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COVER

Fourth of July 1887 celebration in Sanford, Florida. Photograph from the Florida Historical Society Archives.

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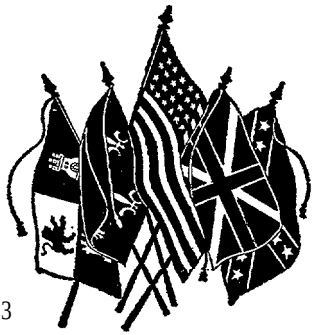

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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The *Quarterly* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of Florida. Sources, style, footnote form, originality of material and interpretation, clarity of thought, and interest of readers are considered. All copy, including footnotes, should be double-spaced. Footnotes are to be numbered consecutively in the text and assembled at the end of the article. Particular attention should be given to following the footnote style of the *Quarterly*. The author should submit an original and retain a carbon for security. Authors with access to IBM/Wordstar programs are asked to submit both a hardcopy and a diskette. The Florida Historical Society and the Editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* accept no responsibility for statements made or opinions held by authors. The Quarterly reviews books dealing with all aspects of Florida history. Books to be reviewed should be sent to the Editor together with price and information on how they can be ordered.

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BOOK REVIEWS

WILLIAM J. HOWEY AND HIS FLORIDA DREAMS

by MELVIN EDWARD HUGHES, JR.

WILLIAM JOHN HOWEY was a land speculator who came to Florida in 1908 and devised a unique land sales and development program on nearly 60,000 acres of land in Lake County. Howey's plan, based on the sale of undeveloped citrus land, led to the creation of Howey-in-the-Hills, a town he envisioned as the "City Inevitable."[1] In addition to this visionary enterprise Howey ran as the Republican candidate for governor of Florida in 1928, and again in 1932.

William J. Howey was born in Odin, Illinois, January 19, 1876, to Matilda Harris and William Henry Howey, a circuit riding United Brethren minister.[2] At the age of sixteen Howey began to sell life insurance and realized his gift of salesmanship. By 1900 he had worked very successfully for three insurance companies in the states of Indiana, Alabama, and Missouri.[3] Howey then learned the land development business by developing land and towns for the railroad in Oklahoma. In 1903 he opened the Howey Automobile Company in Kansas City and, after manufacturing seven Howey automobiles, closed this business in 1905 and went back into the land development business. Howey bought a large tract of land near Perez, Mexico, and set out to colonize it with American capitalists. He sold the idea of pineapple plantations, but revolution in 1907 forced him to abandon this venture.[4]

Melvin Edward Hughes, Jr. is adjunct instructor of history, University of Central Florida.

1. William J. Howey, *Howey-in-the-Hills* (Mt. Dora, 1927), 20.
2. Death certificate of William J. Howey, Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services, Public Health Statistics Section, Jacksonville; *Pioneer Florida (Personal and Family Records),* 3 vols. (Tampa, 1959), III, 937; *Who's Who in America* 17 (Chicago, 1932), 1183.
3. Interview with Mary Grace Howey by Melvin Edward Hughes, Jr., April 14, 1977 (hereinafter Howey interview); *Pioneer Florida,* III, 937.
4. Stuart G. Mandel, "The Republican Party in Florida" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1968), 22; *Pioneer Florida,* III, 937; interview with Westa Bryant, granddaughter of William J. Howey, by Melvin Edward Hughes, Jr., October 6, 1977.

William J. Howey. Engraving courtesy of Mrs. Westa Bryant, Tallahassee.

It was then that Howey brought his land development talents to Florida. He originally settled near Winter Haven and began selling land near present-day Dundee, Lake Hamilton, and Star Lake.[5] At Winter Haven Howey met Dr. Frederick W. Inman of Akron, Ohio, who introduced him to the science of citrus farming.[6] Dr. Inman had produced a citrus tree from budded stock instead of seeds and developed a method of growing a root system from the seed of a lemon. When the young lemon seedling was eighteen to twenty-four months old, a bud was taken from an orange tree of high quality and budded to the rough lemon sprout by slitting the bark, inserting the bud, and transplanting the new creation to a grove. From this planting, it was expected in four years to bear fruit.[7]

In the Winter Haven area Howey refined his citrus farming and sales program. He utilized the railroad to bring buyers to Dundee where he had constructed a tent city to house them.[8] After selling citrus lands in this fashion for several years, Howey was invited by two pioneers of citrus cultivation in Lake County, Sheriff Balton A. Cassady and Harry Duncan, a Tavares attorney, to consider development of their county.[9] After seeing the rolling hills and sandy soil of Lake County, Howey sold his holdings near Star Lake (Bok Tower now stands on his planned homesite) and began to purchase land in Lake County.[10]

Howey chose a large tract lying on the southern shores of a chain of lakes adjacent to Little Lake Harris which he felt confi-

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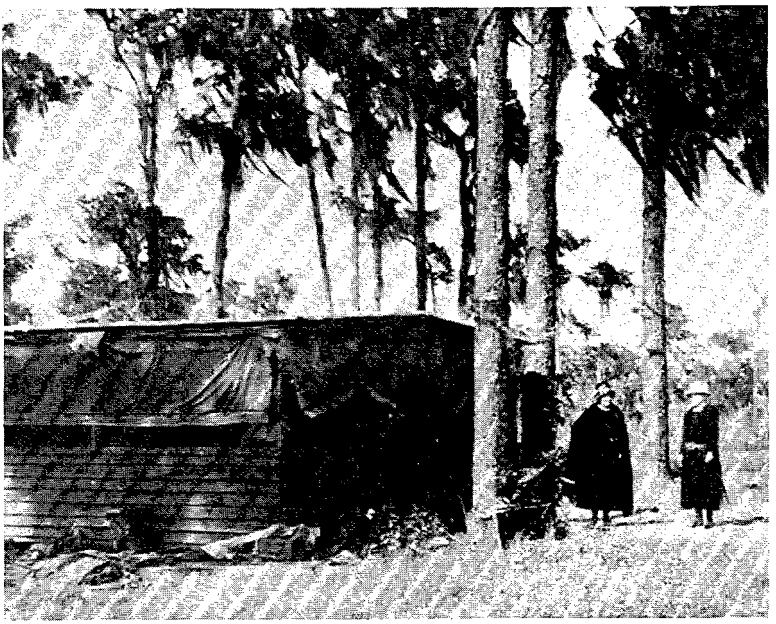
5. Josephine G. Burr, *History of Winter Haven* (Winter Haven, 1974), 31-32; interview with Glenn D. Gerke by Melvin Edward Hughes, Jr., August 29, 1977 (hereinafter Gerke interview); *Pioneer* Florida, III, 937.
6. Howey, *Howey-in-the-Hills,* 2.
7. F. W. Inman, *Winter Haven, Florida: The Land of Sunshine* (Dayton, 1927), 3-6; Roland Phillips, Federal Writers' Project, "Winter Haven and Cypress Gardens," P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.
8. Gerke interview.
9. Interview with Carl E. Duncan by Melvin Edward Hughes, Jr., September 3, 1987 (hereinafter Duncan interview); interview with Claude Vaughan "C. V." Griffin by Melvin Edward Hughes, Jr., June 16, 1977 (hereinafter Griffin interview); interview with Helen Buck by Melvin Edward Hughes, Jr., April 10, 1984 (hereinafter Buck interview).
10. Howey interview; William T. Kennedy, *History of Lake County, Florida* (St. Augustine, 1929), 175, 195; Deed Records of Lake County, vol. 70: 386; vol. 73: 166; vol. 74: 50, 51, 53, 173, 175, 272, 469, 566, 676; vol. 75: 53, 97, 98, 182, 229, 688; vol. 77: 82, 356; vol. 78: 24, 181; vol. 79: 66, 476. These properties were bought by the W. J. Howey Land Company.



Tent City housed prospective land buyers to Howey-in-the-Hills development in the early 1920s. Photograph from *Howey-in-the-Hills* (Howey Homes Inc., publication).

dent was excellent citrus soil. This was near Yahala where the Duncans had citrus trees dating back to the 1870s.[11] Howey began to buy land in Lake County in 1914, and by 1920 he had about 60,000 acres for his land development project.[12]

Howey's land development had several unique characteristics which accounted for its success and durability. He thought if he took raw land and controlled its development into mature citrus groves he could guarantee investors a successful enter-

11. Howey interview; Buck interview; *Pioneer Florida,* III, 937; Duncan interview.

12. *Pioneer Florida,* III, 937; W. J. Howey Co., *The Story of Howey-in-the-Hills* (Howey-in-the-Hills, 1938), n.p.; Deed Records of Lake County, vol. 86: 122; vol. 89: 6, 9, 16, 45, 47, 53, 59, 80, 100, 133, 134, 162, 225, 264, 265, 375; vol. 100: 32, 37, 94, 100, 107, 151, 231,274, 306, 379, 425, 489, 491; vol. 104: 152; vol. 105: 509; vol. 130: 11, 20, 347, 537, 656; vol. 132: 145; vol. 133: 91; vol. 137: 75, 184, 291,427; vol. 138: 65, 67, 83, 162; vol. 139: 224, 392; vol. 140: 3, 72, 136, 236; vol. 142: 513. These properties were bought by Orange Belt Securities Company, Howey Hotels Company, and Ridge Holding Company.

prise while making a profit on each step of citrus cultivation. Howey bought land for $8.00 to $10.00 per acre and sold it for $800 to $2,000 per acre cleared and planted with forty-eight citrus trees per acre.[13]

Howey then took his enterprise another step and guaranteed the investor his total investment including land, planting, and grove care, plus six percent interest, if the buyer signed a maintenance contract with Howey's company, the Orange Belt Security Company. If the grove did not return the total investment by the eleventh year, Orange Belt Security Company would repurchase the property for a price equal to the original investment, cost of planting and maintenance, plus six percent interest (all proceeds from previous crops to be deducted). The warranty had to be exercised within ninety days of gathering the eighth crop.[14]

Because of World War I, Howey's project got off to a slow start, but in 1919 he began to market his land vigorously. In 1917 he opened his frame hotel, the Bougainvillea, which was intended to replace the tent city he utilized to house visitors.[15] After the Bougainvillea burned in 1920 it was replaced four years later by the block and stucco Hotel Floridan overlooking Little Lake Harris. In 1920 Howey organized a motor car caravan which he led from Chicago to Lake County. It was his aim to attract northern capital to his citrus project, and he made an effort to affiliate with sales agents in Chicago, New York, and other northern cities.[16] As his project developed he opened offices in the Florida tourist cities of Miami, Orlando, Bradenton, St. Petersburg, Tampa, Fort Lauderdale, and Palm Beach.[17]

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13. Griffin interview; Howey Company, *Howey-in-the-Hills*, 16-30; Duncan interview. The advertised price in 1927 was $1,199.00 per acre and the number of trees per acre was later increased to ninety-six by planting trees thirty feet by fifteen feet instead of the original twenty-five feet by twenty-five feet, *The New Citrus Era* (Howey-in-the-Hills, 1930), n.p.
14. Ibid.; Howey, *Howey-in-the-Hills*, 30; Howey interview. In the depression years of the 1930s the responsibilities of the grove care were transferred to Howey in the Hills Service, Inc., as Orange Belt Securities Company probably had difficulty in honoring its warranty.
15. Howey interview; Buck interview; Miss Buck remembered the name of the original hotel, the Bougainvillea; *The Florida Grower*, October 7, 1916, article by William J. Howey in microfilm collection of Mrs. W. J. Howey clippings, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.
16. Howey interview; *Florida Metropolis*, October 12, 1916; Howey clippings.
17. *Howey Tribune*, November, December 1926; February, December 1927; December, 1928; April, 1929; April, November 1930.

At the suggestion of his top sales agent, William Kenmuir of St. Petersburg, Howey named his development Howey-in-the-Hills.[18] By 1925 it was incorporated, and the Howey companies began to sell town lots with the expectation of northern investors settling near their orange groves which would be yielding upwards of fifty percent annually on their investment.[19] To further encourage settlement in Howey-in-the-Hills, a nine-hole golf course, designed by George O'Neal of Chicago, was opened.[20] Howey encouraged people to view their investment in a citrus grove as superior to a bond. He stated that, "No bond had ever been issued that represents a safer investment than does an orange or grapefruit grove properly located and properly attended."[21]

From 1915 through 1924 Howey registered 187 sales, but in 1925 the Florida land boom tripled his enterprise, and he sold sixty-nine parcels of his citrus property.[22] In 1926 sales soared as he claimed $5,000,000 in sales (which equaled the sales of the previous ten years) and sales of 117 parcels.[23] In 1926 the Howey companies shipped 28,000 boxes of fresh fruit which brought an average of $2.58 per box on the tree. His land sales reflected both the fever of the land boom and the vigor with which he marketed his ideas.[24] Howey claimed contracts for citrus cultivation totaling 14,000 acres by the end of 1926, and he proceeded to make the largest single order for tractors in Florida when he purchased twelve McCormick-Deering tractors in 1927.[25] Howey also claimed Florida's largest single order for cover crop seed by purchasing enough seed to plant 25,000 acres.[26]

In 1926 Howey-in-the-Hills passed a $300,000 bond issue to finance a water works, thirty miles of hard surfaced streets, a fire department, and a 165-foot high town hall.[27] By the end of

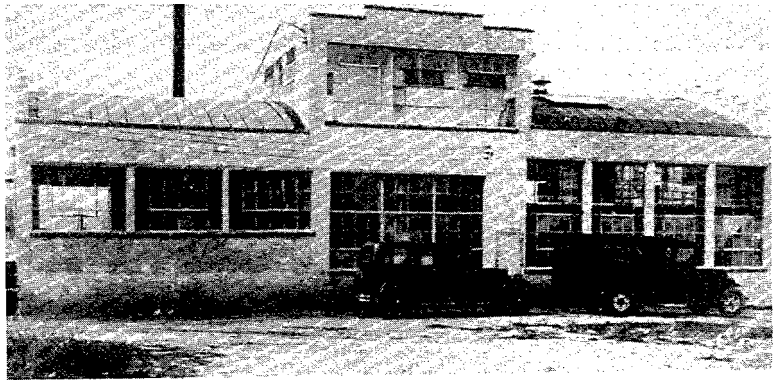
18. Ibid., January 1931.
19. *General Ordinances, Town of Howey, Lake County, Florida, Incorporated May 8, 1925* (Mt. Dora, 1925); *The Florida Grower,* October 7, 1916, Howey clippings.
20. *Howey Tribune,* January 1926.
21. Ibid., November 1926; Howey, *Howey-in-the-Hills,* 30.
22. Deed Records of Lake County, vols. 117-130, 1926.
23. Ibid.; *Howey Tribune,* December 1926; January, Feburary 1927.
24. Ibid., January 1927.
25. Ibid., December 1926; February, March, May 1927; *Tampa Morning Tribune,* November 14, 1926.
26. Ibid., December 11, 1928.
27. *General Ordinances, Town of Howey, Lake County, Florida;* Kennedy, *History of Lake County,* 64.

1926 Lake County completed a toll free 7,980-foot wooden bridge across Little Lake Harris which provided Howey-in-the-Hills a more direct link to Jacksonville and the northeast tourist trade.[28] Howey claimed the bridge cut by fifty-two miles the trip from Jacksonville to Tampa. At the peak of the land boom in 1926, Howey purchased five forty-passenger International buses to transport prospective customers from his Florida sales offices to Howey-in-the-Hills.[29]

The collapse of the Florida land boom in the closing months of 1926 caused Howey to scale back his dreams as the construction of the town hall was cancelled, and a bank and the Howey Savings and Loan Association failed to materialize.[30] Despite the constriction caused by the end of feverish land speculation, the remarkable factor in the Howey land development program was its continued success after the crash. In 1927 sales of the Howey companies fell about thirty-five percent, but they still registered 127 sales.[31] In that same year, Howey-in-the-Hills claimed 10,000 visitors, and even though sales had declined, sales records were set in February and March 1927.[32] The rooms at the Hotel Floridan were generally filled, and oranges were bringing $3.00 per box on the tree which was a record high.[33]

In 1927 Howey completed his $250,000 mansion which was designed by Katherine Cotheal Budd, one of America's few female architects.[34] His interior designer, Earl Coleman, had also decorated the John Ringling mansion in Sarasota, and Howey's bill for interior furnishings was $55,000.[35] The Howey mansion reflected the Mediterranean architecture which was popular in the 1920s and in its grandest moments hosted the New York Civic Opera Company, former President Calvin Coolidge, Kansas Governor Alfred Landon, and other prominent public figures.[36] Howey saw his mansion as the anchor for a development

28. *Howey Tribune,* November 1926; Kennedy, *History of Lake County,* 64.
29. *Howey Tribune,* November 1927.
30. Ibid., February, May 1926; Duncan interview.
31. Deed Records of Lake County, vols. 130-138, 1927; *Howey Tribune,* April 1929.
32. Ibid., December 1927.
33. Ibid., March, June 1928.
34. Ibid., December 1926; Howey interview; *Pioneer Florida,* III, 938.
35. Interview with Carl Adams by Melvin Edward Hughes, Jr., September 29, 1987. Mr. Adams was the appraiser of the Howey Mansion and supervised its sale after the death of Mrs. Howey at age ninety-two in 1981.
36. Howey interview; *Howey Tribune,* May 1926; January, February 1931.



Florida's first citrus juice plant built by Howey in 1925-1926. His canned juice was sold under the "Lifeguard" brand. Photograph from *Howey-in-the-Hills.*

of fine homes for nothern capitalists similar to Mountain Lake near Lake Wales. He even named his lake front street Lake Shore Boulevard after Chicago's famed thoroughfare.[37]

Howey's enthusiasm for citrus was manifest in his planned Howey Sanitarium which would employ citrus to aid in the cure of diabetes, influenza, and other chronic ailments.[38] In 1927 Howey also opened a bottle juice plant to utilize undersized and discolored fruit, and also in that year he began to open direct sales stores for his citrus products.[39] These were located where he had land sales offices. In his best location, St. Petersburg, he had three offices selling land, oranges, and juice.[40] It was Howey's plan to sell the fruit from his groves directly to the public to maximize profits and to eliminate "the selling agent, the commission man in the North, the wholesaler and the retailer."[41]

In 1928 Howey-in-the-Hills again claimed 10,000 visitors and oranges reached a high of $3.50 per box on the tree.[42] Howey's land sales were about one-half those of 1926, and he

37. Howey, *Howey-in-the-Hills,* 21.
38. *Howey Tribune,* March, June 1928; February, October, December 1927; January 1929.
39. Ibid., December 1927; March 1928; February, April 1929.
40. Ibid., December 1928.
41. Ibid., November 1928.
42. Ibid., April 1929.

recorded only ninety sales.[43] In this season he held a meeting which drew 200 sales agents to the Hotel Floridan's seventy-five rooms. He also raised the rates at the Hotel Floridan from $3.00 to $4.00 per day and limited stays to three days.[44]

After the collapse of the stock market in late 1929, Howey's land sales began to decline. In 1930 sales reached only $500,000 which was one-tenth of his 1926 sales.[45] A contributing factor was the discovery of the Mediterranean fruit fly in Florida, although the Howey properties were not infested.[46] The cumulative effects of bad publicity from the 1926 and 1928 hurricanes also discouraged investors.

As late as April 1930 there were five fulltime land salesmen at Howey-in-the-Hills offering free memberships in the golf course to grove purchasers, but by 1931, with the deepening of the Great Depression, Howey's land sales had nearly stopped.[47] In that year he claimed only $250,000 in sales.[48] This was a severe jolt to his project. He had 600 employees with ten separate departments handling his enterprises in the mid-1920s generating an annual payroll over $1,000,000; by 1931 this had dwindled to a payroll of $101,000.[49]

From 1931 to 1938 the Howey companies recorded an average of twenty-three sales per year.[50] During these Depression years Howey maintained his development primarily from the sale of fruit and the maintenance and development charges to his previous grove investors.[51] These charges led to a court battle between the W. J. Howey Co. and the Securities and Exchange Commission in the 1940s. Claude Vaughan "C. V." Griffin bought all the Howey companies after Howey's death in 1938, and Howey did not live to see his unique method of selling citrus property with an accompanying maintenance and development contract declared illegal. The United States Supreme

43. Deed Records of Lake County, vols. 139-143, 1928; *Howey Tribune*, January 1929.
44. Ibid., November, December 1928.
45. Ibid., May 1930.
46. Ibid., January, May 1930.
47. Ibid., April 1930.
48. Ibid., May 1931.
49. Ibid., May 1927; February, April 1930.
50. General Index to Deeds, Lake County, vols. 52-59, 1931-1938.
51. Howey interview; Duncan interview; Griffin interview.

Court ruled that the Howey companies were selling an unregistered security.[52]

It is not certain how many separate owners of grove property and homesites were purchased in Howey-in-the-Hills. There were claims as high as 2,200 grove owners and the construction of seventy-three residences.[53] These figures were probably high. There were about 900 sales recorded by the Howey companies from 1914 to 1940.[54] Howey developed about 14,000 acres of citrus property with probably one-half of it held by the Howey companies at the time of his death.[55] This would include the nursery stock and young groves planted in speculation of sales. Mrs. Howey retained 1,000 acres of mature groves when she turned the Howey companies over to C. V. Griffin.[56]

In 1930, Howey's last good year for grove sales, his newspaper claimed service contracts for 401 grove owners reflecting a total of 3,676 acres of grove property. Forty-three of these owned only one acre or less, and only three held as many as 100 acres with 124 acres being the largest single holding other than that of Howey and his employees.[57] Before the advent of frozen concentrated citrus juice Howey pioneered canned citrus juices which were electrically pasteurized.[58] He also attempted unsuccessfully in 1931 to store citrus in three huge non-refrigerated tanks, each capable of holding 600 boxes of fruit which were supposed to preserve the citrus by creating a vacuum in the tanks.[59]

Howey was always an enthusiastic pioneer in the citrus industry, and he carried this energy into Florida politics. After the incorporation of Howey-in-the-Hills in 1925, he was elected its

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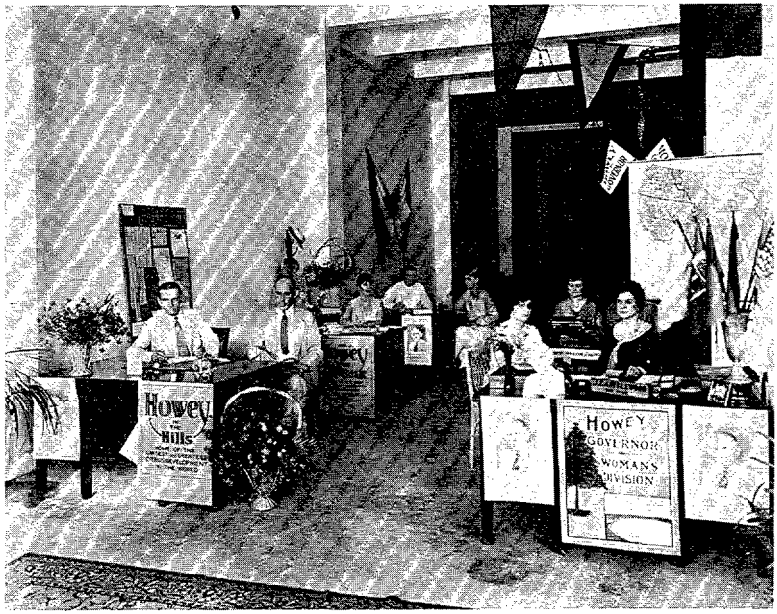
52. Fla 66-SCt 27; Duncan interview. Even though the two contracts were linked as a security, the Securities and Exchange Commission then ruled that the Howey companies were exempt from further responsibility as they fit an exemption provided in the law. Carl E. Duncan, *Biography of Carl E. Duncan* (Tavares, 1987), 46-49.
53. Kennedy, *History of Lake County,* 63; *Howey Tribune,* May 1930.
54. General Index to Deeds, Lake County, 1914-1940.
55. *Howey Tribune,* February 1929; February 1931; Howey interview.
56. Ibid.; Griffin interview. Griffin stated that Howey let his options expire on the large tracts he held and owned less than 1,200 acres "free and clear" by 1938.
57. *Howey Tribune,* March 1930.
58. Ibid., January 1929.
59. Ibid., March, April, May 1931.

mayor.[60] In 1928 he was approached by his old hunting companions, Glenn B. Skipper of Bartow and William C. Lawson of Orlando, to join them in restructuring the Florida Republican party as a conservative organization which would appeal to white Florida Democrats.[61]

Skipper and Howey engineered a revolt at the 1928 state Republican convention in Daytona Beach which defeated the traditional "black and tan" Republicans led by George Bean.[62] The thrust of Skipper's and Howey's political philosophy was a southern strategy based on a new "lily white" Republican party. It was Howey's aim to build a two-party political system in Florida by appealing to white voters. The existing Republican party in Florida was largely a patronage arm of the national Republican party. It was not even eligible to hold its own Florida primary elections until it polled at least thirty percent of the vote in a statewide race.[63]

The "lily white" Republicans nominated Howey as their gubernatorial candidate in 1928 to oppose Doyle Carlton of Wauchula and Tampa, the eventual winner of the Democratic primaries. Howey promised to reduce taxes, eliminate waste by firing unnecessary state employees, and cut the number of state circuit court judges by one-half.[64] His promise to contribute his gubernatorial salary to a statewide advertising campaign to attract northern capital appealed to businessmen.[65] His critics, however, charged that Howey was more interested in publicity for his real estate development than in being elected governor.[66] Howey viewed traditional Florida Democrats as inherently corrupt as a consequence of one-party government, and he charged

60. Ibid., January 1929.
61. Ibid., Howey interview; *Lakeland Journal,* April 6, 1928; Howey clippings; *Daytona Beach Times,* May 11, 1928.
62. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* May 11, 1928; Peter D. Klingman, *Neither Dies nor Surrenders: A History of the Republican Party in Florida, 1867-1970* (Gainesville, 1984), 120-25; *West Palm Beach Sun,* June 22, 1928; Peter O. Knight scrapbook, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; *Orlando Morning Sentinel,* November 1, 1928; *Lakeland Journal,* April 6, 1928; *Winter Haven Chief,* April 6, 1928; *Tampa Times,* April 6, 1928; Howey clippings.
63. Klingman, *Neither Dies nor Surrenders,* 123, 128-29.
64. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* October 31, 1928; *Howey Tribune,* June 1928; Howey clippings.
65. Klingman, *Neither Dies nor Surrenders,* 126.
66. *Miami Herald,* October 21, 1928.



Republican gubernatorial headquarters in Miami, 1928. Photograph courtesy of Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.

that his opponent, Doyle Carlton, had received enormous fees in the sale of Tampa city bonds while serving as its attorney.[67] Howey also asserted that Carlton has mismanaged hurricane relief funds in 1928, and had gained an unwarranted exemption from service in World War I.[68] Howey wrote his own version of the Republican platform which promised Floridians "a conservative and efficient business administration" and concluded: "Howey built groves, Groves built towns, Let's elect Howey, On these grounds."[69]

The real strength of the Howey campaign came from the presidential election of 1928. The Republicans had nominated the popular secretary of commerce, Herbert Hoover, while the Democrats nominated former New York governor, Alfred E. Smith. The nomination of Al Smith had been opposed by the Florida Democratic delegation because he was a Catholic, a

67. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, October 31, November 2, 3, 1928.
68. Ibid., November 4, 1928.
69. "Platform of the Republican Party of Florida," Howey clippings.

Northerner, and because of his stand on prohibition. Some Florida Democrats campaigned for Hoover, calling themselves "Hoovercrats."[70]

Smith and his national campaign manager, John J. Raskob, supported the liberalization of the Volstead Act which outlawed the sale or transportation of beverages containing more than one-half of one percent alcohol.[71] Smith recommended that the states be allowed to determine the issue under liberalized national legislation which would permit light wine and beer.[72] In Florida this position aroused many Protestant clergymen, and set the Anti-Saloon League and Women's Christian Temperance Union on the campaign trail in favor of Hoover.[73] It also spawned an anti-Smith Democratic faction led by state senator Edgar W. Waybright of Jacksonville.[74]

The Howey campaign came out with a strong endorsement of prohibition, stating: "We stand for the unqualified enforcement of all laws and deplore and condemn any vacillating policy of nullificaion. . . . We emphasize the support to be given to the Eighteenth Amendment and the better enforcement of the Volstead Act."[75] While Howey stated he wished he could eradicate "the entire traffic in intoxicating liquor," he maintained a secret liquor vault in his mansion where he kept his favorite Scotch whiskey.[76]

Doyle Carlton was desperately trying to hold the state Democractic party together while not overtly campaigning for Smith. Carlton sought to separate himself from the national candidate, but the Florida Democratic party had not written a state plat-

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70. *Miami Herald*, October 19, 26, 1928; *Orlando Morning Sentinel*, October 7, November 2, 1928; *The Groveland Graphic*, October 4, 1928; Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., "Florida and the Presidential Election of 1928," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 26 (October 1947), 176-81; Melvin Edward Hughes, Jr., "The 1928 Presidential Election in Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1976), 52, 59-61, 168-69; Edgar W. Waybright, "A Southern Democrat Speaks," *Kourier Magazine* 4 (August 1928), 35; *Gainesville Evening News*, October 16, 1928.
71. Alfred E. Smith, Campaign *Addresses of Governor Alfred E. Smith, Democratic Candidate for President, 1928* (Washington, DC, 1929), 34-36; *DeLand Daily News*, October 10, 1928.
72. Smith, *Campaign Addresses*, 35.
73. Hughes, "The 1928 Presidential Election in Florida," 62-86.
74. Ibid., 166-69.
75. "Florida Platform of the Republican Party," Howey clippings.
76. "Platform of the Republican Party in Florida" (Howey Platform), Howey clippings; Howey interview.

form in 1928, and Carlton's candidacy was seen by some as an extension of the national election. Despite the demand that he endorse the Smith candidacy unequivocably, Carlton consistently hedged his support for Smith.[77] Carlton was aided by his Baptist friends who publicly supported him and often referred to Carlton as governor-elect much to the chagrin and dismay of Howey.[78]

The incumbent United States Senator, Park Trammell, who was up for re-election in 1928, refused to appear in the state the last three weeks of the campaign so to avoid any association with Al Smith and his militant anti-prohibition statements.[79] Carlton and Trammell were joined in their restrained political behavior by Congressman Robert Alexis "Lex" Green of the Fourth District and Democratic candidate for Congress Ruth Bryan Owen of the First District.[80]

Florida Republicans saw the unpopular Smith and the candidacy of William J. Howey as a great opportunity to create a two-party system in Florida for the first time since 1877. Republican strategy for the national campaign was to let the anti-Smith Democrats shake "the Democrats loose from the Demo-Tammany ticket," while concentrating their efforts on the elections of Hoover and Howey.[81] The Republican campaign slogan in 1928 was "Hoover, Howey and Happiness."[82]

Howey, as a successful businessman, stressed his business expertise and the value that the election of a Republican gover-

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77. James B. Hodges to Margaret E. Thompson, April 27, 1932, James B. Hodges Papers, Box 106, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; *DeLand Daily News,* September 7, 1928; *Orlando Morning Sentinel,* October 21, November 3, 1928; *Pensacola Journal,* November 3, 1928.
78. *Tampa Mornine Tribune,* May 23, November 1, 2, 1928.
79. *DeLand Daily News,* August 27, 1928; Park Trammell to Judge W. H. Baker, October 19,1928; Trammell to Senator Thomas W. Hardwick of Georgia, November 14, 1928; Trammell Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.
80. Robert Alexis Green to Dr. Will C. White, September 20, 1928. There are numerous letters to and from Congressman Green seeking his participation in the election. He repeatedly refused to answer while declining to come to Florida until October 31, when he made a solitary radio address on WRUF, Gainesville in which he refused to endorse Smith by name. Robert Alexis Green Papers, Box 2, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; Herbert Felkel to James B. Hodges, April 14, 1933, Hodges Papers, Box 106.
81. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* October 27, 1928.
82. Ibid., October 28, 1928.

nor would mean to Florida. He promised programs which would "put 100,000 new farms to work" by enacting "not a protective tariff but a prohibitive one."[83] Howey's suggestion that Florida's forty-two circuit court judges be reduced by one-half caused many regular Democrats to speak out for Doyle Carlton. Frequently county judges would deny Howey the right to speak from courthouse steps.[84] In return, Howey decried the "astoundingly autocratic and rabid partisanship" of these judges and campaigned against them as part of the corrupt and inefficient Democratic administration of the state's affairs.[85]

In early October, six of the eight statewide Republican candidates withdrew, leaving only Howey and Barclay Warburton, the senatorial candidate, in statewide competition.[86] At the same time a number of Republicans sought to get on the ballot at the city and county level as the Smith candidacy eroded the normally solid Democratic state.[87] Howey and his fellow Republicans hoped that a Hoover victory would weaken Florida's monolithic Democratic party and be replaced with a real, two-party system. The *Tampa Morning Tribune* stated that some 75,000 Democrats had voted for Hoover.[88]

Howey campaigned vigorously. He visited all of Florida's sixty-seven counties, frequently making as many as six speeches in a day.[89] He lost the election by a three to two margin while Hoover carried the state over Smith by about the same percentage. Florida was giving its vote to a Republican presidential nominee for the first time since Reconstruction, but nonetheless, the final gubernatorial vote was Carlton 148,455 and Howey 94,018.[90]

Since Howey had garnered thirty-nine percent of the vote, the Republicans were qualified to hold their own primary elec-

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83. Ibid., October 31, 1928; St. Petersburg *Sunshine City News,* July 4, 1928; *Mulberry Press,* October 26, 1928; Knight scrapbook.
84. Miami *Florida State Republican,* August 8, 1928; Knight scrapbook.
85. *St. Petersburg Times,* October 17, 1928; *Miami Herald,* October 11, 1928; *Lacoochee Times,* November 2, 1928.
86. *St. Petersburg Times,* October 3, 1928; *Orlando Morning Sentinel,* October 3, 1928.
87. *Miami Herald,* October 19, 1928; *DeLand Daily News,* October 20, 1928; *St. Petersburg Times,* October 9, 19, November 10, 1928.
88. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* November 9, 1928.
89. Ibid., October 31, 1928; *Howey Tribune,* December 1928.
90. Secretary of State of Florida, *Tabulation of Official Votes Cast in the General Election of 1928* (Tallahassee, 1929).

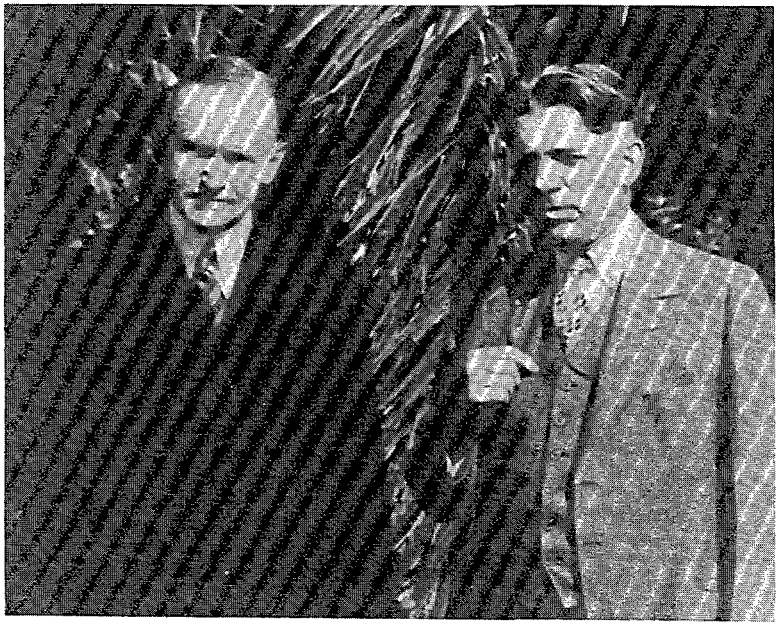
tion. Conservative Florida businessmen sought to broaden the state's appeal to northern investors by "having a republican [*sic*] as a Florida governor," they saw Howey's campaign as a start in that direction.[91] Even Carlton's vigorous supporter, Peter O. Knight of Tampa, stated that the development of a two-party state would be the "best thing that has ever happened to Florida."[92]

Even though Howey lost the election of 1928, he appeared to be the leader of a new progressive Republican party in Florida. Howey was one of the few Republicans elected on a local level in Florida; he served as mayor of Howey-in-the-Hills from 1925 until 1936.[93] In 1930 Howey attempted to take control of the party by replacing Glenn B. Skipper as national committeeman.[94] There were charges that Skipper had established a Hoover Club in Miami, that paid him a salary of $1,000 a month and expenses of an equal amount, which Howey's group viewed as a betrayal of their progressive ideals.[95] The true motivation was probably Howey's effort to gain control of the federal patronage controlled by the national committeeman.[96]

In the primary election of 1930 there were three factions, each representing Skipper, Howey, and George Bean.[97] To facilitate the choice of a united Republican party committee, it was agreed that Skipper would resign as national committeeman and Judge Elvey E. Callaway would resign as state Republican chairman.[98] Skipper immediately renounced his resignation when it became evident that Howey and his progressive Republicans were likely to replace him.[99]

Leon E. Howe, editor of the *Florida State Republican,* stated the position of most Florida Republicans when he argued that

91. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* November 9, 1928; Knight scrapbook.
92. *St. Petersburg Times,* November 10, 1928; *Tampa Morning Tribune,* November 9, 1928; Knight scrapbook.
93. *Pioneer Florida,* III, 937; Howey clippings.
94. Klingman, *Neither Dies nor Surrenders,* 131-32; Howey clippings; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* April 16, 1930.
95. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* March 21, 25, June 2, 4, 1930.
96. Howey interview; *Tampa Morning Tribune,* March 25, 1930.
97. Ibid.
98. Miami *Florida State Republican,* April 10, 1930; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* April 16, 1930.
99. Ibid.; Howey clippings; *Tampa Morning Tribune,* March 21, June 4, 1930. The *Tribune* stated that Terrell H. Smith, the editor and publisher of the Republican *Florida State Journal,* aided Howey in his struggle with Skipper.



Former President Calvin Coolidge visiting Howey in Florida during the early 1930s. Photograph from *Howey-in-the-Hills.*

it was "time to clean out the sore spots" in the party and replace them with "men who command the respect of Democrat and Republican alike."[100] In an effort to create party unity John F. Harris of Palm Beach, a close friend of J. Leonard Replogle, the national committeeman before Skipper, was chosen to replace Skipper.[101] This left the party closely tied to northern Republicans and minimized Howey's efforts to broaden the base of the party by appealing to southern Democrats.

Howey was the best-known Republican politican in Florida, and several progressive Republican organizations worked to draft him as their gubernatorial candidate in 1932.[102] Ferman A. Wilson, editor of Howey's newspaper, *Howey Tribune,* became his campaign manager in the race for governor in 1932.[103] The

100. Miami *Florida State Republican,* April 10, 1930.
101. Klingman, *Neither Dies nor Surrenders,* 132.
102. Jacksonville *Florida Beacon,* October 30, November 20, December 3, 11, 1931; Hodges Papers, Box 106.
103. Buck interview.

problems for Howey in 1932 were the Depression, the elimination of prohibition as an issue, and the widespread support for the Democratic presidential nominee, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

In 1932 the Florida Democratic candidates coalesced around Roosevelt with Congressman R. A. "Lex" Green making a pilgrimage to Warm Springs, Georgia, two weeks before the election to identify himself with Roosevelt.[104] Both United States Senators, Park Trammell and Duncan Fletcher, endorsed Roosevelt and the Democratic gubernatorial nominee, David Sholtz.[105] Democratic Congressman Thomas A. Yon from Calhoun County telegraphed Roosevelt pledging his support and issued a press release announcing that he was a "Democrat that has never voted the ticket of any other party."[106] Members of the State Democratic Executive Committee stated in their platform: "We endorse unreservedly the Democratic nominees for President and Vice President" and "endorse the platform" of the national Democratic party which advocated "the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment."[107]

David Sholtz, Howey's opponent in 1932, was a remarkable political phenomenon. He was born of German-Jewish immigrant parents in Brooklyn, New York.[108] In later years, Sholtz was usually introduced as an Episcopalian after his marriage to a Christian.[109] Sholtz settled in Daytona Beach, and after serving as president of the state Chamber of Commerce, ran in 1932 against two former governors, Cary A. Hardee and John W. Martin, in the Democratic primary.[110] Sholtz overwhelmed Martin by the largest majority to date in a Democratic primary runoff after Martin made Sholtz's Jewish ancestry a major cam-

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104. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* November 3, 1932; James A. Farley to Green, October 19, 1932, Green to Farley, October 28, 1932, Green Papers, Box 2.
105. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* November 4, 6, 1932.
106. Thomas A. Yon telegram to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Thomas A. Yon Press Release to *Tallahassee Democrat,* February 2 1, 1930, Thomas A. Yon Papers, Box 1, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.
107. "State Platform Adopted by State Democratic Executive Committee, July 22, 1932," Hodges Papers, Box 106.
108. Merlin G. Cox, "David Sholtz: New Deal Governor of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 43 (October 1964), 142-44; Gene Burnett, "Florida's Dark Horse, New Deal Governor," *Florida Trend* 20 (July 1977), 128.
109. Ibid., 129.
110. Ibid., 128-30.

paign issue.[111] One of Florida's most conservative newspapers concluded that much of the strength of Sholtz was a consequence of "his obedience to the teachings of his parents, who are conservative, thrifty, God-fearing people."[112]

In 1932 Howey ran on essentially the same issues as in 1928. He promised economy in government by reducing the number of circuit courts, abolishing county boards of public instruction in favor of an appointed superintendent, paroling convicts after serving one-third of their sentences, and refinancing of state bonds at lower interest rates.[113] Howey's most dramatic economizing idea was to halt road building and use the money to pay state debts. He also urged more legal rights for women and extolled the benefits of two-party government.[114]

As Howey-in-the-Hills was one of the 150 Florida towns and cities in default on its bond obligations, Howey could not find a satisfactory means of handling this problem other than refinancing state and local debt.[115] Deficit financing was prohibited by the state constitution, and the state had a shortfall in its tax collections which left government economy and reduced taxes as the curious solution to the new problems posed by economic depression.[116] When Democratic newspapers charged Howey with running a business enterprise that was losing money, he noted that he still had the "highest commercial rating given by Dun's or Bradstreet's."[117] Howey's enterprises had been severely curtailed by 1932, but he still donated $5,000 to the American Legion to help finance the Miami Drum and Bugle Corps' trip to Portland, Oregon.[118]

The issues raised by Howey were similar to Sholtz's call for "a general reduction in all taxes now burdening citizens of Florida."[119]) Although Sholtz called for economy in government,

111. Ibid., 130.
112. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* November 7, 1932.
113. Ibid., November 5, 1932; *Daytona Beach News-Journal,* October 8, 1932; Jacksonville *Florida Beacon,* October 30, 193 1.
114. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* October 5, 1932.
115. Cox, "David Sholtz: New Deal Governor of Florida," 146
116. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* October 5, 1932.
117. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* November 3, 1932.
118. A. Rice King to Spessard L. Holland, August 30, 1932, Spessard L. Holland Papers, Box 4 (1932 Personal Correspondence), P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.
119. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* November 2, 1932.

he addressed the pressing problems of Floridians by promising free school books, a nine-month school year, increased pay for teachers, and jobs for the unemployed.[120] Democrats also claimed that their candidate was the true champion of white supremacy, and they tried to minimize the "lily white" strategy of Howey and the Republicans. The State Democratic Executive Committee passed a resolution that would allow only "white persons" to qualify to vote in the Democratic primaries.[121] In the meantime, the Florida Republicans had inherited a plank in their platform calling for elimination of the poll tax. Democrats argued that this idea struck at the cornerstone of Florida's white supremacy laws.[122]

Party loyalty was a problem for the Republians, but not for the Democrats in 1932. It was foreseen that Hoover would lose to Roosevelt, and Howey attempted to distance himself from the national ticket by separating his campaign headquarters from the state Republican campaign office. Howey was opposed for the gubernatorial nomination by the former Republican congressional candidate, William C. Lawson of Orlando, who stated "that not one ray of hope for the relief of the tax-burdened people would be rekindled by the election" of Hoover or Howey. Lawson said that he felt Howey was "a better salesman than he is a statesman."[123]

Howey could also no longer depend upon the Hoovercrats of 1928 as they were scrambling in 1932 to get back on the Democratic bandwagon. Former state senator Edgar W. Waybright, who had so strongly endorsed Hoover, now concluded that the "good Democratic men and women" who refused to support Smith in 1928 "are almost unanimously enthusiastic and vigorous in their support of Governor Roosevelt and Dave Sholtz."[124] The State Democratic Executive Committee handled Democrats like Waybright by refusing them access to speakers

120. Cox, "David Sholtz: New Deal Governor of Florida," 147.
121. "Republican Black Stuff," 1932 Campaign circular, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; "Resolution of State Democratic Executive Committee," Hodges Papers, Box 106.
122. Jacksonville *Florida Beacon*, October 30, 1931.
123. Ibid., October 30, 1932; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, November 3, 1932.
124. Ibid., November 4, 1932.

platforms and party patronage.[125] Congresswoman Ruth Bryan Owen's defeat in the 1932 party primary was seen by Democratic regulars as a consequence of her failure to support the Democratic ticket with enthusiasm in 1928.[126]

The Depression was Howey's great problem in 1932. With rising unemployment and more than half the state's counties owing school teachers back pay, a Republican could not use prosperity as an issue in 1932.[127] Howey still managed to get thirty-three percent of the vote, however, but he was easily defeated by Sholtz. The final vote was Sholtz 186,270 and Howey 93,323.[128] Howey sadly concluded that the people of Florida wanted to vote a straight Democratic ticket and acknowledged the failure of his strategy to build a strong Republican party in the state.[129]

In 1936 Howey, in an effort to obtain the position of Republican national committeeman from Florida, sought to have the state Republican party send a delegation to the 1936 national convention with instructions to vote for his friend, Governor Alfred Landon of Kansas.[130] When the state convention voted for only three of the twelve delegates to be instructed for Landon, Howey realized the weakness of his political position and withdrew as a candidate for committeeman.[131]

After the election of 1932, the ideas that gave political impetus to the progressive Republicans of Florida and to William J. Howey evaporated in the new vision of government-inspired prosperity as advanced by Roosevelt's New Deal program.[132] Howey's economic dreams were shattered by the deep business depression of the 1930s. It would be after World War II, with the advent of frozen orange juice concentrate and renewed

125. James B. Hodges to Harry H. Wells, November 2, 1931, Hodges Papers, Box 106.
126. Herbert Felkel to James B. Hodges, April 14, 1933, Hodges Papers, Box 106.
127. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, November 5, 1932.
128. Secretary of State of Florida, *Tabulation of Official Votes Cast in the General Election of 1932* (Tallahassee, 1933).
129. *Daytona Beach News-Journal*, November 9, 1932.
130. *Orlando Morning Sentinel*, February 28, April 30, 1936.
131. Ibid., May 1, 1936; "Biographies of Men Actively Connected with Florida," Federal Writers' Program, circa 1938, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.
132. Speech of Thomas A. Yon at Democratic Conference, Marianna, November 28, 1931, Yon Papers, Box 1.

prosperity, that his citrus lands would reach the potential he sought in the 1920s. By the time of his death on June 7, 1938, William J. Howey's economic and political dreams were unfulfilled, but he had set a foundation upon which Florida's politics and agriculture would build.

VEGETABLE HAIR: THE SPANISH MOSS INDUSTRY IN FLORIDA

by ANNE GOMETZ FOSHEE

SOME people do not care for Spanish moss. According to an anonymous writer in the *American Cyclopedia* in 1881 "its effect, on account of its sombre color, is not altogether pleasing."[1] However, the moss, eyecatching feature of the southern landscape that it is, has usually been regarded as an aesthetic asset, appealing to tourists and to the romantically-minded. Many people today have forgotten, if they ever knew, that it was once a more direct economic asset, serving a number of utilitarian purposes. Along with its value as a cattle feed and as a cheap packing material for crates of fruits and vegetables, went its value as a processed product. As early as 1773 William Bartram observed that "it seems particularly adapted to the purpose of stuffing mattresses, chairs, saddles, collars, &c; and for these purposes, nothing yet known equals it."[2]

The moss, botanically *Tillandsia usneoides,* has been variously known as black, gray, crape, Florida, or New Orleans moss, and more poetically as treebeard and treehair. Bartram called it long moss, a term which remained in use for many years, and described its incredible abundance. "It is common to find the spaces betwixt the limbs of large trees, almost occupied by this plant: it also hangs waving in the wind, like streamers, from the lower limbs, to the length of fifteen or twenty feet, and of bulk and weight, more than several men together could carry; and in some places, cart loads of it are lying on the ground."[3]

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1. *American Cylopedia,* 188 1 ed., s.v. "tillandsia."
2. John S. Otto, "Open-Range Cattle Herding in Southern Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 65 (January 1987), 321; William Bartram, *Travels of William Bartram,* Mark Van Doren, ed. (1928; reprinted., New York, 1955), 92.
3. Ibid.

A single tree may hold several tons of moss. The plant has an extensive range, all the way from Virginia to Florida, west to Texas, and down into South America, always thriving best in humid climates since it receives its nourishment from the air and rain. It is not a parasite, despite its pejorative labeling as a "vegetable thug" in a well-known poem, nor is it actually a moss. Instead it is a member of the pineapple family and one of the many epiphytes or "air plants" to be found in Florida.[4]

Such an abundant natural resource was soon exploited, at least on the local or handicraft level. The Indians met by early European explorers used the moss for clothing. White settlers in the same areas learned to use it for braid and cord which could be turned into a number of useful articles such as rope, nets, and bridles. In the 1850s a soldier stationed at Tampa described it as being "very valuable when properly cured, being commonly applied to all those purposes for which curled hair is used, such as stuffing mattresses, sofas and chairs."[5] Most of the earlier references do speak specifically of mattresses. Mattresses made with moss had several advantages: they were supposed to be cooler in the summer, they were extremely resilient, and they were unattractive to moths and other insects. As Gloria Jahoda tartly pointed out, "Few enough things in Florida can boast of being untempting to bugs."[6]

Moss was also stuffed into saddles and horse collars and padded the seats of railroad cars. In 1916 *Scientific American* informed its readers that "the great development of the automobile industry affords an extensive market for the moss, and is stimulating the business materially."[7] Even airplane pilots flew by the seat of pants resting on moss stuffed cushions.[8] When

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4. For botanical detail see R. E. Garth, "The Ecology of Spanish Moss *(Tillandsia usneoides):* Its Growth and Distribution," *Ecology* 45 (Summer 1964), 470; for the poem see Lafcadio Hearn, "Spanish Moss," *Lafcadio Hearn's American Days* (New York, 1924), 331.
5. George Leposky, "Spanish Moss," *Florida Wildlife* 40 (March-April 1986), 5; George Ballentine, *Autobiography of an English Soldier in the United States Army* (New York, 1853), 102.
6. Raymond J. Martinez, *The Story of Spanish Moss* (New Orleans, n.d.), 9; Gloria Jahoda, *The Other Florida* (New York, 1967; reprint ed., Port Salerno, FL, 1984), 10.
7. Samuel J. Record, "Spanish Moss: The Source of a Valuable Upholstering Material." *Scientific American* 115 (July 1916), 59.
8. George S. Corfield, "Spanish Moss: Forest By-product of the South," *Journal of Geography* 42 (November 1943), 316.

the United States Tariff Commission submitted its 1932 report to the president on *Crin Vegetal, Flax Upholstery Tow and Spanish Moss,* the investigators found that Spanish moss was used "principally for filling or stuffing upholstered furniture" and "to a lesser extent as filling material in cheap mattresses." They also reported that moss was used primarily in medium-priced furniture.[9] A 1936 manual on the construction of upholstered furniture confirmed this observation. "Next to curled hair, moss is considered the best upholstery stuffing."[10] Prepared moss was often referred to as "vegetable hair" or "vegetable horse-hair."[11] Perhaps the use of this term helped sell the moss since it stressed the resemblance to a familiar product.

The method of changing the raw material into a usable product remained recognizably the same for two centuries. First, as the classic recipe says, you gathered your moss. It could be obtained from the ground, especially after storms, or from the trees. In Louisiana, it was commonly fished out of the water in swamps and bayous.[12] The tools used to pull the moss from trees were described as long poles with hooks and, later, as wire-tipped bamboo poles.[13] Proper technique required inserting the pole into a dangling clump and giving it a good twist. Often children or the skinniest and most agile person available went up into the trees. Cypress trees which were often heavily covered with moss above a tall and limbless trunk must have been particularly frustrating to the gatherers. When lumber crews were at work in an area, some moss gatherers followed them so avidly that the lumbermen regarded them as a nuisance.[14] In Louisiana boats moved slowly through the bayous while a man perched on a derrick-like structure hacked at the masses overhanging the water– a method apparently not used in Florida.[15]

9. United States Tariff Commission, *Crin Vegetal, Flax Upholstery Tow and Spanish Moss* (Washington, 1932), 3, 6.
10. Charles W. Seager, *Upholstered Furniture* (Milwaukee, 1936), 6.
11. *Oxford English Dictionary,* s.v. "vegetable"; *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia,* 1897 ed., s.v. "vegetable."
12. Brittain B. Robinson, "Minor Fiber Industries," *Economic Botany* 1 (1947), 48.
13. Ibid.; Jahoda, *Other Florida,* 10.
14. Florida Department of Agriculture, *Spanish Moss in Florida,* N.S. Bulletin 85 (Tallahassee, 1937), 17.
15. Corfield, "Spanish Moss," 312.

Kirk Munroe described one peculiarity of Florida topography for the readers of *Harpers Weekly*. "The country immediately around Gainesville abounds in numerous sinkholes...vast depressions of the surface, from which the bottom seems to have fallen out, and allowed portions of the upper crust to drop from fifty to a hundred feet, with their trees still standing, and their tops showing over the edges....These are favorite resorts of the moss gatherers, to whom the steeply sloping sides of the great depressions, and the moss-laden trees springing from the depths below, afford peculiar facilities for prosecuting their business."[16]

Gathering moss was generally not a fulltime occupation. Instead it was a slack time activity which enabled subsistence farmers, both white and black, to obtain a small cash income. The moss itself was free for the gathering, at least in the early days. Later, "swamp leases" are mentioned. Sometimes people even paid to have the growth removed from their trees, especially from pecan and citrus groves since a heavy overlay of moss may shade trees enough to reduce production.[17] Moss can be, and was, harvested in all seasons. However, it was best able to withstand curing when it was collected in late fall and winter after the growing season had ended and the stems had toughened.[18]

The purpose of "curing" was to strip the plants of their grey-green outer covering which holds water, dust, and various animate inhabitants. A cross-section of an individual plant stem reveals a central black core which gives the plant its strength and elasticity. When the moss is cured and cleaned, the resulting curly fiber is black or dark brown. It strongly resembles horsehair and, as mentioned above, built its strongest economic niche as a cheaper substitute for that commodity. (If owners of old furniture closely examine a sample of the stuffing, they can distinguish "vegetable hair" from animal hair by the bumps left by the fibers which branch off a moss stem at regular intervals.)[19]

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16. Kirk Munroe, "Spanish Moss," *Harper's Weekly*, September 2, 1882, 551. This article carried no byline but was reprinted (without the illustrations) in *The Florida Adventures of Kirk Munroe* (Chuluota, FL, 1975).
17. Faye Bell, "Spanish Moss is Right Back to Just Looking Pretty," *Jacksonville* 16 (September-October 1979), 65; Writers' Program, Florida, "Hair of the Pale Moon Flower." Typewritten (carbon copy), n.d. in P. K. Yonge Library, University of Florida.
18. Corfield, "Spanish Moss," 313.
19. Record, "Spanish Moss," 59.

To remove the cortex, the moss was buried in pits or piled on the ground in heaps about five feet high and left to rot. According to one observer in the 1940s "pitted" moss was thoroughly wetted and then buried in trenches about four feet deep and left there for six to eight months.[20] Another writer in the same decade says that the process was still generally referred to as "pitting" even though the above ground method was in more general use. Corfield believed that factories tended to cure by pitting while individual pickers were more likely to use "mounding."[21] The time period necessary for the pitting to be complete seems to have varied widely. Ira Brown, writing about the Florida industry in 1949, says that it took five to twelve weeks.[22] Whether buried or mounded, the piles were periodically remoistened and turned so that disintegration proceeded evenly throughout the mass. In Louisiana, the moss was sometimes placed in swamp water to rot. (Material gathered from the swamps or from old ground falls was often partially, but inadequately, cured by nature and the job had to be finished.)[23] Any gardener who has ever constructed a compost heap will recognize the process, but here it was vitally important to stop the rotting, or retting, at the right moment– not too soon, but before the central fiber began to weaken.

When the fiber's skin had rotted, the piles were removed from the ground and hung to dry on wires like laundry drying in the sun. The next step was cleaning; the desired product would contain only the central black fiber. According to Bartram, "after a little beating and shaking, it is sufficiently clean."[24] American ingenuity was soon applied to this industry and machinery constructed to do the beating and shaking. For example, on August 4, 1857, Louis Boudreaux of Thibodeaux, Louisiana, was granted U. S. patent 17,954 for an "improvement in cleaning and carding moss." Ten years later Henry Hall, also of Louisiana, received his patent for still another "machine for

20. Corfield, "Spanish Moss," 314.
21. Lyster H. Dewey, *Fiber Production in the Western Hemisphere,* [U. S. D. A.] Miscellaneous Publication 518 (Washington, 1943), 90; Corfield, "Spanish Moss," 314.
22. Ira D. Brown, "An Industrial Survey of the Moss Industry" (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1949), 6.
23. Dewey, *Fiber Production,* 90.
24. Bartram, *Travels,* 93.

B. Moss being piled in large heaps for fermentation, July 9, 1928.

cleaning moss."[25] This step was called ginning and the machinery resembled gins used for other purposes; the function of any gin is, of course, to comb and clean the material.

When Munroe observed the operation of a mill in 1882, he reported: "The moss is first passed between two grooved iron rollers to 'break' it. Leaving the 'rolls,' it is caught by two sets of iron teeth or 'combs,' set in rollers and revolving in opposite directions, which tear it in pieces, and finally allow it to fall upon a frame of slats, along which it is raked, and through which all sticks and other trash fall to the ground." Once cleaned, the

25. United States patent no. 17,954. S. Ex. Doc. 30 (35-1), serial set v. 925, 510; United States patent no. 66,026. H. Ex. Doc. 96 (40-2), serial set v. 1334, 909.

moss was sorted into piles by grade and placed into a press which formed it into bales for shipment.[26]

The preparation of moss can only be described as labor intensive. Even the substitution of gins for hand cleaning did not do a great deal to reduce the amount of hand work involved. Gathering was simply hard manual labor. It was still necessary to remove large sticks and other objects before ginning. (One edition of the Florida government bulletin, *Spanish Moss,* included a picture of two surprised squirrels whose nest had arrived at a moss factory.)[27] The retting process involved large amounts of both time and labor. In 1881 the *American Cyclopedia* confidently stated that, "The rude method of preparing the moss is to place it in shallow water until the outer covering becomes loosened; after it is thoroughly dried, it is beaten until nothing is left but the horsehair-like central portion; of late years the process has been much facilitated by the use of steam; the moss is placed in large tight vats, steamed and dried, and afterwards beaten by machinery, the product being superior to that prepared in the slow way."[28] The fate of this technological advance remains a mystery. Perhaps it was too capital intensive.

Discussion of the moss "industry" is complicated by the fact that complete processing was not necessarily done in one location. There were factories which bought green moss and retted, cleaned, ginned, and baled it. However green moss was not cost-efficient to transport. Two thousand pounds purchased by the factory were diminished to 500 pounds in the curing stage and half of that was lost in ginning and cleaning, leaving only about 250 pounds of finished moss to sell.[29] To avoid the high cost of transport, many gatherers did their own curing and delivered the retted material either directly to a gin or to a pickup spot. Sometimes there were two links in the chain, and a storekeeper or other middleman would buy green moss or take it in trade, cure it himself, and then sell it to the gin. A factory might also operate branches or "curing yards" in several localities. Only the cured moss then had to be transported to the gin.[30]

26. Munroe, "Spanish Moss," 551.
27. Florida Department of Agriculture, *Spanish Moss in Florida,* rev. ed. (Tallahassee, 1957), 14.
28. *American Cyclopedia,* s.v. "tillandsia."
29. Corfield, "Spanish Moss," 315-16.
30. Ibid., 311; Robinson, "Minor Fiber Industries," 48.

The price paid for the moss depended on how well it had been cured and how far it had to be carried. In 1882 the cured moss came to the mill at Gainesville "piled high in the rude two-wheeled carts of the country" which were usually drawn by an ox or cow. The sellers received one-half to three cents per pound for the two or three hundred pounds of moss crammed into a cart. The final product sold in the North, after cleaning, ginning, baling, and shipping, for fourteen to seventeen cents per pound.[31]

In a later era, some factories sent especially modified trucks out on regular runs to pick up the waiting moss. These trucks were basically large flatbeds with an additional platform constructed out over the cab and hood. This was braced by posts extending up from the front bumper. The trucks "were usually ramshackle and always monstrously overloaded, and when they got caught in the rain their loads soaked up water and they broke down," remembered Archie Carr.[32] A 1949 analysis of a factory's running costs reveals that the driver of this mechanical monstrosity made seventy cents an hour. The factory paid seventy to eighty-five cents per 100 pounds for the moss the trucks collected and sold the final product for about four dollars per 100 pounds.[33]

It is difficult to determine at what point the processing of moss in Florida changed from a purely local enterprise selling to a local market to an exporting commercial industry. As the Tariff Commission found in 1932, there were few official statistics kept on the moss industry.[34] It was not one of the specific industries reported on by the federal census, and even when the system of standard industrial codes came into use, moss was lumped with all other upholstery fillings. Most sources say that the commercial moss industry began in Louisiana after the Civil War and in Florida about 1910.[35]

31. Munroe, "Spanish Moss," 551.
32. Brown, "Industrial Survey," 10; Archie Carr, "The Moss Forest," *Audubon* 73 (September 1971), 42.
33. Brown, "Industrial Survey," 9.
34. United States Tariff Commission, *Crin Vegetal*, 4.
35. Ca. 1900-1910 in Florida Department of Agriculture, *Spanish Moss* (1957 ed.), 7; ca. 1910 in Mac Oscair, "Spanish Moss," *Florida Wildlife* 24 (July 1970), 17; ca. 1920 in Brown, "Industrial Survey," 5.

A visiting New Englander, writing from Jacksonville in 1834, reported that "lumber trade is profitably followed by some and also the moss."[36] A later and more famous visitor was the poet Sidney Lanier whose guidebook to Florida was published in 1876. Upon reaching Tocoi on the St. Johns River, he commented, "Here is a factory for preparing gray moss for market."[37] A few years later the Census Bureau issued a special report on the forests of North America as a supplement to the 1880 census; this mentioned the presence of eight moss factories in Louisiana and one at Pensacola, Florida.[38] In the 1882 description of the mill at Gainesville which was quoted above, Munroe definitely says that this mill's output was shipped to New York and other northern cities.

When the Florida Department of Agriculture published in 1904 the book *Florida, A Pamphlet Descriptive of Its History, Topography,* containing promotional sketches of each county, the Wakulla County propagandist made a special plea for new industry. "A moss mill or factory in the mossy realm for the purpose of converting the live gray into dead black moss– a saleable staple– would develop an industry that would fleece the forest of its garland of gray."[39] Still, when Roland Harper wrote his report on "Geography and Vegetation of Northern Florida" in 1914, he commented that in Leon County, "Some Spanish moss is used for mattress-making and probably shipped away to some extent," but in Wakulla County it was "gathered for mattress-making, but perhaps used only locally."[40] The introduction and growing popularity of the innerspring mattress some years later gradually deprived the industry of one of its major outlets. The switch in emphasis to upholstered furniture probably also meant increasing shipments from Florida to out-of-state furniture manufacturers.

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36. W. Stanley Hoole, ed., "East Florida in 1834: Letters of Dr. John Durkee," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 52 (January 1974), 301.
37. Sidney Lanier, *Florida: Its Scenery, Climate, and History* (Philadelphia, 1876; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1973), 126-27.
38. Charles S. Sargent, *Report on the Forests of North America (Exclusive of Mexico)* (Washington, 1884), 538.
39. Florida Department of Agriculture, *Florida, A Pamphlet Descriptive of Its History* (Tallahassee, 1904), 579.
40. Roland M. Harper, "Geography and Vegetation of Northern Florida," *Sixth Annual Report of the Florida State Geological Survey* (Tallahassee, 1914), 279, 295.

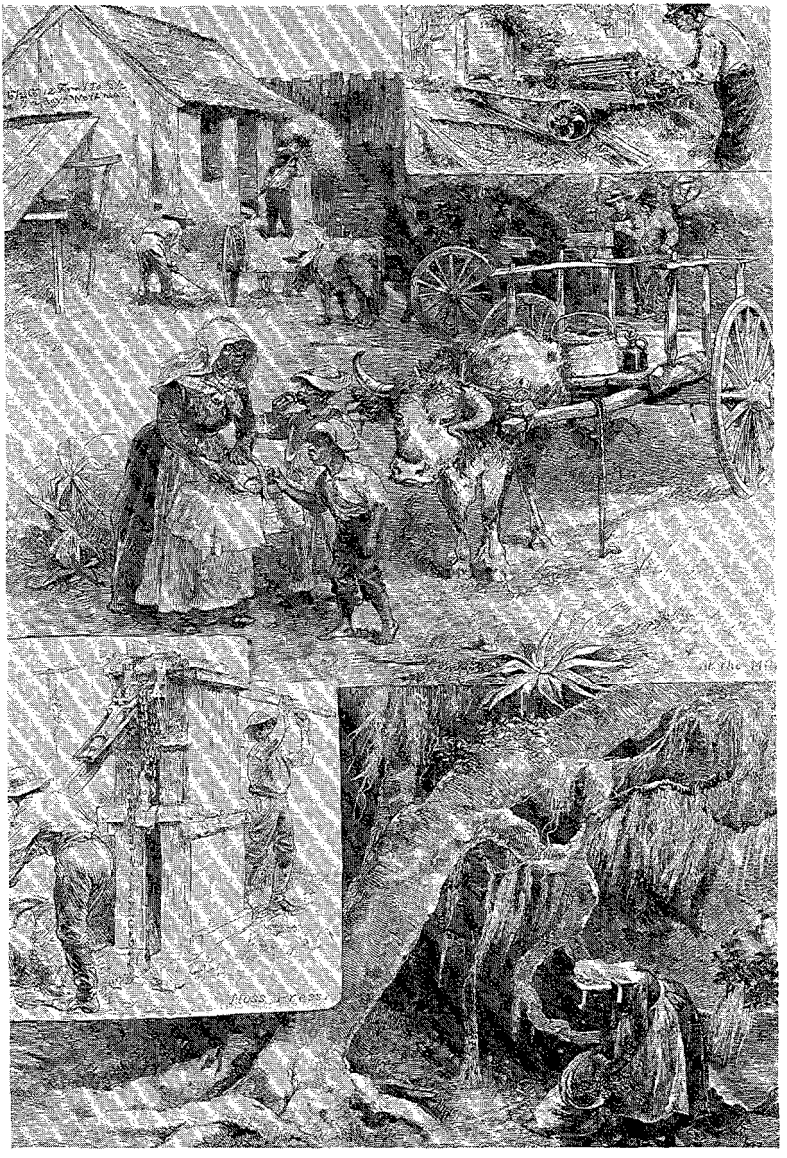
Several descriptions of moss factories exist from different periods. Again the resemblances are as striking as the differences. The 1882 mill in Gainesville was described as "very crude." Interestingly, it was linked to a sawmill which supplied its power. (Munroe does not say how the sawmill was powered-probably by a steam engine.) Factories could run on their own refuse, fueling their steam engines with a peatlike substance made from the dried waste left by the retting process– an elegant and ecologically satisfying cycle. Fifty years later, the waste material itself was sold as mulch. The mill's second major piece of equipment was a press which shaped the clean moss into bales. Munroe's description was accompanied by a full page illustration which focused on ox-carts unloading in front of a crude shack and a depiction of a gatherer working in a gloomy forest. Insets showed the combing machine and the press.[41]

At all times, the factories were constructed of local materials which usually meant pine. Thus they, in common with Florida's naval stores and lumber industries, ran a great risk of fire. The most notorious fire in a moss factory is undoubtedly the one which broke out in Cleaveland's Fiber Factory in Jacksonville around noon on Friday, May 3, 1901. Sparks from neighboring chimneys ignited some of the material spread out in the yard to dry. When the factory, which is described as constructed of pitch pine with a shingle roof, caught fire it collapsed. The brisk wind which had blown in the original sparks now picked up thousands of pieces of flaming fiber and blew them all over the city, starting what is known as the Great Fire which destroyed much of the city and killed seven people.[42]

The most complete description of a moss factory is one of the last. It was written in 1949 and, ironically, was not meant to be a historical record. Instead it was a master's thesis in engineering for the University of Florida, "undertaken with the hope that it would serve to point out some of the phases of the moss industry which needed investigating and that perhaps some of the suggestions, layouts, etc. could be utilized immediately by the people who are in charge of Florida's moss

41. Munroe, "Spanish Moss," 551; Record, "Spanish Moss," 59; Martinez, *Story*, 11.

42. Benjamin Harrison, *Acres ofAshes: The Story of the Great Fire...* (Jacksonville, 1901), n.p.; T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity, 1513 to 1924* (St. Augustine, 1925; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 219.



A. Milling the moss. Engravings from *Harper's Weekly* (1882). Photographs from the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.

industry." This interesting paper, which can be described as a time and motion study, included not only photos of the equipment, but also a diagram of the factory showing the path taken by the moving moss. There was also a "process chart," which listed the steps in processing and the distance in feet occupied by each. In sixty years the industry had substituted trucks for ox-carts and added to the factory's equipment an endless revolving belt to carry the moss through the gin and out to the sorter and baler.[43]

How many moss factories were there? Again there is a lack of reliable statistics. The Florida state census of 1905 did count manufacturers, but there are some anomalies in the figures given. The terms used varied from county to county in the listings. By county, the following were reported: Alachua– 4 moss fibre and mattress works; Duval– 2 fiber and mattress works [moss?]; Lake– 1 moss manufacture; Marion– 2 moss factories and 1 moss and cotton mill combined. Hillsborough had one firm engaged in "mattress making," but it may or may not have used moss. Missing is any mention of a factory in Leon County, yet the book *Florida, A Pamphlet...*, which was published in the same year the census figures were collected, says there was one there. It is possible that it had gone out of business; it is also possible that it is one of the ten "ginneries" listed in the county.[44]

An "industrial survey" of Florida published in 1928 found five moss factories, one each in Duval, Gulf, and Putnam counties, and two in Alachua.[45] In 1937 there were an estimated seventy factories in four states (Louisiana, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina). Approximately a dozen of these were in Florida.[46] By 1957 this number had dwindled to two. These were the Vego Hair Company in Gainesville and the Florida Moss Company in Ocala.[47] Both firms could be found in the *Directory of Florida Industries* for a few years more, but the 1969

43. Brown, "Industrial Survey," 1.
44. Florida Department of Agriculture, *Census Report of the State of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1906), table 4, "Specified Industries by Counties," unpaged; Florida Department of Agriculture, *Florida, A Pamphlet*, 455.
45. Florida Department of Agriculture, *Florida, An Advancing State* (Tallahassee, 1928), 27.
46. Bell, "Spanish Moss," 65.
47. Florida Department of Agriculture, *Spanish Moss* (1957 ed.), 13-14.

edition listed no companies under "Moss" and several years later even the heading had disappeared.[48] A long-lived Florida industry had finally succumbed to the competition offered by foam rubber and plastics.

APPENDIX

The following are locations of moss companies in Florida.

The dates given are usually the publication date of the source. This list does not include the county locations from the 1905 census and the 1928 "industrial survey" which were listed in the text.

Anthony 1939 (unidentified).[49]

Apopka 1956, listed as branch of Vego Hair of Gainesville.[50]

Auburndale 1937, W. R. Dougan.[51]

Bushnell 1956-1965, listed as a branch of Florida Moss Co. of Ocala.[52]

Citra 1911, J. S. Wyckoff.[53]

Citrus County ca. 1935 (unidentified).[54]

Cross City 1948-1954, Dixie Moss Co.[55]

Eagle Lake 1937, Bodow Moss and Fiber co.[56]

Gainesville 1882 (unidentified)[57]; 1937-1965, Vega Hair Manufacturing Co[58]; 1951-1955, Southern Moss Hair Co[59]; 1954,

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48. Florida State Chamber of Commerce, *Directory of Florida Industries* (Jacksonville, 1948-1973). The title of this directory varies, the 1948 edition was the *Florida Industrial Directory*.
49. Federal Writers' Project, *Florida: A Guide to the Southernmost State* (New York, 1939; reprinted. New York, 1984), 534.
50. Florida State Chamber of Commerce, *Directory*, 1956-1957, 35.
51. Florida Department of Agriculture, *Spanish Moss* (1937 ed.), 23.
52. Florida State Chamber of Commerce, *Directory*, 1956-1957, 1965.
53. *Florida Gazetteer and Business Directory* (Jacksonville, 1911), 80.
54. Florida Department of Agriculture, *Central Florida* (Tallahassee, n.d.), 15.
55. Florida State Chamber of Commerce, *Directory*, 1948, 1951-1952; Florida Secretary of State, *List of Corporations That Have Been Dissolved...under the Provisions of Chapter 166880, Acts of 1935, Laws of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1954), 6. This law provided for clearing the files of the secretary of the names of corporations which had not paid taxes in three years, therefore the end date given is several years after the company ceased operating. This is especially true of the names in the first (1936) report.
56. Florida Department of Agriculture, *Spanish Moss* (1937 ed.), 23.
57. Munroe, "Spanish Moss," 551.
58. Florida Department of Agriculture, *Spanish Moss* (1937 ed.), 23; Florida State Chamber of Commerce, *Directory*, 1948-1965.
59. Florida State Chamber of Commerce, *Directory*, 1951-1952, 1954-1955.

Florida Moss Ginning Co[60]; 1958, reference to moss gin burned.[61]

Hawthorne 1948, Deluxe Cypress Moss Mfg.[62]

Jacksonville 1901, Cleaveland Fiber Factory[63]; 1905, American Fibre Co[64]; 1936, Florida Moss Products Co[65]; 1937, Wooton Fibre Co.[66]

Leon County 1912, possible reference to a gin.[67]

Marion County ca. 1935 (Probably one of the companies listed under Ocala.)[68]

Ocala 1905-1936, George Giles and Co[69]; 1937, Central Florida Fiber Co[70]; 1946 Ocala Moss Co[71]; 1951-1967, Florida Moss (Ginning) Co.[72]

Oldtown 1939 (unidentified).[73]

Palatka 1922, gin burned[74]; ca. 1935, Mr. Amons[75]; 1937, Southern Products Co[76]; 1942, Vego Hair Manufacturing Co.[77]

Pensacola 1884 (unidentified).[78]

Plant City, one undated reference (unidentified);79 1956, Branch of Florida Moss Co. of Ocala.[80]

San Mateo 1954, Dan Ross.[81]

Sumter County ca. 1935 (unidentified).[82]

Tallahassee 1904 (unidentified).[83]

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60. Florida Secretary of State, *List of Corporations,* 1954, 7.
61. Bell, "Spanish Moss," 66.
62. Florida State Chamber of Commerce, *Directory,* 1948, 14.
63. Harrison, *Acres of Ashes,* unpag.
64. *Thomas' Register of American Manufacturers* (New York, 1905), 685.
65. Florida Secretary of State, *List of Corporations,* 1936, 59.
66. Florida Department of Agriculture, *Spanish Moss* (1937 ed.), 23.
67. Harper, "Northern Florida," 279.
68. Florida Department of Agriculture, *Central Florida,* 41.
69. *Thomas' Register,* 1905-1912; Martinez, *Story,* 19; Florida Secretary of State, *List of Corporations,* 1936, 67.
70. Florida Department of Agriculture, *Spanish Moss* (1937 ed.), 23.
71. Florida Secretary of State, *List of Corporations,* 1946, 6.
72. Florida State Chamber of Commerce, *Directory,* 1951-1952, 1967.
73. Federal Writers' Project, Florida, *A Guide,* 417.
74. Oscair, "Spanish Moss," 16.
75. Frances D. Freeman, "Moss Man," *Florida Living* 7 (June 1987), 34.
76. Florida Department of Agriculture, *Spanish Moss* (1937 ed.), 23.
77. Florida Secretary of State, *List of Corporations,* 1942, 11.
78. Sargent, *Forests,* 538.
79. Bell, "Spanish Moss," 66.
80. Florida State Chamber of Commerce, *Directory,* 1956-1957, 108.
81. Ibid., 1954-1955, 149.
82. Florida Department of Agriculture, *Central Florida,* 73.
83. Florida Department of Agriculture, *Florida, A Pamphlet,* 455.

Tampa 1948, Southern Moss co.[84]
Tocoi 1876 (unidentified).[85]

84. Florida State Chamber of Commerce, *Directory*, 1948, 69.
85. Lanier, *Florida*, 127.

ORDEAL BY SIEGE: JAMES BRUCE IN PENSACOLA, 1780-1781

by ROBIN F.A. FABEL

OF the aspects of British West Florida attracting the attention of historians none surpasses the siege of Pensacola in 1781.[1] All accounts rely on the reports of combatant participants, but no historian of West Florida has evidently used or perhaps been aware of the observations of one of the many civilian observers trapped by war in Pensacola. He was James Bruce, collector of customs at Pensacola. While enduring with his countrymen the final desperate days of British rule in the province, he wrote six letters to mercantile friends in London. They provide, apart from illuminating details of economic conditions during the siege, insights into the psychology of the besieged. They contain hopes, speculations, and denunciations which have no place in official reports. Nothing is known of Bruce's origins, although his association with West Florida's "Scotch" party and his name suggest that he was a Scot. He was a warrant officer in the Royal Navy in 1758, when British land and sea forces captured the French fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island after a siege of seven weeks. By the end of the Seven Years' War when Bruce, along with the bulk of wartime servicemen, was demobilized or, to use the term then current, reduced, his naval position was "secretary to a flag officer and commander in chief."[2] Association with extremely senior officers, which Bruce's job would have entailed, may have made it possible for him to aspire to favors normally denied to noncommissioned personnel such as himself.

Bruce swiftly found preferment after he left the naval service. First he became the customs collector at Pensacola, the

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1. James Servies, *The Siege of Pensacola, 1781: A Bibliography* (Pensacola, 1981), lists 129 printed sources and studies on the subject.
2. London, Public Record Office, CO 5/634: 142.

capital of the new British province of West Florida. Such appointments were much sought-after gifts of the crown, part of the patronage system, and invariably obtained through the intervention of the influential who usually were politicians. Second, through an order of the king in council of May 23, 1764, he was awarded a mandamus grant of 4,000 acres of free land in West Florida.[3] Under the terms of the royal proclamation of 1763, the normal entitlement of disbanded non-commissioned officers who had served in the Seven Years' War was a mere 200 acres.[4]

Bruce probably obtained his mandamus grant before he left Britain. His first known appearance in West Florida was five months later as a member of the provincial council which first assembled at the instance of the new governor, George Johnstone, on October 24, 1764.[5] Ex-warrant officer Bruce could not have plausibly aspired to be an establishment figure in class-ridden Britain. In the port of Pensacola, however, Councillor Bruce was immediately a man of consequence and, in the fullness of time, of substance also.

By 1766 Bruce was styling himself "Senior Councillor" and presiding over the council in the absence of the lieutenant governor.[6] His seat there probably gave him more influence in the province than his customs post. At no time in the short history of British West Florida would maritime traffic choke Pensacola harbor; thus there was no great gain available to Bruce from the fees with which, from 1765, customs officials could supplement their small salaries.[7] This was recognized by the customs commissioners in Boston who listed Pensacola as "a preventative rather than yielding" port where the cost of levying customs duties exceeded the amount collected.[8]

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3. He was one of only forty-five recipients of this type of grant in the history of the province. Cecil Johnson, *British West Florida* (Berkeley, 1947; reprint ed., Hamden, CT, 1971), 120.
4. Arthur Berriedale Keith, ed., *Selected Speeches and Documents on British Colonial Policy, 1763-1917* (London, 1933), I:8.
5. Clinton N. Howard, *The British Development of West Florida, 1763-1769* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1947), 26.
6. Ibid., 111.
7. Oliver M. Dickerson, *The Navigation Acts and the American Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1951; reprint ed., New York, 1963), 204.
8. PRO, Treasury 1/471, Part 8.

Bruce did not regard his collectorship as a sinecure. He is known to have fined traders who sold liquor without a license and to have dissented at length from a new provincial law which allowed the coastal vessels called droggers to escape customs inspection merely by flying a special flag. According to Bruce, the flag "tended to promote illicit practices" or, to phrase it less euphemistically, was a gift to smugglers.[9] So strongly was he opposed that he complained to the customs commissioners in Boston. Seconding Bruce's opinion, they forwarded their objection to London where the privy council vetoed the law.[10]

Even though his collectorship compelled Bruce to live in Pensacola, he was zealous in acquiring land even in farflung parts of West Florida. Initially he wanted to site his 4,000 mandamus acres on Dauphin Island south of Mobile, but counterclaims to the same acres by Robert Farmar persuaded him to apply instead for a tract north of Pensacola on a brook known as Six Mile Run where Bruce and two partners planned a sawmill. The mill was never built, a failure which would give rise to a future dispute over ownership of the land intended for that purpose. Meanwhile Bruce in 1765 had acquired a good waterfront lot at the western end of Pensacola.[11] On it he erected a substantial building which functioned as both residence and customs house.[12] In the same year he was also granted 100 acres north-northeast of Pensacola which he described as "a valuable pen."[13] Probably it was an animal enclosure or perhaps a headland giving onto Pensacola Bay.

Bruce was granted these lands during the governorship of George Johnstone, a fellow Scot and evidently a good friend. Johnstone left for England– ostensibly on leave, but in fact permanently– in January 1767. Bruce followed him two months later. He alleged that he had private affairs to settle and had received permission from both Johnstone and the customs commissioners to absent himself for a year from his official duties. To another Scot, George Urquhart, a subordinate customs of-

9. Robert R. Rea and Mile B. Howard, Jr., *The Minutes, Journals, and Acts of the General Assembly of British West Florida* (University, AL, 1979), 220.
10. Richard Reeves to Grey Cooper, February 12, 1771, CO5/588:213.
11. Howard, *British Development,* map opposite p. 42. Bruce owned lot 6 jointly with Sir John Lindsay.
12. T1/582:144.
13. Ibid.

ficer, he delegated two of his responsibilities, his customs collectorship and his Greenwich Royal Hospital treasurership.[14] The hospital had been founded in 1695 for sailors who had been injured or grown old in the service of the crown. It was financed by a deduction of sixpence a month from the pay of British sailors of both the royal and merchant navies.[15] Presumably Bruce's responsibility had been to collect and keep monthly sixpences from the crews of vessels paid off in Pensacola. Nothing is known of his subsequent activities in England except that he overstayed his leave, returning to West Florida only toward the end of 1769.[16]

With him came his wife, Isabella, to whom was born a son, Archibald Scott Bruce, two days before Christmas, 1770.[17] Bruce soon clashed with the new governor, Peter Chester. Since the sawmill planned in 1765 had never been built, Bruce had no use for the 4,000 acres intended for the mill-site; the uncultivable tract was nothing but pine barren. Finding a technical discrepancy between the conditions laid down in the grant and those in the orders in council on which the grant was based, he now asked to surrender that tract and in its stead to have 4,000 fertile acres on Thompson's Creek near the Mississippi opposite Pointe Coupée.[18] Chester demurred. He believed that acceding to Bruce's request would set a bad precedent. Were such exchanges allowed, other settlers, having cleared their grants of valuable timber, would surrender them and, much to their own advantage but to the detriment of the province, would move on to new grants to cut timber afresh. Councillor Philip Livingston, well-known as Chester's toady, supported his superior, but a majority of the council sided with Bruce. The governor would not yield and achieved delay by initiating the lengthy process of obtaining a decision on the matter from the plantations secretary in London.

Orders in council were but one way of obtaining land in West Florida. Pending the secretary's decision, Bruce, in 1771,

14. Records of the General Land Office, Division D, f. 44, United States National Archives, microfilm copies at the University of West Florida.
15. Peter Kemp, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Ships and the Sea* (London, 1976), 355.
16. CO5/591:120.
17. CO5/588: 140.
18. Ibid., 283-85.

applied for and ultimately received 1,200 acres on the Amite River. He had to purchase 500 acres, but for the rest of it he qualified on family right, with his ten slaves boosting his entitlement.[19] He supplemented this holding by purchasing 500 more acres on the Amite in May 1772.[20] Independently of her husband, Isabella Bruce brought 1,000 acres on Thompson's Creek in July 1772. James had managed to reserve his own disputed 4,000-acre tract on Thompson's Creek and did not abandon his (ultimately successful) hopes of gaining title to it.[21]

Bruce's most energetic agricultural efforts went into his main Amite plantation. On it were located a small but comparatively well-appointed dwelling, slave cabins, chicken coops, and corn houses. He grew corn which he ground in his own millhouse, cut timber in some quantity, and raised hogs.[22] Perhaps the most lucrative activity on his plantation was growing indigo, to which 300 acres were devoted and for which he possessed the vats necessary for its processing.[23] His customs responsibilities prevented him from living there permanently. An overseer, John Rowley, took over during his absences, but Bruce contrived long stretches of residence. In December 1775, for instance, Governor Chester reported that Bruce had been at his Amite plantation since February.[24] His duties at the capital nevertheless made Bruce more of a Pensacolan than a country squire. He was a consistent and active member of the colony's council and ipso facto of its legislative upper house from its first meeting in 1764 until records of its meetings cease in 1780 and probably longer, except only for his leave of absence in Britain from 1767 to 1769.[25]

A claim Bruce later made for backpay illustrates how little customs activity would have occupied him in Pensacola at the time. To carry out his duty as collector he had to hire a small boat and crew at an annual cost of £40. In theory money arising

19. Minutes, November 23, 1771, Council of British West Florida, CO5/629: 259.
20. CO5/591:183.
21. CO5/634:143.
22. Robert R. Rea, "Planters and Plantations in British West Florida," *Alabama Review* (July 1976), 224-25.
23. T1/582: 143.
24. CO5/592:221.
25. Rea and Howard, *The Minutes, Journals, and Acts of the General Assembly of British West Florida,* xxiii.

from seizures by customs officials would pay for their upkeep. In practice the annual income from fines and forfeitures was usually too small to meet even this expense. For example, in 1777 only £37.4.11 had been collected, and in 1778 only £27.6.0.[26]

The early years of war in America saw an expansion of Bruce's land acquisitions. On November 2, 1775, he acquired 167 acres back from the Amite on which he built a small house. Improving his lands may have strained Bruce's financial resources. On April 13, 1776, he borrowed $806 and six ryals, or perhaps its equivalent in goods, from Cadwallader Morris of Pensacola. As collateral for the debt the Bruces offered not only their main plantation on the Amite, but an additional Amite tract and eleven adult slaves and their children. Repayment was due on October 13, 1777.[27] On June 16, 1777, he added another 432 acres to his main plantation.[28] Shortly afterward the war finally came to West Florida. On February 7, 1778, James Willing's American raiders attacked Bruce's main plantation, occupied it for a month, and set it afire before leaving. Bruce estimated the material damage at £2,134.1.9. He also had to do without the annual £2,000 in income which he alleged he derived from his Amite plantation.[29]

Misfortune persisted. In 1779 Spain declared war on Britain, and the forces of Bernardo de Gálvez took possession of the Bruces' acres on Thompson's Creek. Although Bruce had a house in the capital, he had little to support him except his salary, although his "pen" near Pensacola and hiring out his slaves may have brought in extra income. The most important man in the town was no longer the civilian governor, Peter Chester, but the military commander, General John Campbell, who had arrived in January 1779. With him he brought comparatively strong troop reinforcements, if comparison be made with the previous British garrison rather than the numbers that the Spanish were preparing to deploy to complete the conquest of West Florida.

Chester and his council continued to meet, but relations between the civil and military authorities were, not for the first

26. James Porter to the Lords of the Treasury, March 10, 1783, T1/582:139.
27. CO5/612:550-565.
28. Bruce to the Lords of the Treasury, February 15, 1783, ibid., 144.
29. Ibid., 143.

time in British West Florida, strained. Campbell had written an intemperate rebuke to the council which implied that the civilians of Pensacola were selfish and lazy. As a member of the committee of the council which met to answer the general's aspersions, Bruce was probably most incensed by Campbell's suggestion that, if war came to Pensacola, the best way to protect the families of the townsmen would be to entrust them to the Spanish invader. Campbell's suggestion was that Gálvez might be prepared to keep them out of harm's way aboard a ship or in a place remote from the probable scene of combat.[30] In rebuttal the committee insisted that to hand over women and children to the enemy was "unprecedented in any society" and rather obviously charged Campbell with timidity and callousness by its declaration that "those happy pledges of domestic felicity cannot merit too much attention from the brave and humane."[31]

Bruce's pledges of domestic felicity, his wife Isabella, ten-year old Archibald, and a younger daughter, Charlotte May, were still in Pensacola, to which the reality of a Spanish threat became very evident when, on March 13, 1780, Gálvez compelled Mobile to surrender.

Six months later, however, Pensacola was still in British hands, the Union Jack still flew over its major defense, Fort George, and James Bruce wrote the first of six letters which have survived.[32] Penned on September 19, it was addressed to Clarke and Milligan, London merchants with a substantial interest in the fur trade, who were evidently personal friends of Bruce.[53]

The customs collector had usefully arranged for his salary to be paid into his account with Clarke and Milligan, thus enabling him to order goods at will without his having to send payment or to receive salary through seas made perilous by war. The system did not always work. Clarke and Milligan had not supplied slave clothing and wines ordered by Bruce. The result,

30. Campbell to Council, February 24, 1780, CO5/635:281.
31. Council Committee Report of March 3, 1780, CO5/635:287.
32. James Bruce to Clarke and Milligan, September 19, 1780, November 1, 1780, February 22, 1781, February 24, 1781, April 26, 1781, and May 7, 1781, Miscellaneous Mss B, New-York Historical Society.
33. Two of their vessels loaded with skins, allegedly worth £40,000 were ready in 1777 to run the maritime gauntlet of sailing through the hostile Gulf of Mexico, even if no convoy was available, rather than have the cargo spoil in the heat of summer. CO5/155:122.

he complained, was that he had been obliged to buy these items in Pensacola, paying twice for the clothes what they had ever previously cost him and between eight and ten dollars a dozen for bottles of port, sherry, and Portuguese wine. With obvious irony, Bruce called the wine prices "moderate," but it is interesting that, in spite of inflated cost, these luxuries were still available in Pensacola at a late stage of the war. In this same letter Bruce enclosed bills of exchange for £100 from General Campbell. They were probably payment for work that Bruce's slaves performed on the town fortifications.[34]

Bruce founded his optimism that Pensacola would be relieved on the conviction that Britain would not have lavished money as she had for nearly twenty years on West Florida if she did not intend to do whatever might prove necessary to retain the province. His further opinion was that, for future security, the government should aim at both keeping West Florida and obtaining possession of New Orleans and Louisiana too. He urged Clarke and Milligan to band with other merchant houses to lobby the ministry to make the acquisition of the neighboring Spanish province a diplomatic goal should peace talks begin. If the war should continue, provision of a separate naval command for West Florida– instead of the province being what it was in 1780, a subsidiary responsibility of the admiral in command of the Jamaica squadron– and dispatch of 2,000 regular troops would suffice, thought Bruce, to secure Louisiana. Such a conquest would benefit both planters and merchants. Without reinforcement, he warned, Pensacola would fall within six months because the local Indians were already doubting the worth of their British alliance. They had come to think that the "Great King" must have lost his strength since he had been able to recover not one acre of the land conquered by the Spanish. "If they continue much longer in this belief," wrote Bruce, "the consequences will soon be fatal."

Two months later, on November 1, 1780, when Bruce wrote once more to Clarke and Milligan, Pensacola's position had worsened. No vessels had arrived there for three months and for wine, rum, tea, and coffee the townsfolk were "in a starving situation," although there was still enough flour. In this second letter, Bruce enclosed a message for his friend Johnstone who,

34. Minutes, March 3, 1780, Council of British West Florida, CO5/635: 285.

once more in favor with the government, was now a naval commodore. Presumably Bruce's message was a plea to Johnstone to use his supposed influence to secure reinforcements for West Florida.

Bruce wrote his next letter to the London merchants on February 22, 1781. It reflects no particular alarm for the fate of Pensacola and is concerned mainly with an order for a variety of textiles, including linens, plains (a kind of flannel), Osnaburgs (coarse heavy linen fabric), clothing for his children, and a small barrel of port. That Bruce asked that either of the merchant's wives should choose his children's clothes suggests that the Brutes were on friendly terms with both the Clarke and Milligan families. For his children too he asked the Londoners to buy a lottery ticket and another two tickets for himself and a Mr. Hood.[35] Bruce was almost certainly alluding to the British national lottery which existed from 1705 to 1824 and which funded such projects as the building of Westminster Bridge and the British Museum.

This apparent concern with trivia at a time of crisis for Pensacola may have been made possible by a belief that Gálvez was dead. "Our inveterate foe Don G— z will no longer persecute us," wrote Bruce, "and I hope that he may be forgiven where we suppose he is now for the evils he hath brought on us." This optimism was based on mere rumor for, although later wounded, Gálvez at the time of writing was alive and active.

On February 24, Bruce wrote again to the Londoners. Evidently the vessel of Captain McMin, which was to bear his letter of February 22 to Savannah, had been delayed, giving him the chance to add to his requests. He wanted another message delivered to Johnstone, while his wife ordered for their children eight pairs of gloves made of jean, a twilled cotton cloth.[36]

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35. It is likely that this reference is to Walter Hood who had lived in West Florida since at least 1766, (CO5/613:200), owned land on the Pascagoula (CO5/614:222) and Mobile rivers (CO5/615:394) and whose original occupation was clerk and bookkeeper (CO5/613:200). However by 1773 he was assigned the more exalted description of "gentleman" in legal documents (Ibid.: 151).

36. In prewar days Thomas McMin had regularly shuttled between Savannah, Jamaica, and West Florida *(Georgia Gazette,* June 18, 1766, January 1, 1769, *South Carolina Gazette,* December 15, 1766) and occasionally voyaged to London *(Georgia Gazette,* March 18, 1768, United States National Archives, Division D).

When Bruce wrote his next letter on April 26, Pensacola's plight had changed from critical to desperate. Although the town had been under close siege by then for forty-eight days, and the rumor of Gálvez's death was known to be false, Bruce was contemptuous of the enemy. He scoffed at the Spanish thinking it necessary to supplement the investing force originally sent in March which had included over fourteen armed vessels, in addition to transports carrying 4,000 "white, black and yellow troops" and enough artillery "to attempt at least the island of Jamaica."[37] In April an additional eleven Spanish and four French ships of war had arrived with 2,000 reinforcements. By contrast, even if civilians and Indians were included, Pensacola's defenders numbered fewer than 2,000.[38]

Bruce did not expect Pensacola to hold out. Admiral Sir Peter Parker at Jamaica, who had ignored repeated appeals for relief, was, in Bruce's estimate, "one of the very few unworthy sons of Neptune who have disgraced their country in the true B[–]g style." Undoubtedly Bruce referred here to Admiral John Byng, who had failed to use his fleet effectively to break the siege of Minorca during the Seven Years' War. For his lack of enterprise Byng had been tried, convicted, and shot. Despite this unfortunate precedent, Bruce still professed hopes. He pinned them on Sir George Rodney who had recently arrived in the Indies to command the Leeward Islands squadron. Admiral Rodney, believed Bruce, "has the disinterestedness to consider that the honour of his country is more concerned in the preservation of even the most insignificant territory of His Majesty's dominions than the amassing wealth to himself."

No judgment could have been wider of the mark, for in the previous month Rodney had captured the Dutch island of St. Eustatius and had revelled in confiscating the wealth of contraband merchandise stored there.[39] Sir George had not and would not do anything for Pensacola. Meanwhile, wrote Bruce, "the distresses of the inhabitants are not to be described." They lived in houses located between the enemy warships in the har-

37. The yellow troops are not clearly identifiable. Possibilities are Indians, men of mixed blood, or fever-ridden Europeans.
38. J. Barton Starr, *Tories, Dons and Rebels: The American Revolution in British West Florida* (Gainesville, 1976), 192.
39. Piers Mackesy, *The War for America, 1775-1783* (Cambridge, MA, 1965), 416.

bor and the British guns of Fort George on Gage Hill. Ships and fort exchanged constant cannon fire during daylight hours. That some shot should fall short was inevitable, and extinguishing the resultant fires required vigilance. So, it appears, did the behavior of Campbell's Indian allies who robbed and otherwise acted lawlessly in Pensacola. To control both braves and fires a detachment of British soldiers was kept in the town. This deployment had to be explained to the Spanish commander for, at the request of General Campbell, Gálvez had agreed that the town buildings, as opposed to Fort George and its outworks, should be a neutral area.[40] To the ordeal of living in the town the women and children had the alternatives of fleeing to the woods outside Pensacola where they would be in the power of Indians– Bruce's use of the phrase "merciless savages" reveals what he thought of that choice– or accepting the doubtful sanctuary offered by the Spanish enemy. There is no written record of such an offer, but one may have been conveyed verbally by Alexander Dickson, a British officer whom Gálvez had captured in 1779, and who served as a liaison between the opposing camps during the Pensacola siege.[41]

Bruce wrote the last letter in his series to Clarke and Milligan on May 7, the day before a Spanish ball destroyed the Halfmoon Redoubt and Pensacola's last hope of successful resistance. He knew that only a miracle could save the garrison. Actually a near-miracle occurred only two days before he wrote his last message. A gale had blown the Spanish fleet away from the Gulf coast and, hoped Bruce, damaged it considerably. He wished that English ships had been in the vicinity to take advantage of the Spaniards' disarray but had lost all faith in "our worthy friend Sir P[ete]r P[arke]r" and his will to spare naval support for Pensacola. The gale had not, of course, displaced the Spanish heavy artillery, and for six days eight twenty-four pounders and several large mortars pounded the fort's defenses. It seems that Bruce at last succumbed to pessimism. In his final sentence he wrote that his next letter would probably be dated from Georgia or South Carolina.

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40. N. Orwin Rush, *Spain's Final Triumph over Great Britain in the Gulf of Mexico: The Battle of Pensacola, March 9 to May 8, 1791* (Tallahassee, 1966), 70-71.
41. Ibid., 59-62.

Perhaps it was, but when next Bruce is heard from two years later he was in England, petitioning for backpay and compensation for his extensive property losses in West Florida. Unhappily for his fortunes, the commissioners responsible for assessing compensation for loyalist losses were uniformly niggardly. Whether he obtained the comparatively paltry sum that his claim for one year's backpay would have represented is unknown. What is known is that the commissioners rejected all Bruce's claims for what he had lost in Pensacola, which would have included slave property. Instead, they agreed to give him for the loss of his Amite estates, which Bruce alleged were worth thousands, the insulting sum of £100.[42]

West Florida had raised James Bruce to a considerable height in political and economic power. Its conquest, of which the siege of Pensacola in 1781 was the climax, had reduced him to where he had been in 1763. Bruce's comments on the siege should be of interest to military historians. Although Bruce was a civilian, as a naval veteran with siege experience his criticisms show some strategic understanding. His omissions may be significant. It is quite possible to blame the failure to defend Pensacola on Governor Chester for inadequate preparations or on General Campbell for inept tactics. Neither is blamed in these letters. Instead Bruce placed the chief responsibility squarely on Admiral Sir Peter Parker, but he recognized too that the support of Indian allies was crucial to a successful defense. In doing so, Bruce was in line with recent analysts of the siege.[43] Where Bruce's letters touch on the hardships of the civilians who spurned Gálvez's gentlemanly offer, more characteristic of the eighteenth than our own century, of safety for women and children, they offer new material which should not be ignored in a social history of British West Florida, an enterprise which still awaits its author.

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42. PRO Audit Office 12/99. I am grateful to Dr. Robert R. Rea for his notes on this document.

43. See Helen H. Tanner, "Pipesmoke and Muskets: Florida Intrigues of the Revolutionary Era," *Eighteenth-Century Florida and its Borderlands,* Samuel Proctor, ed. (Gainesville, 1975), 13-39; James H. O'Donnell III, "The Florida Revolutionary Frontier: Abode of the Blessed or Field of Battle?" *Eighteenth-Century Florida; Life on the Frontier,* Samuel Proctor, ed. (Gainesville, 1976), 60-74; and Michael D. Green, "The Creek Confederacy in the American Revolution: Cautious Participants," *Anglo-Spanish Confrontation on the Gulf Coast during the American Revolution,* William S. Coker and Robert R. Rea, eds. (Pensacola, 1982), 54-75.

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(All of the letters retain their original spelling; punctuation has been improved, and, in some instances, added.)

Messrs. Clarke & Milligan Pensacola, 19th Septemr. 1780

I have lately been favoured with your leters of the 16th. & 30th. March last, the first mentioning that you hoped I had taken an opportunity of obviating the objections to my account made to you by Mr. Stuart. I am sorry I have not as yet received any advice from the Commissioners or the cashier respecting them, nor can I conceive any other objection than what I wrote to you of in my leter of the 17th. May; namely, that there has appeared to be a ballance in my hands for some years past, which, when we have an opportunity of transmitting our accounts for 1779 & this present year, I have no doubt of being able to account for to the satisfaction of Mr. Stuart & the board. On this head I have taken the liberty of writing the inclosed to Mr. Stuart, which I request you will deliver to him, and I hope he will have no objection of paying into your hands at least one year's sallary, as also the Comptroller's. I have left the leter open for your perusal.

I am sory I cannot join you in being perswaded that it was fortunate for me your not shipping the articles I wrote for, as I have severely felt the want of them, being oblidged to pay almost double the price of any former year for negro cloathing etc., and only the moderate price of eight and ten dollars for verry indiferent port, sherry & Lisbon wines per dozn.

I am glad to understand by your leter of the 30th. March that you have received a set of Gen. Campbell's bill of exchange for £100. And I doubt not but that its long ere now paid and carried to my credit with you.

I am sory that your prediction of our not receiving a reinforcement here is as yet verrified, but we are still in hopes, and I can account in no better manner for the sanguininy of my expectations in receiving a force equal to the defence and protection of this province than this; that I have alwise firmly believed that administration would not have continued to lay out so large sums on this province unless they had the strongest belief that the country was an object worthy of such expendi-

tures and of course must be protected by an adequate force. However, the protection or regaining of our lost possessions in West Florida can be no longer considered as a great object unless New Orleans and Louisiana is added to it, for without the free navigation of the Mississippi from its source to the Ballize with the entire sovereignty of the country on each side of its banks is vested in the crown of Great Britain, adieu to property in the insecure province of West Florida. This being the case beyond the possibility of a doubt, I think I cannot do myself and the community here a more acceptable service than in recommending it to you, who are so largely interested in the country, to use your utmost influence by your selves and others concerned to enforce this doctrine in the event of a peace, or if the war is to be prosecuted longer, that you will press the sending a seperat naval command here and an addition of at least two thousand regular troops with which, and commanders of approved abilities, we have not the least doubt of soon being sole masters of the country again, and likewise New Orleans. I cannot help believing that a memorial of the merchts. and others concerned in London would effect either the one or the other, for you may be assured that, in the event of a peace, nothing short of the entire possession of the Mississippi on both sides will give security to either the mercantile or planting interest of any part of this country, and if the war is carried on even another spring without the proposed reinforcement, we must fall, for even our Indian allies begin to think that we scarcely belong to the Great King, or he would not suffer us to be so long in being able to drive out the Spaniards from the places they have taken from us, & if they are suffered to continue much longer in this belief, the consequences to us will soon be fatal. If any ship sails soon for this place pray send me a pipe of good old port wine such as I last had and insure it.

I am with esteem
Gentlemen your most obed. servt.
Jas. Bruce

Messrs. Clarke & Milligan

You will in a verry particular manner oblidge me by delivering the inclosed to Governor Johnstone when in town, or leave it with his brother John Johnstone Esqr. with my respectful compliments. By this opportunity you will receive a leter from me

dated 22d. Septemr. last, to which I refer. Nothing particular having hapened since then, we are still in a state of disagreable uncertainty, and no arrivals from Jamaica or elsewhere for these last three months, we are of course in a starving situation for many necessary comforts of life, such as wine, rum, sugar, tea, coffee, etc. Thank God we have plenty of flour. I am with esteem

Gentlemen

Your most obedient servant

Pensacola, 1 Novemr. 1780 Jas. Bruce

Mssrs. Clarke & Milligan Pensacola, 22d. Febry. 1781

Having by this opportunity sent our accounts to the Commissioners up to the 5th of last month, I hope there will be no longer cause for preventing your receiving my sallary and the Comptroller's. I therefor hope you will do honor to my bill on you in favr. of Mr. James Young of Glasgow for forty pounds drawn at 30 ds. sight on the 27th Novemr. last as by my leter of advice, which I hope you have received. I must likewise request you will send me the pipe of port I wrote for on the 19th Septr. also 6 ps. blueplains & 6 ps. osnabrigs; for me personally eight pieces of linnen: 3 at 20d per yd: 3 at 2sh. per yard and 2 at 3sh. p.yd. and Mrs. Bruce requests the favor of either Mrs. Clarke or Mrs. Milligan to purchase further the enclosed list of articles for her & children.

You will see by Mr. Miller's leter to you that I am in the list of adventurers in the lottery. Mr. Hood & I are to share two betwixt us and I beg you will get them high numbers and I am determined to risque another which I request you will purchase for me in the name of my children, viz. Archd. Scot Bruce and Charlote Mary Bruce jointly, and I hope a fortunate number may turn up for them in order to compensate for these misfortunes of their father for these last two years.

I need not tell you our present situation. We flatter ourselves that our most inveterate foe, Dn. G– z, will no longer persecute us and I hope he may be forgiven, where we suppose he now is, for the evils he hath brought on us. The ships having gone a few days sooner than expected, I have not time to say more. Make my respects to Mr. Stuart and I hope he will be

satisfied with our accot. as transmitted. Our sufferings I hope will be considered.

I remain, with esteem, gentlemen,
Your most obed. servant
Jas. Bruce

Pray to omit not to procure my leave of absence, get two sch. and send via one by Charlestown & the other Jamaica.

Messrs. Clarke & Milligan Pensacola, 24th. Febry. 1781

I request the favor of your care of the inclosed leter to my friend Govr. Johnstone, if in London. Pray deliver it and, if any of the ports, I will be oblidged to forward it.

In Mrs. Bruce's note inclosed in my leter of the 22nd inst., she omitted to mention 6 pair of gloves or mitts of colloured jean for a girl of 10 years, and two pair for a boy of the same age.

I am
Gentlemen
Your most obed servt
Jas. Bruce

Messrs. Clarke & Milligan Pensacola, 26th. April 1781.

Inclosed I send you the fourth set of a bill of exchange drawn by Arthur Neil Esq. on the Board of Ordnance in my favor & attested by Major General John Campbell the 22d. October 1780. The third set I transmitted you via Charleston the 13 March last, which I hope came safe to your hand, and that you have recorded payment thereof for my account and, not having time to send you a copy of my leter of that date, I refer you to the original.

We have now been invested *forty-eight* days by a verry formidable fleet and army of Spain, the enemy paying us the compliment of thinking their first force insufficient, viz. 1 ship of 80 guns, 2 of 36, 2 of 20, 2 snows of 22 guns each, 1 brig of 16, six row gallaies and several other armed vessels, with transports having on board four thousand troops, whites, blak and yellow, and a train of artillery sufficient, with good officers, to attempt

at least the island of Jamaica. [They] have been reinforced some days ago by 15 sail of the line, 4 of which are French & eleven Spanish, who have landed at least two thousand troops which, from their appearance, are deemed equal to the first 4000. From this you will see how impossible it will be for our small force to hold out long. We are, however, not as *men without hope.* We are assured that our trusty friend, Sr. Pr. P— r knew of our situation even before we had the smallest apprehension ourselves; nay, he was so considerate that, like another Tantalus, he sent us the Childers brig with the woeful tidings, but at the same time, encouraged us with a hint, in the true Loyala stile, that we might expect relief when he could spare it. This is the answer we have had to our repeated representations to this worthy friend of his country for these two years past, but our hopes are that, unless the weight of his soon accumulated thousands outballances old English regard for the honor of our country, that he will add to the verry few unworthy sons of Neptune who have disgraced their country in the true B-g stile.

We have, however, hopes of a more promising aspect from a verry different quarter; namely, from that gallant and truly patriotic friend to his country, Sr. Geo. B. Rodney, who, we are assured, knows our situation and who has the disinterestedness to consider that the honor of his country is more concerned in the preservation of even the most insignificant territory of His Majesty's dominions than the amassing wealth to himself. Indeed the saving this colony and destroying the force collected against it would be a stroke of more national consequence than perhaps in this or any other war ever offered; but, if this is not effected early in the month of May 1781, we cannot flatter ourselves with other hopes than falling a sacrifice. The distresses of the inhabitants, being in this contest merely [indec.] from their particular situation, are at this time not to be described. The enemy commands the town from their shipping so that, while Fort George is attacked in front by their navy, the inhabitants are between the guns of both, and these, you know, have no respect for persons of whatever degree or denomination. Nor have we any other alt[ernative] but either trust our women & children etc. to the power of the merciless savages in the woods, or accept the genorisity of Dn. Gálvez who has offered a sanctuary to our women & children & property untill the capitulation of Fort George, if such takes place. I have only to add

that, if my worthy friend, Govr. Johnstone, is in town, you will be so good as to show him this hurried epistle.

I am with esteem, gentlemen,
Your most obed. servant,
Jas. Bruce

Messrs. Clarke & Milligan Pensacola 7th. May 1781

Inclosed is a fifth set of a bill of exchange for one hundred pounds drawn by Arthr. Neil on the Board of Ordnance London and attested by General Campbell. I sent you on the 15 March the third set and, on the 26th. ult., the fourth set of the same, to the leters accompanying each of which I beg leave to refer you. I hope they are come to your hand & that you have received the amount for my account.

We have still English collours flying on Fort George altho we have sustained a very heavy cannonade for these six days past from eight 24 pdrs. & several large mortars. The enemy is working hard night and day to get nearer our batterys with his heavy artillery and without we have another miraculous escape there is little doubt but that so superior an army, fleet & artillery must at last carry their point. Their large fleet of 15 sail of the line, which have been riding off the harbour for some time and which brought so large a reinforcement, has been fortunately blown off the coast two days since by a gale of wind, and it's imagined they must have suffered verry considerable loss, as the wind was dead on shore, and two of them appeared yesterday all day to be aground, but by throwing their guns etc. overboard they appear this morning to be both got off. This would have been a verry fortunate circumstance provided an English fleet had been near us to have taken advantage of this disaster, but unfortunately for us we are afraid our worthy friend Sr. P— r P— r still commands on the Jamaica station. My next may be probably dated from Georgia or Carolina as I am determined to stay here but a verry short time if the event of the seige proves unfortunate.

Iam Gentlemen
Your most obed. servant
Jas. Bruce

NOBILITY, FAMILY, AND SERVICE: MENÉNDEZ AND HIS MEN

by JOHN FREDERICK SCHWALLER

THE conquest of Florida by the Spanish has been described by Eugene Lyon and other important scholars.[1] Nevertheless, it is sometimes forgotten that Florida was only a small and relatively unimportant part of Spain's vast American empire. Yet those conquistadors and their followers who came to Florida are an interesting lot. This is particularly true of these men who served with Menéndez in Florida, a group of whom ended their lives and careers in Mexico. An examination of their activities reveals the ties of family, the status of nobility, and the importance of royal service.

A leading member of this group was don Diego de Velasco who was closely associated with Pedro Menéndez both through family connections and work. Velasco was Menéndez's son-in-law and had served under the adelantado in the 1565 occupation of Florida and the settlement of St. Augustine. Velasco was married to Menéndez's illegitimate daughter, and he was also lieutenant governor of Florida on and off for some five years (1571-1576).

Neither Menéndez's ties to the Castillian aristocracy nor aspects of his career within the military-religious order of Santiago are well known.[2] He legitimized his daughter shortly after her marriage to Velasco, who was himself the illegitimate offspring of the condestable de Castilla, the duke of Frias, count of Haro, one of Castille's most noble houses. Pedro Menéndez occupied

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1. Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida* (Gainesville, 1976); Eugenio Ruidíaz y Caravia, *La Florida: su conquista y coloniazcion par Pedro Menéndez de Avilés,* 2 vols. (Madrid, 1893-1894); Alfonso Camin, *El Adelantado de la Florida* (Mexico, 1944).
2. Lyon, Enterprise, 16; Ruidíaz y Caravia, *La Florida,* II, 739-801.

a poorly defined position within the Spanish nobility. He lacked two important trappings of nobility: he neither carried the honorific "don" before his name nor did he hold a hereditary title. This latter shortcoming was overcome when he received the title of adelantado as part of his contractual reward for his service in Florida, and the lack of "don" was redeemed by his membership in the order of Santiago.

The military-religious order of Santiago was founded in the Middle Ages by knights errant to protect the important pilgrimage routes across northern Spain. Starting in France, the "Road of Saint James" wound its way to the holy shrine of Santiago de Compostela, in the province of Galicia, where, according to legend, the mortal remains of the apostle Saint James had been mystically transported. This site was second only to Rome in medieval times in its importance as a pilgrimage. The rampages of highwaymen, brigands, and heretics made the pilgrimage route dangerous. Devout knights allied themselves with monks to provide safe accommodations for the travellers. The alliance of the two branches of the order-military and religious—worked together very satisfactorily for many years.

By the sixteenth century the order, due to the pacification of the countryside, had lost its ministry to protect the pilgrims, and it became an important Spanish social institution. It was very exclusive in its membership, and only persons of proven nobility and absolute lineage would be admitted to membership. By the time of Philip II, to become a member one needed to be recommended by the Council of the Military Orders to the monarch. Representatives of the order conducted secret investigations into the aspirant's nobility and purity of lineage. No one with the slightest trace of being a Muslim or a Jew was acceptable as a member of the order. Illegitimacy posed serious problems for acceptance. Anyone passing all the tests received the habit of the order, but still could not enjoy full membership until he had served for six months in the royal galleys and lived another six months in the monastery of the order at Uclés, in New Castille.

Menéndez's genealogical file which was presented to support his membership is found in the papers of the order of Santiago, Archivo Historico Nacional in Madrid, along with other royal

decrees.[3] The decree formally granting him membership, however, is not contained in the registry book of such decrees. Nevertheless, several important documents pertaining to his membership in the order are extant. The earliest is a license to dress in colorful clothes.[4] The order required members always to wear its insignia, the special red sword-shaped cross. Furthermore, dress had to be black and include the traditional cloak. To vary from this uniform, a special license was required, which Menéndez received in 1559. Further documents indicate that by 1559 he had not yet fully complied with the requirements for profession in the order. In 1561, Menéndez received a royal license to serve his religious retreat at the monastery of Santiago de la Espada in Seville.[5] This was more convenient for him than to pass one-half year at Uclés. Yet the license was demanding in another way; he would have to spend a full year at the monastery. For Menéndez, a whole year in religious retreat while the Indies fleet sailed without him would have been insufferable. That he refused to comply with this directive is indicated by later decrees.

In 1567 Menéndez received a maintenance grant.[6] Fully-professed members of the order enjoyed an annual stipend of 12,000 marevedises for wine and bread. While it was a relatively insignificant amount of money– some forty pesos– it served symbolically to tie the knights to the order. A triennial report from Uclés in 1569 lists Menéndez as having spent only two days at the monastery during the period 1566-1569.[7] Clearly the monarch had modified Menéndez's license authorizing a two-day retreat at Uclés rather than one-half year there or one year in Seville. Likewise, due to the adelantado's military service to the monarch, the requirement to serve on the royal galleys was waived.

The career of Pedro Menéndez as a member of the order of Santiago culminated in 1568 when he was entrusted with the administration of the estate of Santa Cruz de la Zarza, with the

3. Archivo Histórico Nacional (hereafter AHN), Santiago, exp. 5212. The entire genealogical file has been published in Ruidíaz y Caravia, *La Florida,* II, 739-801.
4. AHN, Ordenes Militares, Lib. 51-C, f. 86, July 14, 1559.
5. Ibid., Lib. 51-C, f. 252, August 24, 1561.
6. Ibid., Lib. 54-C, f. 55v, September 29, 1567.
7. Ibid., Lib. 55-C, f. 5, August 26, 1569.

right to enjoy its rents.[8] The income it provided was approximately 300,000 marevedises per year– about 1,000 pesos– although later in the century the rents had increased to some 525,000 marevedises.[9] Unfortunately, the regulations of the order also required the comendador to reside on his encomienda. By 1571 Menéndez had received permission to have someone else administer the encomienda for him for a period of three years.[10]

Menéndez's death is confirmed in the records of Santiago. On March 28, 1575, the encomienda of Santa Cruz de la Zarza was conferred on the royal secretary, Francisco de Ybarra.[11] While this was probably a coincidence, Pedro Menéndez had been closely tied to don Luis de Velasco, a kinsman of Ybarra. Shortly before his death, Menéndez had given his power of attorney to Velasco.[12] Don Luis de Velasco was the son of the second viceroy of New Spain, also called don Luis de Velasco. The younger don Luis, also a member of the order of Santiago, was often in Madrid on family business, although his permanent home was Mexico.

The power of attorney granted by Menéndez authorized the younger don Luis to act on his behalf before viceregal authorities in any suits which questioned the adelantado's jurisdiction in northern Mexico and Florida. Young don Luis de Velasco was also the brother-in-law of Ybarra's relative, Diego de Ybarra, the discoverer of the rich mines of Zacatecas. Moreover, the Mexican Ybarras had vestigial claims against the adelantado's jurisdiction over the northern Gulf coast of Mexico, since their other relative, also named Francisco de Ybarra [Ibarra], had been the first governor of New Biscay, Nueva Viscaya, and claimed the Gulf coast from Tampico to Florida as part of his territory.[13] New Biscay was later defined as lacking jurisdiction along the Gulf coast, which was granted to New Leon, Nuevo Leon.[14]

8. Ibid., Lib. 54-C, ff. 126v-28v, January 25, 1568.
9. AHN, Ordenes Militares, 4366, "Santa Cruz de la Zarza, 1568."
10. Ibid., Lib. 56-C, f. 6, November 23, 1571.
11. Ibid., Lib. 57-C, f. 251v, March 28, 1575.
12. Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid, Protocolo 605, ff. 73-73v, February 16, 1574.
13. Guillermo Porras Muñoz, "Diego de Ibarra y la Nueva España," *Estudios de Historia Novohispaña* 2 (1968), 49-78.
14. Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain* (Princeton, 1982), 165-66.

Pedro Menéndez de Avilés was involved in still other family relationships. His son-in-law, don Diego de Velasco, was a distant relative of young don Luis de Velasco. Earlier, in 1554-1559, while serving Philip II in England and Flanders, Menéndez had known don Luis's elder brother, don Antonio de Velasco.[15] These coincidences were a result of various policies and practices of the Hapsburg monarchs and of the noble houses of Spain. In order to control the nobility, the monarchs granted them important offices and the nobility, eager to increase their own power and wealth, openly sought positions within the royal patronage. In addition, members of the noble families tended to intermarry, thereby concentrating power within a few lineages. Thus, many of the leading figures of Castillian history in the sixteenth century held mutual ties of kinship.

The concept of family in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was broader than it is in recent times. An example is don Luis and don Diego de Velasco. By modern genealogical standards they were barely "related"; they were fourth cousins, once removed, since don Luis came from the generation before don Diego. They shared a common great-great-great-grandfather (for don Diego add another great), Juan Fernàndez de Velasco, the founder of the Velasco clan and father of the first count of Haro. Yet, by this same measure of kinship in the Velasco clan, six of the viceroys of Mexico in the sixteenth century, of which there were nine, could be considered "kin," and if one includes the Mendoza family, which was closely intermarried with the Velascos, all but two viceroys were related.

Don Diego de Velasco was the illegitimate son of don Juan de Velasco. Don Juan, in turn, was the illegitimate son of the constable of Castille, don Pedro Fernández de Velasco, the third duke of Frias and fifth count of Haro, who died in 1559, with no legitimate offspring. Don Pedro had married his first-cousin, and there were no offspring from this union. Shortly before his death, don Pedro secured a royal decree which legitimized his son, don Juan, and his grandson, don Diego.[16] Despite their "tainted" birth, both carried the honorific title "don," and enjoyed unquestioned respectability. Unfortunately, as a result of

15. *Calendar of State Papers. Negotiations Between England and Spain, vol. XIII. Phillip and Mary* (London, 1954).
16. Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), Mexico, 224, Ramo 1, Num. 1.

their irregular birth they were not able to join the order of Santiago, although with sufficient support they might even have acquired that honor.

The marriage of don Diego to Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's illegitimate daughter has posed a series of questions. The match has seemed curious to some scholars in that the scion of an important family would marry the illegitimate offspring of a man whose own nobility was only rather recently confirmed. Nevertheless, don Diego's possible career options, as an illegitimate grandchild of even a most influential man, were very limited. To complicate matters, don Diego's own birth status was even more precarious than most illegitimates since his mother was married to someone other than his father. Thus he was the issue of an adulterous relationship and should probably not have been legitimized at all. The Velasco clan seems to have tried to take care of its own, but in don Diego's case the life of an adventurer serving as a conqueror in the retinue of a famous captain probably held out far more immediate rewards.

As the documents published by Jeanette Thurber Connor show, Velasco's role in the governance of Spanish Florida was important.[17] He first served under Menéndez in the Atlantic fleet, and then joined the Florida expedition, ruling as lieutenant governor from time to time for his absent father-in-law. Velasco had taken control in 1571, and then returned to Spain. He and Hernando de Miranda, also a son-in-law of Menéndez, returned to Florida with their wives in 1573. Velasco sent reports to the crown in April 1574 and August 1575, detailing matters of the colony. As was common, he ran into trouble for some of his actions during that period.[18] Major charges involved fiscal malfeasance. He explained that it was a result of his trying to collect on an 11,000 peso dowry, in addition to a 1,000 ducat per year stipend from Menéndez. Clearly neither the adelantado nor Spanish Florida could produce that kind of money. In May 1577, don Diego was suspended from all administrative posts for the period of two years, and he was exiled from the Indies for three years. This suspension ended in July 1579, when the Council of the Indies commuted the sentence.[19] In

17. Jeanette Thurber Connor, *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida,* 2 vols. (DeLand, 1925-30), I, 100-03, 136-45, II, 2-7.
18. Ibid., I, 220-27; Amy Bushnell, *The King's Coffer* (Gainesville, 1981), 21.
19. Connor, *Colonial Records,* II, 228-31, 240-43.

addition to this information contained in published accounts, more remains to be studied about Velasco. Specifically the papers of the judicial process brought against him for alleged irregularities while he was acting governor may reveal more on his activities in Florida.[20]

Don Diego de Velasco's career in the Spanish imperial service did not end after he left Florida. He was appointed alguacil mayor of Mexico City in 1580 for a five-year term.[21] This office was like a sheriff's in the United States in the twentieth century. He was the most important law-enforcement officer in the city with a jurisdiction which covered much of central Mexico. Later, in the seventeenth century the crown often sold the office, since it carried high prestige and a comfortable income. Along with these other benefits, the office holder also enjoyed a seat on the Mexico City municipal council, which was valuable in terms of prestige.

Before his appointment as alguacil, Velasco had also secured the office of gentilhombre de la casa del rey, a largely honorific post which carried with it a modest salary. In order further to improve Velasco's financial status, the king had awarded him a one-time grant of 2,000 ducats to be paid from the Mexico City treasury.

Velasco claimed that the Mexico City office netted him almost no income. While he collected fees from the people he arrested and from the court, Velasco was forced to employ three assistants. These helpers each kept one-third of all fees they collected, the remaining two-thirds going to Velasco. As alguacil he also had to pay the corregidor, local royal magistrate of Mexico City, an annual salary of 500,000 marevedises, some 1,666 pesos.

According to the figures Velasco provided to the Council of the Indies in the period from September 1580 to October 1581, he should have collected 3,451 pesos in fees, but he only collected 2,041 pesos. His assistants received another 1,675. From the amount he collected, Velasco paid the magistrate 1,666 pesos, leaving him only 374 pesos for one year's work. That amount was not enough to live in Mexico City. Velasco stated that he had a small annuity– 150 ducats a year (some 250

20. AGI, Justicia, 928, 9; AGI, *Escribanía de Cámara,* 153-A. to cite two specifics.
21. AGI, Mexico, 107, Ramo 4, Num. 27.

pesos)– from his grandfather, the constable. Velasco was holding a prestigious but poorly-paying position, yet he had asked that the Council of the Indies make his office a lifetime position. He probably believed that he could eventually turn it into a more lucrative post.

Don Diego and his wife had six children, including at least two sons– don Pedro and don Diego de Velasco– two daughters, doña Antonia de Velasco and doña Francisca Menéndez de Velasco.[22] Only the elder daughter was listed as married– to don Lorenzo Ugarte de los Rios, the alguacil mayor of the Inquisiton. The marriage was a union based on the office of alguacil, also held by her father. The don Diego family saw value in the marriage since it allied them with the Holy Office. Don Pedro de Velasco, don Diego's son, became a Jesuit. Born in 1581, shortly after the family's arrival in Mexico, Father Pedro served in Sinaloa from 1605-1619, and later at the colleges in Valladolid, Michoacan, and Tepotzotlan. In 1637 he went to Rome as procurator for the Mexican province, and died in Mexico in 1649.[23] Don Diego's wife, Menéndez's daughter, had died by 1595.

Don Diego de Velasco eventually received an appointment outside of Mexico City. Although the city was the center of power, a competent officer could be forgotten in a smaller post in the bureaucracy. In 1591 Velasco was appointed corregidor of the mining center of Zacatecas.[24] This was an important office with much potential for outside profit. Yet it seems unlikely that Velasco served in it for very long, if at all.

In 1592 he was promoted to the office of governor of the whole northern territory of modern Mexico, the area called New Biscay, Nueva Viscaya.[25] Because of the delay involved in the trans-Atlantic voyage, Velasco received the appointment to Zacatecas in the early spring of 1592, and the New Biscay appointment in the fall of 1593. He had taken over as governor by January 1595, and continued to serve until 1597, when he

22. Ibid., 224, Ramo 1, Num. 1; Ruidíaz y Caravia, *La Florida* II, 590-624.
23. Francisco Zambrano, *Diccionario bio-bibliogáfico de la Compañia de Jesús en Mexico,* 16 vols. (Mexico, 1961-77), XIV, 574-648; Thomas H. Naylor and Charles W. Polzer, *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1570-1700* (Tucson, 1986), 208-10.
24. AGI, Mexico, 113, Ramo 1, Num. 13, March 25, 1592.
25. Ibid., Ramo 1, Num. 49, October 6, 1593; Ibid., 114, Ramo 2, Num. 52, June 28, 1595.

was appointed governor of Yucatan, an office he held until 1606. In 1602 he filed a petition for further reward for services. In 1606 don Diego became governor of Cartagena de Indias, a post he held until his death.[26]

The period of don Diego's service in Mexico corresponded rather closely with the time his "kinsman," don Luis de Velasco, was active in Mexico. Don Luis served on the Mexico City council until 1586, during which time he was a leading figure in the city and one of the most important ecomenderos in the kingdom. From 1589 until 1595, and again from 1607 to 1611, don Luis ruled as viceroy of Mexico, with an intervening term as viceroy of Peru from 1595-1603. Then he became president of the Council of the Indies, serving from 1611 to 1617.

The further impact of family can be seen in the subsequent governors of New Biscay. Following don Diego de Velasco, don Rodrigo de Vivero, a second-cousin of don Luis de Velasco, was appointed in 1603. Later in the seventeenth century, don Luis's great-grandson, don Hipolito de Velasco Ibarra, also served as governor. In this latter case the two family lines of Velasco and Ybarra had finally come together. It was Francisco de Ybarra, an ancestor of don Hipólito, who had been the first governor and adelantado of that district.

Captain Diego de Solís served as lieutenant governor of the fort of Punta Santa Elena for several months, shortly after Velasco's departure.[27] It is possible that Solís was a kinsman of Menéndez, through the adelantado's marriage to Maria de Solís. Alonso Solís was killed in Florida when Indians attacked and burned the settlement. Solís's wife, doña Catalina Barbon, and their two sons escaped, along with other settlers, in three ships. When she arrived in Havana, she had to depend on the kindness of strangers to help her and her family reach Mexico City. There she petitioned the viceregal authorities for a pension, noting the service of her husband and that of her father who also had died in royal service in Spain. The records do not indicate what subsequently happened to doña Catalina.[28]

26. Antonia Heredia Herrera, *Catálogo de las comultas del Corsejo de India, 1605-6609* (Seville, 1984), 150; David P. Henige, *Colonial Governors* (Madison, 1970), 316, 346.
27. Connor, *Colonial Records*, I, 200-01, 238-41; AGI, Contaduría, 941.
28. AGI, Patronato, 75, Num. 1, ramo 4.

Another official in Menéndez's Florida expedition was Felipe de Valdés. Despite the large number of Menéndez kinsmen with the surname Valdés, Felipe was probably not related, or at least he claimed no relationship. In testimony presented in Mexico in 1577, at about the same time that doña Catalina Barbon arrived there, Valdés outlined his participation in the Florida enterprise. He was a supply officer (proveedor) for the armada to Florida and for fortifications in the colony. Part of his duties included recruiting and provisioning settlers for Florida. After the establishment of St. Augustine, Valdés served as a captain for one of the frigates sent to New Spain and Tierra Firme. He ultimately took news of the Florida enterprise back to Spain where he helped secure concessions for the settlement. He then returned to New Spain. For at least two years Valdés was the provisions officer in Mexico for the Florida settlement. At some point in his career he had served as a junior officer in the Indies fleet.

After settling in Mexico, and while working on the provisioning of Florida, Valdés married doña Antonia de Perales. Both of her grandfathers had served in New Spain. Her paternal grandfather had fought under Cortés in the conquest of the Aztecs, and her maternal grandfather had been a secretary of government in the second audiencia. Valdés petitioned the crown for compensation for his own service and that of his wife's family. The viceroy and audiencia agreed that he was a competent individual and that he had honorable relatives.[29]

Lucas Pinto also had participated in the enterprise of Florida as a procurement officer. Prior to going to Florida, he had served in the Spanish imperial armies in Europe. According to his testimony drawn up in Mexico in 1581, he was a member of the Florida expedition and had fought against the French there in 1565. After Jean Ribault's defeat, Pinto was sent to Havana to purchase supplies for St. Augustine. While still serving in Florida he had commanded a party sent into the interior to capture three slaves who had escaped and were living with the Indians, somewhere between Mexico and Florida. This expedition, and others, had familiarized him with the Gulf coast of Florida.[30]

29. Ibid., Num. 1, ramo 5; AGI, Mexico, 213, Ramo 1, Num. 2.
30. Florida is used in the sixteenth-century connotation meaning the entire Gulf coast from Tampico, Mexico, to Florida, and north to the Carolinas.

According to Pinto's testimony, in 1574 he was sent to Santander to organize colonists planning to go to Florida. He left Florida for Mexico carrying with him a recommendation from the acting governor. He also secured a royal recommendation for the Mexican officials. On the basis of these recommendations, he received a viceregal appointment as governor of the province of Panuco. Royal treasury records show that from 1576 to 1578, he was corregidor of Xilitla, and from 1578-1579, corregidor of the mines of Ixcateopan.[31] He claimed also to have fought English pirates off the Pacific coast of Mexico. On the basis of his service in Florida and Panuco, he stated that he had full knowledge of the whole Gulf coast. His petition to the king requested that he be granted the governorship of either Honduras or Nicaragua, or one of several treasury offices for the Atlantic fleet, or the captaincy of one of the galleons. There is no indication in the records of his success in gaining any of these posts.[32]

Pinto was one of the better known veterans of the Menéndez expedition living in Mexico. He served as a witness for another veteran, Cristóbal Villegas Fajardo, who had called on others with Florida experience to corroborate his testimony. An interesting feature of Fajardo's testimony is the details it provides of the Menéndez expedition, especially the assault on the French at Fort Caroline in 1565. According to witnesses presented by Villegas Fajardo, when Menéndez arrived off the Florida coast, he sighted Ribault's ships. The French fleet quickly sailed away. Menéndez then landed some of his men. The Spanish spent the next three days slogging through the marshes and swamp until they arrived at Fort Caroline on the St. Johns River. In a surprise attack the Spanish captured the unsuspecting fort and nearly all of the French. A few days later, Jean Ribault and a large contingent of his men, whose ship had been wrecked in a storm, were captured at Matanzas Inlet south of St. Augustine. Except for a few who professed to be Catholics, all the French were executed. Villegas Fajardo served two years in Florida. From there he went first to Havana and then to Mexico where he settled in the district of Michoacan and married doña Juana de Miranda, the granddaughter of a conqueror. He petitioned

31. AGI, Contaduría, 679 and 681, Data-Corregidores.
32. AGI, Contaduría, 941; AGI, Mexico, 216, Ramo 1, Num. 5.

the crown for recompense for his own services and those of his wife's family.[33]

Gonzalo Sánchez was another Florida veteran. While he did not participate in the initial campaign against the French in Florida in 1565, he and his family were living in St. Augustine sometime before 1568. Sanchez was a native of Villa del Era in the kingdom of Castille. He lived in Santa Elena for some eight years, along with his wife and four children.[34] In Florida he had participated in two expeditions, one to Oristan with Menéndez and the other, under the leadership of Antonio de Solís, to pacify the Guales. Sanchez also claimed that he had been involved in at least one action against the French. He departed Florida in 1577, with a license from Governor Hernando de Miranda, for Mexico. When testimony was presented in 1580, the audiencia reported that he seemed to be a rustic and was not known locally.[35]

Martín de Heredia and his brother, Toribio, were natives of Oviedo, the capital of the principality of Asturias. Martín was a student at Salamanca. Along with others recruited by Menéndez in his home area, they participated in the expedition against the French, and were at Santa Elena and St. Augustine for three more years. Sometime during that period Toribio died before he could collect his pay. Heredia settled in Mexico where he entered the priesthood and studied Nahuatl, the Aztec language. He served as curate in the village of Izcatlan in the diocese of Oaxaca, and succeeded in securing a royal recommendation to the curacy of the shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe. He began his service there in 1579.[36]

These biographies demonstrate several important features of early colonial Florida. While the ties between Florida and Mexico were important, another selection process could show similar relationships to Yucatan, Central America, Cuba, or Hispaniola. Florida served an important function for the central regions of the empire. It was a patrimonal state, where individuals were rewarded for service to the crown. Florida functioned in many ways like the Philippines, New Mexico, and other frontier regions in providing opportunities for royal service.

33. Ibid., Ramo 3, Num. 33.
34. AGI, Contaduría, 941.
35. AGI, Mexico, 215, Ramo 1, Num. 24.
36. Ibid., 2705.

Family ties were also important. For these Florida veterans, especially don Diego de Velasco, family ties played a central, if not decisive, role in the formation of their careers. The composition of the enterprise of Florida manifests the importance of family, since Menéndez drew heavily upon his kinsmen to recruit his expedition. After many of the veterans arrived in Mexico, they began to forge local ties of kinship there. Some married into the families of the conquerors and early settlers of Mexico.

Nobility was another important facet of Spanish society. Only a few nobles ever went to Florida. Those who did served an important function in transferring the social structure of Spain to the New World. Likewise, the role of nobility in the imperial government was important, serving as an additional tie to help bind the far-flung empire. Thus nobility, family, and service are features which gave stability and continuity to the Spanish empire in America, and formed the basis of Spanish society in early Florida.

FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

This list shows the amount and variety of Florida history research and writing currently underway, as reported to the *Florida' Historical Quarterly*. Doctoral dissertations and masters theses completed in 1987 are included. Research in Florida history, sociology, anthropology, political science, archaeology, geography, and urban studies is listed.

Auburn University

Robin F. A. Fabel (faculty) – *Bombast and Broadsides: The Lives of George Johnstone* (published); *The Economy of British West Florida, 1763-1783* (published).

Flagler College

Thomas Graham (faculty)– "Henry M. Flagler and the East Coast of Florida, A Centennial History" (continuing study).

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University

Oliver Jones (faculty)– "Bio-constitutional Politics in Florida and the Need for a Public Policy" (continuing study).

Oliver Jones and Keith Simmonds (faculty)– "Developing Strategies in Small Florida Municipalities" (continuing study).

Larry E. Rivers (faculty)– "Slavery in Gadsden County, Florida: 1823-1861"; "Medical Practices in Middle Florida: 1824-1861"; "Slaveholding in Hamilton and Madison Counties, Florida: 1824-1861"; "Tobacco Industry in Gadsden County, Florida: 1823-1861" (continuing studies).

Keith Simmonds (faculty)– "Establishing a Pay Structure for Growth in Florida" (continuing study).

Florida Atlantic University

Donald W. Curl and Fred Eckel (faculty)– "Lost Palm Beach"; "The Buildings of Florida" (continuing studies).

Sandra Layman– "Women Pioneers in Southeast Florida" (master's thesis completed).

Raymond A. Mohl (faculty) – *Race and Ethnicity in the Miami Metropolitan Area, 1896-1986* (publication forthcoming); "Interstate 95 and the Black Community in Miami"; "The Urbanization of Florida" (continuing studies).

Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, Tallahassee

Allen Craig– "Gold Coins of the 1715 Plate Fleet" (publication forthcoming).

John H. Hann – *Apalachee: The Land Between the Rivers;* "Father Juan de Paiva, Prototype of Colonial Florida's Spanish Friar" (publications forthcoming); Florida's Terra Incognita: the Chacato, Chisca, Pansacola, Chine, Savacola, and Tawasa of 16th- and 17th-Century West Florida," "Political Organization among Southeastern Indians in the Early Historic Period," "Master list and thumbnail sketch of missions, Indian villages with churches, European settlements and fort sites of the first Spanish period for the years 1526-1706" (continuing studies); "Rebolledo Revisited: Friars' Response to the Rebolledo Visitation, 1675," "The Chacato Revolt Inquiry, 1675," "Juan de Pueyo's Visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1695," "Joaquin de Florencia's Visitation of Apalachee and Timuqua, 1694-1695," "Andrés Garcia's Inquiry into the Charge of Murder against Santiago, a Native of Potohiriba, 1695," "Diego de Jaen's Reply to Charges against Him by Natives of Guale, 1695," "Governor Torres's Inquiry into Charges of Counterfeiting Coins by Two Apalachee Indians, 1695," "Domingo de Leturiondo's Visitation of Apalachee and Timuqua, 1677-1678," "Antonio de Arguelles's Visitation of Guale, 1677-1678," (continuing translations).

Calvin Jones and Charles Ewen– "Archaeology of the de Soto Site" (continuing study.

Gary Shapiro– "The Archaeology of the Council House at San Luis" (continuing study).

Florida Southern College

Larry J. Durrence (faculty)– "The Activities of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching in Florida" (continuing study).

Florida State Museum

Kathleen Deagan (faculty) and Edward Chaney– "The Archaeology of Sixteenth-Century St. Augustine: Excavations at the Fountain of Youth Park" (continuing study).

Kathleen Deagan (faculty) and John Marron– "The Historical Archaeology of Fort Mose, Florida: America's First Free Black Community" (continuing study).

Kenneth W. Johnson– "Archaeological Study of Western Timucuan Settlement Patterns during the Historic Period" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

William Marquardt (faculty) – *Culture and Environment in the Domain of the Calusa* (publication forthcoming); "Archaeology of the Calusa Indians and their Prehistoric Ancestors" (continuing study).

William E. McGoun– "Archaeology of South Florida, An Overview" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)– "Archaeology of the Hernando de Soto Expedition in Florida and its Impact on Native Peoples"; "Archaeology of the Santa Fe Mission" (continuing studies).

Jeffrey M. Mitchem– "Archaeology of the Safety Harbor Culture in the Cove of the Withlacoochee" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Donna Ruhl– "Evidence for Plant Use at Spanish Missions in *La Florida*" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

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

Brent Weisman– "Like Beads on a String: A Culture History of the Seminole Indians in North Peninsular Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

Florida State University

Frank W. Alduino– "Prohibition in Tampa, 1880-1932" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Neil B. Betten and Edward F. Keuchel (faculty)– "Homicide and Capital Punishment: Jacksonville, 1870-1920" (continuing study).

Kathryn Holland Braund– "Political, Economic, and Social Impact of Trade with the British on the Creeks, 1763-1783" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

David Coles– "Florida Troops in the Union and Confederate Armies"; "Tallahassee and Leon County in the Civil War" (continuing studies).

James M. Denham– "Crime and Criminal Justice in Antebellum Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Glen Doran and David Dickel (faculty)– "Windover (8,000 year-old burial pond) Archaeological Research Project, Titusville" (continuing study).

Charlotte Downey-Anderson– "Desegregation and Southern Mores in Madison County, 1956-1980" (master's thesis in progress).

Mary Louise Ellis– "Benjamin Chaires, Entrepreneur of Territorial Florida" (continuing study).

Anna Estes– "Radiographic Studies of Prehistoric Skeletal Material" (master's thesis in progress).

Anne G. Foshee– "Exploitation of Forest Resources in Early Florida" (master's thesis in progress).

Miriam Freeman– "The Early Decades of Florida State College for Women" (master's thesis in progress).

Peter P. Garretson (faculty)– "General William Wing Loring: A Florida Pasha in the Egyptian Army, 1869-1879"; "Pasha Loring's Dispatch to Khedive Ismail Following his Defeat at the Hands of the Ethiopian Army at the Battle of Gura, 1876" (continuing studies).

Peter P. Garretson and David Coles– "Life of General William Wing Loring" (continuing study).

Mark Goldman and Neil B. Betten– "A History of the Jews of Tallahassee" (continuing study).

Bruce Grindal– "Different Strokes for Different Folk: Religious Life and Experience in North Florida" (continuing study).

Susan Hamburger– "The Development of the Horse Racing Industry in Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); "Survey of Leon County Quail Plantations"; "History of Hospitals in Tallahassee"; "Letters of the Family of George Fairbanks in Civil War Florida" (continuing studies).

Diane Harney– "Rhetoric of the Pepper-Smathers Election" (master's thesis in progress).

Walter Thomas Howard– "Vigilante Justice: Extra-Legal Executions in Florida, 1930-1940" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

James P. Jones (faculty)– "History of Florida State College for Women" (continuing study).

Ric Kabat– "The Administration of Albert Waller Gilchrist" (master's thesis in progress).

Edward F. Keuchel and Joe Knetsch– "Surveying the Arredondo Grant in Columbia County, Florida" (continuing study).

Linda L. Lampl– "Feeding the People from Generation to Generation: An Ethnology of the Fishermen of Pine Island, Florida" (master's thesis completed).

Lee Nabergall– "Paleoenvironmental Reconstruction in Central Florida" (master's thesis in progress).

James Papp– "Influence of Negroes in the United States' Acquisition of Florida" (master's thesis in progress).

Joe M. Richardson (faculty) and Maxine D. Jones (faculty)– "Bibliography of Florida Blacks" (publication forthcoming).

William Warren Rogers (faculty)– "A History of Foshalee Plantation"; "A History of Tallahassee Capital City Bank" (continuing studies).

William Warren Rogers and Mary Louise Ellis– "A Pictorial and Narrative History of Tallahassee, Florida" (continuing study).

Raymond B. Vickers– "History of E. S. M. Government Securities Inc., of Fort Lauderdale" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Lynn Ware– "History of the Apalachicola River, 1800-1865" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Hillsborough Community College

Glenn L. Westfall (faculty)– "Don Vicente Martinez Ybor, The Man and His Empire; Evolution and Development of the Clear Havana Industry in Cuba and Florida in the Nineteenth Century" (published 1987).

Historic Keys Preservation Board

Wright Langley and Sharon Wells– "Harry S Truman's Little White House" (continuing study).

Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board

Valerie Jackson Bell– "Seventeenth-Century Upper-Class Residential Site in 1986 Excavations of St. Augustine" (continuing study).

Bruce J. Piatek and Christine Newman– "City of St. Augustine Archaeological Preservation Ordinance"; "City of St. Augustine Archaeological Plan Project" (continuing studies.

Robert H. Steinbach, Stanley C. Bond, Jr., and Susan R. Parker– "St. Johns County Archaeological and Architectural Site Survey" (continuing study).

Historical Association of Southern Florida

Tina Bucuvalas– "Shell Monuments: Tourist and Folk Art in South Florida" (publication forthcoming); "South Florida Folklife" (continuing study).

Tina Bucuvalas and Dale Olsen– "Latin and Caribbean Traditional Music in Miami" (festival and paper forthcoming).

Dorothy Fields– "Black Archives, History, and Research Foundation of South Florida" (continuing study).

Stuart McIver – *Biscayne Bay Yacht Club* (published).

Arva Moore Parks– "Dade County" (continuing study).

Thelma Peters– "Buena Vista" (continuing study).

Rebecca A. Smith and J. Andrew Brian– "John James Audubon and *The Birds of America*" (exhibition forthcoming).

W. S. Steele and Robert Carr– "Okeechobee Battlefield" (continuing study).

Patsy West– "Photographic History of the Seminoles and Miccosukees"; "Seminoles in Tourist Attractions" (continuing studies).

Hong Kong Baptist College

J. Barton Starr (faculty)– "The Loyalists of British East Florida, 1763-1783"; "The Provincial Militia of British West Florida" (continuing studies).

Jacksonville University

Manning Dauer, Joan Carver and Wynn Teasley (faculty)–

"City Council Voting Patterns: Jacksonville and Pensacola" (continuing study).

Loyola University, Chicago

Julius Groner– "Some Aspects of the Life and Work of John Ellis, Crown Agent for West Florida, 1763-1776" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

Mississippi College, Clinton, Mississippi

Edward N. Akin (faculty) – *Flagler: Rockefeller Partner and Florida Baron* (publication forthcoming).

Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee

Erik Robinson– "Political Cartooning in Florida: 1901-1987" (published); "This House is Now in Session" (publication and exhibit forthcoming); "Prehistoric Florida" (museum exhibit and continuing study).

National Park Service

John W. Griffin– "The Archaeology of Everglades National Park: A Synthesis"; "The History of Florida Archaeology" (continuing studies).

Rollins College

Jack C. Lane and Maurice O'Sullivan (faculty)– "Images of Florida: Paradise, Paradise Lost" (seminar for the Florida Endowment for the Humanities).

State University of New York

Susan L. Clark– "Franklin W. Smith's Poured Concrete Formula in Moorish Revival Buildings in St. Augustine" (master's thesis in progress).

University of Central Florida

Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty)– "Naval Stores Industry in the Southeastern United States" (continuing study).

Jerrell H. Shofner and José B. Fernandez (faculty)– "A History of Florida" (continuing study).

University of Florida

George R. Bentley (faculty emeritus)– "From Tiny Acorns: A History of the Episcopal Diocese of Florida" (continuing study).

Arch Frederic Blakey (faculty), editor– "Civil War Papers of the Bryant-Stephens Families" (continuing study).

Ligia Castillo-Bermudez– "Smuggling in St. Augustine During the Second Spanish Period" (master's thesis in progress).

Jeffry Charbonnet– "Reform Politics in Alachua County, Florida, 1927-1973" (master's thesis in progress).

William C. Childers (faculty)– "Garth Wilkerson James and Robertson James: Abolitionists in Gainesville During Reconstruction" (continuing study).

James C. Clark– "Pepper-Smathers 1950 Senatorial Primary" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

David R. Colburn (faculty)– "Florida's Governors Confront the *Brown* Decision: The Process of School Desegregation, 1954-1970" (continuing study).

David Dodrill– "Land and Water Use Policy in Southwest Florida, 1900-1960" (master's thesis in progress).

Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., (faculty)– "The History of the Florida Historical Society"; "Railroads of North Central Florida" (continuing studies).

Glen Emery– "Urban Boosterism in Florida: Tallahassee and Jacksonville, 1865-1917" (master's thesis completed).

Michael Gannon (faculty)– "A Quincentenary History of Florida"; "The Administration of Florida Governor Juan Marquéz Cabrera, 1680-1687"; "German-United States Warfare in the North Atlantic, 1941-1942 (U-boats off the Florida coast)" (continuing studies).

Patricia C. Griffin– "Tourist Influence on Public Ritual in St. Augustine, Florida: 1821-1987" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); "An African Slave in St. Augustine" (continuing study).

E. A. Hammond (faculty emeritus)-"History of the Medical Profession in Florida, 1821-1875" (continuing study).

Sherry Johnson– "Women in St. Augustine in the Second Spanish Period" (master's thesis in progress).

Sidney Johnston– "100 Years of Fine Printing: A History of

the E. O. Painter Printing Company" (master's thesis completed).

John Paul Jones (faculty)– "History of the Florida Press Association, 1879-1968" (continuing study).

Patricia Kenney– "LaVilla, Florida, 1865-1910: A Community in Transition" (master's thesis in progress).

Stephen Kerber– "Park Trammell of Florida, A Political Biography"; "Ruth Bryan Owen: Florida's First Congresswoman" (continuing studies).

Jane Landers– "Race Relations in Spanish St. Augustine, 1784-1821" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); "Jorge Biassou: Black Caudillo in Spanish St. Augustine, 1796-1806"; "Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose: Free Black Town in First Period Spanish Florida" (continuing studies).

Robert Lauriault– "From Can't to Can't: The North Florida Turpentine Camp, 1900-1950"; "A Pilot Statistical Study of Damaging Freezes on Land Tenure in Five Florida Citrus Producing Counties, 1885-1985" (continuing studies).

Eugene Lyon (faculty)– "The Spanish North American Conquest by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, 1568-1577" (continuing study).

Susan R. Parker– "Anglo-American Settlers of the St. Johns and St. Marys River Basins During the Second Spanish Period" (master's thesis in progress).

George Pozzetta (faculty) and Randall Miller, editors – *Shades of the Sunbelt: Essays on Ethnicity and Race and the Urban South* (publication forthcoming).

Samuel Proctor (faculty)– "Essays in Southern Jewish History" (continuing study).

Michael R. Scanlon– "At-large Elections in the Progressive Era in Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Richard K. Scher (faculty) – *Towards the New South: A Political Odyssey* (publication forthcoming).

Susan Sowell– "History of Archer, Florida" (master's thesis in progress).

Arthur O. White (faculty)– "William N. Sheats: A Biography, 1851-1922" (continuing study).

University of Georgia

Charles Hudson (faculty) and Jerald T. Milanich– "Her-

nando de Soto and the Florida Indians" (publication forthcoming).

University of Miami

Thomas Fleischman– "Image and Reality: Perceptions of Early Black Miami by the *Miami Metropolis*, 1896-1900" (master's thesis completed).

Paul S. George (faculty)– "A History of Temple Emmanuel, Miami Beach"; "A Developmental History of Fort Lauderdale"; "A Biography of the DeBogony-Wilson Families, Pioneer Miamians"; "A Biography of Francis W. Hahn and Family, Pioneer Miamians"; "Florida Historiography"; "A History of Tourism in Florida"; "Florida and World War II" (continuing studies).

Charlton W. Tebeau, Paul S. George, and Wright Langley– "Hurricane History: A Pictorial History of the University of Miami" (continuing study).

University of North Florida

James B. Crooks (faculty)– "Jacksonville: Government Response to Urban Growth"; "The Administration of Jacksonville Mayor Thomas Hazouri as Viewed by a Historian in Residence" (continuing studies).

Philip W. Miller– "Jacksonville, Florida, during the 1920s Land Boom" (master's thesis in progress).

Linda Sabin– "The Development of Nursing as a Profession in Jacksonville, Florida" (master's thesis in progress).

Daniel Schafer (faculty)– "History of British East Florida" (continuing study).

Daniel Schafer, Robin Hartley, Michael Hutcherson, and William Stanton– "Duval and Clay Counties before 1861" (continuing study).

University of South Alabama

Amy Turner Bushnell (faculty)– "Colonial Florida, 1556-1763: The Domain and Economy of a Capitancy General"; "Short Like a Spaniard: Caste Perceptions in Colonial Florida, 1565-1763"; "Spanish Southeast Mission Towns" (continuing studies).

University of South Florida

Robert P. Ingalls (faculty) – *Urban Vigilantes in the New South: Tampa, 1882-1936* (publication forthcoming).

Gary R. Mormino (faculty)– "Biography of Claude Pepper" (continuing study).

University of Tampa

James Covington (faculty)– "The Capture of the Negro Fort" (publication forthcoming); "A Complete History of the Florida Seminoles" (continuing study).

University of West Florida

William S. Coker (faculty) and Hazel P. Coker, editors– "The Mobile Cadets, 1845-1946" (publication forthcoming).

Jane Dysart (faculty)– "Pensacola: 1820-1860" (continuing study).

Regina Moreno Kirchoff Mandrell (in collaboration with William S. Coker and Hazel P. Coker)– "Our Family: Facts and Fancies Including the Moreno and Related Families" (publication forthcoming).

Tom Muir– "William Alexander Blount" (master's thesis in progress).

George F. Pearce (faculty)– "A History of Pensacola, 1860-1890" (continuing study).

Valdosta State College

Fred Lamar Pearson (faculty)– "Spanish-Indian Relations in Florida"; "The Guale Rebellion" (continuing studies).

Consulting and/or Research Historians

Mildred Fryman– "Activities and Role of the Office of the Florida Surveyor General" (continuing study).

Patricia Wickman– "A Catalogue of the Floridiana, Caribbean, and Latin American New World Materials in the J. I. Kislak Collections" (continuing study).

BOOK REVIEWS

Miami: City of the Future. By T. D. Allman. (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1987. vii, 422 pp. Prologue, acknowledgments, notes, index. $22.50.)

Miami periodically finds itself the subject of literary scrutiny, which generally results in the raising of hackles and defensive posturing by those concerned with negative publicity. There is not a lot to fear from T.D. Allman's *Miami: City of the Future.* Almost everything about Miami seems to delight or fascinate him. That is not to say that he casts a blind eye at the underside; rather, he has made an effort to understand the dynamics of a city which does not lend itself easily to definition.

Allman explores the past and finds common threads and recurring historical themes, such as Miami's ability to find silver linings in dark clouds and its preoccupation with building on a foundation of fantastic images and dreams. Yet, it is the story of contemporary Miami that is Mr. Allman's chief contribution to the literature of the area.

In 1980 Miami suffered what Allman terms a "triple disaster." Riots erupted in Liberty City, more than 100,000 people in flight from Castro's Cuba poured into the city, and scores of Haitian boat people washed up on its shores. The city had the highest murder rate in the country, and marijuana and cocaine smuggling was out of control.

At approximately the same time, Miami was undergoing the most spectacular building boom in its history. High rise buildings-some of stunning beauty and idiosyncratic originality—arose in the downtown area. Metrorail, the mass transit system, was under construction, the new harbor gave birth to the biggest cruise ship port in the world, and the airport saw an increase of international flights bringing tourists and investors from far-flung places. Miami had once again captured the imagination. In Allman's view, "where Miami once frightened people, it now intrigues them. What was once denounced as Miami depravity is now considered chic.... Miami has become one of those places where 'real' Americans may not want to live, or even visit very often, but nonetheless has become a code word for the kind of

life in the fast lane many people secretly envy, and others quite openly aspire to copy."

Allman, an observer of the Miami scene for more than five years, has talked to scores of disparate people in an effort to frame his impressions. Marjory Stoneman Douglas is as much a part of Allman's Miami as is Edward Olmos, Lieutenant Castillo of *Miami Vice*, and the anonymous Coconut Grove attorney/drug dealer with whom Allman spent one bizarre cocaine-clouded evening. Some of Allman's Miami may not appear familiar to local residents. It is a little too exciting, a little too glamorous, but there is the value of an outsider's perspective, not to mention the enjoyment of being along on the author's adventure of discovery.

The mass migrations of Cubans to Miami, the most pivotal event in the area's recent history, receives considerable attention from Mr. Allman. This group of people with a fierce determination to maintain a separate identity has in fact become the group to assimilate most rapidly. Not only have the Cubans changed Miami and in turn been changed by it, but their experiences will be duplicated by successive waves of immigrants. In this way they have shaped the direction of Miami's future for generations to come. This is what Allman means when he talks about Miami as the city of the future. His thesis, which deserves serious reflection, is that the ferment of Miami does not occur in a vacuum. "Every major national transformation the United States is undergoing-from the post-industrial revolution to the aging of America, and from the third great wave of immigration... to the redefinition of American sexual relationships– has converged in Miami. How Miami solves or fails to solve those problems cannot but provide clues as to how the whole country will cope with the massive changes– full of both peril and opportunity– that are transforming the lives of us all."

Coral Gables, Florida MARCIA J. KANNER

Florida's Army: Militia, State Troops, National Guard, 1565-1985. By Robert Hawk. (Englewood, FL: Pineapple Press, Inc., 1986. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, appendices, selected bibliography. $25.00.)

Robert Hawk has organized the history of Florida's army into nineteen chapters, preceded by an introduction and followed by four appendices. The introduction, describing how the author, a civilian, met today's Florida National Guard, sets the warm tone of the book. The first chapter explains the militia tradition and the national laws in which the Florida story must be placed. In the last chapter the author speculates optimistically on the future of the institution. The Florida system, he says, has been successful for 400 years, and "there is no reason to suggest that [it] won't be equally successful the next 400" (p. 214). The chapters in between follow the standard chronological progression. There are two about the First Spanish Period; one about the British period and the American Revolution– 1763-1784– followed by the return of the Spanish; on Florida in the United States; and chapters on wars alternating with those on the intervals between wars. Within each chapter there is a specialty section, six of which present important militia and Guard leaders. Others range widely from one about the short-lived naval militia to one about the long tradition of military service in Suwannee County.

More than one-half the book is taken up with photographs– about 160 pages. Unlike the histories of many other state militia and Guards, none show mangled or dead guardsmen, although one is a photograph of some American soldiers viewing a tangle of Japanese men killed in World War II (p. 177). So extensive a use of graphics reduces the text to 108 pages. The colonial period including the American Revolution occupies one-fifth of the narrative and contains fifteen pages of pictures.

One section features the Negro militia that was active during the Spanish periods. Blacks were barred from service in the Florida militia and National Guard until after World War II. The author does not mention this change in recent years, nor does he say anything about women in the post-war era. Both additions to membership deserve notice.

The author covers the use of the militia and National Guard during natural disasters and to preserve law and order. He also

notes that the National Guard divisions lost much of their military character during World Wars I and II. Hawk writes, "In 1942, the Regular military made a good decision. It used the available Regulars and National Guardsmen to form cadres of experienced personnel for all military formations" (p. 183). As a result of this decision, Hawk estimates that approximately two-thirds of the 4,000 Florida Guardsmen inducted in late 1940 and early 1941 served in units not associated with the pre-war Florida Guard (pp. 184, 188). Divisions which were not reduced to form cadres were diluted with thousands of inductees from Selective Service to bring them up to combat strength.

Hawk lists several things which he considers unique to Florida. The state provided a higher proportion of its white male population to the Confederate military service than any other southern state (p. 95). From the end of the Civil War to 1887, Florida spent no more than $1,000 a year on its military. Not until 1909 did the title National Guard replace that of Florida State Troops (later than most states) (p. 129). According to Hawk, Major General Clifford R. Foster was the most important of Florida's adjutants general. He held that post from 1901-1917, and again from 1923-1928.

This book contains some important Florida military data: the names of the adjutants general and their terms of service, lists of casualties, and the present location of units of the National Guard by county. An index, which is not included, would have been helpful. But even without it, Hawk's work will be useful to interested Floridians.

University of Florida JOHN K. MAHON

The Forging of the Union, 1781-1789. By Richard B. Morris. (New York: Harper and Row, 1987. xiv, 416 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. $22.95.)

With a fine sense of timing Professor Morris adds this outstanding volume to the New American Nation Series in the bicentennial year of the Constitutional Convention. He begins with a highly appropriate title and closes with the passage by the first Congress of the Bill of Rights and the Judiciary Act of

1789, two matters that the Convention had chosen not to include in the original document. Between title and ending comes the lively detail that justifies the functional title, *The Forging of the Union.*

There are many ways of subdividing the period, 1781-1789, for presentation of the subject. The author has elected to divide his volume into twelve chapters. The first ten deal chiefly with Confederation experience. The final two are concerned with the Constitutional Convention– the ratification process and legislation resulting in the first ten amendments which form the Bill of Rights and the Judiciary Act of 1789 that fleshed out the truncated Article III. On this analysis, what at first seems a traditional or conventional account ascends to a higher level, above a mere static background followed by a bit of drama– the framing and ratification of the Constitution. The author achieves the unity of an organic presentation, the history of ideas in action. One by one he lays out the problems facing the thirteen colonies (later the thirteen states) that grew out of the War for Independence and the first union under the Articles of Confederation.

Figuratively the author traverses a terrain dotted with bogs and traps into which he, like many others, might have fallen: the "critical period" and the "myth of the critical period;" the "powerless, do-nothing Confederation congress" and a congress "on the verge of success," to cite only two antinomies. Professor Morris moves into this treacherous area, intimately familiar to him after years of research and study, with the awareness of a master guide. I believe Professor Morris would agree with Samuel Eliot Morrison's characterization of the decades between 1770 and 1790 as the most politically creative in American history. Certainly his presentation here brilliantly illustrates this creativity and the idea and processes underlying it. Nowhere do the insights come thicker and faster than in chapters three to five, which examine in detail the Confederation Congress in relation to the people, to the states, and finally to the constituent power of the people. Here in rich detail he shows us the ideas– already half-realized in actual experience, though not yet fully articulated nor systematically formulated– of separation of powers, dual sovereignty, and "the people as a constituent power." Out of these came initially the state governments, then the Articles of Confederation, and in the end, the Constitution.

Sharpened by continual practice in statecraft, these conceptions in the end offered the world a discovery– federalism of a new kind. As in science, when diverse elements have been discovered, an Einstein comes on the scene to fit them together into a formula. So a committee– the Constitutional Convention– brought to formulation an idea whose time had come.

This is not to say that Professor Morris focuses entirely on the developing political science of the period. He gives balanced accounts of the achievements of the Confederation (creation of a national domain and a colonial system "devoid of any notion of permanent dependency") and, understandably in less detail, accomplishments within the states including legal reform, liberty of conscience, and liberalization of the franchise (chapter seven, "A Cautiously Transforming Egalitarianism"). Nor does he neglect the valiant efforts of Confederation statesmen to rectify some of the defects of the Articles, particularly the drives to obtain an independent revenue. It was not solely the inability to raise money, important as that deficiency was, that convinced the nationally-minded to push for a new constitution. Professor Morris shows the contretemps created by state tariffs, the multiplicities of currencies, and grave diplomatic problems– all heightened by depressed economic conditions– which impelled leading men in every state to the conclusion that only fundamental change could alleviate tensions and frustrations of Americans.

The concluding two chapters, among Professor Morris's best writing, cover the creation of the Constitution, the ratification process, and the first Congress. Clearly he conceives the Constitution as being part of a process that continued through the revolutionary period and culminated in the final frame as amended and amplified by the first Congress. Significantly in the first paragraph of chapter eleven, "Creating a New Constitution," he quotes John Dickinson's advice to the convention: "*Experience* must be our only guide." By contrast, another treatise on the period, Merrill Jensen's *The New Nation* (1954), omits the Constitutional Convention and ratification– surely among the most significant occurrences in the final two years of the old Confederation– because they were hardly essential to his chief purpose: celebration of a weak– deliberately weak– central government and its achievements. Though a brilliant piece of research and a genuine contribution, it leans toward a tract for

the times and specifically makes the Constitution a coup d'etat. Certainly the nationalists won in 1787-1789, arguably in a coup d'etat if one strips away the pejorative connotations of that phrase. Yet these same "nationalists" (they usurped the name Federalists) harked back to the same experience as their opponents, as appears in Morris's *Forging of the Union*. They merely organized the government and distributed its powers differently.

Professor Morris has given us a superb book, a scholarly contribution, and a notable addition to the New American Nation series.

University of Georgia AUBREY C. LAND

A Machine That Would Go of Itself: The Constitution in American Culture. By Michael Kammen. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986. xxii, 532 pp. List of illustrations, forethoughts, acknowledgments, appendices, abbreviations, notes, index. $29.95.)

The bicentennial of the creation of the federal Constitution has come and gone and one of its enduring legacies will be the outpouring of scholarly writing about the document's history and operation. Michael Kammen's *A Machine That Would Go of Itself* is one of the most impressive contributions to this literature. The book's title derives from an address given by James Russell Lowell to the Reform Club of New York in 1888. Lowell termed the Constitution a "machine that would go of itself." By that he meant that Americans had come to believe that their ruling document would simply take care of itself, without much public involvement. Kammen builds on this metaphor, examining not only how well the Constitution has served Americans over the past two centuries but also how profoundly ignorant they have been of it.

Readers should not expect a traditional constitutional history filled with detailed accounts of cases argued before the Supreme Court and struggles between the president and Congress. Rather, Kammen provides for the first time a cultural history of the Constitution. His purpose is to "describe the place of the Constitution in the public consciousness and symbolic life of the

American people" (xi). It is a study in popular constitutional history that stresses the perceptions and misperceptions, the uses and abuses, and the knowledge and ignorance of ordinary Americans about the document. To this end, Kammen has plowed through the records of the Constitutional Centennial Commission of 1886-1887 and the Constitutional Sesquicentennial Commission of 1935-1939, as well as opinion polls, popular magazines, newspaper cartoons, American history and civics textbooks, oratorical statements uttered on celebratory occasions, and best-sellers such as *Nine Old Men* (1936), by Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen.

Kammen's contribution is two-fold and, as well-done cultural history always is, it is ripe with insights into the contradictory quality of our past. On the one hand, Kammen finds a rich tradition of respect-even veneration-for the concept of constitutionalism. The great constitutional historian, Edward S. Corwin, wrote in 1908 that there existed a "cult of the Constitution" in the United States. The homage paid to the document and to the framers of it has been a vital thread of continuity binding the fabric of American public and private life, and one that has repeatedly manifested itself in the cultural sources that Kammen so ably plumbs. On the other hand, the place of the Constitution in American culture has had a darker side. Americans, especially public officials, as Richard M. Nixon's Saturday Night Massacre so vividly displayed, have sometimes exhibited an astounding degree of disdain for the liberties guarded by the document. Kammen nicely observes that the public, often ignorant and complacent about this machine that would go of itself, are lax in holding government officials to high standards of constitutional conduct and, even more troubling, they frequently countenanced questionable official behavior. The strength of Kammen's book is to show the enduring yet problematic nature of American constitutionalism. Set in these terms, the book is a major achievement and one that can be appreciated by the general reader as well as lawyers and judges for whom constitutional history is too often written.

This is not a deeply analytical book and it is often windy. Kammen has done a splendid job of research, but he seems bent on proving as much to the reader at every turn, invoking every scintilla of evidence to support a thesis that requires far less substantiation. In short, we learn more than we probably need

to know. Yet these are predictable shortcomings when a historian breaks new ground. Kammen has done a brilliant job of putting the Constitution in its historical and cultural context and of asking the right questions. He has introduced common sense themes into a bicentennial celebration that has been plagued by a silly and narrow reverence for the document. Indeed, the events of the bicentennial year nicely demonstrated Kammen's major point: Americans continue to believe that the Constitution is a machine that would go of itself.

University of Florida KERMIT L. HALL

The Eagle's Nest: Natural History and American Ideas, 1812-1842. By Charlotte M. Porter. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1986. xii, 251 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $24.95.)

The War of 1812 produced for Americans more than a new sense of political independence from Britain and the Old World. There emerged at this time in Philadelphia a school of native and foreign-born naturalists organized as the Academy of Natural Sciences. The academy celebrated through western exploration, specimen collection, classification, and display and publication of descriptions and illustrations, the uniqueness of the American environment. Thomas Say, Thomas Nuttal, Titian R. Peale, John James Audubon, C. S. Rafinesque, Charles Lucien Bonaparte, and Charles Alexandre LeSueur continued a tradition of writing about the natural richness of America that began as individual enterprises in colonial and early national times by such people as William Bartram and Thomas Jefferson. This new group, not always unified or of a single mind, tried, with the financial backing of William Maclure, a wealthy businessman and mineralogist, to develop an American approach to natural history based on the American experience.

The opening of the North American continent to exploration revealed the presence of numerous geologic, zoologic, and botanic specimens not previously known. The Frenchman Buffon's derision and degrading of New World flora and fauna, and the general adoption in Europe of Linnaeus's classification

system despite its inadequacies for many newly-discovered American species, created challenges that helped define but also divide American naturalists of the early to mid-nineteenth century. Further complicating matters in the Academy were uniquely American debates over the origin of human races (red, white, black) and Maclure's interposition of political philosophy with natural history studies in the establishment of a utopian community at New Harmony, Indiana. What began in the early 1800s as a relatively unified endeavor– the exploring and publicizing of America's natural wealth by and through Americans– became by the 1840s a disjointed effort by a conservative group that even barred some naturalists from gaining access to collections and publishing in Academy books and journals.

Charlotte Porter of the Florida State Museum in Gainesville, describes in *The Eagle's Nest* the rise, division, and decline of American naturalists in Philadelphia through a series of short chapters on various aspects of the Academy and its members. Her work fits well chronologically with other recently published books on American science (John C. Greene, *American Science in the Age of Jefferson,* and Robert Bruce's *The Launching of American Science, 1846-1876)* and parallels to some extent George Daniels's 1968 book, *American Science in the Age of Jackson.* Porter's book begins by describing the early work of men like Bartram (colonial explorer of Florida) and Jefferson and includes the later activities (beyond 1842) of those important to her main story. That story, primarily between the years of 1812 and 1842, unfortunately is sometimes obscured by Porter's organizational scheme. Except for the chapters on the New Harmony experiment, *The Eagle's Nest* moves from topic to topic rather quickly, especially for the reader not familiar with the history of American science. Sometimes her major thematic points about the relationship between American naturalists and their uniquely American ideas are not always clearly made, but this small, handsomely produced, and nicely illustrated book is tightly packed with information. Furthermore, it explores an important aspect of American scientific history and, as such, constitutes an auspicious beginning to editor Lester D. Stephen's series on the History of American Science and Technology.

East Carolina University TODD SAVITT

Robert Stafford of Cumberland Island: Growth of a Planter. By Mary R. Bullard. (Massachusetts: Mary R. Bullard, 1986. ix, 349 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, appendix, selected bibliography, index. $24.95.)

The Sea Islands, a chain of coastal islands which stretched from Charleston, South Carolina, to Jacksonville, Florida, were a unique region of the Old South. Since the islands faced the Atlantic Ocean, they enjoyed a remarkably mild climate with a growing season of 300 frost-free days a year. In addition, the islands supported extensive tracts of live oak hammocks– thick strands of woody vegetation which grew on fertile sandy soils. Finally, the islands were surrounded by saltwater marshes which offered rich mud manure to fertilize island fields. The combination of mild climate, fertile soils, and marsh manure permitted the development of a specialized agriculture based on "sea island" or long-staple cotton– a delicate species requiring a longer growing season and richer soils than the short-staple cotton that was grown elsewhere in the South.

Introduced from the West Indies during the early eighteenth century, long-staple cotton was grown for household use in coastal Carolina and Georgia before the Revolutionary War. After the war, New England's nascent cotton industry created a market for long-staple, which was used in the finest fabrics. Long-staple cotton commanded higher prices than short-staple, which served for common textiles. Responding to this market, coastal planters purchased tracts on the Sea Islands, acquired slave laborers, cleared live oak hammocks, manured fields with marsh mud, and raised long-staple cotton for sale. Since long-staple cotton sold for premium prices during the early nineteenth century, planters often amassed considerable wealth. By the eve of the Civil War, some of the South's richest cotton planters lived on the sea islands.

Although historians are familiar with the outlines of the long-staple cotton industry, they know little about the details. There have been remarkably few case studies of long-staple cotton planters and their estates. Thus, Mary Bullard's study of Robert Stafford of Cumberland Island offers a rare glimpse into the life of a Sea Island cotton planter, whose career spanned much of the nineteenth century.

Born in 1790, Robert Stafford began his career as an overseer on Cumberland Island. Purchasing 600 acres on the island in 1813, Stafford parlayed his initial investment into a huge estate by 1860. In that year, he owned 8,125 acres, possessed 134 slaves, and produced 100 bales of long-staple cotton. Although his planting career was rather typical for the Sea Islands, Stafford's personal life was quite extraordinary. Stafford never married, but he did father six illegitimate children by a slave nurse. Stafford sent his mistress and their mulatto children north to live in Connecticut before the Civil War. On his death in 1877, Stafford's children inherited his estate.

Reconstructing Robert Stafford's life from an impressive array of sources, Mary Bullard has created a case study which should prove useful to historians and social scientists who are interested in the unique history of the Sea Islands.

University of Maryland JOHN S. OTTO

The Papers of John C. Calhoun, Volume XVII: 1843-1844. Edited by Clyde M. Wilson. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1986. xvii, 961 pp. Preface, introduction, symbols, bibliography, index. $39.95.)

Another fine volume in this series of Calhoun papers has been turned out by Dr. Wilson and staff with the cooperation of the University of South Carolina Press and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. This volume covers the last few months of Calhoun's aborted last presidential campaign and ends with his acceptance of the office of secretary of state under President John Tyler on March 30, 1844.

Throughout these volumes, editor Wilson has viewed Calhoun's approach to politics as rooted in high principle, integrity, and a Roman sense of virtue. The contrary approach is styled by the editor as "pragmatic accommodation," whose practitioners sought "not so much to lead as to please the people." As portrayed by the documents in these pages, the death blow to Calhoun's presidential ambitions lay mainly in his adherence to the absolute principles of "high statesmanship." These were

appropriate for an earlier more elitist America, but did not serve well in a time when the country was moving into the age of political democracy in which pragmatic accommodation was more appropriate.

One of the more interesting documents in this volume is a 109-page campaign biography published by Harper and Brothers in 1843. It sold for twelve and one-half cents at the time. Though published anonymously, it was apparently the work of Robert M. T. Hunter and Virgil Maxcy, prepared under the supervision of Calhoun. The editorial decision to include it was based on the judgement that it contained much information probably originating with Calhoun "for which there are no earlier and better sources." The letters and papers in the volume shed valuable light on the details of political party organization and activities in the 1840s and mark a sharp contrast from the slick, centralized campaigns of the twentieth century. The only attempt by Calhoun partisans to establish a central campaign committee in Washington failed after a few months, and what remained as a central focus of their efforts was a committee of the Democratic party of South Carolina operating in Charleston.

Throughout the nation, free-trade and anti-Van Buren Democrats rallied to Calhoun, but they were a disunited minority. Calhoun refused to campaign for himself, deeming it unseemly and counterproductive. He told his friends that it was their campaign, not his. As the strengths of the organizations promoting Henry Clay and Martin Van Buren for the presidency became apparent, both Calhoun and his friends grew pessimistic. Seeing his weakness in the Democratic convention as it was being constituted, state by state, Calhoun, in December of 1843, wrote to his son that he would not allow his name to be placed before it. He believed that Van Buren and his friends were leading the Democratic party into a course which was dangerous and deceitful on the great issues of tariff, abolition, and Texas.

Before the Democratic convention, set for May of 1844, President Tyler prevailed upon Calhoun to accept the State Department after its incumbent, Abel P. Upshur, was killed in a naval accident. Calhoun's nomination, sent to the Senate without his knowledge, was approved without dissent. Believing he could facilitate the annexation of Texas– which both Clay and Van Buren opposed– Calhoun accepted the post. Many viewed

him as a superb choice because the times seemed to demand "high statesmanship," but editor Wilson observes that with hindsight it can easily be argued that the appointment "was unfortunate for all concerned."

This collection is valuable for all students of antebellum American history because of the immense amount of historic detail. Students of Florida history may conclude, however, that that Territory was rarely if ever in Calhoun's thoughts. In the 906 pages of documents there are eight inconsequential references to it!

University of Florida HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

Intellectual Life in Antebellum Charleston. Edited by Michael O'Brien and David Moltke-Hansen. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986. xiv, 468 pp. Illustrations, preface, abbreviations, notes, acknowledgments, contributors, index. $45.00.)

The twelve essays that comprise this distinguished volume range widely over a most complex topic, and the undertaking is an important one. Charleston's prominence in southern political and social history makes such an endeavor, as the preface states, central to the rewriting of the region's intellectual history. The lesson taught again and again by these essays is that on all issues there was a rich diversity of opinion within this society. If it does nothing else, the volume will shout to the reader that, despite the modern misconception held by the superficial historian, society's thinking was far from monolithic. Charlestonians "argued with one another...disputed over racial anthropology, over religion, over politics, over art, over constitutional theory, over the necessity of the classics, over agricultural policy." The author may have added to this list from the testimony of the essays, disputes by both men and women over the position of women in that society and the virtue of plantation over city life, or vice versa. The volume successfully recovers and contemplates these debates.

This is not to say that the twelve essayists themselves have a monolithic conception of that society. The complexity of the

subject has honestly yielded divergent views. For example, David Moltke-Hansen paints a none-too-flattering picture of the indolent, dull planter, who tended to weigh heavily on the city in impeding its intellectual progress. Theodore Rosengarten, however, touches on the country's distrust of the city, where the planter felt cheated by merchants and factors and believed city-life failed to "strengthen social virtue." The urban upper classes were more polished, but were nevertheless coarse beneath their fine manners. Yet the planter increasingly went to the city for "city joys," and some regretted that "the pleasures of old, savored at home in the bosom of one's family...now were less sought after than ephemeral treats consumed with strangers." Merchants and factors, in turn, were "acid-tongued critics of planters and country living." The Charleston "style" is seen at the same time both as a source of great strength and as a weakness. Jane and William Pease's essay concludes that Charleston paid "the price of self-doubt" for its "soft style" of "rounded edges." In other words, a premium on agreeableness in society at times impeded intellectual foment.

The lead essay, "The Expansion of Intellectural Life," concludes that Charleston's intellectual growth was dramatic in the antebellum period, thus countering the well-worn thesis that the institution of slavery stultified and closed the southern mind to intellectual pursuits– except, that is, in its defense. This essay offers a prospectus on what the volume does: it examines the motives for expanding the intellectual life, the influences of a changing social, economic, political, and cultural environment, the sequence of stages of intellectual expansion, and the places of individuals and institutions in this sequence. The volume is then organized largely around accounts of individual Charlestonians. Essays are devoted to David Ramsey, Hugh Legare, James Petigru, Charles Pinckney, William Gilmore Simms, and Christopher Memminger. Figuring heavily in the other essays are Mary Boykin Chesnut, Susan Petigru King, Caroline Gilman, Louisa Cheves McCord, and J. D. Legare. Some of the topics discussed are the role of women in this society, the city-country theme in the life and literature of the period, slave language and religion, the *Southern Agriculturist* (providing one of the best essays in the book), the role of the classics in Charleston life, the Charleston "style," and the Charlestonian's contributions to the study of natural history, the arts, publishing, and society.

The volume does what it set out to do. It suggests the varied richness and complexity of intellectual life; but, indeed, it can only suggest. As a result of this work, the reader is rightly going to feel that he is left asking more questions than neatly supplying answers. It is a book that provides so many angles from which to view its subject that the reader can no longer be guilty of easy generalizations. Further, he cannot come away from the work without being mightily impressed with the contributions of this culture, far beyond the creation of a truly high-toned aristocratic society, for which the book continually provides indisputable evidence between its lines, without ever making the assertion. In a sense, this last might be an unintended achievement as important as the book's stated intention. The editors are to be congratulated for a venture well worth the undertaking.

University of Georgia JAMES E. KIBLER, JR.

Tombee: Portrait of a Cotton Planter. By Theodore Rosengarten. (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1986. Preface, acknowledgments, author's note, the Journal of Thomas B. Chaplin, appendices, index. $22.95.)

Neither politically prominent nor economically successful, Thomas Benjamin Chaplin, a South Carolina cotton planter, would seem an unlikely subject for a biographer. His major achievement was the daily journal he maintained from 1845 to 1858, which, in the hands of Theodore Rosengarten, becomes the source for an important and insightful analysis of plantation society. Rosengarten supplements the journal with extensive research in public documents and private manuscript collections. The result is a "episodic" biography of Chaplin and his sea island plantation, Tombee, as well as a social history of St. Helena Parish. In addition, Rosengarten reprints an edited version of the journal which he has annotated to clarify the identity of individuals and tie up loose ends. This was a task that Chaplin himself began when he returned to his journal after the Civil War with his own amplifications.

Rosengarten begins with a settlement history of St. Helena Parish and places the Chaplin family in the context of the grow-

ing fortunes of their sea island neighbors. A detailed description of Chaplin's agricultural activities follows, including explanations of the processes involved in the production of sea island cotton and the author's assessment of the poor decisions and practices that contributed to Chaplin's economic decline.

Once the stage has been set, Rosengarten turns his attention to the inner dynamics that dominated Chaplin's familial and social world. In the process, he raises a series of intriguing, and as yet unexplored, questions about human interaction in the antebellum South. Three areas deserve special attention: the nature of marriage and the roles of women, the function of a broader kinship and community network, and the power contest between slave and master.

His mother embroiled Chaplin in one of South Carolina's most famous legal cases when she attempted to reserve her right to dispose of her property following her fourth marriage. Not only do we have a titillating peek at Chaplin's mother's widowhood and remarriage, but we also see the conflict between Chaplin and his stepfather over control of her property. We learn of the social isolation of Chaplin's wife, Mary, who bore four children by age twenty-one and added three more before her death eight years later. Charleston-born Mary never returned to her childhood home and spent the years of Chaplin's journal confined to Tombee by sickness, pregnancy, and childbirth. Her only contact with her family was her sister, Sophy, who became Chaplin's second wife.

Chaplin's dealings with his extended kin, neighbors, and friends are also revealed. Rosengarten unravels a complex set of interactions based on reciprocity, duty, and an exchange of goods and services, with Chaplin finding it increasingly more stressful to meet the obligations of group membership. Not only do we see Chaplin's position in these interactions, but we learn about the norms and expectations of the community's planters. Chaplin participated in an inquest into the death of a slave in which the owner was found innocent of mistreatment, but nonetheless left the community. Chaplin disagreed with the verdict but expressed this opinion only in his journal. Though he disapproved of the practice, Chaplin agreed to act as a second in a duel out of family obligation. As a member of the St. Helena Agricultural Society he was obligated to supply food for the society's monthly banquets. As his economic well-being faltered,

Chaplin found this duty difficult to fulfill and literally took the food from his family's table to supply the banquet.

Chaplin's interactions with his slaves reveal the autonomy of the slaves in many areas including the selections of their spouses. Though Chaplin complained about their health and labor, he also wrote of Robert, his trusted headman, who could read, write, and cipher. While he knew something about the surface of slave life, it is clear that Chaplin missed much in the lives of his slaves and viewed blacks as possessed of a diminished sensibility. On one occasion he expressed surprise that slaves might suffer from separation from a spouse. When his former headman Robert used the opportunity of Chaplin's departure and the Yankee arrival to enhance his own situation, Chaplin expresses surprise and his feelings of betrayal.

The biographical portion of *Tombee* concludes with a departure from Chaplin's journal to discuss the impact of the Yankee invasion at Port Royal, Chaplin's subsequent efforts to regain his property, and his addiction to opium. In *Rehearsal for Reconstruction,* Willie Lee Rose recounts much of the impact of the planter exodus and the reorganization of the contraband and later freed black populations, largely from the perspective of northern teachers and military officials. Rosengarten adds another dimension to Rose's classic study.

Tombee stands with Rosengarten's *All God's Dangers* as a model of sensitivity and perception of an author for his subject. Rosengarten brings his insights into the human condition and an awesome commitment to detail together to create a fascinating and, despite its length, a highly readable study. Not only does the reader come to know Tombee, we also come to understand "Tom B."

University of Houston CHERYLL ANN CODY

The C.S.S. Florida: Her Building and Operations. By Frank Lawrence Owsley. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1987 [reprint of 1965 edition, University of Pennsylvania]. 209 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, preface, notes, appendices, bibliography, index. $15.95.)

CSS Alabama: Builder, Captain, and Plans. By Charles Grayson Summersell. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1985. xi, 135 pp. Illustrations, preface, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. $39.50.)

The University of Alabama has fired another salvo in its literary battle to keep the Confederate Navy's commerce raiders afloat. This time it is a reissue of *The C.S.S. Florida: Her Building and Operations* by Frank L. Owsley, Jr. A new introduction and a revised bibliography have been added to the 1965 text, but Owsley's thesis remains the same. It is his contention that the Confederate cruiser commerce raiders inflicted far more serious long-term economic damage upon the United States than any other southern effort directed toward the North during the Civil War. The destruction of nothern merchantmen and its attendant increase in insurance rates caused United States shipping interests to flee American registration and to put their vessels under foreign flags. Prior to the war, the American merchant marine ranked second among the world's fleets, and it was engaged in a close rivalry with British merchant interests. The *Florida* and other southern raiders reduced the American merchant marine to one-third its former strength. This was a blow from which the United States did not recover in the post war years.

The *CSS Alabama: Builder, Captain, and Plans* offers no clear-cut thesis to support its text. The narrative was designed to allow the publishing of a copy of the original plans and contract for the *Alabama* which was unearthed in England by William Stanley Hoole in 1957. Hoole found these documents in the files of Hill, Dickinson Company, the successor to John Laird Sons and Company, the builders of the *Alabama.* He arranged for copies to be made for the University of Alabama Library. Subsequently the originals were either lost or destroyed by the English firm, and so the University decided to publish its copies of these documents. Professor Charles Grayson Summer-

sell was invited to create the accompaning text. The lack of a thesis in no way hinders the author from presenting an interesting narrative. Further, for those interested in historical technology, the detailed ship's plans contained in an envelope on the back cover are an additional inducement for acquiring this book.

The *Florida* and *Alabama* commerce raiding activities were far-ranging and are exciting to read. Captain John N. Maffitt of the *Florida,* the first to go to sea, had to cross the Atlantic and run the Gulf blockade into Mobile, Alabama, in order to receive his armament and crew before beginning his raiding cruise. Captain Charles M. Morris, the second commanding officer, sailed the *Florida* along the United States coast within thirty-five miles of Maryland's eastern shore to strike at coastal shipping. He was the only captain of a major raider to engage in such an excursion. Captain Raphael Semmes sailed the *Alabama* around Africa and as far east as Vietnam in his desire to strike at American shipping while leading Union warships on a long, fruitless chase. A major criticism of both books is the lack of good cruising charts showing the tracks of these far-ranging raiders.

Raphael Semmes's background material touched on his duty during the Mexican War where he commanded the brig *Somers* when it sank in a norther off the coast of Mexico, and his duty ashore serving on the staff of General W. J. Worth. Summersell noted how unusual it was at that time for a naval officer to be assigned to the Army. It is disappointing to those interested in Florida history that Professor Summersell did not relate Semmes's earlier activity in 1836 during the Second Seminole War when Semmes commanded the *Lieutenant Izard* when that Army steamer sank off the mouth of the Withlacoochee River.

The University of Alabama Press used its big guns for this salvo. Frank L. Owsley, Jr., and Charles Grayson Summersell are respected historians who are knowledgeable about Confederate naval history. Both employed meticulous research in their preparations. The result is two line books of interest not only to naval and Civil War buffs but to anyone who enjoys a salty yarn.

Jacksonville University GEORGE E. BUKER

Rural Worlds Lost: The American South, 1920-1960. By Jack Temple Kirby. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987. xix, 390 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, prologue, epilogue, essay on sources, index. $40.00 cloth; $16.95 paper.)

In the last four years, three books have described that critical era when the Old South of plantation and subsistence farming finally disappeared, when agricultural mechanization came to Dixie, and when the countryside was largely depopulated. (Gilbert C. Fite, *Cotton Fields No More: Southern Agriculture, 1865-1980,* and Pete Daniel, *Breaking the Land: The Transformation of Cotton, Tobacco, and Rice Cultures Since 1880.)* In some respects, Jack Temple Kirby's study is the most ambitious of the three. Like Fite, Kirby surveys the whole range of southern commercial agriculture (including, briefly, Florida citrus), along with the semi-subsistence regions which resisted the pull of the market. Like Daniel, Kirby puts the "culture" back in agriculture, telling not only of tractors and New Deal programs, but also of rural families, country music, and finally, of exodus.

The problems of classification and analysis posed by such a study are immense. In seeking some order in the many rural Souths, Kirby follows Charles S. Johnson, whose *Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties* (1949) categorizes southern sub-regions by principal crop type. As modified by Kirby, the scheme divides the South into cotton, row crop, rice, grain-dairy-livestock, fruit and vegetable, and self-sufficient regions. Except for the row crop category, which lumps together tobacco, corn, peanuts, potatoes, and sugar, this taxonomy proves useful for studying the varying rates and forms of southern modernization and development.

For Kirby, "modernized" agriculture is mechanized, well capitalized, and linked to metropolitan markets. "Development," however, connotes the elimination of poverty and "the realization of the potential of human personality." "Roughly between 1920 and 1960," Kirby concludes, "the American South was modernized; it was not developed" (p. 119).

Kirby's story necessarily emphasizes the cotton belt, including the role of federal cotton programs in promoting modernization without development. Kirby describes the partial collapse of cotton tenancy in the 1930s and the transition, particularly

in the Mississippi delta, from sharecropping plantations to "neoplantations" operated by hired labor, and finally to mechanized agribusinesses. The decline of the old order also included the travail of the "white land" South— the sandy interstices of the plantation belt and flat expanses of the wiregrass, where predominantly white populations lived through the last days of King Cotton and saw their land revert to slash pine. In Appalachia and the Ozarks, industrial exploitation and agricultural dislocation destroyed self-sufficiency. But, in the tobacco belt federal programs actually forestalled modernization until the 1970s.

Things were different in the Carolina-Georgia Piedmont and parts of Tennessee and Virginia, where urban markets and the science-assisted poultry, livestock, and dairy industries revitalized agriculture, and in the fruit and vegetable regions of Florida. These technology-intensive and vertically integrated regions, along with the agribusinesses of the delta, came to resemble more nearly California-style agriculture than the Old South.

One result of these transformations was the depopulation of much of the southern countryside by the 1960s and the relocation of many of the region's rural poor in the nation's cities. Kirby uses the social science literature on black migration and supplements the meager material on white migration with his own findings to provide an excellent account of the southern exodus. He suggests that rural community life did not disappear altogether in the great migration but was reborn in cities like Bakersfield, Chicago, Detroit, and Cincinnati. Readers of this volume may not be surprised by Kirby's conclusion that "twentieth century Florida...is not a southern state, at least in terms of migration" (p. 312), but they may wish he had given more coverage to Florida— like California, Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio— as a *recipient* of southern emigrants.

The transformation of the rural South had to do with communities as well as markets and technology. Kirby has mined the rich lode of oral histories collected in the 1930s by the Federal Writers' Project, and more recently by scholars and students in universities from Arkansas to North Carolina. From this treasure trove, and with the skill of a southern story teller, he offers vivid accounts of family life, country music, mooshining, and even a lively treatise on why Southerners— and the author— preferred mules to horses.

However, Kirby's social history is disappointing in two respects. First, even in this age of narrative history, one wishes for more *analysis* of the anecdotes and more connection between them and the culture of particular crops (as Pete Daniel does for cotton, tobacco, and rice cultures), and the social institutions which defined community life. The country store, the rural church, and the one-room school combined received less attention than the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, a significant but transitory institution in one corner of the South.

Second, Kirby's social history mainly predates the radical transformation of the southern countryside. As Gilbert Fite has demonstrated in *Cotton Fields No More,* despite the traumas of the 1920s and 1930s the overall revolution in southern agriculture came in the 1940s 1950s and 1960s whether measured by mechanization, capitalization, or emigration.

Kirby might well use in his defense the explanation once given by Willie Sutton as to why he robbed banks: "because that's where the money is." The marvelous store of information collected in the 1930s by social scientists and interviewers stands in contrast to what is known about the lives of rural Southerners during World War II and in the following decades of social transformation. Kirby's description of rural life in the 1930s provides us with valuable snapshots of the southern worlds that were about to be lost and points to the need for much more work to preserve, describe, and interpret the demise of those rural worlds and to explain the importance of that transformation for urban America at the end of the twentieth century.

Georgia Institute of Technology ROBERT C. MCMATH, JR.

Birmingham's Rabbi: Morris Newfield and Alabama, 1895-1940. By Mark Cowett. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1986. xii, 222 pp. Illustrations, acknowledgments, preface, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index. $22.95.)

Awkward in style, cumbersome in organization, inadequate in research, and imprecise in focus, *Birmingham's Rabbi* is a poor attempt to analyze the important career of Morris Newfield, rabbi of Birmingham's Temple Emanu-el. The author purports

to use Newfield to "explore the nature of ethnic leadership in America." It is fortunate that the author tells us in his preface the questions he will consider and, in his conclusion, the answers at which he has arrived, for he proves to be an inadequate guide on this tour. He takes the reader on a host of false trails. In chapter after chapter, the reader is aimlessly led through such lengthy and ponderous digressions as ones on Hungarian Jewry, the life of Samuel Ullman, the early twentieth-century local temperance movement, the labor movement in the Alabama coal industry, and the operation of charitable organizations in Birmingham. At times, even Newfield himself gets lost in the shuffle as the author seems to be more interested in discussing facets of Birmingham and Alabama social history. For the reader, these tangential hikes are so distracting, it is difficult to know what is the central theme of the book.

The main problem with this book is that the author does not seem to know whether to concentrate on developments in Birmingham, on Newfield's rabbinate, on liberal reform in the South, on the Birmingham Jewish community, or on ethnic leadership in America; and if he wants to include all these elements, as he indicates in his preface, he does not know how. The result is a two-fold failure. First, the topics are treated superficially. Second, the author never seems sure whether these social movements are vehicles to understanding Newfield and southern Jewry, or whether Newfield is a vehicle for discussing these social forces.

Consequently, the author loses his grip on the book's real purpose. He talks of Newfield as an ethnic broker, a reliable spokesman, and a role model. But, for whom is he all these? Any discussion about the meaningfulness and effectiveness of Newfield as such a leader and mediator must include four elements: a view of the Gentile majority, a view of Newfield with one foot standing in the midst of that majority, a view of Newfield's effectiveness as a rabbi, and a view of the Jewish community's response. But, one does not have a real picture of the last two elements. We do not see a working rabbi, nor do we see any intimate links between Newfield's words and deeds with the congregation. In the light of what can best be described as the passive response of the Birmingham Jewish community to the social upheavals of the civil rights movement, it would not be unreasonable to question the long-range effectiveness of New-

field's leadership and the extent to which he reflected the attitudes of his congregants.

Consequently, *Birmingham's Rabbi* falls far short of the goals set for it by the author. Although it contains important material with which someone else could make better use, it is not in the same class as *One Voice, Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild and the Troubled South,* Janice Rothschild Blumberg's study of Atlanta's Jacob Rothschild.

Valdosta State College LOUIS SCHMIER

Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. By David J. Garrow. (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1986. 800 pp. Epilogue, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. $22.95.)

Few individuals have so symbolized an era as the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. Among critics and supporters alike there exists a widespread belief that King was the civil rights movement. His sudden death, like those of John and Robert Kennedy, has only elevated his stature and strengthened the view that he was a remarkably gifted and heroic figure.

In this comprehensive and gracefully written volume, Professor Garrow seeks to remove the mythology that has enveloped King in an effort to understand the man and the movement he led. During the early stages of the Montgomery bus boycott in January 1956, Garrow describes a vision experienced by King that convinced him of his special mission as a civil rights advocate. But the author also portrays a man troubled by self-doubt, exhausted by the range of his responsibilities, embroiled in a series of sexual affairs, fearful of his own death, and frustrated by the slow pace of racial change. King was, as Garrow repeatedly reminds us, a man, who despite his vision and leadership ability suffered from many of the same temptations and exasperations of other men.

In the aftermath of the Montgomery bus boycott, King and his aides were not sure how to capitalize on their success. It was only in the wake of the student sit-ins in Greensboro in February 1960 that King and the Southern Christian Leadership Confer-

ence (organized in 1957) realized the possibilities that existed for racial change in the United States and the role they could play in facilitating the process. Working closely with a variety of people in and outside of SCLC, King was remarkably flexible in accepting new ideas and new strategies, including nonviolent confrontation and boycotts, for the organization's civil rights campaigns.

In assessing the work of SCLC and the relationship that existed between King and his staff, Garrow presents a picture of an organization that, despite its achievements, was plagued by internal problems that frequently threatened to disrupt its protest activities. Financial difficulties, personal friction and jealousy, and structural and leadership failings all threatened to disrupt SCLC at one time or another. Adding to these complications, the organization encountered acts of violence and intimidation from Klan members and hostility from the FBI operating under the direction of J. Edgar Hoover. The FBI director detested King and had his office, telephones, and hotel rooms bugged and threatened to release information concerning his affairs and his association with Communists to the press. Despite these and other crises, King and his aides managed to hold SCLC together and in the process, secure major civil rights victories in Birmingham, St. Augustine, and Selma, and passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

As the civil rights crusade unfolded, Garrow describes a gradual change in King as he came to realize that voting rights, school desegregation, and public accommodations were not sufficient to alleviate the more pressing social and economic disparities that confronted blacks. During the mid-1960s King suggested to close friends that only major changes in the capitalist system would enable blacks to achieve genuine equality. His increasing concern about human rights and the Vietnam war led King, just before his death in 1968, to condemn the United States as a sick society and to propose democratic socialism as a cure.

Garrow's study is a dramatic and yet objective account of King's career and his impact on the civil rights movement. In rendering this story, the author has examined every major source, research collection (including the University of Florida's Oral History Archives), and federal document, and supplemented them with several hundred interviews. It is a prodigious

achievement, and it helps to make Garrow's biography the definitive treatment of King, replacing previous works by David Lewis and Stephen Oates. This study has only a few flaws, one of which is the footnoting style which makes it very difficult for scholars and students of the movement to determine the precise sources for a particular section. A second is the impression conveyed by the biography, which is perhaps unavoidable, that the civil rights movement was dominated by King and SCLC. Recent studies have shown the important contributions made by local organizations and individuals in effecting social change. These concerns notwithstanding, this volume represents a major contribution to our understanding of King and expands substantially our knowledge of the civil rights movement.

University of Florida DAVID R. COLBURN

A New Diversity in Contemporary Southern Rhetoric. Edited by Calvin M. Logue and Howard Dorgan. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987. vii. 268 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, contributors, index. $32.50.)

With this collection of eight original essays, editors Logue and Dorgan explore the diversity of southern rhetoric in the three decades following *Brown* v. *Board of Education*. They avoid the term "oratory." It is too narrow for their purpose. This book is not about some mythical southern orator– whether statesman or demagogue. Rather the editors and their six fellow contributors demonstrate that a variety of persuasive voices– male, female, white, and black– helped to shape the southern experience in these years.

This diversity, however, frequently falls within familiar boundaries. One would expect speakers for the White Citizens' Councils to mount a defense of segregation with arguments of state rights and white supremacy. A similar line of reasoning a century before sought to defend slavery. Yet while the reactionaries pounded away at *Brown*, eloquent black ministers preached conservative values and respect for legal authority to challenge white bigotry and injustice. Traditional thinking sustains new voices as well. Jimmy Carter's clumsy speech lacks the

homey eloquence of Sam Ervin, a self-styled country lawyer. Yet Southerners easily recognize the Biblical and historical influences on Carter's views of, say, human rights.

There is not much new in these essays. Any student of the South already knows, for example, that "the vast majority of local clerics fell victim to the intimidating influences of traditional southern racial attitudes," or that the ERA foundered because of the region's "traditional views of women's roles." The book's value for historians lies in treating rhetoric as something important in its own right, particularly in a region of gifted politicians, preachers, and editors.

Thus one reads that Ralph McGill was reluctant to speak with "dogmatic finality" whether at his typewriter or at the podium. Instead, he preferred to educate and persuade his audiences through techniques such as attacking the hoary southern myths that sustained their prejudices. Another example: Senator Ervin became a national folk hero in the 1970s when in the 1950s he seemed to personify the "filibustering, story-telling, legalizing Southerner." For the most part, his views did not change. What likely happened is that his arguments for strict constructionism appealed to liberals who had grown wary of presidential power.

Alas, rhetoric has fallen from its honored place in the schools. A clear sign of this decline is the poor speaking and writing ability of many professionals. (An unfortunate example in this book: "we shall probably never discern the *enormity* of what [Jimmy Carter] attempted.") Yet these essays underscore the power of words in momentous times— a good lesson for a society that lately seems unable or unwilling to produce strong leaders.

Orlando Sentinel BAILEY THOMSON

On Doing Local History: Reflections on What Local Historians Do, Why, and What It Means. By Carol Kammen. (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1986. 184 pp. Introduction, index. $13.50; $11.95 for AASLH.)

This is a little book which examines the aims and methods of writing local history. It should be read by every amateur

historian setting out to do local history. Its author, a professional historian who writes local history, wishes to improve the history writing of non-professionals by imparting to them the philosophy, outlook, and craftsmanship of the professional. She feels that, unfortunately, too much local history written today is no better than that written more than a century ago.

"Doing" local history should begin with "thinking" about local history. Too many amateur historians start off with vague aims or with goals in mind that misdirect their labors. They want to "record all the facts," or "tell only 'nice' stories." Kammen tries to turn research toward questions of social significance, broad national trends, and other similar topics that concern professional historians. She is interested in such areas as women's history, ethnic studies, economics, and demographics.

This book is one of the many helpful publications of the American Association for State and Local History. It is written on the premise that local history is important, and argues for more serious study of local history and better organization of local history as a discipline on the national level. It is not a technical manual (although it discusses basic concerns such as footnotes and bibliography); instead it is an extended essay by a practicing local historian on her craft.

The author begins with what a professional historian would call a "survey of existing literature in the field," and concludes that, despite some advances over time, much local history being published today is little different from that produced a century ago. Which is to say, some is quite good and some is not. The following chapters are devoted to sources and methods of research and to writing. Lastly, there is a section focusing on the local historian as a practitioner of a vocation. This chapter considers the ethics and public relations aspects of living in the community about which one writes.

This book argues that the gap between professional historians and amateur historians has narrowed, but that it should narrow more. Too many professional historians continue to slight local history, and too many amateurs continue to produce poorly conceived, poorly executed histories. However, the purpose of this book is not to condemn, but to encourage those who labor in the field of local history.

Flagler College THOMAS GRAHAM

The Origin and Development of Scholarly Historical Periodicals. By Margaret F. Stieg. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1986. xi, 261 pp. Acknowledgments, abbreviations, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $31.95.)

In the nineteenth century Francis Parkman undertook his great study of the French in North America without any special training in history. Equipped with a liberal arts education and endowed with a passionate desire to tell the story, Parkman learned the historical craft by means of his own research and writing. During the second half of the century a new breed of scholars came to dominate historical writing. Trained in graduate schools, they became academicians who held university faculty positions. In place of the popular history that Parkman wrote, the university-trained historians specialized in monographs designed to appeal mainly to specialists in the field. Eventually they formed associations to promote the study of history, and they established scholarly periodicals to provide a means of communicating within the profession.

Margaret F. Stieg, a librarian, has written a history of historical periodicals in Europe and the United States. Since Germany set the pace for historical scholarship in the nineteenth century, it was quite fitting that the model historical periodical initially appeared there. *Historishe Zeitschtift,* the first historical periodical to survive to the present, began publication in 1859. In its pages the scholarly article became the established feature and took the form it has maintained ever since. *Historishe Zeitschrift*'s most important service became that of keeping readers informed of major bibliographical developments.

The *Revue Historique* (1876), the *English Historical Review* (1886), and the *American Historical Review* (1895) became the leading historical periodicals in their respective nations. While they followed the pattern established by the *Historische Zeitschtift,* their approaches varied. By the 1890s the historical profession in the United States had reached a stage of development similar to that in Germany when the *Historische Zeitschtift* began. Consequently, the *American Historical Review* coordinated rather than initiated professional development. Because historical scholarhip remained relatively undeveloped in France and England in the 1870s and 1880s the *Revue Historique* and the *English Historical Review* played decisive roles in institutionalizing the

profession. In the long run, however, the *Historische Zeitschtift* and the *American Historical Review* enjoyed more success because they maintained sensitivity to the changing interests of the profession and thereby remained the central periodicals for their nations. The "rigidity and inhospitality to new areas of history and new interpretative schools" (p. 66) caused the *Revue Historique* and the *English Historical Review* to have their supremacy seriously challenged in the twentieth century by the *Annales* and *Past and Present*.

During the course of the twentieth century, the number of historical periodicals expanded so greatly that now it is impossible to keep abreast of their coverage. That reflects the move toward increased specialization as well as the problem of fragmentation in the profession. Instead of encouraging this trend, the author believes that the leading periodicals need to unify the profession by publishing more articles and essays that synthesize major topics and developments. More thorough and unified bibliographical coverage could also help. Historians still must rely on a variety of periodicals and indices for bibliographical coverage of their fields, but the technology now exists for more comprehensive bibliographical services.

Professor Stieg has provided a good introduction to historical periodicals in Europe and the United States. Her work will prove interesting to historians and librarians.

University of Georgia WILLIAM F. HOLMES

BOOK NOTES

Palm Beach Revisited, Historical Vignettes of Palm Beach County is by James R. Knott, former president of the Florida Historical Society. For several years Judge Knott has been sharing his colorful memories and experiences of the area's history in a series of articles appearing weekly in the local newspaper. These "brown wrapper" inserts are one of the most popular features of the Sunday paper. Unfortunately they were only available to the people who read the local paper and not to Florida historians and Florida history buffs elsewhere in the state. That problem is now being remedied. The first of a series of books reprinting some of the "brown wrappers" is being published. *Palm Beach Revisited* carries a foreword by James J. Kilpatrick, the well-known columnist and television commentator. Henry Flagler, Marjorie Merriweather Post, Addison Mizner, Paris Singer (the sewing machine heir), and Colonel Edward R. Bradley are only a few of the personalities appearing in Judge Knott's vignettes, along with a myriad of Duponts, Rockefellers, Morgans, and Stotesburys. Not all of the stories are about the rich and the famous; ordinary folk get equal billing. There is a good sketch of the fish camp at Jupiter Inlet operated by John and Bessie DuBois. *Palm Beach Revisited* is attractively packaged and contains a number of historical pictures. Order from the author, 125 Worth Avenue, Palm Beach, FL 33480. It sells for $6.95.

The River Flows North, A History of Putnam County is by Brian E. Michaels, curator of the Florida Collection at St. Johns River Community College. He, his research associates and assistants, and the members of the Putnam County Archives and History Commission are to be congratulated on making available this lively, well-researched narrative tracing the history of Putnam County from its creation as the twenty-eighth Florida county on March 13, 1848, to the present. Putnam was formed from St. Johns, Marion, and Alachua counties. The name first proposed was Hailaka, but it was changed even before the creation bill cleared the Florida Senate. It honored Benjamin A. Putnam, St. Augustine attorney and Indian fighter. The first chapters de-

scribe early history of the area, particularly the British period when Denys Rolles established a colony on the St. Johns on land granted by the British crown, when James Spalding opened his stores upriver from Palatka, and when John and William Bartram visited in 1766. When war with the Seminoles came in 1835, settlements along the St. Johns were in danger, and the army built a fort at Palatka, Fort Shannon. The St. Johns River was always an important artery for travel and commerce, particularly after steamboats began using the river to transport freight and passengers in the 1830s. During the Civil War, Federal gunboats patrolled the St. Johns, and one of the most highly publicized events of the war in Florida was the firing and destruction of the steam tug, the *Columbine,* by J. J. Dickison in 1864. *The River Flows North* is filled with many fascinating accounts, not the least of which is the story of the tragic and bloody rivalry between two local families, the Braddocks and the Turners. More settlers moved into the Putnam County area after the Civil War, and it became an important agricultural center. Florida Southern Railway located a machine and car shop there, and tourists and sportsmen came to stay in the first-class boarding houses and small hotels that opened in Palatka, Crescent City, Satsuma, Welaka, Fruitland, and other ports along the river. Short histories of Putnam County communities, including some that are no longer in existence, are included. Agriculture and lumbering continue to be important industries. The Hudson Pulp and Paper Company is one of the largest operations in the county today. There is a large wildlife refuge, and Ravine Gardens in Palatka is noted for its azaleas and other exotic plantings, Some of the celebrities who have been associated with Putnam County are noted in this volume. Babe Ruth held baseball camps in Palatka in the 1930s and Billy Graham preached at a revival at the Peniel Baptist Church and was baptized at the Strange Property on Silver Lake. *The River Flows North* includes some fifty photographs and a detailed index. It sells for $25.00, plus $3.00 shipping. Order from the Putnam County Archives and History Commission, Box 1976, Palatka, FL 32078.

Winter Park Portrait, The Story of Winter Park and Rollins College, by Richard N. Campen, author and photographer, describes the founding of Winter Park and Rollins and profiles the lives of many of its outstanding citizens. A small settlement

began around 1881, and the town was incorporated in 1887, two years after Rollins College was founded. Winter Park has always been famous for its beautiful homes, public buildings, parks, and gardens, and Mr. Campen has included dozens of photographs of these properties. They include the home of Hamilton Holt, former Rollins College president; "Twelve Oaks," the Archibald Granville Bush estate; and the MacCaughey-Taylor residence. Many of the Winter Park homes built in the nineteenth and early twentieth century remain. The William C. Temple Cottage on Alabama Drive dates to the 1870s, and the C. W. Ward Cottage on Osceola Avenue to 1884. *Winter Park Portrait* is both a narrative history of the area and an architectural history of Winter Park. It was published by West Summit Press, 500 Old Highway 441, Suite 206, Mt. Dora, FL 32757, and it sells for $22.50.

Heritage and Hope: A Story of Presbyterians in Florida is by the Reverend Dr. James R. Bullock who died just before the volume was printed. It was edited by the Reverend Dr. Jerrold Lee Brooks, executive director of the Historical Foundation of Montreat, North Carolina. The first Protestants in Florida settled at Fort Caroline in 1564. When Presbyterians first arrived into Florida is not known, but it is believed that they were among the early settlers in north Florida during the second Spanish period. Rachel Jackson, who lived in Pensacola when her husband served as Florida's first governor, was a Presbyterian, and she tried to organize a Sunday school. The first identifiable Presbyterian community was in the Euchee Valley in west Florida as early as 1820; the first formal congregation dates to 1827. The Synod of Florida, established in 1891, was merged on January 1, 1988, with the Georgia and South Carolina Synods into a larger body of the United Presybterian Church (U.S.A.). *Heritage and Hope* may be ordered from the Synod's office, 1221 Lee Road, Suite 111, Orlando, FL 32810; the price is $7.00, plus $1 .00 postage.

When Florida became an American territory in 1821, the government hoped to convert the old Spanish watchtower at St. Augustine into a lighthouse. The tower, however, was not structurally sound, and a new seventy-three-foot tower was built. When a harbor light was installed, it became Florida's first sea-

coast sentinel. Shortly thereafter, lighthouses were built at Key West, Dry Tortugas, Key Biscayne, and Pensacola, and a lightship was placed at Carys Fort Reef. In 1852, an iron-piled tower was lit on the Reef to replace the lightship. The lighthouse on Sand Key, off Key West, was destroyed in the hurricane in 1846, killing its keeper and her five children when the structure collapsed. In 1853 a new lighthouse was built on Sand Key. This historical data and more is included in Elinor De Wire's *Guide to Florida Lighthouses,* published by Pineapple Press, Inc., P. O. Drawer 16008, Sarasota, FL 34239. Narrative and pictures, many in color, describe all the lighthouses in the state: Amelia Island, St. Johns River, St. Augustine, Ponce de Leon Inlet, Cape Canaveral, Jupiter Inlet, Hillsborough Beach, Cape Florida, the Reef, Key West, Dry Tortugas, Sanibel Island, Gasparilla Island, Egmont Key, St. Marks, Cape St. George, Cape San Blas, and Pensacola. *Guide to Florida Lighthouses* sells for $17.95.

Indian Mounds of the Atlantic Coast, A Guide to Sites from Maine to Florida is by Jerry N. McDonald and Susan L. Woodward. It lists existing publicly-accessible prehistoric mounds and mound-like features located in the Atlantic coast region. Some of the earliest, most complex, and unusual mounds, earthworks, and associated landscape alterations were constructed in Florida. The conical mounds and earthworks were built during the Woodland Period; other formations date to the Mississippian Period. Most of these formations have disappeared, the victims of extensive settlement and land development over the years, but a few remain in Volusia, Putnam, Lake, Palm Beach, Dade, Lee, Sarasota, Manatee, Pinellas, Citrus, Levy, Leon, Gadsden, and Okaloosa counties. Descriptions of these surviving mounds and a sketch map showing how to reach them are included in this volume. It is one in a series of Guides to the American Landscape. Two Florida museum exhibits are also listed, the Historical Museum of Southern Florida in Miami and the Museum of Florida History in Tallahassee– but not the Florida State Museum at the University of Florida, which contains Indian exhibits. There are also lists of pertinent publications, including site reports, and topographic maps. *Indian Mounds of the Atlantic Coast* was published by the McDonald & Woodward Publishing Company, P. O. Box 10308, Blacksburg, VA 24060, and it sells for $12.95 (paperback).

David Rieff's *Going to Miami* carries as its subtitle, *Exiles, Tourists, and Refugees in the New America.* Most of the book deals with the Cubans, who make up nearly one-half of the city's population, but among the other exiles, tourists, and refugees are substantial numbers of Hondurans, Haitians, Vietnamese boat-people, Jews, WASPS, and retirees representing a variety of ethnic, religious, and national backgrounds. The arrival of the Cubans in the 1950s dramatically changed Miami and Dade County– politically, economically, intellectually, and socially. It is a tropical city; some people refer to it as a "second Havana." It is a bilingual city. Anyone going through the airport terminal in Miami is immediately aware of that. The author also reminds us that Miami has become an important Sunbelt city, the consequences of which have had a major impact on Miami and its people. Published by Little-Brown & Company, *Going to Miami* sells for $16.95.

Patrick Smith, whose *A Land Remembered,* received the Florida Historical Society's Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award in 1985, is also the author of two novels – *Forever Island* and *Allapattah.* Both relate to the Seminole Indians and the Florida Everglades, and both have been republished in a single volume, the *Patrick Smith Reader,* by Pineapple Press of Sarasota. *Forever Island* is the story of a Seminole who tries to cling to his traditional lifestyle as it is being threatened by land developers. *Allapattah* is the account of a young Indian's problems and vexations as he attempts to adjust to living in the white man's world. Mr. Smith, one of Florida's best known novelists, is the director of College Relations at Brevard Community College. The *Patrick Smith Reader* sells for $16.95.

I Fought With Geronimo, by Jason Betzinez with Wilbur Sturtevant Nye, is a paperback reprint of a 1959 history. Betzinez, cousin and lifelong associate of Geronimo, also provided many of the photographs. Geronimo and Betzinez were among the group of Apache Indians imprisoned at Fort Marion (Castillo de San Marcos) in St. Augustine in 1886. Betzinez describes life at the fort where he was taught carpentry. The Indians were free to leave the fort during the day, and Betzinez writes about his visits into town and the local folk and tourists he met there. Betzinez was selected to attend the Industrial School at Carlisle,

PA, and was later a steel worker in Pennsylvania and a blacksmith and farm worker in Oklahoma. His wife was a white missionary. *I Fought With Geronimo,* published by the University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, sells for $7.95.

Confederate Navy Chief: Stephen R. Mallory, by Joseph T. Durkin, S.J., first published in 1954, is the standard biography of Mallory, United States Senator from Florida when the state seceded from the Union in 1861 and later secretary of the Navy in the Confederate cabinet. Mallory, born in Trinidad, West Indies, was nine years old when his family settled in Key West in 1820. His mother, Ellen Mallory, was the only white woman on the island at the time. He read law in the office of Judge William Marvin, the famous admiralty judge who later became governor of Florida. In 1838 he married Angela Moreno from Pensacola (a dormitory at the University of Florida, Mallory Hall, is named in her memory). Mallory became active in state politics, and served as a correspondent for the *New York Tribune,* In 1851 he was elected by the Florida legislature to the United States Senate. After the collapse of the Confederate government in 1865, Mallory was arrested in Georgia and was jailed at Fort Lafayette until March 1866. After his release, he returned to Pensacola where he lived until his death in 1871. Historians have called Mallory one of the two ablest members of the Confederate cabinet, the other being Judah P. Benjamin. For his research Father Durkin relied heavily on Mallory's diary and his personal papers at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. *Confederate Navy Chief* has been republished by the University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, SC 29208, in its Classic and Maritime History series, edited by William N. Still. The price is $19.95.

The Villagers of Coral Gables, Florida, compilers and publishers of *Biscayne Bights and Breezes,* assure the readers that this is more than "just a cookbook." While there are many recipes for fish, fowl, soups and chowders, poultry and game birds, vegetables, salads and salad dressings, shell fish, cakes and pies, and other exotic desserts, many traditional to south Florida, there are also included historical vignettes, or "loving memories of Miami," as they are called. The recipes and pictures are from records and recollections of early residents which have been

collected by the Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami-Dade Public Library, Vizcaya Museum, and the Monroe County Tourist Development Council. On the cover is a picture of the restored casino at Vizcaya. The Villagers, Inc. was founded in 1966 to further community interests and to help preserve and restore historical landmarks. *Biscayne Bights and Breezes* may be ordered from the Villagers, Box 141843, Coral Gables, FL 33114; the price is $15.35.

HISTORY NEWS

President's Prize

The Florida Historical Society announces the inauguration of the President's Prize for articles on state and local history. Beginning in 1988, the Society will award two $500 prizes for outstanding scholarship in Florida history. The prizes will recognize the best undergraduate and graduate papers completed by Florida students enrolled in any two- or four-year community college, private college, or university. All topics with a Florida theme will be considered eligible. Faculty members may nominate outstanding entries or students may submit their own essays. Papers should reflect original research and must be typed and double-spaced. Submissions should be limited to a minimum of ten pages and a maximum of forty pages. For the 1988 prize the committee will accept any paper completed at a Florida college or university during the 1986-1987 school year. The winners will be recognized at the Society's annual meeting in Miami, May 12-14, 1988. The deadline for this year's President's Prize is March 1, 1988. Papers should be sent to Dr. Gary Mormino, Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida, Tampa, FL 33620.

Meetings

The twenty-second annual Georgia Archives Institute will be held June 13-24, 1988, in Atlanta. It is designed for beginning archivists, librarians, and manuscript curators, and will offer general instruction in basic concepts and practices of archival administration and the management of traditional and modern documentary materials. The two-week program will focus on an integrated archives/records management approach to records keeping and will feature demonstrations, a supervised practicum, and field trips to local archives. Tuition is $350. Enrollment is limited, and the deadline for receipt of an application and resume is March 28. For information and application write Division of Library and Information Management, Emory University, Atlanta, GA 30322.

The fortieth annual meeting of the Florida Anthropological Society is scheduled for May 6-8, 1988. The Ramada Inn (I-4 at State Road 426, Altamonte Springs) is the convention hotel. Papers, due by February 6, 1988, should be submitted to the Central Florida Anthropological Society, 810 East Rollins Street, Orlando, FL 32803.

Converse College, Spartanburg, South Carolina, announces a conference to be held October 20, 1988, as part of its centennial celebration. The theme is "The Future South: An Historical Perspective for the Twenty-first Century." Papers will examine urbanization, politics, technology, race relations, the role of women, and cultural persistence. For details and registration information, write Professor Joe Ann Lever, Converse College, 580 East Main Street, Spartanburg, SC 29301.

The seventh Antiquarium Book Fair will be held March 11-13, 1988, at the St. Petersburg Hilton and Towers, 333 First Street South, St. Petersburg. The fair commemorates the centennial of the city of St. Petersburg. It is sponsored jointly by the Florida Antiquarium Book Sellers Association and the Society for the Advancement of the Poynter Library, University of South Florida Bayboro Campus. On exhibit and for sale will be original and limited edition books in all fields of interest, including Floridiana, maps, autographs, prints, and paper collectibles. For information write Mike Slicker, Lighthouse Books, 1735 First Avenue North, St. Petersburg, FL 33713 (813-822-3278).

The Center for Jewish Studies, University of North Carolina at Asheville, invites proposals for papers for its 1988 conference on "Jewish Culture in the South: Past, Present and Future." The conference will be held in the Owens Conference Center on the Asheville campus, April 15-17, 1988. Suggested topics include folklore and folk traditions of southern Jews, Jewish humor, changing roles for Jewish women, the Jewish family, Jewish experiences in the rural South, comparisons between northern and southern Jewish culture, Jewish southern communities, Jewish tales and folklore, survivor accounts, immigration and settlement in the South, and Jews and Israel in the mind of the South. Persons wishing to present a paper or organize a panel should submit a one-page proposal and vita to Dr. Judith

Shulimson, University of North Carolina at Asheville, 1 University Heights, Asheville, NC 28804.

Awards

Doyle E. Carlton, Jr., prominent Florida businessman, rancher, and citrus grower, is the 1987 recipient of Tampa Historical Society's D. B. McKay Award. The presentation, which recognized Carlton's "significant contributions to the cause of Florida history," was made at a banquet at the Tampa Yacht and Country Club, November 18, 1987. The recipient has helped preserve pioneer Florida history by helping organize the "Cracker Village" at the Florida State Fairgrounds in Tampa and by moving the Carlton ancestral home to that site. Mr. Carlton, who served ten years in the Florida Senate and was in the 1960 run-off for Democratic nomination for governor, is the son of former Governor Doyle E. Carlton (1929-1933). Nancy N. Skemp is president of the Society and presided at the banquet.

The American Association for State and Local History, at its annual meeting in Raleigh, North Carolina, October 1987, presented Awards of Merit to WEDU-TV and Atlantic Productions of Tampa for producing the television series "Fantasy of Florida: Dreams Expressed in Architecture," and to the Historical Association of Southern Florida of Miami for documenting and interpreting the history of an ethnologically diverse community.

The Florida Trust for Historic Preservation presented its 1987 preservation awards at its annual awards luncheon, September 17, 1987, in Gainesville, Florida. The Florida Trust annually recognizes outstanding preservation projects, groups, and individuals for their efforts in protecting the state's historical resources.

Announcements and Activites

The Collier County Museum is researching the history of the army air force bases at Naples and Immokalee, Florida, for an exhibit it is preparing on World War II. The Naples base was built in 1942 as an auxiliary to the Buckingham Flexible Gun-

nery Training School at Fort Myers. The Immokalee base was built in 1942 as part of Hendrix Field at Sebring. Anyone stationed at or who trained at either of the bases or has any information is asked to write to Elaine Gates, Collier County Museum, 3301 Tamiami Trail East, Naples, FL 33962.

Garland Publishing, Inc. (136 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016) seeks contributors for a compact encyclopedia "The War of the American Revolution." Writers wishing to contribute articles of fifty to 2,000 words on the military or naval aspects of the 1763-1783 era (battles, campaigns, skrimishes, frontier fighting, prominent commanders, weaponry, maritime affairs, etc.) are invited to write Richard L. Blanko, Department of History, SUNY College at Brockport, Brockport, NY 14420.

Volume 13, numbers 1 and *2,* of *The Florida Journal of Anthropology* will be published jointly with volume 41, number 2, *The Florida Anthropologist,* the journal of the Florida Anthropological Society. Anthropologists, particularly graduate and undergraduate students, are invited to submit articles about Florida for inclusion in this special issue. Articles may include all sub-fields, and the geographic scope is unlimited. Manuscripts (three double-spaced typed copies), are due by January 15, 1988, and should be directed to *The Florida Journal of Anthropology,* Department of Anthropology, 1351 Turlington Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611.

Obituary

August Burghard, Jr.

August Burghard, Jr., historian, advertising executive, newspaper man, and Fort Lauderdale pioneer, died in Fort Lauderdale on August 3, 1987, of heart failure. Mr. Burghard served as a member of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society, 1968-1970, and was an active participant in the affairs of the Society. He was co-author of *Checkered Sunshine, The Story of Fort Lauderdale, 1793-1955,* and the author of *Half a Century: Land of Matters Unforgot,* and other books, articles, and monographs dealing with Fort Lauderdale, Broward County, and the south Florida area. A native of Alabama, Mr. Burghard moved to Fort Lauderdale in 1925 and worked as a reporter

and city editor for the *Fort Lauderdale News.* He helped organize the Historical Society of Fort Lauderdale and served as its first president. He was also vice president of the Historical Association of Southern Florida and president of the Audubon Society. He and his wife, Lois, who survives him, were enthusastic bird watchers. At the time of his death, Mr. Burghard was working on updating his book, *Checkered Sunshine,* to include the years since 1955.

GREAT EXPECTATION . . .

1988

Jan. 13-16	Society for Historical Archaeology	Reno, NV
Mar. 3-5	Florida College Teachers of History	Tallahassee, FL
Mar. 30-Apr. 2	Organization of American Historians	Reno, NV
April 15-16	Society of Florida Archivists	Tampa, FL
April 17-25	Institute for Early Contact Period Studies Conference	Gainesville, FL
May 6-8	Florida Anthropological Society	Orlando, FL
May 12-14	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 86th MEETING	Miami, FL
May 13	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	Miami, FL
Sept. 14-18	American Association for State and Local History	Rochester, NY
Oct. 19-23	National Trust for Historic Preservation	Cincinnati, OH
Nov. 4-6	Southern Jewish Historical Society	Birmingham, AL
Nov. 9-12	Southern Historical Association	Norfolk, VA

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All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Dr. Gary R. Mormino, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, FL 33620. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Mormino.