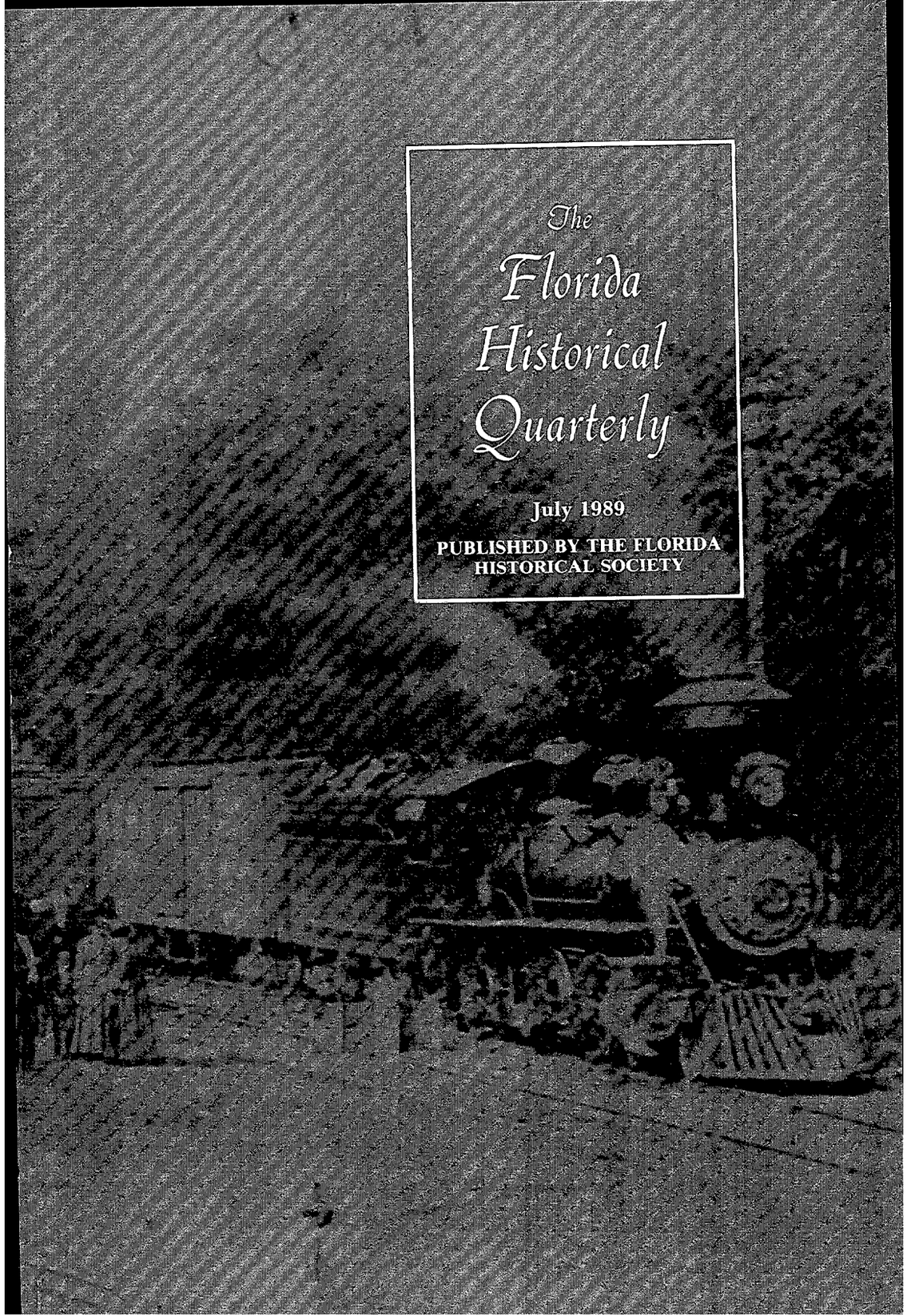

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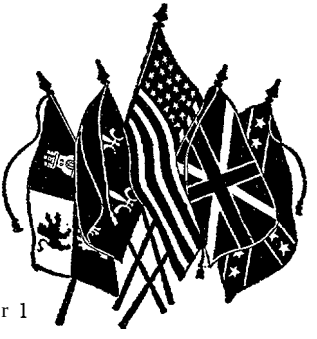
COVER

Two eastbound trains and passengers appear to be waiting at the Archer depot for a westbound train from Gainesville, ca. 1910. The wood-burning freight on the right has arrived from Cedar Key, while the coal-burning train on the left has come from the south. The line on the right is the original "Florida Railroad" built by Senator David Levy Yulee's company. Originating in Fernandina, the line had reached Archer by 1859, and was completed to its terminus at Cedar Key in 1861. The line on the left was built to haul phosphate from the mines in the area and other freight. It eventually went all the way to Tampa. *From the collection of Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. Gainesville.*

The Florida Historical Quarterly



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BOOK REVIEWS

PENSACOLA PROGRESSIVE: JOHN MORENO COE AND THE CAMPAIGN OF 1948

by SARAH HART BROWN

IN 1951, John Moreno Coe, native of Pensacola, Florida, participated as an advocate for the defense in the celebrated case of Willie McGee, a black man tried and convicted three times by Mississippi juries for the rape of a Laurel, Mississippi, housewife. As with most of his clients, Coe passionately believed in McGee's innocence; further, he believed that McGee had been systematically denied due process by Mississippi courts.[1] In his home town, almost no one except Coe's family supported him in this crusade; his actions were perverse and strange in the eyes of most Pensacolians.[2] Yet following McGee's execution, Coe was praised by an unusual colleague, a member of the McGee defense team who would one day be nationally prominent, as John Moreno Coe himself would never be. Bella Abzug wrote to him from her New York law office. "You must know that your ability, courage, and strength can only be likened to an oasis in a desert. Everything that you are in view of your whole background, of the relationship of forces with whom you are daily in contact, stands out as a might[y] example and symbol of

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Sarah H. Brown is a doctoral student at Georgia State University. The author wishes to express her appreciation to Professor John Matthews of Georgia State University and to Dr. Linda Matthews and her staff in the Special Collections Department, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University. This paper received the Florida Historical Society's President's Prize for best graduate student essay in 1989.

1. Interview with Aurelia Bell, by author, February 14, 1988. Mrs. Bell, Coe's legal secretary in the 1950s and 1960s, says that Coe always convinced himself of his clients' innocence. Briefs filed with the Mississippi and United States Supreme Courts and correspondence in the McGee files also indicate the depth of Mr. Coe's feeling about the injustice done to McGee. Unnumbered Folder titled "4361, 'State of Mississippi' v. Willie McGee," box 41, John Moreno Coe Papers, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia. Taped interviews in possession of author.
2. Interview with James Mansfield Coe and Evalyn Coe Grubbs, by author, February 13, 1988. Coe, when asked if his father had any allies in Pensacola, said, "No. It was a lonesome place."

truth and honesty at a time when so little of that kind of thing prevails in either North or South, East or West. For me as a young person, comparatively inexperienced both in the ways of the law and in the ways of the world, my contact with you was a rich thing from which I gained much inspiration and courage."[3]

The mind and heart of John Moreno Coe, so well formed and resolute when he met Willie McGee, were made from strange stuff for his time and place. In view of his "whole background," he was indeed an unusual man. A hard working and financially successful attorney by 1951,[4] he nevertheless was well known in Pensacola's black community as "Lawyer Coe," an ally against the establishment, and in most of the white community as a political radical, perhaps even a communist sympathizer.[5]

One of the youngest men ever admitted to the bar in Florida, Coe was twenty when he began practicing law in 1917. He had educated himself for the bar by reading law in the office of a distant cousin. According to his daughter, he worked during the day for another cousin in the sawmill and building business and read law at night, often aloud to his adoring mother who was "quite a southern woman." It was said that she "filled him with ideas that a man . . . stood up for his country and his ideas and that was that."[6]

Coe could claim an illustrious local ancestry, a fact that stood him in good stead as he established himself as an attorney. Throughout his life he reaffirmed his affection for his past. "My people," he said, were slaveholders on both sides of the family and fought for the Confederacy. His paternal great-grandfather had fought with Andrew Jackson at New Orleans, and his maternal great-grandfather was appointed by John

3. Bella S. Abzug to John M. Coe, June 20, 1951. "Mississippi v. McGee." box 41, Coe Papers.
4. Interview with E. Dixie Beggs, by author, February 14, 1988. One of Pensacola's leading attorneys for fifty years, Beggs was asked how Mr. Coe made a living when he had so many clients who could not pay. "Because," he said, "he had so many clients who *did* pay."
5. Coe-Grubbs interview. Coe's children and many others remember a Pensacola *News Journal* headline run in the early 1960s: "Is Coe Communist?" The headline accompanied a picture of Mr. and Mrs. Coe returning from a trip to Castro's Cuba with a group of liberals who had been invited to view the revolution firsthand soon after Castro came to power.
6. Coe-Grubbs interview.

John Moreno Coe, ca. 1966. *Courtesy of Evalyn Coe Crubbs, Pensacola.*

Quincy Adams as marshal of West Florida. Several of his Dorr ancestors had served in the American Revolution.[7] The name Coe is well known in west Florida– Coe's landing on the Apalachicola River is near the site of a cotton plantation owned by John Moreno Coe's grandfather– and Moreno, a name from his mother's family, is evidence of descent from Don Francisco Moreno, an early Spanish diplomat. His aunt, Angela Moreno, was married to United States Senator and Confederate Secretary of the Navy Stephen R. Mallory.

7. John Coe to Ralph E. Shikes, July 5, 1948, folder 54, box 1, Coe Papers.

The year after he passed the bar exam, Coe enlisted in the United States Army and served as a noncommissioned officer (sergeant) in the field artillery. He was attending Officer's Candidate School when World War I ended, and he returned to Pensacola to take up his law practice.[8] By the early 1920s he was an active participant in the community's business life and was supporting a growing family. Yet even as a young attorney, he had a penchant for accepting clients unpopular with the local conservative establishment. One of his colleagues remembered his energy and industry as one of Pensacola's earliest "plaintiff's lawyers." When the attorneys gathered in front of the courthouse at the beginning of each term waiting to file their cases, Coe always had many more than any other lawyer– mostly damage suits.[9]

In 1924, Coe was appointed to fill the state senate term of John P. Stokes who, soon after his election, decided to migrate to booming Miami. Whether this appointment repaid political debts for help in the 1924 gubernatorial campaign is not known, but Coe and newly elected Governor John W. Martin were friends and remained allies after Coe left office. Martin had campaigned as a progressive, which in the parlance of the time meant "Businessman's Politician," a label which comes close to describing Coe in 1924.[10] Martin's first priority was road building, while Coe entered the legislature most interested in a bill to help Escambia County collect back taxes, a judicial reform measure, and a conservation bill designed to help Pensacola's commercial fishing industry. Early evidence of civil libertarianism, however, could be detected in Coe's handling of two other issues. He opposed both a "Bible bill," which would have required that the King James Version of the Bible be read in Florida classrooms each day, and a "search and seizure" bill, a measure which would have given great latitude to police enforcers of prohibition statutes. Neither measure passed, but Coe's opposition fueled his opponent's campaign in 1926.[11]

8. Coe-Grubbs interview.
9. E. Dixie Beggs interview.
10. Victoria H. McDonnell, "Rise of the 'Businessman's Politician': The 1924 Florida Gubernatorial Race," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 52 (July 1973), 39-51.
11. Folders 2 through 28, box 1, Coe Papers, contain bills, correspondence, and other papers relating to Coe's senate term.

Coe lost his bid for reelection, and although he was bitter about the defeat, he became, in the 1930s and early 1940s, a very successful small-town lawyer.[12] He was a meticulous, unrelenting advocate in court, seldom losing cases. Reportedly, one large Pensacola business kept him on retainer just so he would refrain from suing them, although another firm handled their legal affairs.[13] Nevertheless, after his senate term, Coe's law practice began to take on a new quality. Describing it in 1948, he said: "In my law practice since 1929, I have been particularly interested in defending cases of Negros [sic] who were subject to discrimination and oppression. I handled at trial and in the Supreme Court the Chavis and Cromwell cases, which resulted in permitting Negros [sic] to register and vote in the Democratic primary. I defended Will Lewis in the recent case in which indictment for rape was quashed because his race was systematically excluded from the grand jury."[14]

Although they disagree on exact dates, Coe's children have memories of other civil liberties and criminal cases handled by their father. He represented clients in cases involving peonage in Pineapple, Alabama, and Franklin County, Florida, turpentine camps; segregation on Pensacola city buses; a Jim Crow ordinance requiring black citizens to defer to whites on city sidewalks; and many instances of negotiation between members of Pensacola's black community and the city police.[15]

These are not the kinds of cases most prospering southern lawyers would have been moved to accept during the Roosevelt years, regardless of the changes occurring in Washington. One wonders why a person of Coe's background and ability took such risks, involving himself and his family in controversy, and subjecting himself to ridicule and scorn. It is difficult to determine what propelled Senator John M. Coe, progressive southern Democrat, toward "Lawyer Coe," defender of the Pensacola Improvement Association, member of the American Civil Liber-

12. W. A. Russell to John Coe, June 24, 1926; John Coe to Russell, June 2, 1926, folder 26; undated newspaper clipping, "To My Friends," folder 28, box 1, Coe Papers.
13. E. Dixie Beggs interview.
14. John Coe to Louis Touby, September 30, 1948, folder 56, box 1, Coe Papers. Further comment on the Lewis case is found in John Coe to Marian Mix, August 31, 1948, folder 49, ibid.
15. Coe-Grubbs interview.

ties Union, president (in the 1950s) of the National Lawyers Guild, and state chairman of Henry Wallace's Progressive party. Unfortunately for those interested in Coe's life and work, his files for the years between 1928 and 1948, including files on the Chavis, Cromwell, Lewis, and Pensacola Transit Company cases, are lost or misplaced. Even more crucial than the case files, Coe's notes and correspondence could reveal his political relationships in the 1930s and early 1940s. During these years his political ideas underwent deep and permanent changes. He was a progressive state senator in the 1920s a dedicated mainstream Roosevelt liberal in the 1930s and by the end of the 1940s, by local standards at least, radical Progressive: integrationist, defender of accused communists, and opponent of the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Alliance, and Chiang Kai-shek.

Pensacola was a typical city of the deep South in the mid-1940s. Pensacolians envisioned themselves as progressive Southerners, but the city was probably much like Montgomery, Alabama, some 150 miles to the north. Biographer John Salmond describes liberal New Dealer Aubrey Williams's return to the "Cradle of the Confederacy" after his years of service in Washington, noting his disappointment with the lack of progress made there during the New Deal and war years. Like Pensacola, Montgomery had become "nationalized" by 1945, primarily because the city had been host to a large and fairly sophiticated military population, although "war and the social change that it engendered had not altered Montgomery's living patterns. "[16] Like Montgomery, Pensacola prospered, growing to a population of about 80,000 by 1945 because of the huge expansion of the Naval Air Station's facilities and personnel.[17] "The Cradle of Naval Aviation" trained fliers from all over the world in the 1940s (members of Christ Episcopal Church sang "God Save the Queen" as often as "The Star Spangled Banner" in those years), but the result was not a general liberalization of local customs. Of all her social groups, Pensacola's black popula-

16. John Salmond, *A Southern Rebel: The Life and Times of Aubrey Willis Williams, 1890-1965* (Chapel Hill, 1983), 198-99.
17. James R. McGovern, *The Emergence of a City in the Modern South: Pensacola, 1900-1945* (DeLeon Springs, FL, 1976), 175.

tion benefited least from the "relentless incursion of urbanizing and nationalizing pressures before and after World War II."[18]

Nevertheless, the war and its attendant cosmopolitanism awakened Pensacola's established black community to the possibilities inherent in equal citizenship, and, like blacks elsewhere in the country, they began to organize. For the Pensacola Improvement Association, founded in 1942 to work for black voting rights, allies were few in the white community. In cases like those of Chavis, Cromwell, and Lewis, Coe resisted social pressure and agreed to take up their cause. One can certainly imagine "Lawyer Coe" cheering as Eleanor Roosevelt addressed an audience at all-black Washington High School in 1942. By 1943, black names had been placed on the county's jury roles and 1,066 blacks were registered to vote.[19]

The registration drives of the early 1940s were undoubtedly assisted by the abolition of the Florida poll tax in 1937 and expanded further as a result of the 1944 Supreme Court decision, *Smith v. Alwright,* outlawing the all-white primary. In 1946, an attempt was made in the Florida legislature to reinstitute white primaries by passing the Matthews bill, a measure which would have given control of primary elections to the parties, thus making them "private" affairs. Miami lawyer Leo Sheiner, who served on the executive committee of the Florida Progressive party during most of Coe's tenure as chairman, called a meeting of liberal organizations under the auspices of the Fourth District Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare to oppose this bill.[20] While there is no evidence that Coe attended this meeting, two years later, when trying to recruit Pensacola blacks for the Progressive party, he was sensi-

18. Ibid., 165.
19. Ibid.
20. Thomas A. Krueger, *And Promises to Keep: The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 1938-1948* (Nashville, 1967), 163. Leo Sheiner was one of those called to testify, along with Virginia Durr, Aubrey Williams, Myles Horton, James Dombrowski, and others, before Senator James O. Eastland's Senate Internal Security Subcommittee hearings in New Orleans in 1954. He denied that he was a Communist party member, but refused to answer any other questions. See also Salmond, *Aubrey Williams,* 232-36; F. Hollinger Barnard, ed., *Outside the Magic Circle: the Autobiography of Virginia Durr* (University, AL, 1985), 258-59; and Anthony P. Dunbar, *Against the Grain: Southern Radicals and Prophets, 1929-1959* (Charlottesville, 1981), 234-40.

tive to their fear of "throwing away" the recently won franchise by giving up Democratic party registration.[21]

Although his files for the FDR years are missing, it is known that Coe participated in Florida Democratic party affairs at least until the time of Roosevelt's death in 1945. He had made many political friends during his brief career as a state senator, and he remained active in the party, although his loss of that office in 1926 was followed by the defeat of several of his Tallahassee colleagues. Most notably his mentor, Governor John W. Martin, lost a race for the United States Senate to Park Trammell in 1928, and a second run for the governorship in a very close race against David Sholtz in 1932. Also, Coe's good friend Senator William Hodges of Tallahassee lost the governor's race to Fred P. Cone in 1936.[22]

Coe had surely been encouraged, however, by the fact that Claude Pepper was appointed to the United States Senate upon the death of Duncan U. Fletcher, then elected in 1936 and reelected in 1938 and 1944. Coe and Pepper had become acquainted during the years that Pepper practiced law in Tallahassee, and both were active in state affairs of the Kiwanis Club and the Democratic party in the 1930s. Pepper was a member of the State Democratic Central Committee beginning in 1932, and he headed the state's delegation to the National Democratic Convention in 1940 and 1944. Coe was a delegate from the third congressional district to all four Roosevelt conventions, and was twice a member of the party's platform committee.[23] Both men had served one term in the Florida legislature. Pepper's assertion in his biography that his vote against a resolution condemning Mrs. Hoover for inviting the wife of a black Congressman to tea at the White House "contributed substantially" to his loss in a 1930 reelection attempt is reminiscent of Coe's trouble with Bible and search and seizure bills in 1926.[24] In a biographical

21. John Coe to Nathaniel Baker, January 13, 1948, folder 42, box 1, Coe Papers.
22. Allen Morris, *The Florida Handbook, 1949-1950* (Tallahassee, 1949), 13, 224-28.
23. John Coe to Touby, April 30, 1948, folder 56, box 1, Coe Peppers. See also Claude Denson Pepper with Hays Corey, *Pepper: Eyewitness to a Century* (New York, 1987), 44, 47, 93, 135.
24. Ibid., 41-42.

sketch Pepper wrote for *The Florida Handbook, 1949-1950,* he declared his belief that government should guarantee citizens' "opportunity, personal security, health, safety, well-being" and said he was "very liberal" on questions involving the extension of federal power to ensure economic equity but "strict" in matters involving civil liberties or constitutional rights of individuals.[25] In innumerable letters and speeches, Coe echoed these beliefs.

Coe, like Senator Pepper, supported Roosevelt's war policy as ardently as he had supported the New Deal. Neither was able to fight; Pepper was forty years old in 1940, Coe forty-four. Pepper was "the first to offer legislation in the Congress which later became Lend-Lease," and he attempted, beginning in the summer of 1940, "to arouse the country to an awareness of the danger of dictatorship."[26] Coe tried to register for the army but was refused. He gloried in letters from a friend that told about the campaign in Italy, often reading them to his family at dinner.[27]

Nonetheless, as the jubilation of victory subsided in 1946 and 1947, the prevailing sense of accomplishment was accompanied, for some reformers at least, by a feeling of disappointment in the domestic situation. Many southern liberals, especially old New Dealers such as Williams, Pepper, Virginia Durr, Clark Foreman, and C. B. Baldwin, saw clearly the evil of European fascism and equated it with the oppression of blacks and political dissidents in the United States. In common with many other Americans, they feared the growing anticommunism of the Truman administration in the mid-1940s.[28] Always a logical thinker, Coe, too, hated the inconsistency of American involvement in the fight against racism and totalitarianism in Europe and Asia while reform was stymied at home, especially in the South, by a recalcitrant establishment. Since victory brought a return to normalcy, rather than liberation from old conservative

25. Morris, *Florida Handbook, 1949-1950,* 133-34.
26. Ibid.
27. Coe-Grubbs interview.
28. Pepper, *Eyewitness to a Century,* 148-60. See also Durr, *Autobiography,* 190-93; Salmond, *Aubrey Williams,* 202; Krueger, *Promises to Keep,* 149-51; and Patricia Sullivan, "Gideon's Southern Soldiers: New Deal Politics and Civil Rights Reform" (Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1985), 192-93.

cultural patterns, liberal idealists became disillusioned with established institutions and politics.

Claude Pepper was a leader of the convention struggle to keep Henry Wallace on the Democratic ticket in 1944, and Coe was a committed member of his team.[29] In 1945, Pepper was the lone southern supporter of Wallace in Senate confirmation hearings held to debate his appointment as secretary of commerce.[30] In January 1947, Senator Pepper agreed with Wallace's stand against the Truman Doctrine and joined other liberals in signing a "scroll of greeting" intended to introduce private citizen Wallace to British progressives as an ambassador who embodied "the spirit of faith and democratic tradition of our two countries." The following May, Pepper was approached indirectly by Wallace's friends about the possibility of a third party formation.[31] But Pepper remained a loyal Democrat and a leader of the party's left wing. Coe veered further left and followed other defecting Democrats into Wallace's Progressive party.

Coe never became reconciled to Truman's leadership and seems to have discarded his allegiance to the Democratic party soon after Roosevelt's death, but certainly after Truman's dismissal of Wallace from the cabinet in 1947. By the beginning of 1948 he was on the Wallace bandwagon as vice-president of the newly formed People's Progressive Party of Florida for the third congressional district. On April 17, he was elected state chairman of the party, a position he would hold for four years.[32]

For the Progressive party of Florida, the most important order of business was getting their candidates' names on the ballot. Florida's election law made it nearly impossible to form a viable new party. In order to appear on the ballot, it was necessary for the party to register 35,000 citizens (5 percent of Florida's registered voters) as members of the Progressive party before March 15, 1948. Florida was "the only state in the union with an election law that prohibits the circulation of petitions,"

29. Coe-Grubbs interview. See also Sullivan, *Gideon's Southern Soldiers*, 169, and Pepper, *Eyewitness to a Century*, 135-36.
30. George Brown Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South, 1915-1945* (Baton Rouge, 1967), 729. See also Pepper, *Eyewitness to a Century*, 149-50.
31. Alonzo L. Hamby, *Beyond the New Deal: Harry S. Truman and American Liberalism* (New York, 1973), 176, 192, 197-99.
32. Minutes of the State Executive Committee, Peoples Progressive Party of Florida, April 17 and 18, 1948, folder 53, box 1, Coe Papers.

according to a February 1948 news release, and the national party considered the twenty-day whirlwind registration campaign undertaken by the state party a lost cause. Nevertheless, with direction coming from the Florida party's diligent Miami headquarters staff, the task was undertaken with optimism and determination.[33]

During the registration drive, district vice-president Coe attempted to organize a group of Wallace backers in Pensacola, and by mail he encouraged others in the third district who had shown interest in the cause to find voters in their counties who would register or re-register as Progressives. The results in the west Florida counties can only be described as pitiful. The "quota" assigned to the third district by party leaders was 6,550 registrations.[34] Coe's "results," reported to campaign manager Louis Touby of Miami on March 11, indicate a total of sixteen registered Progressives in Escambia, Santa Rosa, Leon, Gulf, Washington, Gadsden, and Holmes counties, with the other counties in the district not reporting. Thirteen of these registrations were in Escambia County, and three across Pensacola Bay in adjoining Santa Rosa County where Coe, his wife, and his one son of voting age resided. This hearty band had been hard at work, meeting every Tuesday night in Coe's offices. Coe reported to Touby: "We have carried some seven separate advertisements in local daily papers which have substantial coverage not only in Pensacola, but throughout the western half of the District. These ads carried tear sheets providing for change of registration. We have printed and distributed by our group principally to the outgoing shifts of local industrial plants some 4,000 circulars, as well as those sent to us from headquarters. We have circularized 5,000 Pensacola residents with printed post cards carrying information and arguments about the Party and instructions for registration and change thereof. We have put on three 15 minute radio addresses one by me, one by Rev. Edward T. Maxted, a retired Episcopal minister and member of our group and a very able speaker, and one by a housewife, Mrs. S. D. Teller. We have collected and spent locally some three hundred dollars, and we have gotten numberless expres-

33. News release, Peoples Progressive Party of Florida, February 21, 1948, folder 56, ibid.
34. Touby to John Coe, February 12, 1948, ibid.

sions of sympathy and good wishes, and *THIRTEEN* registrations; and *THREE* in Santa Rosa County. . . . I have always admitted that I am not an experienced organizer, but I am not that bad! We have done earnest work, and good work, but the soil though ploughed and fertilzed just won't bring forth fruit yet. I think it may in the future."[35]

Statewide the totals, although insufficient to gain a place on the ballot, were more encouraging. Eight thousand Progressives registered in Florida between February 15 and March 15, about a quarter of the number needed. This period, however, heightened awareness of the party's existence all over the state, engendering publicity and controversy. Although the registrations were obviously in parts of Florida other than Coe's territory, which lay north of Gaineville and west of Tallahassee, an excerpt from one of his third district flyers demonstrates the general tenor of the party's propaganda:

> If you love *democracy* better than *privilege,*
> If you love *honesty* better than *double dealing,*
> If you love *tolerance* better than *hatred,*
> If you love *peace* better than causeless *war,*
> Then support HENRY A. WALLACE and register before March 15, as a member of the PEOPLES PROGRESSIVE PARTY.[36]

If nothing else, the registration drive affirmed the party's legitimacy as part of a valid national movement and established its leadership group. At the April meeting in Jacksonville at which he was unanimously elected chairman (replacing G. Bradford Williams of Lakeland who died in February), Coe assessed the party's mandate for the presidential campaign of 1948. The Florida organization, he told the executive committee, should educate the public on the issues, give financial help to the party in states where it was on the ballot, and organize in Florida a write-in campaign for Wallace and vice-presidential nominee

35. John Coe to Touby, March 11, 1948, ibid. March 15 letters from the registrars of Leon and Calhoun counties listed three Progressive party registrations in Leon (Tallahassee) and eleven in Calhoun (Blountstown). Calhoun County had a little over 8,000 residents, according to the 1945 state census, only about 1,100 of them Negro. See folders 54 and 56, box 1, ibid. and Morris, *Florida Handbook, 1949-1950,* 245-46.

36. "Why We Believe in HENRY A. WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT," folder 43, box 1, Coe Papers.

Glenn Taylor.[37] He had little faith, however, that the write-in campaign or fund-raising activities would amount to much. In June, when Coe was asked if he thought a state convention of the party would be a good idea, he replied with a quote from Hitler, "a horrible authority" who nevertheless understood that "to set up a political organization without plenty of easily comprehended work to do is the surest way to have it go stale and kill off enthusiasm." He would call a convention when it was necessary, but for the present "we want to keep alive the faith, keep the faithful interested, and wait the day of action, which will be 1950 or 1952."[38]

The Florida Progressives that Coe addressed were a diverse group. Socially, most were outsiders: Coe and a sprinkling of other white Protestant professionals by nature and belief, others because of race, creed, ethnicity, or union connections. The original impetus for the Wallace movement in Florida came from an organization begun by Theresa Kanter, Louis Touby, Leo Sheiner, Molka Reich, Harold Tannen, and a few other Jewish citizens of Miami. Early on Coe commented on finding allies within Pensacola's Greek community, but his most sympathetic friends in Pensacola were Jews– Bennie Bear and his son Max and Rabbi and Mrs. J. A. Leibert. Most Florida unions stayed with the Democratic party, but the cigar workers of Ybor City and a few other union groups in Hillsborough and Pinellas counties provided the largest pocket of Progressives. As a result, the party's headquarters was moved from Miami to Tampa soon after Coe took office. Frank Pina, the president of the Cigar Workers Union, was an articulate member of the executive committee. Black support came mostly from black teachers and college professors and their students, although there was usually a sizable group of Duval County blacks at committee meetings, presumably some of them representing churches or labor organizations. The first black Florida elector was Mrs. Maxine Bell, a Progressive stalwart from Jacksonville. An unofficial alliance existed with the NAACP in the Tampa/St. Petersburg area, and although the two groups worked together on local issues, no joint communiqués or appeals were issued. There

37. Minutes of the State Executive Committee, April 17, 1948. folder 53, ibid.
38. John Coe to Marjorie Haynes, June 10, 1948, folder 47, ibid.

were organized white student groups supporting Wallace at the University of Florida in Gainesville and in Tampa and Miami.[39]

With notable exceptions, party officers were first- or second-generation northern transplants living south of Gainesville. Although they considered themselves representative of oppressed people, the Florida party's executive committee, especially those who remained loyal over the long haul, can be characterized as an educated white minority group. All of the Florida Progressive party officers had been ardent supporters of the New Deal and considered themselves egalitarian liberals. Like their leader, Henry Wallace, they represented the remnant of 1930s liberalism. Survivors of the era of the Popular Front, although not members of the Communist party, they supported the party's right to exist in the United States and favored rapproachment with the Soviet Union. A few of them were zealots, but most, including Coe, Leo Sheiner (finance committee chairman), Harold Tannen (legal committee chairman), and Louis Touby (campaign manager, later treasurer) were realists who had few illusions about the outcome of the election in 1948. They were motivated by patriotism as well as liberalism, believing that the nation was turning disastrously toward the right and that world peace and constitutional principles were at risk.

In the end, it was conservatives who put Henry Wallace's name on the ballot in Florida and changed Coe's election year strategy. Because the Dixiecrats were unable to win control of the state Democratic Executive Committee from the Claude Pepper faction, the names of electors supporting Governor Strom Thurmond of South Carolina were also excluded from the ballot. A special session of the legislature was called in September, and Florida law was changed to provide that all candidates' elector lists could be included on the ballot. Although the Progressive party organized a campaign in support of the bill, and Coe personally lobbied for its passage, it is doubtful that it

39. Ibid. See also news release, February 21, 1948; John Coe to Touby, February 18, 1948, folder 56; minutes of meeting of State Executive Committee, Tampa, Florida, June 27, 1948, folder 49; John Coe to Bennie Bear. February 9, 1948, Max Bear to John Coe, April 26, 1948, and John Coe to Max Bear, April 30, 1948, folder 42; John Coe to Haynes, April 30, 1948, folder 47; Mix to John Coe, May 5, 1948, folder 50; *The Pinellas Progressive*, St. Petersburg, folder 53, box 1, Coe Papers. Also Coe-Grubbs interview and Sullivan, "Gideon's Southern Soldiers," 246.

would have had a chance without support from the state's powerful northern district legislators who were the core of the Dixiecrat faction in Florida.[40] Throughout the summer of 1948, Florida Progressives (especially in Hillsborough County) had been preoccupied with designing and distributing a "paster" elector list that could be taken into the voting booth and attached to the ballot. They wasted valuable time and money on this effort to expedite a write-in campaign.[41]

At the April Florida executive committee meeting, several members reported on a recent meeting of the national Wallace for President Committee in Chicago and gave glowing accounts of talks by C. B. Baldwin, Elmer Benson, Rexford Tugwell, Paul Robeson, and others. Nine Florida university students attended the convention of the youth division at Chicago, and they returned enthusiastically backing the party's opposition to universal military training, conscription, and "Jim-Crow in education." During the convention, the students had joined packing house workers on a Chicago picket line. They commented on the charismatic leadership of the minority sections of the party: Robeson as head of the party's black division, a Mrs. Gonzales who headed the Mexican-American division, and Albert Fitzgerald of the Union of Electrical Workers and leader of the labor division.[42]

Coe reported on congressional races in states in which Progressive candidates were on the ballot, predicting that although Wallace might not win in November, "a powerful group of liberal congressmen will be elected throughout the nation" because the party had two important sources of power– the labor movement and the nation's 14,000,000 blacks. "The machinery to carry the movement forward," Coe stated, "is being put together so that we can go forward to victory." He discussed the first national convention of the Progressive party, to be held in Philadelphia in July, at which sixteen Floridians would vote as

40. V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in States and Nation* (Knoxville, 1949), 337-38. See also John Coe to Phillip D. Beall, Jr., Bob Merritt, and Harry Botts, September 11, 1949, folder 42; John Coe to Haynes, September 13, 22, 1948, folder 47; and John J. Abt to John Coe, September 15, 1948, folder 41, box 1, Coe Papers.
41. Minutes of State Executive Committee, June 27, 1948, folder 49; John Coe to Touby, March 11, 1948, folder 49, ibid.
42. Minutes of the State Executive Committee, April 17, 1948, folder 53, ibid.

national committeemen, and he encouraged the district chairmen to identify delegates from each district by June 15. Since the nominee of the party was a foregone conclusion, the chief duty of the convention would be to write a party platform for 1948.[43]

Coe traveled to St. Petersburg to deliver a speech at Williams Park on June 26. After he was introduced by John Wallace, the candidate's brother and a St. Petersburg realtor, he spoke of Henry Wallace as "the hope of the common man."[44] The speech was stirring and romantic, very typical of his campaign speeches. "The people are on the march," he said, "there are more common people than there are the rich and privileged; . . . more that love liberty than would willingly submit to servitude; . . . more who . . . would wish to deal fairly with their brethren than would wish to ride on their necks. United my friends we are a resistless force, and the sovereign power of the nation is ours for the nation's good– unity is long overdue– opportunity does not wait forever– unite with us in November and the light of American liberty will shine down the years to point the way to a nobler future, and in those years to come it will be our proudest thought that we bore the standard and lighted the torch when it took integrity and courage to do so."[45]

At the Philadelphia convention Mr. and Mrs. Coe were exposed to a great deal of similar rhetoric. Charles P. Howard, the keynote speaker, characterized party members as "laborers, small businessmen, housewives, stenographers, preachers, teachers, factory workers and farmers" who formed the vanguard against monopoly, the Ku Klux Klan, and the political machine. "They," he said, "have never once relinquished the idea of slavery," but have simply replaced it with "Jim Crow and ghettos."[46]

Coe served the convention as secretary of the rules committee and as a member of the platform committee. The party's platform, "Peace, Freedom and Abundance," exemplified the unbridled hope and humanitarianism that was a constant in

43. Ibid.
44. St. Petersburg *Times*, June 27, 1948, part 2, 11, folder 43, ibid.
45. Undated rough draft of speech, begins "My friends and fellow citizens," folder 52, ibid.
46. Keynote address, Progressive Party Founding Convention, July 23, 1948, ibid.

early Progressive literature. The world was seen standing at a crossroads. The way of the old parties could only lead to war and the end of civil liberty, but the Progressive way would bring peace, freedom, and abundance to all Americans. The platform called for ending aid to China, Greece, and Turkey, the Marshall Plan, universal military training, the poll tax, segregation, admission of immigrants based on race or national origin quotas, the administration's loyalty program, the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Mundt bill, the Taft-Hartley Act, and the Vatican embassy. On the positive side, Progressives insisted on broadening the power of the United Nations, immediate recognition of the state of Israel, independence for Puerto Rico, and self-determination for colonial peoples in Africa and Asia. Probably the most controversial provisions of the platform dealt with "abundance." The party called for public ownership of "the basic areas of the economy," beginning with "the largest banks, the railroads, the electric power and gas industry, and industries primarily dependent on government funds or government purchases." It also wanted an end to discriminatory freight rates and the use of tidelands oil by private companies. Farm price supports and loans to help share-croppers become farm-owners were approved, as well as insurance of major crops against hazards of nature. The party also proposed "old-age pensions of $100 a month for all persons over the age of 60, disability and sickness benefits, increased unemployment benefits, maternity benefits for working mothers for 13 weeks before and after childbirth, . . . children's allowances for families with children under 18," and national health insurance. It argued that taxes should be used as a "flexible instrument" to promote full employment and "economic stability."[47]

Coe's enthusiasm ran high in the immediate aftermath of the convention. Along with a general feeling that much of value had been accomplished in Philadelphia, he was proud of Wallace's stand against the arrest of twelve communists in New York and of his own leadership in the fight to back up Wallace's desires in the platform committee.[48] In a press release written

47. Draft platform, "Peace, Freedom and Abundance," folder 51, ibid.
48. John Coe to Mix, July 31, 1948, folder 49, ibid.

for Florida papers soon after returning to the state, Coe said that the appeal of Wallace for support of civil liberties for those accused of being communist was "fully backed up by the platform committee," although opposition arguments were heard in committee meetings and on the floor of the convention. The convention, he said, had clearly identified the "true threat to the liberties of our country . . . monopoly capital and profascist reaction."[49]

Even before the convention, the national party had asked all state organizations to lobby against the Mundt (later Mundt-Nixon) bill which called for registration of Communist party members. Coe wrote impassioned letters to Representative John McCormick and Senator Spessard Holland pleading with them to oppose the bill. He saw the bill as designed to suppress political opinion rather than action against the government, a "sword of Damocles over the head of the liberal wing of labor and of other non-conformists amongst whom I count myself."[50] Except for Senator Pepper, Florida's legislators favored the Mundt bill. As the year and the presidential campaign progressed, the issue of communist influence became increasingly important. Progressives bristled at Walter Reuther's description of Wallace as a "lost soul" whose ideas originated in Moscow and attacked the administration's loyalty program as an abrogation of the Bill of Rights.[51] At home Coe experienced little success in fighting the prevailing anticommunist fever. When he contacted the Pensacola Ministerial Association "with a view to getting protests against Truman's War Program," he found its president, the Reverend Mr. Partridge, to be "a red baiter of the most vicious type."[52] The issue of domestic communism was naturally tied to the president's foreign policy initiatives, and the characterization by Progressives of assistance to the Greek government in its fight against civil insurgency as "Truman's War Program" and the Marshall Plan as "a blueprint for war" controlled by

49. Press release, attached to letter, Touby to John Coe, February 12, 1948, folder 56, ibid.
50. C. B. Baldwin to All National Wallace Committee Members, May 11, 1948; John Coe to John W. McCormick, May 18, 1948, folder 49; John Coe to Spessard L. Holland, May 28, 1948, folder 47, box 1, ibid.
51. Hamby, *Beyond the New Deal,* 170-73, 197, 207.
52. John Coe to Touby, April 6, 1948, folder 56, box 1, Coe Papers.

monopolies separated the party from mainstream liberals who might agree with it on other issues.[53]

Sometime during March or April 1948, as he was beginning his job as party chairman, Coe had agreed to defend Leah Adler Benemovsky, a Miami woman who was jailed for contempt when she refused in Dade County's Circuit Court to answer questions about Communist party membership. Her bond had been set at $100,000, but Coe convinced the Florida Supreme Court to reduce it to $500 in April. The case, which was not settled until Coe won in arguments before the Supreme Court in December, took a great deal of Coe's time, but it made him a hero in Progressive party circles.[54] As far as can be ascertained from Coe's files, this is the earliest case in which his name was publicly connected with a person alleged to be a communist.

For southern Progressives, however, the most important issue was race. On the national level many prominent blacks joined the party, and neither Wallace nor Taylor held segregated meetings, even in the South. Large mixed crowds cheered Wallace in Tampa, Atlanta, and New Orleans, and Sheriff Bull Connor's men arrested Taylor in Birmingham for entering an auditorium by a door marked "Colored." An article in *The Crisis* praised Wallace for his stands in favor of an antilynching law and a permanent FEPC and for "dramatizing" his platform by insisting on integrated audiences.[55] One of the most popular pieces of campaign literature was "Ten Extra Years," a reprint of a speech made by Wallace to the national convention of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity in Tulsa in which he called for an end to discrimination in education and employment. He decried "the fact that a Negro child born this day has a life expectancy ten years less than that of a white child born a few miles away.

53. Pamphlet, "The Wallace Plan vs. The Marshall Plan" (contains testimony of Henry Wallace before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, February 24, 1948), folder 48, ibid. See also Hamby, *Beyond the New Deal,* 202-04.

54. Sid Teller to John Coe, April 20, 1948, folder 56; John Coe to Haynes, April 30, 1948, folder 47, box 1; undated newspaper clipping (probably early 1949), "Contempt Case Reversal Won by John M. Coe," folder 2, box 2, Coe Papers.

55. Undated newsprint tabloid (campaign literature), "Wallace Shows It Can Be Done," folder 48, box 1, Coe Papers. The article from *The Crisis* is the subject of a story on page 2 of this publication, under a picture of Paul Robeson, co-chairman of the National Wallace for President Committee.

I say those ten years– those ten extra years for millions of Americans are what we are fighting for. I say that those who stand in the way of the health, education, housing and social security programs which would erase that gap commit murder. I say that those who perpetuate Jim Crow are criminals. I pledge you that I will fight them with every thing I have."[56]

Many national leaders of the Progressive party– C. B. Baldwin, Clark Foreman, Palmer Weber, Virginia Durr– were Southerners who had long worked for these aims. For the faithful at the state level as well, the stands taken by their leaders were inspiring. Sadly, Wallace was to a large extent "preaching to the choir"; it is doubtful that many additional southern white votes were gained, and the drive to enlist blacks in the campaign was thwarted by the fact that many were jealously guarding their registration as Democrats and by the lure of the civil rights plank in the 1948 Democratic party platform. Blacks, especially, feared that voting for Wallace would put Dewey in the White House. In addition, from the party's point of view there simply was not a sufficient supply of black voters in Florida to make them the best key to election strategy in the state.[57]

Coe realized that the party's first goal in the campaign was to garner votes, and as election day approached he feared that the Progressives had become a one-issue party. After an October speaking trip across the state he became discouraged about the direction the party was taking. One problem was that the only unsegregated meeting places open to the Progressives were black churches or public outdoor areas, and in Ocala the local sheriff had refused the party the use of the courthouse lawn. There had been successful meetings in Tampa and St. Petersburg, and Coe had only reluctantly given up plans to visit Miami because of a hurricane, but the meetings held in Jacksonville, Daytona, Orlando, and Gainesville were "flops." After making a radio speech in Gainesville, Coe attended a rally with "some 8 or 10 of our people there [and] some 8 or 10 negroes . . . with the exception of a like number of Republican stalwarts, chiefly preachers and members of the negro bourgeoise." Frustrated, he wrote to the party's campaign manager. "I . . . think

56. Pamphlet, "Ten Extra Years," reprint of speech delivered December 28, 1947, folder 48, ibid.
57. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation,* 339.

without prejudice . . . that we are devoting our work too wholly to the negro. . . . [A]fter all, the negro is a minority, however important a one, and we hope to be a majority party. If there are thinking people of our own race in St. Petersburg and Miami, there must be some elsewhere, too. . . . [O]ur white Democracy is not wholly bankrupt of both intelligence and integrity, and we must cultivate it as well as other sources of power, if we would achieve the ends in view."[58]

The successful Tampa meeting attended by Coe during his tour of the state had featured Paul Robeson and Clark Foreman as principal speakers. In the aftermath of this visit, John Kovace, the white St. Petersburg businessman and party executive committee member who entertained Robeson and Foreman as his houseguests, was attacked by the St. Petersburg *Evening Independent*. Kovace was subjected to harassment which ended in the loss of his position as vice-president of the local Kaiser-Fraser dealership and his wife's removal as president of the Norwood School PTA.[59] About the same time, Coe and his family began to be threatened by phone calls and anonymous letters, and a cross was burned on their lawn. James Coe remembers that his father carried a revolver under the front seat of the car, and one morning he was tempted to use it when a group of rowdies cut him off almost causing him to wreck his car as he traveled down Baylen Street on his way to work.[60] An outdoor speech by Glenn Taylor to a mixed audience in Jacksonville on October 20 nearly ended in a riot when a mob began lobbing eggs at the speaker and those around him, including Coe.[61] If the race issue was not winning votes from the Progressive party's friends, it certainly was mobilizing its enemies.

Florida Progressives of 1948 found themselves opposing regular Democrats and "straight out" Dixiecrats whose program was so distinct from that of the Progressive party that no campaign effort could win them over. It was loyal Democrats that

58. John Coe to Haynes, October 10, 1948; Haynes to John Coe, October 11, 1948, folder 47, box 1, Coe Papers.
59. John Kovace to Mix, October 16, 1948; John Coe to Kovace, October 18, 1948, folder 48, ibid. The *Evening Independent* differed sharply from the St. Petersburg *Times* which was generally sympathetic to Progressive aims.
60. Ibid.; Coe-Grubbs interview.
61. Ibid; Mix to John Coe, October 28, 1948; John Coe to Mix, October 29, 1948, folder 49, box 1, Coe Papers.

Progressives wished to attract. Claude Pepper's supporters, a shrinking group by 1948, were an obvious target of the Florida Progressive campaign. But Truman's civil rights stand and his support for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act undercut the Progressive bid for votes. Black Floridians did not flock to Henry Wallace in sufficient numbers, and union labor was, according to a Coe analysis of the third district, mostly "A.F.L. and . . . reactionary," meaning closely tied to the Democratic party.[62] The Florida unions that publicly supported Wallace were the Cuban Cigar Workers in Tampa and several small CIO groups in central and south Florida. Most white liberals who might have followed Pepper into a third party objected to the Progressive position on domestic communism, as well as its stand against the European Recovery Plan, and were relieved to stay in the old party with their senator. Even conservative Democrats refused to bolt the party in great numbers, perhaps out of fear of growing Republican strength in Florida.[63] The Progressives were marooned in left field.

The election results in Florida were no victory for Wallace, but compared with the rest of the South, Coe and his compatriots had accomplished almost a miracle: 11,620 Floridians voted for the Progressive ticket.[64] In North Carolina only 3,165 voters chose the Progressive ticket, and less than 2,000 voted for Wallace in Georgia. In the rest of the South, Wallace's totals were even lower.[65] Truman won in Florida with 281,988 votes, followed by Dewey with 194,780, and Thurmond with 89,750.[66] Perhaps the votes from Coe's home county, Escambia, were more representative of the South: Truman, 10,331; Thurmond, 3,396; Dewey, 2,188; Wallace, ninety three. Dejected, Coe wrote to campaign manager Marjorie Haynes that obviously Wallace's true liberalism was ahead of its time because people had flocked to the "phoney liberalism" of Truman instead. It was his belief that if the party decided to remain organized, "there will be so little support as to make it almost impossible. . . . Just as it was the argument of wasted votes that did us the most harm, so the

62. John Coe to Bennie Bear, January 9, 1948, folder 42, ibid.
63. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation,* 338.
64. Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 426.
65. Sullivan, "Gideon's Southern Soldiers," 358.
66. Tebeau, *History of Florida,* 426.

argument of wasted time and money will meet us now."[67] In another letter, Coe described to Louis Touby his disappointment with the black vote in Pensacola which after all his hard work was "solidly for Truman."[68]

Just ten days after the general election, the National Executive Committee of the Progressive party held a meeting in Chicago to discuss the future of the party. Coe agreed to go to Chicago, even though he felt that the situation in the South was hopeless, out of respect for the party's leaders and the dedication of party members in Florida. "I shall go to Chicago and listen with an open mind, and a still very warm heart for the consensus of my fellows. . . . To make a long story short, my heart prompts me one way, and my intelligence another; but the promptings of the mind are feeble things, in conflict with the promptings of the heart."[69]

As was his usual practice, Coe wrote a long and thoughtful analysis of this meeting. The party would continue, he told the faithful at a state conference of the Progressive party of Florida held November 20 and 21, to "educate the people for future political action." The party's agenda would be legislative, and political pressure would be exerted at state and national levels to accomplish the party's goals.[70] In Florida, party apparatus was rearranged so that Progressives became dues-paying members of clubs which would support a full-time state organizer to coordinate party activities and lobby in Tallahassee.[71]

The party survived in Florida until late 1952, although its state office in Tampa was closed in 1951. Coe attended four more Progressive conventions. There were numerous blows to the Progressive movement after the election of 1948, most important among them the defection of Wallace over the Korean War issue and the defeat of Claude Pepper in 1950. Pepper's campaign for the United States Senate presented an especially difficult dilemma for Florida Progressives.

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67. John Coe to Haynes, November 3, 1948, folder 47, box 1, Coe Papers.
68. John Coe to Touby, November 11, 1948, folder 56, ibid.
69. John Coe to Haynes, November 8, 1948, folder 47, ibid.
70. "Analysis of Party Tasks and Responsibilities," folder 53; "Minutes of the Meeting of the State Conference Held Saturday and Sunday, November 21 and 22, 1948," folder 52, ibid.
71. Ibid.

Pepper's opponent in the primary election was Congressman George Smathers, the conservative Miami Democrat who had the support of the state Democratic machine. Returning from the 1950 party convention in Chicago, Coe wrote a friendly letter to Pepper asking him if "there is anything we can do in your interest." He assumed, probably correctly, that "an out and out endorsement would just give the red-baiters another chance to make unfounded statements."[72] In order to vote in the primary against Smathers, Progressives would be forced to re-register as Democrats, a move which would have been tantamount to party suicide. After long and difficult discussions, the Progressive party issued a statement which amounted to support for Pepper's candidacy, although it drew the line at encouraging party members to become Democrats. Progressives asked registered Democrats to vote for Pepper because his positions were closest to theirs.[73] Several party executive committee members, including Frank Pina, John Kovace, and Frederick Miller (long-time party head in Tampa/St. Petersburg), bitter over Pepper's support of Truman's foreign policy, left the Progressive party because of this communiqué.[74] Stetson Kennedy, a liberal writer and social activist from Jacksonville, ran against Smathers as an independent write-in candidate in the general election, and although the party never officially endorsed him, many Progressives supported his campaign. He was a registered Democrat, but Kennedy's views on most substantive issues mirrored those of the Progressive party.[75]

The Progressive party took up less of Coe's time after 1950, but at mid-century he was at the peak of his professional career. Personally and professionally, he became more radicalized, committed, and involved in social action as the 1950s progressed. The Progressive party files document his involvement with the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Committee for the Bill of Rights, the Civil

72. John Coe to Claude Pepper, February 27, 1950, folder 26, ibid.
73. "Statement of Policy in Re: Primary Contest of Penner vs. Smathers," February 4, 1950, ibid.'
74. Ruel Stanfield to John Coe, March 17, 1950; Kovace to Rebecca Stanfield, March 20, 1950, folder 29, ibid.
75. Undated news release, "Stetson Kennedy," folder 8; John Coe to Stetson Kennedy, August 24, 1950; Coe to Rebecca Stanfield, August 25, 1950, folder 27, box 2, ibid.

Rights Congress, and the National Lawyers Guild. In addition to active participation in the design of Progressive bills for presentation to the Florida legislature (a ballot bill, FEPC, anti-Klan legislation, unemployment compensation), he handled important cases both privately and as a civil liberties advocate. In 1949 alone, besides caring for his general practice in Pensacola, Coe was involved in supporting black applicants to the graduate schools at the University of Florida,[76] the defense of Frederick Miller and others as a part of the state investigation of alleged communists at the University of Tampa,[77] and a long and successful battle for the reinstatement of a black supervisor who had been fired "capriciously" by the Escambia County Board of Education.[78] His participation in similar cases in both state and federal courts increased in 1950 and 1951 as he became part of a national network of defense attorneys who agreed to handle unpopular or politically risky cases.

In August 1950, Coe's "distinguished brethren of the Kiwanis Club of Pensacola . . . tried me for impure thoughts and expelled me therefrom." This must have hurt him because he had belonged to the local club for twenty-five years and had been a state officer in the organization. The immediate issue seems to have been Coe's opposition to the Korean War. "We had a hell of a trial," he said, "I plead with the boys . . . for an intelligent understanding of things democratic, and American and free."[79] Claude Pepper suffered a similar fate when he was refused membership in the Downtown Kiwanis Club of Miami when he moved to that community. He also had been a Kiwanian for over twenty-five years, and a state officer.[80] Within a few years Coe would go through a similar ordeal challenging his loyal membership in the American Legion from which he resigned with some bitterness.[81] He was an easy target in a no-win situation in Pensacola, and he understood this, but it was not an

76. Paul Cootner and James T. Crown to John Coe, March 21, 1949; Crown to John Coe, undated; John Coe to Crown, May 18, 1949; John Coe to the Committee for Equal Education, March 23, 1949, folder 3, ibid.
77. Frederick Miller to John Coe, May 29, 1949; John Coe to Miller, May 23, 1949, folder 9, ibid.
78. John Coe to Haynes, August 2, 1949, folder 7, ibid.
79. John Coe to E. B. Collette, August 8, 1950, folder 19, ibid.
80. Pepper, *Eyewitness to a Century*, 222 n.
81. Coe-Grubbs interview.

easy life. Whether they judged John Moreno Coe to be a crank, a "nigger lover," or a communist, people who had known him since childhood often found him incomprehensible. He was a man without honor at home; he did not fit in.

Always true to his convictions, Coe mellowed very little over the years. To a young man who wrote to him in 1950 asking about his life as a "poor man's lawyer," he answered that law is a "powerful instrument" in the hands of intelligent men, with power to do good or evil. A lawyer who wants to help the oppressed, he said, must be a fighter "affiliated with no clique" who will serve his client and his principles alone. "To be such a lawyer presupposes a deep devotion to your profession. They say that happiness if sought directly is often elusive, but it comes unsought to those who live fruitful, kindly and well ordered lives; a comparable condition exists in the practice of law: if one makes up his mind to do it superlatively well, to win if he can with all the legitimate weapons in his arsenal, . . . he will find himself in a position in the local esteem that will enable him to do what he thinks is right in law and politics. . . . Also, along the way, he will get a tremendous lot of satisfaction over success in combat. . . . There is . . . a broad field [for such work] here in the South, and well tilled it will bring much reward, material and spiritual."[82]

Above all, Coe was such a lawyer. Whatever else he may have been– stubborn, headstrong, nonconforming, eccentric– he was, nevertheless, a careful and dedicated defense attorney. While he may have been outside the political mainstream for his time and place, he was not unbalanced or disloyal. He saw contemporary American government as becoming daily more conservative and repressive, and as a "poor man's lawyer" he hated repression of any kind. John Moreno Coe was an advocate, a partisan; his politics were an extension of his advocacy. In his view, the Progressive party was the only place for a patriotic American lawyer who espoused "Jeffersonian" principles in 1948.

82. John Coe to Jim Wray, June 3, 1950, folder 34, box 2, Coe Papers.

THE SPANISH ST. AUGUSTINE COMMUNITY, 1784-1795: A REEVALUATION

by SHERRY JOHNSON

WHILE documentation is available, historians have not accurately defined the community in St. Augustine after the return of Spanish rule in 1784. Community studies abound for towns in Europe and North America, but community study techniques, which have been so successful in reinterpreting North American colonial history, have been underutilized by Latin American historians.[1] Eighteenth-century St. Augustine presents an opportunity to investigate one frontier settlement and the origins of its inhabitants. However, the point of beginning for any such study must be a definition of the structure of the community itself. Research reveals that St. Augustine resembled other Spanish American cities in more ways than previously believed. The dominant society was represented by the Spanish administration, and was reinforced by Cuban civil servants and returned Floridano families. Minorcans and others who identified with the Minorcan community welcomed the return of Spanish administration, and "foreign" persons who chose to remain under Spanish rule were assimilated into the dominant society.

Like many cities of the Spanish empire, the physical layout of St. Augustine conformed to the gridiron pattern, a legacy of its sixteenth-century founding. Constrained by the limitations of usable land on the peninsula on which the town was located, St. Augustine's physical appearance had changed little in its 200-year existence. In the center of town was the plaza, where most municipal activities took place, and in close proximity were major public buildings. The governor's house fronted on the

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1. John E. Kicza, "The Social and Ethnic Historiography of Colonial Latin America: The Last Twenty Years," *William and Mary Quarterly* 45 (July 1988), 487-88. See also, Darrett B. Rutman, "Assessing the Little Communities of North America," ibid. 43 (April 1986), 163-78.

plaza, as did the royal treasury building and the residence of the treasurer. Also on the plaza was land set aside for the construction of a cathedral. The public slaughterhouse was located at the east end of the plaza near the waterfront, and the public market was held there on market days.[2] The distribution of St. Augustine's private residences exhibited the same tendencies of other Spanish American cities. Elites and wealthy families, regardless of ethnic origin, clustered in the core area of the city, preferring to follow Spanish custom and be located near the center of the town. High Spanish officials; merchants of British, Spanish, Corsican, Italian, or Floridano origin; wealthy Minorcan widows; and less wealthy, but no less prestigious, Spanish or Cuban civil servants also lived in the area close to the plaza and along San Carlos Street.[3] Geographic clustering also was exhibited according to occupation. Persons employed by the government as garrison or hospital employees tended to live in the southern end of town close to the barracks. Alongside the employees of the hospital and barracks lived those who catered to the military trade– the petty merchants, artisans, and wineshop keepers.[4] Merchants engaged in the coastal trade made their homes close to the waterfront, despite chief engineer Mariano de la Roque's warning that the harbor was in need of a seawall to protect the city from the high tides of winter storms.[5] At the north end of town was the Castillo de San Marcos, and

2. Mariano de la Rocque [Roque], "Plano de la Ciudad de San Agustín, 25 de abril de 1788," and "Descripción del plano de la ciudad de San Agustín de la Florida del año 1788," typescript copies in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. See also, Kathleen Deagan, *Spanish St. Auoustine, 1700-1763: The Archaeology of a Colonial Creole Community* (New York, 1983), 45-46, and Albert Manucy, "The Physical Setting of Sixteenth Century St. Augustine," *Florida Anthropologist* 38 (March-June 1985), 47-48.

2. De la Rocque, "Plano de la ciudad," identified houses occupied by royal treasurer Gonzalo Zamorano, chief guard Emanuel Fernández Biendicho, and former British tailor/planter Edward Ashton located along the first two blocks of San Carlos Street.

4. Ibid. Doctor Bernardo de la Madrid, wineshop keeper Pedro García, and hospital baker/shopkeeper Gerónimo Alvarez lived in the southern end of town.

5. Mariano de la Rocque to Luis de Unzaga, July 30, 1784, in Joseph B. Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785: A File of Documents Assembled, and Many of Them Translated* (Berkeley, 1949), 244-45. De la Rocque, "Plano de la ciudad," located the houses and warehouses of Miguel Ysnardy, Francisco Felipe Fatio, and John Leslie along the waterfront.

close to it lived another group of military families, including many widows of old Floridano soldiers and the commander of the troops in the fort.[6] On the fringes of town to the northwest lived the marginal families. Most were clustered in one area along present-day Cuna Street in an area that historians have dubbed the Minorcan Quarter.[7]

Except for its smaller size, St. Augustine's society was similar to that in other Spanish American cities. Because it was only a provincial capital, St. Augustine had no titled elites.[8] Nevertheless, like other urban centers, St. Augustine's society divided into distinct strata. Spanish authority in the province was represented by the governor, treasury officials, military members, and a cadre of support personnel– such as secretaries, notaries, and hospital employees– who accompanied the bureaucracy. Members of the clergy were active in St. Augustine, but their numbers were never as large as they were in other Spanish cities, either in absolute numbers or as a proportion of the total population. Persons engaged in varied mercantile activities constituted a large proportion of the community, and artisans were plentiful. Making up the poorer classes were those with menial jobs– persons who tilled small plots of land outside the city limits, or the ubiquitous fishermen and sailors of a maritime community. A few widows and abandoned women joined the ranks of those who barely eked out an existence. At the bottom of the social scale were the black slaves who toiled for their masters.[9]

6. De la Rocque, "Plano de la ciudad," identified the properties occupied by Floridana widows Lucía Escalona, Juana Montes de Oca, and Maria Castañeda, more recently married to Juan Sánchez. See also, Charles W. Arnade, "The Avero Story: An Early St. Augustine Family with Many Daughters and Many Houses," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 40 (July 1961), 19.
7. Patricia C. Griffin, "The Minorcans," *El Escribano* 25 (1988), 70-71.
8. Allan J. Kuethe, "*Los Llorones Cubanos:* The Socio-Military Basis of Commercial Privilege in the American Trade Under Charles IV," in Jacques A. Barbier and Allan J. Kuethe, eds., *The North American Role in the Spanish Imperial Economy, 1760-1819* (Manchester, 1984), 146-49.
9. Census Returns, 1784-1821, East Florida Papers, reel 148, bundle 323A, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, microfilm copies in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History and John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola (hereafter cited as EFP with appropriate reel and bundle number).

Certain criteria for determining a person's or a family's status were implicit. Government officials and employees, especially those of Spanish origin, and their families were accorded a high degree of prestige, but simply being a native of Spain was no guarantee of social advancement. Deference was also accorded to persons of long residence in the community, especially widows of soldiers who had served in Florida before 1763 and members of old Floridano families. Wealth was an important determinant of social status. Regardless of the origin of the holder, wealth generally allowed entry into the higher levels of society.[10] However, regardless of the amount of money or property one possessed, certain standards of behavior were demanded.[11] Like other areas of the Spanish empire, persons of African or mixed blood were consigned to the lowest stratum, yet sufficient wealth could help remove the social barriers attached to being of mixed parentage.[12]

In spite of its appearance of conformity, St. Augustine did not resemble other cities of the Spanish American empire in one significant way: it did not have a large indigenous or mestizo (casta) population close by. Because of the change in national sovereignty twice in twenty years, Florida's population was drastically altered. During the first Spanish period, from its founding in 1565 to 1763, St. Augustine was primarily a military outpost. Unions between soldiers and Indian women were commonplace, as they were throughout Spanish America during

10. Documentary materials assign the honorific titles Don and Doña to persons of importance in the community. In the case of Minorcans or former British who were accorded this honor, they can be recognized as possessing more wealth than their peers. "Padrón de Mahoneses," "Padrón de Británicos," EFP, reel 148, bundle 323A, and throughout other documentation in the East Florida Papers.

11. Patricia C. Griffin and Eugenia B. Arana, "Mary Evans: Woman of Substance," *El Escribano* 14 (1977), 61-65.

12. Examples of the Hispanoamerican custom that sufficient money allowed persons of color to overcome social barriers are the mulatto children of wealthy Francisco Xavier Sánchez and his free mulatta companion, Beatríz de Piedra. Two of the Sánchez daughters, María Beatríz and Ana, married Spaniards, and the records of their ceremonies were entered in the parish records under the designation White Marriages. Cathedral Parish Records, Diocese of St. Augustine Catholic Center, Jacksonville, microfilm copies in the P. K. Yonge Library, reel 284K, White Marriages 125, 129 (hereafter cited as Parish Records with appropriate reel number). The special permissions for the Sánchez daugthers' marriages are in EFP, reel 132, bundle 298r9, Marriage Licenses.

the colonial era.[13] A mestizo population was a consequence of conquest and colonization, and persons of mixed blood were considered to be members of the population in general, although without the same privileges of those elites of racial purity (limpieza de sangre).[14] By 1763, when Britain assumed sovereignty, the total Spanish population of St. Augustine, including whites, mestizos, mulattos, and Indians, was tabulated to be 3,124 persons, including approximately 500 soldiers in the garrison.[15] With few exceptions, the Spanish inhabitants chose to evacuate the city and be resettled on the island of Cuba. Some of the evacuees resided in Havana and its environs, while others were relocated on donated plots of land in Ceiba Mocha, close to Matanzas, east of Havana on the north coast of the island. Among this group of refugees were sixteen free mulatto families, nineteen Christian Indian families, and five free black families.[16]

Perhaps the black, mulatto, and Indian families sensed that their lives would be preferable as Spanish citizens, even though it meant abandoning their homes, for British colonial policy included neither acculturation, accommodation, nor toleration. Rather than attempting to assimilate the indigenous populations into British society, the government of the North American colonies pursued a policy of separation and/or removal. In the colonies to the north, Indian tribes under British rule were pushed further back into the interior of the continent. Florida tribes that had coexisted with the Spanish until 1763 were removed to lands in the interior of the peninsula under the terms of a treaty concluded with the new government at a congress at Picolata in 1765.[17] Blacks under British rule fared equally poorly. In British society, people with any percentage of mixed

13. Deagan, *Spanish St. Augustine*, 103; Juan Marchena Fernández, "St Augustine's Military Society," Luis Rafael Arana, trans., *El Escribano* 14 (1985), 69.
14. Magnus Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston, 1967) is the leading work on the phenomenon of mestizaje.
15. Wilbur H. Siebert, "The Departure of the Spaniards and Other Groups from East Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 19 (October 1940), 146.
16. Robert L. Gold, "The Settlement of East Florida Spaniards in Cuba, 1763-1766," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 42 (January 1964), 222.
17. Charles Loch Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1943; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 21-27.

blood were considered to be black. Most blacks were slaves, manumission was rare, and the majority of the members of the small free black population engaged in artisanal activities, mostly in the larger northern cities.[18]

Reconstructing a profile of the free population during the British period is difficult because the government did not maintain population records as accurately as did the Spanish. Only estimates of persons living in or around St. Augustine can be deduced from travelers' accounts. In the closing years of the American Revolution, these sources estimated that the population had swelled to 17,375 persons– mostly loyalist refugees from Georgia and South Carolina. The resident population of East Florida never approached a figure that high; approximations of 1,000 white persons with 3,000 black slaves are more likely.[19] Between 1783 and 1785, most of the loyalist refugees left the colony for the Bahamas or England, taking their slaves with them.[20] After twenty years of British rule, there was no sizable indigenous population living closer than the west bank of the St. Johns River. With the exception of the handful of families that chose to remain, the Spanish government returned to a virtual *tabula rasa.* From that position, it would attempt to populate the colony.

Shortly after assuming control, the Spanish administration conducted several censuses of the inhabitants in an effort to determine how many former British subjects had chosen to remain in East Florida. On October 20, 1784, Governor Vicente de Zéspedes reported to Minister of the Indies José de Gálvez that, of the 1,992 persons in and around St. Augustine at that time, 656 planned to remain, 155 were undecided, and 1,181 would return to their former homes in what had become the United States or would resettle in Britain or in one of her col-

18. The debate over the relative treatment of slaves began with the publication of Frank Tannenbaum's *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (New York, 1946), which concluded that slaves in Catholic countries experienced better treatment than those in Protestant countries. Carl Degler, *Neither White nor Black* (New York, I971), and Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: Volume I: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (Boston, 1974), added fuel to the debate.
19. Mowat, *East Florida,* 137.
20. Wilbur E. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785,* 2 vols. (DeLand, 1929), I, 181-210.

onies.[21] The initial survey of 1784 was followed by a more comprehensive padrón in 1785. This enumeration identified one polyglot group of Britons, French, Germans, and Swiss, and another relatively homogeneous bloc of persons designated as "Mahoneses," that included persons from Minorca, Mallorca, Corsica, Italy, and several other principalities in Europe. This padrón also included returned Floridano families, many of whom considered themselves to be Cuban, and newly arrived civilian Spaniards.[22] After the transition period of eighteen months, during which most of the Britons departed, Father Thomas Hassett, one of two Irish-born priests sent to facilitate the re-establishment of Catholicism, conducted another census in 1786. He needed a list of white families in order to establish a school for boys, and his census identified a total free, urban population of 652 persons.[23]

As indicated by Father Hassett's census, the majority of free persons were white. However, at least thirty free persons of mixed blood, or castas, lived in and around the town. Nevertheless, castas in Florida, unlike most areas of Spanish America, comprised only a minimal 4 percent of the urban population.[24] Included in this group were Juan Bautista Collens, a trader from New Orleans; Catarina Aguilar, a female free black who was a St. Augustine native; and Guillermo, a free Protestant mulatto who stated that he was from America and was residing with the Minorcan community in the household of Italian farmer Fernando Falany. The mixed blood persons included

21. "Padrón comprehensibo de todos los [h]abitantes Británicos," EFP, reel 148, bundle 323A; Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes to José de Gálvez, October 20, 1784, in Lockey, *East Florida*, 285-86.
22. "Padrón de Mahoneses," "Padrón de Británicos," EFP reel 148, bundle 323A.
23. Joseph B. Lockey, "Public Education in Spanish St. Augustine," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 15 (January 1937), 148-57; Joseph B. Lockey "The St. Augustine Census of 1786: Translated from the Spanish with an Introduction and Notes," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 18 (July 1939), 11-39.
24. Lockey "St. Augustine Census," 18-39. See also, Philip D. Rasico, "The Minorcan Population of St. Augustine in the Spanish Census of 1786," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (October 1987), 167-84. Counting the number of free blacks, mulattoes, and mestizos from Lockey's and Rasico's figures yields a figure of thirty persons of mixed color. Calculating the percentage of these castas in the population, the new total of 772 persons was used. Thus, the 4 percent total casta population derives from 30/772 = 0.039 = 4 percent.

the household of wealthy longtime Floridano resident Francisco Xavier Sánchez, who lived with his free mulatta companion, Beatríz de Piedra, and their eight mulatto children. Seven unidentified free blacks– three males and four females– lived in the household of sacristan Lorenzo Capó, a member of the Minorcan community. Only one person of indigenous origin is listed as living in the household of Spanish tailor Francisco Roche.[25] In contrast to the small number of free persons of color, black slaves were numerous. Hassett's census estimated that 460 black slaves lived in and around the town.[26]

For the historian, the absence of a large casta group removes one significant problem in analyzing St. Augustine's society. A recent historical debate for other areas of the Spanish empire in the late eighteenth century centers around the importance of class (wealth and status) versus caste (racial origin) as a barrier to success or as an avenue for advancement. For the core areas of Mexico and Peru, excellent source materials provide fuel for this complex and intense debate that involves methodological, lexicological, and ideological arguments.[27] For Florida, because the casta population was so small, the debate over racial identification in a free society is irrelevant; there simply were too few free persons of mixed blood to have a significant effect on society as a whole. In St. Augustine, black slaves, some free persons of color, some members of the Minorcan population, or some impecunious former Britons were assigned to levels of low social status similar to the status of mestizo, mulatto, or other mixed-blood persons in other Spanish American communities.

With the question of ethnicity removed from the social equation, the strata question as applied to St. Augustine still includes determining wealth and social position. However, Florida's historians are forced to address different problems than those encountered in other areas. Defining society in other parts of Spanish America is a difficult task because of the ethnic diversity of the population. Nevertheless, core area historians agree that

25. Rasico, "Minorcan Population," 167-84; Lockey "St. Augustine Census," 18-39.
26. Lockey "St. Augustine Census," 18-39.
27. Kicza, "The Social and Ethnic Historiography," 468-70; Fred Bronner, "Urban Society in Colonial Spanish America: Research Trends," *Latin American Research Review* 21 (January 1986), 30-31.

the dominant influence in urban society was largely Hispanic with some surviving indigenous characteristics. Thus, the problem facing these scholars is to place one or another group into an established social framework. For researchers of St. Augustine, the task is also difficult because, as yet, no consensus opinion exists about which ethnic group exerted the greatest influence in St. Augustine's community. Depending on an investigator's particular point of view and whatever school of historical thought was fashionable, scholars have offered conflicting versions of which group was dominant in the town.[28] Paradoxically, these varying interpretations were extrapolated from data gleaned from census materials, the tools that social historians usually prize the most and which usually are the most accurate representation of an area's inhabitants.

Ever since Joseph B. Lockey introduced the historical community to Father Hassett's census of 1786, historians have accepted its contents as irrefutable evidence of the numbers and composition of St. Augustine's population after the return of the Spanish. Lockey's filiopietistic, ethnocentric search for the "real settlers," specifically those few persons of Anglo descent, allowed him to dismiss the Spanish occupants as being of "little concern," since "few of these ever came to form a part of the permanent population."[29] Based upon the names and numbers taken from Hassett's tabulations, succeeding historical studies concluded that there was a continuing turnover of Spanish/Cuban inhabitants– mainly government officials– while the influential former Britons and the resident Minorcans became the foundation of St. Augustine's permanent society. These precipitate judgments could be substantiated by comparing the 1786 census, the 1788 map of the city drawn by chief engineer

28. John R. Dunkle, "Population Change as an Element in the Historical Geography of St. Augustine," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 37 (July 1958), 3-32; Helen Hornbeck Tanner, *Zéspedes in East Florida, 1784-1790* (Coral Gables, 1963); Pablo Tornero Tinajero, *Relaciones de dependencia entre Florida y Estados Unidos* (Sevilla, 1979), 32-63; Pablo Tornero Tinajero "Sociedad y Población en San Agustín de la Florida," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 35 (1981), 233-63; Abel Poitrineau, "Demography and the Political Destiny of Florida During the Second Spanish Period," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (April 1988), 420-33; Griffin, "The Minorcans," 61-83. Only Rascio, in "Minorcan Population," 164-67, came close to determining the error in the 1786 effort.

29. Lockey "The St. Augustine Census," 18.

Mariano de la Roque, and another census taken in 1793.[30] Indeed, a direct comparison of the Spanish surnames in these sources revealed that a great discrepancy existed between Spanish and Cuban families who were listed as living in St. Augustine in December 1786, persons who were there in April 1788 (a year-and-a-half later), and an even greater difference five years later in the census of 1793. By implication, it appeared that the Spanish/Cuban group was transient since few names appeared on all three documents. In contrast, the names of members of the Minorcan community and former Britons appeared in all three documents and clearly could be recognized as stable members of the community.[31]

Working backward from the 1793 census, but utilizing other primary documents for evidence, reveals that many of the Spanish/Cuban families enumerated in the 1793 census materials did, in fact, reside in St. Augustine in 1788 and 1784. Their names did not appear on Mariano de la Roque's 1788 map because only the actual landowners or those who held the property in usufruct with royal permission were listed in the index to the 1788 plat. Many government officials occupied, but did not own, the houses in which they lived. Their occupancy of the premises was specified in de la Roque's accompanying text, but they were not listed as owners, since the properties they occupied belonged to the crown.[32] Continuing to work backwards, an examination of the parish records of the diocese of St. Augustine for the years 1784, 1785, and 1786, confirmed that these same government officials, hospital employees, and some garrison personnel and their families lived in St. Augustine as early as 1784 and were omitted from the 1786 census.[33] In actuality, the majority of the men sent as administrative personnel arrived in 1784 with the first occupation forces and either were accompanied by

30. Census of 1786 and 1793, EFP, reel 148, bundle 323A; de la Rocque, "Plano de la Ciudad." It is possible that the census was not solely the work of Father Hassett. A comparison of Hassett's handwriting on other documents (e.g. baptismal certificates) reveals a discrepancy between the style in the census and these other materials which Hassett signed.
31. De la Rocque, "Plano de la ciudad."
32. Ibid.
33. Parish Records, White Marriages, reel 284K, White Baptisms, reel 284I, White Deaths, reels 284K and 284I.

their families or were joined soon afterwards.[34] Accordingly, Hassett's 1786 census is an anomaly, and reliance upon its calculations alone as evidence of the population produced an inaccurate portrait of those East Florida inhabitants.

Even Hassett himself recognized the shortcomings of his work. Like the conscientious civil servant that he was, Father Hassett prefaced his tabulations with a disclaimer admitting that he did not include government employees or members of the garrison.[35] The discrepancies between actual residents and persons enumerated in Hassett's tabulations stem from the purpose of the census itself– to establish a school.[36] Hassett had no reason to include anyone except nongovernmental employees. Few common soldiers arrived with their families, so they were in little need of a school. In addition, the Spanish administration in Havana already knew the number of soldiers and high-level government employees living in St. Augustine. With the Bourbon determination to effect fiscal efficiency, it is inconceivable that the equally conscientious intendant of the exchequer in Havana, Juan Ignacio de Urriza, did not know that at least 100 employees and their families were assigned to the town, especially since the treasury expended over 14,000 pesos annually for their salaries and provided rations and housing.[37] By 1786, the period of transition was over and consolidation of Spanish rule had been accomplished. It was at that point that Father Hassett could move ahead with royal plans to inculcate non-Spanish children with traditional Spanish values.[38] Thus, it was necessary for the priest to know how many children and their families, former subjects of a heretic nation, required instruction to become good Spanish citizens.

A revised analysis of the number of inhabitants indicates that government employees and their families (excluding garri-

34. Juan Ignacio de Urriza, "Employees for the Hospital at St. Augustine," June 1, 1784, in Lockey *East Florida*, 198-99; Urriza, "Government Employees Destined for St. Augustine," ibid., 202-04.
35. Lockey "The St. Augustine Census," 19; Rascio, "Minorcan Population," 167.
36. Lockey "Public Education," 147-68.
37. Government employees were to receive 7,784 pesos per annum, and hospital employees were to receive 6,588 pesos per annum. Urriza, "Employees for the Hospital," 199; Urriza "Government Employees," 204.
38. Griffin, "Minorcans," 75-76.

son soldiers) constituted at least ninety-eight additional persons in a revised total free population of 772.[39] Hassett's calculations also omitted some families of old Floridano origin. At least three additional families can be established as living in the town in December 1786. Hassett possibly omitted two of these families because the patriarchs, Joaquín Escalona and Diego de Miranda, were employed by the government as pilot boat captains in St. Augustine harbor.[40] One person who was born in Spain but was not in government service can also be added to the total.[41] Hassett counted 652 residents of the city including eighty-seven white foreigners (13.3 percent), 469 Minorcans (71.9 percent), and ninety-six Floridanos and Spanish persons (14.7 percent). By adding the 120 additional persons who can definitely be placed in the city, a new calculation of inhabitants reveals that at least 772 persons resided in town. White foreigners numbered eighty-seven persons, Minorcans numbered 469 persons, but people of Floridano/Spanish/Cuban extraction totaled 216 people, more than twice their original numbers.[42]

39. Father Hassett overlooked some persons whose presence was obvious, e.g., Carlos Howard, Mariano de la Rocque, and even Governor Zéspedes and their families. The number of additional people was calculated by counting the government employees that arrived in 1784. For some, it could be determined that they were married by comparing the census of 1793. Thus, the family members (wives and children born before 1787, since the census was dated as of December 18, 1786) were added to the total. EFP, reel 148, bundle 323A. For others, parish records demonstrate that some men married soon after arrival. In this case, one extra person is counted for each man for whom a marriage certificate is recorded between June 1, 1784, and December 18, 1786. Parish Records, White Marriages, reel 284K. In addition, the continuous presence of these extra persons is corroborated by their sponsorship of newborns and converted former Protestants. Parish Records, White Baptisms, reel 284I.

40. Joaquin Escalona can be placed in the city by the testimony of Juan José del Toro in the padrón of 1785 who declared, "vivo con el práctice Juaquin Escalona." EFP, reel 148, bundle 323A. Escalona's presence can also be corroborated by his death on December 26, 1786, eight days after Hassett finished his tabulations. Parish Records, White Deaths, reel 284K, 36. Diego de Miranda and his family can be established to be in the city from the testimony in his daughter's marriage license petition of June 30, 1786. EFP, reel 132, bundle 298r9.

41. Spaniard Andrés de Ben was listed in the "padrón of 1785." EFP, reel 148, bundle 323A. His continued presence is indicated by his involvement as a defendant in an assault case in 1790. EFP, reel 111, bundle 263n13.

42. The totals do not add up to 100 percent because of rounding errors.

As before, Minorcans were clearly the majority. However, the new calculation of inhabitants changes the makeup of society from one in which foreigners were roughly an equal percentage with Floridano/Spanish, to one in which Floridano/Spanish residents outnumbered the foreigners by more than two to one. Combined with the Minorcan majority, the Spanish/Floridano/Cuban group formed a solidly Spanish-oriented bloc.[43] Consequently, whether expressed in terms of percentages or absolute numbers, the figures indicate that the dominant influence in Florida during the period 1784-1795 was unquestionably Hispanic (approximately 88.6 percent Spanish, Cuban/Floridano, and Minorcan Catholic as compared to 11.4 percent Anglo Protestant). Thus, the inhabitants of St. Augustine had more in common with the rest of Spanish America than previously believed. The figures also raise questions about the validity of prior interpretations that maintain that society in St. Augustine was American or British oriented, while desperately trying to maintain its Hispanic identity.

A second rationale for excluding government employees and high-level military personnel was the belief on the part of many historians that most civil servants were transient and few had a permanent impact upon society. This also was not the case. Enlisted soldiers in the garrison were transient, and many lower echelon personnel did not become permanent members of the population or form ties with the province as they had before 1763.[44] Moreover, the men of the Third Battalion of Cuba assigned to the Castillo de San Marcos after 1789, when the Hibernia regiment of Irish-born volunteers was recalled, were the dregs of Spanish and Cuban society and included deserters, vagrants, thieves, and criminals. These soldiers were hardly ideal prospects for husbands of Floridana daughters and were unwelcome as settlers.[45] Officers were more desirable, but special per-

43. Griffin makes it clear that Minorcans prospered under Spanish rule and welcomed the Spanish regime as an opportunity to advance their economic and social positions. Griffin, "Minorcans," 77-83. Jane Landers examined the important role of free blacks in "Black Society in Spanish St. Augustine, 1784-1821" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1988).

44. Marchena, "St. Augustine's Military Society," 56.

45. Janice Borton Miller, "Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, Spanish Governor of East Florida, 1790-1795" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1974), 76-80; Jane Landers, "Jorge Biassou, Black Chieftan," *El Escribano* 25 (1988), 93.

mission was necessary before an officer could marry while serving on active duty; no person was exempt from these rules. The elopement of Lieutenant Juan O'Donovan of the Hibernia Regiment and María Concepción de Zéspedes, the daughter of Governor Zéspedes illustrated the stringent nature of military discipline. Immediately after learning of his daughter's elopement, Don Vicente arrested his new son-in-law and sent him, shackled in chains, to Havana for trial. There he was chastised for his impetuous and presumptuous behavior. After his father-in-law intervened with Bernardo de Gálvez, governor of the Floridas and Louisiana, on his behalf, O'Donovan was allowed to rejoin his bride in St. Augustine.[46] The threat of similar punishment undoubtedly influenced other soldiers' decisions against contracting a clandestine marriage, especially since few Floridana brides could boast familial connections as influential as those of María Concepción de Zéspedes If for no other reason, this regulation excluded many officers from marrying in their posts.

The transient nature of the common soldiers did not extend to the higher echelons of command, or to those administrative persons in charge of artillery stores or the military hospital. In Spain's colonial bureaucracy, when a man was assigned to a post, family members were included in his retinue, and frequently they, too, accompanied their husbands and fathers, either sailing on the same ship or quickly following behind.[47] Accompanying guarda almacen (keeper of military provisions) Manuel de Almansa were his wife, Luisa Pérez, his children, and his nephew, Mariano de Almansa, who held an assistant guarda almacen position.[48] Hospital superintendent Domingo de los Reyes was accompanied by Doctor Bernardo de la Madrid, who was soon to become Reyes's brother-in-law.[49] Another govern-

46. Zéspedes to José de Gálvez, June 3, 1785, in Lockey *East Florida,* 34.
47. Indicative of the large retinue that accompanied some military members was the "family" attached to caudillo Jorge Biassou, who sought refuge in St. Augustine after the Haitian Revolution. Landers, "Jorge Biassou, Black Chieftan," 89.
48. Manuel de Almansa arrived in 1784. Urriza, "Government Employees," 199. His wife, undoubtedly accompanied by their young children, and nephew can be established to be in St. Augustine by their testimony in Mariano de Almansa's petition for permission to marry María Ramona Miranda, June 30, 1785. EFP, reel 132, bundle 298r9.
49. Domingo de los Reyes and Bernardo de la Madrid arrived with the other hospital employees in 1784. Urriza, "Hospital Employees," 198. Bernardo

ment employee, Fernando de la Maza Arredondo, arrived in 1784 and was joined by his younger brother, Pedro.[50] Once established, these large kin groupings were relatively stable. Perhaps Bourbon parsimony kept high officials from leaving to assume other posts, or conversely, perhaps those men assigned to the community developed roots like many had before 1763.[51] Also, the nuisance and danger of traveling, especially after 1793 when warfare was almost continuous, may have deterred many from abandoning their Florida homes and property. In any case, excluding the governors whose terms in office varied in length, fourteen of twenty-four government officials (58.3 percent) and ten of twenty-three hospital employees (43.4 percent not including servants) who arrived in St. Augustine in 1784 were listed in the 1793 census. Moreover, at least four of the original arrivals were present to be counted in the 1813 census, and many more children of Spanish officials had become Floridanos by the time their security was threatened by North American invaders in 1812-1813.[52]

In keeping with Spanish policy of centralization, and not trusting the difficult new administration to creoles (men born in America), the crown awarded the highest positions to peninsulares (persons born in Spain). Treasurer Gonzalo Zamorano was born in Castille (Castilla la Vieja); treasury official Dimas Córtes was from Seville as was pharmacist Rafael Espinosa de Saavedra; and the assistant keeper of the commissary, Francisco

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de la Madrid married Paula Pastora Chacón on February 7, 1786. Paula was the sister of Maria Belen Chacón, the wife of Domingo de los Reyes. It is also probable that the sisters were members of the powerful Chacon and Herrera family network of Cuba (see note 8), since both were natives of Havana. Parish Records, White Marriages, reel 284K, 13.

50. Fernando de la Maza Arredondo, another hospital employee, arrived in 1784. Urriza, "Hospital Employees," 199. No record has yet been uncovered as to when his brother arrived, but his death certificate, dated October 15, 1791, attests to his presence in the city. Parish Records, White Deaths, reel 284K, 107.
51. Marchena, "St. Augustine's Military Society," 56, 77. For one example of how soldiers in Florida before 1763 developed ties with the city, see Arnade, "The Avero Story," 1-34.
52. This information is extracted from the several censuses. EFP, reel 148, bundle 323A. The four remaining men and their families were Fernando de la Maza Arredondo, Domingo de los Reyes, Ramón de Fuentes, and Joaquín Sánchez. See also, Historical Records Survey, *Spanish Land Grants*, 5 vols. (Tallahassee, 1940-1941).

Antonio de Entrealgo, was from Asturias.[53] An exception was Irish-born Carlos Howard whose competency as a captain in the Hibernia Regiment and ability to speak both English and Spanish made his assignment as secretary of the government a sensible choice.[54] In addition to the highest royal administrative officials, a contingent of mid-level support people arrived from Havana. Some of these were peninsular, but many others were creoles. Pharmacist Ramón de Fuentes, and Governor Zéspedes's assistant secretary, Manuel Rengil, were both natives of Havana.[55]

Many persons who obtained positions in government service had or developed strong ties to St. Augustine. Spaniard Luciano de Herrera, who had remained in St. Augustine during the British period, became superintendent of Indian affairs, a post he held until his death in 1788.[56] Some Floridanos who had evacuated to Cuba in 1763 returned to the province as government employees. In addition to Joaquín Escalona and Diego de Miranda, who arrived back from Havana with their families, Antonio Fernández, an intern with the hospital staff and a captain in the royal army, returned with his wife Victorina Guillén, a member of the Avero family network.[57] Daughters of Floridano families married peninsular officials with regularity.

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53. Parish Records, White Marriages, reel 284K, White Baptisms, reel 284I, White Deaths, reels 284K and 284I, from 1785 onward contain information about the origin of St. Augustine's inhabitants. Specifically, White Baptisms contains the baptismal certificates of children of Gonzalo Zamorano, 82; Dimas Cortés, 27 1; Rafael Espinosa de Saavedra, 323; and Francisco Antonio de Entrealgo, 130.
54. Lockey, *East Florida*, 35-36; Miller, "Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada," 91-94.
55. Parish Records, White Marriages, reel 284K, contains information about the origin of Ramón de Fuentes, 15, and Manuel Rengil, 63.
56. Luciano de Herrera's place of origin is specified in his sponsorship of Mary Evans's conversion to Catholicism on November 23, 1786. Parish Records, White Baptisms, reel 284I, 92. His death certificate is in White Deaths, reel 284K, 63.
57. Antonio Fernández arrived in 1784. Urriza, "Employees for the Hospital," 199. According to de la Rocque's "Descripción del plano de la ciudad," by 1788. Fernández held at least three city properties. Victorina Guillén's presence can be established by her baptismal sponsorship of Elizabeth Hill on July 8, 1787 (Parish Records, White Baptisms, reel 284I, 135) and can be corroborated by her petition to determine the status of her properties in 1794 (EFP, reel 112, bundle 265). See also, Arnade, "The Avero Story," 17-26.

In addition to María Ramona Miranda, who married assistant guarda almacen Mariano de Almansa, at least three Floridana daughters married government employees.[58] On February 3, 1785, María Rafaela Rodríguez of the Rodríguez clan, married guarda mayor (chief guard) Emanuel Fernández Biendicho.[59] On October 3, 1785, Antonia Perdomo, daughter of Floridana widow Nicholasa Gómez, married Fernando de la Maza Arredondo, and a month later, November 7, 1785, María Gonzales, daughter of Floridana widow Juana Montes de Oca, married Rafael Espinosa de Saaverdra.[60] Thus, many men became involved in their community and were integrated into kinship networks by marriage to daughters of Floridano families. More importantly, by allying themselves with peninsular officials, Floridano families enjoyed increased prestige in the community as a whole.

Government officials and their extended families were important members of the community. Their impact upon the local economy was substantial since most of these families were well-to-do before arriving in Florida. The prestige accorded these people was implicit by virtue of their government positions and accompanying salaries and perquisites.[61] Universally, the government officials and their wives were addressed as Don or Doña.[62] Another measure of their importance was the frequency with which officials and their wives became padrinos (godparents) of newborns, even extending to include sponsorship of community members who renounced the Protestant religion and embraced Catholicism.[63] Consequently, government and hospital employees, along with private Spanish/Cuban/Floridano citizens, were a powerful factor in the promotion and

58. Parish Records, White Marriages, reel 284K, 17.
59. Ibid., 1.
60. Ibid., 9, 10.
61. Urriza, "Employees for the Hospital," 199; Urriza, "Government Employees," 204, details their salaries. Houses provided to government officials are identified in de la Rocque, "Descripción del plano de la ciudad."
62. Throughout the documentation Spanish officials and civil servants are addressed as Don or Doña.
63. María Rafaela Rodríguez and chief guard (guarda mayor) Emanuel Fernández Biendicho frequently sponsored newborn children, especially those belonging to soldiers in the garrison. Another couple who actively sponsored newborns was Bernardo de la Madrid and Paula Pastora Chacón. Parish Records, White Baptisms, reel 284I.

perpetuation of Hispanic society, if simply because of their numbers alone. In keeping with Spanish custom, elites sent to the provinces in governmental service often integrated themselves into local society. For the officials sent to St. Augustine, not only were they integrated into the existing society, but they also helped perpetuate the customs and mores of their native culture.

In addition to government and hospital employees and their families, fifty former Floridanos and forty-six civilian Spaniards contributed to St. Augustine's Hispanic identity.[64] The order of listing in the padrón of 1785 suggests that a distinction was drawn between persons who were Spanish subjects (Cubanos y Floridanos, and Españoles, listed first and second, respectively), those who probably would become good subjects (Mahoneses, listed third), and those whose transition possibly would be difficult (Británicos, listed last). Cubans and Floridanos were listed together, which further suggests that those taking the census did not draw a distinction between them. The Españoles were listed separately. It appears that the census takers may have been concerned with a peninsular/creole dichotomy, but they were even more concerned with the property and position of the foreigners and the Mahoneses who were to become new subjects of Charles III of Spain. Although not of elite status, the Cubans/Floridanos and civilian Spaniards were accorded the same privileges granted to all Spanish citizens, and it is clear that their status was different from Mahoneses or Británicos.[65]

The 1785 effort was not without its own degree of ambiguity. The example of the family of merchant and ship's captain Lorenzo Rodríguez illustrated the difficulty of ascribing cultural identification with certainty. Don Lorenzo was a native of St. Augustine from an old Floridano family (he is enumerated with the Españoles), but his household was truly international.[66] Don Lorenzo's wife, Ysabel Piuma, was a native of present-day Germany.[67] Their older children, Nicholás, María Rafaela, and Ysabél Casemira, were natives of St. Augustine, but the remainder of their children, María del Carmen and Teresa de Jesús,

64. "Census of 1786," EFP, reel 148, bundle 323A.
65. "Padrón of 1785," ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.

were natives of Havana.[68] To further complicate matters, the Rodríguez household contained four unrelated lodgers, including a nephew, Joseph Gonzáles of Havana; an agregado (person attached to the household), Ricardo Bustan, formerly English; an unidentified free mulatto whom Don Lorenzo had recently manumitted; and another unidentified white shopclerk.[69] In the absence of letters or diaries, it is difficult to speculate upon the cultural orientation of the members of Don Lorenzo's household. Nevertheless, it is safe to assume that old Floridano families, like the Rodríguezes, the Escalonas, and the Mirandas owed their trust and allegiance to their Spanish monarch. If their belief in the "buen gobierno" (good government) of the Spanish system had wavered, they never would have evacuated in 1763. Similarly, they would not have followed the Spanish flag back to St. Augustine in 1784.

The buen gobierno of the crown included making immigration attractive to Spanish citizens, be they creole or peninsular. Thus, the government implemented a policy of granting land to persons in accordance with their station in life. A person of peasant origin would receive a town lot fifty feet by 100 feet and land capable of producing 100 fanegas of wheat and ten fanegas of Indian corn, or land that twenty oxen could plow in a day, and pasture for eight breeding sows, twenty cows, five mares, 100 sheep, and twenty goats. A gentleman would receive five times a peasant's share, plus a town lot 100 by 200 feet in size.[70] For former Floridanos, this policy included a provision under which many persons who were forced to relinquish their land in 1763 would be able to recover their lost properties. If their former properties had been granted or legally sold to another person, Floridanos would be compensated with a grant of land of equivalent value that belonged to the crown.[71] Widows and

68. Nicholás, María del Carmen, and Teresa de Jesús are listed in Hassett's census. To determine that María Rafaela and Ysabél Casemira are Rodríguez's daughters, consult the "Census of 1793," ibid. Further corroboration is available in their marriage certificates. Parish Records, White Marriages, reel 284K, 1 and 11, respectively.
69. "Padrón of 1785," EFP, reel 148, bundle 323A.
70. *Spanish Land Grants,* V, xviii-xix; William W. Dewhurst, *The History of St. Augustine, Florida* (New York, 1885; reprinted., Rutland, VT, 1968), 135. A fanega was roughly equal to 1.6 bushels.
71. Duvon C. Corbitt, "Spanish Relief Policy and the East Florida Refugees of 1763," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 27 (July 1948), 75-76.

daughters of soldiers who had served in Florida prior to 1763 received additional concessions. A special pension, the limosna de Florida, was implemented when Floridana women were forced to evacuate to Cuba.[72] If these women returned to East Florida, their pensions would be increased, their former properties would be restored if they could prove prior ownership, and they would receive farmland to cultivate and be provided with a slave and implements to help with cultivation. However, the most important concession was granted to former Floridanos on March 18, 1791, in article twelve of a comprehensive regulation designed to stimulate immigration to the province. This regulation granted Floridanos priority in the selection of government employees.73 This concession would be unthinkable for the mainland colonies where peninsular officials were the rule. Some might argue that this concession was necessary to appease republican murmurings or to encourage immigration to a destitute province. More likely, in the light of similar concessions to Cuba, the Spanish government felt secure in granting privileges to citizens who had experienced the recent, mutually beneficial prosperity in Havana and whose identification was Hispanic, even though they subsequently had relocated to St. Augustine.[74]

Joining the newly arrived Spaniards, Cubans, and returning Floridanos in creating St. Augustine's society, were the British residents who elected to remain under Spanish rule. As defined in Article V of the Treaty of Paris of 1783, the terms under which Britons could remain in Florida were generous.[75] A royal cédula of March 8, 1786, reiterated that foreign persons were required to swear allegiance to the king of Spain, and (ideally) covert to Catholicism.[76] Foreigners also had to declare the value of their property for taxation purposes and pay their own settlement costs.[77] However, this generous settlement policy posed a

72. The limosna for Floridana widows and daughters began under the provisions of a cédula of 1731. Ibid., 70.
73. Ibid., 75.
74. Kuethe, "*Los Llorones Cubanos,*" details the concessions made to the Cuban elite.
75. Arthur Preston Whitaker, ed. and trans., *Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas, with Incidental Reference to Louisiana* (DeLand, 1931), 53.
76. *Spanish Land Grants,* V, xvii-xviii; Richard K. Murdoch, "Governor Céspedes and the Religious Problem in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 26 (April 1948), 327.
77. EFP, reel 119, bundle 278o13; *Spanish Land Grants,* V, xx- xxi.

problem for local officials. The expressed goal of the government was to populate its colonies, but these Protestant former subjects of a hostile country were a less-than-ideal group of settlers.

In spite of the misgivings of many, including Governor Zéspedes, the Spanish government actively sought to integrate the foreigners into Spanish society. In an effort to accommodate those who sought protection under Spanish rule, many key positions in the new administration were filled with persons who were bilingual. Two days after he acquired the reins of government, Zéspedes addressed the inhabitants delineating the provisions for remaining in St. Augustine. He ordered that his proclamation be translated into English for the benefit of those who did not understand Spanish.[78] Carlos Howard served as liaison officer between the Spanish and British administrations, and even after the Hibernia Regiment was reassigned, he remained in Florida serving as secretary of the government, translator, and as a member of the junta de hacienda of the second governor, Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada.[79] Miguel Ysnardy, a Spanish merchant, served as public interpreter for persons who needed to petition the governor or higher officials in Cuba.[80] In a further spirit of conciliation during the transition period, John Leslie, a partner in Panton, Leslie & Company, and Francisco Felipe Fatio, a Swiss merchant/planter, were empowered to act as arbitrators in disputes between British subjects to ensure further that justice would be administered equitably to all.[81]

The Spanish crown also was faced with the question of British property. In keeping with its generous policy, the government allowed the majority of Britons to retain their land and slaves if they fulfilled the necessary royal requirements for remaining in Spanish Florida. The few others who refused to convert to Catholicism were usually allowed to retain their homes, provided that they complied with the other provisions of the

78. "Proclamation of Governor Zéspesdes," July 14, 1784, in Lockey, *East Florida,* 233-35.
79. Ibid., 35-36; Miller, "Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada," 91-94.
80. Ibid., 121, 179.
81. Tanner, *Zéspedes in East Florida,* 51; Susan R. Parker, "I Am Neither Your Subject Nor Your Subordinate." *El Escribano* 25 (1988), 43-60.

Treaty of 1783 and did not commit infractions of Spanish law.[82] However, persons who were recalcitrant had their property confiscated. Such was the punishment meted out to the followers of the banditti leader, James McGirtt, and the men who participated in the rebellion of 1793-1795. Even then, the Spanish administration proved itself to be compassionate when many wives and widows of the insurrectionists petitioned for the return of their husbands' confiscated properties for the maintenance of their families.[83] Another problem involved land that was abandoned by British subjects which would devolve to the Spanish crown. In a letter to José de Gálvez, Zéspedes suggested that Minorcans be granted plots of land in accordance with the size of their families.[84] Several Minorcan families took advantage of this policy, including Pablo Sabate, who increased his holdings from one and one-half acres that he reported as rental property in the padrón of 1785, to some 2,000 acres that he was able to purchase by 1809.[85]

By 1786, only eighty-five free persons– forty-eight adults and thirty-seven children, totaling twenty-three households– were left as the remnant of the former British community that once numbered over 1,000 permanent residents. Eleven British heads of household living in St. Augustine were planters or farmers, two were merchants, four engaged in trade, and one was an innkeeper.[86] Many Britons who had remained in Florida were relatively well-to-do, and because they conformed to Spanish policies, they lived peacefully under the new regime.

82. *Spanish Land Grants,* V, xvii-xviii; Murdoch, "Religious Problem," 332. The decision was not so much enlightened as pragmatic since only two priests were available to serve the colony of East Florida.

83. Seizures of property of those who violated Spanish law are well documented in the East Florida Papers. Such was the case of John Hudson and Mary Evans, whose property was seized to pay Hudson's creditors. Griffin and Arana, "Mary Evans: Woman of Substance," 62-65. The case of Louisa Waldron, whose property was seized solely because she was accused of a crime, is documented in Lockey, *East Florida,* 414-17, 601-04, 660-66. Many women whose male relatives participated in the rebellion of 1795 petitioned Governor Quesada for the return of the property for their maintenance. These cases are contained in EFP, reel 130, bundle 296. These cases also include the petitions of the rebels' creditors, who sued for the use of their slaves in repayment of debts.

84. Zéspedes to José de Gálvez, July 14, 1784, in Lockey, *East Florida,* 286.

85. Griffin, "Minorcans," 79-80.

86. Lockey, "The St. Augustine Census," 19-24.

Tailor/planter Edward Ashton remained in the city to continue his trade and protect his property. He converted to Catholicism on February 1, 1786, an event given special significance by the presence of Governor Zéspedes as one of Ashton's sponsors.[87] Widow Honoria Clarke, who was already Catholic, claimed "2500 acres of land in different parts of the province held under authentic British documentation, and three houses within the city limits." In addition, Doña Clarke owned fifteen slaves, three head of cattle, and four horses.[88] Widowed midwife Mary Evans inherited a considerable estate from her husband Joseph Peavett. On November 26, 1786, she converted to Catholicism, possibly to be able to marry Irish immigrant John Hudson. Her desire to preserve the 3,000 acres of farmland under cultivation, the house and grounds in the city limits, fifty-seven slaves, four horses, a cow, and three calves of her deceased husband's estate probably also influenced her decision to adapt herself to the status quo.[89]

Contrary to historical opinion, Americans were neither the majority of inhabitants nor the majority of immigrants in St. Augustine. Those persons of "foreign" origin were overwhelmingly former British loyalists, either long-standing Florida residents or refugees from Georgia or South Carolina. Residents of the United States to the north were not welcome in East Florida and were prevented from immigrating except under certain special circumstances. One example was Don Juan McQueen, a planter from Georgia who immigrated to Florida around 1790. Don Juan's loyalty and support of the Spanish administration earned him numerous land grants and a commission in the royal militia which was personally signed by Charles IV on December 20, 1798.[90] Less well known was the Ferreyra-Bentley-Nixon family. Portuguese merchant Juan Bautista Ferreyra and his wife Elizabeth Bentley Nixon, arrived in St. Augustine with their children, her mother Ana Ursula Andrade, and her sister Ana

87. Ibid., 21; Parish Records, White Baptisms, reel 284I, 48.
88. "Padrón de Británicos," EFP, reel 148, bundle 323A.
89. Ibid.; Griffin and Arana, "Mary Evans: Woman of Substance," 61; Parish Records, White Baptisms, reel 284I, 92.
90. Juan McQueen, *Letters . . . to His Family Written from Spanish East Florida, 1791-1807* (Columbia, SC, 1943), 49-50.

Magdalena Bentley Nixon sometime in 1787 or early 1788.[91] The Nixon women were Lutheran and born in Charleston, as were the Ferreyra children.[92] Nevertheless, because Ferreyra and his mother-in-law were already Catholic and well-to-do, the family became residents of the town. Ferreyra appears on the de la Roque "Plano" as owning two adjacent city properties– a wooden house and one constructed of shellrock.[93] The Nixon women and the Ferreyra children converted to Catholicism shortly after their arrival, with important Spanish officials and their wives standing as their sponsors.[94] The Ferreyra family was living in St. Augustine in 1793, and in 1805, Juan Bautista petitioned Governor Enrique White for 325 acres of land, a request which White approved.[95]

Although a few North Americans became St. Augustine residents, the prejudicial attitude against American immigrants within the Spanish government included José de Gálvez, who felt that an American influence in Spain's colonies would breed republican ideas and foster discontent.[96] Americans furthered their undesirable status by their blatant contraband activities in Havana during the American Revolution. Their activities resulted in Cuban officials trying to banish all Americans from the island.[97] Governor Zéspedes was no more kindly disposed to allowing Americans into Florida. To José de Gálvez he wrote, "It would by no means be advisable to admit natives of the said America," but he encouraged the immigration of Irish Catholics, whom he felt would "soon become useful members of the community."[98]

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91. A date cannot be established with certainty because the Spanish government did not begin to keep accurate immigration records until 1797. Tornero, *Relaciones de dependencia,* 32, 56.
92. Parish Records, White Baptisms, reel 284I, 215-17, and 220.
93. De la Rocque, "Plano de la Ciudad de San Agustín," 120-21.
94. Parish Records, White Baptisms, reel 284I, 215-17, and 220.
95. Census of 1793, EFP, reel 148, bundle 323A; *Spanish Land Grants,* III, 246-47.
96. Kuethe, *"Los Llorones Cubanos,"* 148; James A. Lewis, "Anglo American Entrepreneurs in Havana: The Background and Significance of the Expulsion of 1784-1785," in Barbier and Kuethe, *North American Role in the Spanish Imperial Economy,* 118.
97. Ibid., 118-23.
98. Zéspedes to Marqués de Sonora, May 12, 1787, in Whitaker, Documents, 53; Zéspedes to Bernardo de Gálvez, July 29, 1785, in Lockey, *East Florida,* 572.

More important than Britons or Americans, and considerably more welcome, were the Minorcans, Greeks, and Italians whose numbers totaled 469.[99] Most of these people, some 1,500, had arrived in Florida during the British period to work at Dr. Andrew Turnbull's plantation in New Smyrna south of St. Augustine. Held in a state of near-slavery, 964 Minorcan workers died at Turnbull's colony from 1768 to 1777. In a general revolt caused by intolerable conditions, approximately 450 indentured workers and their families fled to St. Augustine in the summer of 1777 where Governor Patrick Tonyn granted them asylum.[100] Minorcans comprised the poorer classes of the town and had performed most of the menial tasks. Many remained in a similar situation after the return of the Spanish. Census data reveal that the majority of Minorcan men were fishermen or sailors, but a few were carpenters, coopers, hatmakers, shoemakers, caulkers, bakers, masons, and apprentices. Others rented and tilled plots of approximately five acres of land close to the city.[101]

While the majority of Minorcans were poor, a few families and several men who were married to Minorcan women had accumulated considerable wealth. Zéspedes noted that some "have a capital of from one to eight thousand pesos and some own sloops and schooners."[102] In the 1785 padrón, merchant Bernardo Seguí declared his property to be "three houses in town, a store selling provisions, thirty acres of farmland, and three negro slaves." Similarly, Minorcan shopkeeper Ysabél Perpall, whose husband was absent, declared that she owned "two houses in town, 500 acres about five miles out of town, six slaves, two horses and a cow." Corsican merchant Pedro Cosifacio, married to Minorcan Ynez Quevedo, owned a "store selling clothing and provisions, four slaves, and about forty to fifty acres of farmland."[103]

In spite of their business acumen and ability to improve their lot, during the British period the Minorcan families were considered to be "second class citizens."[104] After the return of the

99. Rasico, "Minorcan Population," 184.
100. Jane Quinn, *Minorcans in Florida: Their History and Heritage* (St. Augustine, 1975), 76.
101. Rasico, "Minorcan Population," 166-67.
102. Zéspedes to José de Gálvez, July 14, 1784, in Lockey, *East Florida,* 285.
103. "Padrón de Mahoneses," EFP, reel 148, bundle 323A.
104. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *Florida in the American Revolution* (Gainesville, 1975), 11.

Spanish, their potential as productive members of society was acknowledged by the new administration, and they, in turn, recognized their welcome. The potential for land ownership, the freedom to worship as Catholics, and the realization that they would be accepted into the community were inducements for them to remain in Spanish Florida.[105] Moreover, whenever the security of Florida was threatened, Minorcans were conspicuous as militia captains, defending their gains under Spanish rule.[106] Thus, when Zéspedes accepted their petition declaring their pleasure at being "reunited with their rightful sovereign," he was not simply confirming the professed loyalty of displaced former Britons.[107] Rather, he was welcoming persons whose cultural identity was closer to their new sovereign than their old, whose presence in St. Augustine would reinforce the Hispanic identity, and whose allegiance to Spain would be unwavering.

As early as 1786, Charles III could not help but be pleased at the progress accomplished by Zéspedes in re-Hispanicizing St. Augustine. The major mechanisms of colonial government were in place, the Catholic religion was again predominant, Spanish was the mother tongue (even if concessions were made to those who spoke English), and the youth of the town were being inculcated with Hispanic values. Moreover, St. Augustine's society resembled that of other Spanish American cities to a great degree. Charles's frontier bureaucracy, staffed with peninsular elites and creole support personnel, was functioning with only the usual intergovernmental bickerings common to Spanish colonial government. Like other cities in the colonial empire, the marginal people of the lower classes, regardless of ethnic origin, functioned as domestic servants, food producers (fishermen and subsistence farmers), unskilled day laborers, and sailors.

The greatest degree of ambiguity in St. Augustine's society was in the upper-middle, the middle, and the lower-middle classes. In these levels, no clear-cut distinction was made on the basis of origin or race as a measure of prestige, and no ethnic

105. Griffin, "Minorcans," 66-67.
106. Ibid., 81-83.
107. "Memorials of the Italians, Greeks, and Minorcans," July 12, 1784, in Lockey, *East Florida,* 232-33.

group could claim any one social level as their exclusive province. Mercantile or artisanal activity encompassed persons of Spanish, Cuban, British, French, Minorcan, Corsican, Italian, and even Hindu extraction. Only one distinction was implicit. If not peninsular elite or part of an old Floridano/Cuban family network, then wealth, combined with proper behavior and acceptance of the new regime, determined one's degree of influence. Persons of greater wealth, especially merchants and landowners, although these activities were often combined, were accorded the honorific titles Don or Doña. Many of these persons could afford to live in the core area of the city with others of high status, thus reinforcing their prestige. Moreover, their claims to ownership of town properties and plantations in the hinterlands were legitimized by the new regime. Men of high prestige from the mercantile/artisan class were often appointed captains in the militia when danger threatened, a reflection of the degree of trust the government had in their loyalty and of their ability to command respect.

For St. Augustine's eighteenth-century citizens, no ambiguity existed over what represented the dominant influence in society. If numbers alone were not sufficient reminder of the Hispanic nature of the city, then the mechanisms of societal control (government, language, and religion) could not help but emphasize that society was mainly Spanish in character. Certainly, no question existed for Spanish bureaucrats who made their homes in the community, for Cuban civil servants who sought positions in the new government, or for Floridano families who returned to claim their lost properties. Neither did the Minorcan community question the legitimacy of the Spanish regime which promised the potential for advancement. Among the remnants of the British regime, most recognized that success came from cooperation and co-optation, not from fractiousness and rebellion. Persons intent on pursuing success declared their loyalty to Charles III, converted to Catholicism, and were welcomed into the dominant society.

Only ambiguity on the part of historians has perpetuated the portrait of St. Augustine's society as being ethnically heterogeneous and culturally divided. Florida's annexation into the United States allowed North American historians to interpret Spanish Florida's history as if it were their own. Common sense dictates that St. Augustine's inhabitants did not languish

in their courtyards from 1784 to 1821 preparing to welcome North Americans as their cultural, political, and economic saviors. It is equally implausible to believe that Spanish citizens could foresee the disintegration of the Spanish empire even as late as 1800. The evidence indicates that the people of Florida looked to their future as Spanish citizens with optimism. The actions of persons from all sectors of the community represent attitudes of acceptance and support of the returned regime rather than passive acquiescence to Spanish rule. Thus, the time has come for scholars to reinterpret St. Augustine's history within its proper Spanish context.

BLACKS AND THE SEMINOLE REMOVAL DEBATE, 1821-1835

by GEORGE KLOS

THE rise of Jacksonian democracy in the United States during the 1820s and 1830s led to a national program of Indian displacement for the benefit of white settlers and land speculators. Disputes between whites and Indians over the possession of black slaves was a very prominent feature of Indian removal from Florida. Unlike Indian removal in other parts of the United States, land was not the main issue; thousands of acres of public land could be had in Florida without dispossessing the Seminoles. Mediation of white-Seminole slave disputes failed, in part, because the federal Indian agents often owned and speculated in slaves themselves and thus were compromised by personal interests. Also, many blacks worked for the Seminoles as influential interpreters and advisors.

Even before the acquisition of Florida by the United States in 1821, blacks were involved in white-native conflicts. The combination of blacks and Seminoles was important in the international affairs of the region, from the 1810-1814 plot to take East Florida from the Spanish by force, to the 1816 Negro Fort incident on the Apalachicola River and Andrew Jackson's Florida campaign of 1818.[1] After 1821, the problems between whites, Seminoles, and black allies of the Seminoles changed from an international issue to an internal one; the Florida Indians could now be dealt with unilaterally by the Americans.

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1. Kenneth W. Porter's *Negro on the American Frontier* (New York, 1971) is a compilation of articles first published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and *Journal of Negro History*, among others. Rembert W. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco* (Athens, 1954), covers the East Florida campaign of 1811-1813 and includes a chapter on the blacks living with the Seminoles of Alachua. Mark F. Boyd, "Events at Prospect Bluff on the Apalachicola River, 1808-1818," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 16 (October 1937), 55-96, and John D. Milligan, "Slave Rebelliousness and the Florida Maroon," *Prologue* 6 (Spring 1974), 4-18, cover the Negro Fort incident.

Settlers coming into Florida found, according to a correspondent in *Niles' Weekly Register,* "the finest agricultural district within the limits of the United States." He described the area between the Suwannee and St. Johns rivers as "combining the advantages of a mild and healthy climate, a rich soil, and convenient navigation."[2] William P. DuVal, Jackson's successor as territorial governor of Florida, warned Secretary of War John C. Calhoun that "it will be a serious misfortune to this Territory if the Indians are permitted to occupy this tract of country." DuVal recommended moving the Indians of Florida to the domain of the Creeks, "to whom they properly belong," or to land west of the Mississippi River.[3] Writing to Florida Indian agent John R. Bell, Calhoun noted, "The government expects that the Slaves who have run away or been plundered from our Citizens or from Indian tribes within our limits will be given up peaceably by the Seminole Indians when demanded." Calhoun instructed Bell to convince the Seminoles either to join the Creeks or "to concentrate . . . in one place and become peaceable and industrious farmers."[4]

Governor DuVal, along with Florida planters James Gadsden and Bernard Segui, met with Indian representatives in September 1823 at Moultrie Creek south of St. Augustine. The Seminoles agreed to cede their land in north Florida to the United States and to receive a large tract farther south with recognized boundaries. Part of the negotiations required the listing of Indian towns and a census of their inhabitants. Neamathla, the leader of the Seminole delegation, listed thirty-seven towns with 4,883 natives. He objected, however, according to Gadsden, to specifying "the number of negroes in the nation."[5]

The Moultrie Creek agreement reserved for the Seminoles the area from the Big Swamp along the Withlacoochee River

2. *Niles' Weekly Register* 21 (September 29, 1821), 69.
3. William DuVal to John C. Calhoun, September 22, 1822, in Clarence E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States,* 27 vols. (Washington, DC, 1934-1969), *Florida Territory,* XXII, 533-34. (Hereafter cited as *Territorial Papers.)*
4. Calhoun to John R. Bell, September 28, 1821, *Territorial Papers,* XXII, 219-21.
5. *American State Papers,* 38 vols. (Washington, DC, 1832-1861), *Indian Affairs,* II, 439.

south to the "main branch of the Charlotte [Peace] river," some fifteen to twenty miles inland from the coast. The Indians were to receive $5,000 per year for twenty years. Article seven bound the Indians to be "active and vigilant in preventing the retreating to, or passing through, of the district assigned them, of any absconding slaves, or fugitives from justice" and to deliver all such people to the agent and be compensated for their expenses.[6]

The United States government representatives, in their report accompanying the treaty, recommended that military posts be established around the contours of Indian country "to embody such a population within prescribed limits, and to conquer their erratic habits . . . [and to] further induce an early settlement of the country now open to the enterprise of emigrants."[7]

In giving up their north Florida land, the Indians were relinquishing an area of fertile soil, good rainfall, and temperate climate. Many of the early settlers migrated from elsewhere in the South and, with slaves that they brought with them, established cotton, sugar, and tobacco plantations and farms. Many Piedmont and Tidewater elites moved to Florida and created a new hierarchy in the territory.[8] Between 1825 and 1832, 433,751 acres of public land were sold in Florida. Some 5,000,000 acres were still available in 1833. The territorial Legislative Council, in an 1828 resolution to Congress, requested that the price per acre for public land be reduced to attract more settlers. The legislators argued it was a national security move to increase population.[9]

The 1830 census listed 34,730 Floridians, 15,501 of whom were slaves and 844 "free colored."[10] The Comte de Castelneau, a French visitor to Florida in the 1830s, observed the local planter as "accustomed to exercise absolute power over his slaves[;]

6. The treaty is printed in full in Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (Washington, DC, 1904-1941), 5 vols., II, 203-06.
7. Indian commissioners to Calhoun, September 26, 1823, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 750.
8. Julia F. Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1860* (Gainesville, 1973), 18. Michael G. Schene, *Hopes, Dreams, and Promises: A History of Volusia County, Florida* (Daytona Beach, 1976), 30-39, details the sugar enterprises set up in a county near the Seminole boundary.
9. *American State Papers: Public Land*, VI, 630, 663; ibid., V, 46.
10. *Abstract of Returns, 5th Census* (Washington, DC, 1832), 44. Indians, and the blacks living among them, were not counted.

he cannot endure any opposition to his wishes." Whites of modest means, he said, were "brought up from childhood with the idea that the Indians are the usurpers of the land that belongs to them, and even in times of peace they are always ready to go hunting savages rather than deer hunting. . . . [T]hese men know no other power than physical force, and no other pleasure than carrying out their brutal passions."[11]

Blacks living with the Seminoles became a point of contention for whites because the Seminole system of slavery was not as harsh or rigid as the Anglo-American system: a comparatively lenient system in such close proximity might offer slaves of whites an alternative that their owners could not tolerate. A Seminole was more a patron than master, for the Seminole slave system was akin to tenant farming. Blacks lived in their own villages near Indian villages and paid a harvest tribute consisting of a percentage of the yield from their fields to the chief. Blacks, an Indian agent reported, had "horses, cows, and hogs, with which the Indian owner never presumed to meddle."[12]

In the 1820s, there were approximately 400 blacks living with the Seminoles. Only about eighty could be identified as fugitive slaves. Jacob Rhett Motte, an army surgeon stationed in Florida in the 1830s, noted, "They had none of the servility of our northern blacks, but were constantly offering their dirty paws with as much hauteur, and nonchalance, as if they were conferring a vast deal of honor."[13] They could "speak English as well as Indian," the trader Horatio Dexter reported, "and feel satisfied with their situation. They have the easy unconstrained manner of the Indian but more vivacity, and from their understanding of both languages possess considerable influence with their masters."[14] Only a few black Seminoles were bilingual, and those who were became influential in Indian councils. Fur-

11. Arthur R. Seymour, trans., "Essay on Middle Florida, 1837-38," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 26 (January 1948), 236, 239.
12. Wiley Thompson to Lewis Cass, April 27, 1835. *American State Papers: Military Affairs,* VI, 534.
13. Jacob Rhett Motte, *Journey into the Wilderness: An Army Surgeon's Account of Life in Camp and Field during the Creek and Seminole Wars, 1836-1838,* James F. Sunderman, ed. (Gainesville, 1953), 210.
14. Mark F. Boyd, "Horatio Dexter and Events Leading to the Treaty of Moultrie Creek with the Seminole Indians," *Florida Anthropologist* 6 (September 1958), 81-92.

thermore, much has been made of the "equality" of the black Seminoles, but it would be more accurate to say that some blacks were more equal than others. Seminole society had blacks of every status whether they were born free, the descendants of fugitives, or perhaps fugitives themselves. Some were interpreters and advisors of importance; others were warriors and hunters or field hands. Intermarriage with Indians further complicated black status. But even a black of low status among the Seminoles felt it was an improvement over Anglo-American chattel slavery.

People living near the Seminoles became acquainted with the Indians and their black interpreters usually through trade. Seminoles visited stores and plantations despite the legal prohibition on leaving the reservation. Blacks often crossed the prescribed boundaries, and some white-owned slaves had spouses and other relatives living in Indian country. John Philip, a middle-aged "chief negro" to King Philip, leader of an Indian band, had a wife living on a St. Johns River plantation. Luis Fatio was owned by Francis Philip Fatio, one of the most prominent planters in East Florida. Luis's first contact with the Seminoles was on the plantation. His older brother ran away to Indian country, and Luis learned one of the Indian languages during his brother's periodic visits to the slave quarters. One day Luis went on a visit to Seminole country and never returned.[15]

There were others like Luis. Alachua County slaveowners estimated 100 runaways among the Seminoles, complaining that black Seminoles (the planters apparently saw a difference between them and runaways) "aided such slaves to select new and more secure places of refuge."[16] Owen Marsh visited several "Negro Villages" looking for runaways, and he noted that the number of runaway slaves among the Seminoles could not be determined "from the Circumstances of their being protected by the Indian Negroes. . . . [T]hese Indian Negroes are so artfull [sic] that it is impossible to gain any information relating to such property from them."[17]

15. Porter, *Negro on the American Frontier*, 240-41; Kenneth W. Porter, "The Early Life of Luis Pacheco Nee Fatio," *Negro History Bulletin* 7 (December 1943), 52.
16. House Exec. Doc. 271, 24th Cong., 1st Sess., 31.
17. Owen Marsh to Thomas L. McKenney, May 17, 1826, Office of Indian Affairs– Letters Received, National Archives Microcopy 234, roll 800. (Hereafter cited as OIA-LR.)

Governor DuVal admonished the Seminoles in January 1826 for not returning runaway slaves. "You are not to mind, what the negroes say; they will lie, and lead you astray, in the hope to escape from their white owners, and that you will give them refuge and hide them. Do your duty and give them up. They care nothing for you, further than to make use of you, to keep out of the hands of their masters." DuVal further rebuked the Indians telling them that "thus far the negroes have made you their tools, and gained protection, contrary to both justice and the treaty, and at the same time, laugh at you for being deceived by them. Your conduct in this matter is cause of loud, constant, and just complaint on the part of the white people. . . . Deliver them up, rid your nation of a serious pest, and do what, as honest men, you should not hesitate to do; then your white brothers will say you have done them justice, like honest, good men." Should the Seminoles refuse, DuVal warned, the army will take the blacks by force, "and in the confusion, many of you may lose your own slaves."[18]

Tuckose Emathla (John Hicks), a principal spokesman for the Indians, replied to DuVal's criticisms. "We do not like the story that our people hide the runaway negroes from their masters. It is not a true talk. . . . We have never prevented the whites from coming into our country and taking their slaves whenever they could find them and we will not hereafter oppose their doing so." At another meeting that year, Tuckose Emathla voiced the main Indian complaint regarding slaves. "The white people have got some of our negroes, which we expect they will be made to give up."[19]

Besides the black communities on Seminole land, other groups of blacks and Indians lived outside the treaty boundaries, and still others left Florida altogether. Owen Marsh, in his investigation of Seminole country, reported that many runaway slaves had departed for the Bahamas and Cuba, and a Darien, Georgia, slaveowner complained to the secretary of war that his escaped slaves left Florida via "West India wreckers" working

18. House Exec. Doc. 17, 19th Cong., 2d Sess., 18.
19. Ibid., 20; Tuckose Emathla to James Barbour (transcribed by Gad Humphreys), May 17, 1826, OIA-LR, roll 800.

the Atlantic coast.[20] Two other settlements in southwest Florida were described by John Winslett who was tracking three slaves of a Georgia planter. He was told at Tampa Bay, "it would not be safe to pursue them much farther without force; that a band of desperadoes, runaways, murderers, and thieves (negroes and Indians, a majority runaway slaves)" lived on an island south of Charlotte Harbor. Blacks and Indians who had been there told Winslett of "another settlement of lawless persons (Indians and absconded slaves) on a creek between Manatia [Manatee] River and Charlotte's Harbor, some miles west of the latter."[21] The island community was a haven for some survivors of the Negro Fort incident on the Apalachicola River, and it existed up to the war for Seminole removal.[22] The residents cut timber and fished, shipping their goods to Havana where they were traded for rum and firearms. The Seminoles also traded with Cuban fishermen, and Indian agent Gad Humphreys reported that runaway slaves were shuttled to Havana this way, sometimes for freedom and sometimes for sale.[23]

The legal mechanisms for settling slave disputes between whites and Indians failed. DuVal proposed that the government buy Seminole slaves, as individual whites were prohibited from slave trading with Indians, but he was told by Superintendent of Indian Affairs Thomas L. McKenney that agents should not involve themselves in slave trade with their charges. When

20. Marsh to McKenney, May 17, 1826, and John N. McIntosh to Calhoun, January 16, 1825, OIA-LR, roll 800. See also, John M. Goggin, "The Seminole Negroes of Andros Island, Bahamas," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 24 (January 1946), 201-06; Kenneth W. Porter, "Notes on the Seminole Negroes in the Bahamas," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 24 (July 1945), 56-60; and Harry A. Kersey, Jr., "The Seminole Negroes of Andros Island Revisited: Some New Pieces to an Old Puzzle," *Florida Anthropologist* 34 (December 1981), 169-76.
21. Statement of John Winslett, sworn to by Augustus Steele, Jr., December 21, 1833, OIA-LR, roll 290.
22. James Forbes and James Innerarity searched for slaves known to have been at the Negro Fort. They reached Tampa Bay where they learned that the runaways were in the Charlotte Harbor area. William Coker and Thomas Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands* (Pensacola, 1986), 309.
23. DuVal to Calhoun, September 23, 1823, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 744: Gad Humphreys to Calhoun, January 31, 1826, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII; 203; James W. Covington, "Life at Fort Brooke, 1824-1836," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 36 (April 1958), 325-26.

whites took Indian slaves, Florida agents were instructed to use due process to get the slaves back. When Indians held slaves claimed by whites, the burden of proof was on the white. In accordance with the Moultrie Creek treaty, the Seminoles did return some runaway slaves, and in other cases, Humphreys explained to the representative of a Georgia slaveowner, they welcomed investigation "by a competent tribunal."[24] For the most part, however, the Seminoles refused to surrender the slaves in question before the trial. "Their own negroes that have been taken from them are held by white people who refuse to dilliver [sic] them up," DuVal told the superintendent of Indian Affairs, "I have felt asshamed [sic] while urgeing [sic] the Indians to surrender the property they hold, that I had not power to obtain for them their own rights and property held by our citizens. . . . To tell one of these people that he must go to law for his property in our courts with a white man is only adding insult to injury."[25]

Indians resisted surrendering slaves to public (white) custody as a precondition for resolving disputes because they knew they had no rights in court. "The Indian, conscious of his rights, and knowing that he paid the money, though incapable of showing the papers executed under forms of law, as he had received none, and relying upon the honesty of the white man, protested most earnestly against these demands, and resolutely expressed a determination to resist all attempts thus to wrest from him his rightfully acquired property," explained John T. Sprague in his history of the Second Seminole War. "Deprived as they were of a voice in the halls of justice, the surrender of the negro at one dispossessed them, without the least prospect of ever getting him returned." The commander of the army post at Tampa Bay, Colonel George M. Brooke, observed in 1828 that "so many claims are now made on them, that they begin to believe that it is the determination of the United States to take them all. This idea is strengthened by the conversations of many of the whites, and which they have heard."[26]

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24. Humphreys to Horatio Lowe, September 17, 1828, OIA-LR, roll 800.
25. DuVal to McKenney, March 20, 1826, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 483; McKenney to DuVal, May 8, 1826, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, II, 698; Mark F. Boyd, *Florida Aflame* (Tallahassee, 1951), 36.
26. John T. Sprague, *Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1848; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 34, 43, 52-53.

Whites, however, saw it differently. Samuel Cook, Abraham Bellamy, and other planters complained that "whilst the Law furnishes to the Indians ample means of redress for the aggressions of Whitemen, we are Constrained to look with patience, whilst they possess and enjoy the property most justly and rightfully Ours." They also objected to being prevented from taking from Indian country "even those negroes that are unclaimed and unpossessed by the Indians."[27] Cook also voiced another frontier slaveowner's complaint, that slaves purchased from the Seminoles often slipped back to Indian country. DuVal reported to Superintendent Thomas McKenney that "the persons who have been most clamorous about their claims on the Indians and their property are those who have cheated them, under false reports, of their slaves, who have since gone back to the Indians."[28] Alfred Beckley, an army lieutenant stationed in Florida in 1825, noted that planters sought any opportunity to use force against the Seminoles "so that the whites might possess themselves of many valuable negroes."[29]

DuVal favored withholding treaty annuities until the Indians returned runaway slaves, and the Indian Office did so in 1828, but later reversed the policy and forbade it in the future. Since some white claims were indisputable, DuVal said, the slave in question ought to be given by the Indians to the agent, or the owner "ought to receive the full value of him from the nation."[30] Local slaveowners, however, advocated "adequate military force" to "recover pilfered property" from the Seminoles.[31]

If, in the critical role of the agents as mediators between Indians and frontier whites, "the success of the work depended upon the character of the man," then the agents assigned to the Seminoles exacerbated rather than allayed conflict.[32] Ample evidence shows that, contrary to orders, Gad Humphreys engaged

27. *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 763.
28. Ibid., XXIII, 473, 483.
29. Cecil D. Eby, Jr., ed., "Memoir of a West Pointer in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 41 (October 1962), 163.
30. *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, 452; Boyd, *Florida Aflame*, 42; DuVal to Cass, May 26, 1832, OIA-LR, roll 288.
31. "Memorial to the President by Inhabitants of St. Johns County," March 6, 1826, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII 462-63. Three members of the Fatio family signed the memorial.
32. Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years* (Cambridge, 1962), 56.

in slave trade with his charges, and planters accused him of dragging his feet on their complaints about runaways. In one case, a woman in St. Marys, Georgia, claimed that a slave and the slave's children were living with the Seminoles. A man dispatched to retrieve them found it "next to an impossibility" to get them back due to the Seminoles' "natural reluctance to give it up and the wish of their agent to speculate."[33] "The negroes this man is after are ours, and the white people know it is so," said the subchief Jumper to Humphreys.[34] When Humphreys reported the Seminoles' determination not to allow the contested slaves out of their possession, interested parties petitioned Washington for an investigation, charging Humphreys with colluding with a local planter to prevent transfer of the slaves so that the claim would be abandoned with the passage of time and as expenses mounted.[35]

McKenney also received accusations that Humphreys had worked fugitive slaves on his own land for several months before returning them to their owners. Secretary of War Peter B. Porter informed President John Quincy Adams of allegations that Humphreys had "connived with the Indians in the concealment of runaway slaves, and in that way affected purchases of them himself, at reduced prices."[36]

Humphreys explained to Alex Adair, the investigator of the allegations, that he bought slaves from Indians so that claimants could prove ownership in court, an impossibility as long as the slaves were in Indian possession.[37] Adair concluded that while Humphreys probably did bill the government for sugar kettles installed on his land, the other charges were difficult to prove since "those who had been most clamorous appeared most disposed to evade the inquiry." Humphreys apparently had made reasonable settlements with his accusers when he learned that he was to be investigated. Zephaniah Kingsley, who claimed that Humphreys had held one of his slaves for over a year, "stated

33. James Dean to Archibald Clark, September 20, 1828, OIA-LR, roll 800.
34. Sprague, *Origin, Progress, and Conclusion*, 51. The Indians maintained, and white witnesses later confirmed, that the slave woman in question had been sold to an Indian by the claimant's father twenty years earlier.
35. Clark to McKenney, October 20, 1828, OIA-LR, roll 800.
36. McKenney to Peter Porter, November 1, 1828, *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, 95-97; Porter to John Quincy Adams, December 6, 1828, OIA-LR, roll 800.
37. Humphreys to Alex Adair, April 27, 1829, OIA-LR, roll 800.

he had settled his business with the Agent in his own way. . . . [H]is property had been surrendered to him some months back and he cared no more about it."[38]

An Alachua County resident reported to Governor DuVal that Humphreys possessed blacks belonging to Indians, and that he bought Indian cattle with IOUs he later refused to honor. Humphreys was a liability, McKenney noted, because those opposing him in Florida "make his services in that quarter of but little, if any, use to the Government, whilst his dealing in slaves is in direct violation of an express order forbidding it." Both Governor DuVal and the territory's Congressional delegate Joseph White wanted Humphreys replaced, and he was dismissed in March 1830.[39]

Humphreys's slave problems continued. DuVal received complaints from Indians that Humphreys held their slaves. Humphreys's replacement, John Phagan, attempted to return the slaves, but Humphreys refused to release them unless Phagan was willing to purchase them.[40] In another case, stemming from his role as Indian agent, Humphreys sought government assistance in recovering two black men claimed by an Indian woman named Culekeechowa. She had inherited from her mother a slave named Caty, who later bore four children. Horatio Dexter, a trader, persuaded Culekeechowa's brother and Caty's husband to trade Caty and her two daughters and two sons in exchange for whiskey. Humphreys, as agent, agreed to help the Indian woman, so he went to St Augustine where Dexter was offering the slaves for sale. Humphreys maintained that he had to buy them to prevent their sale to a Charleston buyer. But then, instead of returning them to Culekeechowa, he kept the slaves for himself. When the boys grew older and became aware of what had happened, they left for Seminole country in 1835.[41]

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38. Adair to John Eaton, April 24, 1829, ibid.
39. Marsh to DuVal, May 29, 1829, *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, 234; McKenney to Porter, November 1, 1828, ibid. 95-97.
40. DuVal to Phagan, October 9, 1830, OIA-LR, roll 800; Phagan to Cass, February 6, 1832, ibid. The blacks in this case were claimed by an Indian woman named Nelly Factor and by two whites named Floyd and Garey. DuVal told Phagan to seize the slaves and deliver them to Floyd and Garey. DuVal to Phagan, February 7, 1832, ibid.
41. Wiley Thompson to Cass, July 19, 1836, *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, VI, 460. A copy of the bill of sale is in the Florida Negro Collection,

Slave disputes between Seminoles and whites frequently went unresolved because the interpreters in these negotiations sometimes were former slaves themselves. DuVal observed that Seminole blacks were "much more hostile to the white people than their masters," and were "constantly counteracting" advice to the Indians. In several instances, he said, chiefs had agreed to a white demand in council but later were talked out of compliance by their black advisors.[42] The problem, as Humphreys saw it in 1827, was that "the negroes of the Seminole Indians are wholy independent, or at least regardless of the authority of their masters; and are Slaves but in name." Indians considered blacks "rather as fellow Sufferers and companions in misery than as inferiors," Humphreys wrote, and the "great influence of the Slaves possess over their masters" enabled them to "artfully represent" whites as hostile to people of color.[43] The first step in moving the Seminoles out of Florida, DuVal told the commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1834, "must be *the breaking up of the runaway slaves and outlaw* Indians."[44]

When Andrew Jackson was elected president, public opinion in the South was demanding stricter control over Indians. Whites wanted land, of course, but they also saw Indians as possible allies of foreign powers (as in the War of 1812), and the presence of fugitive slaves among them was viewed as a threat to internal security. Jackson urged Indian removal legislation in his December 1829 annual message to Congress, and he tried to soothe opposition by assuring that removal would be voluntary and peaceful. In May 1830, Congress appropriated $500,000 for the negotiation of removal treaties. The territory

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Florida Historical Society Archives, University of South Florida Library, Tampa. Later, Caty and one of her daughters also ran away, as Humphreys listed them (and the sons) as slaves "taken" by the Indians in the war. Caty, one son, and one daughter are listed in 1838 muster rolls of captured blacks en route to Indian Territory.

42. If the Seminoles were to be removed from Florida and transported west, DuVal recommended, "the Government ought not to admit negros [sic] to go with them. . . . I am convinced the sooner they dispose of them the better." DuVal to McKenney, January 12, 1826, *Territorial Papers,* XXIII, 414; DuVal to MKenney, March 2, 1826, ibid., 454.
43. Humphreys to Acting Governor William McCarty, September 6, 1827, ibid., 911.
44. DuVal to Elbert Herring, January 26, 1834, House Exec. Doc. 271, 24th Cong., 1st Sess., 18. (Emphasis in original.)

north of Texas and west of Arkansas that was designated for resettlement was considered at the time the only available location where the Indians would not be in the way of white expansion.[45]

Floridians had been voicing removal sentiment since early in the territorial period.[46] As indicated in a message to Congress, the main reason for ousting the Seminoles from Florida never changed through the years. "A most weighty objection" to the presence of Indians in the territory was "that absconding slaves find ready security among the Indians and such aid is amply sufficient to enable them successfully to elude the best efforts by their masters to recover them."[47]

Territorial government wholeheartedly supported the white slave interests. The Legislative Council requested removal in July 1827, and Acting Governor James Westcott asked the council to strengthen the militia because "we have amongst us two classes who may possibly at some future period, be incited to hostility, and . . . it behooves us always to be prepared." He believed the only humane solution was to move the Indians away from whites and without their slaves.[48]

An 1826 Florida law to regulate Indian trade imposed the death penalty on anyone who "shall inveigle, steal, or carry away" any slave or "hire, aid, or counsel" anyone to do so. That this section– which does not mention Indians– appears in a bill relating to Indian trade shows slaveowners' concern over the black-Indian connection. In 1832, the territory prohibited "Indian negroes, bond or free," from traveling outside the Indian boundaries. Also, in light of the Gad Humphreys episodes, the council set limits to the amount of the reward Indian agents could collect for capturing runaway slaves, established account-

45. Ronald N. Satz, *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era* (Lincoln, 1975), 3-11; Prucha, *Formative Years,* 225-38.
46. Joseph Hernandez to Thomas Metcalfe (chairman, House Committee on Indian Affairs), February 19, 1823, *American. State Papers: Indian Affairs,* II, 410. Hernandez, like many many Florida slaveowning petitioners to the government, was a naturalized American citizen who had been living in Florida since the Spanish period.
47. Memorial to Congress by Inhabitants of the Territory, March 26, 1832, *Territorial Papers,* XXIV, 679.
48. *Territorial Papers,* XXIII, 897; St. Augustine *Florida Herald,* January 26, 1832.

ing requirements in slave cases, and required agents to advertise fugitive slaves in their custody.[49]

In January 1832, Secretary of War Lewis Cass instructed James Gadsden, Florida planter and Jackson supporter, to arrange a treaty with the Seminoles agreeing to their removal west to the new Creek country, with all annuities in the West to be paid through the Creeks.[50]

Gadsden met with the Seminole leaders at Paynes Landing on the Ocklawaha River. Among the first orders of business was selection of interpreters satisfactory to the Seminoles. Gadsden brought along Stephen Richards for that purpose, while the Seminoles chose Abraham, "a faithful domestic of Micanope, the Head Chief. In addition the interpreter of the agent, Cudjo, was present."[51] As advisors and interpreters in Indian-white negotiations, these two men were perhaps the most influential blacks in Florida at the time.

Abraham was regarded as more than an interpreter; he was frequently called a "chief Negro" in official dispatches, and army surgeon Jacob Rhett Motte described him as "a perfect Tallyrand of the savage court."[52] How he arrived among the Seminoles is speculative, but judging by his manners and knowledge of English, he may have been an Englishman's house servant prior to the United States' acquisition of Florida. His wife was Bowleg's half-black widow, by whom he fathered three or four children.[53] Abraham's influence is usually described in comparison to his "master" or patron, Micanopy, "a large, fat man, rather obtuse in intellect, but kind to his people and his slaves."[54] Micanopy was described by General George McCall as "rather too indolent to rule harshly"; he tended to leave official business to what he called his "sense-bearers," one of whom was Abraham.[55] Despite the prevailing opinion of Micanopy, no one

49. *Acts of the Legislative Council,* 5th Sess. (1827), 79-81; ibid., 6th Sess. (1828), 104-07; St Augustine *Florda Herald* July 1, 1830, February 2, 1832.
50. *American State Papers: Military Affairs,* VI, 472.
51. James Gadsden to Cass, November 1, 1834, OIA-LR, roll 806.
52. Woodbourne Potter, *The War in Florida* (Baltimore, 1836; facsimile ed., Ann Arbor, 1966), 9; Motte, *Journey into the Wilderness,* 210.
53. Porter, *Negro on the Frontier,* 296-305.
54. John Lee Williams, *Territory of Florida* (New York, 1837; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1962), 214.
55. George A. McCall, *Letters from the Frontiers* (Philadelphia, 1868; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1974), 146.

underestimated Abraham. John Lee Williams, one of the first Florida historians and a figure in territorial politics, said Abraham had "as much influence in the nation as any other man. With an appearance of great modesty, he is ambitious, avaricious, and withal very intelligent."[56] Thin and over six feet tall with a broad, square face and a thin moustache, Abraham was "plausible, pliant, and deceitful," according to Mayer Cohen, who also noted, "and, under an exterior of profound meekness, [he] cloaks deep, dark, and bloody purposes. He has at once the crouch and the spring of the panther."[57] Captain John C. Casey, who spent much time with Abraham during the war and knew him better than most whites, described him as having "a slight inclination forward like a Frenchman of the old school. His countenance is one of great cunning and penetration. He always smiles, and his words flow like oil. His conversation is soft and low, but very distinct, with a most genteel emphasis."[58]

Cudjo was described as a "regular interpreter at the Seminole agency," although it is not known when his relationship with the government began. As late as 1822 he was "one of the principal characters" of a black Seminole town in the Big Swamp area, according to William Simmons who spent a night in his house.[59] One Indian agent complained of his "very imperfect knowledge of the English language," and John Bemrose, a soldier in Florida in the 1830s, described his speech as "the common negro jargon of the plantation." Bemrose mentioned that partial paralysis afflicted Cudjo.[60] Another contemporary caustically remarked of the "little, limping figure of *Cudjoe* . . . with his cunning, squinting eyes; and his hands folded across his lap, in seemingly meek attention to the scene around him."[61]

56. Williams, *Territory of Florida,* 214.
57. Myer M. Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaign* (Charleston, 1836; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 239.
58. Casey quoted in Charles H. Coe, *Red Patriots* (Cincinnati, 1898; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1974), 46.
59. William Simmons, *Notices of East Florida* (Charleston, 1822; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1973), 41.
60. Thompson to Herring, October 28, 1834, House Exec. Doc. 271, 24th Cong., 1st Sess., 154; Lt. Joseph W. Harris to Cass, October 12, 1835, ibid., 217; John Bemrose, *Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War,* John K. Mahon, ed., (Gainesville, 1966), 17.
61. Quoted in Kenneth W. Porter, "Negro Guides and Interpreters in the Early Stages of the Seminole War," *Journal of Negro History* 35 (April 1950), 175.

Of all the blacks to figure prominently in Seminole removal and the ensuing war, Cudjo was the first to side with the government. Kenneth Porter, in his account of black interpreters who served before the Second Seminole War, attributes this to "his physical deficiency of partial paralyais [that] predisposed him toward association with those who could give him the medical attention and comforts which his condition called for and which would have been inaccessible among the hostile Indians and Negroes."[62] By the time of the meeting at Paynes Landing, Cudjo was drawing a salary and rations from the Indian agency at Fort King, and probably living there as well.

Gadsden's main obstacles to a successful conclusion of the treaty negotiations were slave claims and the idea that the Seminoles should combine with the Creeks. He told the assemblage that as bad as emigration sounded to them, their situation would only be worse under local jurisdiction, which would be their fate if they refused to sell their land. He offered to include an article earmarking $7,000, over and above the main payment for relinquishing their land, for the government to settle property claims against them. The sum "will probably cover all demands which can be satisfactorily proved," Gadsden said "Many claims are for negroes. . . . The Indians allege that the depredations were mutual, that they suffered in the same degree, and that most of the property claimed was taken as reprisal for property of equal value lost by them."[63] Finally, Gadsden conferred privately with Abraham and Cudjo and added $400 to the Seminole payment specifically for the two black men. It was "intended to be a bribe," recalled one disgusted army captain; Gadsden "could not have got the treaty through if he had not bribed the negro interpreter."[64]

The Seminoles believed they had forestalled giving up their land. All they had agreed to, they thought, was to send a delegation to the Indian territory to examine the proposed new land. The group would report back to the larger body of Seminoles,

62. Ibid., 177.
63. Quoted in Potter, *War in Florida,* 31-32.
64. W. A. Croffut, ed., *Fifty Years in Camp and Field: Diary of Major-General Ethan Allen Hitchcock* (New York and London, 1909), 79; John K. Mahon, "Two Seminole Treaties: Paynes Landing, 1832, and Fort Gibson, 1833," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 41 (July 1962), 1-11; Paynes Landing treaty printed in Kappler, *Indian Affairs,* II, 394-95.

and then the final decision would be made. This interpretation was also held at the highest levels of the federal government. The secretary of war, in his annual report to the president, said the treaty was "not obligatory on [the Indians'] part" until a group examined the land "and until the tribe, upon their report, shall have signified their desire" to move. "When they return, the determination of the tribe will be made known to the government."[65]

Seven Seminoles, Abraham, and agent John Phagan went to the proposed new Seminole land during the winter of 1832-1833. At Fort Gibson on the Arkansas River, Phagan and three other federal agents prepared a document for the group's signatures. It stated that the group was satisfied with the country to be assigned to the Seminoles, that they would live within the Creek nation but have a separate designated area, and that they would become "a constituent part of the Creek nation."[66] The Seminoles balked. They had no authority to sign anything, and it is reasonable to assume that Oklahoma in the winter was not very appealing to natives of Florida. According to one version, Phagan threatened to refuse to guide them home until they signed. Jumper, Holata Emathla, and Coi Hadjo later claimed never to have signed, but they probably said that to protect themselves from Seminoles violently opposed to removal. Abraham's part at Fort Gibson went unrecorded and is unclear, but obviously a combination of trickery and duress was employed to hasten emigration. Ethan Allen Hitchcock, who later had to fight in the resulting war, called the Seminole treaty process "a fraud on the Indians."[67]

When the group returned and reported to the Seminole council what they had seen, Micanopy informed agent Wiley Thompson that the Seminoles decided to decline the offer. Thompson told him that the delegation had signed away Florida and to prepare his people for emigration. Abraham brought the the chief's answer the next day. "The old man says today the same he said yesterday, 'the nation decided in council to decline the offer.'" Captain McCall, with several years' service in

65. *Niles' Weekly Register* 43 (January 26, 1833), 367.
66. Fort Gibson treaty printed in Kappler, *Indian Affairs,* II, 394-95.
67. Mahon, "Two Treaties," 11-21; Croffut, *Fifty Years,* 80, 122; Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932), 322.

Florida, knew the interpreter to be "crafty and artful in the extreme" and thus did not doubt that he had "as usual, much to do in keeping the chief, who was of a vacillating character, steady in his purpose."[68] Abraham, however, was not the only influence on Micanopy; "not an Indian would have consented to the relinquishment of their country" had the Paynes Landing agreement worked the way they thought it would, according to John Sprague. The Seminoles who signed at Fort Gibson were, in fact, "ridiculed and upbraded by all classes, male and female, for being circumvented by the whites." Resistance sentiment was so strong that the Fort Gibson signatories feared for their lives.[69]

Aside from the overt fraudulence of the recent treaties, the two major obstacles to Seminole removal remained living with the Creeks and the designs of others on their slaves. The first problem was destined to continue as a part of the removal treaties; the second was supposedly settled in the stipulation that the United States settle property claims aganst the Seminoles. Nevertheless, plans were still afoot to keep the blacks in Florida as the Indians were moved out.

The Seminoles gradually separated themselves from the Creek Confederacy, a process virtually complete by the Red Stick War, but the Creeks, however, often included the Seminoles in their treaties even though no Seminoles were signatories.[70] The Seminoles, in fact, adamantly denied the Creeks' right to do so. These treaties usually had articles indemnifying American citizens out of the Creek annuity for slaves taken by Indians; thus the Creeks claimed black Seminoles as their own, and these demands for the "return" of slaves further complicated Indian removal. Though the Seminoles recognized a political separation between themselves and the Creeks, clan ties still bridged the two groups.[71]

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68. McCall, *Letters*, 301-02.
69. Sprague, *Origin, Progress, and Conclusion*, 79.
70. The treaty the Creeks made in New York in 1790 and the Indian Springs treaty of 1821 are two examples.
71. Gadsden warned Gad Humphreys that "disaffected" Creeks were prone to move to the Seminoles "whenever their irregularities earned them to chastizement." Gadsden to Humphreys, November 11, 1827, OIA-LR, roll 806. Creeks unwilling to move west, he said, will seek refuge in Florida. The letters of the Office of Indian Affairs during the war and the diary of Major General Thomas Jesup (Florida State Archives, Tallahassee) show that many did indeed seek their escape in Florida. Cases also exist, such as

Even Seminoles who favored emigration objected to uniting with the Creeks. The Creeks wanted, according to Lieutenant Woodbourne Potter, to bring the Seminoles into their nation "evidently with a view to dispossess the Seminoles, in the easiest manner, of their large negro property, to which the former had unsuccessfully urged a claim."[72] Colonel Duncan Clinch, leader of the United States forces in the 1816 Negro Fort battle and now owner of 3,000 acres in Alachua County, explained that the Seminoles feared for their property because the Creeks were much more numerous than they were. They also believed they would have no justice in the West without a separate agent to attend to their interests. However, the authorities in Washington did not heed the advice of those at the scene and continued to plan combining the Creeks and Seminoles on the same land under one agency.[73] The Seminoles argued that the slave claims made by the Creeks were covered by the sixth article of the Paynes Landing treaty in which the United States agreed to pay for such claims. "As it would be difficult, not to say impossible, to prove that the negroes claimed by the Creeks, now in the possession of the Seminole Indians, are the identical negroes, or their descendants. . . . I cannot conceive that the Creeks can be supposed to have a fair claim to them," said agent Thompson.[74]

The Creeks were but one group asserting the right to enslave black Seminoles. After President Jackson agreed with his Florida supporters that it might be a good idea for the government to permit the selling of the black Seminoles to whites, Thompson expressed his fear to the acting secretary of war that such a policy would "bring into the nation a crowd of 'speculators,' some of whom might resort to the use of improper means to effect their object, and thereby greatly embarrass our operations."[75]

Chief Neamathla, of Florida Indians moving to Creek country in Alabama to forestall removal.

72. Potter, *War in Florida*, 43.
73. Boyd, *Florida Aflame*, 52; Duncan Clinch to Cass, August 24, 1835, House Exec. Doc. 271, 24th Cong., 1st Sess., 104; Acting Secretary of War C. A. Harris to Thompson, May 20, 1835, OIA-LR, roll 806; Remhert W. Patrick, *Aristocrat in Uniform: General Duncan L. Clinch* (Gainesville, 1963), 61.
74. Potter, *War in Florida*, 41; Thompson to DuVal, January 1, 1834, *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, VI, 154.
75. Thompson to Harris, June 17, 1835, *Amerian State Papers: Military Affairs*, VI, 471.

Governor Richard Keith Call, who had served under Jackson in the Florida campaign of 1818, initiated the plan to sell the blacks. "The negroes have a great influence over the Indians; they are better agriculturalists and inferior huntsmen to the Indians, and are violently opposed to leaving the country," he explained to Jackson. "If the Indians are permitted to convert them into specie, one great obstacle in the way of removal may be overcome." Carey A. Harris, head of the Office of Indian Affairs, explained to Thompson that such a move would rid the Seminoles of one certain point of conflict in the West "which . . . would excite the cupidity of the Creeks." Harris believed, furthermore, that it would not be an inhumane act as "it is not to be presumed the condition of these slaves would be worse than that of others in the same section of the country."[76] To Thompson, a policy of allowing Seminole slave sales was one more problem blocking peaceful removal. He had to counteract rumors spread by "malcontent Indians" that he had his own designs on the blacks, "and the moment I am called upon to meet this new difficulty, a party of whites arrives at the agency with what they consider a permission from the War Department to purchase slaves from the Indians." Should this continue, he warned, "it is reasonable to suppose that the negroes would en masse unite with the malcontent Indians." Instead, he proposed using the blacks "to exert their known influence" to work for removal by assuring the security of their existing relations with the Indians and not "classing them with skins and furs." In the end, Thompson was permitted to deny entry to Seminole country of any trader without a license from him, and he could issue licenses at his own discretion.[77]

Army officers in Florida agreed with Thompson that black opposition to being sold to whites would bring energy to the Seminole resistance, as blacks did not see themselves benefiting by coming under white control. The commander of American troops in Florida, Lieutenant Colonel A. C. W. Fanning, worried that "the cupidity of our own citizens" might ruin removal plans because the blacks, "who are bold, active, and armed will sac-

76. Call quoted in Potter, *War in Florida,* 46-49; Harris to Thompson, May 22, 1835, OIA-LR, roll 806.
77. Thompson to Cass, April 27, 1835, House Exec. Doc. 271, 24th Cong., 1st Sess., 183-84; Harris to Thompson, July 11, 1835, OIA-LR, roll 806.

rifice some of them to their rage."[78] When Thompson asked chiefs friendly to removal to conduct a pre-removal census of their people, including slaves, blacks became alarmed that the compilation of their names and numbers was the first step in the effort to put them under white control. At the same time, Thompson said, whites came to the agency with the War Department's affirmative response to Call's inquiry about Seminole slaves.[79]

The majority of Indians opposed emigration, regardless of the agreement made by a handful of chiefs. As General Thomas S. Jesup explained in the midst of the war, "even when a large portion of the heads of families should assent to a measure, those who dissented did not consider themselves bound to submit to or adopt it." Some headmen, including Jumper, Coi Hadjo, Charley Emathla, and Holata Emathla, knew American power made resistance futile and thus privately favored emigration, but their people so opposed it that they threatened the lives of any Indians complying with the removal plan. Osceola emerged as a leader of the militant resistance and, though not a hereditary Seminole leader, collected followers who agreed with what he said. His ascent to leadership also owed as much to action as talk; Thompson jailed him briefly for threatening him with a knife, and a month before the onset of the Second Seminole War he killed Charley Emathla for preparing for removal regardless of the sentiment of the people.[80]

Thompson tried to explain to the Seminoles how much worse their condition would be if they remained in Florida without federal protection. He also offered assurances that the government would protect their property from the Creeks. Micanopy held firm on the twenty-year term of the Moultrie Creek treaty which did not expire for nine more years. Other Indian speakers complained that the Paynes Landing treaty had not been explained to them correctly, that they only meant to look at the western land, and that the western land was no good.

78. Alexander C. W. Fanning to Adjutant General, April 29, 1835, *Territorial Papers,* XXV, 133.
79. Potter, *War in Florida,* 45-46; Thompson to Harris, June 17, 1835, OIA-LR, roll 800.
80. Boyd, *Florida Aflame,* 47-56; Williams, *Territory of Florida,* 216; Thomas S. Jesup to Joel Poinsett, October 17, 1837, *American State Papers: Military Affairs,* VII, 886.

Nothing was resolved at this October 1834 meeting, and Thompson noticed that the Indians, "after they had received their annuity, purchased an unusually large quantity of powder and lead."[81]

Duncan Clinch met with the Seminoles in April 1835 and got no further than had Thompson. Jumper proceeded to make a lively two-hour speech, and Bemrose recorded "Cudjo's short and abrupt elucidation of doubtless a noble harangue. . . . 'When he look upon the White man's warriors, he sorry to injure them, but he cannot fear them, he had fought them before, he will do so again, if his people say fight.'. . . When asked to elucidate more fully the speaker's meaning, it tended only to his imperfect grunt of 'he say he no go, dat all he say.'" Clinch, exasperated, finally told the council if they did not emigrate voluntarily it would be done by force. A number of chiefs agreed, but not Micanopy or Jumper.[82]

Abraham, who had interpreted the removal treaties, was now counseling resistance, and Thompson believed the cause lay in the actions of his predecessor at the Seminole agency, John Phagan.[83] Abraham fumed that he had never been paid. As Thompson explained, "He has (in my possession) Major Phagan's certificate that he is entitled for his service to $280 for which Major Phagan, on the presentation of Abraham's receipt at the Department received credit. Abraham says he never gave a receipt; that he has been imposed upon; and he is consequently more indifferent upon the subject of emigration than I think he would otherwise have been. I have little doubt that a few hundred dollars would make him zealous and active." The money, Thompson said, should not be given "but on the production of the effect desired."[84]

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81. Thompson to Herring, October 28, 1834, House Exec. Doc. 271, 24th Cong., 1st Sess., 54-65.
82. Bemrose, *Reminiscences,* 17-24; *American State Papers: Military Affairs,* VI, 75.
83. Phagan had been fired in 1833 when a treasury department comptroller found in Phagan's accounts twelve invoices that had been altered $397.50 over the true amount, with Phagan paying the contractor the true amount and the agent pocketing the remainder. J. B. Thornton to Cass, August 29, 1833, OIA-LR, roll 800. The year before, Phagan was in trouble for openly campaigning against Joseph White in the delegate election, conducting card games in the office, and hiring his own slave in the agency smithery at government expense. Phagan to Cass, February 6, 1832, ibid.
84. Thompson to George Gibson (commissary general of subsistence), September 21, 1835, House Exec. Doc. 271, 24th Cong., 1st Sess., 214.

Secretary of War Cass declined this opportunity to influence a useful ally. "Major Phagan having filed here the proper receipt for Abraham for his pay as interpreter, and received credit for the amount, it would be unsafe and inconsistent with the rules of the Department to set aside the receipt, and pay the claim now presented," he told Thompson.[85]

With the blacks, especially the influential ones, siding with the resistance, the murder of Charley Emathla by Osceola as an example for those Indians inclined to cooperate with removal, and the sudden abandonment of the Seminole communities, Clinch and Thompson perceived that trouble was imminent. The Florida frontier could be destroyed, Clinch told the adjutant general of the army, "by a combination of the Indians, Indian Negroes and the Negroes on the plantations." Reinforcements arrived in December, and a plan was made to move by force on the Seminole country after New Year's Day to round up the Indians for emigration.[86]

The eruption of hostilities in the last week of 1835 owed much to the alliance of blacks with the Seminoles. Luis Pacheco, the former slave of the Fatio family who had subsequently lived in Indian country, was the guide for Major Francis L. Dade's fateful encounter with the Seminole warriors who were determined to resist removal. Whether or not he colluded with the attackers, as he denied to his death, other blacks assisted the warriors who ambushed Dade's troops. Major F. S. Belton published in *Niles' Weekly Register* his account of the battle in which he stated that "a negro . . . named Harry, controls the Pea Creek band of about a hundred warriors, forty miles southeast of [Fort Brooke] . . . who kept his post constantly observed, and communicate with the Mickasukians [sic] at Wythlacoochee [sic]."[87]

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85. Cass to Thompson, October 28, 1835, ibid., 227. The Paynes Landing treaty stated that Abraham and Cudjo were "to be paid on their arrival in the country they consent to remove to"; thus Phagan had no business invoicing the government for Abraham's payment while the Seminoles were still in Florida. Cudjo also had been victimized by Phagan, as the agent sent to Washington a bill for $480 (although Cudjo was due only $180) from which the interpreter received nothing. Cudjo complained that in three years with Phagan he had received only $175. Thompson to Herring, March 3, 1835, OIA-LR, roll 800.
86. *American State Papers: Military Affairs,* VI, 61; Patrick, *Aristocrat in Uniform,* 71.
87. *Niles' Weekly Register* 49 (January 30, 1836), 367.

At the same time Dade's force was wiped out, blacks and Indians assaulted plantations near St. Augustine, and approximately 300 slaves joined them. One leader of the raids, John Caesar, was a black Seminole with family connections on one plantation. Another was John Philip who lived with King Philip and had a wife on Benjamin Heriot's sugar plantation.[88]

Thus began the longest and most expensive Indian war the United States government was to wage. Ultimately the war for removal could not be resolved without a guarantee by Major General Thomas Jesup that blacks would be permitted to go to the West with the Seminoles rather than sold into slavery. Obviously, the events leading up to the war were distinctly influenced by blacks sympathetic to Seminole resistance.

88. Motte, *Journey into the Wilderness*, 118.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Invasion of Privacy: The Cross Creek Trial of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings. By Patricia Nassif Acton. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1988. 175 pp. Illustrations, notes, sources and acknowledgments, index. $18.00 cloth; $10.00 paper.)

The life of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings was one of peaks and valleys, successes and disappointments. The idyllic years of her childhood and close relationship with her father, Arthur F. Kinnan, ended in his death in 1913, but her romantic courtship with Charles Rawlings came to a peak with their marriage in 1919. That relationship was a steady downstream affair, softened by her early successes as a feature and syndicated newspaper writer. She and Charles agreed that a change of scene might improve their relationship and further their careers, so they came to Florida and bought the property at Cross Creek in 1928. From that point onward, Charles Rawlings gradually slipped from the scene and dropped from Marjorie's life with their divorce in 1933.

The move to Florida started Marjorie on an upward trend, psychologically and financially. In 1930, she sold her first story to *Scribner's* magazine, and with the sale of her second story to the same magazine she became a protégée of Maxwell Perkins, an editor for *Scribner's*. He encouraged her to pursue writing of her Florida experiences and background, which was to lead her to her highest peak. She deserted the valleys of her laborious Gothic novel, never completed, and turned to the writing of her surroundings and relationships at Cross Creek.

Rapid successes followed. In 1933, *South Moon Under,* an immediate best-seller, was published by *Scribner's*. *Golden Apples* was followed by *The Yearling,* which received the Pulitzer Prize for fiction and the fabulous sum– for that day– of $30,000 for movie rights. In 1941, in a continuation of one of the true "peaks" of her life, she married Norton Baskin.

In 1942 came *Cross Creek,* another best-seller, but a work that was to lead to personal distress and a valley from which she would never wholly escape. In the book, she described the area and its people with the same precision that characterized all her writing, and most of her characters were pleased at their inclusion, al-

though the portrayal was not always flattering. One of those displeased was her close neighbor and friend, Zelma Cason, described in the book by Marjorie as "an ageless spinster resembling an angry and efficient canary. . . . My profane friend, Zelma, the census taker." Because of these and other passages deemed objectionable by her, Zelma Cason brought suit against Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Baskin and her husband, Norton Baskin, in Circuit Court of Alachua County, Florida, for $100,000, claiming invasion of privacy, a relatively novel concept in the law of Florida at that time.

Circuit Judge John A. H. Murphree sustained demurrers to each of the four counts of the complaint, giving Marjorie a temporary victory and boost in morale. But the victory was short-lived. Zelma, the census taker, and her persistent counsel, J. V. Walton and his daughter, Kate L. Walton, took the ruling to the Supreme Court of Florida, and in January 1945, the court sent the matter back for trial, stating that a prima facie case had been made for invasion of privacy, "the right to be let alone."

The matter then came on for a jury trial in Alachua County, and the publicity attendant upon the dispute assured a filled courtroom of interested and largely partial (to Rawlings) spectators. The trial was vigorously conducted by both litigants and their counsel, and the verdict for the defendants gave Marjorie, Norton, and their supporters a brief feeling of elation.

The matter was not over, however. Zelma and her stubborn and efficient counsel refused to quit, and back to the Florida Supreme Court went the litigation. In June 1947, the Supreme Court, through Associate Justice C. E. Chillingworth, reversed the lower court again and sent the matter back to the circuit court, with directions that plaintiff recover only nominal damages and all costs. In the opinion, Justice Chillingworth described the suit as "warfare by pleading" prior to the jury trial. The eventual cost to Marjorie was $1 nominal damages, plus court costs and attorneys' fees for Zelma Cason. There was also incalculable damage to Marjorie's health and personal feelings.

The tribulations of the trial had its effect upon Mrs. Rawlings. In 1943, the same year the lawsuit was instituted, Marjorie had begun work on *The Sojourner,* a novel with a non-Florida background. It would be ten years before the book was published, with the Cason trial and no really productive work intervening. To say that the reception by the public of *The Sojourner* was "lukewarm"

would perhaps be too generous to the author. The Rawlings peaks of production and satisfaction had declined through the years of litigation, with the concurrent damage to her health. In 1952, she suffered a heart attack at Crescent Beach, and on December 14, 1953, she died in St. Augustine of a cerebral hemorrhage.

Patricia Nassif Acton, clinical professor at the University of Iowa College of Law, is eminently qualified to write this history of the famous trial. Acton interviewed many eyewitnesses and examined the original trial transcripts of proceedings, contemporary newspaper accounts, and the correspondence of the central figures. The book is charmingly illustrated by J. T. Glisson, native of Cross Creek and, as a youngster, a friend of Mrs. Rawlings. Her writings mention "Jake," but unlike Zelma, he did not complain about her characterization of him.

Mrs. Acton, like this reviewer, had the difficult task of describing, yet condensing, the background of the life and works of Rawlings for those who knew little of either, and detailing enough of the legal actions to be realistic and accurate without detracting from the action of the principal subject matter. She has performed her task well. The book is readable, informative, and accurate. The section of "Notes," chapter by chapter, provides source material and is well presented. While the citation of the second appeal to the Florida Supreme Court is given (30 So.2d 635), this reviewer did not find the citation for the first appeal (20 So.2d 243) which is of interest and importance.

Production of the movies "Cross Creek" and "Gal Young-un" in recent years has brought about a well-deserved resurgence of interest in the writings of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings. *Invasion of Privacy* is a substantial and valuable addition to the renewed and sustained attention to her work. There is also a recently published biography, *Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings: Sojourner at Cross Creek,* by Elizabeth Silverthorne (reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly,* January 1989, 353-54). The president of the Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Society is Philip S. May, Jr., whose father served as chief counsel for Mrs. Rawlings and for Norton Baskin in the Zelma Cason law suit.

Florida Museum of Natural History WILLIAM M. GOZA

Full Steam Ahead! The Story of Peter Demens, Founder of St. Petersburg, Florida. By Albert Parry. (St. Petersburg: Great Outdoors Publishing Company, 1987. xii, 250 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, index. $14.95.)

Like many Florida cities, St. Petersburg owes its existence to the coming of the railroad. How those crucial tracks came to be laid to a hamlet with fewer than fifty persons in 1888 is the fascinating backdrop of this book.

Peter Demens was not your typical tycoon in the era of American railroad expansion. In fact, he was a Russian aristocrat who feared reprisals as a dissident from the czarist regime and sailed to this country to make a new start. Albert Parry, former head of Russian studies at Colgate University, has translated Demens's extensive writings in Russian and researched Demens's Papers, as well as other sources. Thus, one learns much about the man whose name was originally Pyotr Alekseyevich Dementyev. But the author's biographical narrative of Demens and the story of the building of the railroad occupies only about fifty pages of this volume. Most of the remaining space is devoted to Demens's magazine articles and excerpts from a book he wrote in 1895. There is much drama, though, in the Russian's against-odds adventures in beginning anew in wilderness Florida in 1881. Parry provides an adequate account, and a chapter from Demens's book adds intriguing detail.

Settling at Longwood with his wife and four children, Demens worked as a day-laborer, clearing land for an orange grove and acquiring an interest in a sawmill. Soon he bought out his partners and branched out as a builder. Within several years, the one-time Imperial Guards officer had taken over the Orange Belt Railway, completing the line from the St. Johns River to Lake Apopka. But the ambitious Demens set his sights 150 miles southward to the Pinellas peninsula and the possibility of a port railhead on the Gulf of Mexico. His exact terminus in doubt, Demens gained a propitious offer from land baron Hamilton Disston whose Disston City had proximity to Mullet Key, a potential port-site. But Disston refused to sweeten his original deal of 60,000 acres with more land, and Demens looked for an alternative. John Constantine Williams, son of Detroit's first mayor, counter-offered some Old Tampa Bay frontage at sparsely populated Paul's Landing.

It was a tossup where the railroad would go. Demens began laying track in 1887, fighting obstacles all the way and missing one deadline that cost him state land grants. Antiquated equipment, woefully inadequate financing most of the way, yellow fever, and rebellious workmen tested the mettle of the strong-willed immigrant. Finally, in June 1888, the first wood-burning locomotive chugged into Williams's tract– the center of today's St. Petersburg. It was named for the capital of Demens's homeland, while the first hotel was named the Detroit for Williams's home city.

A city did emerge, but Parry tells of Demens's disillusioned sale of the bankrupt railroad in 1889 and his subsequent moves to North Carolina and to California, where he died in 1919. Demens never returned to Florida. Some might question Parry's assertion that Demens was the "principal founder" of St. Petersburg since he remained on the scene so briefly. But no one can doubt that the railroad made possible the future Sunshine City as it is today.

Tampa, Florida LELAND M. HAWES, JR.

Florida's Past: Volume 2, People and Events that Shaped the State. By Gene M. Burnett. (Sarasota, FL: Pineapple Press, Inc., 1988. x, 259 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, bibliography, index. $16.95.)

Since 1973 Gene M. Burnett, Tampa journalist and historian, has been writing a monthly historical article called "Florida's Past" for *Florida Trend* magazine. Now Pineapple Press, of Sarasota, has published its second volume of his articles in a book entitled, appropriately, *Florida's Past: Volume 2.*

As a writer for a statewide business magazine, Burnett is, necessarily, a "popularizer," reaching out for readers whose approach to history is non-academic and non-professional. That he does it well is attested to by his sixteen years with *Trend* and now by the publication, within just two years of the first volume, of these lively, interesting articles.

Like the previous volume, this book contains sixty-three stories organized in five sections: Achievers and Pioneers, Villains and Characters, Heroes and Heroines, War and Peace,

and Calamities and Social Turbulence. Essentially a mosaic of events and characters, the book does a first-rate job of presenting the variety and complexity of the state's past. In territory, *Florida's Past* ranges from Pensacola to Key West, and in time from Ponce de León's arrival in Florida in 1513 to the contemporary death throes of the boondoggling Cross-Florida Barge Canal.

Burnett writes of such famed Florida "Titans" as Broward, Mizner, Ringling, and Edison, but he is at his best in uncovering and bringing to life the more obscure figures and events. He presents to us Miss Abbie M. Brooks who wrote the delightful nineteenth-century Florida travel guide, *Petals Plucked from Sunny Climes,* under the pseudonym "Sylvia Sunshine." He tells us, too, of the merchandising genius of Doc Webb who created "The World's Most Unusual Drugstore" in downtown St. Petersburg. Burnett writes of sensational activities like murder, espionage, rumrunning, and illegal gambling, but he does not neglect such significant subjects as anti-Semitism on Miami Beach, the demogoguery that deposited Sidney Catts in the governor's mansion, the "fixed" presidential election of 1876, and the New Deal rescue of impoverished Key West.

Florida's Past, like its predecessor, makes an excellent night-table book; reading time for most of these essays runs about five minutes apiece.

Lighthouse Point, Florida STUART B. MCIVER

The Log of Christopher Columbus. Translated by Robert H. Fuson. (Camden, ME: International Marine Publishing Company, 1987. xviii, 252 pp. Acknowledgments, foreword by Luis Marden, illustrations, maps, notes, appendixes, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

The Diario of Christopher Columbus's First Voyage to America, 1492-1493. Abstracted by Fray Bartolomé de las Casas. Transcribed and translated by Oliver Dunn and James E. Kelley, Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988. xi, 489 pp. Acknowledgments, editor's introduction, illustrations, notes, bibliography, concordance, index. $57.50.)

All studies of Christopher Columbus's first voyage to America are based on Columbus's daily account of the voyage. This, the only record of the event, has been described as "the most accurate and complete ship's log ever produced up to its time" (p. 2.). Columbus presented the original log to Queen Isabella, who had a copy made for the Admiral, but both documents have been missing since at least 1554. What has survived is a literary hybrid– part paraphrase, part transcription– of a copy made by Bartolomé de las Casas. Thus, the only surviving record of the voyage is a third-hand manuscript written in sixteenth-century Spanish.

From the beginning, the ambiguities, errors, and omissions in that manuscript have been compounded in translation. In 1981, the Society for the History of Discoveries concluded that all published translations differed from Casas's transcription, and that the discrepancies were due both to insufficient understanding of sixteenth-century Spanish and to bias. In passages that permitted more than one interpretation, translators tended to choose the one that best matched their own conceptions of the voyage. The two translations reviewed here have largely succeeded in avoiding such biases.

The first, by Robert H. Fuson, offers much more than a "modernized" translation. In a fifty-page prologue and a forty-page epilogue, Fuson takes a broad-brush portrait of Columbus and adds detail, nuance, and life. Much of this detail is available only in reports and unpublished manuscripts– the product of recent investigations stimulated by the approaching Columbus Quincentenary. In this regard, Fuson's book is of enormous

value, offering accounts of Columbus the man, his voyage, and the debates concerning the location of his first landfall that are not readily available elsewhere. Fuson's modernized translation captures the essence of the Casas transcription. The text is easy to read and is profusely illustrated.

There are, however, two serious defects. First, Fuson fails to correct Casas's opinion that Columbus "decided to reckon fewer leagues than [he] actually made" (p. 62) as a means of mollifying his crew. While Fuson does not agree that Columbus kept a "secret" journal (p. 34), his failure to modernize Casas's text tends to perpetuate this myth. James Kelley has demonstrated that the two distances reflect a difference in the measurement units used by Columbus and his crew (i.e., nautical versus statute miles).

The second defect is the repeated references to the Samana track, one of twenty proposed reconstructions of Columbus passage through the Indies. It is understandable for Fuson to promote the track he currently supports, but these notes are unnecessary distractions. Fuson invites us to plot the track ourselves. What is the result of such a plot? The first half does fit Columbus's descriptions, but following his arrival at Long Island the Samana track falls apart. The *Diario* states that the coast of Fernandina (Long Island) extended for more than twenty-eight leagues (eighty-four nautical miles) and that Columbus "saw" twenty leagues (sixty nautical miles) of it. These distances take Columbus far off track. Therefore, Fuson concludes that the *Diario* should read miles instead of leagues (p. 86). He does this despite his rejection of the Watling track on the basis of a similar change of units (p. 203). The following two days are even more unjustifiable. During a twenty-four-hour period, with a favorable wind, Columbus sailed only seventeen miles; yet the next morning (six hours), with the same winds, the track required that he sail thirty-six miles! Columbus then described the coast of Isabella as extending for twelve leagues (Fuson changes leagues to miles without explanation, p. 87). Using the same canons of evidence, Fuson's translation proves the Samana track is wrong. Gymnastics to prove otherwise detract from an acceptable translation.

The second volume is a bilingual, meticulously annotated transcription and translation prepared by Oliver Dunn and James E. Kelley, Jr., that elicits far less controversy. Dunn and

Kelley set out to prepare an exact transcription of Casas's handwritten folios. To accomplish this they developed computer programs to facilitate wordprocessing, proofreading, and the preparation of an exhaustive concordance. They have succeeded in preparing the first complete and legible replica of Casas's transcription that includes all of the unusual spellings, abbreviations, and capitalizations, as well as inserted, omitted, and canceled text. Those idiosyncracies of the Casas folios are discussed in a twelve-page introduction. The transcribers also provide interpretations and discussions of disputed passages in footnotes throughout the English translation. Their book is destined to become the definitive version for English-speaking Columbus scholars.

Florida Museum of Natural History WILLIAM F. KEEGAN

Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789: Volume 15, April 1-August 31, 1780. Edited by Paul H. Smith, Gerard W. Gawalt, and Ronald M. Gephart. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1988. xxix, 678 pp. Editorial method and apparatus, acknowledgments, chronology of Congress, list of delegates to Congress, illustrations, index. $37.00.)

Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789, deserves to be read and used not just by scholars but by college and school teachers and students, practitioners of public history, and anyone interested in the American Revolution. The wide range of historical issues dealt with in the letters, the promptness with which volumes are appearing in print, and the utility of the editorial notes and other aids all serve a large and varied– rather than narrow and specialized– set of readers' needs.

The volumes on the 1770s depicted the ideological creativity of the Revolution and Congress's resourcefulness as an institution. Now into the 1780s in volumes 14 and 15 here reviewed, the delegates witness the great drama of the British invasion of the South. Using its power to regain the initiative in the war, Britain, during the spring and summer of 1780, set in motion events that would culminate more than a year later at Yorktown.

The delegates' understanding of the peril and opportunity presented by that throw of the dice brings immediacy and ten-

sion to modern understanding of that phase of the Revolution. "The apprehension of the loss of South Carolina, the real distress of the Army, and the insistence of the enemy have already had a considerable effect on the Legislature as well as the Whiggs of this state," James Duane wrote from Philadelphia on May 6, 1780. "I am firmly persuaded that they are making great exertions, that meat may be found here to feed the Army for five or six weeks [but] am not so easy in my mind on the articles of bread and pay. . . . To a republican form of government a jealousy in conferring extensive authority is natural and equally natural is it for men to relax and become supine after long and violent exertions." Duane understood that the psychic resourcefulness of the patriots was an immense short-term asset which had to be amassed and expended with excrutiating care. "Men and courage will not be found wanting when the danger or prospect of deliverance approach in fuller view. . . . I can examine the gloomy side of the prospect, tho' not without pain and solicitude yet without being deserted by the pleasing hope of combatting all our difficulties and rising superior to the assaults of our implacable enemies!"

William Curchill Houston's tantilizing news from Spain about the embarkation of the French fleet for American waters, a Congressional committee's appraisal of the geo-political requirements for an assault on New York City in August, news of the Gordon riots in London, and John Armstrong's anguished report of the British victory at Camden all typify the knife-edge uncertainty of hope and despair on which the delegates operated during these fateful four months.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro ROBERT M. CALHOON

The Canary Islanders of Louisiana. By Gilbert C. Din. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988. xiii, 256 pp. Preface, illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. $32.50.)

Military necessity brought the Canary Islanders to Louisiana during the American Revolution. Recruited at the behest of the influential Gálvez clan for service in the Louisiana Fixed Regiment, around 480 isleño soldiers and 1,100 dependents had

arrived in New Orleans by mid-1779. Delayed by the war, the last contingent reached Louisiana from Cuba in 1783, bringing the total influx of Canarians to almost 2,000. Din's book traces the history of these immigrants and their descendants to modern times.

Governor Bernardo de Gálvez quickly realized the impracticality of retaining so many married troops in regular service. Accordingly, he settled those with families in places where as militia they might become self-supporting guardians of the approaches to New Orleans. About 360 families were dispatched to four townsites personally selected by the governor: Valenzuela, Galveztown, Barataria, and San Bernardo.

Barataria, isolated amidst coastal wetlands southwest of New Orleans, was abandoned within five years, and Galveztown, virtually encircled by swamps lying below the juncture of the Amite and Iberville rivers, endured until 1803 only through official obduracy and prolonged subsidies. Some descendants of the Valenzuelans yet reside in the back country of upper Bayou Lafourche, but they retain little of their cultural heritage. Only in St. Bernard Parish, the one settlement to prosper moderately from the outset, does isleño ethnic identity retain vitality.

Din devotes 40 percent of the text to the Spanish colonial period, the era in which archival sources on recruitment, settlement, and the vicissitudes the isleños experienced in adjusting to a harsh, raw, and unfamiliar environment abound. The remainder of the study, organized in conformity with the conventional historic phases of Louisiana's statehood, portrays the isleños as hardy but mostly illiterate clusters of small farmers, hunters and fishermen isolated from and largely ignored by the cultural mainstream. Here the sparsity of sources limits the author mostly to relating the achievements of individual isleños who succeeded as business, political, and professional leaders, or those who saw wartime military service.

Din succeeds in giving a well-written and carefully researched account of an ethnic group heretofore largely ignored by historians. The colonial chapters are of greater interest to students of Florida history because of their relevance to Spanish-British conflict in West Florida during the American Revolution. Additionally, Din covers the voluntary relocation of many former Galveztown residents in the "Spanishtown" district of Baton Rouge following the Louisiana Purchase. He also traces the tem-

porary relocation of a small group of isleño families from Havana to Pensacola in the 1780s. Of particular interest to genealogists, the appendix contains passenger lists of all isleños who embarked from either Tenerife or Havana for New Orleans, 1778-1783.

McNeese State University THOMAS D. WATSON

The Legacy of Andrew Jackson: Essays on Democracy, Indian Removal, and Slavery. By Robert V. Remini. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988. xii, 117 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, notes, index. $20.00.)

This slim volume is based upon Remini's Walter Lynwood Fleming lectures delivered at Louisiana State University in 1984. Remini is by all odds the leading Andrew Jackson scholar in the United States today. His three-volume biography of Jackson, published between 1977 and 1984, stands as the definitive work. Given this impressive study and other books he has authored on Jackson and his times, it would be surprising if there were any surprises in this one. Three essays comprise the book, centering on areas of controversial importance in Jackson's career: democracy, Indian removal, and slavery.

It is Remini's thesis that Jackson played a larger positive role in the advancement of political democracy than he is generally given credit for by historians. He argues that repeatedly Jackson insisted, "The people are sovereign; their will is absolute." This was, he points out, a new concept in American politics that was at variance with the founding fathers' ideas of the checks on majority rule which were central to the earlier ideology of "republicanism."

More than fifty years ago Thomas Perkins Abernethy told us that Jackson's commitment to democracy was "good talk with which to win the favor of the people and thereby accomplish ulterior objectives." Admittedly some Remini interpretations are controversial, but he does not find "ulterior objectives" in Jackson's "talk" and makes a persuasive case that the experienced, mature Jackson truly believed in the people and the right of the majority of them to rule. This reviewer leans to the same understanding, and remembers reading a letter Jackson wrote

as early as the summer of 1822 defending universal manhood suffrage as right and proper.

Remini reiterates an earlier expressed view that Jackson did not seek destruction of the Indians. He did not tolerate the tribes as barriers to white expansion (any more than he would British or Spaniards as such barriers), but he understood the Indians' attachment to their cultures and societies. As a realist, he reckoned they had one of two choices– to submit to the white man's ways and be absorbed into his culture, or to move out of the way of his expansion to remote regions where they might preserve the old ways unmolested. Remini maintains that Jackson's ideas were well-meaning if naive and that those who implemented his policies should bear blame for their corrupt perversion and unspeakable cruelty.

The last essay, which is on slavery, is the shortest. Jackson's views were not much different from those of most slaveholders. Slavery was an accepted fact of life defined in finality by the Constitution. His viewpoint was not at odds with his views about majority rule; democracy was for white men. That blacks should be a part of the body politic was unthinkable. Slavery was a basic right, as American as "capitalism, nationalism, or democracy." Nonetheless, the divisive potential of slavery was well understood by Jackson who sought to defuse the issue by excluding it from public debate. He was blind to slavery as a moral issue and convinced himself that it was raised by political "malcontents," such as John C. Calhoun and John Quincy Adams, who were determined to disrupt the Union or to discredit democracy. In either case, he feared the result would be the restoration of minority rule in the form of an aristocracy of money.

In order to understand and agree with Remini's interpretations, one must place them strictly in the context of the early nineteenth-century United States, with all the values, attitudes, and prejudices that ruled American society at the time. To judge Jackson and the Jacksonians by other standards, including those of today, is not helpful and stands in the way of a valid comprehension of the men and events of the era. Even historians sometimes judge the past by the standards of their own time and place. Remini has not fallen into that error.

University of Florida HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

The Limits of Sisterhood: The Beecher Sisters on Women's Rights and Woman's Sphere. By Jeanne Boydston, Mary Kelley, and Anne Margolis. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988. xxiv, 369 pp. Acknowledgments, chronology, introduction, illustrations, notes, index. $32.00 cloth; $12.95 paper.)

In *The Limits of Sisterhood,* three individual authors have melded their separate interests in the three remarkable Beecher sisters into a single volume. The text takes the form of an extended conversation among them about nineteenth-century America and the roles played by white middle-class women. Jeanne Boydston, a historian at Rutgers University, Mary Kelley, a historian at Dartmouth College, and Anne Margolis, who has taught English and American studies at Williams College, each has the main responsibility for each of the sisters– Boydston for Catherine Esther Beecher, Kelley for Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Margolis for Isabella Beecher Hooker. The authors divide the book into an introduction and four parts: "Shaping Experience," "The Power of Womanhood," "The Politics of Sisterhood," and "Conversations Among Ourselves." Each of the first three parts has an analysis of each sister at different stages of her life with selections from her private and public papers. The final part has excerpts from letters the sisters wrote to one another to maintain their ties and to keep each informed of their views and daily lives. These letters are rich in detail and full of information. While they show great and constant care for one another, they also make clear that sisterhood did not come easily to the Beecher women.

Together the lives of the Beecher sisters, from Catherine's birth in 1800 to Isabella's death in 1907, spanned the entire nineteenth century and chronicled the astonishing range of activities that engaged the energies of white, middle-class women in nineteenth-century America. During a time when people were almost continuously at odds over the proper role of women, the Beecher sisters shared a commitment to "women's power." Each in her own way– Catherine as an educator and writer of advice literature, Harriet as an author of novels, tales, and sketches, and Isabella as a women's rights activist– devoted much of her adult life to elevating women's status and expanding women's influence. Furthermore, each of the sisters

achieved a position from which to make her views heard, and each contributed to the ideas of womanhood that have been carried into the twentieth century.

The Beecher sisters' involvement in the reform movements cannot be ascribed solely to the legacy from their father Lyman Beecher. They were also actors in a profound shift in gender relations then taking place involving domesticity and natural rights theory which were based on logically opposed premises about the nature of women. Yet the two approaches to women's struggle for self-determination were seldom kept entirely separate.

The authors ably succeed in showing how each of the Beecher sisters illustrated this mingling of apparent contradictory premises. Catherine, an early advocate of domesticity, opposed woman suffrage in part because she believed all women were not equally qualified to vote. While Harriet wanted women to have legal and political rights, she insisted that women were individuals with the same rights and responsibilities as men. Isabella argued for women's social and political equality with the conviction that women alone had the higher morality through which American society would be reformed. This well-researched and well-written book makes a major contribution to the American women's movement.

University of Notre Dame VINCENT P. DESANTIS

Masters and Slaves in the House of the Lord: Race and Religion in the American South, 1740-1870. Edited by John B. Boles. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1988. 257 pp. Introduction, notes, contributors, index. $25.00.)

This book of eight essays focuses primarily upon evangelical denominations in the Deep South, with the Anglican and Presbyterian churches receiving less attention than the Catholic church. The editor and the other essayists have a very good grasp of the subject.

The editor, John B. Boles, introduces the work in an overview of the subject. Then Alan Gallay gives a revisionist interpretation of the Great Awakening in arguing that as a result of George Whitefield's relationship with the Bryans of South

Carolina, a network of evangelicals was established in the South which lasted beyond the mid-eighteenth century. It subsequently gained prominence in nineteenth-century religious life, winning Southerners also to their paternalistic ideology.

Larry M. James's essay on biracial fellowship in antebellum Baptist churches in Mississippi and Louisiana presents a nearly idyllic picture of Christian brotherhood in biracial churches. Randy Spark's essay on religion in Amite County, Mississippi, presents a less sanguine picture of fellowship in biracial churches where African-Americans were forced to worship after 1830, in the wake of the proscription on separate all-black worshiping. Fellowship may not have been any more cordial in Florida biracial churches, according to Robert Hall who cautions in his essay that the privileges blacks enjoyed were tempered by the slave status of blacks, the segregated pews which they occupied, and their disfranchisement in church elections.

Blake Touchstone combines the three approaches normally used to study the religion of slaves in his analysis of the central role which planters played in providing religious instruction for their slaves, and he concludes that religious instruction was provided primarily for selfish reasons that had little to do with the planters' desire to save slaves' souls. In the only essay devoted solely to Catholicism, Randy Miller states that Catholic priests, some of whom were poorly educated, lost the confidence of slaves because they divulged confessions to planters, and a syncretic process of Afro-Catholicism failed to develop in the Old South. In spite of these shortcomings, all races of Catholics were distinguished from other Southerners because they shared a common Catholic culture.

Clarence L. Mohr's essay points out that Georgia reformers who led the amelioration movement in their state during the Civil War used guilt and doomsday rhetoric as their major weapons, but in the waning months of the war the debate over Jefferson Davis's plan to emancipate and arm slaves pushed amelioration endeavors to the back burner. In the last essay in the volume, Katherine L. Dvorak provides a causal analysis of the proliferation of racially separated churches after the Civil War. Afro-Americans were not driven from biracial churches, and whites, who initially opposed the exodus of blacks from their churches, later facilitated efforts to unite black Southerners with northern black churches, mainly to prevent northern

Protestants from attracting African-Americans into their churches.

While the individual essays are generally solid, the volume lacks cohesion, with the geographical scope of the presentations running the gamut from county, state, bi-state, to regional, and their subject matter is almost as diverse. Reading the work, one senses that it is a collection of essays rather than a monograph. The format is similar to its precursor, *Religion in the South*, Charles R. Wilson (ed.), in which John Boles has an essay.

University of Miami WHITTINGTON B. JOHNSON

Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War. By Gerald F. Linderman. (New York: Free Press, 1987. x, 357 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, dramatis personae, notes, bibliography, index. $22.50.)

This book discusses the Civil War in such a fresh insightful way that it is a necessity for anyone seeking to understand that conflict. University of Michigan historian Gerald F. Linderman recounts what combat was like for the Civil War soldier and, in the process, gives the reader insight into the nature and impact of war itself.

In the early years of the war, according to Linderman, "Manliness, godliness, duty, honor, and knightliness" constituted the soldier's value system (p. 16). At the core of it all, however, was courage, "the cement of armies" (p. 34). A soldier's participation in battle was a demonstration of what he was made of: any fear, any hesitation was an indication that he was a coward.

So, in the early years of the war, courage goaded the soldier into battle. No matter the quality of those who commanded him, no matter if his unit won or lost the battle, no matter how awful the fighting might be, if he was courageous, God would look out for him and all would be well.

The reality of the war quickly overwhelmed these expectations. Such factors and disease, the boredom and morally sapping quality of camp life, the suddenness and horror of death, the agony of the wounded, and the awful hospital, all put the soldier's preconceived notions to rout. The Civil War soldier came to realize that he could not fight the war he thought he

could and should fight. Courage was no protector from measles, or the sniper, or the long months in a siege line. There was no such thing as a courageous or cowardly death; there was just death. Now soldiers talked of "futile courage" (p. 162) and were less critical of alleged cowardice.

Survival, not maintenance of an idealistic value system, became paramount, and anyone or anything that threatened that survival was a fit object of violence. When women spit on injured enemy soldiers, when snipers fired out of private homes, when guerillas attacked and then melted into the countryside, the soldier wreaked his vengeance. The war was no longer a battle between two courageous armies; it had become a total war between two societies.

When the war ended, the soldier went home, at first, Linderman writes, not wanting to discuss the conflict. After all, society still talked in the romantic terms the soldier had long ago discarded. Around the 1880s, however, he joined in the revival of martial interest, and his selective memory caused him to revert to his earlier conceptions of courage and honor. When the Spanish-American War began in 1898, the generation of soldiers, raised on Civil War romanticism, marched off expressing those same ideas.

Linderman's basic argument is persuasive, but readers will not agree with everything. This reviewer, for example, found the comments on Sherman unconvincing. Sherman's adoption of total war came out of a lifetime of experience and not simply from a perception of all Confederates as the enemy. In fact, he continued to see Southerners as friends, even while he inflicted total war on them.

Linderman's discussion of postwar attitudes is similarly not convincing. For example, he holds that the Grand Army of the Republic's small membership in the immediate postwar years was proof that soldiers did not want to talk about the war. Yet he ignores the existence and yearly meetings of such organizations as the Society of the Army of Tennessee and the Society of the Army of the Potomac.

Such caveats aside, this book is a classic. It is one of those publications all Civil War historians and buffs will be wise to read.

Mississippi State University JOHN F. MARSZALEK

Crowns of Thorns and Glory— -Mary Todd Lincoln and Varina Howell Davis: The Two First Ladies of the Civil War. By Gerry Van der Heuvel. (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1988. ix, 306 pp. Acknowledgments, epilogue, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $19.95.)

Gerry Van der Heuvel presents the many facets of Mary Lincoln, who has been described as having "an emotional temperament much like an April day, sunning all over with laughter one moment, the next crying as if her heart would break" (p. 12). The reader will feel compassion for the woman who "wanted what she wanted when she wanted it" (p. 22). Much of the slander heaped upon Mary Lincoln in the past is successfully refuted, particularly that by William H. Herndon which David Donald has previously publicized.

Varina Davis has similar experiences to her northern counterpart. Both women lost a child while they were serving as first lady, both outlived all but one of their children, and both suffered at the hands of the press. Unlike Mary, Varina became a woman of letters and a significant symbol of national reconciliation.

Although the two women never met, they had many acquaintances in common. How they differed in their opinions of these individuals is one of the highlights of this dual biography. Another plus is the author's literary ability. The transitions between the two subjects are smooth. Their husbands' event-filled careers are suitably brief.

The author's experience with Washington society and the lifestyle of a first lady enables her to bring a unique insight to her subjects. Any lack of training as a historian is not reflected in the substantial bibliography, which is misleading because it omits cited manuscript collections. The illustrations provide a visual chronicle of the two women and their families.

Because her subjects were at least indirectly involved with so many events, it is understandable that a few factual errors found their way into the text. The most glaring is Stonewall Jackson's place of interment, which is Lexington, Virginia, rather than in Kentucky. Van der Heuvel also leads the reader to believe that Clay's original Omnibus Bill was passed. There is no mention of Stephen Douglas's role in the breaking up of that bill and in the final passage of the Compromise of 1850. This omission is sur-

prising because Douglas is mentioned repeatedly, more often than the index indicates.

There are other shortcomings. Footnotes are limited and appear at the end of the book. Some of the quotations lack citations. For some unfathomable reason, informational notes appear in the text, at the bottom of the page, and among the endnotes. I was left wondering why the author dismissed Jefferson Davis's supposed infidelities during the 1870s as "unfounded gossip" (p. 248) in contrast to the thoroughness she displayed elsewhere. Despite that inconsistency and my irritation at the intrusive notes, I could hardly put the book down.

Southeastern Louisiana University LAWRENCE L. HEWITT

The Confederate Carpetbaggers. By Daniel E. Sutherland. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988. xv, 360 pp. Acknowledgments, photographs, notes, appendix, bibliographical note, index. $40.00 cloth; $16.95 paper.)

About 16,000 Southerners settled in the North between 1860 and 1870; several thousand more followed by 1880. Daniel Sutherland's book is about those– surely a majority– who had supported the Confederacy during the war. He has found enough biographical information to justify generalization of about 571 of them. Nearly all of this "core group" came North for economic reasons. Almost 30 percent had friends or relatives already in the North, and 17 percent had lived there before the war. Only 6 percent, in fact, had had no previous connection with the North. Over one-half were thirty years of age or younger when they moved North, and nearly two-thirds spent the remainder of their lives there. The great majority were (or became) businessmen and professionals. As a result, they were predominantly urban, nearly 70 percent of them living in only seven cities: New York, Brooklyn, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Boston, and Evansville, Indiana. In fact, about one-half of them settled in New York and Brooklyn.

Although Sutherland's core group gets occasional mention throughout the book, he gives most of his attention to a much smaller number, chiefly adoptive New Yorkers. They were

clearly the most cooperative in leaving literary remains. This approach, while understandable, creates a persistent disjuncture between the broader core group– themselves more prominent than the whole– and the small elite who get individual attention. The latter include men (and a few women) of real stature, most of it acquired in the postwar North. Roger A. Pryor of Virginia, however, was a well-known journalist and politician before migrating to New York and taking up a legal and judicial career there. Burton N. Harrison was private secretary to Jefferson Davis. Imprisoned until January 1866, he too became a leading member of the New York Bar. His wife Constance, who receives equal billing, quickly achieved social prominence in New York before emerging in the 1870s as a popular writer of romantic stories about the Old South and the Lost Cause. Thomas Fortune Ryan, an impoverished Virginia veteran, made a fortune on Wall Street and became something of a power in the national Democratic party.

Not surprisingly, virtually all of these persons were Democrats. Sixty-one held public office in the North, mostly at the local level; one, John R. Fellows of New York, made it to Congress. Sutherland uses the term carpetbagger loosely, as did his subjects, who sometimes referred to themselves jocularly in that fashion without regard to politics. Nearly all took pains to soothe sectional feelings while retaining most of the racial and political values of their youth. Life in the North gradually became easier for them, especially in the 1880s and later, as Northerners retreated from Reconstruction, acquiesced in the disfranchisement and segregation of southern blacks, and used racial distinctions to justify overseas imperialism.

Sutherland has pored through a host of manuscript collections and published works. He writes well, skillfully relating his leading characters to the evolving national culture of the Gilded Age and later. But one comes away knowing less than one might about the other 550-odd characters, and the thousands more beyond. What started as a demographic study based largely on the census became the collective intellectual biography of a small elite. Both are legitimate, but the former in particular was never finished.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro ALLEN W. TRELEASE

From Port to Port: An Architectural History of Mobile Alabama, 1711-1918. By Elizabeth Barrett Gould. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988. x, 317 pp. Preface, illustrations, appendixes, abreviations, notes, bibliography, index. $39.95.)

With the appearance of *From Port to Port*, Elizabeth Barrett Gould provides one more reason for her reputation as the preeminent architectural historian of Mobile. It would be a disservice to call this a coffee table book, since that implies appearance without substance, even though this generously illustrated, oversized volume provides hours of interesting browsing. In addition, the author provides us with substance. Elizabeth Gould gives an outline of the economic and social history of Mobile and explains how the buildings fit into local events as well as the flow of American architectural history. In her preface, Professor Gould clearly defines her purpose: "The development of a city can be traced in many ways, including by its architectural history. A building is a form wrapped around an activity that occupies interior space. The space and its flow tell much about the customs of the times. . . . By tracing architectural changes from 1711 to 1918, we may watch Mobile's transformation from an early French Colonial fort to a modern commercial center." To her credit, Gould includes both the landmark buildings in Mobile and the commonplace, the highstyle and the vernacular. After finishing this volume, readers will have an appreciation for the broad spectrum of Mobile's architectural legacy.

Unfortunately this book could be titled *Lost Mobile.* At times it appears to be a catalog of significant buildings that have been lost over the years. Residences, institutional buildings, hotels, and churches have been lost to fires, hurricanes, demolition, or the pressures of growth in a leading city in the "New South." It was the loss of so many of these architectural gems that led to the establishment of the Oakleigh Historic District, the Mobile Historic Preservation Commission, and other community-wide and neighborhood-based preservation organizations. Within the past two years, historic preservationists in Mobile successfully defended landmark structures in their downtown from the construction of a major highway. Mobile serves as an example for other communities in their efforts to preserve their architectural heritage.

From Port to Port joins the growing number of volumes documenting the architectural history of communities. Professor Gould– and Mobile– can be proud that this volume stands in good stead with others in this genre. Historic preservationists, architectural historians, historians, and Southerners (whether defined by geography or by inclination) will find this a valuable addition to their libraries.

National Trust for Historic Preservation LINDA V. ELLSWORTH
Mid-Atlantic Regional Office
Philadelphia Pennsylvania

Atlanta, 1847-1890: City Building in the Old South and the New. By James Michael Russell. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988. xiii, 3 14 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, tables, maps, photographs, epilogue, appendices, bibliographical essay, index. $32.50.)

Historians have begun to devote increasing attention to the development of cities in the nineteenth-century South. Like other historians of the region, urban historians have focused their analyses on the plantation economy, the Civil War, and the emergence of the "New South." In a persuasive and well-researched book, James Michael Russell examines business leaders and boosterism in nineteenth-century Atlanta. This study is particularly interesting because Russell analyzes the relationship between Old South values, New South ideologies, and "city-building strategies" in Atlanta.

Even before the Civil War, Russell explains, the economy of Atlanta possessed a vitality that was lacking in cotton-belt cities. In part, the city's upcountry location accounted for this distinctive character, but Russell also traces Atlanta's dynamism to the backgrounds of the local elite. The city's antebellum economic leaders, for example, had few ties to Old South society and rejected the ideals of the planter aristocracy. Instead, Russell argues, they struggled to create an environment and a "spirit" that would attract capital, industry, and entrepreneurs, thus "anticipating" the "New South ideologies" (p. 5). Because the Civil War, according to Russell, did not dramatically alter the course of Atlanta's development, postwar businessmen were

able to build on the ideological foundation forged before the war. As a result, Atlanta "entered the New South era with a reservoir of values and city-building ideas that had already coalesced" (p. 260).

Although Russell presents a great deal of evidence to support his argument, a few important issues might have been explored in greater detail. Much of this study is devoted to a comparison of Atlanta's prewar and postwar business elite. But Russell describes the composition of the elite more effectively than he analyzes the formation of that group. For example, his examination of city leaders– before and after 1865– reveals that most members of the elite migrated to Atlanta from small towns in the region. The process by which men of means were attracted to Atlanta, therefore, shaped the city's development, though Russell does not examine this theme in depth. Furthermore, he finds continuity in the character of the elite but not in individual leadership; a new elite emerged after 1865. Additional attention might have been devoted to the cause of this shift.

Russell also introduces issues that cannot be easily addressed with the source materials that he consults. For example, his discussion of "social values," which emphasizes the progressive spirit of local residents, is based largely on public pronouncements about the economy and on booster literature. Business leaders in most growing cities, however, defined culture in the language of boosterism. It seems unlikely that such bland rhetoric would have dominated social values in Atlanta.

Similarly, women are barely mentioned in Russell's discussion of local culture and thus seem to exert no influence on the formation of the city's middle class.

Overall, however, Russell has written a strong book on an extremely important topic in southern and urban history. Even though he raises more questions than he is able to answer in this volume, Russell's analysis sheds considerable light on the development of Atlanta and on the sources of urban growth in the nineteenth-century South.

University of Florida JEFFREY S. ADLER

Telling Memories Among Southern Women: Domestic Workers and Their Employers in the Segregated South. By Susan Tucker. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988. xi, 279 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, notes, photographic essay. $24.95.)

The relationship between southern domestic workers and their white employers bears striking resemblance to the master/slave relationship of the antebellum South. Both black domestic workers and slaves who worked in the "Big House" were treated as inferiors, worked long hard hours, were paid little or nothing, and were sometimes subjected to abuse. In order to survive these often humiliating and degrading conditions, both masked their feelings and became masters of manipulation.

Susan Tucker, with the aid of Mary Yelling, conducted ninety-two interviews between 1980-1985 with black and white women from Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana. Forty-two of these edited interviews make up *Telling Memories Among Southern Women.* These "collective memories" dramatically reveal the glaring social and economic inequities, the love/hate relationship that existed between the black servant and her white employer, the ever-present paternalism, and the changes that have taken place in the employer/servant relationship since the 1880s. Black domestics, Tucker contends, bridged the two races. They "acted as interpreters of white life to blacks, of black life to whites, and as messengers between these two groups" (p. 86).

Many of the white women interviewed recalled fond memories of their "mammies." These women employed black domestics in their homes in keeping with southern tradition, and in part to provide their children with a chiidhood reminiscent of their own. The complexity of such bonds are revealed in the personal accounts of both black and white women. As children, white women loved and adored their black "mammies," but as adults they treated them as inferiors. It was difficult to reconcile custom and feelings.

Black women often resented having to leave their own children at home while they played surrogate mother to white youth. White employers, on the other hand, apparently rarely gave thought to the quality of child care provided for their servants' children or the long hours that they spent away from them. Even though the pay was sometimes ridiculously small,

domestic work was better than agricultural labor, and there were occasional benefits.

Telling Memories is about survival and strength. As slaves, mothers did what was necessary to keep their families together. In freedom, black domestics did the same. White women often admired the strength of their black employees, who frequently gave them emotional support. Tucker claims that in a sense the black domestic was a role model to the young girls they helped raise. "White women, in times of change and crisis, remembered the resilience and the perseverance, as well as practical responses, of black women to such problems as child care and money management" (p. 132).

There is a question of whether forty-two women from Gulf coast cities accurately reflect the experience of southern domestics. How different was the life of the thousands of household workers in rural areas? The author's decision to translate Black English into standard English and to change sentence order may have made the book more readable at the expense of realism. Yet *Telling Memories* is interesting, informative, and a welcome addition to the growing body of women's, oral, and black history.

Florida State University MAXINE D. JONES

Contemporary Southern Politics. Edited by James F. Lea. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988. 309 pp. Introduction, maps, tables, graphs, note on contributors, index. $35.00.)

A crusty old history professor once told his graduate students that if they were asked about any particular era of western civilization about which they knew nothing, to respond, "It was an age of transition and the middle class was rising." Such is said perennially about the South. The phrase "New South" is hackneyed– but accurate.

The South of James Lea's book is not the South of V. O. Key, nor even of T. Harry Williams. As Cecil L. Eubanks states in an eloquent concluding essay, "A remarkable paradox of modern American politics is that in the past two decades, the region of the country least sympathetic to change, the South, appears to have changed the most" (p. 287). This still-poorest

section of the nation has the fastest growing economy; most conservative, it is growing more liberal while the rest of the nation is growing more conservative. The politics of race is receding, yet many of the new, young, highly educated governors are more conservative than their racist predecessors on economic matters.

One of the major themes of the book is expressed by John Van Wingen and David Valentine, who write, "Mobilization, immigration, and generational replacement slowly have made the South a much less distinct region of the country" (p. 143). Timothy G. O'Rourke echoes this theme when he states that "'South' and 'southern' are losing their distinctiveness in the national context" (p. 33). Earl W. Hawkey, in discussing ideology as measured by public opinion polling in the North and the South, concludes that "there is no statistically significant difference between the two regions in either 1976 or 1980" (p. 40). In his conclusion, Hawkey writes, "In most matters region is probably not a very important variable in explaining public attitudes" (p. 57). Television, industrialization, political consultants, polling, bureaucratic reform, education, and civil rights have done much to homogenize our national culture. The South is less distinct now than at any time since the Civil War. Some Southerners may lament this, but it is inevitable. Almost every essay in *Contemporary Southern Politics* attests to this trend.

The essays address some obvious questions– politics, race relations, and demographic trends– and some ignored issues– bureaucratization, the judiciary, and legislative recruitment and reform. The essays are uniformly of high quality– there is not a weak one among them. Several are outstanding: Earl W. Hawkey on public opinion, John Van Wingen and David Valentine on partisan politics, Timothy G. O'Rourke on demographic trends, and Joseph B. Parker on new campaign techniques. Moreover, editor James Lea has skillfully integrated the essays; references to other essays in the book are made by individual authors. Cecil L. Eubanks elegantly sums up the conclusions. The research is thorough and up-to-date, and there are useful charts and graphs. The authors, while not oversimplifying, all write in a style comprehensible to the average reader. Political scientists, historians, and sociologists of Florida and of the South will find much of use here.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee GLEN JEANSONNE

Gerald L. K. Smith: Minister of Hate. By Glen Jeansonne. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988. xii, 283 pp. Acknowledgments, prologue, photographs, notes, essay on sources, index. $25.00.)

H. L. Mencken described Gerald L. K. Smith as "the greatest rabble-rouser seen on earth since Apostolic times" (p. 39). His message, however, won considerably fewer converts. Drawing on an impressive array of sources, including Smith's personal papers, Glen Jeansonne's biography catalogs Smith's life in such detail that it is likely to stand as the definitive work on the subject.

Born in Wisconsin, Smith was descended from "three generations of fire-and-brimstone, circuit-riding, fundamentalist preachers" (p. 11). Smith also became a minister, but his oratorical talent and ambition quickly took him from small midwest churches to the largest Christian Church in Louisiana. There he was attracted to Huey Long, and in 1934, he quit his ministry to become national organizer for Long's Share Our Wealth Society. Political power, however, eluded Smith. After Long's death, Smith helped fuse the movements led by Father Coughlin and Dr. Frances Townsend into the Union party of 1936, but even Smith's spell-binding oratory could not overcome the popularity of the New Deal. After several years of groping for an ideology that would win him a mass following and keep him in the limelight, Smith emerged as a rabid anti-Semite and anti-Communist who relied on manufactured incidents and fabricated stories. His fanaticism soon cost him the support of political allies, such as Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, and he found himself permanently confined to the fringes of American politics. After the 1940s he devoted himself largely to writing hate-filled tracts and raising money through direct-mail campaigns.

Jeansonne's revealing, and hence unflattering, portrait of this "minister of hate" generally reinforces the view of Smith as a Depression demagogue who briefly exploited his own oratorical talent and the malaise of the 1930s to attract large audiences. Jeansonne concludes that "Smith's demagoguery probably peaked in 1935 and 1936" (p. 7). However, Smith peddled his hate for another forty years until his death in 1976. Jeansonne devotes most of his study to the years after 1936, charting Smith's various activities, cataloging his supporters, examining his finances, and exploring what made Gerald run.

No one is likely to add any new wrinkles to Jeansonne's description of Smith's life, but debate will continue over the motives and goals that drive demagogues like Smith. Jeansonne opts for a psychological explanation of Smith's behavior, suggesting that "the rigidity of his upbringing could have led to development of a classic authoritarian personality" (p. 101). Jeansonne contends that Smith harbored a repressed hatred of his parents, and "the hatred Smith vented on Jews, blacks, Communists and liberals may have been meant for his parents" (p. 181). Smith was certainly a troubled man, but an interpretation of his life that rests on psychological theories remains highly speculative.

The author makes it clear that he "never had any ambivalence toward Smith, never cheered him on, never hoped he would be triumphant" (p. 214). Yet Jeansonne occasionally succumbs to the temptation to overestimate the importance of his subject. For example, in a chapter on Smith's presidential campaigns, which won him less than 2,000 votes in 1944 and a total of eight write-in votes in 1956, Jeansonne contends somewhat expansively that Smith "represented a small but significant portion of the electorate" (p. 170). Closer to the mark is Jeansonne's conclusion that "Smith was not as much a threat as he might have become" (p. 217). This excellent biography explains why Smith failed.

University of South Florida ROBERT P. INGALLS

The Crisis of American Labor: Operation Dixie and the Defeat of the CIO. By Barbara S. Griffith. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988. xvi, 239 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

Griffith announces that her purpose is "to open up" rather than "wrap up" the historical threads concerning Operation Dixie. Her book, however, is disorganized, repetitious, and often dull. Moreover, she fails to place Operation Dixie in its historical framework. Opening the topic, she tangles the threads.

Following World War II, "it was clear to many in the Congress of Industrial Organizations that a Southern drive had to

be undertaken, both to consolidate the impressive gains labor made during the war and to remove the South as a non-union haven for 'runaway' Northern business" (p. xiii). The CIO targeted the largest manufacturers, believing that if they could be unionized, a transforming effect would ripple through the workers and result in the unionization of most of that industry. In the South, textile manufacturing was the largest industry, and the Cannon Mills at Kannapolis, North Carolina, was one of the giants.

In August 1946, workers at three nearby mills voted against unionization. At Kannapolis, the CIO did not win sufficient support even to call an election. Thus, in a "ninety-day period . . . the drive to organize the Southern textile industry had ben decisively defeated. . . . Operation Dixie had collapsed in textiles" (p. 36). Griffith describes this defeat in the first forty pages, the causes for defeat in the next 100, but she devotes little to the ensuing years of Operation Dixie, 1947-1953.

Griffith relies heavily on the accounts of the organizers themselves, but she neglects to incorporate sufficient material on earlier organizing drives: Gastonia in 1929, and the general textile strike of 1934. And though her material from the organizers is invaluable, she fails to provide details as to what mill work was really like; one learns more about Carolina textile workers in the autobiography of Junius Scales. Moreover, though Griffith may not have had access to Edward Beardsley's book on mill-worker health care, she should have devoted more than a partial sentence to the issue. Worse, her reproach of the organizers is more damning to her own investigation. "Without a clear demonstration of the advantages of union membership . . . workers proved reluctant to risk the present for the unknown benefits of an uncertain future" (p. 170). Only on one page (p. 40) does she bother to present reasons for joining the CIO.

Griffith's discussion of southern racism, religion, company towns, and intimidation are occasionally revealing, but also condescending. She notes that the Southern Conference on Human Welfare supported CIO unions because of their common opposition to racism, but she omits Operation Dixie leader Van Bittner's attack on the conference at the outset of the campaign. And blaming the Republican party victories for the black list, Griffith absolves the Truman administration of responsibility for its own cold-war purges.

Griffith asserts that with Operation Dixie's demise, there were no trade union winners. What about the AFL? The CIO's defeat in the South and the purge of its left prepared the way for the AFL-CIO merger under the banner of AFL business unionism.

There is valuable information in this work, but Griffith never raises a major question– would the South have developed into the Sunbelt had it not been a haven for runaway industry? Operation Dixie's defeat was significant to the South and to the nation, as was the defeat of the Progressive party in 1948, and the success of the civil rights movement later. But she does not explore possible links between these movements. Another scholar will likely have to "wrap up" Operation Dixie.

Jackson Heights, NY HUGH MURRAY

BOOK NOTES

The latest edition of *The Florida Handbook, 1989-1990* is published. This is the twenty-second biannual edition of Florida's most useful reference book. As with all of its predecessors, the *Handbook* was compiled by Allen Morris, dean of Florida legislative history. An examination of its table of contents reveals the *Handbook's* broad coverage: history, religion, tourism, literature, museums, climate, sports, minerals, marine resources, agriculture, education, women in government, and a wide variety of interesting and important political facts and figures. Pictures and biographical data on Governor Martinez and members of the cabinet are included, in addition to a listing of state agencies together with their statutory responsibilities and current addresses and telephone numbers. There are also pictures and biographical sketches of all of Florida's governors beginning with Andrew Jackson in 1821, and data on the popular vote in Florida for presidential candidates beginning in 1848, and the votes for governor in general elections since 1845 and in the Democratic party primaries since 1916. *The Florida Handbook* reports the expenses of the gubernatorial campaigns of 1978, 1982, and 1986. In 1982, Bob Graham spent $2,166,289.77; in 1986, it cost Bob Martinez $7,236,786.29 to win his election. A very useful part of the *Handbook* is the complete Constitution of Florida as it was revised in 1968 and subsequently amended. There is an index to the Constitution, as well as one to the whole volume. *The* Florida *Handbook, 1989-1990* was published by the Peninsula Publishing Company, Tallahassee, and it sells for $29.95.

Our Family: Facts and Fancies, the Moreno and Related Families was compiled by Regina Moreno Kirchoff Mandrell in collaboration with William S. Coker and Hazel P. Coker. *Our Family* is more than a genealogical study; it provides important historical information for a 200-year period of west Florida's history. The Moreno family has played a major role in the history of Pensacola and the area beginning in the eighteenth century. The earliest Moreno in Florida was Fernando Moreno who came to Pensacola from Havana as a midshipman on a Spanish schooner. He later studied medicine and was assigned to Fort

Barrancas as a surgeon. His son, Francisco Moreno, was born in Pensacola, November 25, 1790. Through the years the Morenos and other families associated with them through marriage have played major leadership roles in the political, economic, social, and intellectual life of Pensacola and the Panhandle. One example is Stephen R. Mallory, United States Senator and Secretary of the Navy in the Confederate Cabinet, who married Angela Moreno. Other families listed in Mrs. Mandrell's study as relatives– Mandrell, Kirchoff, Pasco, Whifield, Bryars, and Burne families– have all produced community leaders. This volume on the Moreno and related families is the third in the Southern History and Genealogy Series published by the Perdido Bay Press. It may be ordered from the Press, Route 2, Box 323, Pensacola, FL 32506; the price is $35.

A Guide to Florida's Historic Architecture was prepared by the Florida Association of the American Institute of Architects. Each county is represented with an architectural history, a list of historic sites, and a map locating the sites. The structures were chosen for their historic and architectural significance. Each guide entry is identified by a photograph, name, address, and brief description. The task of researching, writing, photographing, and assembling the guide was accomplished by members of the FAAIA. Using data prepared by graduate students in the Department of Architecture, University of Florida, architects throughout the state explored Florida's counties and met with local authorities to identify, locate, and photograph a variety of structures, and then to prepare an architectural history of each county. The *Guide* was coordinated and edited by F. Blair Reeves and Mary Nell Gibson Reeves. Published by the University of Florida Press, the *Guide* sells for $19.95.

Flagler's Grand Hotel Alcazar is by Thomas Graham. Flagler, Rockefeller's partner in Standard Oil, visited St. Augustine three times before he decided to invest in the area. He believed St. Augustine could become a winter Newport if it had first-class hotels, places of amusement, and a modern railroad to link the community with the North. Plans were drawn by New York architects Thomas Hastings and John Carrére for two hotels– the Ponce de Leon and the Alcazar. The Ponce would be the centerpiece of the complex, but integral to the plan would be

the Alcazar and a casino. The Alcazar was ready in the fall of 1888 just when the terrible yellow fever epidemic had scared off many tourists. The hotel opened regardless, and the first guests were registered on Christmas day. Everyone was delighted with the lavish hotel and its facilities, the casino, and its Turkish and Russian baths. According to the advertisements, the baths could cure heart disease, gout, rheumatism, liver and kidney diseases, neurosthenia, and obesity. There was also a pool. Unfortunately, the water, from an artesian well, was permeated with sulphur, giving it a "rotten egg" smell. The pool was open to the public, and for twenty-five cents St. Augustine folks could swim in the same pool enjoyed by millionaires and society matrons. Graham's fascinating account details the history of one of Florida's most historic hotels. The building is today being used for city offices and as the home of the Lightner Museum.

Thomas Graham's "Flagler's Magnificent Hotel Ponce de Leon," was published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly,* volume 54, July 1975. It has been reprinted, including photographs, as a pamphlet by the St. Augustine Historical Society. Each of Professor Graham's monographs sell for $2.50; if ordered together, the price is $4.00. Contact the St. Augustine Historical Society, 271 Charlotte Street, St. Augustine, FL 32084.

Kevin McCarthy is editor of *Florida Stories,* a collection of short stories by some of America's best-known writers. All of the stories relate to Florida, and all of the authors have lived in the state at one time or another. Each story is introduced by a short essay by McCarthy showing the author's connection to or interest in the state. The writers, and the settings for their stories, include Andrew Lytle (Tampa), Sarah Orne Jewett (St. Augustine), Stephen Crane (off Daytona Beach and Ponce de Leon Inlet), Ring Lardner (St. Petersburg), Ernest Hemingway (Key West), Edwin Granberry (southwest Florida), Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings (Marion County), Philip Wylie (Miami), James Leo Herlihy (Key West), MacKinlay Kantor (Lake Okeechobee), Gore Vidal (Key West), Zora Neale Hurston (Jacksonville), Theodore Pratt (Palm Beach), Donald Justice (Miami), John D. MacDonald (Sarasota), Isaac Bashevis Singer (Miami Beach), and Harry Crews (Fort Lauderdale). Professor McCarthy, a member of the English faculty at the University of Florida, is

himself a well-known Florida author and a collector of data relating to Florida writers and poets. *Florida Stories* was published by the University of Florida Press; it sells in paperback for $14.95.

Hernando County, Our Story is by Alfred A. McKethan, a prominent Brooksville banker, whose maternal ancestors were among the earliest settlers in Hernando County. This account is based on his own research and personal recollections and on oral tradition. Hernando County, carved out of Alachua County, was opened for white settlement with the passage of the Armed Occupation Act of 1842. Brooksville was designated as the county seat. A prominent early resident of the area was Senator David Levy Yulee who owned a large sugar plantation and operated a mill at Homosassa. Other early settlers whose activities are described in McKethan's history were John Parsons, Frederick Lykes, and Francis Ederington. One of Ederington's descendants, Dorothy, married John J. Hale, and they were the grandparents of Alfred McKethan. Agriculture, education, business, transportation, religion, social life, and cattle are among the topics covered in this account. Included also are many photographs, some of which are being published for the first time. The book was privately printed and is being sold by the Heritage Museum, 601 East Jefferson, Brooksville, FL 34601; the price is $18.50, plus $3.00 postage.

In 1975, in honor of the Bicentennial, the Dunedin Historical Society, under the direction of Albert C. Cline and William L. Davidson, began publishing in the *Dunedin Times* a series of articles entitled "Vignettes From Dunedin's Past." Davidson then reworked, expanded, and edited the articles which were published as a book in 1978 with the title *Dunedin Through the Years, 1850-1978.* It was a limited edition and was soon out of print. The Society has reprinted the volume with corrections and additions. The updated material came from questionnaires submitted by local people. While the origin of the name Dunedin is not clear, several explanations of its meaning and derivation are examined. It is said that Dunedin is the oldest community on the west coast of Florida south of Cedar Key. Who first settled there and when is also not certain. The records indicate that it was J. O. Douglas and James Summerville, two Scotsmen

who operated a general store and received authority to open a post office in 1878. The historical information tracing the growth of Dunedin and the many pictures makes this an important local history volume. Order from the Society, 341 Main Street (P. O. Box 2393), Dunedin, FL 34697; the price is $19.88, plus $1.50 postage.

Much has changed in the area of Southern American English since 1971 when the annotated bibliography of *Southern American English,* compiled by James B. McMillan and Michael B. Montgomery, was first published. The cutoff date for that first edition was 1969. It covered more than 1,100 items, in addition to book reviews. In the nearly two decades since, new research has increased the literature relevant to Southern American English. This volume, published by the University of Alabama Press, includes more than 3,800 items, grouped into twelve chapters. The 1971 edition defined the South as "the area south of the Mason-Dixon Line, and the Ohio River westward to Arkansas and East Texas." The present volume expands the geography to encompass fourteen states south and west of the Mason-Dixon Line from Delaware Bay to Texas, including the District of Columbia. Items on folklore and literary language that discuss specific dialect features are listed. As a result, the Work Projects Administration's ex-slave narratives and similar items are not included. Works on foreign languages spoken in the region are listed when they relate to influences on Southern English. Newspaper and local magazine items are generally excluded because, according to the editors, they are usually quite brief and generally inaccessible to most users. General treatments of American English– grammar, dictionaries, and usage books that include some commentary on Southern English– are listed. Entries recognize the variety of southern dialects and the diversity of the language of such specific southern groups as blacks, Appalachians, Sea Islanders, urbanites, and rural people. The study of Black English is reported, as are linguistic aspects of social and cultural adjustments arising from population mobility both inside and outside the region. The editors believe that one should know what happens when Southern English comes into contact with varieties of American English spoken outside the region. Chapter titles indicate the extensive scope of this volume: General Studies; Historical and Creole

Studies; Lexical Studies; Phonetics and Phonology; Morphology and Syntax; Place Name Studies; Personal and Miscellaneous Name Studies; Figurative Language, Exaggerations, and Word-Play; Literary Dialect; Language Attitudes and Speech Perception; and Speech Act and Style. There is a listing of thirty-five bibliographies and a name index. Many Florida items are included. The book sells for $32.95.

Dreamers & Defenders, American Conservationists, by Douglas H. Strong, discusses the concerns of some government officials and private citizens during the nineteenth century over the increasing exploitation of land and natural and mineral resources in the United States, particularly in the West, but also the South. As population grew, new lands were opened for settlement and economic development. A few writers and scientists like Henry David Thoreau, Frederick Law Olmsted, and Georgia Perkins Marsh began promoting the concept of conservation, but it was Theodore Roosevelt and his chief forester, Gifford Pinchot, who organized an effective government-sponsored movement. In the 1930s a second strong conservation program arose under the leadership of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes. The Civilian Conservation Corps played an important role in doing needed work. More recently, in the 1960s a third wave of conservation activity was spurred by such scientists as Rachel Carson and Barry Commoner. Efforts to preserve the Everglades and other wilderness areas in Florida are examples of what was happening as a result of the conservation movements. *Dreamers & Defenders* was published by the University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE; it sells for $9.95.

Items for the *The Illustrated Confederate Reader* were selected and edited by Rod Gragg, and the book was published by Harper & Row. The *Reader* contains a collection of personal experiences and eyewitness accounts by and about southern soldiers and civilians. The volume also includes some 200 period photographs and illustrations. There are several Florida items, including information on the First, Second, and Eighth Florida Infantries, General Joseph Finegan, Pensacola, Charles Seton Fleming, Dr. Richard P. Daniel of Jacksonville, and Edmund Kirby-Smith of St. Augustine. *The Illustrated Confederate* Reader sells for $27.50.

A paperback edition of *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913*, by Gaines M. Foster, first published in 1987, is available. Order from Oxford University Press; the price is $10.95.

Come Retribution: The Federal Secret Service and the Assassination of Lincoln, by William A. Tidwell, James O. Hall, and David Winfred Gaddy, is a history of Confederate intelligence and covert operations. As a result of recent research, the existence of a Confederate Secret Service Bureau in the War Department has been confirmed. The total organization of the Confederate intelligence and covert effort has not yet been examined by scholars. This book begins that analysis. It describes the organization and some of its activities, particularly as it relates to the assassination of Lincoln. There is no documentary evidence yet uncovered that directly proves Confederate involvement, although there is much circumstantial evidence. It was widely believed in the North at the time that the Confederate government was likely involved in the assassination, and an effort was made to prove that theory. There were no conclusions drawn, though, in part because there was an absence of records and persons able or willing to testify. Published by the University of Mississippi Press, Jackson, the paperback sells for $17.95.

HISTORY NEWS

Annual Meeting

The Florida Historical Society will hold its annual meeting in Tampa, May 10-12, 1990. The Florida Historical Confederation will also hold its workshops at the same time. The Busch Gardens Holiday Inn will be the convention headquarters. The program committee invites proposals for papers and sessions. Those wishing to read a paper should submit an outline and a resume to Dr. Raymond Arsenault (Department of History, University of South Florida, St. Petersburg, FL 33701), chairman of the program committee. Other members of the committee are Robert Taylor, Department of History, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL 32306; and Dr. James J. Horgan, Division of Social Sciences, Saint Leo College, Saint Leo, FL 33574.

Prizes and Awards

The Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History was awarded to James C. Clark, doctoral student at the University of Florida, for his article, "John Wallace and the Writing of Reconstruction History," which appeared in the April 1989 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The presentation was made by Dr. Samuel Proctor, University of Florida, at the Florida Historical Society's annual meeting in Gainesville in May. The three judges were Dr. Fred Blakey, University of Florida; Dr. Edward N. Akin, Mississippi College; and Dr. Merlin G. Cox, University of Florida. Professor Thompson was a Florida and Southern historian and a member of the Department of History, University of Florida. The prize was established as a result of an endowment created by Dr. Thompson's wife, Professor Irene Thompson, and his family.

The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award went to Dr. John H. Hann, San Luis Archaeological and Historic Site, Tallahassee, for his book *Apalachee: The Land Between the Rivers*, published by the University of Florida Presses and the Florida Museum of Natural History. The presentation was made by Dr.

Michael V. Gannon, University of Florida. The judges were Dr. Raymond Arsenault, University of South Florida; Dr. William Warren Rogers, Florida State University; and Dr. Harry A. Kersey, Jr., Florida Atlantic University. The prize memorializes Dr. Patrick, eminent Florida and Southern historian; former chairman of the Department of History, University of Florida; graduate research professor, University of Georgia; and editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

The Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award was presented to Debra Ann Susie of Tallahassee for her book, *In the Way of Our Grandmothers: A Cultural View of Twentieth-Century Midwifery in Florida.* Ms. Susie's book was published by the University of Georgia Press. The presentation was made by Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., University of Florida. The judges were Marcia J. Kanner, Coral Gables; Wright Langley, Key West Historical Preservation Board; and Dr. Gregory Bush, University of Miami. The prize honors Dr. Tebeau, professor emeritus, University of Miami.

The Florida Historical Society recognizes outstanding essays in Florida history submitted by graduate and undergraduate students. The President's Prizes this year were awarded to Sarah H. Brown, a graduate student at the Georgia State University, for her paper, "Pensacola Progressive: John Moreno Coe and the Campaign of 1948." The other winner was James A. Schnur, an undergraduate student at the University of South Florida, St. Petersburg, for his paper, "LeRoy Collins and Legislative Interposition: A Portrait of Emerging Moderation in Gubernatorial Politics." The President's Prizes were presented by Dr. Gary Mormino, University of South Florida.

The Pensacola Historical Society presented its 1989 Heritage Award to Mrs. Virginia Parks of Pensacola. Her books on the history of Pensacola have been reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

The Kentucky Historical Society presented its annual Richard H. Collins Award to Dr. John David Smith, Department of History, North Carolina State University. The award was for Smith's article, *"E. Merton Coulter, The 'Dunning School,' and the*

Civil War and Readjustment in Kentucky," which appeared in the winter 1988 issue of *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society.*

The Southeastern American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies presented its 1988 award to Jeremy Popkin, Department of History, University of Kentucky, for his essay, "The Pre-revolutionary Origins of Political Journalism," which appeared in the volume, *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture.* The Society is inviting submissions for its 1989 competition. An award of $250 will be given for the best article on an eighteenth-century subject published in a scholarly journal, annual, or collection between September 1, 1988, and August 31, 1989, by a member of SEASECS or a person living or working in the SEASECS area (the Southeast including Florida). The interdisciplinary appeal of the article will be considered, but it will not be the only determinant of the award. Articles must be submitted in triplicate, postmarked by November 11, 1989, to Professor Vincent Caretta, Department of English, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742.

Florida History Fair

Final competition for the Eighth Annual Florida History Fair Exhibit was held at the May 1989 meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Gainesville. Ninety-five of Florida's top history students, representing twenty-two schools from eleven counties, competed for honors. All sixty entries were directed towards this year's theme, "The Individual in History," and were judged by fifteen historians, educators, and experienced professionals from around the state. Participating counties included Collier, Columbia, Dade, Duval, Escambia, Jefferson, Leon, Madison, St. Johns, Santa Rosa, and Seminole. The state coordinators were Peter A. Cowdrey and Peggy Durham.

The winner in the Historical Papers category, junior division (grades 6, 7, and 8), was Louis Cross, Trinity Catholic School, Leon County (Peggy Durham, teacher). Senior division (grades 9, 10, 11, and 12) winner was Lauren Richey, Pensacola High School (K. Rettig, teacher). Edward Ursillo, Southwood Junior High School, Dade County (Mrs. Mateau, teacher), was Individual Project, junior division, winner. Senior division winner was Julie M. Ward, Stanton College Preparatory School, Jackson-

ville. The first place winners in the Group Project, junior division, were Chris Churchill and Henry Darst, Trinity Catholic School, Tallahassee (Peggy Durham, teacher). The Group Project, senior division, winners were Donna Apostol, Benjamin Chi, and Jennifer DacPano, Pensacola High School (Jacqueline Young, teacher). In the Individual Dramatic Performance category, junior division, the winner was Natalie M. Worden, Dupont Junior High School, Jacksonville. Senior division winner in this category was Tanya Ward, Pensacola High School (Jacqueline Young, teacher). The winners in the Group Dramatic Performances, junior division, were Carolyn Peavy and Kris Campbell, DuPont Junior High School, Jacksonville (Carol Russel, teacher). The senior division winners in this category were Rachel Connerty and Gena Auerbach, Allen D. Nease Junior/Senior High School, St. Augustine (Dennis Banks, teacher). In the category Individual Media Presentation, junior division, the winner was Katie Sinelli, Stanton College Preparatory School (Mrs. Tall, teacher), and the senior division winner was Joey Buckner, Stanton College Preparatory School (Allen Rushing, teacher). In the Group Media Category, junior division, the winners were Kristin Pyle, Tran Phung, Lynn Del Rosario, Vivien Rodin, and Vivile Rodin, Sandalwood Junior/Senior High School, Jacksonville (Jo Ann Regans, teacher). Senior division winners were Kelly Davis, Leona McDonald, and Sharon Wimberly, Highlands Junior High School, Jacksonville (Ken Fishman, teacher).

From funds allocated by the Florida Historical Society and matched by the Museum of Florida History, cash stipends were awarded to all history fair entries going to the national competition in Washington, DC. Florida History Fair is sponsored by National History Day, Inc., the Florida Historical Society, and the Museum of Florida History, Department of State. It is open to all Florida students from grades six to twelve. The theme for 1988-1990 is "Science and Technology in History." For information write to the Florida History Fair coordinator, Museum of Florida History, R. A. Gray Building, 500 South Bronough Street, Tallahassee, FL 32399 (904-487-1902).

Tampa Bay History

The Spring/Summer 1989 issue of *Tampa Bay History* marks its tenth anniversary. Articles, edited documents, and photographic essays relating to the Tampa Bay area and the surrounding counties have been the focus of the journal. Books and monographs dealing with all aspects of Florida history, anthropology, and archaeology are reviewed. To mark the anniversary the editors have compiled a special photo essay– a retrospective of photographs used in the previous twenty issues.

The journal is sponsored by the Department of History, University of South Florida. Dr. Robert P. Ingalls is managing editor of *Tampa Bay History*. Other members of the staff are Steven F. Lawson, Nancy A. Hewitt, Peggy Cornett, Kent Kaster, Sylvia Wood, and Lyndall W. Lee. The annual subscription rate for *Tampa Bay History* is $15. Correspondence concerning subscriptions should be directed to Dr. Ingalls, Department of History, University of South Florida, Tampa, FL 33620.

Conferences

The Thirteenth Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference will be held in Pensacola, October 3-5, 1989. The theme will be "Discovery and Exploration on the Gulf Coast." Selected papers from the conference will be published in a special edition of the *Gulf Coast Historical Review* in the spring of 1992. For information contact Dr. William S. Coker, Department of History, University of West Florida, Pensacola, FL 32514, or Dr. Ted Carageorge, Department of History and Political Science, Pensacola Junior College, Pensacola, FL 32504.

The Southern Humanities Council will hold its 1990 meeting February 15-17, 1990, in Clearwater Beach. Joe B. Fenley of St. Petersburg Junior College is chairman of the Council.

The History Department, University of Nebraska at Omaha, is inviting proposals for individual papers or whole sessions in any field of history for the Missouri Valley History Conference to be held in Omaha, March 8-10, 1990. Submit proposals, including an abstract and vitae, by November 1, 1989, to Dr. Jerald Simmons, Department of History, University of Nebraska at Omaha, Omaha, NE 68182.

The Seventh Conference on British Studies is soliciting proposals for papers to be presented at its 1990 meeting to be held October 31-November 3 in New Orleans. The annual meeting takes place in conjunction with that of the Southern Historical Association. The 1990 meeting will also be held jointly with the North American Conference on British Studies. Proposals may consist of individual papers or entire sessions. Sessions should include two or three papers relating to a common theme and may include suggestions for chairpersons and commentators. For each paper proposed, submit an abstract of 200-300 words indicating the thesis of the paper, resources and methodology employed, and how it enhances or expands knowledge of its subject. Proposals should be sent by October 15, 1989, to Dr. John A. Hutcheson, Jr., Division of Social Science, Dalton College, Dalton, GA 30720.

The Florida College Teachers of History held its 1989 meeting in April at the Edison Community College, Fort Myers. Dr. Sheldon B. Liss, University of Akron, was the banquet speaker. The Florida College Teachers of History will hold its 1990 conference at Florida Southern College, and Dr. J. Larry Durrence is the program chair.

A call for papers for the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilization Conference to be held at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, May 24-27, 1990, has been announced. The special themes are Latin America from Civilization Perspectives, Anthropology in the 1990s, and the Comparative Study of Civilization and Gender Issues– Past and Present– from Civilizational Perspectives. The deadline for abstracts is November 15, 1989. Send inquiries and abstracts to Professor Midori Rynn, Department of Sociology, University of Scranton, Scranton, PA 18510.

Announcements and Activities

The Museum of Florida History, Department of State, Tallahassee, opened a new permanent exhibit in May. Entitled "Prehistoric Florida," it includes a full-scale diorama depicting north Florida as it was approximately 12,000 years ago. A three-dimensional map of Florida will allow visitor interaction to make the sea level rise from the lower levels of prehistoric times to its

present-day level. The Museum of Florida History is in the R. A. Gray Building, Tallahassee.

The Encyclopedia of the Colonial Wars of America, in the *Wars of the United States* series, is inviting contributions on a variety of topics for the period 1500-1763. The items submitted for consideration should discuss the military, diplomatic, and strategic significance of Indian nations, European colonies, locales, forts, battles, wars, treaties, individuals, etc. For additional information, contact Alan Gallay, Department of History, Western Washington University, Bellingham, WA 98225.

The Social Science History Association is inaugurating an annual President's Book Award of $1,000 for a new manuscript that best exemplifies the goals of the Association's book series: New Approaches to social science history. The prize-winning manuscript will be published by the University of Illinois Press in its New Approaches series. Work from both published scholars and first-time authors in all relevant disciplines may be submitted. All qualified manuscripts, with each author's permission, will be considered for publication by the University of Illinois Press. General editors of the series, Stanley Engerman, University of Rochester, and John Modell, Carnegie-Mellon University, invite current and prospective authors of book manuscripts to contact them about interest in publishing in the series. Essay collections, synthetic works, and edited documents fitting the Association's intellectual purposes may also be accepted for publication. For information, contact Professor Engerman, Department of Economics, 238 Harkness Hall, University of Rochester, Rochester, NY 14627.

The Georgia Militia Guard Society, a newly established organization designed to promote and perpetuate the history and heritage of the Georgia National Guard and Militia, is seeking members. The Society's purpose is to document Georgia's military history. It publishes a quarterly journal and plans to establish a museum and reference library. Annual membership is $20. For information, contact Bernard Fontaine, Georgia National Guard, P. O. Box 17965, Atlanta, GA 30316.

The Historic American Building Survey and the Historic American Engineering Record are seeking information for a comprehensive bibliography of publications by and about the surveys completed since 1933. Anyone having information or material is asked to contact Massey Maxwell Associates, P. O. Box 263, Strasburg, VA 22657.

John B. (Johnny) Gruelle (1880-1938)– political cartoonist, author, illustrator, and inventor, best known as creator of Raggedy Ann and Andy– is the subject of a historical biography being prepared. Gruelle lived and worked in Indianapolis, Cleveland, and Miami, Florida (1910-1924). Anyone having information or material on Gruelle is asked to contact Patricia Hall, 3411 Woodmont Lane, Nashville, TN 37215.

Sage Publications, Inc., is inviting manuscript proposals for its series on race and ethnic relations. Manuscripts should be between 200-400 typewritten pages in length. Prospective monograph and book authors and anthology editors working in creative theoretical areas related to race and ethnic relations are asked to contact Dr. John H. Stanfield II, Department of Sociology, College of William & Mary, Williamsburg, VA 23185.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS

1989		
Sept. 6- 10	American Association for State and Local History	Seattle, WA
Sept. 28-30	Florida Trust for Historic Preservation	Lakeland, FL
Oct. 11-15	National Trust for Historic Preservation	Philadelphia, PA
Oct. 19-22	Oral History Association	Galveston, TX
Oct. 24-28	Society of American Archivists	St. Louis, MO
Nov. 3-5	Southern Jewish Historical Society	Charleston, SC
Nov. 9- 12	Southern Historical Association	Lexington, KY
Dec. 28-30	American Historical Association	San Francisco, CA
1990		
May 10-12	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 88th MEETING	Tampa, FL
May 10	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	Tampa, FL

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A MEMBERSHIP IN THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY IS AN EXCELLENT GIFT IDEA FOR BIRTHDAYS, GRADUATION, OR FOR ANYONE INTERESTED IN THE RICH AND COLORFUL STORY OF FLORIDA'S PAST.

A one-year membership costs only $25, and it includes four issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, the *Florida History Newsletter*, as well as all other privileges of membership. A personal letter from the Executive Director of the Society will notify the recipient of your generosity and consideration.

Send to: Florida Historical Society
University of South Florida Library
Tampa, Florida 33620

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- ❑ Corporate membership– $100
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- ❑ Check or money order enclosed
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FROM _____

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Detach Along This Line

The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is $25; family membership is $30; library membership is $35; a contributing membership is $50 and above; and a corporate membership is $100. In addition, a student membership is $15, but proof of current status must be furnished.

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