on these goods not only for their subsistence but also for their protection against enemy raids. The European rivals–Great Britain, France, and Spain–depended on Native trade and gift-giving to pursue military alliances and profits. The European powers used these advantages to make imperial claims in North

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Wretched & Distressed Loyalists," December 14, 1782, typescript copy in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

5 Daniel S. Murphree, *Constructing Floridians: Natives and Europeans in the Colonial Floridas, 1513–1783* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006).

6 The total Creek population steadily increased over the course of the eighteenth century from approximately 9,000 in 1700 to close to 20,000 at the start of the American Revolution. Europeans in East Florida numbered little more than 3,000 during the same time period. Peter H. Wood, "The Changing Population of the Colonial South: An Overview by Race and Region, 1685–1790," in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, ed. Gregory A. Waselkov, Peter H. Wood, and Tom Hatley (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 60-61, 76-87; Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685–1815*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 9; David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 179–183.

America.[7] Culturally coherent, mutually independent, and numerous, Native groups in the Southeast exploited their strengths and their trade interests to balance the distribution of power among Europeans and Native peoples throughout the region.

As a consequence of Native power, Spain and Great Britain had to negotiate their ambitions on what historian Kathleen DuVal calls "native ground," diplomatic space where Native peoples and Europeans mutually constructed their relations in response to the disorder wrought by war, with Native peoples controlling much of the context and the terms of negotiation.[8] As they began to develop British East Florida, Indian Affairs Superintendent John Stuart and East Florida Governor James Grant noted, "the Indians are descerning, and know the weak State of the New Colonies, and how incapable they are even to support a Defensive war with them, which will always be favourable to the Indians and destructive to us." [9] While insisting on their cultural superiority, both empires also recognized Native peoples' enormous power in the Southeast, a ruling force that they sought to influence.

In East Florida, the Spanish and the British cultivated alliances with Native groups, but in markedly different ways that would shape European–Native relations and the constitution and reconstitution of power in the colony. In several meetings with the Lower Creeks at Apalachee and Apalachicola from 1716 to 1718, the Spanish hoped to create a buffer zone of shared territory between the Spanish empire and Spain's most aggressive rival, the British. During the previous thirty years, Carolinians had attacked Spanish Florida and its Catholic missions, hoping to supply Native captives to the Atlantic slave trade and to control the flow of runaway slaves across

7 Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, 172–235; Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels*, 26–58; Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change Among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983); Alan Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settling of North America* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001). For a discussion of how gender shaped this process among the Cherokee, see Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700–1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 65–85.

8 Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 4–12.

9 John Stuart and Governor James Grant to the Board of Trade, "Observations on the Plan for the Future Management of Indian Affairs Humbly Submitted to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations," December 1, 1764, in *Observations of Superintendent John Stuart and Governor James Grant of East Florida on the proposed plan of 1764 for the future management of Indian affairs*, contributed by Clarence E. Carter (New York, 1915), reprinted from the *American Historical Review* 20, no. 4 (July 1915): 823.

this international border.[10] In the face of new competition, Spain struggled to assert its sovereignty over the Florida colony. Spain needed Florida in order to claim control over the Gulf economy and to protect the Spanish treasure fleet from rival attacks as it traveled from the Caribbean to Europe. To contain the British threat to Florida, the Spanish claimed an alliance with the Lower Creeks and pressed them to relocate some of their towns closer to Spanish settlements.[11] In these negotiations, the Spanish pursued an Indian policy based on relative inclusion, valuing Native peoples as potential spiritual converts and as allies in the defense of East Florida against British intrusion.

As a result of the 1763 Peace of Paris, Great Britain took possession of East Florida from Spain and entered into European–Native alliances of a different sort. In 1765, British officials and leading men from the Lower Creeks and their brethren, the Florida Seminoles, met at Fort Picolata to negotiate a written treaty.[12] One of several British–Native conferences in the Southeast during this time period, the Fort Picolata Congress established trade terms and clearly defined territorial boundaries between Europeans and Native groups. These boundaries reflected a new vision of empire rooted in a fundamental belief about private property that shaped Anglo-American political identity. In contrast to the Spanish, the British proceeded on a policy of exclusion, valuing indigenous peoples as trading partners in the lucrative deerskin trade but seeking to persuade them to give up their lands to British settlers.

Taking place fifty years apart, meetings between Europeans and Florida's Native peoples illuminated shifting political perspectives and showed how these perspectives reshaped politics in this

10 Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, 142–45; Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 23–28.

11 Mark F. Boyd, "Diego Peña's Expedition to Apalachee and Apalachicolo in 1716: A Journal Translated and with an Introduction," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (July 1949): 1–27; Boyd, "Documents Describing the Second and Third Expeditions of Lieutenant Diego Peña to Apalachee and Apalachicolo in 1717 and 1718," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (October 1952): 109–139; John Jay TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida, 1700–1763* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1964), 197–204.

12 "Journal of a Congress," December 9, 1765, Public Record Office (hereafter cited as PRO), British Colonial Office (hereafter cited as CO) 5/548, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. See also James W. Covington, "The British Meet the Seminoles: Negotiations Between British Authorities in East Florida and the Indians, 1763–68," *Contributions of the Florida State Museum, Social Sciences*, no. 7 (Gainesville: University of Florida, 1961), 18–41.

North American borderland.[13] Reflecting British priorities, intercultural politics operated with a new purpose in East Florida: to redistribute territory and institute exclusive European possession as the basis of European–Native relations. By the time the British returned East Florida to Spain in 1783, paradoxically, Native power would both challenge this new imperial vision and, to serve Native interests, cede authority to it. Lower Creeks and Seminoles resisted British pressure to take exclusive control of their lands. At Fort Picolata, however, they took the risk of losing their traditional access to those lands in order to protect their trade interests and their political autonomy. Negotiating imperial interests on a Native ground, the British then used those interests to reshape the landscape with a new set of goals and conditions based on the expanding privatization of property. By outlasting the British presence in the colony, this new framework set the course for East Florida's development into the next century.

"the peace will endure until the end of the world" Spanish Florida in Transition

Between 1573 and 1675, the Franciscan Order of Friars established several missions among the Guale, Timucuan, and Apalachee peoples in Florida's Guale, Timucua, Apalachee, and Apalachicola provinces.[14] For the Spanish, the missions served political, cultur-

13 I describe eighteenth-century Florida as a "borderland" to identify lands in the Gulf South as zones of interaction among European, Native, African, and mixed race peoples during the late colonial period. These cross-cultural encounters not only shaped the political, economic, and social development of Florida but also illustrate the variations in political contest and cultural exchange that deepen our understanding of the early history of North America. This usage of "borderland" derives from the works of David J. Weber, Pekka Hämäläinen and Samuel Truett, Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, and Joshua L. Reid, who discuss the multiple meanings of "borderlands" and the significance of borderlands history to the study of early America. See David J. Weber, "The Spanish Borderlands of North America: A Historiography," *OAH Magazine of History* 14, no. 4 (Summer 2000): 5–11; Pekka Hämäläinen and Samuel Truett, "On Borderlands," *Journal of American History* 98, no. 2 (September 2011): 338–361; Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in between in North American History," *American Historical Review* 104, no. 3 (June 1999): 814–841; and Joshua L. Reid, *The Sea Is My Country: The Maritime World of the Makahs, an Indigenous Borderlands People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 12–18.

14 Amy Turner Bushnell, "Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida," *Anthropological Papers of The American Museum of Natural History*, no. 74 (September 1994): 42–43, 49–51; Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, 100–105.

al, and economic uses. They asserted Spanish authority over the surrounding areas, attempted to convert Native men and women to Catholicism, and provided labor to the missions, the *presidio*, and nearby private ranches.[15] In accomplishing these objectives, Franciscan friars had varying success. Smallpox claimed the lives of many potential converts. Some of the survivors accommodated the missionaries and others rejected them, with violence on occasion. And, by 1706, Carolinians and their Lower Creek and Yamasee allies had invaded Spanish Florida, destroyed the missions, and reduced the Native population of northern Florida to fewer than 2,000.[16]

In the years that followed, Spanish authorities attempted to restore the missions to their former place in Spanish–Native society by ordering new friars from Spain to St. Augustine. Because of a lack of financial and military support, this effort failed. Unable to recruit more settlers or rebuild their mission system, the Spanish found themselves outnumbered by the overall population of Native peoples in the region and the Carolinians.[17] Officials then turned to the French protocols of regular gift-giving and an active trade in goods (and at least an approximation of the quality and organization of British trade) to cultivate stronger ties with the Lower Creeks and the Yamasees who only recently had attacked them.[18]

In 1715, when the Yamasees went to war with Carolina, the Spanish empire and Native peoples came to a crossroads in their political relationship in the Florida territory. Allies during the war, Lower Creeks and Yamasees avoided captivity by escaping from British Carolina to Spanish Florida. There, they made a joint appeal to Spanish authorities for protection. In the short-term, they hoped that the Spanish could provide them with food and clothing. In the long-term, they sought a strong trade relationship with the Spanish

15 See Bushnell, "Situado and Sabana," 95–124.

16 Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, 142–145; Wood, "The Changing Population of the Colonial South," 76–81.

17 TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida*, 180; Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, 179–183.

18 William Sturtevant argues that the change in Spanish policy "followed the model of Anglo-American frontier Indian relations." See William C. Sturtevant, "Spanish–Indian Relations in Southeastern North America," *Ethnohistory* 9, no. 1 (Winter 1962): 70. Other historians show more clearly how these exchanges, new to the Spanish but borrowed by the English as well, had been features of generations of French–Native diplomacy in New France. See, for example, Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (1991; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 104–141, 175–185.

Map of Florida, 1703 Guillaume de L'Isle (1675–1726) and Charles Simonneau (1645–1728) Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Call No. G3300 1703 .L 5.

to offset disruptions in the British trade which they favored. In this moment, Spanish Governor Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez saw an opportunity to reverse the trend of British encroachments on Spanish territory and to end British interference with Spanish–Native relations.[19]

Influenced by French and British practices, the governor took Spanish–Native policy in a new direction. In a series of novel meetings, retired military officer Lieutenant Diego de Peña negotiated an alliance with Native settlers residing west of St. Augustine, to defend Spanish Florida and its Native allies against British encroachment.[20] Córcoles's successor, Pedro de Olivera y Fullana, ordered Peña to offer Lower Creek chiefs trade and protection and to put pressure on them to move to the fertile areas in the Apalachee province in exchange for Spanish support.[21] After more

19 TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida*, 197–204.

20 Boyd, "Diego Peña's Expedition to Apalachee and Apalachicolo in 1716," 1–27; Boyd, "Documents Describing the Second and Third Expeditions of Lieutenant Diego Peña to Apalachee and Apalachicolo in 1717 and 1718," 109–139; TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida*, 197–204.

21 Peña negotiated with diverse Native groups in the region west of St. Augustine, including Lower Creeks and Yamasees. After the Yamasee War, some Yamasees

than 200 years of exploration, force, missionizing, and "peaceful persuasion" had failed to secure Spain's control over this North American colony, Spain adopted for the first time a policy of trade and diplomacy in its relations with indigenous peoples who had escaped the Carolina Indian slave trade during the Yamasee War.[22]

In July 1716, Peña left St. Augustine and traveled west to Apalachee and Apalachicola, where he encountered severe weather conditions that challenged the success of his trip. His key destination, the town hosting Yslachamuque (the Lower Creeks's Great Chief known to the British as Brims) of Coweta, lay fifty-five days ahead. En route, Peña's expedition crossed the Aucilla River, making the first official Spanish visits to the former sites of the empire's Indian missions destroyed by the British fifteen years earlier.[23] In each settlement, chiefs, leading men, and warriors met Peña with their customary rituals of welcome. Gun salutes, ceremonial dancing, generous provisions, and comfortable lodging marked his journey from the Apalachee province to the towns of Apalachicola. After a lively reception at one settlement along the Apalachicola (Chattahoochee) River, Peña worried, "God permit that they may be brought to our Holy Faith." [24] Catholic conversion remained important to Spanish officials and their superiors, but, because of Spain's weak position in the Southeast, they reevaluated their priorities and instead focused on building a strong military alliance with the Lower Creeks.

On September 28, 1716, Peña called a conference of chiefs and leading men of the towns surrounding the Lower Creek settlement of Apalachicola. There, Peña noted, as in the other towns, Lower Creeks proffered "their obedience, made many dischargs [sic] of

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settled near St. Augustine and others moved west, occupying lands populated by the Lower Creeks. By the middle of the eighteenth century, these Yamasees would become part of the Florida Seminoles, a new group of Florida Indians also composed of Lower Creek emigrants. James W. Covington, *The Seminoles of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 3–27; Sturtevant, "Spanish–Indian Relations in Southeastern North America," 71–72; Alejandra Dubcovsky, "Connected Worlds: Communication Networks in the Colonial Southeast, 1513–1740" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2011), 137–143, 160.

22 TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida*, 198–199; Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, 180; John J. TePaske, "French, Spanish, and English Indian Policy on the Gulf Coast, 1513–1763: A Comparison," in *Spain and Her Rivals on the Gulf Coast*, ed. Ernest F. Dibble and Earle W. Newton, 21 (Pensacola, FL: Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, 1971).

23 Boyd, "Diego Peña's Expedition to Apalachee and Apalachicolo in 1716," 4, 16–17.

24 Ibid., 19–20.

their firearms, acclaiming our King, and acknowledging their submission to him." [25] According to Peña, they also agreed "unanimously" to obey all orders from the Spanish governor, including the order to relocate to the Apalachee province.[26] In November 1716, Peña returned to St. Augustine with favorable news for the governor. He explained:

> They said they have been made happy by my visit, and only lack words to express the fortune they have had, they only can say that it will show them the way, that my visit has made it appear as if they might have been actually in a cell or dungeon without sight of light, from which my arrival had liberated them.[27]

In this official report to his superiors, Peña used language of Native submission and unanimity to reinforce Spain's image as a colonial power. However, his report overstated Spain's bargaining position in Apalachee and Apalachicola. Lower Creeks appeared to offer their loyalty only to win material concessions from the Spanish. Under the governor's orders, Peña reversed Spain's older patterns by distributing gunpowder and firearms to the Lower Creeks who demanded them. With presents, he claimed to have negotiated a peace that "will endure until the end of the world." [28] Aiming to bring the Lower Creeks within the Spanish sphere of influence, he hoped his gifts would engage their strength against the Carolinians. As the leader of the expedition, Peña was in the best position to know that presents, not assertions of dominance, both facilitated Native alliances and rarely guaranteed them.

By opening official talks with the Lower Creeks and attempting to resettle them, the Spanish viewed Native groups as close allies and sought to use them to resist the expansion of British settlements in the Southeast. The Lower Creeks, however, resisted Spanish authority with priorities of their own. Shortly before he returned to St. Augustine, Peña observed how the Lower Creek leaders in the principal town of Coweta had gathered more than 100 villagers, whom Peña perceived as loyal to Great Britain, most of them women. Of these, Peña wrote, "many escaped and I believe all will flee to the English." [29] After some Lower Creek chiefs had

25 Ibid., 22–23 (spelled "dischargs" in Boyd's translation).
26 Ibid., 23–24.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid., 7, 23–24.
29 Ibid., 26.

proclaimed their people's alliance with Spain, other Lower Creek women and men had refused to renounce the British. To many Lower Creeks, the Carolinians were powerful military allies and reliable trading partners amid post-war declines in the vital deerskin trade. Compared to Spanish and French traders, the British paid Indians better prices for deerskins in exchange for abundant and less expensive metal tools, cloth, and weapons.[30] In accordance with Lower Creek political traditions, continuing an alliance with the British did not conflict with a concurrent alliance with the Spanish.[31] Multiple alliances enhanced the benefits of, rather than endangered, economic and political diplomacy.

In 1717 and 1718, Spanish Florida's new interim governor, Juan de Ayala Escobar, sent Peña back to Apalachee and Apalachicola to pressure the Lower Creeks to relocate. Native resettlements might promote religious conversion but, more importantly, would bolster colonial security amid the increasing threats of British raids from Carolina. Peña's expeditions failed to achieve Ayala's objective. Some groups made plans to move closer to Spanish settlements (for example, the Tasquique, Apalachicola, Sabacola, Chislacasliche, Bacuqua, and Uchises), but others did not (for example, the surviving Apalachees and a group of Yamasees). Meanwhile, as the Spanish fell short on promised gifts, Lower Creek women and men continued to trade deerskins for select goods sold by bands of British agents. Highlighting these divisions, Chipacasi quarreled with his father, Great Lower Creek Chief Brims, when Brims refused to capture a group of these British visitors and their horses.[32] For Brims and other Lower Creeks, British trade remained vital to their livelihood, especially when the Spanish failed to deliver the goods they expected. Advancing their own interests, the Lower Creeks shrouded their Spanish alliance with uncertainty.

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30 Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, 141–145, 177–178. See also Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels*, 142–143.

31 Steven C. Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670–1763* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 81–148; Gary B. Nash, *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early North America*, 7th ed. (Boston: Pearson, 2015), 186–189; Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733–1816* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 22–27.

32 Boyd, "Documents Describing the Second and Third Expeditions of Lieutenant Diego Peña to Apalachee and Apalachicolo in 1717 and 1718," 118–123; see also, *Barcia's Chronological History of the Continent of Florida*, trans. Anthony Kerrigan (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1951), 358; TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida*, 204–208.

Peña and the governor imagined that the Lower Creeks would abandon their ties to the British and relocate *en masse* closer to Spanish Florida. However, this belief did not comport with the reality of Native law and governance. Organized in groups of decentralized towns, the Lower Creeks built their strength around the power of persuasion, not coercion.[33] Traditionally, older villagers used storytelling, for example, to create a sense of unity with younger members and to persuade them to act in favor of war or peace.[34] Valuing consensus over force empowered individual towns to make their own decisions about trade, diplomacy, and war. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Lower Creek tradition of persuasion and consensus sustained tension between and within their towns. Because it enabled the Lower Creeks to weigh their opportunities and risks, this tension supported their autonomy–from each other and from Europeans.[35] In Spanish Florida, the Lower Creeks sought protection against Carolina slave traders but also enacted a policy of political neutrality and ambivalence, taking advantage of both Spanish and British trade and diplomacy when it benefited them.[36]

In early eighteenth-century Florida, the Spanish vision of empire stressed the strategic connections between Spain and Florida's Native groups. Peña hoped to repopulate Spanish Florida with the souls and bodies of Native peoples. Putting less emphasis on Catholic conversion, however, the Spanish rebuilt their relations with Native peoples on a new foundation: primarily a military alliance sustained by presents. With promises of Crown gifts and fruitful trade, the Spanish reconstituted their empire in Florida. Their new vision of empire depended on alliances with the Lower Creeks, Yamasees, and other Native groups in Florida. While the Spanish did not consider Native peoples their social equals, they closely associated with them in order to realize imperial goals. The

33 Saunt, *A New Order of Things*, 11–37. Similar dynamics governed other indigenous nations in colonial North America. For a discussion of the role of persuasion and consensus in the political organization of the Iroquois, see Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 2006), 18–22.

34 Saunt, *A New Order of Things*, 31–33. Creeks also used storytelling to influence knowledge and power in their political relations with the Spanish during the Second Spanish Period. See Cameron B. Strang, "Indian Storytelling, Scientific Knowledge, and Power in the Florida Borderlands," *William and Mary Quarterly* 70, no. 4 (October 2013), 671–700.

35 Saunt, *A New Order of Things*, 22–27.

36 Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation*, 81–148; Nash, *Red, White, and Black*, 186–189.

Lower Creeks, however, affirmed their own vision of Florida by carefully balancing the advantages of interacting with Europeans with the need to limit their cooperation with them. Forged on a Native ground, the Spanish–Native alliance remained tentative and insecure.[37]

"to Settle the Limits of his Majestys Said Province" A New Imperial Vision

By the middle of the eighteenth century, diplomatic negotiations between Europeans and Florida's Native peoples had become routine. Near the end of the Seven Years' War, Spanish Governor Melchor Feliú negotiated several new agreements with the Lower Creeks to fortify Spanish defenses against British and Native enemies.[38] When the British entered the territory after the war, however, European–Native interactions developed in a new context and in new directions as officials and settlers pursued the acquisition of Native lands.

French defeat in the Seven Years' War divested France of its North American holdings, from New France to the lower Mississippi Valley. As Spain took possession of French claims west of the Mississippi and at the mouth of that river, the British laid claim to all the lands east of the Mississippi River, excluding Spanish New Orleans. The 1763 Peace of Paris redrew the political map of European North America. As a consequence, the British asserted control over Canada, the trans-Appalachian territory, and much of the Gulf Coast. Dividing Florida into East and West, the British became the lone European power in the southeast region. With decreasing pressure to contend with their European rivals, the British gained a singular opportunity to expand the reach of their imperial power by converting Native land into British territory.

To establish British rule in East Florida, officials sought to reduce the risk of a widespread Native uprising against new British forts and settlements. Many indigenous nations strongly opposed the shifts in European power resulting from the Seven Years' War, leading to concerns among the British that Indians would unite in force and push back against them.[39] Since at least the early seventeenth

37 TePaske, *The Governorship of Spanish Florida*, 193–226; Bushnell, "Situado and Sabana," 195.

38 Robert L. Gold, "The East Florida Indians under Spanish and English Control: 1763–1765," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 44, nos. 1/2 (July–October 1965), 107.

39 Nash, *Red, White, and Black*, 202–217.

Map of East Florida, 1783, by John Cary Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Call No. G4390 1783 .C3.

century, Native peoples had used their interests to balance the power among the European nations competing for control of North America. Independently and selectively, the Iroquois Confederacy, the Algonquians of the Great Lakes, the Cherokees, the Creeks, and other Native groups negotiated and fought with the Dutch, the English, the French, and the Spanish. They traded goods, formed alliances, and went to war in ways that sought to maintain a balance of power in order to check the pace of European settlements and the extent of European rule. The loss of that balance weakened the position of Native peoples.[40] These new conditions led to violence when, in 1763, Pontiac, a leader of the Ottawa nation in the Great Lakes region, built a widespread Native alliance and took up

40 Taylor, *American Colonies*, 246–272, 433–437; White, *The Middle Ground*, 94–185, 240–268; Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels*, 26–58, 134–138; Nash, *Red, White, and Black*, 202–217. For an analysis of how imperial changes in the South affected the trade activities of the Choctaws and Chickasaws, see Greg O'Brien, "Supplying Our Wants: Choctaws and Chickasaws Reassess the Trade Relationship with Britain, 1771–72," in *Coastal Encounters: The Transformation of the Gulf South in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Richmond F. Brown (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 59–80.

arms against the British in what became known as Pontiac's Rebellion. Remembering their recent war with the Cherokees, in which the Cherokees captured a major British fort, British colonists had new cause for concern. They believed that Pontiac conspired with Creek and Choctaw chiefs to organize a powerful military alliance against the British.[41]

For Indians residing in and near East Florida, imperial changes had an important impact on their system of trade. France's expulsion from the Gulf and Spain's loss of Florida meant fewer European partnerships to apply pressure on the British trade network to maintain the flow of supplies and keep prices low. The Lower Creeks and the Seminoles were accustomed to shifting their alliances among the European powers to increase their own power and to support their towns. Having only the British with whom to negotiate put the Lower Creeks and the Seminoles at a new disadvantage. Although trade abuses existed before the Seven Years' War, limited trade options after the war lowered the quality of goods, raised prices, and increased the abusive practices of traders who used rum to cheat Indians in the exchange of goods and land. Recognizing the potential for revolt, British officials in East Florida aimed to preempt an alliance between the Lower Creeks, the Seminoles, and other Native groups, especially the rebellious Cherokees and Ottawa leader Pontiac and his allies to the northwest.[42]

Although tending to encourage a pan-Indian alliance, a second British priority focused on increasing European settlement in the Southeast. Since the seventeenth century, territorial expansion and densely populated settlements had become hallmarks of British colonial policy in North America. From New England to the Chesapeake to the southern Lowcountry, real property had produced abundant crops, engaged rigorous labor–free and unfree, and supported extensive British colonial population growth–from a little over 70,000 English colonists in 1660 to 2.5 million by 1775.[43]

Deeply influenced by their Protestant faith and capitalist ideology, most Anglo-Americans cast the possession of land as the

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41 White, *The Middle Ground*, 269–314; John Richard Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier* (New York: Gordian Press, Inc., 1966), 101–136, 176–182; Nash, *Red, White, and Black*, 214–215.

42 Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels*, 134–163. After Pontiac's revolt collapsed, a Creek leader named The Mortar attempted to unite southeastern Native peoples in a similar assault on the British. Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier*, 176–182.

43 Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, 179; Taylor, *American Colonies*, 443.

center of their political and cultural identity. They rejected the subsistence-based communal system many Native peoples used to farm and hunt game.[44] Instead, Anglo-Americans idealized individual land ownership and cultivation as the keys to economic and political independence.[45] Anxiously considering their alternatives, they perceived the consequences of dependence on an employer or landlord as poverty and a form of political tyranny they referred to as "slavery." [46] By increasing their territory, population, and export-based commercial interests, many eighteenth-century British colonists believed they had "pushed back the wilderness" and remade themselves into an exceptional, free people.[47] Property–its possession, exploitation, and title–served the empire and its subjects' shared interests in political freedom and the accumulation of personal and imperial wealth.

When the empire acquired vast new territories in Canada and east of the Mississippi River at the end of the Seven Years' War, British officials and settlers anticipated enormous growth in the form of land, wealth, population, and power. Violent clashes with Pontiac and his allies, however, persuaded officials to establish a border, the Proclamation Line, which prohibited British settlement in Canada and the western interior.[48] According to its advocates in England, this line would serve as a barrier, controlling interactions between settlers and Indians, lowering frontier costs, and increasing the

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44 William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (1983; reprint, New York: Hill and Wang, 2003), 51–81.

45 David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 61–99, 170–198; Jack P. Greene, *The Intellectual Construction of America: Exceptionalism and Identity from 1492 to 1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 34–62 (discussing English writer Richard Hakluyt's "Discourse of Western Planting, Written in the Year 1584"). British claims on Florida dated back at least as far as 1584 when Hakluyt wrote, "That the Queene of Englands title to all the West Indies, or at least to as moche as is from FLORIDA to the circle articke, is more lawfull and righte then the Spaniardes, or any other Christian Princes." Richard Hakluyt, "Discourse of Western Planting, Written in the Year 1584," reprinted in *Colonial North America and the Atlantic World: A History in Documents*, ed. Brett Rushforth and Paul W. Mapp (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2009), 86.

46 Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (1975; reprint, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2003), 3.

47 Greene, *The Intellectual Construction of America*, 89.

48 "By the King a Proclamation," October 7, 1763, PRO, CO 5/65, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. See Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier*, 240.

colonial consumption of British manufactures.[49] The pressures to move west, however, continued unabated. East of the Proclamation Line and short on British inhabitants, East Florida then loomed into view as a promising new source of territory for British settlement, which could prosper with the coerced labor of African slaves, whose pattern of escape to Spanish Florida the British resolved to bring to an end.[50]

These priorities–preventing an extensive Native alliance and increasing territory in the Southeast–reveal a contradiction in British Indian policy which tended to encourage Native alliances that the British also wished to suppress. Achieving these goals required significant negotiation on a Native ground: discussions with Native chiefs, including the powerful Lower Creek nation and the Florida Seminoles. Accordingly, a series of British–Native conferences followed the Seven Years' War, beginning with the Augusta Congress of 1763. In Augusta, John Stuart–the British Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern District–met with the Upper and Lower Creeks to hear and resolve their complaints about trade abuses and to set boundaries clearly distinguishing British territory from Native territory in Georgia. The Creeks complained of high prices for British goods and the excessive use of rum in trade deals.[51] Land agreements, they insisted, pivoted on the improved regulation of trade.

The following summer, Seminole chief Ahaya (known as Cowkeeper) and his brother Long Warrior attended a similar conference in St. Augustine. Talks concerning East Florida's territorial boundaries, however, were low on the agenda as Cowkeeper and Long Warrior pressed Stuart to recognize Seminole autonomy from the Creek nation.[52] More focused discussions on territorial boundaries took place at East Florida's first major conference, the

49 Colin G. Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 92–100; Nash, *Red, White, and Black*, 212; Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier*, 335.

50 Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, 23–28; Gold, "The East Florida Indians under Spanish and English Control," 110–112; Daniel L. Schafer, "'Yellow Silk Ferret Tied Round Their Wrists': African Americans in British East Florida, 1763–1784," in *The African American Heritage of Florida*, ed. David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), 71–103.

51 Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier*, 176–191.

52 Schafer, "St. Augustine's British Years," 77.

Picolata Congress of 1765, where the Lower Creeks largely defined the context in which the negotiations took place.[53]

As British officials promoted East and West Florida for settlement and economic development, they intended to wrest control of Florida lands from Native peoples and make the lands available to elite British settlers. When the few remaining Apalachee allies of Spain (about sixty in number) evacuated Florida with the Spanish, they attempted to sell their lands to British buyers. The Lower Creeks, however, did not recognize the authority of the Apalachees to sell the land.[54] In his 1763 report on a survey of Florida, Lieutenant Colonel James Robertson explained that the Lower Creeks

> in general expressed a jealousy of the large purchases that have been made from the Spaniards, and cautioned us not to build or lay out lands in consequence of that which they think invalid and prejudicial to them.[55]

Similarly, Englishmen Jesse Fish and John Gordon claimed to have acquired ten million acres of land from the outgoing Spanish in disputed territory west of the St. Johns River.[56] The Lower Creeks's refusal to endorse these land transactions moved the incoming British and their interests onto a Native ground during the negotiations at Fort Picolata in 1765.

Similar to British–Native conferences in other parts of North America, the Picolata Congress involved an elaborate ceremony of ritual observances, gift-giving, and a carefully planned exchange of dialectical speeches given by British and Native headmen over a period of several days. When John Stuart introduced British East Florida Governor James Grant, the conference soon turned to the question of land and the British aim "to Settle the Limits of his Majestys Said Province." [57] Misrepresenting his "well known" record of protecting Cherokee land rights, Grant promised to safeguard Native hunting grounds in East Florida.[58] He also pointed out to

53 "Journal of a Congress," December 9, 1765, PRO, CO 5/548, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. See also Covington, "The British Meet the Seminoles," 18–41.

54 "Robertson's Report of Florida in 1763," cited in Covington, "The British Meet the Seminoles," 13.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid., 11.

57 "Journal of a Congress," December 9, 1765, PRO, CO 5/548, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. See also Covington, "The British Meet the Seminoles," 20.

58 Ibid., 24. For a discussion of the Cherokee war with the British, see Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier*, 101–136.

the Native leaders that they had an interest in granting a portion of their lands to the British so that settlers might raise the cattle and provisions needed to supply Native towns. "Giving up a little to the white people will be no loss to you," he insisted, naively suggesting that game in flight from the newly cultivated British lands would increase their numbers on nearby Native hunting grounds.[59]

Grant and Stuart punctuated key points of their speeches by delivering a "string of beads." [60] Traditionally, wampum beads symbolized good faith in diplomatic talks among North American peoples.[61] At the Picolata Congress, Grant and Stuart emphasized their intention to occupy no Native land without the Indians' consent. They marked their words with wampum beads.[62]

Nevertheless, listening to Grant and Stuart, the chiefs must have had their doubts. Several chiefs replied to the British officers with messages of distrust. They insisted that the British had not respected the boundaries recently settled in Georgia and had failed to reduce trade prices as they had promised. The deer, they stressed, "are turning very scarce" due to increasing British settlements. At the current rate, "they would find nothing but rats and rabbits to kill for the skins for which the white people would not give them goods." [63] These conditions, they argued, drove up the prices of British goods. Seeking a compromise, Lower Creek chief Tallechea made the British an offer, setting a boundary that limited British possession to east of the St. Johns River.[64] The Lower Creeks wanted to renew their alliance with the British by bargaining for generous trade goods–not the concession of land. Pointing out the uneven relative value of the proposed exchange, Tallechea stated

59 "Journal of a Congress," December 9, 1765, PRO, CO 5/548, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. See also Covington, "The British Meet the Seminoles," 25.

60 Ibid., 23–26.

61 Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 135–137.

62 "Journal of a Congress," December 9, 1765, PRO, CO 5/548, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. See also Covington, "The British Meet the Seminoles," 26.

63 Ibid., 26–27.

64 According to Grant and Stuart, Tallechea insisted that "a line from St. Sevilla to Picolata and along the road to St. Augustine will hence forward will be the boundary, and that you will not allow the white people [to] settle beyond the road leading from this place to our nation." "Journal of a Congress," December 9, 1765, PRO, CO 5/548, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. See also Covington, "The British Meet the Seminoles," 28.

that the gifts the British offered them would last but a year, while "the land which we now give will last forever." [65]

Grant and Stuart then took their mission to acquire Native land to another level by meeting privately with two of the chiefs. Seeking to exploit the internal divisions among the Native groups, Grant and Stuart rejected Tallechea's offer. They preferred an expanded boundary into East Florida's more fertile areas to encourage permanent, cultivated settlements. In an ultimatum to the chiefs, Grant and Stuart maintained, "if they give no land, they can expect no presents."[66] The day following this private meeting, Grant announced an agreement on a new boundary. On November 18, 1765, the Congress ended with a reading of the Treaty of Picolata–signed and sealed by Grant, Stuart, and the Native chiefs–followed by the presentation of great medals and small medals, the air split by the blast of repeated gunfire.[67]

The Treaty of Picolata transformed relations between Europeans and Native peoples in East Florida, formalizing an agreement between the British and the Creeks and Seminoles on terms that largely favored British interests. Identifying the parties as "one people," the treaty bound the British and the Native groups in an unequal exchange of trade, justice, and property.[68] It forbade Indians from committing or permitting "any kind of hostility, injury or damage whatsoever against" East Florida's British inhabitants.[69] It required Indians to "immediately put to death in a public manner" any Indian who killed a white man. Any white man who killed an Indian, however, "shall be tried for the offence in the same manner as if he had murdered a white man and *if found guilty* shall be executed."[70] And, setting the British–Native boundary farther west and farther south than Tallechea's offer, the treaty extended British possession deeper into East Florida. Significantly, it did not welcome Indians to hunt there.[71]

At Picolata, Lower Creeks and Seminoles gave up authority and control over substantial hunting grounds for the promise of active, fair trade in a market suffering from a declining deer supply. For that promise, the British gained license to regulate treaty

65 Ibid.
66 Ibid., 33.
67 Ibid., 34–35.
68 Ibid., 35–37.
69 Ibid., 36.
70 Ibid. (emphasis added)
71 Ibid., 37.

violations and to exclude Native peoples from British-occupied territory. Claiming to be "one people" with Indians, the British imposed terms designed to transform Native land and to exclude Indians from it. Marked by new terms of agreement, a new imperial ideology, and new consequences, the Picolata Congress ushered in the next era of European–Native diplomatic relationships that emphasized land speculation most, trade and military alliances less, and Christian missionizing not at all.

With the Treaty of Picolata, the British seemed to get what they wanted–tools for social control and for the production of wealth. On the basis of this treaty, they claimed authority to redistribute land, control the operation of justice, and settle territory with British subjects. Control over East Florida did not proceed uncontested, however, as Native peoples complied selectively with the terms of the treaty. The British planted settlements on new lands, but at times, Lower Creeks and Seminoles stole horses, killed cattle, and harbored escaped slaves–all to meet the needs of Native peoples and all in violation of the treaty.[72] Some of the new British settlements, like Fatio's New Switzerland, grew into thriving plantations. Others did not. For reasons ranging from poor investments to war, the plantations of William Bartram, Richard Oswald, Denys Rolle, and Andrew Turnbull all failed.[73] Three years after the conference, Governor Grant acknowledged that British settlement of East Florida remained uncertain as the Creeks were "numerous and powerful & tenacious of their lands." [74] In 1769, he discovered that a group of British subjects were plotting the escape of a British prisoner whom Grant had arrested for killing an Indian, and worried, "a Rescue or Escape would appear to the Indians to be a concerted plan to deceive them, would draw their Resentment upon the Province, & of course would put a total stop to the Cultivation and Settlement of it." [75] Comparing their expectations with reality,

72 Schafer, "St. Augustine's British Years," 89–95. See also Andrew K. Frank, "Taking the State Out: Seminoles and Creeks in Late Eighteenth-Century Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 84, no. 1 (Summer 2005), 15–18.

73 See Schafer, *William Bartram and the Ghost Plantations of British East Florida*, 29–38, 55–118; Daniel L. Schafer, "'A Swamp of an Investment'? Richard Oswald's British East Florida Plantation Experiment" in *Colonial Plantations and Economy in Florida*, 11–38; Patricia C. Griffin, "Blue Gold: Andrew Turnbull's New Smyrna Plantation," in *Colonial Plantations and Economy in Florida*, 39–68.

74 James Grant to William Knox, November 24, 1768, Reel 2, James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

75 James Grant to Major Whitmore, January 5, 1769, Ballindalloch Papers.

the British became aware that some of their success at Picolata was only an illusion, plans that went unrealized on East Florida's Native ground.

Whether they thrived or failed, however, British East Florida's plantations embodied a core feature of British political ideology. Settled on land once occupied by Native peoples but now privately owned, Fatio's plantation and the lost plantations represented the insertion of a policy of exclusion into the politics of European–Native relations in East Florida. The British inscribed this policy in the form of private land ownership, a principal component of their worldview and the chief target of their negotiations with the chiefs at Picolata. For generations, Lower Creeks and Seminoles had suffered from depopulation and political instability, the effects of disease and war. Restored in strength by the middle of the eighteenth century, they exercised their power in ways that slowly undermined Native authority in East Florida. To secure their trade position and maintain their autonomy, Lower Creeks and Seminoles conveyed land rights to the British. In the process, they lost their right of access to the lands they once possessed, opening a gap in territorial authority. The British then filled the void with an ideology of exclusive possession that supported their vision of a prosperous and free people but put Native peoples' essential economic resources at risk.

Conclusion

New in its form and in its terms, the agreement between the British and the Lower Creeks and Seminoles paved the way for a new set of conditions for interactions between Europeans and Native groups in East Florida. The Spanish vision of empire–which incorporated Lower Creeks and Yamasees as close, Christianized allies–had begun to recede into the past as a European policy of controlled inclusion gave way to a new policy of controlled exclusion. Governor Grant and Superintendent Stuart reworked Native ground to reflect Anglo-American political and social ideals that separated peoples into distinct territories and into distinct categories in the colonial social order. Familiar with this framework after generations of colonial experience in North America, the British imported the force of its principles and its consequences to their new colony of East Florida. There, beyond its fenny swamps, officials and planters gradually cleared the land of trees and Native peoples and made room for the rise of a disruptive plantation

economy. In the years to come, this economy would generate more disorder and change in this restless borderland–for the British empire's loyal and rebellious subjects who contested it, the Spanish who coveted it when they returned, the Africans who lost their lives to it, the Native peoples who resisted it, and the new republicans who forced it into the realm of a new kind of empire.

"República de Bandidos": The Prospect Bluff Fort's Challenge to the Spanish Slave System

by John Paul Nuño

In the waning days of March 1815, Vicente Sebastián Pintado's ship was anchored in tempestuous waters near the mouth of the Apalachicola River at a place the Spanish called *Lomo de Buenavista*, known to the British as Prospect Bluff. As the surveyor general of the Spanish West Florida colony, he headed a delegation to a recently constructed fortification built by the British and their indigenous and Afro-Floridian allies. Pintado's correspondence with Captain Robert Spencer, the ranking British officer present, echoed the unsettled nature of his mission. The Prospect Bluff Fort, located in Spanish territory, was transitioning from a strategic British outpost during the War of 1812 to a bastion of black self-governance and resistance. Pintado's delegation hoped to reclaim a significant number of runaway slaves from Spanish Florida, particularly from Pensacola, living in the vicinity.[1] Beyond

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1 During the British Florida Period, 1763-1783, the territory was divided into two separate provinces, East and West Florida. East Florida, with its government in St. Augustine, encompassed much of the present-day state of Florida with the Apalachicola River as its western border. West Florida stretched from the Apalachicola River to the Mississippi River, with its capital at Pensacola. These boundaries remained when Spain reacquired both Floridas in 1783. When I use the term Florida I am referring to both provinces as a whole unless I specifically distinguish between them as either East or West Florida.

possibly constituting a majority of the fort's population, escaped slaves from the Florida provinces occupied positions of leadership and demonstrated a steadfast resolve against returning to their Spanish masters.[2] A previous envoy had already failed to secure the slaves because the British refused to physically apprehend them. Dreading a pending British evacuation from Prospect Bluff, Pintado warned that the fort would become an independent black settlement free of white authority and destined to be a "republic of bandits," which would destabilize the Gulf Coast.[3]

Pintado's ominous words articulated Spanish fears over the Prospect Bluff Fort and the challenge it represented to the racialized colonial hierarchy. Spanish officials sought to dismantle the fort rather than contemplate an alternative course of action. This plan deviated from customary Spanish practices in the region. Unable to project substantial coercive power in the Florida Borderlands, Spanish colonialism exhibited an impressive elasticity, which included incentivizing black participation within its institutions. When black slaves used Spanish courts, owned property, or sought manumission, they exercised their agency and improved their lives,

2 The Prospect Bluff Fort's population fluctuated as various groups of runaway slaves arrived in the area. Since runaway slaves sought to avoid detection, slave catchers had difficulty compiling precise numbers. Furthermore, estimates tended to ignore the considerable population that resided in the hinterlands. Despite these uncertainties, runaway slaves from Spanish Florida at various times made up a considerable portion (if not majority) of the fort's population. According to Pintado, in April 1815, 128 out of an estimated 250 slaves at the fort were from Pensacola. Additionally, he stated that seventy-eight blacks from East Florida also arrived at the base. While a number of these slaves belonged to the Seminoles, some escaped from Spanish settlements. For Pintado's population figures see Vicente Sebastián Pintado to José de Soto, April 29, 1815, Pintado Papers (hereafter cited as PP), reel 3, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville (hereafter cited as PKY); Also see William S. Coker and Thomas D. Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Panton, Leslie & Company and John Forbes & Company, 1783-1847* (Pensacola: University of West Florida Press, 1986), 287. According to the authors, approximately 130 slaves, including twenty-five belonging to the Forbes and Company, joined the British march from Pensacola to the Apalachicola River; Arsáene Lacarriáere Latour, *Historical Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814-15: With an Atlas*, ed. Gene A. Smith (1816; repr., Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999), 45. Latour contends that Pensacola residents claimed losing nearly 400 slaves when the British left for Apalachicola. In all likelihood this was either an inflated figure or took into account the slaves from the region as a whole, rather than solely from Pensacola.

3 Vicente Sebastián Pintado to Robert Spencer, March 31, 1815, PP, reel 3, PKY.

while simultaneously legitimizing the colonial structure.[4] However, the Prospect Bluff Fort exposed the limits of liberal Spanish ideology toward slavery and race. As an autonomous Afro-Floridian community, the fort presented an affront that even a racially fluid Spanish hierarchy could not abide. The maroons who gathered there, influenced by the currents of the revolutionary Atlantic and bolstered by the presence of the British Army, encouraged other slaves to resist their subordinate status rather than pursue their interests through internal avenues. In light of the recent Haitian Revolution and early Latin American independence movements, vigilant Spanish officials advocated the re-enslavement of the Pensacola slaves by asserting a discourse of black criminality meant to restore and protect the colonial order.

Despite Spanish efforts to re-subjugate the runaway slaves, commentators and scholars during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries typically focused on U.S. efforts to destroy the fort, which eventually succeeded in 1816. Initial accounts penned by U.S. Southerners voiced trepidation over the fort's threat to the regional plantation system. In the years preceding the U.S. Civil War, the "Negro Fort," the name that Americans gave the outpost, became a rallying image for abolitionists such as Joshua Giddings.[5] His influential book, *The Exiles of Florida* (1858), presented a one-dimensional view of the fort's runaway slaves as victims of Southern slaveholders. Giddings made no mention of the Spanish slaves at the Prospect Bluff Fort; in fact, he incorrectly argued that the runaways were "the faithful subjects of Spain."[6] Writing in the 1940s, historian Herbert Aptheker refuted notions of slave docility by accentuating examples of black resistance, including the events at Prospect Bluff. He wrote that its destruction was encouraged by Southern newspapers advocating the elimination of an "evil" serving as an example of "insubordination." Broadly speaking about

4 Kimberly Hanger, *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places: Free Black Society in Colonial New Orleans, 1769-1803* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 26. The author argues that self-purchase (*coartación*) benefited slaves, slave masters, and the colonial system alike. Manumission functioned as a "form of social control by holding out liberty to obedient bondpersons and denying it to rebellious ones."

5 American officials, such as John Adams and Andrew Jackson, came to identify the base as the "Negro Fort," an illustration of how the fort's racial composition, from their perspective, was its most defining characteristic.

6 Joshua R. Giddings, *The Exiles of Florida, or, The Crimes Committed by Our Government against the Maroons: Who Fled from South Carolina and Other Slave States, Seeking Protection Under Spanish Law* (Columbus, OH: Follett, Foster and Co, 1858), 37n.

Spanish Florida, Aptheker stated that their slave sanctuary policy continued after the American Revolution and was a source of "irritation" to the United States.[7] Focused on the fort's assault upon U.S. racial ideology, these accounts solidified Spanish Florida's reputation as a sanctuary, a beacon of freedom attracting runaway slaves leaving chattel slavery.

While the history of the First Spanish Florida Period (1565-1763) comports with the slave sanctuary narrative, Spanish policies after 1783 were often contradictory and based on expediency. Previously, colonial officials recruited runaway slaves from neighboring British planters to serve as a border militia.[8] However, Spanish governors during the Second Spanish Florida Period (1783-1821) had to adjust their policies. For instance, in 1790, East Florida Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada oversaw the official end of the slave sanctuary policy and began issuing land grants in an effort to induce Euro-American settlement.[9] Struggling to deal with volatile conditions and with limited resources available, Spanish governors had little choice but to seek utilitarian solutions. However, these policies had the potential to create new complications. For instance, encouraging immigration could disrupt Spanish relations with its indigenous allies, especially if planter demands for land ever encroached upon native territory. Moreover, growing planter dependence on slave labor could have theoretically resulted in hardening racial attitudes and resistance against the use of free black troops. Rather than a restoration of previous policies, colonial administrators relied on a mélange of older policies with recent innovations. The complexity of the Second Spanish Florida Period serves to contextualize Spain's anxiety and hostility towards the Prospect Bluff Fort.

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7 Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (New York: International Publishers, 1974), 30-31.

8 Jane G. Landers, Black Society in Spanish Florida (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999). Landers's seminal work, which highlights the free black militia at Fort Mose, argues that free blacks and slaves utilized opportunities and rights available through Spanish institutions. Her scholarship exposes the contrast between Spanish and U.S. slave systems and racial ideologies, though she does take note of policy shifts during the Second Spanish Florida Period in other works. See Jane G. Landers, "Spanish Sanctuary: Fugitives in Florida, 1687-1790," Florida Historical Quarterly 62, no. 3 (January 1984): 311-313.

9 For the land grant edict, see Joseph M. White, comp., *A New Collection of Laws, Charters, and Local Ordinances of the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Spain, Relating to the Concession of Land in Their Respective Colonies . . .* , 2 vols. (Philadelphia: T. & J.W. Johnson, 1839), 245-246.

Although scholars often posit Spanish Florida as a counterweight to the rigid racial hierarchy of the U.S. South, Spanish leaders nonetheless shared Andrew Jackson's and other U.S. officials' trepidation over the Prospect Bluff Fort and the sinister forces they believed it would unleash. The Spanish welcomed its eventual destruction, lamenting only their inability to reduce the fort themselves. As opposed to other U.S. invasions of Spanish Florida, the attack on the "Negro Fort" met with no formal protest; rather, colonial officials were preoccupied with the recovery of their slaves.[10] This article, after presenting a brief history of the Prospect Bluff Fort's creation, analyzes Spanish efforts in East and West Florida to re-enslave its runaway slaves. Unable to project military power, officials such as Pintado pleaded with British military commanders to assist in the apprehension of their property. Encountering what they viewed as British duplicity, exasperated Spanish agents argued that unsupervised blacks were prone to general lawlessness. This discourse provides insight into what José Cuello calls the "racialized core principle," Spanish racial–cultural superiority, as the basis of colonial society.[11] While this precept could be flexible and inclusive because it also factored in class, gender, and social comportment, ultimately, nonwhites occupied subordinate positions. When slaves sought to live independently of Spanish society, thereby rejecting their inferior status, they directly challenged this principle.

As a borderlands region, Florida existed at the nexus of overlapping spheres of influence emanating from the Atlantic world, Indian country, and the United States. Consequently, my analysis of Spanish colonialism and slavery at the turn of the nineteenth century considers how different racial ideologies were often in dialogue, and in some cases, in conflict. Speaking specifically about the Prospect Bluff Fort, Claudio Saunt and Nathaniel Millett have illustrated how the fort was involved in these processes. Saunt writes that the Creek Red Sticks in their civil war against elite Creeks, who

10 Unlike the first scholars to write about the Prospect Bluff Fort, historians using Spanish sources have noted Spain's antagonistic stance towards the outpost. However, no scholarly work has solely examined the larger significance of this Spanish hostility. See Frank L. Owsley Jr. and Gene A. Smith, Filibusters and Expansionists: Jeffersonian Manifest Destiny, 1800-1821 (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997), 113; James W. Covington, "The Negro Fort," Gulf Coast Historical Review 5, no. 2 (January 1990): 88.

11 Jose Cuello, "Racialized Hierarchies of Power in Colonial Mexican Society: The Sistema de Castas as a Form of Social Control in Saltillo," in *Choice, Persuasion, and Coercion: Social Control on Spain's North American Frontiers*, ed. Jesus F. de la Teja, et al. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 205.

embraced Euro-American notions of slavery and property, helped build the fort after their defeat in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend.[12] Millett, employing an "Atlantic Borderlands" framework, illustrates how the fort's runaway slaves utilized British commanding officer Edward Nicolls's radical anti-slavery ideology to assert a British political identity and achieve the "fullest version of freedom."[13] Borderlands conditions in conjunction with larger geopolitical maneuvering provided the forum in which ideas of slavery, race, and identity were constantly being negotiated.[14] Within this fluid environment, further exacerbated by the War of 1812 and British offers of freedom, Florida's slaves rejected the Spanish slave system despite its relative protections and malleability.

By 1814, Spanish officials, despite their pragmatic nature, were struggling to deal with the volatile nature of the Florida Borderlands. In particular they sought to defuse expansionist threats from American insurgents. Following the 1810 West Florida Rebellion, the United States, citing claims from the Louisiana Purchase, annexed territorial districts in Baton Rouge and later Mobile. Meanwhile in East Florida, former U.S. General George Mathews covertly led Georgia militia units and a few East Floridian planters in the Patriot War, which began in 1812. They captured the port of Fernandina and lay siege to St. Augustine.[15] Support from the Seminoles and free black militias dissipated much of the rebellion's momentum. U.S. support for the Patriot War ended once focus shifted to hostilities with the British, thus providing East Florida with a brief reprieve.

12 Claudio A. Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 280. Saunt situates the fort as part of internal Creek disputes over market capitalism, slavery, and political centralization. Engaged in a civil war with acculturated Creeks and their U.S. allies, the more traditional Creek Red Sticks retreated to the British and Seminole forces in Florida.

13 Nathaniel Millett, The Maroons of Prospect Bluff and Their Quest for Freedom in the Atlantic World (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013), 9.

14 For recent studies that highlight the fluid and dynamic nature of the Florida-Louisiana Borderlands, including the contingent identities of its inhabitants, see Gene Allen Smith and Sylvia L. Hilton, eds., *Nexus of Empire: Negotiating Loyalty and Identity in the Revolutionary Borderlands, 1760s-1820s* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011), 4-6; David Narrett, *Adventurism and Empire: The Struggle for Mastery in the Louisiana-Florida Borderlands, 1762-1803* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 2-3.

15 Detailed accounts of the Patriot War can be found in Rembert W. Patrick, Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border, 1810-1815 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1954); James G. Cusick, The Other War of 1812 (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003).

British commanders sought to exploit American vulnerabilities during the War of 1812 by opening a theater of operations in the Southeast. The region offered advantages, such as a pool of recruits among the Creek Red Sticks and runaway slaves. Ideally, the British and their allies would occupy Mobile, New Orleans, and the shipping lanes of the Gulf Coast. Although the British established an outpost at Prospect Bluff, they nonetheless wanted Pensacola, the capital of West Florida, as a base for their march to the Mississippi River. Already indebted to British troops for victory in the Peninsular War, Spain had little option but to tolerate another intervention, especially in the aftermath of recent U.S. aggression.

Cautiously received as Pensacola's saviors, the British quickly proved to be ungracious guests. Their recruitment of the city's slave and free black populations undermined the social order precisely when colonial elites, after 1810, were confronting revolutionary movements throughout Spanish America.[16] Along the Gulf and Caribbean coasts, black and native fighters used revolutionary and counter-revolutionary campaigns in Mexico and Venezuela to strike at social–racial hierarchies.[17] Typically, the Spanish sought to harness the power of black militias and indigenous allies to support and defend their colonial structure. However, the British appropriated this strategy and as a result destabilized Spanish Floridian society. Lieutenant Colonel Edward Nicolls and Captain George Woodbine of the Royal Marines primarily sought to recruit slaves from the United States; however, they had no qualms about encouraging slaves to leave their Spanish masters.[18] Due to a unique background and disposition, Nicolls was driven by an anti-slavery intellectual discourse to take extreme measures to undermine any slaveholding institutions he encountered. Furthermore, he endeavored to infuse his black troops with a revolutionary spirit and a faith in the virtues of British subjecthood and its ability to grant blacks the

16 Mateo González Manrique to Juan Ruíz de Apodaca, August 29, 1814, Papeles de Cuba (hereafter cited as PC), reel 116, PKY. The West Florida governor justified his acceptance of British troops in the provincial capital as a response to Andrew Jackson's aggressive actions.

17 Lester D. Langley, The Americas in the Age of Revolution 1750-1850 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 175-190. Langley's work illustrates how both revolutionaries and loyalists recruited slaves while simultaneously fearing their militancy and desire for sociopolitical equality.

18 Coker and Watson, Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands, 289. British Admiral Alexander Cochrane later admitted to Pensacola slave owners that Edward Nicolls overstepped his authority by taking their slaves.

same rights as whites.[19] While Vice Admiral Alexander Cochrane issued a concise proclamation offering freedom for military service, Nicolls's public statements went further by promising "rational liberty," property rights, and lands to "cultivate."[20] Seeking to broadcast their offer of freedom to the greater U.S. Southeast, the British found a receptive local audience in Pensacola, much to the consternation of Spanish officials.[21]

Within three months, British forces antagonized Pensacola elites to the point that Andrew Jackson's subsequent occupation of the city, comparatively speaking, would be viewed in a favorable light.[22] Despite apprehension from certain officials and trader John Innerarity, a member of Forbes and Company (previously the Panton, Leslie and Company trading firm), West Florida Governor Mateo González Manrique opened the town's gates to Nicolls's forces.[23] Although the British were actively recruiting slaves elsewhere, Pensacola slaveholders must have felt a measure of confidence in their benevolent slave system. The city's slave population, as was the case in other Spanish colonial possessions, encountered opportunities as skilled laborers and property holders, and they

19 Millett, The Maroons of Prospect Bluff, 22. The author includes a substantial analysis of Nicolls's background and intellectual development. This includes his efforts to radicalize fellow soldiers and runaway slaves.

20 For Cochrane's proclamation, see Alexander Cochrane Proclamation, April 2, 1814, Joseph Byrne Lockey Collection (hereafter cited as LOC), PKY. For Nicolls's Proclamation, see Edward Nicolls, "Orders for the First Battalion of Royal Colonial Marines," 1814, LOC, PKY.

21 For British intentions to target the slaves of U.S. planters, see Alexander Cochrane to Lord Bathurst, July 14, 1814, LOC, PKY.

22 Vero Z. Amelung to Andrew Jackson, June 4, 1816, American State Papers (hereafter cited as ASP), Foreign Relations (hereafter cited as FR), vol. 4, Library of Congress (hereafter cited as LC), 557; John Innerarity, "Letters of John Innerarity: The Seizure of Pensacola by Andrew Jackson, November 7, 1814," Florida Historical Quarterly 9, no. 3 (January 1931): 131. According to Innerarity, Jackson demonstrated his "generous sympathy" by allowing Pensacola to be resupplied with desperately needed foodstuffs; Latour, Historical Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814-15, 45. Latour's memoir states that American troops were praised for their respect of private property and "good order," meanwhile the British were vilified for absconding with the slave population; Coker and Watson, Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands, 288; Frank Lawrence Owsley Jr., Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands: The Creek War and the Battle of New Orleans, 1812-1815 (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1981), 118.

23 Owsley Jr., Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands, 114; Nathaniel Millett, "Britain's 1814 Occupation of Pensacola and America's Response: An Episode of the War of 1812 in the Southeastern Borderlands," Florida Historical Quarterly 84, no. 2 (Fall 2005): 243.

had access to some legal protections.[24] While slaves had to comport with Spanish institutions, behavioral norms, and an inferior social status, they could purchase their freedom and even become slave owners in their own right. Considering the modest white population in Florida, the slave system's continuation was contingent on black agency being channeled within the Spanish slave system, thus reinforcing the entire structure. If slaves, particularly individuals well suited to take advantage of pathways to freedom, began to desert their masters, then the entire system would lose its viability.

Although the Spanish believed that their slaves were simply manipulated into absconding, it is unlikely they made the decision lightly. In particular, the future leaders at Prospect Bluff, Garçon, Prince, and Cyrus, were skilled artisans in Pensacola and had the ability to earn income, yet they joined the British. All three slaves were thirty years of age or younger, carpenters, belonged to moderate to elite households, and in the case of Cyrus, literate. Pensacola's lack of carpenters would have only further bolstered their opportunities for economic gain and manumission.[25] Few other slaves would have been as well situated to take advantage of the rights available to them due to Spanish law, religion, and custom. In East Florida, Lewis Sánchez, a former slave, was a carpenter who parlayed his craft into becoming a substantial landowner; his estate was later estimated at over 2,500 dollars. A former runaway slave from Georgia, Prince Juan Bautista Witten, was also a carpenter. He integrated into Spanish colonial society and was granted land outside St. Augustine.[26] Thus, precedent existed for skilled slaves to gain socioeconomic mobility. However, working within the system offered no guarantees, nor was it always desired. Robin, the slave of Prudence Plummer, was also a carpenter and skilled craftsman, and often brought in between twenty and thirty dollars in rent per month for his mistress. In the middle of the Patriot War, Robin left Plummer and escaped from Amelia Island, eventually making his way to the Prospect Bluff Fort.[27] Robin and the leaders at the fort made the calculated decision, despite the

24 Millett, The Maroons of Prospect Bluff, 49.

25 Lyle N. McAlister, "Pensacola during the Second Spanish Period," Florida Historical Quarterly 37, no. 3/4 (January-April 1959): 309.

26 Jane G. Landers, "Free Black Plantations and Economy in East Florida, 1784-1821" in Colonial Plantations and Economy in Florida, ed. Jane G. Landers (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 123-128.

27 Frank Marotti, The Cana Sanctuary: History, Diplomacy, and Black Catholic Marriage in Antebellum St. Augustine, Florida (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012), 127. Marotti writes that Robin was reportedly killed in the destruction of the Prospect Bluff Fort but most likely survived and avoided detection.

presence of prosperous former slaves living among them, to eschew the benefits of subordinate mobility in favor of greater sociopolitical autonomy over their lives.[28]

Threatening the social order in Pensacola, slaves exploited British overtures of freedom and became important agents in enlisting their fellow bondpersons to their cause. Nicolls quickly usurped Spanish authority and entrenched his forces within the settlement's major fortifications, San Miguel and Barrancas. He also rankled Spanish sensibilities by restricting civilian mobility while posting his indigenous allies as sentries.[29] In conjunction with the presence of his black recruits, Nicolls's multi-ethnic fighting force shattered Pensacola's social tranquility. Spanish slave masters' marginalization and aggressive British recruitment created an atmosphere conducive to slave resistance.[30] Additionally, black recruiters drove the steady stream of slaves heading towards British-held forts. Prince, mentioned above, was tasked and rewarded with enlisting blacks whether they were "Freemen or Slaves."[31] Captain Woodbine hired men such as Sergeant McGill and gave them broad instructions "to take away all Negros, that could be got at."[32] In other cases, Woodbine directly paid slaves to leave their masters, as was the case with Charles, a slave belonging to Madame Eslava.[33] Even free blacks were persuaded to become recruiters, as evidenced by the efforts of an individual named Bennet.[34] Prince,

28 I use the term "subordinate mobility" to describe the potential material and social benefits that accrued to nonwhites if they adhered to the legal and social norms of the Spanish colonial system. African, indigenous, and mestizo peoples could experience class and caste advancement by demonstrating their *calidad*, a combination of birthplace, wealth, occupation, acculturation, conduct, legitimacy, and personal honor. This system nonetheless served as a form of social control since individuals who regulated their behavior were still denied full equality. For a discussion of *calidad* see Cheryl English Martin, *Governance and Society in Colonial Mexico: Chihuahua in the Eighteenth Century* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 128.

29 Statement from Pensacola Public Officials, October 11, 1814, in The Papers of Panton, Leslie and Company, reel 19; Coker and Watson, Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands, 284; Millett, "Britain's 1814 Occupation of Pensacola and America's Response," 245; Millett, The Maroons of Prospect Bluff, 57.

30 Millett, The Maroons of Prospect Bluff, 58.

31 "Indictment of William Augustus Vesey for Perjury," 1816, Cruzat Papers (hereafter cited as CP), PKY.

32 William Lawrence to John Forbes, February 1816, CP, PKY.

33 "File of Witnesses that may be examined by Commissioners in Pensacola in the Suit of Woodbine-Testimony of Peter Gilchrist," 1815, CP, PKY.

34 "Indictment of William Augustus Vesey for Perjury," 1816, CP, PKY; For a well-researched examination of the Pensacola slaves that joined Nicolls and

McGill, and Bennet's persuasive powers notwithstanding, the eventual departure of Pensacola's entire slave population suggests that Woodbine's recruiters encountered motivated recruits.

Slave resistance thrived in the volatile conditions of British-occupied Pensacola, which caused slaveholders to fear financial ruin. One of the largest financial stakeholders, the Forbes and Company, immediately began losing slaves when Nicolls first landed in Apalachicola.[35] In Pensacola, the trading firm's losses continued to mount. Even the Innerarity household was directly affected when Phillis, their domestic slave, joined the exodus.[36] Exacerbating the situation was the intense rivalry between Nicolls and Innerarity, especially after the latter was accused of sending advanced warning to Fort Bowyer and thus thwarting a British attack on Mobile in September 1814. In the midst of their retreat, the defeated British troops sacked the Forbes and Company store at Bon Secour and freed ten of its slaves. Back in Pensacola, the company lost more slaves to the British; Innerarity was forced to watch helplessly as his runaway slaves resided nearby. Two months later, during the British evacuation of the city, 130 Pensacola slaves left with the retreating forces. Of that number, twenty-five (in addition to the ten lost at Bon Secour) were company slaves.[37] The situation in East Florida appeared equally grim for the company's partners; in this case, John Forbes's plantation on the St. Johns River lost sixty-two slaves to the British.[38] In response, Forbes and Company embarked on an

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Woodbine see Millett, "Britain's 1814 Occupation of Pensacola and America's Response," 245-250; Millett, The Maroons of Prospect Bluff, 57-65.

35 Coker and Watson, Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands, 281. Previously known as the Panton, Leslie and Company, the Forbes and Company was a British trading firm given a special dispensation by the Spanish government to engage in trade with Indians in the Floridas. Since Spanish administrators relied heavily upon the company, its partners held considerable influence.

36 "File of Witnesses that may be examined by Commissioners in Pensacola in the Suit of Woodbine-Testimony of John Innerarity," 1815, CP, PKY; Millett, The Maroons of Prospect Bluff, 59. Phillis was one of the few slaves that did return to Pensacola.

37 Coker and Watson, Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands, 287-288; J. Leitch Wright, Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 181. Wright argues that all 130 slaves that departed with the British belonged to the Forbes and Company. However, Coker states that only twenty-five out of 130 slaves from Pensacola belonged to the company. When the ten from the Bon Secour store are added to the total, the company's combined loss is thirty-five slaves.

38 Coker and Watson, Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands, 293.

exhaustive campaign to first, recover their slaves, and second, press for damages through litigation.

Forbes was only one among many Southeastern slaveholders who lamented the British presence in East Florida. Similar to the situation in West Florida, Admiral Sir George Cockburn established, in January 1815, an Atlantic headquarters at Cumberland Island, which attracted slaves throughout the region.[39] However, Cockburn was located just outside Spanish territory, a few miles north of Amelia Island and its port city of Fernandina. Nonetheless, the admiral, like his counterpart in Pensacola, accepted slaves from Spanish subjects among his ranks. Out of 1,483 slaves who made their way to Cumberland Island, East Floridians lost over 250 slaves; Forbes, in particular, lost around seventy-five slaves in total.[40] Aggrieved slave masters soon blazed a well-worn path to the island in order to confront Cockburn and recapture their slaves. William Christopher sought his slaves James, Will, Rodriguez, and Thomas, who escaped to Cockburn, despite the fact they were "not mistreated nor given a motive for leaving." James Cashen stalked his slave, Brutus, aboard the HMS *Terror* and attempted to convince him to return. Brutus confronted his former master and chose the freedom that "the British offered him." All the testimonies stressed the lack of mistreatment, at least in part because abuse of slaves under Spanish law would have given the slaves the right to flee and seek legal protection. Since this was not the case, the slaves were operating outside the bounds of Spanish society.[41]

In his attempts to seize his runaway slaves, Forbes encountered the same frustration that awaited all other claimants. Traveling to Cumberland Island after his slaves had escaped in February 1815, Forbes charged Cockburn with illegally holding his property.[42] He wanted the admiral to forcibly place the slaves in his custody since he saw no justification for the British seizure of property from a

39 Tomás Llorente to Sebastián Kindelán, January 17, 1815, East Florida Papers (hereafter cited as EFP), reel 62, PKY.

40 Mary R. Bullard, Black Liberation on Cumberland Island in 1815 (DeLeon Springs, FL: printed by the author, 1983), 105. Bullard examines the ship manifests of vessels leaving Cumberland Island and estimates that supernumerary persons on board were runaway slaves. However, the author states that these numbers may not include the men recruited into the British military.

41 Juan José de Estrada to Juan Ruíz de Apodaca, December 22, 1815, PC, reel 106, PKY; Landers, Black Society in Spanish Florida, 183-201. Landers discusses cases when slave masters were taken to court for their harsh treatment of slaves.

42 John Forbes to George Cockburn, February 26, 1815, LOC, PKY.

subject of a neutral nation.[43] However, Cockburn ruled out the use of violence and only allowed Forbes to address the slaves and seek their voluntary return.[44] In a letter to East Florida Governor Sebastián Kindelán, Cockburn defended his actions by stating that his conquest of Cumberland Island meant that the area was now British territory and "governed by the laws of Great Britain, (which know not of slavery)."[45] Forbes eventually followed his slaves to Bermuda only to come home empty-handed yet again.

In December 1815, East Florida Governor Juan José de Estrada collected testimony from incensed slave owners, such as Forbes, Cashen, Christopher, and Zephaniah Kingsley. Their names are a testament to Spanish policies that shaped the province into the early nineteenth century. For instance, Forbes's company owed its trade monopoly to the Spanish outsourcing of the Southeastern deerskin trade in order to maintain Creek and Seminole alliances. Meanwhile, the other men had arrived in East Florida after 1790, when the Spanish government established policies to attract Euro-American immigrants. Having abrogated its controversial slave sanctuary policy, East Florida sought to attract colonists through a headright system, a grant of land to settlers, and a relaxation of religious requirements. Up until 1810, over 200 heads of family registered with the government and brought about 5,000 slaves into the province.[46] These new immigrants, of whom sixty percent were Americans, served to anglicize the countryside, which was already home to a few remaining colonists from the British Florida Period, such as Francis Philip Fatio.[47]

Although many of the new arrivals operated small homesteads with few slaves, planters such as Cashen, Kingsley, and Spicer

43 George Cockburn to Alexander Cochrane, February 28, 1815, LOC, PKY.

44 Ibid.; George Cockburn to John Forbes, February 26, 1815, LOC, PKY; William S. Coker, "John Forbes and Company and the War of 1812 in the Spanish Borderlands," in Hispanic-American Essays In Honor of Max Leon Moorhead, ed. William S. Coker (Pensacola, FL: Perdido Bay Press, 1979), 78; Coker and Watson, Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands, 293.

45 George Cockburn to Sebastián Kindelán, February 13, 1815, LOC, PKY. Cockburn later argued that precedents existed for offering sanctuary to slaves from belligerent nations. Although no precedents existed for dealing with slaves from neutral nations, Cockburn felt the law could be extended to make his actions at Cumberland Island legal.

46 Paul E. Hoffman, Florida's Frontiers (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 253-254.

47 For a description and demographic breakdown of the Euro-American planters in Northern Florida, see Susan R. Parker, "Men without God or King: Rural Settlers of East Florida, 1784-1790," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 69, no. 2 (October 1990): 135-155.

Christopher had substantial holdings. They were well positioned to benefit from the 1806 U.S. trade embargo, which transformed Fernandina into a bustling port. Many plantations produced diverse crops, such as citrus, rice, indigo, and, increasingly, cotton. By 1805, Fernandina was exporting 77,000 pounds of cotton, much to the chagrin of Spanish authorities worried about the level of corn production.[48] Nonetheless, men such as Fatio also depended on cattle ranching and exporting timber.[49] Frank Marotti argues that the East Florida economy at the turn of the century was much more dynamic than previously thought. He notes that Francis R. Sánchez, in 1812, before the outbreak of the destructive Patriot War, commented that the province had been "tranquil and prosperous."[50] This success was based on the immigration of merchant planters, largely from the United States, and their use of slave labor. Consequently, rural East Florida estate evaluations prioritized bondpersons over physical structures, thus demonstrating that "slaves were the real measure of wealth."[51]

Considering the varied background of its slaveholding class, Floridians' racial discourse was far from uniform. For this reason, the term "Florida Borderlands" is apt because of its potential to fully encompass the region's sociopolitical mélange. East Florida during the Second Spanish Florida Period was home to incredibly diverse groups of people. Diversity did not solely signify Indian, black, and white but also divisions within those—still novel— classifications. The heterogeneous planter population included immigrating heads of household from Switzerland, Scotland, Ireland, Spain, France, and the United States. Among the Americans, a majority of the households were from South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia.[52] All of these peoples would have maintained ideologies related to identity, slavery, and race, all the while exposed in vary-

48 Hoffman, Florida's Frontiers, 255.

49 Susan R. Parker, "Success through Diversification: Francis Philip Fatio's New Switzerland Plantation," in *Colonial Plantations and Economy in Florida*, ed. Jane G. Landers (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 75-76.

50 Marotti, *The Cana Sanctuary*, 11.

51 Parker, "Men without God or King," 148. The author argues that this represents a shift from the First Spanish Florida Period when physical buildings received more detailed attention during appraisals. Historians have examined how Spanish sociocultural ideologies shaped daily interactions in St. Augustine. However, further study is needed on the influx of non-Spanish planters into East Florida, a majority from the U.S. South, and their impact on the racial discourse and treatment of slaves along the St. Johns and St. Marys Rivers.

52 Ibid., 140.

ing degrees to their neighbors' worldviews. This environment, in conjunction with economic, demographic, legal, and cultural factors, meant that slave experiences were situational and dependent on many variables.[53]

The influx of Euro-American planters into the northern riverbanks of East Florida created both a continuation and a rupture of previous social conventions. In many ways, race relations remained fluid, and Afro-Floridians retained access to manumission and property. For instance, free blacks like Juan Bautista Witten, Felipe Edimboro, and Lewis Sánchez owned substantial holdings and experienced economic mobility. Historian Jane G. Landers notes that most free blacks received land grants, including applicants under the 1790 headright system.[54] These families established relationships and daily interactions with white families. A number of white planters also fathered multiracial families with black wives, most famously Kingsley's marriage with Anna Madgigine Jai Kingsley. She was manumitted in 1811 and was granted land; she also managed the estate's slaves.[55] The Kingsley plantations used the task system, as did many East Florida planters, which theoretically was more flexible and less oppressive than the gang system.[56] Zephaniah Kingsley later wrote a treatise about the need to promote benevolent slave ownership, which included manumission, education, and black sociopolitical mobility in exchange for "good

53 Hanger, *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places*, 20. Hanger argues that cultural factors alone do not account for high levels of manumission. Rather, demographics, economic development, and the legal system contributed to the number of freed slaves.

54 Landers, "Free Black Plantations and Economy in East Florida, 1784-1821," 123.

55 Daniel L. Schafer, *Anna Madgigine Jai Kingsley: African Princess, Florida Slave, Plantation Slaveowner* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 33.

56 Ibid., 47. The task system allocated duties that slaves had to accomplish within a given day. Once these tasks were completed, slaves were able to pursue their own work. For works that comment on the task system in the Southeastern U.S. and its potential to be oppressive, see Charles Spencer, *Edisto Island, 1663 to 1860: Wild Eden to Cotton Aristocracy* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2008), 84. Spencer, writing about South Carolina, states that the task system did not eliminate abuses such as "arbitrary work assignments, favoritism or hostility between drivers and certain slaves, and some harsh punishment and cruelty by owners"; Karen B. Bell, "Rice, Resistance, and Forced Transatlantic Communities: (Re) Envisioning the African Diaspora in Low Country Georgia, 1750-1800," *The Journal of African American History* 95, no. 2 (April 2010): 169. Bell writes that depending on the assignment and weather, the task system could be grueling and debilitating. While the system enabled slaves to have less structured time, "coercion and brute force remained the central elements of the labor system."

behavior" and stability.[57] One of the benefits of this kind of "inclusive" society was the recruitment of free black militias for defense, which was a hallmark of East Florida.

While planters like Kingsley acclimated to Spanish understandings of race relations, tensions with the Euro-American population remained. In the midst of a 1795 insurgency, the East Florida governor, doubtful of the loyalty of his Euro-American subjects, used his black militia to relocate families to St. Augustine. Paul E. Hoffman writes that the use of these soldiers was considered an "affront" to Euro-American "race norms."[58] Sensitive to accusations that he sought to invert racial hierarchies, Governor Kindelán, during the Patriot War, judiciously used the black militia to great effect.[59] Although they performed admirably, the governor remained concerned with the behavior of his black population. He chastised them for taunting Euro-Americans coming to seek pardons at the end of the war.[60] Spanish officials recognized the delicate balance between two vital components of their colonial strategy: free blacks and white planters.

The judgeship of planter William Lawrence in the St. Johns River Distinct is informative concerning the clash of ideas over race and slavery. Appointed in 1806, Lawrence quickly brought East Florida Governor Enrique White's attention to the long-standing issue of slaves trading goods without tickets from their masters, as was required in the *Bando de Buen Gobierno*, a proclamation of the governor's initiatives and ordinances. He requested that the

57 Zephaniah Kingsley, A *Treatise on the Patriarchal, or Cooperative System of Society, As It Exists in Some Governments, and Colonies in America, and in the United States, Under the Name of Slavery, with Its Necessity and Advantages* (n.p: 1828), 7; For a recent treatment of Kingsley, see Daniel L. Schafer, *Zephaniah Kingsley Jr. and the Atlantic World: Slave Trader, Plantation Owner, Emancipator* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013); For a critical interpretation of Kingsley's benevolent attitude toward race and slavery, see Mark J. Fleszar, "'My Laborers in Haiti Are Not Slaves': Proslavery Fictions and a Black Colonization Experiment on the Northern Coast, 1835-1846," *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 2, no. 4 (December 2012): 478. The author examines Kingsley's Haitian plantations in the 1830s, which were established for his freed slaves who became indentured servants. Fleszar finds that Kingsley's rhetoric of black uplift aside, many ex-slaves were exploited for their former master's personal gain; Daniel Fountain, "The Ironic Career of Zephaniah Kingsley," *The Southern Historian* 17 (1996): 39. Fountain writes that Kingsley's ideas on race were genuine; however, his motives were to safeguard "slavery by creating institutional incentives and rewards."

58 Hoffman, *Florida's Frontiers*, 250.

59 Marotti, *The Cana Sanctuary*, 78.

60 Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, 227.

governor republish the law prohibiting these illicit transactions in order to "remedy an evil of such bad consequence," which endangered slave owners' property. Although Lawrence's strict interpretation of the regulations initially sought to restrict slaves' activities, an 1807 letter appealed for constraining slave owners' oppressive treatment of their bondpersons. He wrote Governor White and asked for a clarification of how slaves could be punished since "some of the planters in this district use their slaves with severity," which is "undoubtedly contrary to all laws human or divine." White curtly responded that any planters who caused death, loss of limb, disfiguration, or loss of copious amounts of blood should be arrested and the matter quickly brought to his attention.[61] Lawrence's correspondence demonstrates that even in the St. Johns District, considered to be more in line with Spanish customs, as opposed to the St. Marys District, homogeneity on these issues proved elusive.[62]

The Haitian Revolution and the infusion of Euro-American planters bred a discourse focused on the regulation of black social behavior. The year 1790, as discussed above, marked a significant turning point. It was also the year Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada issued a *Bando de Buen Gobierno* in order to regulate social relations. In particular, he was concerned whether runaway slaves, who had recently arrived in the province, were employed and properly behaved.[63] Having succeeded Quesada, Governor White proved equally worried about the black population. In 1807 he decreed a new *Bando de Buen Gobierno*; among his decisions, White sought to restrict the rights of free blacks. Officially, "*gente de color*" could not hold dances nor stay out beyond curfew. Afro-Floridians

61 William Lawrence to Enrique White, June 19, 1806, EFP, reel 58, PKY; William Lawrence to Enrique White, October 4, 1806, EFP, reel 58, PKY; William Lawrence to Enrique White, May 26, 1807, EFP, reel 58, PKY; Enrique White to William Lawrence, June 4, 1807, EFP, reel 58, PKY. For other cases of residents complaining about slaves trading goods, see Bartolomeo Morales to Carlos Howard, May 12, 1795, EFP, reel 51, PKY; Jose Mariano Hernandez to Juan José de Estrada, September 7, 1815, EFP, reel 115, PKY.

62 Kevin S. Hooper, *The Early History of Clay County: A Wilderness that Could be Tamed* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2006), 92. Hooper writes that the Patriot War exposed a "schism" between planters from the St. Johns River and the St. Marys River. He cites Francis Philip Fatio, Zephaniah Kingsley, and George Fleming as being representative of planters on the St. Johns River who acclimated to the Spanish slave system.

63 Bando de Buen Gobierno, September 2, 1790, EFP, reel 118, PKY; Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, 201; Jane G. Landers, "Social Control on Spain's Contested Florida Frontier," in *Choice, Persuasion, and Coercion: Social Control on Spain's North American Frontiers*, ed. Jesús F. de la Teja et al. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 37; Landers, "Spanish Sanctuary," 312.

without employment faced six months of labor on public works while being shackled.[64] As Landers notes, these regulations were rarely implemented, since law was shaped by local conditions.[65] Nonetheless, gubernatorial edicts highlight a discourse of criminality that Spanish authorities feared would materialize without proper supervision, a concern the Spanish later voiced about the Prospect Bluff Fort. Additionally, the preoccupation with black behavior was not limited to St. Augustine, as was the case with Lieutenant Justo López on the eve of the Patriot War. From Fernandina, he wrote the governor requesting further authority to punish free blacks and slaves for minor crimes, such measures, he felt, being necessary to avoid disorder.[66]

During the slave exodus of late 1814, slave masters and Spanish officials did not contemplate whether aspects of the Floridian slave system or racial discourse motivated slaves to run away. Rather, the British were viewed as the primary culprits. In Pensacola, Innerarity wrote that they were going cabin to cabin trying "to entice the slaves of the Spanish citizens to join them."[67] The claimants seeking their slaves on Cumberland Island uniformly stated that their slaves were well treated and only left because of British interference.[68] Governor Sebastián Kindelán argued that the British were guilty of facilitating the slaves' escape by allowing them to have the choice of either leaving or returning to their masters. However, Kindelán unwittingly exposed the slave system when he rhetorically asked Cockburn, which servant, having left his position, would ever choose to "return to his servitude." Although a brief statement, it does reflect an acknowledgement that slaves did not desire to inhabit a subordinate status.[69] As mentioned above, free blacks and slaves owned property, yet their holdings were typically smaller than those of their fellow Spanish subjects. While Afro-Floridians had relationships with whites, these relationships were nonetheless

64 Enrique White Edict, May 20, 1807, EFP, reel 118, PKY; Bando de Buen Gobierno, September 26, 1807, EFP, reel 118, PKY.

65 Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, 201.

66 Justo López to Juan José de Estrada, December 24, 1811, EFP, reel 61, PKY; Juan José de Estrada to Justo López, January 15, 1812, EFP, reel 61, PKY.

67 Owsley Jr., *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands*, 115.

68 Juan José de Estrada to José Ruiz de Apodaca, December 22, 1815, PC, reel 106, PKY; Bullard, *Black Liberation on Cumberland Island in 1815*, 78. Bullard argues that aggressive British recruitment strategies were largely responsible for the slaves running away.

69 Sebastián Kindelán to George Cockburn, February 18, 1815, LOC, PKY.

"within the framework of white superiority."[70] These circumstances, and not solely British coercion, provided slaves with the "push" factors to leave their masters.

In West Florida, when the British fled Pensacola most of the city's slave population followed, thus opting out of the Spanish slave system. Their owners immediately protested the loss of their property, and like slave masters in East Florida, sought to recover them. Vice Admiral Cochrane wrote to West Florida Governor Manrique to reiterate the official but disingenuous British position, which was not to interfere with the slaves of an ally.[71] He counseled the governor, in what became a familiar refrain, to convince the slaves to return voluntarily without the use of force.

After the successful British evacuation to Prospect Bluff, the Spanish sent their first envoy, Lieutenant José Urcullo. He learned firsthand that the British would not physically coerce slaves to return.[72] They cautioned him that the black population was very hostile and capable of violent resistance. According to one British officer, the runaway slaves "would die before they would go back." Interpreter and Forbes and Company employee William McPherson encountered this resolve when his slave Jerry rebuffed him directly by refusing to return.[73] Urcullo, who initially believed that "a greater part of the slaves . . . wanted to return voluntarily to their masters," suffered the same fate when addressing the Pensacola contingent. Only twenty-five women and children, out of 130 slaves, volunteered to return. However, by the next morning, more than half of the slaves who agreed to depart changed their minds, bluntly telling the Spanish agent that in "Pensacola they would be slaves and there they were free."[74] While the majority of the slaves were steadfast in their decision to stay, there was indecisiveness on the part of slave mothers, thus highlighting the real dangers that they faced with their children. Although the British made promises of assistance, slaves still had to choose between the familiar, the

70 Marotti, *The Cana Sanctuary*, 95.

71 Alexander Cochrane to Mateo González Manrique, December 5, 1814, in The Papers of Panton, Leslie and Company, reel 19.

72 Mateo González Manrique to Jose Urcullo, December 17, 1814, Ibid., reel 20.

73 Millett, *The Maroons of Prospect Bluff*, 104-105. Captain Robert Henry, who was the interim commander of British forces at Prospect Bluff, later testified that the slaves were willing to die rather than return to their former masters.

74 Ibid., 106; Jose Urcullo Official Report in The Papers of Panton, Leslie and Company, reel 20; Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands*, 289. According to Coker and Watson, Urcullo's party returned to Pensacola with only four of Forbes and Company's female slaves.

Spanish slave system, and the uncertain, life as soldiers or wartime refugees.

After Urcullo's failure, the Spanish turned to Pintado, a native *Isleño* from La Palma, Canary Islands, with a long, distinguished record of service to the Crown while preserving the rule of law.[75] Pintado had lived near the border between Louisiana and West Florida. Aboard the royal sloop *Balandra*, he patrolled Lake Ponchartrain and carried correspondence between Cuba and Louisiana. In 1798, Pintado was at the head of the Feliciana District's mounted militia, and two years later he became *alcalde* and chief magistrate. He served an anxious populace who weathered rumors of a French invasion while suppressing a number of slave conspiracies, including the 1795 Pointe Coupée Conspiracy. Scholars argue that the plot, which authorities discovered before its coordinated commencement, was partly due to the incendiary influence of the French and Haitian Revolutions, which spread some abolitionist sentiment in the region.[76] Unnerved Louisiana officials sought to regulate the influx of Saint-Dominguan refugees, particularly their slaves.[77] Consequently, Pintado was ordered to monitor and arrest any "foreign" blacks that he encountered.[78] During a period of increased apprehension (1802-1803), he was called upon to increase militia patrols, confiscate arms, and disrupt illicit gatherings.[79] Named the surveyor general of West Florida, Pintado left for Pensacola in 1805 a hardened defender of Spanish colonialism experienced with both foreign intrigue and slave resistance.

Pintado sought to order and demarcate Spanish society by relegating the Prospect Bluff Fort slaves to their subordinate status. He spoke with Admiral Cochrane, who was anchored off the coast

75 For sources that discuss Pintado's early life and background see John R. Hébert, "Vicente Sebastián Pintado, Surveyor General of Spanish West Florida, 1805-17. The Man and His Maps," *Imago Mundi* 39 (1987): 51; Andrew McMichael, *Atlantic Loyalties: Americans in Spanish West Florida, 1785-1810* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008), 23.

76 Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth-Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 348; John E. Baur, "International Repercussions of the Haitian Revolution," *The Americas* 26, no. 4 (April 1970): 403.

77 Ashli White, *Encountering Revolution: Haiti and the Making of the Early Republic* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 183.

78 Carlos de Grand Pré to Vicente Sebastián Pintado, April 2, 1803, PP, reel 2, PKY; Carlos de Grand Pré to Vicente Sebastián Pintado, September 17, 1803, PP, reel 2, PKY.

79 Carlos de Grand Pré to Alcaldes de Nueva Feliciana, September 18,1802, PP, reel 2, PKY; Vicente Sebastián Pintado to Carlos de Grand Pre, April 17, 1803, PP, reel 2, PKY.

of Havana, and received assurances that the admiral would issue orders for the recovery of the slaves. However, Cochrane imposed an important caveat when he once again prohibited the use of force.[80] With a small measure of confidence, Pintado made his way to the fort and was greeted by Captain Robert Spencer. Later, Colonel Nicolls was present and allowed Pintado to address the Pensacola slaves and to make a plea for their return. As he struggled to achieve his mission's goals, Pintado made a couple of interesting observations about the fort and what he felt it represented. His background as both a civil and military official preconditioned a negative appraisal of the fort and its inhabitants. In his letter to Spencer, he stated that the removal of supervisory British officials and troops would create a "republic of bandits," thus threatening the entire region.[81]

"Republic" was a loaded term in the revolutionary Atlantic; it signified, among elites, the sociopolitical tumult associated with efforts to establish more representative governments. Traditionally, the Spanish conceptualized a republic as an entity that stratified social classes in order to prevent challenges to the established hierarchy. In regards to blacks and mixed-raced peoples, officials believed their inclination towards "idleness, vagabondage, licentiousness, insolence, unruliness, and irreverence" represented one of these challenges.[82] A well-functioning republic sought to suppress socially disruptive behavior and ensure "harmony and justice."[83] Interestingly, Pintado paired "republic" with "bandits," a

80 John Innerarity to John Forbes, May 22, 1815, The Papers of Panton, Leslie and Company, reel 20; Vicente Sebastián Pintado to José de Soto, April 29, 1815, PP, reel 3, PKY; Millett, *The Maroons of Prospect Bluff*, 108.

81 Vicente Sebastián Pintado to Robert Spencer, March 31, 1815, PP, reel 3, PKY.

82 Lyle N. McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492-1700* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 397.

83 Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 231. In addition to describing Spanish understandings of an ideal republic, the author examines the existence of the *República de Indios* (Republic of Indians). Situated as a separate but subordinate governing body, the Republic of Indians allowed indigenous groups in the Spanish colonies a measure of autonomy, which preserved aspects of their previous political system. Nonetheless, Spanish authorities oversaw native leaders and sought to shape and control the system for their own benefit. Any similarities between the Republic of Indians and Pintado's "republic of bandits" are minimal. Although both describe separate governing entities, the former retained a subordinate relationship with the Spanish crown, while the latter was independent. This may explain why the Republic of Indians is based on an ethnic/caste designation, while the term "republic of bandits" emphasizes the fort's extralegal status; For an examination of the Republic of Indians during the

word whose meaning is antithetical to social order. Banditry stood for lawlessness and a lack of respect for property. The Pensacola slaves were labeled as criminals because they shattered any sense of harmony and justice by refusing to occupy their inferior position within the republic. Thus, Pintado viewed their actions as either an inversion of a republic in its traditional sense or an insurgency fueled by recent revolutionary activity. Perhaps influenced by both of these understandings, the surveyor general's assessment clearly emphasized the fort's lawlessness and support for criminality.

Pintado's perception of the Prospect Bluff Fort was likely shaped by his experiences in the 1804 Kemper Rebellion. Initially a dispute over an eviction notice, the Kemper brothers, Reuben, Nathan, and Samuel, plundered the Baton Rouge area. Seeking to legitimatize their lawlessness, the aspiring filibusters declared the birth of the "West Florida Republic."[84] Contemptuous of Spanish authority, the men and their associates kidnapped Pintado, burned his house, and damaged his cotton gin.[85] Consequently, he viewed the men as "bandits" and thought little of their revolutionary agenda. Although economically damaged and physically accosted, Pintado survived the crisis while the Kemper brothers fled to the Bahamas. Transferred to Pensacola, the Spanish official faced another quandary ten years later when he was tasked with recovering the runaway slaves. Echoing his analysis of the Kemper Rebellion, Pintado believed that slaves' willingness to cite British proclamations and possess military-issued licenses as the basis of their freedom was a pretense for subverting Spanish law and order, especially since Pintado considered British actions illegal because they "violated" the rights of Pensacola's property holders and disregarded Spanish neutrality.[86]

As a man familiar with violent uprisings, Pintado sensed that an unsupervised Prospect Bluff Fort was ripe for producing similar upheaval and only its destruction was advisable. His letters to the British used menacing, if imprecise, language to describe the danger. He warned of disastrous consequences, the possibility of

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First Spanish Florida Period see Amy Turner Bushnell, "Ruling 'the Republic of Indians' in Seventeenth-Century Florida," in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, ed. Peter H. Wood et al. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989); Amy Turner Bushnell, "Republic of Spaniards, Republic of Indians," in *The New History of Florida*, ed. Michael Gannon (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1996).

84 McMichael, *Atlantic Loyalties*, 76.

85 Ibid., 91.

86 Vicente Sebastián Pintado to Robert Spencer, April 2, 1815, PP, reel 3, PKY.

evil acts, and the presence of wicked individuals.[87] Not specifying the exact nature of these villainous acts, Pintado assumed that the reader, especially in the aftermath of the Haitian Revolution, would infer that blacks left un-policed would be prone to indecent behavior. As mentioned above, William Lawrence invoked similar language when he warned that slaves in East Florida were buying and selling property without permission. The ambiguous yet potent language used to describe black independent behavior alluded to a type of nightmare scenario that officials felt was obvious and needed no further elaboration. Indeed, Spanish authorities had already shown themselves concerned with the behavior of Afro-Floridians, as evidenced in Quesada and White's respective edicts.

A key phrase in Spanish colonial discourse was "tranquility," specifically in regards to social relations. As discussed above, the ideal Spanish republic was one that maintained the status quo. Indeed, colonial elites sought a stable social order that was, ideally, "highly stratified by race, gender, wealth, and legal status, where every member was cognizant of her or his proper place." Kimberly Hanger argues that in reality, New Orleans, as was the case with Florida, experienced much social fluidity as well as the daily crossing of metaphorical borders. Consequently, elites felt a sense of insecurity and sought to regulate the social comportment of lower-class groups. Free black women of New Orleans threatened elites' desire for "total tranquility" when they wore fashionable clothing, hurled insults, or impugned the reputation of their social betters.[88] In Pensacola, even greater social "disgraces" occurred during the British occupation: native peoples patrolled the streets, slaves left their masters, and in at least one case, a prisoner was released from jail. However, in the minds of Pensacola officials, Dolores Manrique's behavior represented the worst indignity; the governor's eldest daughter was accused of intervening in public affairs and not conforming to gender codes.[89] Within this context, the capture of the Pensacola slaves was part of a larger effort to return

87 Vicente Sebastián Pintado to Robert Spencer, March 31, 1815, PP, reel 3, PKY; Vicente Sebastián Pintado to José de Soto, April 29, 1815, PP, reel 3, PKY. Although it could be argued that Pintado sought to alarm the British into cooperation so he could apprehend the Pensacola slaves, the surveyor general used similar language in his letter to the West Florida governor José de Soto.

88 Kimberly S. Hanger, "'Desiring Total Tranquility' and Not Getting It: Conflict Involving Free Black Women in Spanish New Orleans," *The Americas* 54, no. 4 (April 1998): 541-543.

89 Statement from Pensacola Public Officials, October 11, 1814, in The Papers of Panton, Leslie and Company, reel 19.

subordinate groups to their proper place while curtailing further challenges to the colonial hierarchy.

Scholars have long highlighted U.S. hostility towards the Prospect Bluff Fort because of its threat to Southern slaveholding interests. However, the Spanish viewed the fort through a similar lens and drew identical conclusions. East Florida resident Juan Xavier de Arrambide y Goicochea noted that slaves continued to abscond and join with the "bandits." He confided to the Spanish governor that it would be advantageous if the United States "put an end to this rabble that the English put in our territory, since our misfortune does not permit us to do it ourselves."[90] General Andrew Jackson's letter to West Florida Governor Mauricio de Zúñiga employed similar language, labeling the fort's occupants as "banditti" and calling upon the Spanish to "put an end to an evil of so serious a nature." Similar to Pintado, Jackson also utilized ambiguous but alarmist language, warning that the fort would "excite irritations which eventually may endanger the peace of the nation."[91] Zúñiga assured the general that his own "mode of thinking exactly corresponds with yours." The governor pledged to do all in his power to cut "by the root an evil which is felt to the full extent stated in your letter by the inhabitants of this province . . . whose prosperity and tranquility it is my duty to preserve and protect." Although Zúñiga declared that the "negroes" were "insurgents or rebels," he lamented that he could not act against the fort until he heard from his superiors.[92] Jackson would not wait on Zúñiga since

90 Juan Xavier de Arrambide y Goicochea to José María Coppinger, March 2, 1816, EFP, reel 84, PKY; Claudio Saunt, "A New Order of Things: Creeks and Seminoles in the Deep South Interior, 1733-1816" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1996), 586.

91 Andrew Jackson to Mauricio de Zúñiga, April 23, 1816, ASP, FR, vol. 4, LC, 499; For an analysis of the destruction of the Prospect Bluff Fort from a U.S. perspective see John Quincy Adams to George W. Erving, November 28, 1818, ASP, FR, vol. 4, LC, 540. Adams, as opposed to other officials, is explicit about the threat from Prospect Bluff. He states that the base could be used for committing "depredations, outrages, and murders, and as a receptacle for fugitive slaves and malefactors, to the great annoyance both of the United States and of Spanish Florida."

92 Mauricio de Zúñiga to Andrew Jackson, May 26, 1818, ASP, Military Affairs, vol. 1, LC, 714-715. Although dated as 1818 in the American State Papers, the letter was written in 1816, for a copy of the document with the accurate date see Andrew Jackson, *The Papers of Andrew Jackson*, ed. Harold D. Moser et al., vol. 4, 1816-1820 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), 41-42; Mauricio de Zúñiga to Andrew Jackson, March 26, 1816, ASP, FR, vol. 4, LC, 499-500; Mauricio de Zúñiga to Juan Ruíz de Apodaca, May 2, 1816, PC, reel 120, PKY. The West Florida governor argues that Spain should attack and occupy the Prospect Bluff Fort so it is kept out of the hands of U.S. forces. However, he

his response provided the justification for a U.S. attack on the fort, leading to its destruction on July 27, 1816.[93]

Solidarity between American and Spanish officials over the Prospect Bluff Fort was logical. Elites throughout the Atlantic world had a vested interest in protecting property, ensuring the flow of goods, and curtailing disruptive foreign influence, specifically, in this case, from the British. Both sides believed that the fort would become a den of iniquity, attracting all manner of unsavory characters. As men of little esteem, they would utilize the bluff's strategic location to embark on depredations, on both land and sea. These characterizations, as well as the fort's racial composition, which was mainly black but also included indigenous peoples and some whites, meant that the population resembled what Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker recognize as the "motley crew," a lower-class racial amalgam that was essential for turning the gears of market capitalism.[94] These laboring classes, they argue, harbored a revolutionary zeal and were a constant source of consternation.

In Pintado's letter to the West Florida governor, he cautioned that the Prospect Bluff Fort had the potential to unite sailors (pirates) and slaves, groups whose labor was vital to the economy and yet whose resistance could be disruptive. Pintado warned that the unsupervised fort would become a second Barataria, a reference to the privateer Jean Lafitte's fortress, south of New Orleans. Lafitte's ships used this strategic position to stalk and plunder Spanish shipping while smuggling slaves into Louisiana. Similar to other French privateers during the period, he sought to legitimize his activities through an association with one of the insurgent Latin American governments. In particular, Baratarian vessels received commissions (after 1811) from the revolutionary government of

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acknowledges the lack of resources needed to proceed against the slaves. He also seeks assistance from the Seminoles in order to recapture the runaway slaves; José de Soto to Juan Ruíz de Apodaca, November 25, 1815, PC, reel 119, PKY; For Spanish accounts of the U.S. destruction of the Prospect Bluff Fort see Mauricio de Zúñiga to José Cienfuegos, August 22, 1816, PC, reel 128, PKY.

93 John Quincy Adams to George W. Erving, November 28, 1818, ASP, FR, vol. 4, LC, 540; Brian DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 3. Although specifically addressing the First Seminole War, DeLay notes that Spanish inability to control nonwhites justified U.S. intervention.

94 Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000), 28.

Cartagena.[95] Although these ships were primarily engaged in economic endeavors, their potential to spread news and revolutionary discourse made them socially and politically dangerous. The earlier Pointe Coupée Conspiracy, partly a result of slaves learning about slave insurgencies and the French Revolution from seamen, had already established a regional precedent.[96] From the perspective of a civil official like Pintado, both Barataria and Prospect Bluff exhibited a political veneer, whether from an association with Cartagena or Great Britain; however, this could not mask their true lawless nature.

In 1814, U.S. forces successfully captured Barataria; their raid on the stronghold resulted in the seizure of both property and fugitives. Undoubtedly, Spanish officials desired a similar outcome for the Prospect Bluff Fort. Due to a heightened sense of insecurity surrounding recent slave revolts and nascent revolutionary movements, Spanish authorities could not fathom an alternative course of action except the capture of the fort's occupants. Despite a pragmatic colonial structure, the runaway slaves were simply offered a general amnesty and re-enslavement.[97] Previously, Spanish governments had come to terms with maroon settlements in other parts of colonial Spanish America.[98] They granted freedom in exchange for cooperation, usually the maroons' willingness to return any future runaways. In East Florida, the Spanish had historically relied on free black militias, most recently during the Patriot War.[99] Obviously, the Prospect Bluff Fort represented an altogether different proposition because it operated outside the Spanish political realm. Rather than preserving Spanish colonialism, the fort encouraged slaves to no longer participate within the colonial system. In addition, Prospect Bluff was not geographically isolated but readily accessible, very defensible, and potentially, very influential.[100] No

95 David Head, "Slave Smuggling by Foreign Privateers: The Illegal Slave Trade and the Geopolitics of the Early Republic," *Journal of the Early Republic* 33, no. 3 (Fall 2013): 434; Hall, Africans in Colonial Louisiana, 346.

96 For the role of French merchants, sailors, and privateers in the dissemination of information that led to the revolt, see Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana,* 346.

97 Vicente Sebastián Pintado to José de Soto, April 29, 1815, PP, reel 3, PKY.

98 Millett, *The Maroons of Prospect Bluff,* 120.

99 For a work discussing the use of free black militias in East Florida, in particular the First Spanish Florida Period, see Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*; For a couple of texts that examine the use of free black military units during the Patriot War, see Cusick, *The Other War of 1812*; Marotti, *The Cana Sanctuary.*

100 A description of the terrain surrounding Prospect Bluff and the fort's superb

accommodation with the maroons was possible because they were the ultimate threat to social and political tranquility.

Although Pintado's mission to Prospect Bluff produced significant military intelligence, his reclamation efforts were far less impressive. In a scene reminiscent of Urcullo's visit, Pintado and his companions, Dr. Eugenio Sierra and William McPherson, addressed the runaways. McPherson and Sierra were persistent, each man visiting the fort more than once in pursuit of their slaves. Sierra, in particular, faced a daunting task since his slave Prince, as mentioned earlier, was one of the leaders at the fort.[101] The agents were once again stymied by the ban on force and could only rely on "persuasion." With the Pensacola slaves isolated on the adjacent St. Vincent Island and lined up to hear their diminished former masters speak, Pintado pressed his case. Receiving surprising assistance from Spencer, and even Nicolls, they proceeded to warn the Pensacola slaves of the "horrible and miserable" conditions they faced once the British evacuated. If the slaves volunteered to return they would be pardoned and forgiven. However, if the slaves remained, Spencer cautioned, the maroons would be at the mercy of native groups who would capture and sell them back to vengeful masters. Despite the harrowing scenarios laid out in front of them, Pintado reported that only twenty-eight out of 128 slaves were willing to return. However, when the opportunity presented itself, a number of these individuals withdrew, and Pintado returned with only twelve slaves. Before they left, a few of the volunteers who changed their minds felt empowered enough to confront Pintado face to face. Responding to an urge that only human beings who have experienced bondage could truly appreciate, they emphatically told their former captors that they "did not want to go," and once more, they left the Spanish slave system behind.[102]

British policies and strategic interests were crucial to the mass exodus of slaves from households and plantations belonging to Spanish subjects. Before he left Prospect Bluff, Pintado noted that Nicolls's actions betrayed his earlier cooperative stance. The colonel began distributing discharge papers to the maroons releasing

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defensive position can be found in Covington, "The Negro Fort," 81; An analysis of Prospect Bluff's geographic location relative to other maroon communities is in Millett, *The Maroons of Prospect Bluff*, 135.

101 Millett, *The Maroons of Prospect Bluff*, 289; John Innerarity to John Forbes, May 22, 1815, The Papers of Panton, Leslie and Company, reel 20.

102 Vicente Sebastián Pintado to José de Soto, April 29, 1815, PP, reel 3, PKY; Millett, *The Maroons of Prospect Bluff*, 108-116.

them from their service to the British military. The documents made no "mention of their color or state of slavery," and were in essence freedom papers since "only free men were admitted to the armed service."[103] With these papers, the runaway slaves could leave the region and gain entrance into British possessions, the closest being in the Bahamas. Nicolls's actions validated Spanish arguments that the British were responsible for manipulating their slaves and facilitating their escape. From the moment that the British occupied parts of West Florida, Spanish slaves were supplied with extraordinary opportunities to leave their masters. Undoubtedly, the War of 1812, Nicolls's antislavery discourse, and the intellectual currents of the revolutionary Atlantic provided a significant impetus that propelled Spanish slaves' quest for freedom.

British assistance notwithstanding, the Pensacola slaves' decision on St. Vincent Island cannot be taken lightly. Although Nicolls's warnings to the runaway slaves were half-hearted, he did nonetheless alert them to real threats such as the possibility that they would be "prey to the Americans," which they "seemed as much to fear."[104] While Nicolls and his cohorts relocated a number of slaves and promised future support, many of the Prospect Bluff maroons faced an uncertain future. In April 1815, Pintado presented the runaway slaves with an option to return during an especially vulnerable moment, the eve of the British evacuation. The runaways weighed their options carefully, a choice between armed resistance versus life in the Spanish slave system. The fort's leadership, having experienced varying degrees of social and economic mobility, would have been acutely aware that avenues towards manumission existed. However, these slaves rejected the life of subordinate mobility for a chance at greater freedom, and some paid with their lives for that decision. Their determination and resistance undermined the Spanish colonial system, which relied on its subjects to legitimatize its authority by participating in its social and political institutions. The use of free black militias, the presence of black property owners, and the manumission of

103 Vicente Sebastián Pintado to José de Soto, April 29, 1815, PP, reel 3, PKY.

104 John Innerarity to John Forbes, May 22, 1815, The Papers of Panton, Leslie and Company, reel 20; Millett, *The Maroons of Prospect Bluff*, 109. An indignant Innerarity accused Nicolls of feigning cooperation while actually seducing the slaves with various promises: freedom, land, compensation to slave masters, a well-supplied fort, and Nicolls's continued support. While the slaves were receptive to these promises, Innerarity, as a slave master, logically overlooked his slaves' own internal desire for freedom.

slaves allowed the Spanish slave system to survive and to continue to enslave others. The runaway slaves from East and West Florida decided they would no longer sustain that system, especially when they were being exposed to alternatives like British subjecthood or independence.

Pintado worried that the Prospect Bluff Fort would "*inquietar*" (disquiet) the Spanish Crown's possessions on the Gulf Coast. Harboring similar fears, the United States destroyed the fort in 1816, and a year later it invaded East Florida during the First Seminole War in order to further displace indigenous and black settlements. Although a U.S. gunboat destroyed the fort, many of its defenders and hinterland settlers had already evacuated.[105] They sought shelter by living among the Seminoles, escaping to the more southerly maroon community of Angola, or finding passage to the Bahamas.

While the fort's survivors and their descendants lived on, so too has the historical legacy of the Prospect Bluff Fort. With the onset of the 200th year anniversary of its founding, the fort continues to be a disruptive force, in this case, by complicating narratives about the Florida Borderlands. Histories of Spanish Florida have served to problematize understandings of race and identity in the colonial South, where chattel slavery was practiced. However, scholars' use of Florida as a foil and setting for black agency risks the promulgation of an alternative overarching narrative that leaves little space for an examination of complexity and nuance within the Spanish slave system. In particular, the Second Spanish Florida Period witnessed daily interactions between diverse groups of peoples who had different and evolving ideas about race and slavery. In addition, Spanish racial discourse, at least through gubernatorial edicts, was more rigid in the aftermath of the Haitian Revolution and efforts to recruit Euro-American planters to East Florida. Most scholars agree that Spanish Florida represented what Ira Berlin

105 Lieutenant Colonel Duncan L. Clinch led the attack on the fort by bringing troops from the north and linking up with gunboats commanded by Jairus Loomis. After a scouting party had been ambushed, Loomis directed the gunboats to fire a heated shot into the fort. The cannonball made a direct impact on the fort's exposed powder magazine and caused a large explosion. Out of 320 occupants, 270 were killed and many of the survivors had grave injuries. However, many of the runaway slaves had advance warning and evacuated into the Florida interior. For sources on the destruction of the fort see Jairus Loomis to Daniel Patterson, August 13, 1816, ASP, FR, vol. 4, LC, 559; Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands*, 307; For a work that discusses the evacuation of the fort and the fate of its survivors see Millett, *The Maroons of Prospect Bluff*, 116, 231-236.

calls "a society with slaves" rather than a "slave society." However, Berlin argues that the distinction between both types of societies was not always neatly delineated, especially when those societies were in various states of transition. Even then, transitional phases represented processes that were "more circular than linear."[106]

Studying race in Southern history, according to Jennifer M. Spear, means recognizing that "the colonial South was a complex, multiethnic, multicultural place, and we must avoid the temptation to simplify matters by categorizing its inhabitants and then reaching conclusions about beliefs and behaviors based on those categorizations."[107] Spear directs her comments to studies of Southern chattel slavery, which fail to see the complexity that existed even within that slave system. Conversely, her insights can also be applied to studies on the opposite end of the spectrum, which privilege Spanish slavery's liberal characteristics over its socially coercive aspects. The Spanish encouraged Afro-Floridian agency when it was channeled in service of Spanish colonialism. However, when Afro-Floridians sought social and political autonomy through the Prospect Bluff Fort, in the eyes of the Spanish they were simply a "republic of bandits."

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106 Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 10. The author outlines the characteristics that created "slave societies": overdependence on slave labor, narrow paths to manumission, cruel treatment of slaves, increased importation of slaves from Africa, stringent slave codes, and an ideology justifying the expansion of slavery. Meanwhile, "societies with slaves" exhibited contrary attributes: mild treatment of slaves, fluid boundaries between slavery and freedom, a diversified economy, and slaveholdings that only averaged a few slaves. Although Florida exhibited traits of a "society with slaves" during the Second Spanish Florida Period, the area witnessed an increase in the importation of slaves (through Amelia Island), harsh slave codes, economic growth reliant on slave labor, rising exports of Sea Island cotton, and a few planters with large slaveholdings. In addition, a discourse of black criminality was used to condemn slaves for undermining the Spanish slave system.

107 Jennifer M. Spear, "Race Matters in the Colonial South," *Journal of Southern History* 73, no. 3 (August 2007): 586.

Currency, Credit, Crises, and Cuba: The Fed's Early History in Florida

by Lesley Mace

In the early years of the Federal Reserve System, two crises—one in Cuba, the other in Florida—and their resolution tactics provided a potential blueprint for dealing with the national banking crisis that developed after the 1929 stock market crash. The story of that lost opportunity begins with the organization of the Federal Reserve System and the Reserve Banks in the South. After President Woodrow Wilson signed the new Federal Reserve Act into law at the end of 1913, the first task for the Reserve Bank Organization Committee was to choose the locations of what were known as the "Federal Reserve cities" for each of the designated Federal Reserve Banks. The Reserve Bank Organization Committee was composed of the Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo, Secretary of Agriculture David F. Houston, and the Comptroller of the Currency John Skelton Williams. The committee traveled the country to scout locations, with consideration given to geography, business needs, and the ability to raise the capital necessary ($4 million) to establish a bank in the District. Thirty-seven cities asked to be considered, and public hearings were held in eighteen. Formal letters of interest were submitted by the following southern cities: Chattanooga, Louisville, Memphis, New Orleans, Richmond, and Savannah. No Florida cities were on the list.[1] Nearly 7,500 national

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polled on their opinion by the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, with the option to vote for their first, second, and third choices of Federal Reserve Bank location. In the Southeast, the cities vying for the honor included Atlanta, Savannah, Charleston, New Orleans, and Birmingham.[2] Once the host cities were selected, districts would be drawn around them.[3]

By the summer of 1914, Atlanta had been chosen as the headquarters for the Federal Reserve's Sixth District, and the new bank had elected its first Board of Directors. The Atlanta Fed would serve as the banker's bank for a district comprised of Georgia, Alabama, central and eastern Tennessee, the southern halves of Mississippi and Louisiana, and the entire state of Florida. The Atlanta Fed, which opened along with the eleven other Federal Reserve Banks on November 16, 1914,[4] had an original staff of just thirteen. The Atlanta Fed was tasked with issuing currency and, most importantly for the region's one-crop cotton economy, provided credit to member banks by rediscounting (or buying) their loans, enabling them to provide liquidity to local farmers. Demand for currency to pay cotton farmers was so strong in its early years that the Atlanta

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of Accounting Information Science and Leaders, The Journal of Housing Markets and Analysis, International Review of Economic Education, and *Southern Business and Economic Journal.* The views expressed here are the author's and not necessarily those of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta or the Federal Reserve System. The author expresses her gratitude to Jeanne Zimmermann, Cross-Media Editor in the Public Affairs Office of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, for her valuable suggestions and comments.

1 United States Reserve Bank Organization Committee, *Location of Reserve Districts in the United States: Letter from the Reserve Bank Organization Committee, Transmitting the Briefs and Arguments Presented to the Organization Committee of the Federal Reserve Board, Relative to the Location of Reserve Districts in the United States* 374. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1914), https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/?id=606(accessed August 28, 2015). With the exception of Chattanooga, all of these cities did eventually receive a Federal Reserve Bank (Richmond) or branch, although Savannah's agency office was not established as a formal branch and was eventually closed.

2 Sandra Kollen Ghizoni, "Reserve Bank Organization Committee Announces Selection of Reserve Bank Cities and District Boundaries—A Detailed Essay on an Important Event in the History of the Federal Reserve," Federal Reserve History Gateway, 2014. http://www.federalreservehistory.org/Events/DetailView/16 (accessed December 18, 2014).

3 United States Reserve Bank Organization Committee, *First-Choice Vote for Reserve-Bank Cities* (Washington, DC.: Government Printing Office, 1914), 3, https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/?id=604 (accessed November 11, 2014).

4 Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, (2014) *Serving the Public Interest: The Atlanta Fed at 100.* [Pamphlet], Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, Atlanta, Georgia, 5.

District was first in the Federal Reserve System in currency distribution relative to its capital.[5]

As the Atlanta Fed entered its second year of operations, strong demand for its services resulted in a doubling of the Bank's staff and the opening of its first branch in New Orleans. At the time, New Orleans was considered the financial center of the South. Its location, more than 500 miles from Atlanta, necessitated an office for the city that had been a strong contender for a Reserve Bank of its own and whose residents had reacted to the choice of Atlanta with a mass meeting where it was demanded that the committee reconsider its choice for the Southeast.[6]

New Orleans had been presumed to be the obvious choice for the Reserve Bank; in fact, the city's more than 3,500-word report in support of a Federal Reserve Bank being placed in the city—written by Sol Wexler, president of New Orleans-based Whitney National Bank—was subtitled "the logical point for a location of the regional bank." In the report, which recommended a district stretching from Texas to the Georgia coast, New Orleans' capital, expertise in international trade, volume of loans and check clearing operations, large and diverse economy, and ease of transportation and communication were touted as superior advantages to be considered.[7]

The committee responded with results from the bankers' poll and statistics on national banks. Not a single bank in Texas, Tennessee, or Georgia placed New Orleans first on their ballots, with only three Alabama banks and five in western Florida giving it first nod. Predictably, New Orleans was chosen first almost unanimously by Louisiana banks and by over half of the banks in Mississippi.[8] Results of the bankers' poll by county reveal that Atlanta was chosen first by 62 counties, compared to 25 for New Orleans; across

5 Richard Gamble, *A History of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, 1914-1989* (Atlanta, GA: The Bank, 1989), 23 https://www.frbatlanta.org/about/publications/atlanta-fed-history/first-75-years.aspx, (accessed September 23, 2014).

6 Roger T. Johnson, *Historical Beginnings—the Federal Reserve* (Boston: Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, 2010), 45.

7 United States Reserve Bank Organization Committee, *First-Choice Vote for Reserve-Bank Cities* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1914), 269-272, https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/?id=604 (accessed November 11, 2014).

8 United States Reserve Bank Organization Committee, *Decision of the Reserve Bank Organization Committee Determining the Federal Reserve Districts and the Location of Federal Reserve Banks Under Federal Reserve Act Approved December 23, 1913, April 2, 1914, with statement of the committee in relation thereto, April 10, 1914* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1914), 19, https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/?id=603(accessed August 28, 2015).

the nation, Atlanta was ranked ninth among 45 cities suggested by bankers in the poll, while New Orleans was 21st.[9]

The committee also stressed that the course of business in the region did not run east to west to New Orleans, or west from the city east. In looking at New Orleans' claims of superior capital and banking surpluses, the committee retorted that only national bank holdings should be considered, since these institutions were most likely to join the Federal Reserve System. In this light, Atlanta surpassed both Dallas and New Orleans in capital, loans, and individual deposits; in fact, the report noted that the level of capital and surplus as well as loans and discounts of the national banks of Georgia exceeded those of the entire states of Louisiana and Mississippi combined.[10]

New Orleans' disappointment and confusion at not being chosen a Reserve Bank would only be intensified nine years later when Henry Parker Willis, chairman of the Preliminary Committee on Organization for the Federal Reserve and the first secretary to the Federal Reserve Board, suggested that the choices of Atlanta, Richmond, and Cleveland were politically motivated. He cited influences within the Wilson administration and, in the case of Atlanta, the clout of Georgia's Senator and former Governor Hoke Smith. These claims came despite the fact that his initial report, written in 1914 when he was a Federal Reserve employee, recommended Atlanta as a home office with branch recommendations for Charlotte, North Carolina; Columbia, South Carolina; Jacksonville; Savannah; Mobile; and Nashville.[11] By 1923, however, the New Orleans Branch had been in existence for eight years and this very first branch established in the Federal Reserve System continues to be an important establishment in the region today.

System branching was thought to have ended with the addition of the Charlotte Branch of the Richmond Fed in 1928. However, the Sixth Federal Reserve District had the distinction of opening both the first and the last branch in the System when the check collection and coin and currency center opened in Miami in 1971 and

9 Michael McAvoy, "Bankers' Preferences and Locating Federal Reserve Bank Locations," *Essays in Economic and Business History* 22 (2004): 148.

10 United States, *Decision of the Reserve Bank Organization Committee*, 21.

11 David Hammes, "Locating Federal Reserve Districts and Headquarter Cities," *The Region* (September 2001), https://www.minneapolisfed.org/publications/the-region/locating-federal-reserve-districts-and-headquarters-cities (accessed August 27, 2015).

became a full branch in 1975.[12] Economic activity in the South was rapidly expanding in the era of the Bank's founding, as reflected in its earnings. The Bank earned $236,000 in its first year, and by 1918 experienced a gross earnings increase of over 300 percent, due largely to an increase in issuing war bonds.[13] During the same period, a nearly 60 percent growth in membership by state banks brought earnings to over $2.2 million.[14] This expansion necessitated a larger space in which to conduct business, and the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta relocated to a new space on Marietta Street that would serve as the Bank's office until 2001. The growing economy would also lead to further expansion of the Bank's locations. Branches were established in both Birmingham and Jacksonville in August 1918, and the following year a fourth branch was established in Nashville, Tennessee. An agency office in Savannah, Georgia, was also opened that year.[15]

Agency offices were a form of organization unique to the Atlanta office. The Savannah agency served regional banks for just over a quarter of a century. An agency was also opened in Havana, Cuba in 1923 to serve the needs of the large number of American banks doing business on the island, which was largely under American control following the Spanish- American War. Neither agency would became a full-fledged branch or survive long term. In general, branches were initially authorized to perform all of the important functions of a Federal Reserve Bank; smaller branches such as those in Birmingham, Jacksonville, and Nashville in the Sixth District forwarded some functions such as loans, member bank deposits, and U.S. Treasury fiscal agency operations to the head office. Agency offices were primarily designed to meet the currency and coin requirements of local banks and provide other limited services for the convenience of the area's bankers. In Savannah, securities pledged as collateral to loans from the head office were held for safekeeping so that they would not have to be transferred to Atlanta; in Havana, the agency was limited to currency operations, cable transfers, and the collection of bankers' acceptances

12 Gamble, *A History*,128.
13 Ibid., 25.
14 Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, "Fourth Annual Report of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta for the Year Ended December 31, 1918," *Annual Report of the Federal Reserve Bank of* Atlanta *(as of December 31, 1918)* p.10, 25.(Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1919), ,https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/?id=148#!4881 (accessed November 6, 2014).
15 Gamble, *A History*, 30.

and bills of exchange.[16] As early as 1938 concerns were expressed that the Savannah agency was redundant, with Ronald Ransom, vice president of the Federal Reserve's Board of Governors, calling it "not an important affair at all" and suggesting that local politics explained its existence.[17] The Savannah agency closed in 1945; the Havana agency, whose history is detailed later in this paper, operated for only thirteen years.

The Fed comes to Florida

Jacksonville had been a top choice for Florida bankers in their consideration of a Federal Reserve city in 1914,[18] although Florida, with a population of around half a million, had one of the smallest state populations east of the Mississippi River. Almost two-thirds of Floridians lived in northern Florida, and Jacksonville's 30,000 residents made it the largest city in the state. South Florida was still largely uninhabited; Miami-Dade County, which at the time encompassed today's Broward, Palm Beach, and Martin counties, had fewer than 5,000 residents.[19] Florida's economy was still mainly agricultural and most of its land consisted of undeveloped swamp areas. However, automobiles and the construction of major railroad lines were bringing tourists and new industry to the state and rapidly increasing the population along the way.[20]

16 Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System (U.S.), Outline of Federal Reserve Branch Banks Covering Powers, Functions, and Character and Volume of Business Handled (Washington, DC: The Board, 1919, 29, https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/?id=230#!5704 (accessed August 28, 2015); Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System (U.S.), Outline of Federal Reserve Branch Banks Covering Powers, Functions, and Character and Volume of Business Handled (Washington, DC: The Board,, 1925, 2. https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/?id=230#!5704 (accessed on October 22, 2015).

17 United States, Government Ownership of the Twelve Federal Reserve Banks. Hearings Before the Committee on Banking and Currency, House of Representatives, Seventy-Fifth Congress, Third Session, on H.R. 7230, a Bill Providing for Government Ownership of the Twelve Federal Reserve Bands and for Other Purposes. March 2, 3, 4, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 31, April 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 19, 1938 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1938),487-488, https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/?id=736 (accessed August 28, 2015).

18 United States, Reserve Bank Organization Committee, *First-Choice Vote for Reserve-Bank Cities*, July 29, 1914, 4. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1914, , https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/?id=604 (accessed November 11, 2014).

19 James B. Crooks,, "Changing Face of Jacksonville Florida: 1900-1910," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (1984): 439-463.

20 Lesley Mace, "Hands on History: Florida and the Great Depression," Paper Presentation, Florida Council for the Social Studies Annual Meeting, St. Petersburg, Florida, October 16, 2011, 1.

The Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta's Jacksonville Branch first opened for business on August 5, 1918 in rented space in Jacksonville's Atlantic National Bank Building.[21] George R. DeSaussure, an experienced national bank examiner who had served as secretary-treasurer of the Florida Banker's Association since 1904, was elected manager of the branch. DeSaussure served previously as vice president of Jacksonville's Barnett National Bank, Florida's oldest bank and, at the time, its largest.[22] His tenure would extend for a decade until his death in 1928, when he would be succeeded by W.S. McLarin Jr. In a tradition that often continues today, branch experience would serve as a launching pad for leadership. McLarin would later go on to serve 10 years as the president of the Atlanta Bank, from 1941 to 1951.[23]

The Jacksonville Branch opened with a staff of sixteen and was governed by a five-member board of directors, whose first meeting was held on July 6, 1918, just prior to the Bank's official opening. Leading Jacksonville attorney John C. Cooper served as chairman of the board and was joined by members Edward W. Lane, founder and president of Atlantic National Bank; Bion Hall (B.H.) Barnett, cofounder and president of Barnett National Bank; Giles L. Wilson, vice president of the Florida National Bank of Jacksonville, the oldest of the trust institutions in the state that specialized primarily in administering trusts and estates; and Fulton Saussy, a member of Jacksonville's Board of Trade[24] who was described by the *Wall Street Journal* as a "merchant of much experience in business administration."[25] Cooper would serve as board chair from 1918 to 1929 and again in 1931. He remained on the board until his death in 1933. Fulton Saussy would serve a term as chair in 1932.[26]

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21 Gamble, *A History*, 30.

22 J.E. Dovell, *History of Banking in Florida, 1828-1954* (Orlando, FL: Florida Bankers Association, 1955), 101-102; David J. Ginzl, *Barnett Bank* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2000), 7, 31.

23 "Officers." Former Atlanta Fed Presidents, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta. https://www.frbatlanta.org/about/atlantafed/officers/former_atl_fed_presidents.aspx (accessed November 12, 2014); Author's note: McLarin's experience continues to be typical; leadership at the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta is often drawn from top talent at the branches.

24 Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, "Fourth Annual Report," 18 ; Dovell, *History of Banking*, 101.

25 "New Federal Reserve Branch," *Wall Street Journal*, June 27, 1918.

26 Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, "Fourth Annual Report of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta for the Year Ended December 31, 1918," *Annual Report of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta* (as of December 31, 1918), 18. Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, "Sixteenth Annual Report of the Federal Reserve

Barnett, Lane, and Wilson also shared DeSaussure's association with the Florida Banker's Association, with each man serving as president of the organization from 1895 to 1898, in 1905, and in 1923, respectively.[27]

The branch operated under a daily settlement plan, balancing its books each day with the Atlanta office, which kept the branch's accounts. Its main function was to supply currency and coin to Florida banks, which in 1918 consisted of 55 national and 197 state banks.[28] National banks were required to become members of the Federal Reserve System, while state banks could elect membership. Most state banks in Florida resisted membership over the issue of clearing checks at par (face value). A common practice at the time was for banks to withhold a small fee when clearing a check, which would serve as compensation for the bank's check clearing services. When non-par bank customers cashed a check, they would receive the face value of the check minus the clearing fee. Reserve Banks and members cleared checks at par and would not clear checks for nonpar banks that withheld this fee from customers.[29]

Despite the reluctance of state banks to join the System, the branch's check clearing operation handled about 4,600 items daily in its early years.[30] As a fiscal agent for the U.S. government, the branch also serviced and issued obligations for the United States, maintained tax and loan accounts, and held bonds and securities in safekeeping.[31] In 1919, the branch relocated to a rented space in Jacksonville's tallest skyscraper, the 15-story Heard National Bank Building, where it occupied office space and maintained a vault

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Bank of Atlanta: 1930," *Annual Report of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta* (as of December 31, 1930)., 6, https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/?id=148#!4892, (accessed on October 22, 2015). Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta. "Seventeenth Annual Report of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta: 1931," *Annual Report of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta* (as of December 31, 1931). https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/?id=148#!4902, (accessed October 22, 2015). , 6, https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/?id=148#!4881, (accessed October 22, 2015).

27 Dovell, *History of Banking*, 226-228.

28 Ibid., 102.

29 Gamble, *A History*, 21.

30 Ibid.; Federal Reserve Board, 1914-1935. "1919," *Outline of Federal Reserve Branch Banks Covering Powers, Functions, and Character and Volume of Business Handled* (1919), 28. https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/?id=230#!5701, (accessed October 22, 2015).

31 *Outline of Federal Reserve Branch Banks Covering Powers, Functions, and Character and Volume of Business Handled* (1919), 25-27, https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/?id=230#!5701, (accessed October 22, 2015).

for a monthly rental rate of $450.[32] By 1922, increased activity and earnings led to the search for a more permanent location and a contract was signed to begin construction of a two-story building at the corner of Hogan and Church streets.[33] Henrietta C. Dozier, the city's first and foremost woman architect, served as associate architect on the project, which was completed in 1924.[34] Soon after settling into its new permanent space, the branch and its Atlanta parent would face the first true test of their central banking authority, from an island nation over 650 miles to the south.

The Fed's foray into Cuba

By the late 1800s, the United States was Cuba's largest trading partner, having just negotiated 75 import duty reductions with the nation. The majority of Cuba's sugar, tobacco, coffee, fruits, and nuts as well as all of its copper production were imported to the United States, with which Cuba had a reciprocal trade agreement. In 1899, Cuba received $125 million in export revenue (in year 2000 dollars) from its American trade. [35] When the Treaty of Paris gave the United States control over Cuba following the Spanish-American War, the American dollar would become Cuba's official currency and many American and Canadian banks soon set up shop to service North American business interests on the island. The Royal Bank of Canada was the single largest bank in Cuba with 65 branches and emerged, along with the National City Bank of New York (now Citibank), as the only solvent financial institution on the island following a 1921 collapse in the nation's vital sugar industry.[36] Because the Atlanta Fed's Jacksonville Branch was the closest central banking presence to the island, it became responsible for issuing the $40 million in U.S. currency circulating there.

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32 Ibid., 26; Ennis Davis, "Laura Street Trio," *Reclaiming Jacksonville: Stories behind the River City's Historic Landmarks*(Charleston, SC: History Press, 2012), 129.

33 Gamble, *A History*, 31.

34 U.S. Library of Congress, "Miss Henrietta C. Dozier," *American Life Histories: Manuscripts from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1940.* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1939), http://www.loc.gov/resource/wpalh1.11100418/?st=gallery (accessed January 12, 2015).

35 Cassandra Copeland, Curtis Jolly, and Henry Thompson, "The History and Potential of Trade Between Cuba and the US," *Journal of Economics and Business, Vol. 2,* no. 3 (2011): 164-165.

36 Mark Entwistle, "Canada-Cuba Relations: A Multiple Personality Foreign Policy," in *Our Place in the Sun: Canada and Cuba in the Castro Era,* ed. Robert Wright and Lana Wylie, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009) 283.

The idea for opening a branch office on the island had been of interest to Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta's Chairman Max Wellborn since 1920, an idea he shared with fellow Alabamian and Federal Reserve Board Governor W.P.G. Harding. When Harding returned to Fed service after his Board term expired in 1922, he became a governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston and, to his friend Wellborn's surprise, suggested to the Board in Washington that the Boston Fed open an agency office in Havana. (The Banking Act of 1935 changed the name of the executive officers of each Federal Reserve Bank from governor to president when it renamed the Federal Reserve Board the Board of Governors). Wellborn and the Atlanta Fed's leader Joseph McCord rushed to the hearing on the matter in the spring of 1923 and pleaded their case for Atlanta to be granted control over the proposed Cuban agency. A salient point made by Wellborn was that the Jacksonville Branch already had the servicing of currency and had geographical proximity to Cuba. Harding's argument was that the American banks in Havana were based either in New York or Boston.[37] Although some Board members objected to the precedent that would be set by establishing an agency in a foreign country,[38] the Board agreed to the plan, making a decision that was described as giving each Bank "half a loaf."[39] Boston was granted the cable business, which was used to transfer funds from the island, while Atlanta was given the responsibility for processing and distributing currency to local banks.

Although the cable business was the more lucrative half of the deal, the issued currency allowed greater credit to the System's gold settlement fund. At the time, each Reserve Bank in the System was required to keep a minimum of $1 million in the gold settlement fund, which was used to settle amounts due or owed to other Banks in the System.[40] A greater amount of currency issued translated

37 Gamble, *A History*, 41.

38 Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System (U.S.). Federal Advisory Council, "Meeting Documents, May 21-22, 1923, Box 1, Volume 1921-1930," *Minutes and Recommendations of the Federal Advisory Council* (May 21-22, 1923), 4. https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/?id=1152#!1713 (accessed November 12, 2014).

39 Gamble, *A History*, 41.

40 Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System (U.S.) , 1935- and Federal Reserve Board, 1914-1935. "1916," *Annual Report of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System* (1916). https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/?id=117#!2474, (accessed October 22, 2015), Gold Settlement Fund and Federal Reserve Agents' Fund, Exhibit E., 106, https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/docs/publications/arfr/pages/36799_1915-1919.pdf, (accessed August 27, 2015).

into a greater extension of credit, allowing the acquisition of additional earning assets. Both banks opened their respective offices for business on September 1, 1923. Among the first things that the Atlanta staff of the Havana agency discovered upon beginning cash operations was that the $40 million in U.S. currency circulating in Cuba as legal tender was largely unfit and plagued by counterfeiting. The new office quickly restored the quality of the island's money stock by replacing it with fit currency and by taking counterfeit currency out of circulation, reducing the need for local banks to store large amounts of "clean currency" in their vaults.[41]

Bank run in Havana

During the week of April 6, 1926, the new agency would face its first trial, as rumors about the insolvency of a Canadian bank based in Havana sparked a bank run that would clear out nearly all of the reserves of Havana banks by Friday, April 9. Even the $10 million in currency reserve held by the Atlanta office was completely exhausted at day's end, generating fears of a banking system collapse. Once officials in Atlanta learned of the situation, they spent the next day putting together a $26.5 million cash rescue package for transport to Cuba. Too heavy to be transported by plane, a three-car train was chartered for Key West, with Atlanta Fed Deputy Governor Joseph L. Campbell, three guards, two currency counters, and W.S. McLarin Jr., the assistant manager of the Jacksonville Branch, accompanying the shipment. Upon arrival in Key West on Sunday evening, April 11, the train was met by managers of both the Atlanta and Boston agency offices, and the currency was loaded onto the gunboat *Cuba*, which was under the command of the Cuban postal authority. Reaching Havana in the early hours of Monday morning, all currency arrived safely and was distributed to Havana banks by 7 a.m. The swift action of the Atlanta central bankers successfully ended the run and offered the first of two precedents for future action after the 1929 stock market crash.[42]

The Atlanta Fed had mastered its first test as a lender of last resort, but the celebration was short-lived. An investigation of the

41 Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System (U.S.), 1935- and Federal Reserve Board, 1914-1935, "1923," *Annual Report of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System* (1923). 45-47, https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/?id=117#!2481, (accessed October 22, 2015); Gamble, *A History*, 43.

42 Gamble, *A History*, 43.

expedition was launched by the Board of Governors in Washington, D.C., with particular attention focused on the behavior of Deputy Governor Campbell. During the 100-mile journey from Key West to Havana, Cuban Postmaster Jose Montalvo entertained members of the rescue party. Charges were made that Campbell and three other members of the party arrived in Havana drunk and in a "disgraceful condition."[43] The Board's general counsel, George R. James, met with Governor Wellborn and three members of the Atlanta board on May 29, 1926, to present his findings, as well as the Board's recommendation that Campbell be fired. The Board's report also cited strife between the Boston and Atlanta agencies and recommended that Atlanta be given complete control of the Havana operation. When presented formally to the Atlanta Board on May 31, the findings were angrily denounced and the Board demanded a chance to conduct its own investigation. The suspicion and mistrust between the two agencies deepened when the three- person Atlanta Fed committee appointed to investigate the matter, consisting of three members of the Bank's Board of Directors, discovered that the charges against Campbell had originated from a member of the Boston agency.[44] Eugene R. Black, who chaired the committee, would later go on to serve both as governor (now termed president) of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta and as a member of the Federal Reserve's Board of Governors.[45] Hearings were held in both Atlanta and Washington, D.C. in September, with the Atlanta committee exonerating Campbell after a number of witnesses testified to his sobriety. The Board in Washington disagreed and indicated via letters to Atlanta that Campbell would be removed from office. In addition to the accusation of intoxication, the Board's letter also cited his failure to keep proper records and make a full accounting of his trip expenditures, which included nonessential staff that were participating "for pleasure," and allowing this staff to also become intoxicated. For "conduct unbecoming representatives of a Federal Reserve Bank," Campbell was advised that he was being removed from office, and was allowed to resign on November 15, 1926.[46]

43 Gamble, *A History*, 43.

44 Ibid.

45 "Eugene R. Black," Federal Reserve History Gateway, 2014. http://www.federalreservehistory.org/People/DetailView/38, (accessed October 26, 2015); Gamble, *A History*, 43.

46 Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System (U.S.), 1935- and Federal Reserve Board, 1914–1935, "Meeting Minutes, October 8, 1926, Volume 13, Part 3," in *Minutes of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System* (October

The Board's second recommendation in the matter, that Cuba would best be served by one Federal Reserve office, was granted on January 1, 1927, when the Boston office closed and all duties were transferred to Atlanta. Ironically, declining business made this the last profitable year for the Havana agency, and by 1934 Atlanta petitioned the Fed's Board of Governors to close the office, against the wishes of both the Cuban government and the U.S. State Department.[47] Chief among the reasons cited in a resolution by the Board of Directors of the Atlanta Bank to close the agency, which had always operated at a loss for Atlanta, were that transportation between the island and the mainland had vastly improved, the political unrest on the island (mainly because of a recession originating from a poor sugar crop[48]) could potentially put Bank personnel at risk, and the Platt Amendment had recently been repealed.[49] In 1935, a concession was reached in which the Cuban agency's losses were shared among all twelve Federal Reserve Banks, but on September 30, 1938, the agency was closed permanently.[50]

Fruit flies and financial failures

The 1920s brought much change to Florida, with the introduction of the automobile, the overall increase in workers' wages and benefits, and several road and infrastructure projects making the state a tourist haven for the first time. Easy credit sparked a land boom in the state, with much of the land sold on speculation, sight unseen. The state government, as well as many Florida municipalities, borrowed large sums of money to build facilities to attract both tourists and potential residents. Also, state income and inheritance taxes were eliminated in 1924 to attract wealthy newcomers. Three-term Jacksonville mayor John Martin was elected governor in 1925 and fulfilled his campaign promise of expanding state construction and development, while private developers were busy creating

8, 1926),247-250, https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/?id=821#!29495 (accessed November 12, 2014).

47 Gamble, *A History*, 45.

48 Eric Helleiner *Forgotten Foundations of Bretton Woods: International Development and the Making of the Postwar Order*, (Ithaca, N.Y. Cornell University Press, 2014), 83.

49 Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System (U.S.), 1935- and Federal Reserve Board, 1914-1935. "Meeting Minutes, July 13, 1934, Volume 21, Part 4," in *Minutes of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System* (July 13, 1934). 2117-2118, https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/?id=821#!28417 (accessed August 27, 2015).

50 Gamble, *A History*, 45.

whole cities such as Venice and Coral Gables. Inevitably, signs soon began to show that the land boom was coming to an end. Prices had risen so much that buyers were few and sellers plenty. Cities such as St. Petersburg and Key West that had borrowed heavily and whose indebtedness per person surpassed all other cities in the country began to suffer financial problems. Natural disasters also dealt a blow to Florida, with devastating hurricanes in 1926 and 1928 destroying property and lives on a scale that brought a final end to the land boom and ushered symptoms of the Great Depression early to the state. The final economic blow would come in 1929 with an invasion of the Mediterranean fruit fly, whose path of destruction through citrus fields would reduce the year's harvest of Florida's most important cash crop by sixty percent.[51]

In April 1929, when the destructive pest was found in a citrus grove near Orlando, revenues from fruit sales made up over 51 percent of the state's revenue from crop sales, with production concentrated in the central peninsula due to both its climate and accessibility to transportation networks. The fly infected and destroyed groves across the state and a National Guard enforced quarantine was declared on all remaining Florida fruit production. By July the Department of Agriculture had declared 34 percent of the state's land, accounting for 75 percent of the state's citrus production, infested. An initial group of twenty scientists and several hundred workers were sent to aid in the fruit fly's eradication. The eradication team would ultimately grow to more than 5,000. Fruit found in groves stretching within ten miles of an infestation were destroyed and all remaining fruit was inspected. Embargoes were subsequently placed on the shipment of all Florida agricultural and horticultural products, with bans declared on the importation of Florida citrus products by nearly twenty states and eight foreign nations. Dwindling citrus yields as a result of these actions made it apparent that beleaguered Florida farmers would be unable to repay their loans when they came due in the fall. The U.S. Congress was petitioned to pass a relief bill for the affected Florida growers, but it adjourned in June without taking action.[52]

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51 Lesley Mace, "Hands on History: Florida and the Great Depression," Paper Presentation, Florida Council for the Social Studies Annual Meeting, St. Petersburg, Florida, October 16, 2011, 1; Mark Carlson, Kris James Mitchener, and Gary Richardson, "Arresting Banking Panics: Fed Liquidity Provision and the Forgotten Panic of 1929," NBER Working Paper No. 16460, (October 2010), 7, http://www.nber.org/papers/w16460 (accessed November 6, 2014).

52 Ibid., 5-8.

Financial repercussions

Florida banks had suffered severe losses as a result of the deflation following World War I, the bust of the land boom, and the two devastating hurricanes. By 1929, however, they were considered to be fully recovered. A *Wall Street Journal* report declared the state's banks to have "more cash as compared with total resources, than any other banks in the nation."[53] Yet bank withdrawals accelerated following the news of Congress' failure to act on Florida farmer relief. Two banks were closed the very day Congress adjourned without action, with six more banks folding the following week due to heavy withdrawals or the closure of their correspondent banks. By the end of June, Federal Reserve member banks' deposits had fallen sixteen percent from the previous year.[54]

Tampa, considered the "financial hub of the citrus industry,"[55] was disproportionately affected as the large correspondent banks located there held the reserves of smaller rural banks situated in the heart of citrus territory. As currency deposits continued an accelerated decline, the Board of Directors of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, acting on information received from area member banks, voted at their July meeting to authorize emergency currency deposits of $1 million each to be placed in both Miami and Tampa for six months, or as long as necessary to resolve the gathering liquidity crisis. While the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta would retain legal ownership of the funds, they would be placed in custodian banks authorized to quickly dispense the funds to member banks as needed. Initially these funds were set up to shorten the time between wire transfer and discount loan requests and disbursements, rather than as emergency cash funds for troubled banks.[56]

The continuing withdrawals produced a liquidity shock that lowered many banks' net worth to the point of insolvency when combined with the requirement set by regulators of Florida's state and national banks that they mark to market the value of their bonds and loans. This meant that a bank's assets had to be valued based on current market price, which, particularly in times of economic distress, would greatly affect a bank's balance sheet

53 "Florida Stages Strong Comeback, Native Resources and Recuperative Energy of Floridians Displayed to Remarkable Degree," *Wall Street Journal*, January 19, 1929, 11.
54 Carlson, Mitchener, and Richardson, "Arresting Banking Panics," 10.
55 Ibid., 12.
56 Ibid., 11.

and possibly tip it toward insolvency. For banks that suspended operations, Florida banking law as carried out by the State Banking Comptroller required their liquidation if they were unable to prove solvency.[57] Prior to the fruit fly epidemic, the state comptroller had closed just six insolvent banks in the state, all belonging to a single banking group plagued with financial improprieties.[58] Within a month of the discovery of the fruit fly, seven banks in the citrus growing region failed as concerned depositors began a run on banks in the area.[59]

Tampa's Citizen's Bank and Trust, a large correspondent banking institution with connections to several local banking concerns, was considered the region's key financial interest.[60] By the middle of June, it was feeling distress and asked Atlanta to rediscount eligible and acceptable paper from certain nonmember banks that were part of its banking group.[61] Rediscounting is a process that allows banks to increase their liquidity, particularly in times of crisis. Banks in need of funds can endorse promissory notes they hold on outstanding loans from their customers or other commercial paper to central banking institutions, in this case the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta. The term "discount" is applied because customers sign a promissory note that is higher than the amount of the loan to take into account the bank's interest, or profit. When banks take this note to the central bank it will be discounted a second time, or "rediscounted", as the central bank will pay the bank less than the value of the loan plus interest in exchange for the note.[62] Between March and June 1929, the bank lost twelve percent of its deposits, while its twenty respondents lost twenty percent within the same time period. Banks unaffiliated with the group saw deposits decline by roughly five percent. The request was quickly approved, but the runs continued not only on banks affiliated with Citizen's, but on many other financial institutions that were forced to shut their doors as part of the fallout.[63] Ernest Amos, Florida's state comptroller, blamed the "unnecessary withdrawals" on "pro-

57 Ibid., 13-14.
58 Ibid., 9.
59 Ibid., 10.
60 Ibid., 2.
61 Ibid., 9.
62 Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System (U.S.), 1935-. *The Federal Reserve System : Purposes & Functions* (Washington, D.C.: Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, 2005), 112, http://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/?id=4522, (accessed October 22, 2015).
63 Carlson, Mitchener, and Richardson, "Arresting Banking Panics," 22.

paganda and mental attitude," but the runs would continue, with panic spreading as far as Gainesville, St. Augustine, and Orlando.[64]

In an odd twist, a Cuban connection would once again emerge in the midst of a banking crisis where the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta played a role. On July 16, 1929, a run began at Citizen's Bank and Trust. By the end of the day, the bank had paid out over $1 million in cash, but was unable to halt the run. This sparked a panic that spread to five smaller banks affiliated with the financial institution, including the Bank of Ybor City. This bank's run had its origins in one of the area's cigar factories, where workers were predominantly members of the area's large Cuban community. The factory's lector, a person who was paid by the workers to read newspapers aloud to them as they worked, read news of the bank failures and caused panic among the factory's workers over their accounts being at risk. Workers stormed out of the factory and started a run on the bank.[65] Citizen's served as primary source of the growing panic because of its position as a large correspondent bank with ties to numerous smaller banks such as the Bank of Ybor City. As the smaller banks exhausted their reserves, Citizen's suspended its operations.[66] Seventy percent of Citizen's respondents were in the immediately affected quarantine zones for the fruit fly invasion, and in the three weeks prior to suspension, the bank had lost the majority of its over $13 million in deposits and discounted the value of almost all of its $1.8 million in eligible assets.[67] This action triggered additional runs at other area banks and nearby cities, as well as banks belonging to the Citizen's group. Lines of anxious customers soon formed outside area banks, and the *New York Times* reported a near halting of business activity in the city.[68]

Atlanta to the rescue

The consequence of such a prominent bank as Citizen's failing was the closure of an additional eighteen banks in 48 hours, a reduction in the number of financial institutions in the state

64 Ibid., 12-13.
65 Karl H. Grismer, *In Tampa: A History of the City of Tampa and the Tampa Bay Region of Florida* (St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg Printing Company, 1950), 269.
66 Carlson, Mitchener, and Richardson, "Arresting Banking Panics," 12.
67 Ibid.
68 "14 Florida Banks Shut Doors in Day; Federal Reserve Sends $1,000,000 by Plane to Meet Run On Tampa Institutions. Deposits Were $22,000,000, Directors of a Closed Chain Say Fruit Fly Quarantine Caused Failure," *New York Times*, July 18, 1929, 1.

by eight percent. The majority of the insolvent banks had ties to Citizen's.[69] In an immediate response to the Citizen's failure, the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta sent $1 million to Tampa the next day, flown from Jacksonville on a charter plane piloted by the aviation pioneer Laurie Yonge.[70] The money was deposited with the First National Bank and Exchange National Bank, the city's two large correspondent banks whose doors still remained open despite heavy withdrawals exceeding a million dollars in deposits each. By that afternoon, an additional $5 million had arrived along with Creed Taylor, deputy governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta[71].

Taylor pronounced the Reserve Bank prepared to "send enough money to pay every depositor" of both banks, if necessary, adding that if conditions warranted, the Reserve Bank was prepared to set up a currency depot in Tampa stocked with "additional millions."[72] The reassuring presence of Taylor and the arrival of the additional sum of $5 million, prominently stacked in the lobbies of both banks, restored confidence and halted the run. Without this intervention, First National and Exchange National—which saw their deposits fall by eleven percent and twelve percent, respectively, on just the first day of the run—would have quickly exhausted their reserves and closed their doors. As correspondent banks to more than fifty smaller financial institutions, their solvency was critical to restoring financial stability in the region. By July 20, 1929, calm returned and the run ended.[73]

Officials at the Fed credited the successful breaking of the run to several factors, highlighting first the visible and transparent actions by Deputy Taylor. The hero of the crisis, Taylor would tragically die in an Atlanta house fire the following year at the age of 43.[74] Success was also credited to the large sums of rescue money sent to specific affected institutions. The minutes of the August 9th meeting of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta's Board of Directors noted that between the beginning of the crisis and the second week in August, more than $25 million in support had been

69 Carlson, Mitchener, and Richardson, "Arresting Banking Panics," 12.
70 Grismer, *Tampa*, 270.
71 "14 Florida Banks Shut Doors in Day," *New York Times*, July 18, 1929, 1.
72 Ibid., 1.
73 Carlson, Mitchener, and Richardson, "Arresting Banking Panics," 16-17.
74 "Creed Taylor, Known in City, Dies of Burns, Other Members of Family Are Injured as Fire Razes Atlanta Home," *St. Petersburg Times*, October 25, 1930, sec. 2.

delivered to Florida. By changing depositor expectations and preventing other banks from closing, the Atlanta Fed's unconventional show of liquidity support was an effective demonstration of the central bank's role as a lender of last resort.[75] In the end, repercussions would continue to be felt throughout south Florida as other affiliated banks eventually closed as a result of the crisis; the Florida banking system would end the year with 64 bank suspensions. The Federal Reserve Board of Governors' annual report that year noted that the Sixth District had the largest number of suspensions and the fastest growth in rate of suspension in the country, primarily due to the Florida crisis.[76] While the collapse of Citizen's and its affiliates would result in nearly $10 million in financial losses, estimates by Carlson, Mitchener, and Richardson predict that the failures would have been twice as high without the Atlanta Fed's rescue.[77]

Lender of last resort

The Florida crisis would mark the third occasion for intercession by the Sixth District's central bank in the 1920s. Beginning with the 1926 rescue in Cuba, the Atlanta Fed would also put together a large-scale emergency lending package that same year to support the Polk County National Bank of Bartow, Florida, which found itself in crisis following the collapse of the large Georgia-based Manly-Witham banking chain.[78] As the Tampa area panic ended in August 1929, just around the corner was the stock market crash that symbolized for many the start of the Great Depression. For a Federal Reserve System that did not yet have a Federal Open Market Committee to determine national monetary policy (this would come with Franklin Roosevelt's banking reforms of 1935), the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta's experience as a lender of last resort that successfully subdued three banking crises could have served as a model for Fed policy actions. Sadly, it was experience that would be ignored.

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75 Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta Archives, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta Board of Directors, Meeting Minutes. August 9, 1929, 1621.

76 Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System (U.S.), 1935- and Federal Reserve Board, 1914-1935. "1929," *Annual Report of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System* (1929)., 22-24. https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/title/?id=117#!2488, (accessed October 22, 2015).

77 Carlson, Mitchener, and Richardson, "Arresting Banking Panics," 28.

78 Ibid., 18.

In their 1963 book *A Monetary History of the United States 1867–1960*, Milton Friedman and Anna Schwartz squarely place the blame for the Great Depression on the shoulders of the Federal Reserve. On the occasion of Friedman's 90th birthday celebration, then Federal Reserve Governor Ben Bernanke even famously apologized, saying, "You're right, we did it. We're very sorry. But thanks to you, we won't do it again."[79] In the book, Friedman and Schwartz argue that the banking panics of the Great Depression were the result of liquidity crises. As the panics spread, depositors were quick to withdraw funds and create what became a self-perpetuating situation, causing a liquidity crisis that caused even solvent banks to succumb.[80] Alternative theories claim that insolvency brought about by defaults, declining bank loans, devaluation of bank assets, and, in some cases, financial impropriety were to blame.[81] If the assertions of Friedman and Schwartz are to be believed, Federal Reserve intervention would have been effective in stemming the tide of bank failures during the Great Depression. If weakened fundamentals were the cause of insolvency as their detractors assert, liquidity support would have been largely ineffective. Comparison studies testing these competing theories have produced mixed results.[82] Throughout the Great Depression, the Atlanta Federal Reserve District acted quickly and aggressively to stem panics. Some research papers that have compared the policies of the Atlanta Fed and the St. Louis Fed during this era found significant evidence that more banks remained open in the Atlanta Fed's District than in the St. Louis Fed's, particularly during the banking panic that occurred in the fall of 1930.[83] (The St. Louis Fed subscribed to a more liquidationist theory.)

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79 Ben S. Bernanke, "On Milton Friedman's Ninetieth Birthday," Speech, Conference to Honor Milton Friedman, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, November 8, 2002, 20.

80 Milton Friedman and Anna J. Schwartz, *A Monetary History of the United States 1867-1960* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 407-419.

81 Andrew Jalil, "Monetary Intervention Really Did Mitigate Banking Panics During the Great Depression: Evidence Along the Atlanta Federal Reserve District Border," *Journal of Economic History* 74, no. 1 (2014): 259-273; Christina Romer and David H. Romer, "The Missing Transmission Mechanism in the Monetary Explanation of the Great Depression," *American Economic Review: Papers and Proceedings* 103, no. 3 (2013): 66-72; Raymond B. Vickers, *Panic in Paradise: Florida's Banking Crash of 1926* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2007), 88-113.

82 Romer and Romer, "The Missing Transmission Mechanism," 67-68.

83 Jalil, "Monetary Intervention," 1-12; Gary Richardson and William Troost, "Monetary Intervention Mitigated Banking Panics During the Great Depression: Quasi-Experimental Evidence from the Federal Reserve District Border

The Federal Reserve's response to the Great Depression, or its lack of a response, was a consequence of both the ideologies held by central bankers at the time and the decentralized structure of the organization itself. The real bills doctrine, widely accepted by many financial leaders of that era, held that central banks should expand lending during economic expansion, and reduce lending during times of economic contraction. An extension of this doctrine is the liquidationist theory, a view asserting that during recessions, proper market corrections are made by the failure of inefficient firms. Liquidationists therefore saw no role necessary for the government or central bank to rescue the financial system.[84]

The Federal Reserve's nascent structure also contributed to its passivity in response to the Great Depression. During the 1920s, each Federal Reserve District was operating independently as far as setting discount rates for loans, essentially pursuing their own monetary policy path. Approval had to be sought from the Federal Reserve Board in Washington, but the Board had no enforcement authority for its decisions, and no power to set a universal rate for all twelve districts.

Monetary missteps

When it did act, the Fed took significant missteps that would result in both falling output and falling prices. The first of these ill-considered moves occurred in 1928 and was repeated again in 1929, when the Federal Reserve responded to the stock market bubble by raising rather than lowering interest rates. While the intention was to lower stock market speculation by making it more difficult to borrow, subsequent dramatic declines in production, wholesale prices, and personal income—all before Black Tuesday's stock market crash in October 1929—demonstrated that the result was also a weaker economy. The gold standard, which tied the monetary policy of the United States to that of nations around the world, served to transmit the crisis internationally. The Fed would tighten money again in 1931 as a reaction to Great Britain's leaving the gold standard. In order to stem the outflow of gold from the United States as speculators turned their dollars to gold, the

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in Mississippi, 1929 to 1933," *Journal of Political Economy* 117, no. 6 (2009): 1031-1073.

84 Ben S. Bernanke, "On Milton Friedman's Ninetieth Birthday," Speech, Conference to Honor Milton Friedman, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, November 8, 2002, 15-16.

Federal Reserve Bank of New York would raise its rediscount rate by 1 percent in just one week, the sharpest increase in Fed history. Over 500 commercial banks would fail that month alone.[85]

Focused on the international stage, Fed officials stood by as domestic banking failures mounted and the money supply shrank, accompanied by sharp declines in output and prices. When Congress petitioned the Fed to reduce interest rates the following year, the Fed complied, but abruptly halted the program when Congress adjourned, causing the economy to dip again. Following Franklin D. Roosevelt's election to the presidency in November 1932, the speculation that he would end money's ties to gold resulted in another drain on the Fed's gold supply that was again met with tightening measures, even in the face of growing bank failures. Friedman and Schwartz's research confirmed that countries tied to the United States through the gold standard suffered greater economic declines than other countries, such as China and Spain, which were insulated against such shocks by not adhering to the standard. The authors also contended that without the Federal Reserve and its subscription to the liquidationist theory, held most visibly by then Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon, local banks would have had the means to stem panic themselves through the correspondent banking system. (At the time, secretaries of the Treasury served as ex-officio members of the Federal Reserve Board.) As most of the failing banks did not belong to the Federal Reserve System, larger banks in the 1930s did not feel responsible for their survival and may have even welcomed the decrease in competition.[86]

The liquidity crisis brought about bank failures, and bank failures reduced the money supply. From the fall of 1930 to the winter of 1933, the money supply would contract by 30 percent. Falling output and prices resulted in reduced spending, increased real debt, and rising unemployment and bankruptcies for both households and firms.[87] As Bernanke also noted in his address to Friedman, the death of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York's leader Benjamin Strong left a severe power vacuum in the Fed that

85 Bernanke, "On Milton Friedman's Ninetieth Birthday," 2.

86 Ibid.

87 Gary Richardson, "Great Depression—Detailed Essays Describe Historical Periods from the Federal Reserve's Formative Years to the Great Recession," The Great Depression 1929 to 1941, Federal Reserve History Gateway, 2014. http://www.federalreservehistory.org/Period/Essay/10 (accessed December 18, 2014).

was reflected in its lack of action and the nation's subsequent economic decline.[88] Roosevelt's administration would address some of these failures by creating the Federal Open Market Committee in 1933, which reduced the regional bank's independence to conduct open market operations, and by formalizing its coordinated national monetary policy authority and modern structure in the Banking Act of 1935. This act placed monetary policy control in the hands of the Federal Reserve's Board of Governors as majority members of the committee.[89]

While we can only speculate on the outcome had the Fed taken the activist stance of its Atlanta Bank, the Sixth District's success in stemming the crises in Cuba and Tampa, while local and much smaller in scale, provides hints of what might have been possible. Lessons learned from that era—though not heeded then—helped history to not repeat itself in the recent financial crisis. Great Depression scholar Bernanke chaired the central bank through a recession that avoided becoming a depression through Fed actions looking a lot more like Atlanta's interventions in Cuba and Tampa in 1926 and 1929 than the Fed's fumbling of the years immediately following.

Conclusion

Florida's entrance into the Federal Reserve System, which began with a humble outpost in the city of Jacksonville in 1919, was soon marked by crises at home and abroad that would test its leadership and the Fed's role as a lender of last resort. The run on banks in Havana in 1926, where prominent Canadian and American banks had a presence and the Federal Reserve had an agency office served by both the Federal Reserve Banks of Atlanta and Boston (with cash services provided by the Jacksonville Branch), was averted almost overnight by a Federal Reserve contingent bearing $26.5 million for deposit in Cuba's banks. Three years later, a Mediterranean fruit fly invasion in Florida caused a chain of banking failures and the demise of Tampa's largest bank, as affected growers were unable to pay back loans and Congress failed to pass a relief bill. Although somewhat larger in scope than the Cuban crisis, the

88 Bernanke, "On Milton Friedman's Ninetieth Birthday," 18-19.

89 Gary Richardson, Alejandro Komai, and Michael Gou, "Banking Act of 1935—A Detailed Essay on an Important Event in the History of the Federal Reserve," Banking Act of 1935, 2014, Federal Reserve History Gateway, http://www.federalreservehistory.org/Events/DetailView/26 (accessed December 18, 2014).

Florida panic was extinguished in a similar manner. Following the collapse of the prominent Citizen's National Bank, where even Florida's governor was a borrower,[90] the Federal Reserve rushed cash to the area, delivered by a high-ranking Federal Reserve official whose presence served to calm panicky bank customers. In both cases, the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta proved its mettle as a lender of last resort and provided a blueprint for averting future crises through the quick injection of liquidity and a highly visible presence of bank leadership.

If, as Friedman and Schwartz asserted in 1963, the Great Depression was caused by a liquidity crisis, the Federal Reserve already had the example of Atlanta's successful interventions for policy guidance. Unfortunately, loyalty to the real bills doctrine and the liquidationist theory of markets would hinder the Fed from taking the proper actions to free credit flows and prevent the massive banking failures that contracted the money supply and resulted in the Great Depression.

Today, 96 years after its founding, the Jacksonville Branch continues to provide cash services in Florida and has broadened its influence to include research functions and educational outreach. For the past 40 years it has been joined in these efforts by the Miami Branch, which supplies U.S. currency to more than 40 foreign nations in addition to local financial institutions. Since foreign financial institutions operating in the United States are under the regulatory authority of the Federal Reserve, the Miami Branch's large supervision and regulation division also includes oversight of the many Latin American and Caribbean banking operations in the area. As Florida has grown from a sparsely inhabited tourist haven to a state with a diverse economy and the nation's fourth largest population, the Federal Reserve in Florida, strengthened by its early experiences in times of crisis, has grown along with it, expanding its mission to achieve the Fed's goals of a healthy economy and a stable financial system.

90 Vickers, *Panic in Paradise*, 195.

Book Reviews

Daniel Murphree, Book Review Editor

The American South and the Atlantic World. Edited by Brian Ward, Martyn Bone, and William A. Link. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2013. Contributors, index. Pp. vii, 263. $74.95 cloth.)

Atlantic history endeavors to expand our understanding of the past by comprehensively considering historical experiences and events, pursuing social, cultural, economic, and political connections across broad expanses of space. The editors and contributors to *The American South and the Atlantic World* are scholars of history, literature, and American studies from the United States, Europe, and Australia seeking to enlarge the fields of Atlantic history/studies by merging "Atlantic history and its interdisciplinary cousin Atlantic studies" (1) to provide a provocative, multidisciplinary intersection for studying the American South's position and role in a much larger region.

This bold approach is at once the book's strength and weakness. While historians are often reluctant to employ a multidisciplinary perspective, this book uses Atlantic Studies to push Atlantic history beyond its temporal confines of the early modern period (c. 1500-1820) and well into the twentieth century. In so doing, it pursues what is perhaps becoming the trend of erasing the line of demarcation historians use to distinguish the fields of Atlantic history of the early modern period from transnational history of the modern era to follow patterns and themes over a period of some five hundred years. At times, the book felt somewhat unwieldy as contributors examined "economics, migration, religion, revolution, law, slavery, race relations, emancipation, gender, literature, performance, visual

culture, memoir, ethnography, empires, nations, and historiography" (1) and this sweeping temporal approach will surely meet with some resistance from historians entrenched in more traditional Atlantic and transnational paradigms. Nonetheless, *The American South and the Atlantic World* possess many commendable qualities, making it an important contribution to several disciplines.

As the title reflects, *The American South and the Atlantic World* seeks to shatter the geographic and thematic parameters familiar to traditional studies of the South, which often ignore overseas influences and linkages while defining the region in terms of its relationship with the North. While many scholars have examined the overseas connections of specific Southern regions, colonies, or states, this volume is the first to consider how the South as a whole was shaped by and shaped broader Atlantic events. The contributors were informed by Paul Gilroy's conceptualization of the black Atlantic in *Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993). Following Gilroy's modernist approach, which inspired literary, cultural, and sociological scholars to ignore historians' temporal boundaries, the essays in *The American South and the Atlantic World* primarily focus on the interconnected themes of slavery, freedom, emancipation, race (specifically racialized violence and subjugation), and the legacies of slavery to situate the South within an Atlantic context that extends into the twentieth century.

The American South and the Atlantic World can be useful to scholars of the Atlantic world, transnationalism, the American South, literature, and American history seeking to expand their conceptual frameworks or redefine Atlantic history/studies. The book's thoughtfully constructed and accessible essays make it suitable for adoption in college/university-level courses. Brian Edwards and Trevor Burnard provide historiographic essays that bridge disciplines to thoughtfully situate the South within the Atlantic world. Jon Sensbach's "Early Southern Religion in a Global Age" and Jeffrey R. Kerr-Ritchies's "Was U.S. Emancipation Exceptional in the Atlantic, or Other Worlds?" challenge claims of American exceptionalism while refuting traditional, inward-looking perspectives to understanding the South.

Several essays follow the recent trend in Atlantic history of constructing biographies and composite biographies to gain insights into personal experiences while considering broader themes and historical developments across vast expanses of space. Natalie Zacek traces how a Virginia planter climbed the political ladder

to become governor of Antigua where he was impeached and murdered by a mob. Jennifer K. Snyder tracks the experiences of slaves who accompanied their Loyalist owners out or Revolutionary America and into the British Caribbean. Martha S. Jones examines the freedom suit of Jean Baptiste, a bondman taken from Saint-Domingue in 1796 where revolutionary upheaval had created questions of who was and was not a slave. Arriving in Baltimore, he filed a freedom suit based on these uncertainties. Leigh Ann Duck considers how Levi Jenkins Coppin from Frederick Town, Maryland, became a bishop in the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in 1900 and in 1902 was assigned to Cape Town, becoming the first AME bishop in South Africa.

Kathleen M. Gough examines Zora Neale Hurston and Lady Augusta Gregory to consider relations between the Irish and Harlem Renaissances and later associations between African American and Irish cultural representations. Natanya Keisha Duncan traced the experiences of Princes Laura Kofey. A princess and priestess from what is now Ghana, she preached in England, Panama, Canada, Detroit, and the American South before being assassinated while speaking at a Universal Negro Improvement Association meeting in Miami, Florida. Individually and collectively these biographical essays speak to the many themes, including mobility, transnationalism, diasporic identity, and race relations.

The essays in *American South and the Atlantic World* are well researched and carefully crafted. This volume considers Southern, African, European, and Caribbean engagements. It provides provocative cultural studies that reach across disciplines to invite scholarly deliberation while its accessibility will evoke discussion in upper-division and graduate-level courses.

Kevin Dawson *University of California, Merced*

Adventurism and Empire: The Struggle for Mastery in the Louisiana-Florida Borderlands, 1762-1803. By David Narrett. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 392. $45.00 cloth.)

Over the past decade the concept of "entanglement" has emerged as a convenient short hand to describe the complex

relationships between the multiplicity of groups that resided along the southern and western frontiers of North America during the late eighteenth century—Africans (both enslaved and free), Britons, French, Native Americans, white Americans (Anglos), and Spaniards. These peoples, of course, had featured prominently in the older historical literature dating from the 1920s about the Spanish borderlands—those loosely defined settlements on the northern rim of the Spanish-American empire that were eventually to be incorporated into the United States between 1795 and 1848.

In this new and impressively researched study, David Narrett has applied the concept of "entanglement" to the borderlands of Florida and Louisiana to produce a deeply "entangled" history of these regions prior to the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. This is a work that all specialists on the subject will savor and mine for further insights. Readers without a detailed background knowledge might have to work harder to keep the bigger picture in mind, though Narrett generally does a better job than most students of the Spanish borderlands in keeping an eye on international and metropolitan developments as he connects the constantly shifting patterns of alliances and conflicts that were played out on the American frontiers in the four decades after 1762.

The expulsion of France from North America at the end of the Seven Years War set in motion changes that destabilized the pre-existing relationships among the peoples of the borderlands. American independence removed British power from the Gulf Coast, but Loyalist merchants retained a significant degree of influence with the southern Indians who preferred to receive their trade goods from the Scottish company of Panton and Leslie, based off shore in Bermuda. In 1762 France had ceded Louisiana to Spain, and with the return of Florida to Madrid in 1783, Spanish power in the borderlands seemed to be greatly enhanced. The local Spanish authorities, however, felt anything but secure, largely because the new United States had a western border on the Mississippi River, a circumstance that encouraged a rapid influx of American settlers into the trans-Appalachian and southwestern regions where they encroached on Indian and Spanish lands and demanded access to the river mouths on the Gulf Coast under the control of Spain.

Spanish governors in Florida and New Orleans tried to contain the United States. They offered land grants to Americans to settle in their territories in return for pledges of allegiance. They encouraged separatist movements in the states of Kentucky and

Tennessee by granting highly selective trading privileges on the Mississippi River and in New Orleans. They carefully cultivated alliances with the headmen of the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creek nations. Neither demography nor the fluctuations of international politics favored these measures. They had largely failed even before Spain itself undermined them in 1795 by opening the Mississippi River to all Americans and conceding a boundary line to the United States as far south as the 31st parallel. Those developments were driven by Spain's problems in Europe, especially the wars sparked by the progress of the French Revolution that further undermined Spanish power, both in Europe and in the Americas.

It was this unstable geopolitical environment that produced the other main subject of Narrett's book, the rise of a class of "adventurers" who were the forerunners of the filibusters of nineteenth-century American expansionism. Just as the American Revolution had enabled British colonists to seek new destinies, so too did it inspire ambitious men to assume that they were equally free to seek fame and fortune wherever they could, regardless of the consequences and with scant regard for any notions of national loyalty. Narrett takes James Wilkinson to be a representative case in point, though these men came from a wide variety of backgrounds—American, British, French, and Indian. Their most colorful exemplar was William Augustus Bowles, a Maryland-born Loyalist who styled himself as "director general" of the Muscogee nation as he intrigued to establish, with British backing, an independent Indian state in Florida at the expense of Spain and the company of Panton and Leslie.

During the 1790s, as the repercussions of the French Revolution spread across the Atlantic and into the Caribbean, there occurred a bewildering variety of schemes to seize strategic points on the Gulf Coast and in Louisiana, with the plotters usually seeking the support of a European power, groups of American settlers, some Indian allies, and occasionally the assistance of discontented slaves and communities of free blacks. After Americans began moving into East Florida, that province became the focal point for many of these conspiracies. The United States took it for granted that the decline of Spanish power would lead to a resurgence of European imperialism in the borderlands, and by the turn of the nineteenth century France seemed to be more threatening to the American republic than Great Britain. That concern was validated by the retrocession of Louisiana to France in 1800.

Narrett does a masterful job of tracing the twists and turns of the various diplomatic and cultural alliances that were formed throughout the borderlands, though he freely admits that it can be difficult at times to distinguish between fact and fiction in some of the outlandish schemes the adventurers were rumored to be promoting. This was the deep background to the Louisiana Purchase and all that followed through to the Transcontinental Treaty of 1819. Narrett does not provide readers with a new account of the 1803 purchase itself. He did not need to as he has done more than enough to enable us to reinterpret the broader significance of that momentous transaction.

J.C.A. Stagg *University of Virginia*

Border Law: The First Seminole War and American Nationhood. By Deborah A. Rosen. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015. Maps, notes, appendix, acknowledgments, index. Pp. ix, 328. $45.00 cloth.)

From 1816 to 1818, the United States waged a military campaign against a diverse group of combatants in Spanish Florida. Under General Andrew Jackson's leadership and with ambiguous legal authority, the U.S. military invaded Spanish territory, occupied and destroyed Spanish, Native, and African towns, and captured or killed many of their inhabitants. This so-called "First Seminole War" ultimately pushed Native peoples out of the Florida panhandle, destroyed many maroon communities, and led to the negotiation of the Adams-Onís Treaty that made Florida a territory of the United States.

According to Deborah A. Rosen, the First Seminole War was much more than a land grab and precursor to forced removals that would follow under Jackson's presidency. In *Border Law: The First Seminole War and American Nationhood*, Rosen contends that the war played an essential role in the creation of American nationalism. Through the public and legal discussion of the military campaign, the United States defined itself and otherwise emerged as a member in the "European family of nations" (2). In essence, through the debates that followed the First Seminole War, the United States rejected the status of a being former colony and asserted an imperial identity that connected it to the "civilized community of nations"

(8). National politicians articulated and asserted a new national identity that was based on a vision of ethnic homogeneity and an idea of American exceptionalism that continues to shape American diplomacy in the present.

True to its title, *Border Law* carefully analyzes the legal debates that surrounded the American invasion of Spanish territory and the resulting campaign against an enemy who was predominately of Native American or African origin. The result is a compelling and thorough exploration of a myriad of topics related to the development of the legal framework for American foreign policy and Indian relations. These topics include American legal conceptions of war, territorial sovereignty, the law of nations, just war, self-defense, and declarations of war. Rosen's analysis almost exclusively relies on the voices of the most articulate as it offers an inside-the-beltway interpretation of American politics. By examining the "official rationales and public debate in the United States," (9) Rosen explores how supporters of the invasion voiced ideas "that had been percolating for some time but had not previously been presented as official doctrine" (8). Not all politicians agreed with the invasion and offered critiques of Jackson's actions and the legal rationale for them. Yet, the vision articulated by Jackson's supporters won the day and shaped how Americans understood their place in the world.

The development and articulation of American nationalism largely occurred in the public discussions about a handful of controversies that the First Seminole War raised. Rosen focuses on three issues in particular: the United States military invading territory claimed by Spain, the execution of two Native Americans (Hillis Hadjo and Homathlemico) without trial, and the trial and then execution of two British subjects who were accused of aiding the enemy (Alexander Arbuthnot and Richard Ambrister). Each of these actions was precipitated by Andrew Jackson, supported by the Monroe administration, and politicized shortly after. They also led national politicians to clarify the legality of the actions and shape the legal doctrines that would ultimately justify territorial expansion in the years that followed. Rosen carefully shows how American politicians struggled to square conventions of international law with their ambitions for territorial expansion, their belief in American virtue, and their desire for clear racial boundaries. Unwilling or unable to simply reject the European code of diplomatic conduct, American policy makers tinkered with and reshaped it to suit

their needs. Policy makers, for example, rejected the sovereignty of the Seminoles and instead came to think of them as the equivalent of "land pirates," and therefore, subject to the summary justice that were afforded to the bandits of the sea.

Rosen adds to the scholarly trend of situating the Florida borderlands at the center of the development of the United States. Readers may wonder how the actions and arguments of the Spanish, Native American, and African participants shaped this vision of American nationalism, but these discussions took place outside of Rosen's well-articulated scope. The result is persuasive and deserves the attention of scholars of the early Republic, early America, and Florida more broadly.

Andrew K. Frank *Florida State University*

The Amistad Rebellion: An Atlantic Odyssey of Slavery and Freedom. By Marcus Rediker. (New York: Viking, 2012. Acknowledgements, notes, index, illustrations. Pp. 276. $27.95 cloth.)

Until the Civil War's conclusion, Florida beaches periodically became the temporary homes of Africans seized by the U.S. Navy from an illegal transatlantic slave trade to Cuba. While the federal government organized their removal to Liberia, "recaptive Africans" with complicated cultural backgrounds bonded together as best they could while straddling slavery and freedom in a strange New World. In *The Amistad Rebellion: An Atlantic Odyssey of Slavery and Freedom,* Marcus Rediker has written a history of a shipboard revolt from the perspective of those who emancipated themselves only to be incarcerated in Connecticut as they made their case for freedom to local authorities, the American public and, finally, the U.S. Supreme Court. Though the circumstances of the *Amistad* revolutionaries differed markedly from those of recaptives held at other times in Florida, Rediker's imaginatively researched and beautifully written narrative illuminates not only the experiences of *Amistad* survivors but those of recaptives in Florida and elsewhere who made sense of American law, society, and politics through diverse African hopes, dreams, and worldviews.

While previous scholars and authors have vividly depicted the successful *Amistad* revolt, Rediker's account recasts its familiar participants as revolutionaries and their collective actions as "a

revolution in miniature," in the long tradition of Atlantic shipboard rebellions (9). Rediker's *Amistad Rebellion* is, on one level, a collective biography of Cinqué, Fuli, Margru, and fifty other individuals whose lives were forever altered—but not defined—by their experiences together upon the *Amistad.* In this Atlantic history, individuals take center stage, and we encounter global economic forces, West African political dynamics, and American social and cultural movements through Cinqué's, Fuli's, and Margru's personalities, customs, and questions. For example, the author presents the revolt and subsequent behavior of the *Amistad* Africans through the lens of the Poro Society, a secret all-male society that regulated many aspects of life for those in the Gallinas region of Sierra Leone. A shared Poro Society tradition allowed individuals of different African origins, classes, and clans to come together as one, in this case to rise against their captors and successfully engineer their lasting freedom during their two-year stay in Connecticut.

On another level, *The Amistad Rebellion* is a social and cultural history of the foreign land encountered in 1839 by the *Amistad* Africans after their self-emancipation at sea, an American society no less volatile than the shark-ridden Atlantic waters of the Middle Passage. Within one week of their landing in Connecticut, they emerged as powerful and contradictory symbols in popular media—as emblems of capacity and humanity to radical abolitionists ever in search of new rallying cries and, to pro-slavery extremists, the embodiment of horror and violence that always accompanied black liberty, as in Haiti and Nat Turner's Virginia. The political bluster of abolitionists and their adversaries was perhaps less significant, however, than the power of an emerging penny press, whose publishers commissioned portraits, stories, and interviews of the captives that forged everyday Americans' impressions and sympathies.

Within one week of their arrival in Connecticut, the *Amistad* Africans found themselves protagonists in a hastily written play entitled, *The Black Schooner, or, The Pirate Slaver Armistead* (114). As many as one in twenty New Yorkers braved the Bowery Theatre to see the "MUTINY and MURDER!" conducted by Cinqué and his conspirators portrayed on stage by white actors in blackface (116). Thus, "theater shaped the news of the *Amistad* rebellion as it spread it," as did artists' portraits, penny press illustrations, and popular pamphlets depicting the heroic rebels within months of their

landing in the United States (117). In this way, Rediker explains, the widely disseminated, generally heroic depictions of the *Amistad* revolt contrasted greatly with that of Nat Turner's rebellion, the only other slave revolt to be represented graphically in the United States before the Civil War. Rediker has given us a thoroughly researched history of how Americans have represented, used, and perceived the *Amistad* affair, in addition to an exacting account of the events as they unfolded.

Rediker offers important additional insights that augment and challenge previous portrayals of the *Amistad* Africans and their relationships to abolitionist allies and one another. Readers learn that their conversations with Lewis Tappan, Joshua Leavitt, and other abolitionist members of the *Amistad* Committee were based upon a "working misunderstanding" that allowed "both sides to navigate a broad cultural divide, work together, build trust, and maintain independence of perspective and objective" (153). As allies portrayed the *Amistad* rebels as paragons of civilized, Christian, and English-speaking Africans, Cinqué and his conspirators increasingly viewed (and called) themselves "the Mendi People," an invented, collective, multiethnic identity rooted in their Africanness (179). Rediker's description of ethnogenesis is fundamental to his argument that the *Amistad* rebels played a major role in determining their fate—from an improbable shipboard revolution to an equally unlikely Supreme Court victory—by applying principles of the Poro Society to new circumstances and cultivating a collective, expansive African identity.

The *Amistad* rebellion continued to fire the imaginations of black and white Americans through the Civil War, and Rediker points to the actions of such figures as Madison Washington, Henry Highland Garnet, and John Brown to show the extent to which the revolt inspired abolitionist actions and permeated mid-nineteenth-century American thought. Politicians and newspaper editors of various persuasions would also represent the *Amistad* affair and its protagonists in a variety of ways when the U.S. Navy delivered nearly 1500 recaptive Africans to Key West on the eve of the Civil War. Not only does Rediker's narrative help to explain the *Amistad*'s cultural resonance in such cases, but he offers us new ways to approach such experiences from the perspective of Middle Passage survivors.

Ted Maris-Wolf *Colonial Williamsburg*

Sex, Sickness, and Slavery: Illness in the Antebellum South. By Marli F. Weiner with Mazie Hough. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013. Acknowledgements, notes, index. Pp. xii, 260. $60.00 cloth.)

This book analyzes how attitudes toward race, sex, and location affected the practice of medicine in the antebellum south. Delving into a broad range of sources, from medical textbooks to private diaries to folklore, the authors examine how professionals and lay people—male and female, black and white—understood sickness and health in relation to race, gender, and location. Their emphasis, however, is on the professionals: medical school professors and practicing physicians, who were virtually all white males. The authors demonstrate that these southern doctors used their medical expertise to uphold foundational values of southern slaveholding society, specifically the superiority of whites to blacks, the superiority of men to women, and the distinctiveness of the southern region.

Southern physicians had a vested interest in upholding these values. They were concerned not only with preserving the society in which they lived and worked, but with promoting and defending their own tenuous professional status within that society. In the antebellum United States, the medical profession had not yet achieved the unity, stability, and respectability that it would in later decades. For southern physicians, providing medical evidence for the values of a slaveholding society was a means of gaining respectability and financial reward from that society's elites.

These slaveholding values, and the physicians' self-interested motivations for upholding them, are strikingly obvious in the many examples the authors offer. Particularly transparent is Dr. Samuel Cartwright's habit of diagnosing slaves with "drapetomania," which was "the disease causing negroes to run away" (28). Apparently, this disease affected only black people; evidence, according to Cartwright, of the essential biological difference between races. In defining slavery as normal (for black people) and running away as pathological, this diagnosis clearly affirmed the values of a slaveholding society. It also was an attempt on the part of the physician to extend the purview of his authority, medicalizing what other white southerners would consider a moral problem (and what black southerners likely would not consider a problem at all).

While both northern and southern physicians used their medical expertise to define social roles, southern physicians could have a more difficult time of it because they had to combine both gender and racial categories in defense of a slaveholding society. For example, both northern and southern physicians assumed that women were weaker and more susceptible to disease than men. In southern slaveholding society, however, physicians had the task of explaining how white women but not black women could be considered frail, since black women were expected to labor physically as slaves. Southern physicians set about solving this problem in a way that would "enforce race and gender hierarchies in a manner that suited their ideological purposes and their way of life" (47). One solution they hit upon was to blame "civilization," especially "the pleasures of opulence and refinement enjoyed by the wealthy" in modern society. For a variety of reasons (the theory went), these recent refinements had made white women less healthy than their grandmothers. Black slave women, however, who were protected from such civilized trappings as rich food, corsets, and indoor confinement, retained their "barbarous hardihood," making them less susceptible to disease and better suited for the physical labor of slavery (48-49). The problem with this solution, however, was that it then burdened southern physicians with explaining how the benefits of civilization outweighed its drawbacks for white women. One benefit of civilization they could point to was that white women had access to (and could pay the fees of) physicians.

Also striking is how closely all southerners associated the mind and body. Although they construed the relationship in different ways, men, women, blacks, whites, professionals and lay people all understood the intellect, emotions, and physical health to be integrally connected. Emotional experiences and mental attitudes had the power to make one sick or well, and conversely, physical sickness had the power to shape one's thoughts and feelings. Physicians made this connection when they interpreted women's resistance to gynecological treatment as a hysterical symptom of their physiological disease. Though, as the authors point out, a woman who resisted having her prolapsed uterus cauterized may have been more rational than her physician gave her credit for being.

In addition to race and gender, location played an important role in southern medical science. Southern physicians took common assumptions about the local specificity of diseases and the importance of "acclimation" and combined them with racial

categories and regional loyalties. They argued that people of African descent were better "acclimated" than whites for physical labor in the hot climate of the south. They solicited support for newly established southern medical colleges on the basis that local disease called for locally trained physicians, at times going further to decry northern colleges as "tainted with abolitionism" (83).

Indeed, these southern physicians seem so naively unconscious of their obvious political motivations that the reader begins to question the supposed self-critical objectivity of the scientific method they embraced. To their credit, some southern physicians criticized the extreme racial and regional assumptions of their more radical colleagues, and warned against the dangers of mixing "political enthusiasm" with science (35, 81). The fact that these critics shared, to a lesser degree, the same politics as the doctors they criticized actually gives credence to the value they placed on objectivity.

With a thorough analysis of a breadth of evidence, the authors effectively prove their thesis and raise many other striking points along the way, not all of which can be adequately addressed in this review. Especially valuable is their analysis of how African American slaves understood health and illness, and how their views differed from those of white physicians. One minor criticism is that readers might appreciate a little more explanation, perhaps in the authors' acknowledgments, about how the book was written, since it was completed under unusual circumstances. The primary author, Marli F. Weiner, died in 2009. Readers might be interested in knowing what specific contributions the second author, Mazie Hough, made in "seeing this manuscript through to its publication" (xii).

David Torbett *Marietta College*

The Dunning School: Historians, Race, and the Meaning of Reconstruction. Edited by John David Smith and J. Vincent Lowery. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2013. Foreword, acknowledgements, index. Pp. xii, 338. $40.00 cloth.)

In 1935 W. E. B. Du Bois excoriated the blatant racism of the so-called "Dunning School" of Reconstruction studies. He contended that anti-Negro bias rendered much of this scholarship—which treated black suffrage as an egregious blunder that created corrupt

and oppressive Republican state governments in the post-Civil War South—wholly unreliable. By the 1970s, in the wake of the Nazi genocide, decolonization, and the Civil Rights revolution, Du Bois' critique became standard fare among historians of Reconstruction. Indeed, in their determination to reinterpret Reconstruction from a non-racist standpoint, some "revisionist" historians have dismissed Dunning School scholarship as morally reprehensible. As Eric Foner put it, Dunning and his students brought "everlasting shame" upon American's historical profession.

Historians, however, commit the most basic of scholarly errors when they criticize long-dead predecessors for failing to measure up to today's moral standards. This excellent collection of essays shows why this is so. Seeking to understand rather than condemn, the contributors sketch the context in which the Dunning School historians lived and wrote, and, while in no way seeking to rehabilitate their flawed interpretations, find much that is valuable in their work. These historians of Reconstruction made extensive use of primary sources, treated social and economic themes as well as the more obvious political topics, and, in the case of J. H. de Roulhac Hamilton, built a rich archive, the Southern Historical Collection, that is still an invaluable resource for the study of southern history.

The benefits of a dispassionate approach are readily apparent. Upon closer examination, for example, it turns out that the label "Dunning School" is a misnomer. For all his academic renown, Columbia University historian William A. Dunning (1857-1922) was a hands-off supervisor who made little attempt to shape the views of his Ph.D. students, whose interpretations showed much more variety than the term "school" implies. The neo-Confederate partisanship of Walter L. Fleming and Charles W. Ramsdell, historians of Reconstruction in Alabama and Texas, respectively, presented a sharp contrast to the more judicious scholarship of James W. Garner and Mildred C. Thompson, who wrote studies of Mississippi and Georgia. Paul Haworth's treatment of the disputed presidential election of 1876-1877 showed little taint of racism and was highly critical of the violence and intimidation that Democrats employed to undermine Republican governments in the South. Moreover, inasmuch as they condemned black suffrage in blatantly racist terms, Dunning and his students were merely following the lead of amateur historian James Ford Rhodes and Columbia University political science professor John W. Burgess—the latter an unabashed imperialist and believer in "Teutonic" superiority.

In fact, the notion that Congressional Reconstruction had been a tragic error and a dismal failure was well-established by 1900, before any of the Dunning School studies had appeared.

The contributors to this volume recognize that the Dunning School historians were endorsing a political consensus rather than molding that consensus. By 1898—before the work of the Dunning School had seen the light of day—the Supreme Court had already endorsed Jim Crow laws and permitted Mississippi to disfranchise its black voters. By 1902, when Burgess published *Reconstruction and the Constitution,* the South's black electorate had been decimated, the southern Republican Party shattered, and the last black Congressman defeated.

At times, however, the contributing essayists treat Dunning School scholarship as a major pillar of white supremacy during the first half of the twentieth century. John David Smith, for example, contends that "the Dunning School shaped not only historical scholarship but popular culture too," citing the tremendous popularity of D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), which proffered a viciously racist view of Congressional Reconstruction that portrayed the Ku Klux Klan in heroic terms (38). But Griffith based his film on the novels of Thomas C. Dixon and, in seeking to embellish his negative treatment of black suffrage with scholarly legitimacy, turned to the historical works of Woodrow Wilson. In fact, as Melvin Stokes' definitive study of the film suggests, Griffith had in all likelihood never read any of the Dunning School histories. It is an understandable vanity for historians to credit their profession with great influence. But to view Burgess, Dunning, and the others as major actors rather than bit players is to credit them with far more political significance than they merit.

The essays in this collection are of uniformly high quality. They offer fascinating glimpses into the academic culture of the early twentieth century, when the disciplines of history and political science were in their infancy and university faculties—outside the segregated black colleges—lily-white. They provide "warts and all" summaries of the books produced by Burgess, Dunning, and the latter's graduate students. They show how a small group of native white southerners came to dominate the field of Reconstruction history well into the 1940s.

The contributors do not evade their subjects' racism. These early-twentieth-century historians treated blacks in a dismissive,

hostile, and contemptuous way. As a result, the scholars who wrote state studies under Dunning's aegis virtually ignored black testimony. The author of *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (1913), for example, made extensive use of oral history, but "interviewed only whites" (270). Even when black testimony lay before their very eyes in the form of published Congressional hearings, Dunning's students either cherry-picked it to confirm their views on black incapacity or dismissed it altogether. The irony of their claim to scientific objectivity was entirely lost on them. Dunning himself recognized the anti-black, anti-Republican bias of a scholar like Walter L. Fleming, but his lax approach to supervision prevented him from insisting on changes. Today, it is easy to identify the illogicalities and inconsistencies in Fleming's work.

"The crying need in the study of history," Dunning told the American Historical Association in 1913, "is humility. . . . Contempt for those who lacked our light is the worst of equipments for understanding their deeds" (26). *The Dunning School* shows how, in the very act of rejecting the conclusions of our predecessors, we stand upon their shoulders.

Adam Fairclough *Leiden University*

Conservative Hurricane: How Jeb Bush Remade Florida. By Matthew T. Corrigan. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014. Acknowledgements, notes, references, index. Pp. xiii, 230. $26.95 cloth.)

Examining Jeb Bush's two terms as Florida's governor, Matthew Corrigan explains clearly and artfully how individual, structural, and temporal factors combined to help Governor Bush overcome Florida's history of weak executives and push state policy in a conservative direction. Corrigan argues that more than any other governor in Florida's history, Bush utilized the power of his personality and timely changes to the state's political structure to actively exercise executive authority and implement bold reforms. Driven by his belief that "state government and Florida society must focus on changing individual moral behavior" (72), Governor Bush was a "policy wonk" (71) with the personality and skill to persuade state legislators, voters, and business and community leaders to support his agenda.

However, as the author judiciously points out, personality was not everything; after all, past governors with active policy agendas tried to implement major policy changes but found their progress was stymied by a number of factors, including the state's strong legislature. Coinciding with Bush's election, a change to the state's constitution reduced the number of cabinet officers with whom the governor shared executive power and a new class of Republican legislators friendly to Bush's proposals were swept into office, creating unified Republican government for the first time since Reconstruction. The author's acknowledgement of these structural and historical factors strengthens his argument by illustrating that while Jeb Bush was a uniquely skillful character in Florida politics, his success as a reformer occurred in part because he was elected during a special time in the state's history and at a peak in the conservative movement nationally.

To support his thesis, Corrigan provides evidence in the form of case studies of several policy areas that helped define Jeb Bush's tenure as Governor of Florida. Particularly illustrative of Bush's personal determination and persistence against overwhelming odds is the story of Terri Schiavo, a woman who was deemed by doctors to be in a "chronic vegetative state" and was caught in the middle of a lengthy legal battle between her husband, Michael Schiavo, and her parents over whether or not she should be taken off of life support and allowed to die. This case is especially useful in explaining the role of Bush's personality in his efforts to remake public policy in Florida because it shows the reader the extreme steps the governor took by exerting executive authority to fight for his beliefs. Corrigan provides a thorough explanation of the background of the case and explains how Jeb Bush's actions surpassed the extent to which we would expect a governor to become involved in a personal family decision. Outlining the five years Governor Bush spent battling the courts and nearly creating a constitutional showdown between the executive and judicial branches of the state, the author reveals Jeb Bush to be a determined culture warrior who, much more than previous Florida governors, was willing to actively use executive power to remake state and national policy on cultural and moral issues.

While the Schiavo case illustrates Bush's dogged determination in the face of eventual failure, Corrigan's analysis of Bush's education reforms demonstrates the extent of the governor's influence on education policy both in Florida and at the national

level. Believing in conservative principles such as school choice in the form of charter schools and vouchers, Jeb Bush restyled the Florida educational system and created a template that would later be adopted in President George W. Bush's educational plan, No Child Left Behind. Here, Corrigan enhances his argument by presenting several examples of quantitative measures of educational outcomes over time, including students' scores on the state's standardized test, graduation rates, and ACT scores. He then offers a thoughtful critique of the policies as they were implemented, including a discussion of some of the unintended consequences that resulted from placing such a strong emphasis on standardized test results.

Finally, what is perhaps most helpful about *Conservative Hurricane* is that the author does an excellent job of reviewing, clearly and concisely, Florida political history. For the reader who possesses a casual interest in Florida politics or who knows little about the state and is primarily interested in Jeb Bush as a political figure, this brief overview of the state's history, with a focus on Florida's governors, is especially helpful. The author also strengthens his argument by placing it in context; that is, for each policy example or case study, whether it be educational reform, taxes, or incentives for businesses, Corrigan consistently provides a succinct but comprehensive background of the topic so the reader can understand what state policy looked like before Bush became governor, how Bush wanted to change policy to fit his idea of conservative government, and the long-term effects of the reforms. Given the success of this approach, it is unclear why the author's analysis of some policy areas, particularly gun rights and the Stand Your Ground law, were not discussed in as much detail. While a more thorough examination of Bush's influence on these topics would have been very helpful, especially considering the ongoing national discussion of these issues, the author makes his argument easy to follow by consistently returning to his thesis throughout the book and linking supporting evidence to his primary objectives.

Providing strong evidence and articulated clearly, this book serves as an insightful explication of Jeb Bush's influence on Florida politics that would be of interest to a general audience curious about Florida gubernatorial history, recent policymaking in the state, or Jeb Bush as a political figure. Rather than simply providing a biographical history of Governor Bush or praising his work as a conservative leader, the author offers a comprehensive and

objective analysis of Bush's tenure and influence on state and even national politics.

Paulina S. Rippere *Jacksonville University*

Tampa Bay Landmarks and Destinations. By Joshua McMorrow-Hernandez. (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2015. Acknowledgements, illustrations. Pp. 95. $22.99 Paper.)

St. Petersburg's Piers. By Nevin D. Sitler. (Charleston, SC.: Arcadia, 2015. Acknowledgements, illustrations, timeline, index. Pp. 127. $21.99 Paper.)

Arcadia Publishing and its *Images of America* series have produced seemingly countless books documenting local history with photos and captions. Their publications usually provide a lighter version of history centered upon local nostalgia. Arcadia has released well over 450 books on Florida alone, with at least fifty devoted to the Tampa Bay area.

Arcadia has empowered knowledgeable locals to publish books on virtually any topic, but historians are left to wonder what this body of work accomplishes, if anything. At their worst, Arcadia books resemble a romp through collections of childhood snapshots and neighborhood trivia. The brief introductions in the books do not provide much space to make fine historic points, and the captions usually revolve around the imagery rather than analysis of complex issues. The format can only hold so much history in the first place. It therefore falls upon the skills and intent of the authors to create works of lasting value.

Tampa Bay Landmarks and Destinations is devoted to tourism and destinations for popular recreation after World War II. The images work best when showing lesser-known attractions and events such as the Golden Gate Speedway, Lowry Park Zoo, and Sulphur Springs. Blue-collar attractions like these could help shed light on the people and culture of Tampa Bay, but too often the community seems to be hidden behind the facades of well-known institutions that do not need much help with their marketing, such as Busch Gardens, which claims a whopping eight photos. Wrestling is mentioned several times, but only in the context of building exteriors. It is easy to lose the people of Tampa Bay and their activities with so

many images of building exteriors such as nondescript snapshots of Bern's Steak House, the Museum of Science and Industry, the Jai-Alai fronton, and the art museums.

The brief introduction includes some clunky writing ("the natural beauty of the Tampa Bay area is worth its weight in gold") and some factual errors (Fort Brooke did not yet exist during the First Seminole War, and Tin Can Tourists often acted more like squatters than paying customers). The images jump around the bay area in an effort to cover the entire region in less than 100 pages, but it is clear that Tampa is closest to the author's heart, as two-thirds of the images are devoted to the city. It is disappointing that the author does not delve into the era before World War II, as an emphasis on that period might include lesser-seen subjects instead of more common sights such as the Straz Center, Ruth Eckerd Hall, and so on.

The book is mostly comprised of images from a handful of public sources. Many other images are current publicity shots furnished by the venues themselves. Those pulled from the author's collection sometimes lack the quality of the other images. While the book does not contribute any rare images or insights to the historic record, one could argue that a book of this type does not serve that function. Instead, it provides a nostalgic, if cursory, look back at popular destinations from the recent past and the present.

In *St. Petersburg's Piers*, the author draws upon the collection of the St. Petersburg Museum of History to fill his book. St. Petersburg has long tried to accentuate its public waterfront with public parks and piers. The city's love affair with water goes much deeper than Tampa's ever has. For anyone who has followed local news in recent years knows, the city has been obsessed with the future of its pier.

The author's focus upon piers may seem narrow, but the book manages to illuminate life in St. Petersburg with its choice of subject: the city's relationship with water. While some of the book is concerned with the piers themselves, much of the imagery focuses upon other concerns, such as swimming, bathing, fishing, aviation, industry, and private enterprise.

For the reasons listed above, the author gets behind the artifice of chamber of commerce-type imagery and reveals the goings-on of a community at work and play. The author has also done a commendable job of creating a coherent, cohesive narrative about St. Petersburg that flows from the late 1800s to the present. While

adhering to its water-based premise, the book also touches upon tourist attractions, trolleys, war, hurricanes, entertainment, social trends, and even activism. With the author's attention fixed on the waterfront, it is as if all the people of St. Petersburg passed through his gaze.

Despite the black and white character of the photos, they depict colorful activities that give readers a good idea of what day-to-day life was like in St. Petersburg over the years. The piers themselves also illustrate the character of the city in illuminating ways, becoming visual proof of St. Petersburg's ambition to reach out, often desperately, to the outside world in search of fame and riches. As the city's ambitions grew, the materials became more durable and the designs became more elaborate, but the goal was the same.

The photos themselves work very well for a number of reasons. First, they showcase the holdings of the St. Petersburg Museum of History admirably. Second, they are almost all rare photos that can't be found elsewhere. Third, they are entertaining and often vibrantly human. Proud fishermen share space with black and white female anglers. Crowded docks and trolleys convey the giddy excitement of weekends and vacations. Water and sun-flecked landscapes alternate with images of the hurricane of 1921, exercise classes for retirees give way to hordes of soldiers training for war. The writing is sound and informative, elaborating on larger issues that the photos represent. The author's thoughtful presentation transformed a seemingly narrow subject into a broad and meaningful interpretation of St. Petersburg's history.

Andrew Huse *University of South Florida Libraries*

Coming to Pass: Florida's Coastal Islands in a Gulf of Change. By Susan Cerulean. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography. Pp. 304. $29.95 cloth.)

The lure of the coast has tugged at Susan Cerulean throughout her life—from the New Jersey shore of her youth to the islands of Florida's Panhandle that have enticed her for decades. There she has found refuge, passion, and a connection to the rest of the world. In *Coming to Pass: Florida's Coastal Islands in a Gulf of Change,* her new collection of captivating essays, Cerulean shares this

relationship while drawing readers into a world of skittish shorebirds, mullet runs, and endangered red wolves as well the challenges they face in sharing wild spaces with humans. With growing threats from climate change, coastal development, pollution, and overfishing, the littoral and marine world is in peril and Cerulean describes the life-enriching beauty and biota that exist today—and that may be lost to future generations.

"How can we change the trajectory of these losses?" she asks in the opening pages of the book. "I have posed this question to scientists, to birdwatchers, to lovers of sea turtles, to activists, and to therapists. I listened for stories from the coast and its creatures. I have studied the cultural assumptions that allow this destruction to occur. I prayed for dreams to guide me" (7).

The resulting book, with its beautiful language and poignant descriptions of her experiences, is an attempt to answer this question while offering a paean to the Florida coast. Her particular focus is on the barrier islands in Apalachicola Bay that were formed by two enormous forces of nature: 2 million years of mountain sediment carried south by rivers as well as variations in sea levels and forces that pushed the land back. The resulting islands, resembling a "broad, blunt-tipped arrowhead," and their flora and fauna inspire Cerulean's prose (17).

Lush descriptions, combining scientific explanations with memorable observations, will appeal to a wide range of readers, from students of Florida natural history to visitors to residents unaware of the dramatic confluence of events that created and now threaten to destroy these jewels. She notes that three-quarters of Floridians can be found in coastal areas, leading many to think of islands as permanent despite their very nature as ever-shifting sands. As a result, even when storms devastate expensive coastal development, houses, buildings, and roads spring back anew without any qualms about whether they should or what their long-term environmental impacts will be.

The book has no single trajectory—its essays cover topics as diverse as early native people who lived on the islands to beach mice endangered by habitat loss. The discovery of wolf tracks is an opportunity to consider human relations with large predators. A dolphin's leap is a sign of the sacred. A snorkeling trip to the ruins of a lighthouse is a reminder of the impermanence of island edges. Her most vivid portraits are of the island fauna, particularly the birds that rely on the coast for food, nesting, and migration stops.

She senses and shares an innate human connection to the avian world, one long acknowledged by biologists and bird lovers.

"Wild birds are the most real thing I know to praise," Cerulean writes, adding that humans have long cherished birds, which predate our existence on Earth by 1 million years. "Their songs were our first music, their call notes the first patterns on our collective human eardrum. They carry a memory of the time when we lived without separation from wildness, under the spread of the sky" (190).

Expressing boundless enthusiasm, Cerulean recalls a Christmas bird count expedition, noting the dedication and techniques involved in finding different varieties. When the tally comes out at 1,500 robins (among many other varieties observed) she is pleased, only to learn that the overall bird numbers are down fifty percent from the previous year. There are no clear answers why. With this she realizes what author Rachel Carson warned in her seminal 1962 book *Silent Spring*—that the world's birds were in trouble. Cerulean was a naive child when Carson sounded alarms about the devastating effects on birds of indiscriminate pesticide and chemical use. Today's birds are at risk from disappearing habitat, pollution, and rising seawaters that may drown nesting areas. Also in trouble: sea turtles that nest on island beaches, dolphins killed by oil spills, and the disappearance of life-sustaining marshes.

Cerulean offers strong alerts about climate change. She notes that the atmosphere contains a distressing amount of carbon dioxide that is rising at a rate unprecedented in our planet's history. If the geological past is any indication, sea levels may rise to the point where coastal marshes and islands may disappear. Despite these dire possibilities, however, Cerulean emphasizes that all is not lost and her plea and intent with her writing is that humans rediscover a connection to the Earth.

In blending calls for action with scientific evidence and lovely descriptions along an often-overlooked area, Cerulean's book adds to the growing body of Florida literature that strives to invoke a sense of place in readers and spur them to action. And she firmly stands in the wake of Florida women who fought for the last century to save the state's natural resources—a legacy she continues through her luminous words. "Despite our pirating of the atmosphere, the land, the waters, and the wildlife, Earth still speaks to us and shares her creations. 'What will you do in return,' she asks her

readers, 'to help this life continue?'" (273). It is a timely question that deserves our attention.

Leslie K. Poole *Rollins College*

Signposts: New Directions in Southern Legal History. Edited by Sally E. Hadden and Patricia Hagler Minter. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013. Acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xii, 480. $69.95 cloth.)

It has been over thirty years since a group of legal historians gathered at the Gulf Coast campus of the University of Southern Mississippi to explore whether the South had a distinctive legal history. A few years later a conference on southern constitutionalism tested similar questions. The two books that emerged, *Ambivalent Legacy* (1984) and *An Uncertain Tradition* (1989) were among the first of numerous studies to challenge the New England bias of the still-young field of American legal history. Thanks to Sally Hadden and Patricia Minter, as well as the fifteen other experts they enlisted (including Jim Ely, co-editor of the seminal works cited above), the success of this efforts are quite evident.

Signposts above all is testimony to the maturation of a field. No longer is southern legal history primarily about slavery and the example of Virginia, the two themes that dominated *Ambivalent Legacy*. As Hadden and Minter note in their useful introduction, scholarship currently exists on the public and private law of most southern states (and their colonial predecessors), and it covers many more topics than would have been conceivable earlier. In fact, they argue, categories now are blurred, reflecting the interdisciplinary nature of legal history itself. The seventeen essays that follow offer ample evidence of both claims. Colonial legal regimes, women and the law, property and the economy, legal institutions, criminal justice, law and policy, and a host of other subjects bracketed by "law and..." make it clear that law as doctrine and case law are only two threads in the complex tapestry that characterizes the region's legal past.

Joel Prentiss Bishop, one of the foremost legal commentators of the nineteenth-century, once wrote that law bears a remarkably intimate relationship with everyday life. The essays in *Signposts*

reveal the truth of this observation, and they go further by demonstrating how law took both official and unofficial forms. Sally Hadden's essay on grand jury presentments in eighteenth-century South Carolina is wonderfully illustrative on this point; few matters of public life (and, at times, private life) escaped the attention of this ubiquitous people's panel and the popular legal culture it created in counterpoise to statute and case law. In a similar vein, Laura Edwards demonstrates how women in the South developed a hidden economy, especially in textiles and clothing, which the law, at least as expressed in contemporary manuals, accommodated. At the least, these two essays and the excellent contributions by James Ely, Lisa Lindquist Dorr, and Patricia Minter, among others, resist the temptation to flatten our understanding of law's relationship to society or to cast it in categories that are too neat.

Other essays also move beyond legal history narrowly construed to describe the way southern law and southern legal culture reflect the larger themes advanced by historians elsewhere. A number of authors examine the influence of revolutionary republicanism—and the democracy it facilitated—on questions of southern law and constitutionalism. Jessica Lowe argues persuasively that St. George Tucker was emblematic of other Virginia judges between the Revolution and the Civil War who sought to frame law in light of republican theory; Roman Hoyos provocatively recasts southern secession as part of the continuing post-ratification debate over popular sovereignty. Two of the best essays in the volume suggest new interpretations: Christopher Waldrep connects the dots between the antebellum constitutional commitment to local democracy and racial violence, arguing that the South was not alone among regions in fostering a culture in which majoritarian politics shaped the meaning of due process; and Alfred Brophy suggests that we have not given enough attention to how southern judges shaped the intellectual framework that supported the world of the Old South.

It is always problematic to identify larger themes from a book of essays, important as the collection might be for re-visioning how to define the South's legal past. But at least three observations deserve note. First, no matter how successfully the editors sought to broaden the book's scope to include more topics than slavery and race, it remains true that race tragically is at the core of the South's legal history, as it is for any other part of the southern (and national) experience. Second, perhaps more than other regions—or

perhaps not—law operated locally and cannot be understood fully apart from local culture. Finally, and here the theme is missing from these essays, with few exceptions we have not confronted class as a major force in defining the region's legal culture, preferring instead to allow race to stand as a proxy for class. Until we do, we will fail to appreciate fully the complex legal dynamics of the South or its role in the national legal culture.

Of course more work needs to be done; it always does. But thanks to the efforts of Hadden and Minter, we have an excellent introduction to the rich variety of southern legal history. There is no doubt that it will serve as well as its predecessors in spurring new generations of scholars to enhance our understanding of law's role in shaping southern culture.

David J. Bodenhamer *Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis*

End Notes

Juanita Evangeline Moore, daughter of the late slain civil rights activists, Harry T. and Harriette V. Moore, was born on September 3, 1930 in Mims, Florida. She made her transition into God's hands on Monday October 26, 2015 at her home in New Carrollton, MD. She was 85.

Ms. Moore went to Washington, D.C. in 1951, after graduating from Bethune Cookman College (University) in Daytona Beach, Florida, to begin her working career. She was employed by the U.S. Department of Labor, and as an Administrator for the State Department. She continued her career at the Epilepsy Foundation of the Chesapeake Region, where she retired in 1995.

Ms. Moore sought to uphold the legacy of her civil rights activist parents, whose death on Christmas day 1951 in a bombing of

their home was called the nation's first assassination of nationally known civil rights activists. Her father, Harry T. Moore, had been an advocate for racial justice in Florida when he formed the first Brevard County Florida Branch of the NAACP in 1934. He later was appointed the first State Field Secretary of the Florida State Conference of NAACP Branches. Evangeline often attended meetings with her father and on some occasions gave speeches for him. She often talked about the fond memories she had of spending time with her "Dad." She was truly a Daddy's girl. The Moore family were members of Shiloh AME Church in Mims where her mother taught Sunday School. The Moores were the first full family to all graduate from Bethune Cookman College (University). Ms. Moore returned to Mims, Florida, over the years to attend civil rights forums, the Harry & Harriette Moore Heritage Festival, to speak about her parent's legacy to students and community groups and to commemorate the ribbon-cutting ceremony of the Moore Memorial Park and Museum, the Moore Replica Home, the Reflecting Pools/Water Fountain and other major improvements to the Moore Park. In later years she became a much sought after speaker, traveling to a number of cities in the U.S to speak at colleges, museums and other historical organizations to educate the general public about the civil rights work of her parents. Her mission was to heighten awareness of her parent's legacy and bring about the recognition they deserved. The murder of her parents was investigated by the FBI, however, it still remains an unsolved crime.

Ms. Moore's marriage to Drapher Pagan, and two later marriages, ended in divorce.

Ms. Moore leaves to cherish her memory her loving and devoted son Drapher ("Skip) Pagan Jr, grandson Darren A. Pagan, and a host of other relatives and friends. Her sister, Annie Rosalea (Peaches) Moore, predeceased her in death in 1972.

The family requests that donations be made to the Harry T. & Harriette V. Moore Cultural Complex, Inc., P. O. Box 817, Mims, FL 32754.

The funeral service was held on Saturday, November 14, 2015 at 11:00 am at the Shiloh AME Church, 2519 Harry T. Moore Ave, Mims, FL. Interment will be at LaGrange Cemetery, 1575 Old Dixie Hwy., Titusville FL, where she will be laid to rest beside her parents.

Obituary provided by William Gary.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NEWS

2016 Meeting & Symposium of the Florida Historical Society

May 19 to 21, 2016, Embassy Suites Downtown, Orlando, Fla.

Theme: *Citrus to Tourism to Tech: Visions of Paradise?*

Deadline for Submissions: February 29, 2016

The Florida Historical Society seeks submissions for its Annual Meeting & Symposium to be held May 19—21, 2016 in Orlando, Fla. The conference hotel will be the Embassy Suites Downtown (see information at https://myfloridahistory.org/annualmeeting).

Submission guidelines: All topics in Florida history are welcome, especially central Florida themes. A committee of Society members will judge all proposed papers/sessions on their value as scholarship or other forms of useful contributions to Florida history. Presentations should follow the Statement on Standards of Professional Conduct by the American Historical Association.

- INDIVIDUAL PAPER (20 minutes): send a title, 150-word abstract, and one-page vita.
- THEME PANEL: send a title and brief (150 word) theme description, 150-word abstract for each paper, one-page vita for each panel member, and suggested discussant.
- ROUND TABLE FORUMS OR DISCUSSIONS: send a title and brief (150 word) topic description, list of the participants, and moderator/discussant, with vitas.

Send submissions by email as an MSWord attachment to program organizer Dr. James G. Cusick at jgcusick@ufl.edu. Please put "2016 FHS Paper" in your email heading. Paper submissions can be mailed to James Cusick, Special & Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611. If you do not receive an email confirmation that your submission has been received, contact James Cusick.

The Florida Historical Society sponsors numerous annual awards. For award criteria and submission details, see https://myfloridahistory.org/annualmeeting/awards.

FHS Acquires the Brevard Museum of History and Natural Science

A new era begins for both the Florida Historical Society and the Brevard Museum of History and Natural Science as the oldest cultural organization in the state takes ownership of an outstanding museum.

The facility is now also the home of the Florida Historical Society Archaeological Institute.

"I've been connected with the Florida Historical Society for almost twenty years now, and this is the most exciting event I've seen happen," says FHS President Leonard Lempel. "This museum is a tremendous new edition to the Florida Historical Society. I'm just real excited about all the opportunities it presents."

The Brevard Museum of History and Natural Science was established in 1969. The nearly 15,000 square foot facility sits on a 20-acre nature preserve with walking trails through three Florida ecosystems. The museum is adjacent to Eastern Florida State College and the University of Central Florida Cocoa campus.

The change in ownership from Brevard Museum, Inc. to the Florida Historical Society was amicable and even welcomed. With a passionate and emotionally invested Museum Guild already in place, the addition of Florida Historical Society personnel and resources will allow the museum to become even better than it already is.

"There certainly is a passion," says Lee Bailey, president of the outgoing Brevard Museum Board of Trustees. "Unfortunately it takes more than just passion. It has to have really good, solid understanding and knowing how to run a museum. I think with this in place, we're going to see it thrive."

The centerpiece of the Brevard Museum of History and Natural Science is an exhibition on the amazing Windover Archaeological Dig. In 1982, an ancient pond cemetery was discovered near Titusville. Hundreds of ritualistically buried bodies were remarkably well preserved, wrapped in the oldest woven fabric found in North America. Ninety-one skulls even contained intact brain matter.

The Windover people were between 7,000 and 8,000 years old, making them 2,000 years older than the Great Pyramids and 3,200 years older than King Tutankhamen.

The museum also features exhibits on other native peoples, the Spanish Colonial period, pioneer culture, and has numerous archaeological artifacts.

Many improvements were made to the Brevard Museum of History and Natural Science under the leadership of outgoing executive director Nancy Rader. She refreshed exhibits, improved the museum branding, and increased attendance. Her proudest achievement was adding a mastodon skeleton that joined the bones of a giant ground sloth and a saber tooth cat on display.

Rader is very supportive of the changes happening at the museum. "I feel like the Brevard Museum is a real treasure and I really want the community to jump on board and support it," Rader says.

The museum's mission to educate the public about local history compliments the Florida Historical Society's statewide focus. From the prehistoric era to pioneer settlement to the launching of America's space program, Brevard County serves as a microcosm of Florida history.

Established in 1856, the Florida Historical Society maintains an extensive archive at the Library of Florida History in Cocoa, publishes books and periodicals, produces radio and television programs, operates the Florida Historical Society Archaeological Institute, and manages the Historic Rossetter House Museum in Eau Gallie. Our Annual Meeting and Symposium is held in a different Florida city each May, and we participate in festivals, events, and educational outreach throughout the state.

Patty Meyers is the Director of the Florida Historical Society Archaeological Institute and the Brevard Museum of History and Natural Science.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE (FHSAI)

The Florida Historical Society (FHS) has established a new department focusing on the intersection of history and archaeology. FHS launched the Florida Historical Society Archaeological Institute (FHSAI) on March 4, 2014.

Established in 1856, the Florida Historical Society has been supporting archaeology in the state for more than a century.

FHS was the first state-wide organization dedicated to the preservation of Florida history and prehistory, as stated in our 1905 constitution. We were the first state-wide organization to preserve

Native American artifacts such as stone pipes, arrowheads, and pottery, and the first to actively promote and publish archaeological research dating back to the early 1900s. Archaeology enthusiast Clarence B. Moore became a Member of the Florida Historical Society in 1907, and donated his written works to the Library of Florida History.

From the early twentieth century to the present, leading Florida archaeologists have had their work published in the FHS journal, *The Florida Historical Quarterly*. The Florida Historical Society was instrumental in the creation of the position of State Archaeologist and the establishment of the Florida Anthropological Society (FAS) in the 1940s, and served as host of the Florida Public Archaeology Network (FPAN) East Central Region from 2010 through 2013. Under the direction of FHS, the East Central Region was one of FPAN's most successful.

Today, FHS is continuing our long tradition of supporting archaeology in the state with the Florida Historical Society Archaeological Institute (FHSAI). The mission statement says that FHSAI "is dedicated to educating the public about Florida archaeology through research, publication, educational outreach, and the promotion of complimentary work by other organizations."

FLORIDA FRONTIERS: THE WEEKLY RADIO MAGAZINE OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society, airing on public radio stations throughout the state, continues to be one of our most successful educational outreach projects. The program is a combination of interview segments and produced features covering history-based events, exhibitions, activities, places, and people in Florida. The program explores the relevance of Florida history to contemporary society and promotes awareness of heritage and culture tourism options in the state.

The first section of the program each week is a long-form NPR-style piece from *Florida Frontiers* producer and host Ben Brotemarkle, Executive Director of the Florida Historical Society. He talks with authors of books about Florida history and culture; takes listeners to historic sites around the state; discusses important issues dealing with education and preservation; and demonstrates how learning about our history and culture can provide a sense of community to Floridians today.

The second section of the program is a conversation between Ben Brotemarkle and FHS Educational Resources Coordinator Ben DiBiase about various items in our archive at the Library of Florida History in Cocoa. Recent discussions have focused on slave documents from the El Destino Plantation; the 1821 decree from Spain informing residents of Florida that they were now living in a territory of the United States; 19th century Florida money; and the FHS collection of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings materials.

The third section of the program is produced by Robert Cassanello, Associate Professor of History at the University of Central Florida and an award-winning podcaster. Cassanello's segment has recently featured a look at urban planning in 1920s Jacksonville; a discussion about wooden Gothic churches in Florida; a visit with Ernest Hemingway's cats in Key West; and a conversation with Gilbert King, Pulitzer Prize winning author of *Devil in the Grove: Thurgood Marshall, the Groveland Boys, and the Dawn of a New America.*

Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society is currently broadcast on 90.7 WMFE Orlando, Thursdays at 6:30 pm and Sundays at 4:00 pm.; 88.1 WUWF Pensacola, Fridays at 5:30 p.m.; 89.9 WJCT Jacksonville, Mondays at 6:30 pm; 89.5 WFIT Melbourne, Sundays at 7:00 a.m.; 88.9 WQCS (HD2) Ft. Pierce, Wednesdays at 9:00 a.m.; 89.1 WUFT Gainesville, Saturdays at 6:00 am and Sundays at 7:30 a.m.; and 90.1 WJUF Inverness, Saturdays at 6:00 am and Sundays at 7:30 a.m. Check your local NPR listings for additional airings. The program is archived on the Florida Historical Society web site and accessible any time at www.myfloridahistory.org/frontiers.

Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society is made possible in part by the Jessie Ball duPont Fund and by Florida's Space Coast Office of Tourism, representing destinations from Titusville to Cocoa Beach to Melbourne Beach.

Florida Historical Quarterly News

NEW EDITORIAL BOARD MEMBER

Please welcome Dr. Mikaëla M. Adams, assistant professor at the University of Mississippi, as the newest member of the Editorial Board of the Florida Historical Quarterly. Dr. Adams completed her Ph.D. in 2012 at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Her first book manuscript focuses on tribal citizenship in the Jim Crow South. In this project, she examines how six southeastern tribes—the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians of North Carolina, the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, the Seminole Tribe of Florida, and the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians in Florida –decided who belonged to their communities, insisted on their identity as "Indians," and protected their tribal resources in a world defined by racial classifications. Her second project will examine American Indian responses to the influenza pandemic of 1918. Adams has published articles in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and the *South Carolina Historical Magazine.* She has presented papers at various national and international conferences, including the Southern Association for Women Historians Conference, the American Society for Ethnohistory Annual Meeting, the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association Annual Meeting, the Southern Historical Association Annual Meeting, and the American Historical Association Annual Meeting. Her research and teaching interests include Native American and indigenous studies, citizenship, nationhood, identity, belonging, race, ethnicity, disease, and medicine.

FHQ WEBSITE

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* now has its own website. Previously *Quarterly* patrons found information about the journal on the Florida Historical Society webpage or on the University of Central Florida Department of History webpage. You can still reach the *Quarterly* through those sites. Now, however, you can find the *FHQ* at its own, expanded site: http://fhq.cah.ucf.edu

- On the **Home** page, users can see the editorial staff, connect to JSTOR and PALMM, see the current Facebook posts, and Donate.
- A Current Issue page shows the cover and the Table of Contents of the most recent issue.

- The **Thompson Award** page lists award winners since 2000.
- The **Submissions** page provides guidelines for manuscript submissions, book reviewers, and advertising.
- The **Membership** tab takes you directly to the membership page of the FHS.
- **E-FHQ** connects you to the *FHQ* podcasts; *FHQ* Online informs readers about JSTOR, Florida Heritage, and PALMM. Within a few weeks, *FHQ* online will also offer its first fully online article: "Florida's Early West Point Cadets" by Erwin J. Wunderlich. We are also planning to highlight the *FHQ* digital research that our students have been conducting in this space. Keep looking for these additions.
- The **Copyright and Permissions** tab informs users about copyright and permission to use requirements.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY PODCASTS

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* has entered a new era of media. Dr. Robert Cassanello, Associate Professor of History at the University of Central Florida and a member of the *FHQ* editorial board, has accepted a new role as the coordinator for podcast productions. In conjunction with the Public History programs at UCF, Dr. Cassanello will produce a podcast for each issue of the *Quarterly*. Each podcast will consist of an interview with one of the authors from the most recent issue of the *Quarterly*. The podcasts are uploaded to iTunes University and are available to the public at http://publichistorypodcast.blogspot.com/.

Dr. Jack E. Davis on his article "Sharp Prose for Green: John D. MacDonald and the First Ecological Novel," which appeared in Volume 87, no. 4 (Spring 2009).

Dr. Michael D. Bowen on his article "The Strange Tale of Wesley and Florence Garrison: Racial Crosscurrents of the Postwar Florida Republican Party" appeared in Volume 88, no. 1 (Summer 2009).

Dr. Nancy J. Levine discussed the research project undertaken by her students on the Hastings Branch Library that appeared in Volume 88, no. 2 (Fall 2009).

Dr. Daniel Feller, 2009 Catherine Prescott Lecturer, on "The Seminole Controversy Revisited: A New Look at Andrew Jackson's 1819 Florida Campaign," Volume 88, no. 3 (Winter 2010).

Dr. Derrick E. White, on his article "From Desegregation to Integration: Race, Football, and 'Dixie' at the University of Florida," Volume 88, no. 4 (Spring 2010).

Dr. Gilbert Din was interviewed to discuss his article "William Augustus Bowles on the Gulf Coast, 1787-1803: Unraveling a Labyrinthine Conundrum," which appeared in Volume 89, no. 1 (Summer 2010).

Deborah L. Bauer, Nicole C. Cox, and Peter Ferdinando on graduate education in Florida and their individual articles in Volume 89, no. 2 (Fall 2010).

Jessica Clawson, "Administrative Recalcitrance and Government Intervention: Desegregation at the University of Florida, 1962-1972," which appeared in Volume 89, no. 3 (Winter 2011).

Dr. Rebecca Sharpless, "The Servants and Mrs. Rawlings: Martha Mickens and African American Life at Cross Creek," which appeared in Volume 89, no. 4 (Spring 2011).

Dr. James M. Denham, "Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Pensacola," which appeared in Volume 90, no. 1 (Summer 2011).

Dr. Samuel C. Hyde Jr., Dr. James G. Cusick, Dr. William S. Belko, and Cody Scallions in a roundtable discussion on the West Florida Rebellion of 1810, the subject of the special issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 90, no. 2 (Fall 2011).

Dr. Julian Chambliss and Dr. Denise K. Cummings, guest editors for "Florida: The Mediated State," special issue, *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 90, no. 3 (Winter 2012).

Dr. David H. Jackson, Jr., on his article "'Industrious, Thrifty and Ambitious': Jacksonville's African American Businesspeople during the Jim Crow Era," in the *Florida Historical* Quarterly Volume 90, no. 4 (Spring 2012) and Dr. Tina Bucuvalas, 2012 Jillian Prescott Memorial Lecturer and winner of the Stetson Kennedy Award for *The Florida Folklife Reader.*

Dr. Claire Strom, Rapetti-Trunzo Professor of History at Rollins College, on her article, "Controlling Venereal Disease in Orlando during World War II," *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 91, no. 1 (Summer 2012).

Dr. Matthew G. Hyland, on his article, "The Florida Keys Hurricane House: Post-Disaster New Deal Housing," *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 91, no. 2 (Fall 2012).

Dr. Paul E. Hoffman, guest editor of Volume 91, no. 3 (Winter 2013) on sixteenth century Florida.

Dr. Christopher Meindl and Andrew Fairbanks were interviewed for the Spring 2013 (Volume 91, no. 4) podcast on their article (with Jennifer Wunderlich). They talked about environmental history and the problems of garbage for Florida's environment.

Dr. Samuel Watson was interviewed about his article, "Conquerors, Peacekeepers, or Both? The U.S. Army and West Florida, 1810-1811," Volume 92, no. 1 (Summer 2013). His article challenged some of the work published in the Fall 2010 special issue on the West Florida Rebellion. In his interview Dr. Watson spoke about the discipline of history and the way in which the field advances as historians debate larger interpretative issues.

Richard S. Dellinger, Esq., attorney with the Orlando firm of Lowndes, Drosdick, Doster, Kantor & Reed and Vice President for the 11th Circuit Court, was interviewed for the Fall 2013 Special Issue on the 50th Anniversary of the United States District Court, Middle District of Florida.

Dr. Jane Landers, guest editor for Volume 92, no. 3 (Winter 2014) on seventeenth century Florida, the second issue in the 500 Years of Florida History series of special issues.

Dr. Matt Clavin, an Associate Professor of History at the University of Houston was interviewed for Volume 92, no. 4 (Spring 2014) on his article "An 'underground railway' to Pensacola and the Impending Crisis over Slavery."

Dr. Lisa Lindquist Dorr's article "Bootlegging Aliens: Unsanctioned Immigration and the Underground Economy of Smuggling from Cuba through Prohibition" was the topic for the podcast on Volume 93, no. 1 (Summer 2014).

Dr. C.S. Monaco was interviewed on his article "'Wishing that Right May Prevail': Ethan Allen Hitchcock and the Florida War" which appeared in Volume 93, no. 2 (Fall 2014).

Dr. Sherry Johnson, special issue editor for the 18th Century in Florida History, was interviewed for the Volume 93, no. 3 (Winter 2015) podcast.

Dr. Robert Cassanello was interviewed for the Volume 93, no. 4 (Winter 2015) podcast. He talked with Dr. Daniel Murphree about the career of urban historian Dr. Raymond A. Mohl, a long-time member and friend of the Florida Historical Society and contributor to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Dr. Mohl passed away in Birmingham, Alabama, on Jnauary 29, 2015.

Dr. Laura E. Brock was interviewed for the Volume 94, no. 1 (Summer 2015) podcast. She spoke with Dr. Daniel Murphree about her article "Religion and Women's Rights in Florida: An Examination of the Equal Rights Amendment Legislative Debates, 1972-1982."

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

AVAILABLE ON JSTOR

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* is available to scholars and researchers through JSTOR, a digital service for libraries, archives, and individual subscribers. JSTOR editors spent more than a year digitizing *FHQ* volumes 3-83; it became available to academic libraries and individual subscribers in August 2009. The *FHQ* has reduced the 5-year window to a 3-year window for greater access. More recent issues of the *Quarterly* are available only in print copy form. JSTOR has emerged as a leader in the field of journal digitization and the *FHQ* joins a number of prestigious journals in all disciplines. The *Florida Historical Quarterly* will continue to be available through PALMM, with a 5-year window.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY ON FACEBOOK

Join the *Florida Historical Quarterly* on Facebook. The *FHQ* Facebook page provides an image of each issue, the table of contents of each issue, and an abstract of each article. There is also a link to the *Quarterly* podcasts and the Florida Historical Society. Go to the *FHQ* to find information on recent "Calls for Papers" for conferences in Florida and the South.

GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSIONS TO THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* is a peer-refereed journal and accepts for consideration manuscripts on the history of Florida, its people, and its historical relationships to the United States, the Atlantic World, the Caribbean, or Latin America. All submissions are expected to reflect substantial research, a dedication to writing, and the scholarly rigor demanded of professionally produced historical work. Work submitted for consideration should not have been previously published, soon to be published, or under consideration by another journal or press. Authors who are engaged in open source peer review should watermark any manuscript available through an open source site as "Draft Under Consideration."

Authors should submit an electronic copy in MS Word to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, at Connie.Lester@ucf.edu.

Manuscripts should be typed and double-spaced (excluding footnotes, block quotes, or tabular matter).

The first page should be headed by the title without the author's name. Author identification should be avoided throughout the manuscript. On a separate sheet of paper, please provide the author's name, institutional title or connection, or place of residence, and acknowledgements. Citations should be single-spaced **footnotes**, numbered consecutively, and in accordance with the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Use the reference feature to create footnotes rather than the superscript button.

Tables and illustrations should be created on separate pages, with positions in the manuscript indicated.

In a cover letter, the author should provide contact information that includes phone numbers, fax number, email address, and mailing address. The author should provide a statement of the substance and significance of the work and identify anyone who has already critiqued the manuscript.

Images or illustrations to be considered for publication with the article may be submitted in EPS or PDF electronic format at 300 dpi or higher. Xeroxed images cannot be accepted. All illustrations should include full citations and credit lines. Authors should retain letters of permission from institutions or individuals owning the originals.

Questions regarding submissions should be directed to Connie L. Lester, editor, addressed to Department of History, PO Box 161350, 12790 Aquarius Agora Dr., Suite 551, University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL 32816-1350, by email to Connie.Lester@ucf.edu, or by phone at 407-823-0261.

Please note the addition of Guidelines for *e-FHQ* Publication.

GUIDELINES FOR e-*FHQ* PUBLICATION

Publication of material on the *Florida Historical Quarterly* website (e-*FHQ*) is viewed as supplemental to the print journal and not a separate publication. Publication falls into four categories.

1. e-Appendices. This is primary source material that informs an article published in the print journal. It may include audio or video files that were used in the research and informed the interpretation of the article. e-Appendices will be published on-line at the time of the print publication. The print publication will include a reference to the

website. Determination of the inclusion of e-Appendices will be made by the editors in collaboration with the author and the referees who evaluated the original manuscript.

2. e-Documents and Notes. This is primary source material that includes a significant number of images and/or audio-video material that precludes print publication. As with the print journal version of documents, this publication will include a descriptive essay of the material that indicates its importance to Florida history. Decisions regarding the publication of e-Documents and Notes will be made by the editorial staff with advice from appropriate scholars.
3. e-Reviews. These are critical, scholarly analyses of born-digital projects (electronic archives, multimedia essays/exhibits, teaching resources, etc.) hosted by academic institutions, museums, and archives. Projects produced by commercial interests are not eligible for review. E-reviews will published in the print edition and may also appear in the online-e-FHQ to facilitate access to interactive/multimedia content.
4. e-Articles. This category refers to the growing body of non-traditional, born-digital scholarship and multimedia essays/exhibits hosted by academic institutions, museums, and archives. Materials falling within this category may be submitted for editorial review by the lead author, with permission of co-authors. Submissions must include a 750- to 1000-word introduction and a stable URL for publication in both the print edition and online e-FHQ. Submissions will undergo the same double-blind review process that other submissions to the *Florida Historical Quarterly* receive.

Process for e-*FHQ* submission:

All materials for consideration should be submitted electronically to the editor **and** digital editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*:

Connie L. Lester, editor: connie.lester@ucf.edu
Scot French, digital editor: scot.french@ucf.edu

Citation of material published electronically:

Materials published as e-*FHQ* primary source material, reviews, or articles should be cited as follows:

Author, Title, e-*FHQ*, date of publication, www.fhq.cah.ucf.edu/fhqonline/

Reviewer Guidelines

The *Quarterly* solicits reviews of scholarly books, museum exhibitions, history-oriented movies, and digital sources (websites) related to Florida history and culture. Accepted reviews may appear in both the *FHQ* and *e-FHQ*. See specific guidelines for evaluating works in each category below.

The *Quarterly* gives its reviewers complete freedom except as to length, grammar, the law of libel, and editorial usages of punctuation, capitalization, spelling, etc., required to conform to *FHQ* style.

All reviews should be double-spaced, between 800 and 1000 words in length, with parenthetical citations for all quotes. Please save reviews as a Microsoft Word document and submit them as email attachments.

For Book Reviewers

Reviewers should strive to:

- Provide the informed reader with a brief, clear idea of the nature, content, and purpose of the volume and indicate its place in the literature on the subject, especially if it pertains to Florida history
- Include a discussion of how well the author succeeded in his or her purpose, covered the subject, used available resources, organized material, and expressed the narrative
- Evaluate the book as history for the potential reader and purchaser. Critical evaluation may be either favorable or unfavorable. Do not allow sympathy or difference of opinion to keep the review from being a strict and straightforward but courteous judgment
- Avoid digressive essays that might well appear in your own works
- Stay within the wordage assigned unless the editor agrees to a change
- Refrain from listing typographical or minor errors unless these materially affect quality

Unsolicited reviews are not accepted. However, a person wishing to be added to the reviewers' list should provide a letter of

interest and a current c.v. to the editor, and that request will be considered.

The editor wishes to receive for review non-fiction books relating to Florida and its people. The editor will also consider for review books on the United States, Southern history, the Atlantic World, the Caribbean, and Latin America. Send books for review to the *Florida Historical Quarterly* at Daniel.Murphree@ucf.edu

For Museum Exhibition Reviewers

Reviewers should strive to:

- Provide the informed reader with a brief, clear idea of the nature, content, and purpose of the museum exhibition and indicate its connection to the literature on the subject, especially if it pertains to Florida history
- Include a discussion of how well the curator succeeded in his or her purpose, covered the subject, used available resources, organized material, and depicted the historical topic being addressed
- Evaluate the museum exhibition as history for the reader and potential audience. Critical evaluation may be either favorable or unfavorable. Do not allow sympathy or difference of opinion to keep the review from being a strict and straightforward but courteous judgment
- Avoid digressive essays that might well appear in your own works
- Stay within the wordage assigned unless the editor agrees to a change

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The editor wishes to receive for consideration notices of museum exhibitions relating to Florida and its people. The editor will also consider for review museum exhibitions on the United States, Southern history, the Atlantic World, the Caribbean, and Latin America. Send notices of museum exhibitions eligible for review to the *Florida Historical Quarterly* at Daniel.Murphree@ucf.edu

For Movie Reviewers

Reviewers should strive to:

- Provide the informed reader with a brief, clear idea of the nature, content, and purpose of the movie and indicate its connection to the literature on the subject, especially if it pertains to Florida history
- Include a discussion of how well the movie succeeded in its purpose, covered the subject, used available resources, and depicted the historical topic being addressed
- Evaluate the movie as history for the potential reader and audience. Critical evaluation may be either favorable or unfavorable. Do not allow sympathy or difference of opinion to keep the review from being a strict and straightforward but courteous judgment
- Avoid digressive essays that might well appear in your own works
- Stay within the wordage assigned unless the editor agrees to a change

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For Digital Source Reviewers

Reviewers should strive to:

- Provide the informed reader with a brief, clear idea of the nature, content, and purpose of the digital source and indicate its connection to the literature on the subject, especially if it pertains to Florida history
- Include a discussion of how well the source succeeded in its purpose, covered the subject, used available resources, organized material, and depicted the historical topic being addressed

- Evaluate the digital source as history for the reader and audience. Critical evaluation may be either favorable or unfavorable. Do not allow sympathy or difference of opinion to keep the review from being a strict and straightforward but courteous judgment
- Avoid digressive essays that might well appear in your own works
- Stay within the wordage assigned unless the editor agrees to a change
- Refrain from listing typographical or minor errors unless these materially affect quality

Unsolicited reviews are not accepted. However, a person wishing to be added to the reviewers' list should provide a letter of interest and a current c.v. to the editor, and that request will be considered.

The editor wishes to receive for consideration notices of digital sources relating to Florida and its people. The editor will also consider for review digital sources on the United States, Southern history, the Atlantic World, the Caribbean, and Latin America. Send notices of digital sources eligible for review to the *Florida Historical Quarterly* at Daniel.Murphree@ucf.edu

Process for becoming an *FHQ* or e*FHQ* Reviewer:

Individuals who desire to become a reviewer in any review category should email Dr. Daniel Murphree and include a letter of introduction and a cv outlining their areas of expertise.

Daniel.Murphree@ucf.edu

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CENTER FOR FLORIDA HISTORY
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Lawton M. Chiles Center for Florida History Presents the 2015-2016 Florida Lecture Series

January 14	**Michael Francis (Hough Family Chair of Florida Studies and Professor of History, University of South Florida, St. Petersburg)** "Before Jamestown: Europeans, Africans, and Indians in La Florida, 1513-1607."
February 18	**Nathaniel Millett (Professor of History, Saint Louis University)** "The Maroons of Prospect Bluff and Their Quest for Freedom in the Atlantic World"
March 3	**Bob H. Lee (Writer)** "Backcountry Lawman: True Stories from a Florida Game Warden"

Lawton M. Chiles Center for Florida History, Florida Southern College, 111 Lake Hollingsworth Dr. Lakeland, Florida 33801, (863) 680-4312, www.flsouthern.edu/flhistory

The Florida Historical Society

The Historical Society of Florida, 1856
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The Florida Historical Society

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

Created in St. Augustine in 1856, The Florida Historical Society is the oldest existing cultural organization in the state, and Florida's only state-wide historical society. The Society is dedicated to preserving Florida's past through the collection and archival maintenance of historical documents and photographs, the publication of scholarly research on Florida history, and educating the public about Florida history through a variety of public history and historic preservation projects. We publish scholarly research in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and through the Florida Historical Society Press. *Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society* is broadcast on public radio stations throughout the state and is archived on our web site. The Florida Historical Society headquarters are located at the Library of Florida History in historic Cocoa Village. The Florida Historical Society manages the Historic Rossetter House Museum and the Florida Books & Gifts.

Florida Historical Society: ⟨www.myfloridahistory.org.⟩
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