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COVER

Blanche Armwood and some of her students at the Tampa School of Household Arts in 1916. *Photograph Courtesy of Special Collections, University of South Florida.*

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Asian Immigration to Florida

by RAYMOND A. MOHL

By the mid-1990s, few states could challenge Florida's Sunbelt growth image and megastate status. Now the fourth largest state, following California, Texas, and New York, Florida has had a dramatically rising demographic trajectory for most of the twentieth century. Indeed, the state's population growth rate has never fallen below 28 percent a decade since 1900; it was much higher than that during the boom years of the 1920s (52 percent), the 1950s (79 percent), and the 1970s (44 percent). Since 1960, however, a substantial portion of the state's new population has come as a consequence of immigration. Careful estimates in 1995 suggest that about 18 percent of Florida's almost 14 million residents are foreign born, including several hundred thousand undocumented or illegal immigrants.[1]

The rapid rise of Florida's multicultural population has generally been attributed to the massive migrations of Cuban exiles to the Sunshine State since 1959. The heavy attention devoted to the outspoken and politically active Cuban exiles, who are mostly concentrated in South Florida, has diverted journalistic and scholarly focus from the state's many other nationality groups and immigrant communities. In fact, however, by 1990 Florida's Cubans were outnumbered collectively by other Hispanic groups– Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Central/South Americans– all of whose numbers are now growing more rapidly than the state's Cuban population. Many other immigrant newcomers have also contributed to Florida's twentieth-century ethnic transformations. Several hundred thousand Haitians have made South Florida home in the past

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1. Raymond A. Mohl, "Florida's Changing Demography: Population Growth, Urbanization, and Latinization," *Environmental and Urban Issues,* 17 (Winter 1990), 22-30; Raymond Arsenault and Gary R. Mormino, "From Dixie to Dreamland: Demographic and Cultural Change in Florida, 1880-1980," in Randall M. Miller and George E. Pozzetta, eds., *Shades of the Sunbelt: Essays on Ethnicity, Race, and the Urban South* (Westport, CT, 1988), 161-191. On illegal immigrants in Florida, see Rebecca L. Clark, et al., *Fiscal Impacts of Undocumented Aliens: Selected Estimates for Seven States* (Washington, D.C., 1994), 5-6; State of Florida, *The Unfair Burden: Immigration's Impact on Florida* (Tallahassee, 1994), 8-9.

two decades. South Florida has large concentrations of Jamaicans, French Canadians, and recently arrived Soviet Jews, as well as an aging cohort of East European Jewish retirees. Historically, Finns have concentrated in Lake Worth, Palestinians in Jacksonville, Bahamians in Key West and Miami, Greeks in Tarpon Springs, Italians and Spaniards in Tampa. More recently, Vietnamese exiles have settled in Pensacola, where they carry on traditional shrimping and fishing activities. Over 20,000 Maya Indians from Guatamala work as farm laborers and in nurseries and landscape jobs in the agricultural areas of southeast Florida. In the agricultural heart of central Florida, Mexicans of Aztec descent have come to dominate labor in the citrus and vegetable fields.[2]

Unknown to most observers, however, is that during the 1970s and 1980s Asian newcomers emerged as the fastest-growing foreign-born group in Florida. Of the 154,000 Asians who resided in Florida in 1990– triple the number in 1980– Filipinos, Chinese, and Asian Indians formed the largest groups, followed by Vietnamese, Koreans, Japanese, and Thais. This rising tide of Asian immigration to Florida drives home the point that Florida has become– like California– a new multicultural cauldron, a state of great ethnic diversity and cultural change. The heavy concentration of attention on recent Cuban and Haitian immigration has tended to mask other dramatic changes in Florida's demographic and cultural pattern. The diverse Asian immigration to Florida, especially after the immigration reform legislation of 1965, may in fact better reflect the migration trends and cultural patterns we might expect to see in the Sunshine State in the 21st century.[3]

2. Raymond A. Mohl and George E. Pozzetta, "From Migration to Multiculturalism: A History of Florida Immigration," in Michael Gannon, ed., *The New History of Florida* (Gainesville, 1995), 391-417.
3. Raymond A. Mohl, "Ethnic Transformations in Late-Twentieth-Century Florida," *Journal of American Ethnic History,* 15 (Winter 1996), forthcoming. Asians have also been the fastest-growing group nationally since the 1970s, and some analysts suggest that, if current immigration levels are maintained, Asians may outnumber African Americans by the middle of the next century. See Robert W. Gardner, et al., *Asian Americans: Growth, Change, and Diversity* (Washington, D.C., 1985); William O'Hare and Judy Felt, "Asian Americans: America's Fastest Growing Minority Group," *Population Trends and Public Policy,* No. 19 (Washington, D.C., 1991); Roger Daniels, "The Asian-American Experience: The View from the 1990s," in Hans Bak, ed., *Multiculturalism and the Canon of American Culture* (Amsterdam, 1993), 131-145; John J. Miller, "Asian Americans Head for U.S. Political Arena," *Chinatown News,* 42 (March 18, 1995), 12-13.

It may come as a surprise to learn that Florida's experience with Asian immigration is not entirely new or recent. Indeed, the recent surge of Asian immigrants to Florida has some fascinating late 19th and early 20th-century precedents. In the post-Civil War era, for example, state officials, business leaders, and large farming interests worried about the lack of an energetic and skilled labor force to move the state's economy forward. The promotion of immigration emerged as the major strategy pursued by the state government, railroads, and big farmers in the late 19th century. European immigrants, particularly Italians, gained special attention, since Florida was seen as the "American Italy" and Italian immigrants were perceived as experienced with citrus and vine culture. Similarly, Florida's growth advocates of the late 19th century singled out the importation of Chinese laborers as a solution for the perceived shortage of industrious agricultural laborers.[4]

Advocacy of Chinese immigration in post-Civil War Florida conformed to a wider pattern that prevailed in the South generally, as well as in the Pacific Coast region and in the British Caribbean. By the 1850s, for instance, British planters in British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, St. Lucia, and Barbados had responded to the end of slavery by importing Chinese immigrant laborers to work the sugar plantations. Such Spanish colonies as Cuba and Peru imported large numbers of Chinese indentured laborers as well, with as many as 125,000 Chinese brought to Cuba alone. By the 1860s the Chinese migration pattern had been extended to the United States. The 1870 census recorded some 63,000 Chinese in the U.S., a number that rose to over 105,000 by 1880. There was a high degree of "coming and going," however, as Roger Daniels has pointed out. Perhaps as many as 300,000 Chinese arrived in America prior to passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, although many ultimately returned to their homeland. Seeking better economic opportunities, most of the Chinese immigrants to the U.S. worked in the American west in California mines and agriculture and on the

4. George E. Pozzetta, "The Chinese Encounter with Florida, 1865-1920," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives,* 2 (1989), 43-58; George E. Pozzetta, "Foreigners in Florida: A Study of Immigration Promotion, 1865-1910," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* 53 (October 1974), 164-180. On Florida as the "American Italy," see Edward King, *The Great South* (Hartford, CT, 1879; reprint edition, Baton Rouge, 1972), 378.

transcontinental railroads. But several thousand Chinese also filtered into agricultural and railroad work in the American South. Some came by way of Cuba, others from California or directly from China. A San Francisco labor contractor, Cornelius Koopmanscap, touted the advantages of Chinese labor at a southern planters convention in Memphis in 1869 and facilitated the importation of several hundred Chinese to Louisiana, Alabama, and Georgia.[5]

Florida was still a raw, unsettled, and undeveloped state in 1880, with a population of about 269,000, mostly in the northern tier of the state, An emerging economy based on lumber, citrus, cotton plantations, phosphate mining, land drainage, and railroad construction all required a growing work force. By the 1870s some white Floridians turned enthusiastically toward imported Chinese workers as a sort of panacea for the state's labor needs. A fairly extensive literature, particularly in the *Florida Agriculturist,* ardently promoted Chinese immigration for plantation work and other labor needs. Reflecting the ethnic stereotypes common at the time, the editor of the *Florida Times-Union* predicted in 1869 that "pigtails, almond eyes, and chop-sticks will soon be common" in Florida. Similarly, George M. Barbour, in his 1882 guidebook, *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers,* noted that Chinese immigrants could satisfy the demand for a stable labor supply in the postwar era. The Chinese, Barbour wrote, were neat, quiet, thrifty, orderly, unobtrusive, and "in every way commendable." Although Florida had few Chinese at the time, Barbour expected that these Asian workers would soon be attracted to Florida: "Everywhere I found the peo-

5. Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York, 1990), 239-250; Shih-shan Henry Tsai, *The Chinese Experience in America* (Bloomington, 1986), 1-32; Ronald Takaki, *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America* (Boston, 1993), 191-221; Lucy M. Cohen, *Chinese in the Post-Civil War South: A People Without a History* (Baton Rouge, 1984); Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850-1870* (Cambridge, 1964), 187-197; Stanford M. Lyman, ed., *Selected Writings of Henry Hughes* (Jackson, MI, 1985), 24-25, 51-53. On Chinese indendured workers in the Caribbean, see Walton Look Lai, *Indentured Labor, Caribbean Sugar: Chinese and Indian Migrants to the British West Indies, 1838-1918* (Baltimore, 1993); Duvon C. Corbitt, "Immigration in Cuba," *Hispanic American Historical Review,* 22 (May 1942), 302-303; Bridget Brereton, "The Other Crossing: Asian Migrants in the Caribbean," *Journal of Caribbean History,* 28, No. 1 (1994), 99-122.

ple favoring Chinese immigration." He noted especially "a general desire to replace the colored labor with Chinese labor."[6]

For the most part, these optimistic assessments of the availability and usefulness of Chinese immigration were never fully transformed into reality in late-19th-century Florida. However, some Chinese workers did come to Florida during these years, some by way of California, others by way of Cuba. They worked initially on plantations, in lumber and turpentine camps, and in railroad construction. The U.S. Census reported 108 Chinese in Florida in 1890 and 120 in 1900– almost certainly a considerable undercount, since it is unlikely that census takers would have encountered or recorded transient Chinese work gangs. But the experiment with Chinese contract labor was plagued with difficulties. In one case in 1906, shortly after a Chinese work crew was contracted for labor at the Paradise Farms turpentine camp near Gainesville, the new workers went on strike in a dispute over hours, working conditions, and wages. By that time, many white Floridians had also become increasingly susceptible to the rising anti-immigration tide that had begun to sweep the nation by the turn of the 20th century. Nativism and racism soon terminated the contemporary discourse about the need for new immigrants of any background. Racial and religious differences, along with widely believed charges of immorality, gambling, and crime, raised concerns about the ability of the Chinese to assimilate to the American mainstream. The imposition of rigorous policies of racial segregation in the South by the 1890s created a dilemma for the non-white Chinese, as well as for white Floridians who sought to maintain the color line. Thus, by the beginning of the 20th century, exclusioniary policies had become the rule and the panacea of large-scale Chinese immigration had run its course in Florida.[7]

6. "Chinese Cheap Labor," *Florida Agriculturist,* 1 (January 24, 1874), 30; "Chinese Cheap Labor," ibid., 3 (March 9, 1881), 337; "Farm Laborers," ibid., 31 (June 15, 1904), 376; "Chinese Labor," ibid., 31 (September 28, 1904), 616; "Would Chinese Labor Solve the Harvest Problem?" ibid., 32 (October 18, 1905), 664-665; "The Chinese and the Labor Problem," ibid., 32 (October 18, 1905), 664; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* September 16, 1869, quoted in Pozzetta, "The Chinese Encounter with Florida," 45; George M. Barbour, Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers (Jacksonville, 1882), 227.

7. Cohen, *Chinese in the Post-Civil War South;* Pozzetta, "The Chinese Encounter with Florida." 43-54: "Chinese in Paradise." *Florida Agriculturist,* 33 (July 18, 1906), 457.

Despite the failure of ambitious plans for Chinese labor immigration, a permanent Chinese presence in Florida-albeit a very small presence– had been established by the early 20th century. Chinese immigrants gradually filtered into Florida's major cities, where they established entrepreneurial niches in laundries, truck farming, small grocery stores, and eventually restaurants. Some left the work gangs for better economic opportunities in Jacksonville, Tampa, Pensacola, and later Miami; others migrated to Florida from northern Chinatowns in New York or Boston, and still others came from Cuba, which had daily steamship service to Tampa beginning in the 1890s. Chain migration over time supplemented and sustained these small urban communities of overseas Chinese in Florida.[8]

The Chinese laundry tradition began in gold-rush-era San Francisco, where the disproportionate number of males created entrepreneurial opportunities in providing household and domestic service such as washing, ironing, cooking, cleaning, and the like. The laundry business required little capital or machinery, only the commitment to work hard and long. By the 1870s, according to Paul Siu's classic study *The Chinese Laundryman,* San Francisco had over 500 Chinese laundries. Some of Florida's urban Chinese newcomers adapted the laundry tradition to Florida circumstances. As early as 1889, for instance, Jacksonville had nine Chinese laundries. By the early 20th century, Jacksonville's Chinese laundries numbered 25, while Tampa had 15, Key West 12, and Pensacola 3. As in California and elsewhere, Chinese immigrants in Florida found economic opportunity in the urban economy through small family-run laundries.9

Chinese in early 20th-century Florida discovered other economic niches as well. A few Chinese established truck farms near Jacksonville, Tampa, Miami, and elsewhere, growing mostly Chinese vegetables for restaurants and groceries in the northeastern states. Some of these Chinese truck farmers had originally farmed in the northeastern United States, where they supplied groceries and restaurants in the Chinatowns of New York, Boston, and Phila-

8. Josephine Shih Gordy, "Chinese in Southeast Florida, 1890-1992" (M.A. Thesis, Florida Atlantic University, 1994), 53-58; Pozzetta, "The Chinese Encounter with Florida," 50-53.
9. Paul C. P. Siu, *The Chinese Laundryman: A Study of Social Isolation* (New York, 1987), 47; Pozzetta, "The Chinese Encounter with Florida," 52-53.

delphia. As early as 1907, for instance, a Chinese "agricultural colony" was established on the rural fringes of Jacksonville. By the 1940s, numerous small Chinese truck farmers persisted in the Jacksonville area; the 1940 census reported 86 Chinese in the Jacksonville metropolitan area. Similarly, in the years prior to 1950, three Chinese families opened Chinese vegetable farms in the Sarasota/Bradenton area in southwest Florida, initially to provide winter vegetables to the Chinese market in the northeast. Later, as the number of Chinese restaurants grew in Florida, the market for Chinese farm produce was much closer.[10]

At least one Chinese immigrant, Lue Gim Gong, achieved success in Florida citrus. Departing from a South China village in 1872 at age 12, Lue had been recruited to work in a shoe factory in North Adams, Massachusetts. He was later adopted by a local merchant family related to Anson Burlingame, the American Minister to China in the late 19th century. Lue later inherited the family's citrus grove in DeLand, Florida, where he experimented with new varieties of oranges, grapefruit, and tomatoes and by the early 20th century became a horticulturist of some note, renowned as the "Chinese Burbank," a reference to the famous horticulturist Luther Burbank.[11]

Chinese immigrants in Florida also found an economic niche in small grocery stores, especially in black neighborhoods that were ignored by white retail merchants. Research on ethnic groups in Mississippi and Georgia, where the Chinese communities were larger than in Florida, demonstrate that "the Chinese filled a strategic position between the white and black population by providing goods and services to blacks." The Chinese grocery store tradition also became common in Florida, where the Chinese served a "middleman" function in the black community. City direc-

10. Pozzetta, "The Chinese Encounter with Florida," 50-53; Kathleen Cohen, "Immigrant Jacksonville: A Profile of Immigrant Groups in Jacksonville, Florida, 1890-1920" (M.A. Thesis, University of Florida, 1986), 91-100; Cindy H. Wong, "Chinese Outside Chinatown: A Chinese Community in South Florida," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives,* 4 (1991), 49-65.
11. Ruthanne Lum McCunn, "Lue Gim Gong: A Life Reclaimed," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives,* 2 (1989), 117-135; Gordy, "Chinese in Southeast Florida," 7-9; Gene M. Burnett, "Florida's Forgotten 'Chinese Burbank,"' in Burnett, *Florida's Past: People and Events that Shaped the State,* vol. 2 (Sarasota, 1988); Frederick Rudolph, "Chinamen in Yankeedom: Anti-Unionism in Massachusetts in 1870," *American Historical* Review, 53 (October 1947), 1-29.

tories reveal that by 1906 Jacksonville, Tampa, Miami, and Key West all had a couple of Chinese groceries.[12]

The grocery story tradition in Florida took on new dimensions duriug the 1920s when two Chinese pioneers, Joe Wing and Joe Fred Gong, settled in Miami and opened a small grocery store, Joe's Market, in the city's African-American community. The partners named Joe had both immigrated from China as teenagers to join fathers who had already set up laundry businesses in America– one in Boston and one in Georgia. Both arrived in Miami in the mid-1920s intending to set up laundries in the midst of the South Florida real estate and economic boom. But laundry work in Miami was already dominated by Bahamian immigrants, so the two Joes found an alternative economic niche in the grocery business in black Miami. Later, through chain migration, sons, uncles, nephews, and other kin arrived in Miami, almost all from a few villages in South China. New groceries under the same name were established for the newcomers, often using loans from Chinese trade or kinship organizations. By the mid-1960s some 38 Joe's Market groceries served Miami's black community. However, these Chinese groceries eventually suffered from rising crime and civil disturbances after the mid-1960s as well as from price competition from the large supermarket chains. Some stores were burned out in Miami's 1968 ghetto riot; others eventually were closed or sold to various merchants. Although the Chinese grocery store tradition has died out now in Miami, over some 40 years the entrepreneurial Chinese of the first immigrant generation found an effective path to economic opportunity through these neighborhood institunons.[13]

The numbers of Chinese in early 20th century Florida remained relatively small. Indeed, there were only about 5,000 Chinese in the entire South in 1940, and a little over 10,000 in 1950. Florida had a disproportionately small number of the southern to-

12. James W. Loewen, *The Mississippi Chinese: Between Black and White* (Cambridge, 1971), 32-57; Cohen, "Immigrant Jacksonville," 94; Pozzetta, "The Chinese Encounter with Florida," 53; Gordy, "Chinese in Southeast Florida," 57-58.

13. Gordy, "Chinese in Southeast Florida," 57-65; Transcript of interview with Helen Chin, January 24, 1993 (interview conducted by Josephine Shih Gordy); Transcript of interview with Gow Low, June 23, 1991 (interview conducted by Josephine Shih Gordy).

tal; the U.S. census reported 214 Chinese in Florida in 1940 and 429 in 1950. The number of early Japanese immigrants was even smaller-about 1,000 in the southern states in 1940 and about 3,000 in 1950. In Florida, the Japanese numbered only 154 in 1940 and 238 in 1950. Yet, curiously, Florida was the site of an unusual Japanese agricultural colony, established in 1904 near present-day Boca Raton.[14]

Most turn-of-the-century Japanese immigrants to the United States came as contract laborers, working in Hawaii or in the Pacific West, although a few Japanese agricultural colonies had been established in Texas. Still other Japanese went in substantial numbers to Brazil and Peru as contract laborers on coffee, cotton, and sugar plantations. However, the Florida agricultural frontier seemed attractive to Kamosu Jo Sakai, an enterprising young man who had received a western education in Japan and converted to Christianity. Many western-educated Japanese of the late-19th century, men like Sakai, experienced the rapid modernization of Japan and looked to the United States as a model of western reform. As in Europe and China, many young and ambitious men sought better economic opportunities through emigration. For those reasons, Sakai came to the U.S., initially to study business at New York University. In 1903 he arrived in Jacksonville with ambitious plans for a Japanese agricultural colony in Florida. Surprisingly, Jacksonville businessmen and even Florida's governor looked favorably upon the plan, apparently hoping thereby to stimulate Florida's agricultural development. Declining the offer from three North Florida counties of 1,000 acres of free land, Sakai instead purchased on credit land in South Florida owned by the Model Land Company, the land-development arm of Henry Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway. Sakai returned to Japan in early 1904 to recruit colonists for the planned settlement. The Russo-Japanese War interfered with recruitment efforts, and problems with American immigration authorities created other delays, but ultimately about 20 Japa-

14. Roger Daniels, "Asian Groups," in Charles Reagan Wilson and William Ferris, eds., *Encyclopedia of Southem Culture* (Chapel Hill, 1989), 418-421; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population,* Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population,* Part 2, *Florida-Iowa* (Washington, D.C., 1943), 16; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1950,* Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population,* Part 10, *Florida* (Washington, D.C., 1952), 10-31.

nese settlers arrived in South Florida by the end of 1904. These were not typical Japanese immigrants with farming backgrounds, single men who came as temporary contract laborers-by contrast, most were well educated, some businessmen and college students, many graduates of the Doshisha College in Kyoto.[15]

The new Japanese colony– called Yamato (the ancient name for Japan)– had initial difficulties. Sakai sought to build a settlement with families committed to a permanent future in Florida. Yet the first colonists were bachelor college students and businessmen, not the family pioneers Sakai hoped to recruit. The land chosen needed extensive, back-breaking clearing before any planting could begin. The summer heat and rains were discouraging. Sakai at first planned to cultivate rice, tea, and silk, but soil and climate conditions forced a switch to planting pineapples, along with tomatoes and green peppers. But by 1906, the Yamato Colony's fortunes took a turn for the better. Returns from the pineapple crop exceeded all expectations. The FEC Railway built a station near Yamato, permitting the Japanese farmers to ship their produce easily and quickly to northern markets. News of the colony's early success spread to Japan, encouraging others to join Sakai and his colleagues, although these newcomers were mostly farmers rather than college-educated Japanese with families. By 1908, over 40 settlers resided at Yamato, and by the 1920s that number had risen to over 60. A pineapple blight that struck in 1908, along with competition from Cuban pineapple growers, set the colony back temporarily. But Yamato's growers adapted to changing circumstances by planting more vegetables, which over time provided a lucrative income. By the 1920s, in the midst of the Florida real estate boom, several of the Japanese farmers also went into the real estate business. Although Jo Sakai died in 1923 and many settlers returned to Japan, the Yamato colony quietly persisted into the 1930s. Much of the Yamato land was acquired during World War II for an air training base. A few of the Japanese remained in the area until the

15. Joanne M. Lloyd, " 'Yankees of the Orient': Yamato and Japanese Immigration to America," (MA. Thesis, Florida Atlantic University, 1990), 57-75; George E. Pozzetta and Harry A. Kersey, Jr., "Yamato Colony: A Japanese Presence in South Florida," *Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida* 36 (1976), 66-77; George E. Pozzetta, "Foreign Colonies in South Florida, 1865-1910," *Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida,* 34 (1974), 51-52.

1970s but the old Yamato farmland has given way to modern sub divisions and commercial development.[16]

The Chinese and Japanese immigrations to late-19th and early 20th-century Florida represent distinct and discrete episodes in U.S. immigration history. Those early experiences– both in their origins and in their outcomes– seem distinctly different from the pattern of Asian immigration to Florida in the late 20th century. More recent Asian immigration to the Sunshine State stems primarily from three separate sources. First, U.S. military involvement in Asia and the Pacific region generally has brought a new stream of Asian newcomers to Florida: war-brides, military employees, and refugees. Second, federal immigration legislation in 1965 abolished the national origins quota system, which had heavily favored European immigrants. Under provisions of the new legislation, training, skills, and family reunification became the new standards for admission to the U.S.– a policy which over time dramatically shifted the base of American immigration from Europe to Latin America, the Caribbean, and especially Asia and the nations of the Pacific Rim. Finally, a secondary, internal migration of newcomers searching for better economic opportunities has been reflected in a rapid increase in the numbers of Asians in Florida, and in the Sunbelt states generally, since 1970. All three of these factors help explain why Florida has become a new immigrant destination in the last decades of the 20th century.[17]

Census returns since 1960 have recorded the rising number of Asians in Florida, with the largest increases coming in the 1970s and 1980s. In 1960, the total Asian population in Florida, including

16. Lloyd, "'Yankees of the Orient,"' 85-124; Pozzetta and Kersey, "Yamato Colony"; "Japanese at Yaniato [sic], Fla., A Recent Settlement," in *Reports of the U.S. Commission on Immigration: Immigrants in Industries,* Part 24: *Recent Immigrants in Agrculture* (Washington, D.C., 1911), 483-485; Larry Rosensweig, *Yamato, Florida: A Colony of Japanese Farmers in Florida* (Delray Beach, FL, n.d.).
17. Daniels, "Asian Groups," 420; Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston, 1989), 406-471; David M. Reimers, *Still the Golden Door: The Third World Comes to America* (2nd ed.; New York, 1992), 92-99; Lawrence H. Fuchs, *American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity, and the Civic Culture* (Hanover, NH, 1991), 289-293; and, for an excellent summary of U.S. immigration policy toward Asians, Roger Daniels, "U.S. Policy Towards Asian Immigrants: Contemporary Developments in Historical Perspective," *International Journal,* 48 (Spring 1993), 310-334.

Table 1. Most Numerous Asian Groups in Florida, 1950-1990

Group	1950	1960	1970	1980	% Inc. 1970-80	1990	% Inc. 1980-90
Filipino	-	2,530	5,092	15,252	199.5	31,945	109.4
Asian Indian	-	524	-	11,039	-	31,457	185.0
Chinese	429	1,501	3,133	12,930	312.7	30,737	137.7
Vietnamese				7,077	-	16,346	131.0
Korean	-	193	-	4,948	-	12,404	150.7
Japanese	238	1,591	4,090	5,667	38.6	8,505	50.1
Thai	-	-	-	-	-	4,457	-
Pacific Islander				2,148	-	4,446	107.0
Pakistani	-	19	-	-	-	2,800	-
Laotian	-	-	-	-	-	2,423	-
Cambodian	-	-	-	-	-	1,617	-
Total Asians in Florida	1,142	6,801	21,772	62,514	187.1	154,302	146.8

Source: U.S. Census, 1950-1990.

both foreign born and native born of foreign or mixed parentage, stood at 6,801 (see Table 1). This number included 1,501 Chinese, 1,591 Japanese, and 2,530 Filipinos.[18]

By 1970, Florida's Asian foreign stock population had more than tripled to 21,772, including 3,133 Chinese, 4,090 Japanese, and 5,092 Filipinos. The census reportage was not detailed enough in 1960 and 1970 to provide comparable statistics on other, smaller Asian groups such as Asian Indians, Koreans, or Vietnamese.[19]

The Asian population of Florida surged by 187.1 percent during the 1970s to 62,515 (see Table 1). By 1980 Filipinos constituted the most numerous Asian group, with over 15,000 islanders in Florida, followed by Chinese and Asian Indians. Vietnamese, Japanese, Koreans, and Pacific Islanders made up most of the remainder (see Table 1). The advancing trend of Asian immigration continued during the 1980s rising by 146.8 percent to 154,302 (see Table 1). Once again, the dominant groups were Filipinos, Asian Indians, and Chinese, with over 30,000 of each group, followed by smaller

18. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Detailed Characteristics, Florida,* PC(1)-11D (Washington, D.C., 1962), Table 99, p. 303.
19. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population, Characteristics of the Population,* Part 11, *Florida,* Section 1 (Washington, D.C., 1973), Table 17, p. 74.

Table 2. Asians in Florida, by County, 1970-1990*

County	1970	1980	Percent Increase 1970-80	1990	Percent Increase 1980-90
Alachua	488	1,917	292.8	4,556	137.7
Brevard	793	2,212	178.9	5,379	143.2
Broward	1,355	4,923	263.3	17,130	248.0
Dade	5,379	14,069	161.6	26,307	87.0
Duval	2,555	6,107	139.0	12,940	111.9
Escambia	1,474	3,347	127.4	5,048	50.8
Hillsborough	1,040	3,876	272.7	11,379	193.6
Okaloosa	508	1,841	262.4	3,658	98.7
Orange	824	3,624	340.0	13,994	286.1
Palm Beach	1,011	2,905	187.3	9,020	210.5
Pinellas	1,168	3,385	190.0	9,790	189.2
Seminole	120	1,463	1,119.2	4,843	231.0
Florida	21,772	62,514	187.1	154,302	146.8

*Data provided for twelve counties with the largest Asian population in 1990.
Source: U.S. Census, 1970-1990.

but still substantial numbers of Vietnamese, Koreans, and Japanese (see Table 1).

Since the 1960s the new Asians have tended to concentrate heavily in Florida's major metropolitan counties: Dade, Broward, Duval, Palm Beach, Orange, Hillsborough, Pinellas, and Escambia. Big cities such as Miami, Jacksonville, Orlando, Tampa/St. Petersburg, Fort Lauderdale, West Palm Beach, and Pensacola obviously provided the kind of economic opportunities, kinship communities, and cultural connections that attracted the newcomers from the Pacific Rim (see Table 2). In 1990, about two-thirds of Florida's Asians resided in the state's seven major metropolitan areas.

Recent censuses have also revealed notable variations in group settlement patterns. As early as the 1950s for instance, Filipinos had begun to concentrate in Jacksonville and Pensacola. Chinese have been the dominant Asian group in the Miami metropolitan area for over 40 years. Asian Indians, whose group strength increased dramatically over the past 25 years, are heavily concentrated in Dade and Broward Counties. Surprisingly, Vietnamese have settled in larger numbers in Orlando, St. Petersburg, and Tampa than in Pensacola, where they have a more visible presence in the fishing and shrimping industry. And Florida's Japanese, who were more dominant than the Chinese or Filipinos in many urban

Table 3. Major Asian Groups in Florida, by Urban County, 1960-1990

County	Chinese	Filipino	Asian Indian	Korean	Vietnamese	Japanese
Broward						
1960	54	75	-	-	–	56
1970	280	189	-	-	–	343
1980	1,579	807	1,242	263	395	366
1990	4,739	1,787	5,737	1,065	1,190	643
Dade						
1960	441	290	-	-	-	271
1970	1,271	677	-	-	-	809
1980	5,247	1,834	3,649	880	567	931
1990	8,847	3,846	6,147	1,403	1,014	1,310
Duval						
1960	134	259	-	-	-	127
1970	252	1,375	-	-	-	297
1980	538	4,207	346	203	255	367
1990	946	7,302	1,050	709	773	470
Escambia						
1960	7	249	-	-	-	29
1970	52	996	-	-	-	135
1980	258	1,501	198	85	703	259
1990	419	2,142	202	197	1,246	339
Hillsborough						
1960	42	31	-	-	-	111
1970	112	133	-	-	-	318
1980	543	545	594	724	588	522
1990	1,647	1,816	2,316	1,705	1,687	681
Orange						
1960	60	35	-	-	-	102
1970	102	156	-	-	-	259
1980	482	1,039	382	399	812	310
1990	2,133	2,450	3,244	1,046	2,686	697
Palm Beach						
1960	21	43	-	-	-	46
1970	88	88	-	-	-	238
1980	779	432	845	256	163	241
1990	2,398	1,073	2,395	441	1,019	364
Pinellas						
1960	19	28	-	-	-	73
1970	142	166	-	-	-	402
1980	495	528	617	289	683	303
1990	1,321	1,300	1,248	777	2,185	547

Source: U.S. Census, 1960-1990.

counties in the early post-war era, have not increased in numbers very substantially since 1960 (see Table 3).

Although the census statistics provide the best measure we have over time of the changing Asian immigration pattern, we must be sensitive to the probability of substantial undercounts of Asians as well as of other immigrants to Florida in recent decades. It is quite clear to many researchers that large numbers of illegal and/or uncounted Asian immigrants have slipped unobserved and uncounted through the gates of entry and through the enumeration procedures of the census takers. A south Dade County farming colony of several hundred Sikhs from India was somehow missed entirely by the 1990 census, as were several thousand Bangladeshis in Palm Beach County. Consequently, the actual number of Asians in Florida may be considerably higher than the totals provided in the 1980 or 1990 census. Similarly, the self-identification procedure of the census may have skewed reality in cases such as Chinese or Indians from Cuba, Jamaica, Trinidad, or elsewhere in the Caribbean. Such newcomers may have identified themselves on census forms not by their racial/ethnic designation but by the nation from which they emigrated (some Chinese and Indian families have been in the Caribbean for many generations dating back to the mid-19th century). Moreover, there has been little updating of immigration statistics for the years since 1990, so even normal immigration has certainly boosted the Asian totals still higher than those officially reported in 1990. Thus, census statistics must be used carefully, but they nevertheless provide measurable evidence of demographic change over time.

In retrospect, World War II set the United States on a new path in the Pacific Rim region, ultimately with major consequences for Asians already in the U.S. and for future Asian immigration. As ethnic historian Ronald Takaki has noted in his study *Strangers from a Different Shore* (1989), the war was "a crucial dividing line," as various Asian American groups were pulled "into a whirlpool of chaos and change." Japanese Americans were incarcerated in detention camps while Chinese, Filipinos, and Koreans provided strong support for the war effort. Subsequently, Congress repealed the Chinese exclusion law, opened immigration under the quota system for Filipinos, Chinese, Koreans, and Asian Indians, and permitted the naturalization of Asian immigrants. In California, where many Asians had settled, restrictions on alien land ownership were ended. The war and the subsequent occupation of Japan also

brought American servicemen into contact with Asian populations for the first time since the turn-of-the century conflict in the Philippines. Later wars in Korea and Vietnam had similar consequences.[20]

The new role of the U.S. in Asia and the long-term military presence in the region began to reshape post-war immigration patterns to the United States. Thousands of U.S. servicemen brought home Asian spouses from Japan, China, Korea, and the Philippines. The War Brides Act of 1945 permitted alien wives (although not Japanese wives) to immigrate outside the quota system, while the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 repealed the anti-Japanese Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924, thus facilitating the immigration of Japanese spouses of American military personnel. The numbers arriving were substantial: during the 1950s for instance, about 46,000 Japanese immigrated to the U.S. but over 39,000, or about 86 percent, of them were women, mostly military spouses. One study suggests that World War II war brides may have numbered as many as 100,000. Tens of thousands followed in the wake of subsequent wars in Korea and Vietnam. Over the entire period from 1947 to 1975, war brides and military spouses from Japan totaled 66,681, from Korea 28,205, from the Philippines 51,747, from Thailand 11,166, and from Vietnam 8,040.[21]

American military presence in the Pacific had other consequences as well. Filipinos had begun working in the U.S. Navy, mostly as mess stewards and attendants, after World War I; by 1930, over 4,000 Filipinos were serving in the U.S. Navy or on U.S. merchant marine ships, while other thousands were working in Navy yards in the U.S. or as longshoremen in U.S. ports. After World War II and the achievement of Philippine independence in 1945, the Navy continued to recruit Filipinos for domestic work on ships and for shore duty at naval bases. By 1970, some 14,000 Filipinos were at work on U.S. Navy ships and in American naval ports.[22]

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20. Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore,* 357-405, quotation on p. 357.
21. Elfrieda Berthiaume Shukert and Barbara Smith Scibetta, *War Brides of World War II* (Novato, CA, 1988), 185-218; Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle, 1988), 306-307; Reimers, *Still the Golden Door,* 21-26.
22. Bruno Lasker, *Filipino Immigration to Continental United States and to Hawaii* (Chicago, 1931), 61-63; H. Brett Melendy, *Asians in America: Filipinos, Koreans, and East Indians* (Boston, 1977), 83-84; Daniels, *Coming to America,* 358-359.

Finally, the fallout from World War II and subsequent American involvement in Asian wars has produced new refugee communities in the United States. After the "fall" of China to Communist forces in 1949, up to 2,000 Chinese "refugees" were admitted to the U.S. annually; during the 1950s, about 32,500 Chinese legally entered the U.S. The Vietnam War had much larger consequences for American immigration, as large numbers of Vietnamese, Cambodians, Laotians, and Hmong, entered the U.S. under a special refugee status. By 1985, for instance, some 634,000 Vietnamese refugees had settled in the U.S., along with 218,000 Laotians, 161,000 Cambodians, and over 60,000 Hmong. In a variety of ways, then, U.S. military action in the Pacific region had long-term consequences for Asian immigration to the U.S. As immigration historian David M. Reimers has noted, "the presence of American troops in Asia during and after World War II, especially in Japan, China, and Korea, was a key factor in explaining South and East Asian immigration from 1945 to 1965."[23]

The national immigration patterns flowing from American military activities in the Pacific region were mirrored directly in Florida. With the exception of the Yamato Colony, the Japanese population in Florida had always been quite small. As late as 1950, there were only 238 Japanese in the entire state. During the 1950s, however, the state's Japanese population shot up more than sixfold to 1,591 (see Table 1). Moreover, almost two-thirds of the Japanese immigrants in Florida were women, clearly suggesting the impact of arriving Japanese war brides and military spouses. The imbalance in the Japanese sex ratio continued over the next several decades. By 1980, some 70 percent of the 5,667 Japanese in Florida were women. The pattern apparently was less common among Florida's Chinese and Filipinos in the post-war era, since the sex ratio favored males in both cases by 1960, the first census in which the large number of military spouses from the 1950s would have been recorded.[24]

23. Reimers, *Still the Golden Door,* 25; Daniels, *Asian America,* 306-307; Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore,* 461; Fuchs, *The American Kaleidoscope,* 353.

24. Raymond J. Mohl, "Women, War Brides, and Japanese Immigration to the United States and Florida," Undergraduate Research Paper, Florida Atlantic University, 1988); U.S. Census, 1960, Table 99, p. 303.

The new military role of the United States in the Pacific has had other consequences for Florida. Two large U.S. naval bases– in Jacksonville and in Pensacola– essentially serve as way stations for Filipino immigrants to Florida. At least since 1960, the Filipinos have been the largest single Asian group in the Sunshine State, although their dominance in relation to other groups began tapering off in the 1980s. By 1990, some 32,000 Filipinos called Florida home (see Table 1): Duval County, home of the naval base in Jacksonville, had the largest single concentrations of Filipinos in Florida– 7,300. The three-county Pensacola metropolitan area (Escambia County, Santa Rosa County, and Okaloosa County) had another 3,600 Filipinos in 1990. Sizable numbers of Filipinos have also found their way to Miami, Orlando, Tampa/St. Petersburg, and other metropolitan areas (see Table 3). Many of the Filipino newcomers since 1970 have come as a consequence of the 1965 immigration reform, which permitted family reunification as well as entry of people with desirable skills, such as nurses, doctors, and engineers.[25]

The immigration of Asian wartime or post-war refugees provides still another explanation of the changing racial makeup of the Florida population in the second half of the 20th century. The number of Chinese in Florida more than tripled during the 1950s to almost 1,600, some of whom were war brides. It was the Vietnam War, however, that brought the greatest number of Asian war refugees to Florida. There were over 7,000 Vietnamese in Florida in 1980, and more than 16,000 in 1990 (see Table 3). The Vietnamese fishermen and shrimpers in the Pensacola area, numbering about 1,650 in 1990, have given these Southeast Asian refugees a presence on Florida's Gulf Coast. However, even more Vietnamese have settled in Orlando, Tampa, and St. Petersburg. Laotians, Cambodians, and Thais, as well as Amerasian children of Vietnam-era GIs, are also beginning to demonstrate a presence in Florida– all

25. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population: General Social* and *Economic Characteristics, Florida,* Section 1, PC8O-l-C11 (Washington, D.C., 1983), Table 58, 27-48; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1990 Census of Population: General Population Characteristics, Florida,* Section 2, 1990 CP-l-11 (Washington, D.C., 1992), 988-996; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* February 28, 1986, September 10, 1990.

consequences of American military action in Southeast Asia in the 1960s and 1970s.[26]

New Asian immigration to Florida has other sources, as well. The Immigration Act of 1965 abolished the restrictive immigration legislation of the 1920s and tossed out the discriminatory quota system. Instead, the new immigration reform substituted family reunification and desired training, skills, and professions as new requisities for admission to the U.S. Because of pressure from American labor unions, about 80 percent of new admissions initially stemmed from family reunification, while less than 20 percent of admissions went to those with employable skills. At the time of this new legislation, few political leaders or immigration reformers anticipated that the new immigration policy ultimately would open the gates to large numbers of Asian or Latin immigrants. But that is exactly what happened, as the family reunification provisions began to kick in during the 1970s and after.[27]

"Second wave" Asian immigrants who arrived in the postwar years, or those who came singly after 1965, once they became citizens, were eligible to bring close relatives to the U.S. And once those newcomers became naturalized after five years or more, additional relatives became eligible for entry. The provision permitting entry of professionals and skilled technicians also had an impact. By 1980, more than 9,000 Filipino physicians and an even larger number of Filipino nurses had come to the U.S. Similarly, Asian Indians made up one of the fastest growing new immigrant groups by the mid-1970s when about 20,000 were arriving each year; about 75 percent of the Asian Indians were engineers, scientists, professors, and other highly skilled technicians. Thus, although it clearly was not intended or anticipated, the Immigration Act of 1965 made possible a dramatic expansion of Asian immigration by the 1970s. In the 1970s and 1980s, three-fourths of all new

26. U.S. Census, 1960, Table 99, pp. 11-303; U.S. Census, 1980, Table 58, p. 27; U.S. Census, 1990, Table 79, p. 988; Paul D. Starr, "Troubled Waters: Vietnamese Fisherfolk on America's Gulf Coast," *International Migration Review,* 15 (Spring-Summer 1981), 226-238. By the mid-1990s some 2,000 Amerasian children arrived in Florida under the 1987 Amerasian Homecoming Act. See Fort Lauderdale *Sun-Sentinel,* April 3, 1994.

27. Reimers, *Still the Golden Door,* 61-91.

immigration to the U.S. came from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean.[28]

Much of the Asian immigration to Florida since 1965 is a direct consequence of the Immigration Act of 1965. Florida's Asian population surged during the 1970s and 1980s. In the large urban counties and metropolitan areas, the Asian population doubled and tripled or more during those two decades (see Tables 2 and 3). In the three-county Orlando metropolitan area (Orange County, Seminole County, and Osceola County), for instance, the Asian population grew from under 1,000 in 1970 to well over 20,000 in 1990. In Alachua County, home of the University of Florida, the Asian population rose dramatically from under 500 in 1970 to over 4,500 in 1990– much of this increase stemming from the arrival of Asian professors, students, and medical personnel at the university's medical school and large teaching hospital (see Table 2). Census counts from 1970 to 1990 demonstrate similar demographic growth profiles for the Asian population in virtually every one of Florida's large metropolitan areas.[29]

Many of Florida's new Asian residents arrived directly from their homeland. But clearly not all, or perhaps not even most, of the post-1965, second wave Asian newcomers to Florida are direct immigrants to the Sunshine State. A large portion of the new Asians are "secondary migrants"-those who have migrated internally within the U.S. in search of better business or professional opportunities, or for some other reason. Florida is the fourth largest state, with an expanding population and a growing job market in service industries, tourism, technology, health care, and entrepreneurial businesses. The state has been on the receiving end of a massive internal Sunbelt migration since the end of World War II. It is not surprising that energetic and entrepreneurial Asian immigrants were attracted by the growth prospects of one of the largest Sunbelt states. Many of the Vietnamese, for instance, came to Flor-

28. Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore,* 419-471; Reimers, *Still the Golden Door,* 91-122; Gary R. Hess, "The Forgotten Asian Americans: The East Indian Community in the United States," *Pacific Historical Review,* 43 (November 1974), 576-577, 595-596; Roger Daniels, *History of Indian Immigration to the United States: An Interpretive Essay* (New York, 1989); Marcia Mogelonsky, "Asian-Indian Americans," *American Demographics,* 17 (August 1995), 32-39.
29. U.S. Census, 1980, Table 58, pp. 2747; U.S. Census, 1990, Table 79, pp. 988-996.

ida by way of California or Texas. Similarly, many Asian Indians first arrived in California, where (among other things) they found an economic niche in the business of running small motels. Later, they spread out into other parts of the country including Florida and the South; by 1994, almost 400 Florida motels were run by Indians. Thus, the tremendous magnetic attraction of the Sunbelt has affected both native-born Americans and the new Asian Americans.[30]

Florida may be thought of as a center of Hispanic life and culture, but a considerable Asian immigration during the 1970s and 1980s brought a diversity of new ethnic cultures to the Sunshine State. In Dade County, Hialeah may be 88 percent Hispanic, but it has also become home to more than 1,000 Asians, many of whom shop at the Saigon Supermarket, run small businesses and restaurants, and attend cultural events sponsored by the South Florida Buddhist Association and the Vietnamese Veterans Association. In Orlando, the Florida Vietnamese Buddhist Association operates the Long Van temple for the city's small Vietnamese community. More than 17,000 Asians now reside in Broward County, many of them clustered in a Lauderdale Lakes neighborhood called "Little Asia," where Vietnamese and Chinese signs outnumber English on storefronts and strip shopping centers. Groceries, restaurants, video stores, beauty shops, insurance agencies, and doctors' offices all provide a sense of ethnic and cultural identity. A weekly Korean newspaper, the bilingual *Korean American Journal* published in Miami, and with news bureaus in Jacksonville, Tampa, and Orlando, gets mailed to more than 3,000 Korean households in Florida. Chinese, Korean, and Japanese language schools serve immigrant children in Jacksonville, Coral Gables, Miami, Fort Lauderdale, and Boca Baton. In Jacksonville, an institutionally well-developed Fili-

30. Elliott Barkan, "New Origins, New Homeland, New Region: American Immigration and the Emergence of the Sunbelt, 1955-1985," in Raymond A. Mohl, ed., *Searching for the Sunbelt: Historical Perspectives on a Region* (Knoxville, 1990), 124 148. On Asian Indians as hoteliers in Florida, see "Equal Opportunity," *Florida Trend,* 37 (May 1994), 61-63. For evidence of extensive economic entrepreneurialism among Asians in Florida, see U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1987 *Economic* Censuses. *Survey of Minority-Owned Business Enterprises: Asian Americans, American Indians. and Other Minorities* (Washington, D.C., 1991), especially Tables 5, 6, and 7. See also Reed Ueda, *Postwar Immigrant America: A Social History* (Boston, 1994), 64-67,91-92.

pino community supports a variety of cultural activities, including a popular Rizal Day parade.[31]

The Chinese in Florida have created an especially vibrant ethnic cultural life in their new home. For instance, ten separate Chinese organizations in Miami sponsor an annual Chinese New Year Festival. The *Florida Chinese News,* published in Miami, has a circulation of 10,000, but it competes with several other Chinese-language papers in South Florida, including the *Miami Chinese Times,* the *Chinese Community News,* and the *Overseas Chinese News.* The latter paper has a weekly circulation of over 10,000, mostly distributed free at Chinese restaurants and grocery stores. All of the Chinese papers combine local and Florida coverage with news from China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. The *Miami Chinese Times* offers a match-making service, printing profiles of marriage-minded single men and women in China. In Miami, Chinese from Jamaica publish their own monthly magazine, *The Dragon,* which offers both community news and discussion of cultural issues. As the largest group in Dade and Palm Beach counties and the second largest in Broward County, the South Florida Chinese have a wide institutional network, both to aid in adjustment to American society and to retain Chinese culture, especially across generations. As a spokesman for the Chinese School of Boca Raton noted, "we want the second generation to experience the Chinese culture and learn about our heritage."[32]

Among the Asian immigrants, no group had a faster growth rate during the 1970s and 1980s than Asian Indians. More than one-third, or about 12,000, of Florida's Asian Indians lived in Dade and Broward counties in 1990. Most are professionals or small business proprietors who have found economic success in America, but cling to old country cultural ways. In Sunrise, for instance, a "Little India" has emerged centered on a shopping plaza with a variety of Indian shops and restaurants. In Lauderhill, Indians from Trinidad run grocery stores providing traditional foods and video tapes of Indian movies. In Hollywood, a refurbished downtown movie the-

31. *Miami Herald,* January 1, 1991, April 21, 1991, April 6, 1993, September 13, 1993; Fort Lauderdale *Sun-Sentinel,* January 5, 1993, December 19, 1993; *Florida Times-Union,* June 24, 1989, June 7, 1992.
32. *Miami Herald,* July 31, 1991, February 10, 1995; *Sun-Sentinel,* December 19, 1993; Gordy, "Chinese in Southeast Florida," 118-126. See also Gary Tie-Shue, "The Chinese Jamaican Experience: Adjustment and Advancement," *The Dragon,* 10 (May-June 1994), 8, 10; (July-September 1994), 8.

ater– now renamed the Bombay Hollywood Cinema– shows Indian films and attracts viewers from all over South Florida. The Indian Popular Culture Forum, a South Florida organization, promotes better economic and political ties between the U.S. and India. The Florida Hindu Parishad in Oakland Park provides religious services and cultural activities for over 300 Hindu families. In Fort Lauderdale in March 1994, over 1,200 people attended the Festival of Holi, an annual Hindu religious celebration sponsored by the Florida Hindu Organization. In Boca Raton, the South Florida Association of Indians regularly celebrates India's Independence Day.[33]

Muslims from South Asia are also represented in Florida's new cultural mix. The Florida Muslim Alliance, based in Orlando, and a weekly newspaper, *The Muslim Chronicle,* published in Broward County, provide a cultural focus for Pakistanis in Florida. The Islamic School of South Dade offers classes in the Muslim religion and Urdu, the language of Pakistan. Palm Beach County Muslims, many from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, established a mosque in West Palm Beach in 1994, other mosques are located in Cooper City, Pompano Beach, Belle Glade, and Fort Pierce. In 1993, the Bangladesh Association of Florida sponsored the first Bengali Cultural Festival in Pompano Beach in celebration of the Bengali New Year.[34]

As all these group activities suggest, Asian identity and culture in Florida have been maintained and nurtured through a myriad of Asian cultural organizations. When the Asian-American Federation of Florida, based in Broward County, published a *Community Directory* in 1992, some 46 separate Asian organizations were listed as sponsors. These included the Asian-American Civic Alliance, the Association of Indians in South Florida, the Burmese-American Association of Florida, the Chinese Cultural Association, the Filipino Community Association of Florida, the Korean Association of Greater Miami, the Pakistan Cultural Society, the South Florida Formosa Association, the Thai-American Association of South Flor-

33. *Miami Herald,* June 24, 1991, March 2, 1994, March 30, 1994, April 13, 1994, May 23, 1994, October 1, 1994, July 19, 1995; *Sun-Sentinel,* August 16, 1993.
34. *Miami Herald,* February 7, 1993, May 16, 1993, September 13, 1993, April 13, 1995; *Palm Beach Post,* February 11, 1994.

ida, the Florida Hindu Organization, the Malaysian Club, and the Foundation for Better Living of Laotians in Florida. These groups, and many others, provide a sense of group identity and cultural cohesion not unlike the ethnic organizations of European immigrants to the U.S. in the industrial era.[35]

Some recent studies, such as William Wei's *The Asian American* Movement (1993), have suggested that a "pan-Asian" movement marked by a distinct Asian ethnic consciousness has emerged in the United States in recent decades. Some efforts along these lines have been successful in Florida. For instance, during the 1980s, a small newspaper aimed at the Asian-American community, the *Florida Asian American,* was published in Fort Lauderdale. That paper eventually folded, but it was succeeded in 1990 by the monthly *International Asian-American,* also published in Fort Lauderdale and sponsored by the Asian-American Federation of Florida. The editor noted when the first issue was published that the new paper would provide "a forum for the individual communities to read news about their own communities," while at the same time it would speak in "a united voice for all of the Asians-because alone each community is not very large." As one editorial put it, "it is time for Asians to assert their identity, their heritage and their rights to fullest participation and sharing in all responsibilities and duties in American society." Each issue of the *International Asian-American* has a separate page for the various Asian groups– "Pakistani News," "Indian News," "Vietnamese News," "Korean News," "Filipino News," and so on– both in English and in the language of the group.[36]

Also appealing to the broader Asian community in South Florida is the weekly *Asian Spectrum* covering international, national, and local news of interest to Asians, mostly in English but with some pages in Chinese. This paper has also been interested in defending the Asian community against hate crimes and anti-Asian ethnic violence, such as the 1992 mass beating incident in Coral

35. Florence Allbaugh, ed., Asian *American Federation Community Directory* (Davie, FL, 1992), 32-38.

36. William Wei, *The Asian American Movement* (Philadelphia, 1993); Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities* (Philadelphia, 1992); *Miami Herald,* February 5, 1990; *International Asian American* (March 1990), 2.

Springs, Florida that resulted in the death of a young Vietnamese college student, Luyen Phan Nyugen.[37]

Other efforts to provide Florida's Asian Americans with a sense of community or common cause can be found in the activities of the Asian-American Federation of Florida. This organization, founded in Hollywood in 1984, holds annual Asian art and film festivals in Dade and Broward counties, sponsors many other cultural events, raises funds for Asian-American scholarships, engages in political lobbying on behalf of Asian Americans, participates in cultural awareness programs in public schools, and generally represents the interests of the Asian communities, especially in South Florida. Similarly, the successful 1994 legislative campaign of Korean-American Mimi McAndrews not only made her the first Asian woman in the Florida legislature, but drew upon solidified Asian political support in her Palm Beach County district. McAndrews's supporters contended that she would speak for all Asians throughout the state of Florida. In a variety of ways, then, the Asian-American "movement" has come to life in Florida.[38]

At the same time that an Asian-American pan-ethnic consciousness has been developing, some Asian groups have been undergoing an internal consolidation of their own. This pattern is especially evident among Florida's Chinese, who have had to create their own group identity and solidity. The Chinese in Florida have come not only from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, but from Vietnam, Cuba, Jamaica, Panama, Suriname, Peru, Honduras, and Mexico. These differences in background have often made it difficult to unite the Chinese, as do language differences among them. In Miami, according to one writer, "Chinese speak a mish-mash of languages, including Cantonese, Mandarin, Spanish and Hakka, spoken by Chinese in Jamaica." Like earlier European immigrant groups, who forged an ethnic or national identity only after arrival in the United States, the Florida Chinese are in the process of de-

37. *Asian Spectrum* (February 14, 1993), 1-3; *Miami Herald,* September 14, 1992; Allbaugh, ed., *Asian American Federation Community Directory,* 16-19; Michael McLeod, "Death of an American Dream: The Inside Story of the Life and Murder of Lu Nyugen," *Sunshine: The Magazine of South Florida* (December 13, 1994), 6-15.

38. Asian-American Federation of Florida, *The Fourth Annual Asian Arts Festival, 1994* (Fort Lauderdale, 1994); Allbaugh, ed., *Asian American Federation Community Directory,* 10-15; *Miami Herald,* February 25, 1992, September 24, 1994; *Asian Week* (March 11, 1994), 1, 14.

veloping a sense of their common heritage. There are no Chinatowns in Miami or other Florida cities, so the cultural organizations and newspapers mentioned earlier serve to break down the barriers of language and background and bring the Chinese community together. A similar function has been served by the Organization of Chinese Americans, a national association founded in 1973, which has 40 chapters in the United States and many active members in Florida; the organization's national convention was held in Miami in July 1995.[39]

This essay has sought to demonstrate the degree to which new Asian immigration and secondary internal migration has diversified the ethnic and racial base of Florida's rapidly growing population. Florida has "Latinized" dramatically since the Cuban Revolution in 1959, but we must also recognize the growing presence of an active and energetic Asian population in the Sunshine State, especially in the large metropolitan areas. Both the rise of Fidel Castro and the shift in U.S. immigration policy in 1965 have had major consequences for Florida, as the state has become a magnet for Hispanic and Asian newcomers. Not all Floridians are happy or comfortable with the way Florida has been changing. Mirroring national trends, several anti-immigration organizations are currently supporting a petition drive to curb benefits to non-citizens, a movement similar to the one in California that led to passage of Proposition 187. These organizations– Floridians for Immigration Control, the Florida-187 Committee, and the Save Our State Committee– are in the vanguard of the anti-immigration movement, and they have found fertile ground. The "immigration wars" have come to Florida. Whatever the outcome of these current debates over immigration policy, the Asian immigration of the past thirty years has contributed immutably to Florida's ethnic and racial diversity, as well as to the multiculturalism of future decades.[40]

39. *Miami Herald,* May 28, 1991, July 29, 1995; Gordy, "Chinese in Southeast Florida," 72-101; *Chinese* in *the Americas Project* (Miami, 1994), brochure; Organization of Chinese Americans, *17th Annual National Convention Program* (Washington, D.C., 1995).

40. *Sun-Sentinel,* September 15, 1995. For a sampling of current debate over immigration policy, see Peter Brimelow, *Alien Nation: Common Sense About America's Immigration Disaster* (New York, 1995); Nicolaus Mills, ed., *Arguing Immigration: The Debate Over the Changing Face of America* (New York, 1994).

Blanche Armwood of Tampa and the Strategy of Interracial Cooperation

by KEITH HALDERMAN

Blanche Armwood was born in Tampa on January 3, 1890, into a well-established middle-class black family. Her maternal grandfather, Adam Holloman, had been appointed in 1875 to the Hillsborough County Commission by then-Governor Marcellus L. Stearns. That same year he purchased four parcels of land which totalled 123 acres. Her great uncle, John Armwood, had been a negotiator between the Seminoles and white settlers on the southern Florida frontier. He also became an early landowner when he successfully homesteaded 159 acres in Hillsborough County. Her father, Levin Armwood, was Tampa's first black policeman and subsequently served as county deputy sheriff. He and Blanche's brother, Walter, jointly owned and operated the Gem, which was for many years Tampa's only black drugstore. Walter Armwood also held positions as professor at Bethune-Cookman College and, during World War I, as Florida state supervisor for the U.S. Bureau of Negro Economics. One of her sisters, Idela Street, became a licensed businesswoman in Tampa in 1910. Blanche matriculated from St. Peter Claver Catholic School, Tampa's best school for blacks at the time, at the age of twelve. She then passed the Florida State Uniform Teachers Examination that same year. Enrolling immediately at Spelman Institute in Atlanta, she graduated at age 16 with a degree in English and Latin.[1] During the next seven years she taught in the Tampa public schools. During those early years

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1. Otis R. Anthony, *Black Tampa: The Roots of a People* (Hillsborough County Museum, Tampa Electric Company Black History Project, 1979), 3. See also 1875 legal document, undated memorandum, and undated business license, Box 1, File 2, Donald L. Fredgant, *A Guide to Florida Drugstores Before 1920* (1971), 57, Box 2, File 5, and *Tampa Tribune,* Box 2, File 6, Armwood Family Papers. Much of the information for this article was found in the Armwood Family Papers, Special Collections, University of South Florida Library (cited hereinafter as Armwood Papers).

she developed a deep and lasting concern for the social questions which her education and experiences raised in her.[2]

The Tampa in which Blanche Armwood grew up was both dynamic and static. It was dynamic in the sense that it was growing rapidly in population and its public-spirited citizens were becoming interested in obtaining the public services– paved and lighted streets, water and sewer facilities, and the like– which were expected of cities in the Progressive Era. But it was also static in the sense that racial segregation was firmly in place, enforced by both law and custom. Black citizens were denied full participation in the growth that their community was experiencing.

While many blacks in Tampa and, indeed, much of the United States, may have seemed resigned to their lot, there were many others looking for ways to respond to a situation which they felt unfair and oppressive. The more militant might follow the example of T. Thomas Fortune and his Afro-American League, demanding justice in strident tones.[3] Others took a more practical approach, accepting the realities of a segregated society and attempting to achieve through cooperation what they could to ameliorate an unfair system which was not of their making. This was the course of Booker T. Washington, founder of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial School. Washington had been widely applauded for his famous 1895 Atlanta Compromise address in which he said, "in purely social matters we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential."[4] While some blacks condemned him as "the Benedict Arnold of the Negro race," and "the great traitor," his more modest approach seemed to others to be the only feasible course to follow.[5]

Whether Blanche Armwood made a conscious decision to follow Washington or whether circumstances simply propelled her in that direction, her remarkable career reflects an unwavering commitment to the cooperative approach which Washington advocated. In her work with business, government, private social welfare agencies, and political parties, she was consistent in her ef-

2. *The Weekly Challenger,* February 4, 1989, Armwood Papers, Box 1, File 2.
3. Emma Lou Thornbrough, *T. Thomas Fortune: Militant Journalist* (New York, 1972), 119-122, 178-180.
4. Louis R. Harlan, "Booker T. Washington and the Politics of Accommodation," in John Hope Franklin and August Meier, eds., *Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century* (Chicago, 1982), 24.
5. Ibid., 6.

forts to gain the maximum interracial teamwork possible. She almost always defined problems and solutions in terms that made implementation of her ideas beneficial to both races. She also saw the issues of race and gender to be interconnected, and worked to advance the causes of both blacks and women. While she was unable radically to change the social and economic conditions for black people, she did succeed in improving the quality of life for some– and earned the respect and admiration of people of both races in the process.

Middle class blacks as a group have been criticized by some scholars. The leading treatise on the subject is E. Franklin Frazier's *Black Bourgeoise* which was written in 1957. Frazier described that portion of the population as suffering from an inferiority complex and consequently being overly concerned with social position. He argued that black politicians followed an opportunistic course, pandering to white political machines. Black social workers, too, cared only about pleasing northern philanthropists. Of black teachers, Frazier wrote:

> The Negro teachers had accepted their teaching positions because of the social status and economic security which the positions provided. Unlike their white colleagues, they were conservative and had no interest in social questions.[6]

Writing in 1990, Willard Gatewood contended that the small black upper classes wanted to keep themselves separate from the rest of the race. Blanche Armwood fitted into neither of these assessmerits.[7]

Like other black leaders such as Fanny Jackson Coppin, Lucy Laney, Fanny Barrier Williams, Hallie Brown, and Mary Talbert, Blanche Armwood began her career in the public schools. Also like them she believed that teaching naturally involved a commitment to improving the conditions of blacks, a burden borne disproportionately by women. In 1910 there were 17,266 black female teachers in the South. Black males numbered only about a third of that. Their salaries were less than half– about 45 percent– of that paid to white teachers. When Armwood began teaching, Hillsborough

6. E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie* (New York, 1957), 83.
7. Ibid., 86, 98, 146, 204; Willard B. Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color* (Indianapolis, 1990), 9.

County paid black women about $35 per month for their teaching responsibilities. The amounts spent by state and local governments on black students was also much lower than that spent for whites. In 1908, Florida's expenditures amounted to $16.62 per white student and $4.59 for blacks. The Jim Crow system was so pervasive that state law forbade the storing of textbooks used by blacks in the same places as those used by whites. Conditions such as these concerned Blanche Armwood and some of her beleaguered colleagues.[8]

But they were not the reason she gave up teaching in Tampa in 1913. In November of that year she married Daniel Perkins. Although the marriage was annulled in 1914, that was not until the couple had already relocated to Knoxville, Tennessee.[9] It was there that Blanche Armwood Perkins first became active in public affairs. At the sixth annual session of the Tennessee State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, in July 1914, she served as mistress of ceremonies press correspondent, and a member of the committee on arrangements. The motto of the organization– Lifting as We Climb– suited her quite well. Defying Frazier's stereotype of the black middle class, she began a lifelong affiliation with organizations dedicated to improving the lot of ordinary folk. She worked on issues such as juvenile delinquency, basic health care, improved sanitation, daycare for working mothers, unemployment during the Great Depression, playgrounds for black children, expanded educational opportunities, and voting rights for women.[10]

During a long association with the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) and the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs (FCWC), she held offices in each. These two organizations and, later, the Urban League offered her opportunities to work for racial progress at the same time she advocated the interests of

8. Nettie L. Napier, "Mary Burnet Talbert, 1862-1923," in Hallie Q. Brown, ed., *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction* (New York, 1988), xxviii, 180; Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work and the Family From Slavery to the Present* (New York, 1985, 143-145; Louis R. Harlan, "The Southern Education Board and the Race Issue in Public Education," in Charles E. Wynes, ed., *The Negro in the South Since 1865: Selected Essays in American Negro History* (New York, 1965), 206-209; C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York, 1966), 102; and William M. Holloway, "Florida Superintendent of Public Instruction Biennial Report, 1908-1910."

9. Anthony, *Black Tampa,* 3.

10. Program of the Sixth Annual Session, Tennessee State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, Armwood Papers, Box 3, File 10.

women. As an educated member of the black middle class with an interest in social uplift and improvement, she shared interests with other members of these organizations in strengthening the black family. It is in this realm that the connections between her interests in racial and gender concerns can best be seen. She was especially concerned with the well-being of black children. In an article entitled, "Women's Sphere of Helpfulness," she wrote that "no honor conferred upon humankind can compare with that conferred upon women in the gift of motherhood."[11] With this belief and with no children of her own, Blanche Armwood made the problems of juvenile delinquency and the provision of homes for troubled black youth her primary goals.[12]

Armwood focused on the issue of black juvenile delinquency from the outset of her involvement with women's organizations. At the aforementioned Tennessee meeting in 1914 she delivered an address entitled "Juvenile Courts." In that speech and in a 1915 article with the same title, she deplored judges who delivered punitive rulings against youngsters without investigating their home lives or considering the legislation which she felt "manufactured criminals." But, she also offered solutions. "There is some hidden good in every child," she wrote. "The true duty of the juvenile court is to seek that good and develop it by training provided in state institutions."[13] She thought that this was the most important task of the National Association of Colored Women. Protecting children should be the primary effort of the club women. At the same time, the realistic and practical Armwood recognized that providing state institutions for "at risk" children would require significant cooperation between black and white leaders.[14] Although she never wavered from this primary concern, it was in an entirely different sphere of interracial cooperation that she enjoyed her first successes.

Technological advances in what is now called the "private sector" had provided opportunity for improved living standards as well as corporate profits in Tampa during the Progressive Era. But

11. Blanche Armwood Perkins, "Women's Sphere of Helpfulness," unidentified newspaper clipping, Armwood Papers, Box 3, File 2.
12. Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South* and *the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925* (Knoxville, 1989), 193.
13. Blanche Armwood Perkins, "Juvenile Courts," *Tampa Daily Times,* June 26, 1915, Armwood Papers, Box 2, File 9.
14. Ibid.

better education was required to make them realities. As historian Jacqueline Jones has written, "Gas and electric appliances could work miracles if used properly, but offered the resentful domestic an opportunity to wreak havoc on her employer's pocketbook and nerves."[15] It was usually inadequate training rather than intentional malice which caused problems of poorly cooked food and large gas bills. Most important of all for the Tampa Gas Company, it retarded the sale and use of gas in Tampa homes. Organized in 1895 with Peter O. Knight as a charter member, the company had an inauspicious beginning. It narrowly escaped collapse in 1898 when the city contracted to purchase 250 gas street lights. Then, in 1900, an eastern syndicate headed by John Gribbel purchased the company. Ten years later it had 1,600 customers and boasted annual sales of 35 million cubic feet of gas. Its plant was expanded in 1912. With an enlarged plant and a huge storage tank, it then needed to increase its cash flow.[16]

Blanche Armwood returned to Tampa in 1914 and went to work for the Tampa Gas Company as a demonstrator. It was a fortuitous arrangement for the young woman seeking ways to apply her skills and energies and for the company wishing to expand the sales of its product. Roger Nettles, the company manager and Armwood's supervisor, sought the help of the local Colored Ministers Alliance and the Hillsborough County School Board in starting a school to teach black women how to use gas appliances. Armwood was named to develop and operate the company-financed Tampa School of Household Arts.[17]

The company was quite serious about Armwood's school. She was required to become a member of the National Commercial Gas Association, an undertaking which included passing a detailed examination. After writing an essay on the transformation of "colored" cooks and housemaids into economical consumers, diagramming a coal gas plant, calculating the cost of converting coal to gas, and figuring the percentages of gas used by various activities, she passed her examination on January 3, 1916. During its first year of operation, the Tampa School of Household Arts enrolled 225 pupils, slightly over 200 of whom matriculated and received certifi-

15. Jones, *Labor of Love,* 165.
16. Karl H. Grismer, *Tampa: A Story of the City of Tampa and the Tampa Bay Region of Florida* (St. Petersburg, 1950), 239-240.
17. *Tampa Tribune,* February 26, 1983, Armwood Papers, Box 2, File 6.

cates of completion. The Tampa Gas Company considered their school well worth the expenses incurred.[18]

The Southern Gas Association held its April 1916 meeting in Tampa. Mayor Donald Brenham McKay greeted the delegates on their arrival and the Tampa Rotarians treated them to a banquet at the Tampa Bay Hotel. At an early session, multi-millionaire philanthropist John Gribbel rose from the audience and requested that Blanche Armwood Perkins speak about her school. Her unscheduled address at the formal meeting was well-received and made her the star of the program. The *Gas Record* wrote that those in attendance would "in due time" establish more domestic schools as a result of Armwood's initiative. "That, in brief, is what this feminine Booker Washington did in fifteen minutes of time taken out of her regular morning's work," the journal concluded.[19]

Her address was not entirely spontaneous, however. She had prepared the audience by having 85 of her students come on stage and sing old-time plantation melodies. Another gas trade publication reported that the songs brought back to these Southerners fond memories of childhood and "mammy." Armwood's purposes, however, became clear when she told the audience of finding advertisements for German and Swiss house servants in several southern newspapers. She concluded with an emotional appeal, saying:

> We know the southern people love us, no matter what they say, and we love them. They have been nestled in the arms of our people in childhood, and now that the old black 'mammy' has had her day and passed on, we are determined not to be cheated out of our rights to serve our people in other ways.[20]

She expressed the gratitude of the "colored race" for the school as well as her belief that teaching domestic science "raised the ideal of things." She had consciously used images of the past to create a sympathetic atmosphere and then employed her most effective reasoning for preserving jobs for black people. She calcu-

18. National Commercial Gas Association, "Practical Gas Education Courses Test," January 3, 1916, Souvenir Booklet Southern Gas Association, April 1916, Armwood Papers, Box 2, File 13, and Box 2, File 15.
19. Milt Saul, "Record Crowd at Tampa Meet," *The Gas Record,* April 12, 1916, Armwood Papers, Box 2, File 15.
20. *The Gas Age,* April 15, 1916, Armwood Papers, Box 2, File 15.

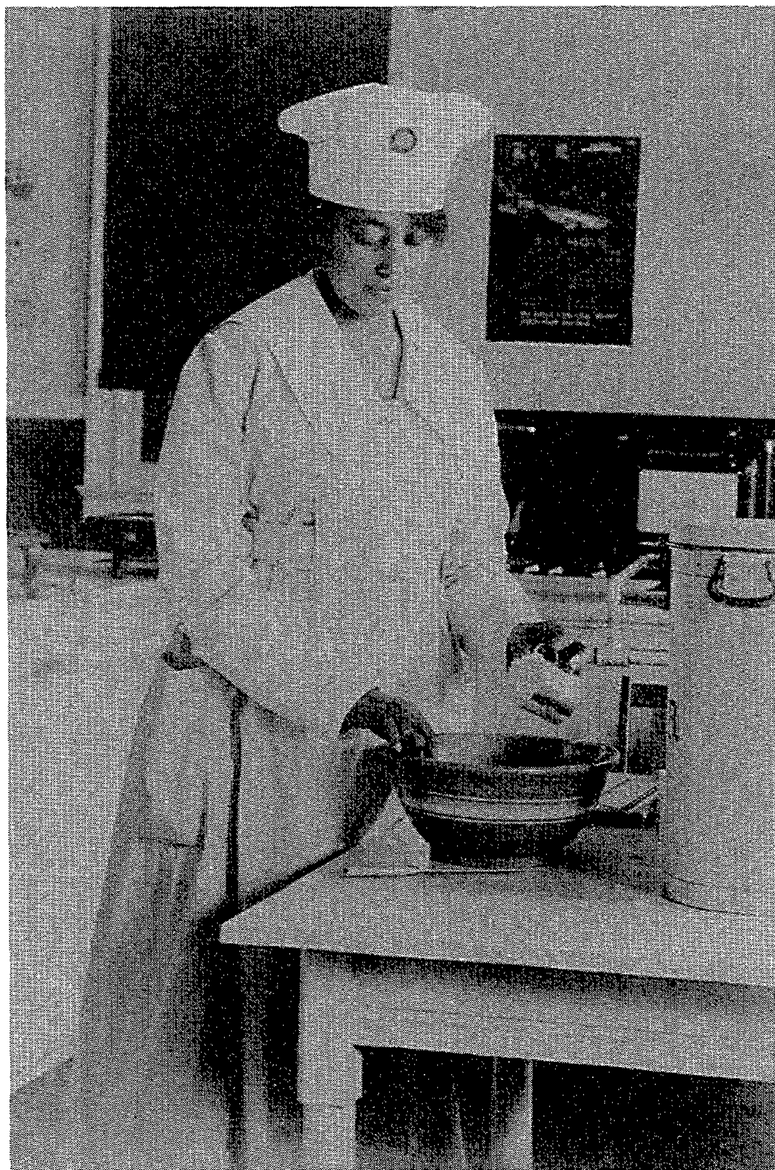
lated that her audience included men involved in a business which was a leader in the era of technology. "The black mammy has gone her way," she said, "and we are striving to supply her place with the new doctrine of usefulness, scientific utility if you please."[21] By creating in the minds of the assembled executives a link between black domestics and scientific techniques, Armwood was attempting to undercut competition from white immigrants.[22]

The strategy of advancing the interests of black women through practical education fit well with the theories and teachings of Booker T. Washington. Indeed, *The Gas Age* expressed the opinion that if Blanche Armwood were a man, blacks would have a replacement for the recently deceased Washington. The local press also noted the parallel. The *Tampa Tribune* carried the headline, "Feminine Booker Washington Seen."[23]

The Tampa School of Household Arts proved to be a happy solution to the problem of black domestic workers and gas appliances. All parties benefitted. Roscoe Nettles, manager of the Tampa Gas Company, was elected president of the Southern Gas Association at the 1916 convention. At a reception in her honor, Blanche Armwood told a black audience that Nettles "shall be known through the gas ages as one of the greatest friends that the Negroes in the South have ever known."[24]

Gas company profits increased and sales of appliances grew. At one demonstration in New Orleans, consumers purchased 18 ranges, eight irons, and a water heater. Customers who hired graduates of the school employed more efficient servants and benefitted from lower utility bills. Students of the tuition-free school learned, not only how to use gas appliances, but also about food values, balanced diets, correct menu planning, and general homemaking efficiency. They additionally received certificates of proficiency which enhanced their self-esteem and gave them legitimate claims to better wages. Blanche Armwood was paid a good salary and garnered attention. She further earned the respect of many influential people and a reputation for positive accomplishment.[25]

21. *Tampa Tribune,* April 6, 1916, Armwood Papers, Box 2, File 15.
22. Ibid.
23. Saul, "Record," *Tampa Tribune,* April 7, 1916, Armwood Papers, Box 2, File 17.
24. Unidentified newspaper clipping, 1916, Armwood Papers, Box 2, File 17.
25. Ibid., *Bulletin,* 1917, Tampa Tribune, July 23, 1986, Armwood Papers, Box 2, Files 3 and 12.



The demonstration school which Blanche Armwood started for the Tampa Gas Company was emulated by other firms throughout the nation. Here she is shown at a New Orleans school during World War I. Photograph courtesy of Special Collections, University of South Florida Library.

An idea which worked so well for so many was bound to spread. Schools of domestic science sponsored by gas companies began opening throughout the South and beyond. Armwood helped to create institutions in South Hill, South Carolina, Athens, Georgia, and Roanoke, Virginia. *The Gas Record* covered the opening of the school started by the Roanoke Gas and Light Company where Armwood received high praise. The journal wrote that "she used beautiful language modest in expression, thoughtful in composition . . . it was a revelation to the white people as they listened to the superb address by this colored woman."[26] At the mid-year conference of the National Commercial Gas Association, her paper entitled "The Relation of Schools of Household Arts to the Gas Industry," received more favorable attention. She even corresponded with a woman in Recife, Brazil who offered to pay her to help establish a school there. In 1917, the Tampa Gas Company agreed to permit the New Orleans Gas and Light Company to employ Armwood to set up the New Orleans School of Domestic Science.[27]

Her relocation to Louisiana coincided with the nation's engagement in World War I, another opportunity for interracial cooperation. With assistance from her new employer, Armwood became prominently involved in war work, specializing in the conservation of food. The U.S. Department of Agriculture employed her as Supervisor of Home Economics for the state of Louisiana. In that capacity, she wrote a cookbook, *Food Conservation in the Home,* and lectured on the subject at Xavier University. The trade publication, *Modern Milk* carried a story in April 1918 praising her work. Three months later, at the biennial convention of the NACW in Denver, she spoke on "Fighting the Huns in America's Kitchens." Her speech was accompanied by a practical demonstration. The New Orleans Gas Company did its part, spending $12,000 to finance her course on wartime domestic economy for 1,200 black women. Realizing that patriotic conservation would be a great benefit to the gas business, the company also sponsored cooking exhibitions and related activities. At a meeting held in conjunction with the City Federation of Women's Clubs, Armwood once again attracted favorable notice by demonstrating how to bake "victory bread" using cottonseed flour. Her patriotic demonstration was

26. *The Gas Record,* June 26, 1916, Armwood Papers, Box 2, File 15.
27. Ibid., Mrs. H. M. Balsam to Blanche Armwood, June 11, 1918, *The Gas Record,* Armwood Papers, Box 2, Files 7 and 15.

held in a hall where the national flag was displayed along with such slogans as "A Gas Range is a Blessing for the Poor, Rather than a Luxury for the Rich," and "Bake Victory Bread the Gas Way and Help Win the War."[28]

Booker T. Washington died before the United States entered World War I, but his 1895 call for racial unity in "all things essential" prevailed throughout the conflict. Blanche Armwood never deviated from it. But she did subsequently ignore his admonition to refrain from direct political involvement when she began campaigning for the election of Warren G. Harding as president of the United States.

In his speech accepting the nomination for president, Harding said, "I believe the federal government should stamp out lynching and remove that stain from the fair name of America . . . [Blacks] have earned the full measure of citizenship."[29] Harding's statement as compared with the record of the Woodrow Wilson administration on race relations convinced Armwood and some black leaders that a Republican victory was in their best interests.

Republicans welcomed Armwood's assistance. She toured for the party in Louisiana and Michigan. In October 1920, Blanche Armwood Beatty (she had recently remarried) was invited by the Harding campaign to a Social Justice and Woman's Day affair at the Marion, Ohio home of Senator Harding. After Harding was elected she corresponded with the White House and received formal replies. Armwood continued to work for GOP presidential candidates through 1932.[30]

In the meantime, she returned to Tampa in 1922 to become Executive Secretary of the Urban League in that city. Two years later the Hillsborough County School Board appointed her Supervisor of Negro Schools. Both positions offered formidable challenges.[31]

28. *The Weekly Challenger,* February 4, 1989, unidentified newspaper clipping, February 21, 1918, and Program, 11th Biennial Convention of the National Association of Colored Women, July 1918, Bulletin, 1918, Armwood Papers, Box 2, Files 4, 12, 13, and 14.
29. *Brochure,* Social Justice and Woman's Day, October 1, 1920, Armwood Papers, Box 4, File 5.
30. Ibid., undated advertisement, White House Secretary to Blanche Armwood Beatty, May 10, 1921, Armwood Papers, Box 3, File 11, and Box 4, Files 5 and 11.
31. *Shreveport Sun,* September 2, 1922, *Tampa Bulletin,* January 15, 1924, Armwood Papers, Box 1, Files 2 and 16.

During the 1920s, approximately 23,000 black Tampans lived in what is best described as appalling conditions. In 1927, the Urban League, Tampa Welfare League, and Young Men's Christian Association issued a joint report entitled *A Study of Negro Life in Tampa,* describing limited employment opportunities, inadequate housing, poor sanitation, almost non-existent recreational facilities, insufficient medical care, and neglected schools. The most compelling statistic in this bleak document concerned the death rate. The ratio of white population to black was four to one, but the mortality rate for the respective groups was two to one. In 1927, 57 more blacks died than were born. The only hospital that admitted blacks, Clara Frye, could offer only 17 beds. Black neighborhoods had few sewer and water connections and garbage often remained in heaps for long periods. Only 950 blacks owned their homes. Tampa's rapid growth kept property values so high that owners of run-down dwellings preferred to sell the land rather than improve the housing. Outside the home, black Tampa residents had only one private park, one tennis court, and two theaters available to them. As for educational facilities, "many of these schools have poor ventilation, insufficient blackboard space, poor seating, dark rooms, inadequate desks-some made from boxes. Some of the buildings are old, dilapidated and unfit for human habitation."[32] The black illiteracy rate was ten times that of whites and almost 24 percent of the eligible black children did not attend school. As adults, the overwhelming majority of blacks, regardless of education, worked as low paid, unskilled laborers or servants.[33]

Conditions such as these were common to cities with large black populations and the National Urban League had been formed in 1911 to address them. Unlike the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which sought reform through legislation, the Urban League chose to apply persuasion and cooperation to the problem. League stationery was emblazoned with the message: "Let us not work as colored people nor as white people for the narrow benefit of any group alone but TOGETHER as Americans for the common good for our common city [and] our common country."[34] Local affiliates were encouraged to

32. Benjamin E. Mays, et al, *A Study of Negro Life in Tampa* (Tampa, 1927), 58.
33. Ibid., 7, 9, 14, 23-24, 31, 40.
34. Tampa Urban League stationery, Armwood Papers, Box 1, File 15.

create and implement specific programs for their cities. Blanche Armwood was well-suited to work with the Urban League.[35]

With her customary enthusiasm and self-confidence, Armwood believed that the League's strategy of biracial cooperation could be effective. And she was not alone. In an editorial entitled, "A Commendable Movement," the *Tampa Tribune* called on its "colored readers" to support the Urban League and added that, "the white people of Tampa should lend their enthusiastic moral support and generous financial assistance to this worthy organization."[36] The League's board of directors included an interracial mixture of Tampa's leaders, such as Donald B. McKay, Perry G. Wall, Peter O. Knight, Levin Armwood, Idela Street, and Mayor Charles H. Brown. The mayor declared July 2, 1922, Social Welfare Day and the city sponsored an outing at Oak Grove Park to benefit the Urban League. The *Tampa Tribune* began running a column "Urban League Weekly Bulletin" and the black-owned Central Industrial Insurance Company donated space for a headquarters. The Tampa Ministerial Alliance unanimously endorsed the effort. The West Tampa cigar manufacturers and the *Tampa Daily Times* showed a favorable attitude toward the organization. The open meeting on September 24, 1922, featured an address on the problem of juvenile delinquency, followed by a discussion of necessary improvements of sanitation at the Caesar Street School. Mayor Brown sent Commissioner Sumter L. Lowry to the meeting as his representative.[37]

Despite the early good will toward the League, its activities were shortly over-shadowed by the national attention given to lynching and the controversial Dyer Anti-Lynching bill, which was repeatedly rejected by the U.S. Congress. Its influence on Tampa's local affairs can be seen in a *Tampa Tribune* editorial of November 1922. The paper declared that there was no need for the measure and that efforts should be expended on the underlying cause of lynching; that is, the misbehavior of "bad niggers." The *Tribune* declared the Dyer bill nothing more than Republican Party "pandering to the Negro vote."[38]

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35. Nancy J. Weiss, *The National Urban League, 1910-1940* (New York, 1974), 10, 29, 38, 59, 88, 163.
36. *Tampa Tribune,* July 7, 1922, Armwood Papers, Box 1, File 2.
37. Tampa Urban League stationery, unidentified newspaper clippings, 1922, Armwood Papers, Box 1, Files 15 and 16.
38. James Harmon Chadbourn, *Lynching and the Law* (Chapel Hill, 1933), 118.

Armwood replied to the *Tribune* article in an atypically strong tone. She spoke of the broken hearts of thousands of law abiding Negro citizens and admitted they would vote for those who supported the Dyer legislation. She further reminded her readers that since 1889, 718 whites had also been lynching victims and that only 16 percent of all lynchings involved even an accusation of rape. She also pointed out that the Negroes of "high color" testified to the disregard of southern white men for racial purity.[39]

Armwood used Tampa's local circumstances in an effort to broaden the argument into something more than a black-white issue. Tampa had a large immigrant population with a record of militant unionism. A protracted cigarmakers strike had occurred as recently as 1920. Armwood emphasized this aspect of Tampa's politics to sway white leaders when she wrote that "it has been reported to us officially by the Republican National Committee that one of the greatest forces operating against the Dyer bill is the American Federation of Labor which has caught the spirit of the mob and often uses violence to carry out its purposes."[40] She had reason to believe the argument might be effective, because only a little more than a year earlier, Donald B. McKay, longtime mayor of Tampa, publisher of the *Tampa Daily Times,* and leader of the White Municipal Party, had declared that "it would be difficult to find an apologist for lynching these days."[41] Armwood's almost strident words were somewhat out of character for a person who had so long preferred cooperation, but she felt strong measures were warranted.

Beyond the words of her letter or their effect on readers, the title of the piece, "Mrs. Beatty Protests Editorial Expression on Pending Dyer Bill," was a testimonial to the respect she commanded. Newspapers such as the *Tampa Tribune* rarely addressed black women as "Mrs." in the 1920s. But, black leaders who pursued a policy of cooperation with white leaders also walked a fine line. Some black leaders were beginning to criticize Armwood for being too accommodating to whites. In his autobiography, Benjamin E. Mays, her successor in the Urban League, said that when he first came to Tampa the racial atmosphere contained too much "sweet-

39. *Tampa Tribune,* December 2, 1922.
40. Ibid.
41. As quoted in Robert P. Ingalls, *Urban Vigilantes in the New South: Tampa, 1882-1936* (Knoxville, 1988), 24. See also Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985* (Chicago, 1987), 127-128.

ness and light." He attributed these apparently favorable relations to reciprocal flattery and assessed the situation as one of benevolent paternalism. He specifically criticized Armwood for her support of an unsuccessful plan to concentrate all of Tampa's blacks in a single subdivision of new housing.[42]

Despite such criticisms, Armwood continued to emphasize the mutual benefits that were attainable through black and white cooperation. Upon assuming the duties of executive secretary of the Urban League, she declared that "we need civic organizations in large numbers just as we need churches. But let's try to realize that each can live and function without attempting to crush the others."[43] Speaking to the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs she insisted that diseases spread between races and across geographic boundaries. Later, while making the case for a black recreational facility, Armwood argued that "a single playground in the heart of the negro district, properly supervised, would doubtless prove very much less expensive to the city than the care of the increasing number of young criminals created by lack of facilities."[44]

During Armwood's tenure as executive director, the Urban League directed its efforts toward the lives of women and their children. Females headed more than a fourth of black urban households, often providing the sole support for their families. To help them, the Tampa Urban League founded the Busy Merrymakers women's service organization which in turn established the Helping Hand Day Nursery and Kindergarten. Armwood could not achieve her goal of a home for black juvenile delinquents, but juvenile court judges did begin placing first and second offenders in the custody of the Urban League. She also convinced the superintendent of the city stockade to stop the practice of having black female prisoners sweep the streets. Instead, the women were assigned to do laundry for the Clara Faye Hospital. To try to improve the health of Tampa's black citizens, Armwood cooperated closely with Mrs. George W. Atkinson, Executive Secretary of the Red Cross, in starting a Booker T. Washington branch and training twelve volunteer case workers. The league sponsored a children's clinic, vaccinations, a school nurse, the first black assistant city phy-

42. *Tampa Tribune,* December 2, 1922; Benjamin E. Mays, *Born to Rebel: An Autobiography* (NewYork, 1971), 106, 111, 171.
43. *Tampa Tribune,* October 1, 1922, Armwood Papers, Box 1, File 16.
44. *Tampa Daily Times,* October 31, 1923, Armwood Papers, Box 1, File 16.

sician, care of tuberculosis victims, a course in midwifery, and a course in home hygiene. The League also established the Florida Negro World War Memorial with contributions from the American Legion Auxiliary. A black playground and the Harlem Branch Library were also started in the 1920s. Most of these programs depended on support from people of both races.[45]

Armwood took the same approach in her position as Supervisor of Negro Schools. She lobbied the City League of Women's Clubs and persuaded them to appear with her at a special joint session of the school board. The meeting resulted in her most important accomplishment as supervisor: longer terms for black schools. During her tenure, the first black high school in Hillsborough was also opened. Booker T. Washington High soon became one of the few accredited black high schools in Florida.[46]

Armwood left the school position in 1930 and a year later she married for the third time to Edward T. Washington, a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The couple soon moved to the nation's capital where she attempted to obtain a position in the District of Columbia schools. But, despite assistance from Florida Congresswoman Ruth Bryan Owen and other dignitaries, she was unsuccessful. She spent her time during the 1930s working with volunteer organizations such as the Golden Rule Recovery Alliance and the Non-Partisan League. She also earned a law degree from Howard University. These were her last activities, however. Blanche Armwood Washington became ill and died in 1939 while fulfilling a speaking engagement in Massachusetts.[47]

When Armwood resigned as head of the Tampa Urban League in 1926, the board of directors resolved that "we express our belief that her work stands without parallel in our state or country."[48] Her record left considerable justification for the statement. She had pursued interracial cooperation during a lifetime patterned after that of Booker T. Washington. By doing so she had left herself open to the same charges that were levelled at him. Such charges can

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45. Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love,* 111-113, Weiss, *Urban Leap,* 202, Mays, *Born to Rebel,* 108, and *Tampa Daily Times,* November 16, 1923, Armwood Papers, Box 1, File 16.
46. Unidentified newspaper clipping, Armwood Papers, Box 1, File 16.
47. Ibid., Ruth Bryan Owen to Garnet C. Wickerson, Armwood Papers, Box 4, File 4, *Florida Times-Union,* December 10, 1931, *Tampa Tribune,* July 23, 1986, Armwood Papers, Box 2, File 3 and Box 4, Files 4 and 7.
48. *Tampa Tribune,* June 6, 1926, Box 1, File 16.

only be assessed in the context of her time. It seems that people like Blanche Armwood gave up what was already lost. Whether a more militant approach would have advanced the race faster is impossible to say. To denigrate her accomplishments because she reasoned and cajoled is unfair– and irrelevant. By addressing the interrelated issues of race and gender she defied the stereotype of the black middle class and proved the importance of a strategy that would work. That was not a small accomplishment in Blanche Armwood's time.

Andrew Dias Poppell, 1894-1955: A Taylor County Entrepreneur

by MARGARET N. BURKLEY

During the first half of the 20th century, forest products and livestock were major parts of the Florida economy. Large lumber and naval stores firms were extracting huge amounts of yellow pine lumber and turpentine from Florida's extensive forests and cattle barons were marketing cattle which they had grown on wide expanses of open range. That Florida was the leading producer of naval stores by the early 20th century is also comparatively well-known.[1] Much less has been written about the small businessmen who played important roles in the development of diversified local economies by investing in and operating naval stores, lumbering, and ranching operations. In the naval stores industry, for example, they owned or leased the right to farm oleoresin, hired and supervised the crews of turpentiners, ran commissaries to supply the crews' daily needs, and built and operated camps to house them. Although they operated on a much smaller scale than did the Putnam Lumber Company and other such firms, they were versatile businessmen who were willing to take risks and act upon opportunities as they arose. Typical of those entrepreneurs was Andrew Dias Poppell of Taylor County.[2]

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1. Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 165; Robert Shelley Blount III, "Spirits in the Pines," (M.A. Thesis, Florida State University, 1992), 63.
2. Clifton Paisley, "Wade Leonard, Florida Naval Scores Operator," *Florida Historcal Quarterly* 52 (April 1973), 381-400; A Stuart Campbell, *The Naval Stores Industry* (Gainesville, 1934). For background information on naval stores production in Florida and the South, see Edward Ayers, *Promise of the New South* (New York, 1992), Mark V. Wetherington, *The New South Comes to Wiregrass Georgia, 1860-*1906 (Knoxville, 1994), Robert Shelley Blount III, "Spirits in the Pines," (MA. Thesis, Florida State University, 1992), Edward Kenneth Kemp, Jr., "Naval Stores– A Declining Industry?" (M.A. Thesis, Florida State University, 1968), and Robert Lauriault, "From Can't to Can't: The North Florida Turpentine Camp, 1900-1950,) *Florida Historical Quarterly* 67 (January 1989), 310-328.

Andrew Poppell was one of several Taylor County businessmen who engaged in a variety of activities as he put to use the lands he owned or leased. He grazed his free-ranging cattle and hogs on the lands that sustained his turpentining and lumbering operations. Over time, however, he concentrated his energies on the production of naval stores. Taylor County was well-suited to such activities. Created in 1856 along the Gulf coast about 50 miles east of Tallahassee in Florida's "big bend," Taylor County was literally covered with longleaf yellow pine and other valuable timber. Despite extensive logging operations in the early 20th century, virgin timber still abounded in the 1920s. Both naval stores and lumbering remained major industries in the county through the mid-20th century. Cattle grazing also remained important. In varying degrees, Poppell was active in all three of these.[3]

Andrew Poppell was born in 1894, the third of three children of Wiley and Maggie Blue Poppell. His father reputedly owned the largest herd of "range cattle" in the county, running over 4,000 head in an area that stretched from the Gulf coast north across the Fenholloway River to present-day State Highway 98 and westward to the Aucilla River. Although some farmers and ranchers fenced in their livestock, many others permitted their animals to roam at will until Florida enacted a fence law in 1950. Taylor County was no exception, and neither were Wiley and Andrew Poppell. Their cattle and large herds of hogs ranged freely throughout much of the western part of the county.[4]

Little is known about Andrew Poppell's life until he was drafted into the U.S. Army in February, 1918. He was then 23 years old and was working as a commissary clerk. With hazel eyes, black hair, and a ruddy complexion, he stood five feet six inches tall at the time of his induction. He was equipped with some education, the extent of which is not known. Promoted to sergeant during his brief military service, he was honorably discharged in December, 1918. In 1925, pursuant to the World War Adjusted Compensation

3. Burl Richard (Little Burl) Poppell Interview, October 13, 1994, transcript in author's possession. Hereinafter Poppell Interview A.
4. *They Were Here,* Vol. 1 (Perry: Taylor County Historical Society, n. d.) See also Poppell Interview A; and Joe A. Akerman, Jr., *Florida Cowman:* A *History of Florida Cattle Raising* (Kissimmee, 1976), 253.

Act, he received the sum of $663 in additional payment for his service.[5]

Andrew Poppell ran cattle and hogs on the open range, sometimes independently and sometimes in partnership with his father. His recording of both a hog ear mark and a cattle brand in 1911 indicate that he had acquired some livestock while still a teenager. In addition to their own individual cattle brands, the father and son recorded three hog ear marks in partnership in 1942.[6]

From 1921 until 1946, Poppell bought and sold– outright or in shares– numerous head of hogs and cattle. For example, in 1921, he bought a half interest in 150 head of hogs owned by his kinsman, J. B. Poppell. In 1927, he paid $10,000 for an unspecified number of cattle from his father. In 1938, he sold his father a one-quarter interest in all his cattle bearing the brand N that were grazing in western Taylor County. In 1940, he and his father bought 50 head of cattle and 700 hogs from R. H. Woods. According to the bills of sale on and off the public record, the parties who entered into the transactions were relatives. The Poppell family had settled in Taylor County in the 1850s and over the years married into similarly large families. Many of Andrew Poppell's deals may well have been designed to keep property or profit within this extended family. A considerable number of his stock transactions were not recorded, suggesting that he and other stockmen made agreements based on the integrity of the parties involved. They were content if a handwritten note, or even a handshake, sealed a deal.[7]

Andrew Poppell acquired land by a variety of methods, but especially through leasing or outright purchases. In 1929, he purchased approximately 2,388 acres from the Marinette Investment Company, Incorporated, for an undisclosed amount. In 1936, he bought a half section (320 acres) from Consolidated Naval Stores Company of Savannah, Georgia, and Jacksonville, Florida; in 1941, he bought three sections from the same company. Many of the war-

5. Andrew Dias Poppell Papers, M74-4, Florida State Archives, (hereinafter Poppell Papers); Taylor County, Soldiers and Sailors, 36. This document and all other Taylor County material cited herein are located in the Taylor County Courthouse, Perry, Florida. Burl Richard "Little Burl" Poppell Interview, November 2, 1994, transcript in author's possession (hereinafter Poppell Interview B) .
6. Taylor County, Marks and Brands, 42-43.
7. Taylor County, Bills of Sale, Vol. A, 456, Vol. B, 323, Vol. C, 143; Poppell Papers, Folder 8.

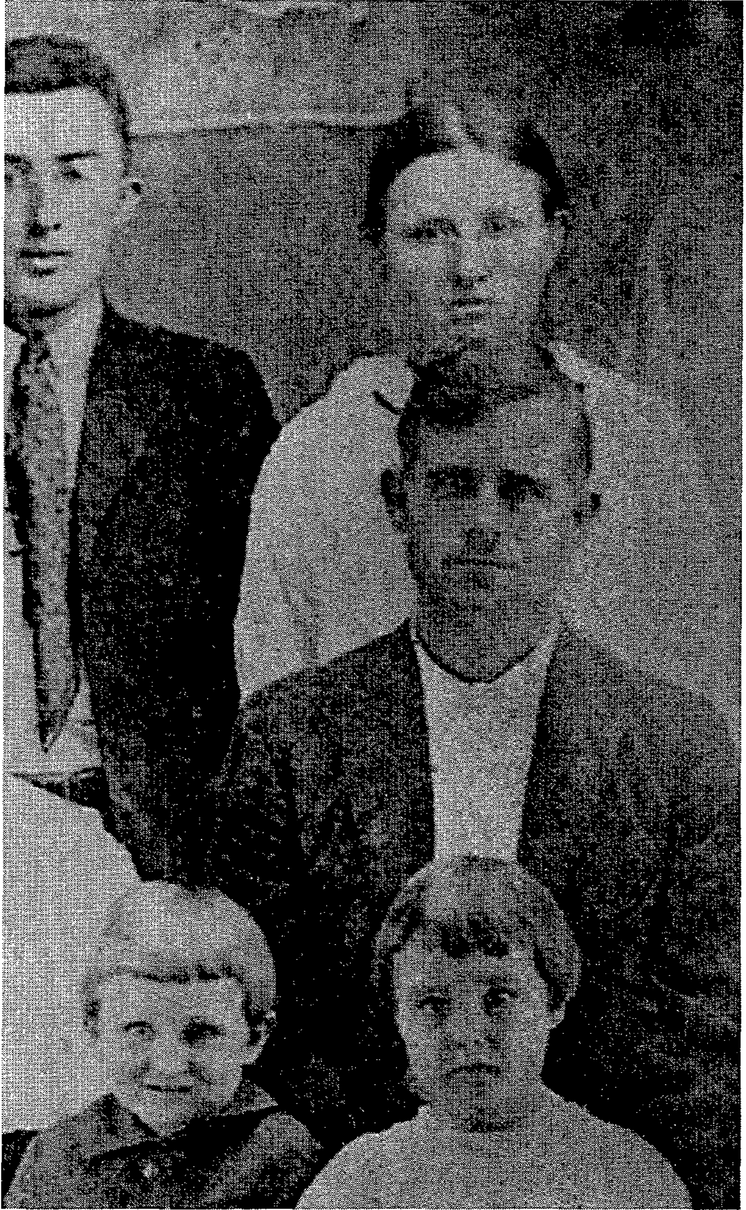
ranty deeds and other documents on record, including livestock transactions, bear no indication they were prepared by an attorney, again suggesting that informal business arrangements were commonplace.[8]

Periodically, Poppell purchased tax certificates for land owned by people who had failed to pay county *ad valorem* taxes. However, with one exception there is no record that Poppell eventually gained possession of the land described in the certificates. And that might not have been his goal. He may have purchased the certificates speculatively, knowing that eventually he would gain back his original investment plus interest. The sole exception was a four acre lot. Poppell acquired this certificate on behalf of the "Poppell Corporation" in 1942, and he eventually acquired legal title to that parcel. When he died in 1955, Andrew Poppell owned over 5,500 acres of real estate in Taylor County, the assessed value of which was then $38,708.[9]

Like other men whose cattle and hogs ranged freely, Poppell had to cope with the loss of his livestock to thieves. During the 1920s and 1930s rustlers operated continually in Taylor County. In 1939, two of Poppell's relatives were listed among the defendants in several cases tried for "larceny of cows." But his kinsmen were fortunate; not all the thieves who were caught received due legal process. Sometimes, irate cowmen shot and killed the individuals they caught or sometimes merely blamed for stealing their cattle. Habitually, when owners and their men rounded up the animals, they carried guns for protection from the hogs, the cows– and from one another. During this era, many men in Taylor County carried guns; in the early 1920s, at only a few meetings did the Taylor County Commission fail to authorize at least one citizen to carry a firearm. On February 25, 1923, the commission authorized Poppell to carry his own weapon, a .38 caliber Smith & Wesson pistol.[10]

Andrew Poppell experienced considerable difficulty in 1925 as a result of the local citizens' frontier-like propensity for meting out summary justice. In early June, C. E. Fulford approached Poppell at his commissary store and accused him of publicly voicing his

8. Poppell Papers, Folders 1 and 3.
9. Ibid., Folder 5 (b); Taylor County, Administration, Vol. 7, 494-95.
10. Taylor County, Criminal Court Docket, Vol. H, 26-35, 47, 57; Poppell Interview A; Jack D. Woods Interview, November 2, 1994, transcript in author's possession; Taylor County, Commission Minutes, Vol. 7, 187-90; Stetson Kennedy, *Palmetto County* (New York, 1942), 222-24.



Andrew Dias Poppell, 1894-1955, (center) and family members. Photograph courtesy of Taylor County Historical Society, Perry, Florida.

name in connection with cattle rustling. Poppell denied this accusation, and words led to blows. Both men were armed. As the two men struggled, Poppell's gun discharged and wounded Fulford, who died a short time later. The case went to a grand jury, which could find no true bill. There was insufficient evidence to place Poppell on trial for committing murder, and, after he paid court costs of $10.37, he was released from custody. He returned to his home and his various business pursuits.[11]

Despite his extensive livestock business, surviving documents suggest that Andrew Poppell paid more attention to his lumbering interests than he did to cattle and hogs. Lumber was considerably more important to the county's economy than was cattle grazing, and by 1920, large corporations such as Brooks-Scanlon Corporation, the Wilson Lumber Company of Florida, and the Burton-Swartz Cypress company were active in the county. These corporations harvested their own timberlands, leased out their lands to independent operators who then supplied them with logs, or processed logs sold to them by still other independents.[12]

Andrew Poppell cut the trees on his own land, and also obtained the "wood rights" on land he leased for that purpose. His turpentiners farmed the pine trees for three or four years, and then his lumbermen moved in, cut down the trees, and shipped them out. Most of Poppell's operations were located between the Econfina and Fenholloway Rivers, in the vicinity of State Highway 98. In 1934, he leased a large tract from the Burton-Swartz Cypress Company of Florida at a cost of 40 cents for each cord of wood he removed. The same year, he obtained the rights to all the pine timber on about 2,700 acres of land owned by the Brooks-Scanlon Corporation. From 1934 to 1939, Poppell made several similar transactions.[13]

As Poppell's land holdings increased, so did his timber resources, and in 1932 he and W. W. Whidden formed the Econfina Land & Timber Company and incorporated it under the laws of the state of Florida with a capital stock of $5,000 dollars. Poppell was listed as owner of the corporation; apparently, he was both its

11. Poppell Papers, Folder 21; Taylor County, Circuit Court Minutes, Vol. 9, 120, and Sheriffs Criminal Docket, Vol. B, 375.
12. Blount, "Spirits," 119; Lenthall Wyman, *Florida Naval Stores,* Florida Department of Agriculture Bulletin No. 25 (Tallahassee, 1929), 5, 42; Poppell Interview A; Campbell, *Naval Stores Industry.*
13. Poppell Papers, Folders 10, 17.

president and its majority stockholder. Small crews cut the timber. In 1941, he contracted with Ralph Pinkerton and Cecil Shealy to cut lumber for him. The same year, he also contracted with the company of Tuten & Walker for the same purpose. Although most of the men who cut lumber in Taylor County were white, some of the sawyers and scalers were African-Americans. These firms and individuals loaded and trucked all the rough, green pine they cut to the Wilson Lumber Company in Perry. There, Wilson employees kiln dried the lumber and dressed it in 2"x6" or 2"x4" sizes suitable for building. Typical of the charges for this service was a bill for $189.40 paid by Poppell. This sum included the kiln drying and dressing of 1,894 ten foot lengths of 2"x6", a charge of ten cents per running foot.[14]

Judging by the tally sheets that have survived, Poppell was cutting mostly pine, which ranged in length from as little as ten feet to as much as 45 feet. Occasionally, logs were even longer, but most of them fell within a 20-30 foot range. For pine, the Wilson Lumber Company specified that logs must be 10 inches or larger in diameter and from 10 feet to 18 feet inclusive in length, "of which 60% must be in 14, 16, & 18' lengths; boxed timber [is] to be free of all metal." In other words, if the trees were farmed for turpentine, the nails that held the boxes (also called cups) that collected the gum, as well as the boxes themselves, must be removed from the logs before they were trucked to the mills. It is unclear whether each tally sheet dealt with an individual truckload. In the early 1920s, when trucks were smaller and less powerful and roads less adequate, tally sheets offered "plenty of room" for each load. After 1950, the average truck held more logs than could be listed on one of the standard tally sheets.[15]

Like his peers, Poppell engaged in "clear cutting," taking as much of the mature timber as he could. And, also like most of his peers, he made no effort to reforest the cut-over areas. "Little Burl" Poppell, Andrew's cousin and for a time also his employee, recalls that the first replanting of pine he ever saw was in the early 1930s when he drove his Model T Ford to Port St. Joe and saw St. Joe Paper Company employees replanting some acreage that had been

14. Telephone Interview, October 13, 1994, Florida Department of State, Division of Corporations; Poppell Collection, Taylor County Historical Society; Poppell Papers, Folder 15.
15. Poppell Papers, Folders 14, 15; Poppell Interview A.

cut. But the practice was still in its infancy, and he does not recall seeing reforestation in Taylor County during Andrew Poppell's lifetime.[16]

The industry in which Andrew Poppell personally was most involved was naval stores, and it was in this sphere that he obtained a state and county occupational license. The industry was named during the era of sail, when ships required large supplies of pitch, tar, resin, and turpentine, all of which were derived from the oleoresin produced by longleaf and slash pine trees. Gradually, the industry evolved a system whereby the producers of oleoresin sold their products to commission merchants such as the Consolidated Naval Stores Company or Turpentine & Rosin Factors, Incorporated, of Jacksonville, Florida. Commission merchants were middlemen, the descendants of the factorage houses that existed in colonial America, and traditionally their employees– known as factors or agents– handled the marketing aspect of the naval stores industry. And they were kept busy. By 1929, Florida was producing one quarter of the world's supply of turpentine.[17]

Andrew Poppell's turpentining operations were headquartered at Waylonzo, a small rural community in the vicinity of Oakland Church. The church was and still is located west of Perry, along an unpaved road that runs from State Highway 98 to the Cabbage Grove fire tower. Throughout most of his adult life, Poppell resided in Perry, commuting to Waylonzo and elsewhere to supervise his naval stores, lumber, and livestock operations.

His camp was similar to other turpentine camps of the day: a collection of wooden buildings, consisting of "a still, a commissary, a blacksmith and cooperage shed, gluing shed, [and] cup cleaning vat . . ." as well as "quarters" in which the workers lived. The quarters that Poppell provided for his men probably were single family cabins, because, unlike some turpentine operators, he allowed his workers to move their families into the camp. Because a sufficient number of children lived at Waylonzo and its environs, the county

16. Ibid. Despite "Little Burl" Poppell's recollections, millions of pine seedlings were planted on both public and private land in north Florida by Civilian Conservation Corps crews during the 1930s. See Jerrell H. Shofner, "Roosevelt's Tree Army: The Civilian Conservation Corps in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 65 (April 1987), 439-440.
17. Blount, "Spirits," 78-81.

school board established a school in the vicinity of Oakland Church.[18]

Most of Poppell's employees were African-American males who lived in Taylor County, and at least one of his foremen was African-American. Several of the men came from Lamont, a village in neighboring Jefferson County. But whether or not the men were Taylor County residents, most of them brought their families to Waylonzo. All the men worked the customary six days a week, but the unaccompanied males then left camp and spent Saturday evenings and Sundays at their own homes. They traveled there in their own cars, but if they lacked transportation, Poppell provided it for them.[19]

Andrew Poppell's turpentiners performed well-defined tasks. The "cuppers" installed the metal or clay cups in which the resin, or gum, was collected. The "chippers" placed the "streaks" or cuts in the trees, just under the bark layer, from which the gum would seep down into the cups. The "dippers" patrolled the trees and periodically emptied the gum form the cups into the buckets they carried, transferred it to barrels, and finally delivered it to the still for distillation. The work was hard, poorly paid, and menial, but the experienced hands were skilled at their jobs. The amount of gum the trees produced varied considerably. Some slash pines had to be "dipped" every two weeks, others every three or four weeks. "The [dippers] just knew when it was ready . . . and they went out to the trees and dipped [the gum]. How they knew when the boxes would get full I don't know, but they usually knew," reminisced "Little Burl" Poppell. At the camp, other workers processed the gum through the distilling apparatus and prepared it for shipment.[20]

Around 1940, Poppell ceased distilling his own gum. Instead, under the aegis of Turpentine & Rosin Factors, Incorporated, he began delivering it to the Naval Stores Division of the Glidden Company in Valdosta, Georgia, for processing. The prices he received for his gum varied depending on the grade of the product, which depended in turn on color. The lighter the gum's color, the better its quality. For example, in May, 1940, for Gum Grade K, Poppell received three different prices: $1.89, $1.76, or $1.67 a bar-

18. Wyman, *Florida Naval Stores,* 9; Poppell Interviews A and B.
19. Poppell Interviews, A and B.
20. Wyman, *Florida Naval Stores,* 18-19; Poppell Interview A, Paisley, "Wade Leonard," 386-88; Campbell, *Naval Stores Industry,* 31.

rel. However, after June 1, 1940, oleoresin prices increased sharply. In July, 1940, Poppell received $7.49 per barrel, and no differentiation between sub-grades of gum appears on the records. World War II was responsible for this price increase. Throughout the war years, 1940 through 1945, increased demand drove the price for crude pine gum steadily upwards to a peak in 1946 of $30.80 per barrel, after which it gradually declined again.[21]

Like other turpentine operators, Andrew Poppell relied on his factors to handle most of his business affairs. When he received payment for his products, which eventually included not only naval stores but timber, the factors handled the transaction. Poppell established a line of credit with Turpentine & Rosin Factors, Incorporated. Seasonally, he estimated his anticipated expenses and obtained loans from the factors to cover them. In 1940, his estimate for his winter expenses fell short of the costs he actually incurred. Turpentine & Rosin Factors carried his debt until he could clear it.[22]

Turpentine & Rosin Factors maintained three accounts for Poppell: a basic general account, a "special" account, and a timber account. At times, Poppell owed the firm a considerable amount; throughout 1940, for example, his general account had a debit balance in excess of $20,000. Most of the documents related to these accounts are monthly statements, hence there is a paucity of detail included within them. But it is clear that Poppell not only sold his products, but also bought most of the supplies for his commissary store from this Jacksonville firm, which had a branch office and a grocery warehouse in Valdosta, Georgia.[23]

If Andrew Poppell, like other operators, furnished commissary supplies to his workers at inflated prices, the record is silent. But he sold his men a variety of items, from cans of tomatoes to bottles of aspirin. Some of the items, in the light of subsequent inflation, attract momentary attention: blue jeans cost Poppell less than a dollar a pair, and he paid only 18-1/2 cents per gallon for his bulk purchases of gasoline. He stocked dairy feed, suggesting that a few cows were kept at the camp to supply milk for the workers and their families. He kept supplies of hay and oats on hand, presumably for draft animals as well as the horses ridden by him and his employ-

21. Kemp, "Naval Stores," 45, 74; Poppell Papers, Folder 16 (c).
22. Poppell Papers, Folder 16 (a).
23. Ibid., Folder 16 (b).

ees. And each order shipped to the store contained tobacco and cigarettes, including at least two cartons of Camels, which cost Poppell $1.31 per carton. Unfortunately, there is no remaining record of the prices he charged his workers for these goods.[24]

Poppell did not obtain all of his supplies from Valdosta. Some he bought in Perry, usually because he needed them quickly: tires, automobile parts, boots, and other items of clothing. It is not clear which of his expenses were business related and which were personal.[25]

By 1929, Poppell's turpentining operation apparently had become so large that he could no longer run it single-handedly. Consequently, he informally divided at least some of his land holdings into sections and hired other operators and their crews to farm those sections for him. He prepared documents printed with survey grids the size of a township, upon which he marked his holdings. He then evaluated the status of the timber on this land and estimated the number of turpentine cups likely to be used on the trees. In November, 1929, W. W. McWhidden, who may have been the "W. W. Whidden" who became Poppell's partner in the Econfina Land & Timber Company, was handling the trees on one of Poppell's sections. Poppell noted that the "pine is good grade, cypress is good grade, young pine coming about 4 and 5 years old in [3-4] years will double the number of cups on [the] land," and figured that he could get 210,000 feet of pine, 80,000 feet of cypress, 3,050 oak ties, and 90,000 feet of sweet gum off this property after he obtained the gum from an estimated 11,600 turpentine cups. The record contains numerous less-detailed estimates which relate to his other land holdings and bear the names of several men who farmed the oleoresin for him.[26]

Besides his arrangement with Turpentine & Rosin Factors, Incorporated, Poppell financed his business operations in several other ways. From 1936 to 1940, he executed promissory notes for loans he obtained from the Perry Banking Company. He also raised money by mortgaging both the livestock and the land that he owned. And occasionally he borrowed from his father or other family members. He also financed other people, apparently serving as a source of credit for relatives or individuals in his employ.

24. Ibid., Folder 16 (d).
25. Ibid., Folder 11.
26. Ibid., Folder 17.

For example, he co-signed a note for W. J. Blue, one of his relatives, when Blue borrowed $101.75 from the Perry Banking Company to make a partial payment for a truck.[27]

Andrew Poppell and his father gradually moved out of the cattle and hog raising industries. Taylor County implemented a tick eradication program in 1920, three years before the Florida legislature introduced a compulsory state-wide program that required the frequent dipping of cattle in an arsenic solution. At the same time, hog owners began regularly vaccinating their stock to guard against frequent outbreaks of hog cholera. Unfortunately, Florida's 1923 program did not bring an end to tick fever. When it broke out again in 1936, researchers discovered it was not Texas tick fever, but a tropical tick fever that affected Florida's deer as well as its cattle. The state was compelled to eradicate the deer and cattle in the infected areas in order to end the cycle. This process was expensive, costing Florida's taxpayers $3,000,000 by 1939. Although they were paid three cents a head for each steer that was dipped, for some ranchers and farmers the price was becoming prohibitive. When Florida enacted its so-called "fence law" in 1949, for Wiley and Andrew Poppell the price became too high; they sold their remaining herds, and Wiley joined Andrew Poppell in his turpentining operation.[28]

Despite his extensive business interests, Poppell still had time to participate in some of the political activities in his country. From 1920 onward, he periodically fulfilled his civic duty as a potential juror, and he frequently acted as a clerk or manager for his precinct in local, state, and national elections. In November, 1930, he was elected to the first of three terms as county commissioner. He left office at the end of 1936.[29]

As a county commissioner during the Great Depression, Poppell supported President Franklin Roosevelt's "New Deal" programs. One of the most comprehensive programs came from the Works Project Administration (WPA) in 1935. With a view to creating jobs in Taylor County, particularly for unemployed women, the WPA proposed setting up a canning plant, a garment-making work

27. Ibid., Folder 4; Taylor County, Mortgages, *passim,* Bills of Sale, *passim,* Poppell Papers, Folders 9 and 13.
28. *They* Were *Here,* Vol. 1; Akerman, *Florida Cowman,* 253; Kennedy, *Palmetto County* 225-26.
29. Taylor County, Commission Minutes, Vol. 6-10, *passim.*

center, and a repair shop. Poppell and his colleagues agreed to that project and also supported the establishment of a county health unit later that year.[30]

Andrew Poppell continued to serve his community after he left elected office. In 1936, Governor David Sholtz appointed him as cattle and hog inspector for Taylor County's Fifth Cattle District. His participation in public affairs apparently ended later that year.[31]

The years Poppell spent as a public official were perhaps more commendable than they might appear, because he was not a widely popular man. "He was liked in places, but disliked in other places," especially "places" where C. E. Fulford's death was still remembered. Poppell's situation was not an enviable one. For many years, he genuinely feared someone might try to kill him, either in revenge for Fulford's death or because of his attitude toward his county's major industries.[32]

Although he was involved in Taylor County's three major industries, Poppell's attitude toward them was unacceptable to many people in his community. Local cattlemen, especially during the winter and spring calving season, generally carried out "cattle burns": they set fire to the underbrush and rotting logs in the pine forests in order to clear the ground and stimulate the growth of grass. Poppell neither followed nor condoned this practice. He wanted the cattleman to stop burning the undergrowth, because he believed fire hindered the growth of the pine trees. Immature trees, he suggested, should be permitted to reach maturity.[33]

Apparently, the cattlemen and Poppell all were correct. According to Stetson Kennedy, scientific studies made. around 1940 proved that cattle allowed to graze on rich young grasses gained over 40 percent more weight than cattle gained on unburned land. But studies also showed that "fires often stunt[ed] the growth of trees as much as ten years . . ." But when Poppell tried to persuade other cattlemen to adopt a more conservative approach to Taylor County's timberland, he made enemies. And a few of those enemies paid little heed to the law. On at least one occasion, someone

30. Ibid., Vol. 10, 160, 196.
31. Ibid., 253-255.
32. Poppell Interviews A and B; Woods Interview.
33. Kennedy, *Palmetto County,* 227; Poppell Interview B; Woods Interview.

tried to ambush Poppell, succeeding only in riddling his pickup truck with bullet-holes.[34]

The lumbermen were displeased when Poppell criticized them for the extent to which they clear-cut the timber; he wanted them to be more selective and, again, he wanted the young trees to have an opportunity to mature. Before his lumber crews cut the pine trees, Poppell's turpentiners first farmed them for oleoresin for three or four years. Therefore, it is likely that Poppell's viewpoint was more realistic than altruistic. As a lumberman, he knew that timber was being cut at an alarming rate; and as a turpentine operator he wanted the pine trees to reach maturity so he and other operators could farm the oleoresin from them for a few years before they were cut.[35]

Poppell evolved and maintained his views during an era that was in fact a transition period for the livestock and timber industries. Not only was the state demanding that cattlemen confine their burning to their own land, but tick fever and, later, fence laws were inhibiting and regulating the cattle industry. Reforestation practices were still in their infancy, and the lumbermen were literally cutting themselves out of business. The men who made money in cattle and lumber were often less pragmatic than Poppell and so, when he differed with them, he had to pay a price for doing so. That price was the constant threat of physical violence. His concern was justified. On one occasion, he was threatened by a group of men who used their automobile to block Cabbage Grove Road (State Highway 98) and prevent his passage. Only when the men discerned that a young boy accompanied Poppell did they move their vehicle and allow him to pass.

Few of Andrew Poppell's documents from the 1940s and early 1950s have survived. Therefore, it is impossible to tell when, or even if, he eventually gave up his business interests and retired. When he died in 1955, Poppell was 60 years old. To settle his estate, his widow sold his land and other property, including some cattle and hogs and a fish camp located near the mouth of the Econfina River.[36]

34. Woods Interview, Kennedy, *Palmetto County,* 227; Campbell, *Naval Stores Industry,* 31-32.
35. Woods Interview; Poppell Papers, Folder 17.
36. Taylor County, Administration, Vol. 6, 251, Vol. 7, 426-28, 462, 493-96.

Even before Poppell's demise, the turpentining and lumber industries in Taylor County were being replaced by the pulpwood industry, which is now dominated by Buckeye Florida, Incorporated. Cattle still graze the county grasslands, but they are confined within fences; and forests of planted pines, closely regimented, cover much of the county's landscape as they await the arrival of the lumbermen and their saws. One finds little tangible evidence of Poppell's entrepreneurial activities; his turpentine camp, commissary store, workers' cabins, and other buildings at Waylonzo have been engulfed by trees, vines, and undergrowth.

But in their time, Andrew Poppell and his fellow entrepreneurs filled an important niche in Taylor County's economy. They were not wealthy magnates, but they had sufficient money to invest in the developing forest products industry at the local level. They not only offered employment to the turpentiners and other workers in their communities, but they also provided the raw products that enabled the large dealers and the commission merchants to prosper. Andrew Poppell, through his diverse activities in the cattle, lumber, and naval stores industries, contributed much to the economic well-being of his community. In the company of countless other small businessmen of his day, he contributed to the prosperity of his state.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Revisiting The Freducci Map: A Description of Juan Ponce DeLeon's 1513 Florida Voyage?

by JERALD T. MILANICH AND NARA B. MILANICH

For more than a century scholars have been aware of the Conte Ottomanno Freducci map believed to have been drafted in 1514-1515. Centered on the Atlantic Ocean with the west coasts of Europe and Africa shown, the map shows those parts of the Americas known to Europe by ca. 1514-1515, including coastal Newfoundland, the Bahamas and the Caribbean Islands, and the Caribbean and Atlantic coasts of South America from present-day Gulf of Venezuela east and southeast to northeastern Brazil (the latter not very accurately). The map also seemingly accurately renders portions of the Atlantic and lower Gulf coasts of Florida. Both the portion of Florida shown and the place names affixed there appear to correlate with the 1513 voyage of Juan Ponce de Leon as reported in Herrera's account of that expedition first published in 1601.[1]

Geographer David O. True wrote about the Freducci map in 1944, also mentioning it in a second article he published in 1955 in which he characterized it as "probably one of the ten most important maps of Florida."[2] In both of these articles True pointed out the relevance of the map for tracing Juan Ponce de Leon's initial voyage to Florida. Yet in the ensuing half century since True first

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1. Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia General de los Hechos & los Castellanos, en las Islas y Tierra-Firme el Mar Océano* Vol. 2 (Buenos Aires, 1944), 207-2121; also see Frederick T. Davis, "Juan Ponce de Leon's Voyage to Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 14 (1935), 5-70.
2. David O. True, "The Freducci Map of 1514-1515, What it Discloses of Early Florida History," *Tequesta 4* (November 1944), 50-55; idem, "Some Early Maps Relating to Florida," *Imago Mundi* XI (1955), 79-80. In the earlier article (p. 50) True notes that the map was reproduced in Italian, German, and French sources as early as 1892. It also was the subject of an article by Louis D. Scisco, "The Track of Ponce de Léon in 1513," *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* XLV (1913), 721-735. We have not seen the Scisco article.

wrote about it, the Freducci map has escaped the attention of scholars tracing that voyage. Our intent in writing this article is to make the existence of the map known to scholars working in the early colonial period in Florida and to offer additional possible interpretations of the Florida portion of the map.

The entire Freducci map recently was reproduced in color in an elephant folio-sized volume entitled (in English) "Columbian Atlas of the Great Discovery," published in 1992 by the Italian Ministry of Cultural and Environmental Affairs' National Committee for the Celebration of the Quincentenary of the Discovery of America. The atlas, assembled and annotated by Osvaldo Baldacci, reproduces and provides background information on a number of maps that show the Americas and which are curated in Italian archives and libraries.[3]

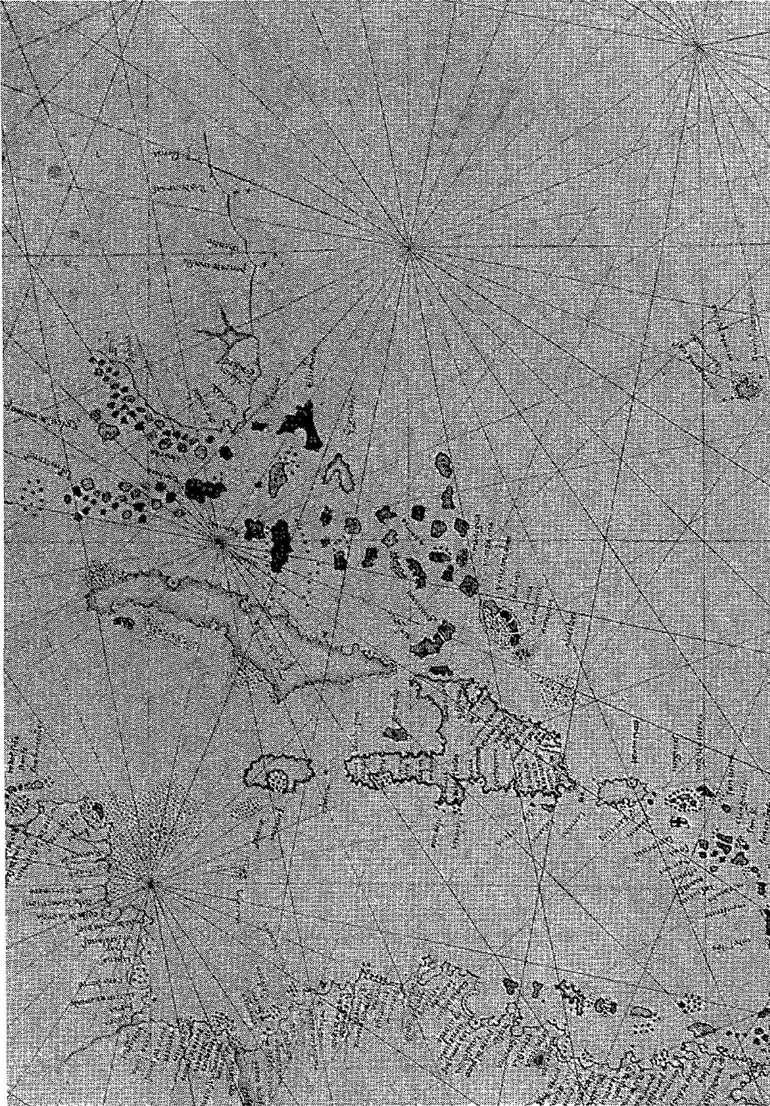
The text accompanying the map notes it was drawn by the Count of Ottomanno Freducci, a cartographer active from 1497-1539. Freducci was one of a family of mapmakers who were producing maps in the 15th and 16th centuries in Ancona.

Made of two pieces of parchment glued together and measuring 1.04 by 1.20 meters, the Freducci map is in the Portolan style. Such maps were typically sea charts known for accurate portrayal of coastal configurations but notorious for inaccurate latitudes.[4] As on most Portolan maps, the Freducci map features loxodromes or rhumb lines, straight lines that indicate wind directions. These lines often intersect in elaborate compass roses.

In 1891 the Freducci map was transferred from the Pio Institute of Bardi to the State Archives in Florence, Italy. Archives in the Pio Institute are associated with one of Florence's famous noble families who, Baldacci speculates, may have commissioned the map because of the family's interest in the geography of trade markets that were beginning to open in the Americas.

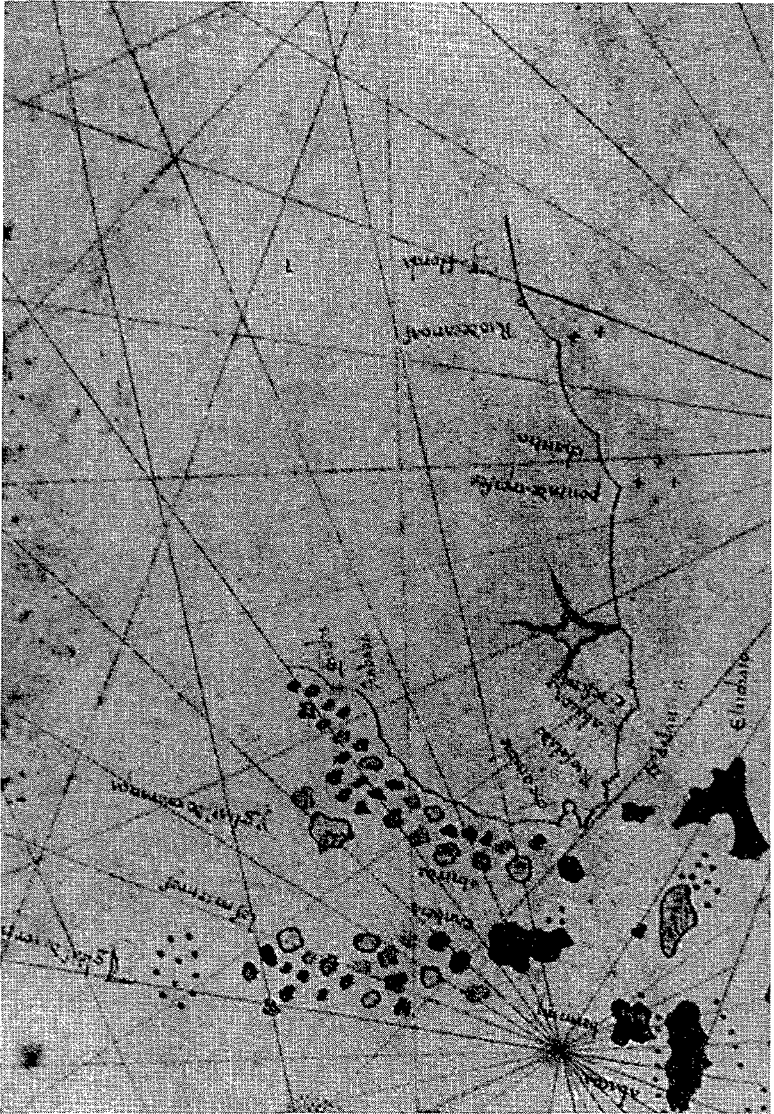
Baldacci dates the map to 1514-1515, reasoning that its depiction of Florida derives from information gathered during Juan Ponce's explorations in March to September of 1513, information rapidly remitted to Europe. Moreover, he argues, it could not have been drawn much later than 1514 or 1515, since it does not depict

3. Osvaldo Baldacci, *Atlante Colombiano della Grande Scoperta* (Rome, 1992), 123-126.
4. See R.V. Tooley, *Maps and MapMakers,* 7th edition (New York, 1987), 15.



A portion of the Freducci map showing the northern coast of South America; Cuba, Hispaniola and other Caribbean islands; the Bahamas; and, at the top, Florida.

the Pacific Ocean, which was reached by Vasco de Balboa in September 1513.



Enlargement of the Florida portion of the Freducci map. The Atlantic coast place names (upside down) from top to bottom are: *i. florida, Rio de canoas, chantio, ponta de arçifes, c. de setos, abacoa, Rio salada,* and *chequiche.* On the Gulf coast are *stababa* and *guchi (or juchi).*

Unfortunately the section of the map with its date of creation has been cut off. However, the other portions of the Americas shown on the map are consistent with the 1514-1515 date. Portions of the map are said by Baldacci to be based on older maps from the Ancona school. Some of those features are inaccurate, such as the depiction of an imaginary, crescent-shaped island called *bracil,* located in the North Atlantic off Ireland.

On the Freducci map the northernmost place name on the Atlantic coast of Florida is I. *[Insula] flor[i]da,* or "Island of Florida," the name which Juan Ponce de Leon gave to the land.[5] The location of that name presumably marks Juan Ponce's initial landfall and is consistent with his belief that Florida was an island. True notes that the position of that place name falls between Matanzas Inlet and Mosquito Inlet, suggesting the landfall was in that same general section of the coast.[6] This is consistent with most interpretations of the Herrera account of Juan Ponce's voyage.[7]

Moving southward, the next place name is *Rio de canoas,* "River of Canoes," which apparently is the name given to a river emptying into the Atlantic north of Cape Canaveral. Both True and Scisco suggest this marks the Indian River. Further south is an unlabeled cape, possibly Cape Canaveral, which the 1601 Herrera account calls *Cabo de Corrientes.*[8]

Further south on the Freducci map are two more capes. The northern one, labeled *chantio,* is certainly the *cautio* of Herrera, who claims it was the name the Lucayan Indians, the native inhabitants of the Bahamas, gave to Florida.[9] The second cape is *ponta de arcifes,* "Point of Reefs," which Herrera calls the *Punta de Arracifes.* We suggest that these two capes, both noticeable to the members of the expedition as they sailed southward, could have been Sewalls Point just north of St. Lucie Inlet and the point of land at modern North Palm Beach.

5. We are grateful to Bruce S. Chappell, archivist at the University of Florida's P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, for helping to decipher these place names.
6. True, "Some Early Maps," 79.
7. Davis, "Juan Ponce de Leon's Voyages;" Edward W. Lawson, *The Discovery of Florida and its Discoverer Juan Ponce de Leon* (St. Augustine, 1946); Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America, the Southern Voyages* (New York, 1974), 502-516; Robert S. Weddle, *Spanish Sea, the Gulf of Mexico in North American Discovery, 1500-1685* (College Station, Texas, 1985), 38-54.
8. Davis, "Juan Ponce de Leon's Voyages," 18.
9. Ibid., 22.

Further south there appears what could be a large inlet emptying into the Atlantic and fed by three streams. According to True, geographer Louis Scisco interpreted this to be Jupiter Inlet, the only coastal inlet with "three branching streams at its head."[10] True, however, interprets the feature to be Lake Okeechobee, knowledge of which was presumably conveyed to Juan Ponce by Florida native people.

South of that feature is still another cape, *c[abo] de setos.* In medieval Spanish *setos* may be translated as "poles, fence, or enclosure," suggesting Cabo de Setos may be "Cape of Fish Weirs." Immediately to the south of that cape is *abacoa,* the native village Herrera calls *Abaioa,* near where the expedition anchored in the lee of the cape. According to True, Scisco suggests that town was near Fort Worth inlet.[11]

Southward down the coast the map shows *Rio salado* and *chequiche.* The former, literally Salt River, is said by Scisco to be the New River.[12] Chequiche is, of course, Tequesta, the native village at the mouth of the Miami River known from the Pedro Menéndez de Avilés era. Calling it *Chequescha,* Herrera says the expedition reached that town on its return voyage from the southwest Florida coast.

The efforts by True and Scisco to correlate the Freducci map's Florida place names with locations on a modem map of the Florida Atlantic coast should not be accepted unquestioned, nor should Frederick Davis's interpretation of the Herrera account. The Freducci map, and certainly the latitudes given in the Herrera account, are not exact enough for us to correlate definitely 16th century place names with modem maps. We can just as easily offer an alternative interpretation of that same portion of the Freducci map, one that is no more certain than those of True and Davis.

According to our alternative interpretation, Juan Ponce's initial landfall could have been north of the St. Johns River on one of the barrier islands of southeast Georgia or northeast Florida. The River of Canoes, whose mouth is shown on the Freducci map, could have been the St. Johns River. If correct, then the unlabeled cape just south of the river mouth would probably be on Anastasia Island.

10. True, "Freducci Map," 51.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.

The two capes farther south (near the words Chantio and ponta de Arcifes) could be: (1) the cape just north of Cape Canaveral, named False Cape on various Florida maps; and, (2) Cape Canaveral itself. Rather than being the name of the first of these two capes, Chantio could be the name of a native village near that cape, perhaps the village at Turtle mound. Turtle mound is a very tall shell mound (called Surruque in later Spanish accounts), which served early Spanish sailors as a navigation marker. The second cape, the ponta de Arcifes, would be Cape Canaveral.

The large inlet thought by Scisco to be Jupiter Inlet could instead represent both St. Lucie Inlet and Lake Okeechobee. The latter may have been accessible by native dugout canoe from that inlet. Farther south on the map is Cabo de Setos, in our interpretation the name given modern Miami Beach, below which is Biscayne Bay. Abacoa could be a native village on Key Biscayne, a village represented by one of the large shell middens that still were present on that key in the early 20th century.

The Rio Salado could have been the Miami River itself or the inland waterway that lies between the mainland and the beach islands of northern Dade County. Chequiche was the native town Tequesta, known to have been at the mouth of the Miami River where extensive shell middens also were once present. The Spanish geographer Juan López de Velasco described that setting in his 1575 *Geographía y Descripción Universal de las Indias:*

> At the very point [of land] of Tequesta there enters into the sea a freshwater river, which comes from the interior, and to all appearances runs from west to east. There are many fish and eels in it. Alongside it on the north side is the Indian settlement that is called Tequesta, from which the point takes its name.[13]

The identification of Chequiche (Tequesta) with the mouth of the Miami River seems firm. Placement of all the more northerly names on the Freducci map remain uncertain, although some of the names do seem to be placed north, perhaps well north, of Cape Canaveral.

13. John H. Hann, *Missions to the Calusa* (Gainesville, 1991) 314.

The Herrera account records that after sailing south along the Atlantic coast of Florida, the Juan Ponce expedition sailed south and westerly along the Florida Keys. Those islands are labeled *los matires* and shown on the Freducci map in their proper location. Here is a second firm geographical correlation with a modem location.

On the southwest Florida coast in the general region of modern Fort Myers Beach, the Freducci map provides two place names. The southernmost is *stababa,* a location not mentioned in Herrera. Stababa, a native word, was probably the name for Estero Bay. Most modem archaeologists agree that the village called Calos, the capital town of the Calusa Indians who were encountered by Juan Ponce's expedition, was located on Mound Key, a small island in the bay. Today the large mounds and shell middens of Calos, once home to the Calusa Indians and their pre-columbian ancestors, can still be seen on Mound Key.

Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda, who was shipwrecked in southern Florida in 1545 and lived there more than twenty years before writing a memorial about the south Florida native people, referred to what was apparently the same location, a place he called *Estanapaca.*[14] In 1575 López de Velasco described this place, calling it *Escampaba:*

> The Bay of Carlos, which is called Escampaba in the language of the Indians . . . appears to be the same one that is called, of Juan Ponce, because he landed in it. . . . It is at 26 1/2 plus degrees [latitude; it actually is at 26 degrees 24 minutes north latitude]. Its entrance [Big Carlos Pass] is very narrow and full of shoals, as a consequence of which only [small] boats are able to enter. Within it is spacious, about four or five leagues in circumference, although all subject to flooding. There is a little island [Mound Key] in the middle that has a circumference of about a half league, with other islets around it. On this (island) Cacique Carlos had his headquarters and presently his successors have it there (as well) .[15]

14. John E. Worth, "Fontaneda Revisited: Five Descriptions of Sixteenth-Century Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 73 (January, 1995), 348.
15. Hann, *Missions,* 311-312.

Father Juan Rogel, a Jesuit missionary priest among the Calusa, wrote a letter in 1568 in which he used the same name, Escampaba, to refer to the Calusa Indian capital.[16] This would appear to be a third Freducci place name which can be tied to a modern place.

The second place name is in southwest Florida on the Freducci map is *guchi* or *juchi,* another Calusa Indian town. That name is placed on the map just north of stababa, perhaps near Punta Rassa or in a nearby location. Neither the Caloosahatchee River or Charlotte Harbor are depicted on the map. If indeed the Freducci map depicts the extent of Juan Ponce's initial voyage, then he apparently did not reach either of those places, also suggested by their absence from the Herrera account.

Juchi is a Calusa Indian town that also appears in the writings of Fontaneda. It is mentioned in Fontaneda's well known *Memoir* and in a second document now shown by anthropologist John Worth to have been written by Fontaneda and originally attached to the *Memoir.*[17] Like the majority of the other Freducci place names, its exact location is uncertain.

On the return voyage from the southwest Florida coast, Herrera records several other place names, names which also appear on the Freducci map. One is an island named by the Spaniards *Matanca* where a battle was fought with the Calusa Indians and where the Spaniards took on water. On the Freducci map *yslas de matanca* is located southwest of stababa and juchi. It could be any of the many islands along the coast.

Next, according to Herrera, the Spaniards sailed to *Las Tortugas.* Those islands, *yslas de tortugas,* are also depicted on the Freducci map in their correct location west of the western end of the Florida Keys.

Two islands at the eastern end of the keys are labeled on the Freducci map: *cambeia* (the southernmost) and *el nirda. Cambeia* is almost certainly the *Achecambei* of Herrera's account.

Did Freducci base his cartographic depiction of Florida on recent accounts or maps derived from the 1513 Juan Ponce de Leon expedition? It seems likely that he did, although that source may

16. Ibid., 237.
17. Worth, "Fontaneda Revisited," 349; David O. True. ed., *Memoir of D. d'Escalante Fontaneda respecting Florida, Written in Spain, about the Year 1575* (Coral Gables, Florida, 1945), 30. In the *Memoir* True renders this as *Tuchi;* Worth, having seen the original manuscript, notes that Juchi is correct; Worth, "Fontaneda Revisited," 349.

have been a different one form the source or sources Herrera used in writing his account.

If it is accepted that the Freducci map does indeed portray the geography of Juan Ponce's Florida voyage, it provides strong evidence that: (1) the expedition made landfall north of Cape Canaveral; and, (2) the expedition encountered the Calusa Indians in the general Fort Myers Beach-Estero Bay locality and did not explore farther north along the coast. As noted by True, the Freducci map may be the earliest known accurate European depiction of peninsula Florida. As such, it is worthy of more scholarly attention.

REVIEW ESSAY

Yellow Fever, the Doctors, and their Victims in the 19th Century South

by THEODORE B. VANITALLIE[1]

The Saffron Scourge: A History of Yellow Fever in Louisiana, 1796-1905. By Jo Ann Carrigan. (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1994. 487 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, bibliography, index. $27.50 cloth.)

The year is 1853; the month July. Imagine that you are a 30-year old bank clerk from New York who has traveled to New Orleans to visit your younger sister, recently married to an assistant editor of the *Picayune.* Six days after your return to your native city, you suddenly develop chills and fever. Your head aches and you feel weak and nauseated. You collapse on the guest-room bed but, instead of experiencing relief from lying down, the muscles of your neck, back and legs start to ache severely and, over the next two days, you become so irritable and restless that you can only sleep in fits and starts.

Because a yellow-fever epidemic is raging in the city, your sister fears the worst. She calls in a local physician who quickly diagnoses the "yellow jack." Now you begin to cough and choke as your room is fumigated with burning sulfur.

After the noxious smoke clears, the doctor returns and attempts to "subdue" the disease by employing a lancet to bleed you so rapidly that you faint. (This heroic treatment is known as "syncopal bleeding.") To "arrest" the fever, the doctor then persuades you to take massive doses of calomel– a toxic agent that causes you to salivate profusely and have uncontrollable diarrhea. You are also given cinchona bark (an antimalarial) which irritates your stomach sufficiently to induce vomiting. To control the vomiting, the doctor applies poultices made of powerful irritants to blister the skin over your stomach.

1. Theodore B. VanItallie is professor emeritus of medicine, Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons. He lives at Boca Grande.

Although you now feel quite miserable, the doctor is encouraged by the results of his aggressive treatment. For a day and a half your temperature hovers near normal. Then, to everybody's dismay, the fever recurs and your condition worsens. Your skin and the whites of your eyes turn yellow and soon you begin vomiting a material resembling coffee grounds. Blood starts to ooze from your mouth, nose and eyes.

As you become delirious and then sink into a coma, with your sister at the bedside, the last sound you hear is a booming noise from the street outside. (The firing of cannon was believed by some to create sufficient air turbulence to destroy the unknown agent responsible for yellow fever.)

In New Orleans (and indeed, in other North American cities including St. Augustine and Jacksonville) the drama of living with, and dying from, yellow fever was re-enacted many thousands of times during the 19th century. In her history of the "saffron scourge" (one of at least 152 names and sobriquets given to yellow fever), Jo Ann Carrigan has carefully and eloquently documented the more than 100 years (17961905) of recurrent, yellow-fever-induced misery experienced by the populace of Louisiana. In this endeavor, she has drawn on a multitude of sources to provide an authentic and often disquieting account of the impact of the disease on the city's infrastructure and on the everyday lives of its inhabitants. In her words, "Personal and business correspondence, diaries and medical essays revealed individual reactions to epidemics. Newspapers, medical journals, travel accounts, board of health reports, and other state and national documents provided information about medical and lay opinion, social conditions and institutional responses to the recurring pestilence."

Clearly, the mass of information that had accumulated about yellow fever in Louisiana badly needed to be culled, evaluated, and then put into some logical order. Carrigan has done this job with painstaking thoroughness, assembling an authentic scholarly treatise on many aspects of the disease including detailed accounts of each major epidemic, an informed discussion of competing theories of causation and transmission (all of them were tragically mistaken until the end of the 19th century), the competing modes of treatment (ranging from the harmless and ineffective to the irrational and injurious), and particularly the social and cultural impact of the disease.

Carrigan's description of the behaviors exhibited a century or more ago by the masses of people who were confronted by this terrifying disease is familiar to us because precisely the same behaviors continue to be displayed in today's world. A recent report in the *Wall Street Journal* is a case in point: "The deadly Ebola Virus has spread to villages around the Zairian city of Kikwit . . . Meanwhile thousands of people were massed at a road-block near Kinshasa, voicing anger at quarantine measures . . ." In describing the yellow fever panic of 1897, Carrigan cites a *New York Times* reporter in New Orleans concerning the antiquarantine state of mind of the inhabitants. "The masses of the people for the time being are in a revolutionary mood because of the enforcement of the house quarantine, and are resorting to every means in their power to put obstacles in the way of constituted authorities."

Although the stress of the yellow-fever epidemics frequently generated cowardly, selfish or simply ignorant behavior, there were also many acts of sustained courage and selflessness. For example, in the 1853 epidemic during which more than 3,000 cases of yellow fever occurred in New Orleans, members of the Howard Association– a group of local volunteers– "took responsibility for locating destitute yellow fever patients and calling on them daily; arranging for home medical and nursing care . . . and, when necessary, transporting patients to hospitals and orphans to asylums, and arranging for the burial of the dead." (Some 1800 deaths occurred during the four-month epidemic.)

Although the individual chapters of Carrigan's book are highly readable, it suffers from a degree of avoidable repetitiousness. For example, some chapters start by recapitulating familiar material covered in earlier portions of the book. As the author points out in her acknowledgments, the book is an outgrowth of her dissertation, and several revised chapters or parts of chapters have appeared as articles in various historical journals. This dual use of the material may explain the sense of discontinuity I sometimes experienced while progressing from chapter to chapter. As Carrigan herself candidly says, "In retrospect, retaining the structure of the dissertation may not have been the best strategy for organizing the century-long story."

Although "The Saffron Scourge" is and will remain a valuable source of information for scholars about Louisiana's prolonged struggle with yellow fever, it is regrettable that a condensed and more focused version of this fascinating saga is not available for a

wider audience. Clearly, there is a substantial public appetite for books about viral epidemics, as exemplified by the current best-seller *Hot Zone* by Richard Preston, which describes the effects of an exotic virus outbreak in a Reston, Virginia science laboratory. Others of this genre are *The Coming Plague* by Laurie Garrett, and *Ebola: A Documentary Novel of Its First Explosion* by William T. Close.

Inasmuch as *The Saffron Scourge* is a publication of the Center for Louisiana Studies, a component of the University of Southwestern Louisiana, it is not surprising that the book's focus is almost entirely on events occurring in New Orleans and surrounding Louisiana areas. But it must not be forgotten that yellow fever epidemics also occurred in many North American regions and particularly in those port cities where climatic conditions (sultry hot weather) were favorable to mosquito activity.

Dr. William M. Straight of Miami has vividly described yellow fever epidemics that occurred in St. Augustine (1821) and Jacksonville (1888). As he pointed out in the *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* in 1971, there were outbreaks of yellow fever in Florida almost every two years for about 141 years. During this time there were "... over 25,000 cases with more than 5,000 deaths; retardation of Florida's growth; and untold economic damage" (p. 43).

As described in *The Saffron Scourge,* there was a therapeutic divergence between French and British physicians in the West Indies during the epidemics of the 1790s. "While the French relied on nursing and nature, the British military physicians assaulted their patients' disease with such powerful weapons as bleeding, blistering, showering with buckets of cold water, and generous dosing with calomel, opium, camphor, cinchona bark, wine, and brandy." Carrigan goes on to say that "... Anglo-American physicians in Louisiana and throughout the South until the mid-nineteenth century pursued a course even more 'heroic' than the British doctors in the Caribbean."

Unfortunately, such harsh therapies did more harm than good and by the end of the 19th century they were for the most part discredited and replaced by "gentle" remedies such as hot mustard foot baths, bed rest, crushed ice and lemonade, cool sponging and good nursing care.

In 1900-1901, clinical investigations conducted in Cuba by a U.S. Army Medical Commission headed by Walter Reed gave rise to a definitive solution to the mystery of yellow fever transmission. Reed and his team clearly demonstrated that yellow fever is caused

by a "filterable virus" transmitted by the *Aedes aegypti* mosquito. Once this finding was established (in confirmation of the mosquito theory announced in 1881 by a Cuban physician, Carlos J. Finlay), practical application of the mosquito doctrine resulted in aborting yellow fever epidemics in Panama in 1904 and in New Orleans in 1905.

Among the many lessons to be derived from Louisiana's (and the South's) devastating experience with yellow fever is the striking contrast between the impotence of American medicine before it was grounded in science (rather than anecdote), and its growing effectiveness once its approach to disease prevention and management became more firmly based on the scientific method. This contrast is vividly portrayed in *The Saffron Scourge,* with its graphic descriptions of the futile efforts of 19th century physicians in Louisiana to cope with yellow fever, and its more concise account of how the Reed Commission finally solved the problem of the causation of the disease. After 1905, once the role of the mosquito vector in transmission of the disease was widely understood, yellow fever epidemics in the United States became history.

Although yellow fever is no longer a problem in this country, new plagues, of which AIDS is the most notable example, have arisen to challenge medical science. But human nature remains pretty much unchanged.

In *The Saffron Scourge,* we learn (p. 240) that, after the 1853 epidemic, a New Orleans physician, J. S. McFarlane, felt it was high time that New Orleanians "fix the charge of vice and insalubrity where it properly belongs– on those who, coming temporarily among us . . . indulge . . . in every evil propensity and poison, until they are overtaken by those retributive diseases . . . ordained as the punishment of vice and immorality." Sound familiar?

Seminole/Miccosukee Art

by DAVID M. BLACKARD[1]

Art of the Florida Seminole and Miccosukee Indians. By Dorothy Downs. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995. xviii, 301 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, conclusion, bibliography, index. $39.95.)

Any general work, and many narrowly focused articles addressing the Florida Seminole and Miccosukee Indians mention their extraordinary clothing, especially patchwork. Dress is the dominant art form for these native peoples. Since the late 1970s several "how-to" books have been published which are devoted exclusively to the "Seminole" patchwork technique. But until now, a book length treatment of the "Art of the Florida Seminole and Miccosukee Indians" has been lacking. Dorothy Downs has assembled in a single volume an ambitious collection of comments and pictorial evidence on all forms of Seminole/Miccosukee art. Extracting material from the historical record, she has added her personal observations of museum collections and the information gleaned from a number of Seminoles and Miccosukees. Unfortunately the result is often characterized by carelessness and conjecture.

In addition to the Introduction and Conclusion, the text is divided into twelve chapters. The first three chapters discuss dress generally; "Evolution of Early Dress," "Nineteenth-Century Dress," "Twentieth Century Dress: Patchwork." These chapters describe not only basic body coverings, but also comment on accessory items, some of which are given additional treatment in following chapters. The next seven chapters deal with specific types of items such as "Fingerweaving," "Silverwork" and "Pottery." Chapter 11, "Men's Work: Village Construction and Wood Carving" describes the various productions of men. Although we may agree that there is an "art" to chickee building, aesthetic decision making is lacking for most of these productions, so they might best be covered in another publication (non-art). The final content chapter deals with

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"Contemporary Green Corn Dress." It provides a very commendable synthesis of the way dress fits into this most important of Seminole and Miccosukee events.

Many ideas and observations from past observers and those of the author are readily mixed. As a result, at times it is difficult to know when the author is relating further material from a previously quoted source or whether she is proceeding on her own. Substantially more citations would have been desirable. Significant contributions from others, such as Sturtevant's etymology of the word Seminole (p. 15), are often included without so much as a nod of recognition.

In contrast, her anecdotes and observations from contemporary native informants are often well-written and give the reader many "you are there" benefits. Accounts of Donna Frank's basket making (p. 206-7) and a visit to "wild" Bill and Frances Osceola's village (p. 241-2) are particular favorites of the reviewer. Especially welcome is Down's mention of individual artists whenever possible in both the text and captions when for so many years tribal artists have remained anonymous. At times, however, the native voice is over-employed. Comments extracted from contemporary informants concerning concepts utilized in antique specimens (beaded shoulder bags for instance, p. 167-8) provide only speculation.

Illustrations include historical and artifacts photographs in black and white, diagrams, and color plates. The exposure on a number of the color plates leaves some of the color pages looking washed out, but the black and white photographs are nicely reproduced. Overall, the author selected some fine views for her audience.

Although the "what" of Seminole and Miccosukee art is covered adequately in some cases and thoroughly in others, the "why" of art is often speculative. This begins early in the book with the supposition that several important techniques and some iconography was obtained by the Florida Indians from their African slaves. Comments along these lines begin on page 2 and surface repeatedly through page 266. Among the techniques suggested are coiled basketry (p. 203) cut and fold appliquework (p. 42) and patchwork (p. 88). In discussing the "relationships between blacks and Seminoles" the author states "they did not seem to live among the Seminoles until perhaps as late as 1774," neglecting to mention McCall recording the continuation of separate villages nearly fifty years later in 1828. Only circumstantial evidence is given to support this

African art link, and no visuals are utilized. Even the authors' statements are hedged with phrases like; "possibly African sources" (p. 3), "appears to be" (p. 34), "technique might have come from" (p. 42), "could easily have" (p. 45), "possible influences" (p. 155), "fascinating possibility" (p. 156), "might have been learned from African slaves" (p. 203), and "almost certainly provided another impetus toward change" (p. 266). Concerning the patchwork, the author herself rules out the possibility of an African link (p. 89) but, by the end of the book, the casual reader has been assailed with this notion so often that he/she just might consider it established fact.

In chapter 1 the writer revisits a previous supposition of hers, that Creek/Seminole men's clothing was patterned after Scottish highland dress worn by traders in the Southeast (Downs 1980). Even though a piece-by-piece inventory of Scottish dress is presented, along with an impressive collection of circumstantial evidence, an honest appraisal can only conclude that the similarities are superficial at best. Her inclusion of colonial military uniforms, which could have been expanded, provides a much more accurate source of inspiration for Creek/Seminole men's dress (and for the Cherokee and other southeastern tribes as well).

Finally, mention should be made of the author's constant explorations into symbolism and iconography. When shoulder bags are discussed, the many designs encountered are given meanings by the author. As always, secondary information is brought into play. I frankly believe that Downs may be correct in many of her interpretations, but they are presented so matter-of-factly that it is important to remind ourselves that they are hypothetical. It is unlikely at this late date that much will ever be firmly established.

Room does not permit a chapter by chapter review of the various inaccuracies which surface in the text, but a look at two chapters (2 & 5) will illustrate this pervasive weakness. Chapter 2 "Nineteenth Century Dress" includes the statement "only the most important leaders seem to have worn turban bands" (p. 42). Although it may be a quotation, it is uncited and unsubstantiated. Viewing the 1826 McKinney and Hall prints and the 1838 George Catlin paintings, the reader finds that some leaders are wearing turban bands while others such as the great Neamathla are not. In neither portrait of head chief Micanopy does he wear a turban band, nor does King Philip in his Catlin portrait. The images of Billy Bowlegs (fig. 2.8 and 9) show him with and without a turban

band. There simply isn't enough evidence to confirm such a claim, even if a historical source were cited. It is certain that in the 19th century the turban band carried no such status other than being a fashion statement.

When the first evidence of appliquework in an 1826 portrait is mentioned, ties are again drawn with west African cultures. The difficulty with this view point is that there was similar cut and fold appliquework being done around the Great Lakes, far outside the plantation south with its African slaves. Known as ribbonwork among the peoples of the Great Lakes and prairie, the craft is still done with great artistry by some tribes. The fancy Osage work, done with thirteen ribbons, and used today for men's "Straight-Dance" outfits, employs the same principles as the simpler Seminole appliquework.

On page 46 Downs quotes Horan's mistake that Osceola killed Tukose Emathla. Osceola actually killed Charley Emathla. Tukose Emathla, overall chief of the Seminoles, died earlier, just after returning from inspecting the western lands which resulted in the controversial Treaty of Ft. Gibson. Further, on the same page, the author states that "The Indians were counselled by their black 'sense bearers'." In truth, the ceremonial position of "sense bearer" was, with rare expectations such as the cited Abraham, a duty which fell to fellow tribesmen.

Later in the chapter, readers are confronted with the curious idea that "dietary preferences, such as fish versus beef" provided the names for the various "family camps" (p. 67). I suppose the author is referring to places like Cow Creek, Catfish Lake, and Fisheating Creek. Possibly resource concentrations were responsible for these location names but certainly not dietary preferences.

In discussing men's ruffled dress coats, the reader is told that the misnomer "doctor's coat," indicating a garment specific to a "medicine man," came into use in the 19th century. The introduction of the term at this early date is not substantiated by any citation. Certainly the term originated much later. Photographs from the 19th century indicate that the coats were in widespread use. At that time nearly every adult male owned one for dress-up occasions. Hence, any adoption of a name alluding to some special status of the wearer would have been inappropriate. Collections and photographs for the first decade of the 20th century suggest they were still in common use. In fact the author mentions this herself in the next chapter (p. 84). It would have been some time after that

when the term "doctor's coat" gradually worked its way into the native vocabulary. Modern Mikasukis do have a native name meaning "doctor's coat," but its original Mikasuki name, "fokshekbachke" (meaning only "long shirt") is still used by tribal conservatives.

At the conclusion of Chapter 2, the author mentions the subtle elaborations which eventually led to patchwork design bands. The time assigned for this innovation was "late 19th century" (p. 82) which is a little too early. For instance, the Stranahan collection dating from 1897 at the National Museum of Natural History does not exhibit any use of the "multiple wide and narrow bands of fabric." Further, the photograph used to picture this adoption of wide panels (fig. 2.19) was not taken in the 1890s as stated but rather on April 4, 1910 by J. F. Brown. This very gradual trend makes Deaconess Bedells' hypothesis that the "multibanded clothing was inspired by the colorful banded tree snails" very unlikely instead of "highly plausible" as Downs suggests (p. 82) It would be plausible *IF* the garments *ABRUPTLY* changed from the basically plain late 19th century styles to the post-1915 styles which displayed a plethora of horizontal stripes. Instead, a subtle elaboration began in the first years of the 20th century.

Turning to the chapter illustrations, figure 2.2 shows a late 19th century long shirt rather than "early 20th century" as stated. The specimen was collected by Vincent Gilpin at the same time as the woman's blouse in plate 1. Figure 2.18 shows a photograph taken in 1904 not the 1890s.

Chapter 5, "Beadwork" starts out with a survey of prehistoric beads and early trade beads used in the Southeast. Later, when coin necklaces are discussed, it is stated that they were in vogue "from the late 19th century through the 1920s." In fact, they were in use several decades earlier in the 1830s and 1840s as shown by the excavations at the Fort Brooke Cemetery. These necklaces remained popular into the 1940s at least on Brighton Reservation. Discussing "Embroidered Beadwork," the writer states that there are "very few examples of either leggings or breechcloths . . .," whereas there are numerous examples of Creek or Seminole bead-embroidered sashes or straps and shoulder bags" (p. 143). It is true that beaded shoulder bags are much more common, but that is not true of the distinctive sash form (as pictured in Plate 20.) These are nearly as rare as the leggings and breechcloths.

The statement about the adoption of a "new style of fringed hide leggings worn without garters" "by the beginning of the 20th

century" is lacking in precision (p. 146). This distinctive form of legging, (which almost always includes a fringed hide garter) clearly appears in an engraving from 1858 showing Billy Bowlegs' lieutenant "Long Jack," many years before the 20th century. The style may be much older as it is of a very simple pattern.

When loomed beadwork is discussed, the designs are accurately summarized, but the technique is not. The technique described is employed by Seminole and Miccosukee beadworkers today, but was not in use during the heyday of loomed beadwork (circa 1880-1915). Downs mentions "the two thread method" (p. 147) but explains it incorrectly, as if it makes use of a single weft thread. The "two thread method" uses two weft threads. The beads are strung on one weft and then held in place around the warps by the use of a separate second weft going through the beads in the opposite direction, not the same thread as described. Her statement about "one bead sitting between each pair of warp threads" (p. 147) is also erroneous for this time period. Three beads between warps was the norm, but, two, four and even five were utilized. The sash illustrated in Plate 21 uses this method, with three beads between warps. The ends of the loomed panels are described as being finished off with "hide" ends (p. 147). In the case in the illustrated examples (plate 21, fig. 5.7) this is so, but by far the most common method is to use the cotton cloth. The technique described for fabricating the tapered beaded fobs is also wrong. The author states "the number of warp threads is gradually reduced to produce an object of tapering shape." In fact the taper is produced by gradually adding more beads between warps as the work progresses. Additional warps are added, if needed, as the work progresses by tying them to wefts. Although hide ends may be sewn to the ends of the fobs, as stated, a number of other materials may be used. Once again cotton cloth is common. Both the examples in plate 22 show yet another possibility. Here, the fobs are attached to extensions made of heddle woven yarn.

Unfortunately, these comments do not exhaust the flawed material included in these two chapters. It must be mentioned that some chapters, such as "Pottery" and "Silverwork" are nearly error free. The book ends on a bright note as the "Conclusion" chapter is smooth and a joy to read, providing a sensitive assessment of the contemporary Florida Indian scene. In this volume it is the illustrations, the art and artists, that speak with eloquence and truth of the creative genius of these first Americans.

FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

American University

Keith Halderman– "Blanche Armwood and Interracial Cooperation" (master's thesis completed); "Marijuana and the Myth of Victor Licata" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Auburn University

Robin F. A. Fabel (faculty)– "Angry Indians: Studies of Crises in the Pre-Revolutionary Era" and "D'Aubarede, Montfort Brown, and their Schemes for the Colonial Deep South" (publications forthcoming).

Owe J. Jensen– "The Defense Forces of West Florida in the American Revolution" (master's thesis in progress).

Flagler College

Thomas Graham (faculty)– "St. Augustine in 1867" and "Randolph Caldecott in St. Augustine" (continuing studies); "Sketchbook of John Morton, 1867" (editing in progress).

Eugene Lyon (faculty)– "Translations, Revillagigedo Archives;" "Pedro Menéndez de Avilés;" "Recovering the Minorcan Heritage;" "Floridanos Evacuated in 1763" (continuing studies).

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University

Canter Brown, Jr. (adjunct faculty)– "Ossian Bingley Hart: Florida's Loyalist Reconstruction Governor" (Ph.D. dissertation completed); "Lower Peninsular Florida's Political Economy During the Second Spanish Period" (study completed); "Cultural Diversity in Florida Since 1800: Essays in Honor of Samuel Proctor," with William Warren Rogers and Mark I. Greenberg (publication forthcoming); "Florida's Black Public Officials, 1867-1913;" "Biographical Directory of the Florida Legislature, 1821-1920;" "The Founding of the AME Church in Florida;" "Biography of William H. Kendrick;" "Biography of John J. Dickson," with David J. Coles (continuing studies).

John T. Foster, Jr., and Sarah T. Whitmer Foster (faculty)– "From a Springtime of Hope: The Life of Chloe Merrick Reed;" "More Than Palmetto Leaves: A Reassessment of the Beecher Stowe Family in Florida" (continuing studies).

Larry E. Rivers (faculty)– "Master-Slave Relationships in Florida, 1820-1865," (completed); "The Case of Nicholas Pargos," (completed); "Pioneer Baptist Minister James Page: Alternative Perspectives for African-American Leadership in Post-Civil War Florida," (completed); "Madison County, Florida, 1830-1860: A Study in Land, Labor, and Prosperity," (completed); "Diversity in Florida: 1865-1920," (completed); "James Hudson: Civil Rights Leader in Tallahassee, 1955-1975," "The Peculiar Institution in Jackson County, Florida, 1824-1865," "The Role of Florida Overseers and Drivers in Florida, 1821-1865," "A Statistical View of Land and Slave Ownership in Florida, 1826-1865," "The Role and Status of Antebellum Lawyers in Middle Florida, 1821-1865," "The Role of Female Slaves on the Antebellum Florida Plantation," "Indentured Servitude on the Wirtland Plantation: An Experiment that Failed, 1833-1834," "Regulation of Free Blacks in Territorial Florida, 1828-1845" (continuing studies).

Florida Atlantic University

Robert Cassanello– "African American Protest in Jacksonville, Florida, 1895 to 1920" (master's thesis completed).

Donald W. Curl (faculty)– "Howard Major's Palm Beach Architecture;" "Lost Palm Beach," with Fred Eckel (continuing studies).

Josephine Shih Gordy– "Chinese in Southeast Florida, 1900-1992" (master's thesis completed).

Maria Jurkovic– "Picketing in Paradise: The Garment, Laundry, and Hotel Workers' Union in 1950s Miami, Florida" (master's thesis completed).

Harry A. Kersey, Jr. (faculty)– "An Assumption of Sovereignty: Social and Political Transformation Among the Florida Seminoles, 1953-1979" (publication forthcoming); "The Florida Seminoles, 1880-1990: Cultural Survival, Political Realization, and the Exercise of Tribal Sovereignty" (publication forthcoming).

LeeAnn Lands– "Belt of Blight: Public Policy and Low-Income Housing Segregation in Palm Beach County, 1960-1986" (master's thesis completed).

Raymond A. Mohl (faculty)– "The Urbanization of Florida," "Ethnic Transformations in Late-Twentieth-Century Florida," "The Latinization of Florida," "Asian Immigration to Florida" (publication forthcoming); "Shadows in the Sunshine: A History of Race Relations in Miami, 1896-1996," "Sunshine State/Sunbelt City: Essays on Modern Florida History" (continuing studies).

Robert A. Taylor (faculty)– "Lucius B. Northrop and the Second Seminole War;" "Lincoln's Loyalists in Florida;" "Fort Pierce's Naval Amphibious Training Base, 1943- 1946" (continuing studies).

Eric Tscheschlok– "The Miami Riot of 1968" (master's thesis completed).

Astrid Melzner Whidden– "The Influence of the American Loyalists on Bahamian Architecture" (master's thesis completed) .

Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, Tallahassee

John H. Harm– "Demise of the Pojoy and Bomto;" "A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions;" "Late Seventeenth-Century Forebears of the Lower Creeks and Seminoles;" "The Missions of Spanish Florida" (publications forthcoming); "Chattahoochee River Forebears of the Lower Creeks and Seminoles, 1675-1775;" "Survey of Spanish Florida's Natives" (continuing studies).

Clark S. Larsen, Hong P. Huynh, and Bonnie G. McEwan– "Death by Gunshot: Biocultural Implications of Trauma at Mission San Luis" (publication forthcoming).

John F. Scarry and Bonnie G. McEwan– "Domestic Architecture in Apalachee Province: Apalachee and Spanish Residential Styles in the Late Prehistoric and Early Historic Period Southeast" (publication forthcoming).

Roger Smith– "Emanuel Point Ship: Archaeological Investigation, 1992-1995" (publication forthcoming); "Maritime Atlas of Florida" (work in progress).

Henry Baker– "Cattle Ranching in Florida during the First Spanish Period" (publication forthcoming).

Florida Department of Environmental Protection

Joe Knetsch– "A History of Surveying in Florida;" "The Armed Occupation Act of 1842;" "A General History of Florida Land Policies;" "The Business Operations of the Flagler Enterprises in Florida," with Edward Keuchel (continuing studies).

Florida International University

Sherry Johnson (faculty)– "Casualties of Peace: The Florida Exile Community in Havana, 1763-1800" (continuing study) ; "Creole Women and Community Construction in St. Augustine, 1784-1800" (study completed).

Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville

Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)– "The Timucuas" (publication forthcoming) ; "Laboring in the Fields of the Lord, Missions of Spanish Florida" (publication forthcoming).

Florida Southern College

Pat Anderson (faculty)– "Lake County Sheriff Willis McCall" (continuing study).

James M. Denham (faculty)– "Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Florida" (study completed); "William Pope Duval" and "Florida Cracker Reminiscences of George G. Keen, 1830-1902," with Canter Brown Jr. (continuing studies).

Mary Flekke– "Frank Lloyd Wright: An Oral History" (continuing study).

Keith Huneycutt (faculty)– "The Anderson-Brown Family in Frontier Florida, 1830-1861," with James M. Denham (continuing study).

Luis A. Jimenez (faculty)– "José Marti's Self-Portraiture Through his *Epistolary* and Life in Tampa" (continuing study).

Randall M. MacDonald (faculty)– "Frank Lloyd Wright's Legacy to Southern College" (study completed).

Steven Rogers– "Frank Lloyd Wright, Ludd Spivey, and Florida Southern College" (continuing study).

Florida State University

Cathy Adcox– "Recent Developments in Seminole Patchwork" (master's thesis in progress).

David J. Coles– "Military Operations in Florida During the Civil War" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); "Florida Troops in the Union Army During the Civil War;" "The Florida Brigade at the Battle of Gettysburg," with Don Hillhouse and Zack Waters (continuing studies).

Tracy A. Danese– "The Controversy Between Claude Pepper and Edward Ball over the Florida East Coast Railroad" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Caroline S. Emmons– "A History of the NAACP in Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Eric L. Gross– "Somebody Got Drowned, Lord: The Great Florida Hurricane Disaster of 1928" (Ph.D. dissertation completed) .

Maxine D. Jones (faculty)– "S. D. McGill, Florida's Civil Rights Attorney;" "Black Women in Florida;" "African Americans in Twentieth-Century Florida;" "The Ocoee Massacre" (continuing studies).

Edward F. Keuchel (faculty)– "The Business Operations of the Flagler Enterprises in Florida," with Joe Knetsch (continuing study).

Kevin Kline– "The Pork Chop Gang: Florida's Bourbon Legacy" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

Merri Lamonica– "The Senatorial Career of State Senator Dempsey Barron" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Christopher E. Linsin– "The Impact of the Aged on Florida's Urbanization, 1940-1980" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Randy Miller– "Florida Shipwrecks" (master's thesis in progress).

Christopher Ouzts– "The Democratic Presidential Primary of 1976: How Jimmy Carter Won the Nomination" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

George Phillippy– "Florida's Cabinet System to 1930" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Lawrence Patrick Riordan– "'A Haven for Tax Dodgers:' The Roots of Florida's Income Tax Ban" (continuing study); "Seminole Genesis: Europeans, Africans, and Native Peoples in the Lower South" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

William Warren Rogers– "Florida in the 1920s and 1930s;" "Cultural Diversity in Florida Since 1800: Essays in Honor of Samuel Proctor," with Mark I. Greenberg and Canter Brown, Jr. (publication forthcoming); "A History of Goodwood Plantation and the Croom Family," with Erica Clark (research completed).

Cecil-Marie Sastre– "Fort Picolata on the St. Johns River" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Jessica Slavin– "'Everybody is Tired of This War:' An Examination of Desertion in Confederate Florida" (study completed); "A Study of Poor Whites and Crackers in Florida, 1840-1940" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Lee Terzis– "A Study of Deptford Settlement Patterns: Ecology and the Florida Site File" (master's thesis in progress).

Victor Triay– "Cuban Migration to Florida Under Castro" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

Sally Vickers– "Ruth Bryan Owen: Florida's Congresswoman and Diplomat" (continuing study).

Historical Association of Southern Florida

Cesar Becera– "Logging Industry in South Florida" (continuing study).

Tina Bucuvalas– "Cuban Folklife" (continuing study).

Robert S. Carr– "Archaeological investigation of the Addison Homestead, Dade County" (continuing study).

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

Paul S. George– "Port of Miami," "Burdine Family," "Miami Beach's Jewish Community," and "City of Miami Centennial," (continuing studies).

Christopher Kernen and Cesar Becerra– "Human Impact on Dade County Pinelands" (continuing study).

Leah LaPlante– "Charles Torrey Simpson– South Florida Naturalist" (publication forthcoming).

Arva Moore Parks– "Dade County;" "Julia Tuttle;" "City of Miami Centennial Celebration" (continuing studies).

William M. Straight– "Study of Medicine in the Miami River Community, 1840-1880;" "Medical Care During the First Ten Years after the Incorporation of the City of Miami" (continuing studies).

W. S. Steele– "Seminole Wars in South Florida" (continuing study), "Military History of the Joe Robbie Dolphin Stadium Site" (publication forthcoming).

William Wilbanks and Paul S. George– "Forgotten Heroes, a Study of Dade County Police Officers Killed in the Line of Duty" (publication forthcoming).

Steve Steumptle– "Caribbean Percussion Traditions in Miami" (study in progress).

Jacksonville University

George E. Buker (emeritus faculty)– "History of the Jacksonville District Corps of Engineers, 1975-1994" (continuing study).

Ray Oldakowski (faculty) and James Dietz– "Racial Residential Segregation in Jacksonville, 1960-1990" (continuing study).

King's College London, Ontario

Eric Jarvis (faculty)– "Canadians in Florida, 1920-Present;" "A comparative Study of East and West Florida and the Old Province of Quebec, 1763-1783" (continuing studies).

Louisiana State University

Paul E. Hoffman (faculty)– "A History of Florida's Frontiers, c. 1500 to c. 1870" (continuing study).

Miami-Dade Community College

Paul S. George (faculty)– "A History of the Miami Jewish Home and Hospital for the Aged" (in progress); "A History of the Burdine Family" (study completed); "A History of Gesu Catholic Church (Miami)" and "A History of Catholicism in Southeast Florida" (research in progress) ; "Criminal Justice in Miami and Dade County Since the 1890s" (continuing study).

Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee

Jeana E. Brunson and R. Bruce Graetz– "Florida's Civil War Flags" (continuing study).

Julia S. Hesson– "Home Extension Work in Florida" (continuing study).

Charles R. McNeil– "Florida in the Movies" (exhibit forthcoming).

Erik T. Robinson– "Celebrating Florida: Works of Art from the Vickers Collection," with Gary R. Libby, et al, in association with the Daytona Museum of Arts and Sciences (publication and exhibit forthcoming); "Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century Art in and about Florida" [continuing study).

Pensacola Junior College

Brian R. Rucker (faculty)– "Satsumaland: A History of Citrus Culture in West Florida" (study completed); "From Pensacola To Belize: An American's Odyssey Through Mexico In 1903" (publication forthcoming); "Antebellum Pensacola" and '*History of Santa Rosa County" (continuing studies).

Tallahassee Museum of History & Natural Sciences

Linda Deaton– "Death and Mourning Practices in Late Nineteenth Century Florida" (research in progress).

Sherrie Stokes– "Resources for Articulating and Exhibiting the Material Culture and Possessions of Enslaved African Americans in Leon County" (continuing study).

Gwendolyn B. Waldorf– "Country Stores and Turpentine Commissaries," and "North Florida Plantation Assessments" (research in progress).

University of Central Florida

Patricia G. Dillon– "A History of the Integration of the Black and White Communities of Sanford, Florida" (master's thesis completed).

Michael Howard Hoover– "Brailey Odham: Florida's Progressive Populist" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Bradley Keeler– "The Dixie Highway in Florida" (master's thesis in progress).

Shannon Lee Moore– "A Portrait of Garcilaso de la Vega's La Florida del Inca" (master's thesis in progress).

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Robert Austin– "The Effects of Chert Availability on Prehistoric Technological Organization: A Case Study from South-Central Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress). "Archaeology

of Early Archaic Period Peoples" (Ph. D. dissertation in progress).

Samuel Chapman– "Seventeenth-Century Native Settlement Systems in North Florida" (master's thesis in progress).

James C. Clark– "The 1950 Florida Senatorial Primary Between Claude Pepper and George Smathers" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

David R. Colburn (faculty)– "A History of the Rosewood Episode of 1923," with Maxine Jones, Larry Rivers, and Thomas Dye (continuing study).

Michael V. Gannon (faculty)– "The New History of Florida" (publication forthcoming).

Mark I. Greenberg– "Cultural Diversity in Florida Since 1800: Essays in Honor of Samuel Proctor," with William Warren Rogers and Canter Brown, Jr. (publication forthcoming).

David McCally– "An Environmental History of the Florida Everglades" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Larry Odzak– "Odysseys to America: The Origins and Growth of Greek-American Communities in the Southern United States" (continuing study); "'Demetrios is Now Jimmy:' Greek Immigrants in the Southern United States" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Susan R. Parker– "Economic Relations in Eighteenth-Century Spanish Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Claudine Payne– "Political Complexity in Chiefdoms: The Lake Jackson Mound Group and Ceramic Chronology in Northwest Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Donna Ruhl– "Paleoethnobotany of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth- Century Spanish Mission Sites in Coastal La Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Michael David Tegeder– "'The Onliest Way Out is to Die Out:' Debt Peonage in the Southern Turpentine Industry" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Ruth Trocolli– "Gender and Conquest: The Role of Women in the European Colonization of La Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

University of Miami

Gregory W. Bush (faculty)– "Miami Centennial Reader," with Arva Moore Parks (publication forthcoming); "Webs of Sub-

version: Anti-Communism in Miami, 1945-1960" (continuing study).

Patricia Wickman– "Discourse and Power: Native Americans and Spaniards Negotiate a New World in La Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

University of North Florida

James B. Crooks (faculty)– "Jacksonville Since Consolidation" (continuing study).

Daniel L. Schafer (faculty)– "United States Territory and State," in Michael V. Gannon, ed., "The New Florida History" (publication forthcoming); " 'The Forlorn State of Poor Billy Bartram:' Locating the St. Johns River Plantation of William Bartram" (publication forthcoming); "A Biography of Zephaniah Kinsgley" (research completed).

Bonita A. Deaton– "Unionism in Clay County Florida During the Civil War" (master's thesis in progress).

University of Pennsylvania

Edward E. Baptist– "Culture and Power: The Old South's Florida Frontier, 1821-1865;" "Planter Migration to Antebellum Florida: Kinship and Power;" "The Slaves' Frontier: Migration and Middle Florida, 1819-1850;" "Florida Plantation Records Revisited: Additional Documents from El Destino and Chemonie Plantations" (continuing studies); and "The Social and Cultural History of Migration to Leon and Jackson Counties" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

University of South Florida

Stephen Andrews– "'We'd All Be Strawberry Millionaires:' Plant City's Strawberry Schools and Educational Reform" (master's thesis completed).

Raymond O. Arsenault (faculty)– "Harvests of Shame: Migrant Laborers in Florida" (continuing study).

Ellen Babb– "St. Petersburg's African-American Community" (master's thesis in progress).

Ericka Burroughs– "The Memoirs of Robert Saunders: The NAACP Years" (master's thesis in progress).

Kim J. Frosell– "(Booster Altruism: Progressive Era Tampa" (master's thesis completed).

Gary Garrett– "The Impossible Highway: A Social History of the Tamiami Trail" (master's thesis in progress).

Susan Greenbaum (faculty) and Cheryl Rodriguez (faculty)– "Central Avenue Legacies: African-American Heritage in Tampa" (study completed).

Kathy Howe– "Race and Reconstruction in Hillsborough County" (master's thesis in progress).

Geoffrey Mohlman– "African Americans in Tampa, 1528-1995" (master's thesis completed).

Gary R. Mormino (faculty)– "Florida and World War II," and "A Social History of Florida" (continuing studies).

Michael H. Mundt– "Fiery Crosses in the Palmettos: The Ku Klux Klan and the Greater Community in Tampa and Hillsborough County, 1920-1925" (master's thesis completed).

Jennifer Paul– "Oral Life Histories of Latin Women in Tampa" (master's thesis in progress).

Scott Rohrer– "The Rising Sun in the Sunshine State: Images of Japan During World War II" (master's thesis in progress).

James A. Schnur– "Florida's Red Scare: The Johns Committee" (master's thesis completed).

Ana Varela-Lago– "Spanish Immigrants in Tampa" (master's thesis in progress).

University of West Florida

Tracy Alford– "Indian Artifacts at Fort San Carlos" (master's thesis in progress).

William S. Coker (emeritus faculty)– "A History of Sacred Heart Hospital, Pensacola, 1919-1995;" "History of Florida," with Jerrell H. Shofner (continuing studies).

Jane E. Dysart (faculty)– "Indians in Colonial Pensacola" (continuing study).

Sandra Johnson– "French and Spanish Interaction in Colonial Pensacola" (master's thesis in progress).

Thomas Long, Jr.– "William D. Moseley, First Governor of the State of Florida" (master's thesis in progress).

David Reeder– Adam Slemmer and Fort Pickens in the Civil War (master's thesis in progress).

Margo Stringfield– "Colonial Wells in Pensacola" (master's thesis in progress).

Debra Wells– "Spain and the Caribbean Basin: A Study of Ceramic Artifact Patterning in Contact and Settlement Sites" (master's thesis in progress).

Valdosta State University

Fred Lamar Pearson, Jr. (faculty)– "Spanish-Indian Relations in La Florida" (continuing study).

Vanderbilt University

Jane Landers (faculty)– "An Eighteenth-Century Community in Exile: The Floridanos in Cuba;" "African and African American Women and Their Pursuit of Rights Through Eighteenth-century Spanish Texts;" "Black Property Acquisition and Management in Spanish Florida, 17841821;" "Rape and Infanticide in Spanish St. Augustine" (publications forthcoming).

Consulting, Research, and *Local Historians*

J. Larry Durrance– "The Influence of the Association of Southern Women on the Prevention of Lynching in Florida" (continuing study).

Zack C. Waters– "Florida's Confederate Soldiers in the Army of Northern Virginia;" "Fifteenth Confederate Cavalry (Florida and Alabama Troops) and the War in the Florida Panhandle" (continuing studies).

Patricia Wickman– "Discourse and Power: Native Americans and Spaniards Negotiate a New World in La Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress) ; "Between Two Worlds: The Betty Mae Jumper Story," with Betty Mae Jumper) ; "The Old Ways Will Survive: Seminole Traditions Remembered;" "The Seminoles Remember the Florida Wars" (continuing studies) ; "The Colonial Floridas" and "Florida Demography: A Critical Bibliography" (publications forthcoming).

University of Alabama Press, publications forthcoming

James M. Denham– *Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Florida*

Michael Oesterreicher– *Pioneer Family: Life on the Florida Twentieth Century Frontier*

University Press of Florida, forthcoming publications

Michael V. Gannon– *The New History of Florida*
Don C. Gillespie– *The Search for Thomas F. Ward, Teacher of Frederick Delius*
Ruth Glasberg Gold– *Ruth's Journey: A Survivor's Memoir*
Patricia C. Griffin, ed., *Fifty Years of Southeastern Archaeology: Selected Works of John W. Griffin*
John H. Hann– *A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions*
Barbara A. Purdy– *How to do Archaeology the Right Way*
John F. Starry– *Political Structure and Change in the Prehistorica Southeastern United States*
Gonzalo R. Soruco– *Cubans and the Mass Media in South Florida*

BOOK REVIEWS

Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida. By Amy Turner Bushnell. (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1994. Anthropological Paper No. 74. 249 pp. Foreword by David Hurst Thomas, abstract, introduction, acknowledgments, notes, appendix, references, index.)

This is the third volume in the series resulting from the archaeological and documentary research concerning Mission Santa Catalina de Guale which began in 1972. Dr. Bushnell did not formally join the team until 1986, but her excellent work on, *The King's Coffer: Proprietors of the Spanish Florida Treasury, 1565-1702,* published in 1981, prepared her well for the research for this volume. As David Hurst Thomas points out in his foreword:

> Amy Turner Bushnell's extraordinary volume deals with the Spanish support system for their mission chain, the northward terminus being Mission Santa Catalina de Guale. In order to deal with the Spanish economic structure, the Native American communities, and the struggles between the two, she has expanded the scope of this study to embrace all of Spanish Florida.

Dr. Bushnell's monograph provides a varied spectrum, from narrative and specific illustration to full-blown historiographic analysis. The narrative chapters provide the historical backbone of this monograph, and they constitute the first real attempt to write a general history of the provinces of *La Florida.* The analytical and illustrative sections provide the detail needed by archaeologists encountering the archaeological record of Spanish Florida. (p. 12)

Most historians are well aware of the *situado* by which Spain provided the economic support for *La Florida.* They also know of the major problems associated with the *situado* —that it was often insufficient for a variety of reasons and that on occasion it did not arrive at all.

Less well known was the *sabana* system which Dr. Bushnell defines as the "native institution for public finance." She points out

that the *sabanas,* lands used to support a wide number of persons including the friars, were also known by different names such as *milpas* in other colonies. (p. 111). *Milpas* in Central America and Mexico referred to land used to cultivate corn, the principal crop there.

But the book goes well beyond just the financial support of *La Florida.* It provides detailed information about the relationship of the natives and the Spaniards, services of the church, schools, expansion to the west and north including the founding and demise of Santa Catalina de Gaule, and more. In fact, the book is so full of information that it is difficult to describe in a short review. The documentation, including both primary and secondary materials, is extensive.

For those teaching colonial Florida history, as well as anyone interested in the history of *La Florida* from the mid-1500s to the 1700s, this study will serve as an excellent reference work. It is well-written and contains much "new" information.

University of West Florida, Emeritus WILLIAM S. COKER

Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe. By Jerald T. Milanich. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1995. xix, 290 pp. Preface, maps, illustrations, notes, index, about the author. $29.95 cloth.)

The purpose of this book, the author says, is "To bring to my readers a sense of history and place, to correlate modem towns and places with past events and people." (p. xv) In the first two chapters he notes that the past is everywhere around us. He introduces some of the archaeologists and historians who help explain pre-columbian America. The balance of the book is organized into three sections: I. The Indigenous People; II. The Invasion; and III. The Aftermath.

Section I summarizes nearly everything known about the indigenous people of Florida. There were as many as 100 discreet groups and at least ten different cultures. To handle so many, Milanich subdivides the peninsula into three sections. He has a chapter on the natives of southern Florida, one on central Florida, and the last on northern Florida. The cultures within each subdivision

have some common characteristics. It is not known how many languages were spoken.

The several cultures are known by the remains that archaeologists have dug up and to some extent by Spanish written records. Since the archaeological relics are scattered and the Spanish reports limited, it is necessary many times to say "It is possible that . . ." or "Perhaps, . . ." Milanich gives full credit to the archaeologists and historians who have supplied pieces of the jigsaw puzzle from which inferences may be drawn.

Section II, The Invasion, discusses all the voyages made by Spanish and French explorers to the Florida area. Milanich expends four and a half pages determining whether or not what the Europeans did was invasion. He concludes that it was. When Ponce de Leon made the first deep penetration in 1513 there were an estimated 350,000 Indians in Florida. Diseases carried by the white invaders rapidly decimated this population.

The Spanish felt justified in their invasion because God had given power to the Pope to divide the world, and the Pope in turn had assigned a great part of the Americas to the Spanish monarchs. If the natives refused to accept this abstract of title, and if they refused to accept Christianity, then the document said, 'We will take you and your wives and children and make them slaves . . . and we will take your property, and will do you all the harm and evil that we can." (p. 101) Under this authority an astonishing number of Florida Indians were enslaved, many of them sold to plantation owners in the Caribbean islands. Milanich judges the invaders by the European standards of the epoch. "I find it hard," he writes, "to blame anyone for events that occurred hundreds of years ago." (p. 103)

Section III, the Aftermath, covers the history of the Spanish missions and their intent to impose Spanish culture on the Indians. The purpose, genuinely held, was to better the living conditions of the natives. Even when a plague swept away thousands, priests saw this as a harvest of souls, since the victims were Christianized. But the end result of the invasion was eradication of the indigenous people.

The writing is classroom style, halting the narrative to note where we have been and where we are going next. We are alerted that we will see later, and often told that we must remember. For a highly specialized course the book would make a fine text. It sympathetically describes the remarkable exploits of the invaders. It is

not emotional about the suffering inflicted on the Indians. The book contains the most comprehensive account of the indigenous Indians of Florida that is to be found.

University of Florida, Emeritus JOHN K. MAHON

Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. Edited with an Introduction by Eugene Lyon. (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995. xxv, 610 pp. Introduction, bibliography. $62.00.)

In the context of Latin American settlement, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés was a latecomer; but in the colonization of North America he was a frontrunner, founding in 1565 the first permanent European community of the United States. Menéndez succeeded after seven previous Spanish expeditions to the southeast had failed. Menéndez's focus encompassed far more than just the area where St. Augustine has endured. His "Florida" embraced territory as far as Newfoundland, and his plans were expansive as well, with intentions to open a pathway from the Atlantic seaboard to New Spain.

This 24th volume of the *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebook* series presents the multifaceted Menéndez– his dreams, concerns and frustrations largely through the 16th-century Spaniard's own words. The book features Eugene Lyon's translations of Menéndez's correspondence, most of it previously unpublished. Preceding each translation, an editor's note describes the historical context of the document and assesses the personages involved. In addition, book excerpts and journal articles by Dr. Lyon and other scholars amplify aspects of the explorations, the conquests, the conqueror and the conquered.

The book is divided into seven parts. In "The Man from Asturias" Lyon presents this "least understood of our historic greats" (p. 17) as a loyal subject and churchman, nobleman, clansman, explorer, sailor, and honoree of the southeastern Indians. "Preparation for the Florida Conquest" (Part II) addresses the strategy for settlement, Menéndez's agreements with the king of Spain, and the material needs of expedition. For example, a translated supply list specifies amounts of food (including 400 strings of garlic), armor, religious paraphernalia, hardware and textiles. Part III contains the probably best known elements of Menéndez's activities: the establishment of Spanish Florida and the rout of the French Hugue-

nots. Events are reported in his own letters, a complaint of the French ambassador, a letter from the Pope and Menéndez's reply to the pontiff.

Following the heady founding and confrontation with the French came the outreach and more mundane settlement segments for Menéndez's Spanish Florida as described in Parts IV and VI. The leader of the Florida colony needed to maintain order and sustain material requirements. In this vein Lyon offers the agreements with the soldier-settlers for land allotments, ordinances instituted in the "provinces of Florida," and a listing of each individual at the settlement of Santa Elena (Parris Island) as well as the residents' subsequent complaints. The arrival of the Spaniards brought a clash of two belief systems (Part V): Catholic Christianity and Native American religions. Menéndez's writings describe his encounters with the customs of the native inhabitants and his attempts to secure Jesuit missionaries. His petition (p. 427-30) to enslave recalcitrant Florida Indians was denied by the crown. The final part addresses the "Death of Menéndez and Its Aftermath" and this section is solely Lyon's work. With only debts, daughters and unwise sons-in-law surviving him, Menéndez was not to realize his dream, even in death. Florida became a crown possession rather than the proprietary colony that he had envisioned.

Lyon is renowned as the foremost expert on the founding years of Spanish settlement in the southeast, and he is responsible for our awareness of the broad geographical scope of the 16th-century endeavors. For two decades he has enlarged upon the theme that "Spanish Florida" meant far more than a beach-head at St. Augustine, both in conception and in reality. Now, this volume enables readers to encounter the words of those who experienced the earliest years and by virtue of the many translations to incorporate these primary documents into other research and writing. The translations are true to the originals; yet Lyon has masterfully smoothed the archaic convolutions that could confuse and put off the modern reader. Lyon leaves us with the pathos of Menéndez's own words, dictated from his deathbed, explaining the explorer's goal (p. 573): "it is my end purpose to provide that Florida shall be settled for all time."

Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board SUSAN R. PARKER

Fort Meade, 1859-1900. By Canter Brown, Jr. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995. xvi, 216 pp. Preface, illustrations, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $19.95, paper.)

Canter Brown's *Fort Meade* is the story of a transition beginning with the eviction of seasonally resident Seminole Indians and ending with the advent of a town from which phosphate-bearing boxcars rolled on steel rails where once the Seminoles hunted and tended cattle. Today's Fort Meade is heavily dependent upon citrus, cattle and phosphate mining which is conducted on an immense scale by international corporations. But in 1849 technology was primitive, and that is when the site of an old Indian river town and ford was chosen as a military station for monitoring the Seminole reservation boundaries.

During the third Seminole War, 1855-1858, the post became a "town," a garrisoned place where residents established homes. The newcomers managed herds along the valley of Peas Creek (today's Peace River). Cowhunters followed the old trails and camped on the fertile rises just as the Seminoles had before them. The lower Peas Creek functioned during the mid-1880s as a government-set boundary separating the new settlers from the Seminoles' reservation. The boundary was moved further south in the spring of 1850 because of pressure from the growing numbers of new settlers– a population which acquired private title to land, paid taxes, and elected representatives to public office. Thus, two opposing interests were distinguished by a critical civil difference.

Canter Brown is a talented chronicler of Fort Meade's story, much of which was previously published in his *Florida's Peace River Frontier* (1991). In the preface of this work, Brown declares that "An examination of its [Fort Meade's] early history offers a contribution to our understanding of frontier communities and their significance." He cites Frederick Jackson Turner's 1893 theories of the impact of the frontier environment upon the character and democracy of subsequent industrial-urban America. But, unlike Turner, Brown offers no analytical theory regarding Fort Meade's frontier patterning, no definition of its distinguishing imprint upon the ultimate evolving scenario– land ownership, politics and the emergent phosphate mining industry. He also discusses the 1881 Disston land acquisitions, but offers no analysis of its historic consequences. That is a critical omission, for Disston's far-reaching transactions and those of other corporations conclusively defined

the massive landholding dominance so prevalent in that region from that time forward.

Nor does Brown advance a theory regarding the resultant imprint of the pioneer experience of white settlers and Seminole refugees and their descendants upon later democracy and culture. In his preface, Brown attributes the virtual absence of narrative relative to the pre-1836 Indian town of Talakchopco, near which site Fort Meade was built, because that material also appears in *Florida's Peace River Frontier:* "I felt that its repitition would serve no valid purpose," though "the Indians' former presence continued to be evident throughout the nineteenth century." However, much of the material in *Fort Meade* is repetitive, so why single out this component for exclusion?" Why miss the opportunity to reassign its cultural legacy upon subsequent time and space in accordance with the Turner theory?

Brown asserts that Fort Meade is the "oldest town in interior south Florida." If Fort Meade is the "oldest town," then what of Plant City some 30 miles distant? As Ichepucksassa, that settlement was a destination in 1849 when Florida's Governor Moseley sent a company of Tallahassee volunteers to defend the frontier from that place to Sarasota Bay; a Hillsborough County voting precinct by 1850. Ichepucksassa was home to Jacob Summerlin, famed pioneer, who by Christmas of 1851 was described as an important cattleman located there.

Devastated by Union forces during the Civil War, Fort Meade was elevated by the Disston-era boom and the arrival of aristocratic English immigrants. The town was levelled by fire and freezes, but again advanced by discoveries of phosphate and subsequent mining, railroading and commerce during the 1890s. The culturally-diverse town cherished by freedom-loving Cuban tobacco investors and workers was abandoned by them during Cuba's war for liberation and by many residents during the "bust" that followed natural, political and economic disasters. Ultimately, the 1903 Florida legislature abolished Fort Meade as an incorporated municipality during the decade which concludes this work.

The dramatic story of Fort Meade may lie with its subservience to a parade of major corporations from the 1880s through the 1990s rather than its short years as a temporary milestone on a military trail to the Calasoohatchee. But, if the point of Brown's monograph is to document a microcosm of the north-to-south migration pattern in 19th century peninsular Florida, *Fort Meade* is a substan-

tial contribution, a straight forward narrative of events by a capable historian, a thoroughly researched and readable monograph of 51 years of pioneering. Few Florida towns, "first" or not, can credibly claim the same.

Sarasota JANET SNYDER MATTHEWS

The African American Heritage of Florida. Edited by David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995. x, 392 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, notes, index. $49.95.)

This book is a useful compendium of twelve essays on the experiences of African-Americans throughout Florida's history. More than any previous collection, this work illuminates the contributions and sufferings of blacks in a state that historically rendered them either invisible or subordinate.

In a helpful introductory essay, David R. Colburn reviews the thematic content of the book and reiterates that few Floridians realize that African-American contributions to the development of Florida began as early as the Spanish era, and that even fewer Floridians acknowledge the breadth and depth of the black contributions to the state since then. The latter thrust is a key element of the book as it adds to a growing body of literature focusing attention on the experiences of an oftentimes neglected group in Florida's past. Analysis of the intersections between inter-racial experiences in Florida has matured to the point where it is now widely recognized as a legitimete subfield of Florida historical studies, indispensable to a critical understanding of the broad experience of the state. In addition to expanding the existing body of knowledge about the state's heritage, new studies such as this one are creating a fundamental redefinition of American history itself. Colburn further suggests that Floridians, many of whom are historically illiterate, have still not come to terms with their racial prejudices. The book, therefore, both illuminates an important and largely heretofore neglected aspect of Florida history and creates a greater appreciation and understanding for the multiracial character of that story.

The work is divided into chapters that trace various aspects of the black experience in Florida from the 1500s through contemporary time. Included in these essays are fresh discussions of such

well-known subjects as the development of a sense of black "community" in Spanish Florida (Jane L. Landers), black religion (Robert L. Hall), British East Florida's plantation culture (Daniel L. Schafer), master-slave relations (Larry E. Rivers), blacks and the Seminole removal process (George Klos), blacks and the Civil War in northeast Florida (Daniel L. Schafer), Reconstruction in the small town of LaVilla (Patricia L. Kenney), the roots of racial violence in late 19th-century Tampa (Jeffrey S. Adler), black women through the mid-20th century (Maxine D. Jones), mental health care issue for blacks during the same period (Steven Noll), Florida's "Little Scottsboro Case," based on the Groveland incident of 1949 (Steven F. Lawson, David R. Colburn, and Darryl Paulson), and the development of interethnic tensions in Miami since the "great boom" era of the 1920s (Raymond A. Mohl).

In general, the essays reflect original research and thinking. The two essays on Florida's "Scottsboro Case" and the unfolding pattern of race relations in Miami are exceptionally well done. These two essays, like many of the others, leave the reader with a strong sense of historical dissonance: how could a people who have contributed so extensively to the shaping of life in this Southern state continue to be so despised by many of its more powerful white residents?

Thus, this collection of studies suggests an agenda for future analysis of the totality of the black legacy in Florida. The challenge now goes out to historians and other scholars to probe further the past in order to disclose fully and accurately the nature and results of the historical intersection between race and culture in the Sunshine State. Until that occurs, Colburn and Lander's collection will remain the most useful such work on the sweeping scope of the black experience in Florida.

University of South Florida, IRVIN D. SOLOMON
Ft. Myers Campus

Swamp Song: A Natural History of Florida's Swamps. By Ron Larson. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995. xviii, 214 pp. Preface, introduction, photographs, illustrations, maps, epilogue, references, index. $19.95 paper.)

In *Swamp Song,* Ron Larson entices his readers to explore the wonders and diversities of Florida's swamps and wetlands. He con-

tends that a thorough comprehension of the regions' delicate ecological balance will enhance Floridians' ability to make informed decisions concerning wetland conservation and protection programs. Swamps and wetlands comprise over one-third of Florida's land mass. Between 1955-1975, however, the state lost over 2,000 square miles of wetlands due to building construction and water management projects. Though the loss has slowed to 400 square miles in the last ten years, the delicate ecological system remains in peril.

Professor Larson divides his study into two parts. The first five chapters examine swamp formation, location, composition, and exploration, while the remaining chapters provide specific descriptions of the biotic environment of the swamps. Larson combines secondary scientific studies with first-hand experience to describe Florida's vast collection of swamps and wetlands. His accounts of possible camping expeditions contain practical advice for swamp exploration, ranging from evaluating guide books to recommending specific mosquito repellents. As an aid for non-naturalist readers, common names for species appear in the text, with their scientific equivalent listed in the index. Thirty-two color photographs vividly depict many of the plants and animals that inhabit swamps and wetlands.

Swamp Song also explores the historical context of Florida's wetlands. The author declares the Swamp Lands Acts of 1849, which allowed the federal government to deed millions of acres of wetlands to individual states, the first round of ecological manipulation. From 1882 to the present, Florida's water management programs have included drainage projects and canal construction. Rather than controlling the state's water supply, these programs eroded those natural ecological systems that had moderated the vagaries and extremes of Florida's weather patterns. The result was the severe droughts and floods of the 20th century.

The author also blames human encroachment for disrupting the intricate relationship between the animals, flora, and fauna of the swamp. Historical accounts by famed naturalists William Brewster, William Bartram, and John J. Audubon depict a far different environment from that of present-day Florida. Many of the birds, trees, and flowers which they described were decimated by the logging and plumage industries during the early 1900s. By 1970, the hunting of alligators for sport and food had nearly eliminated the entire species. Larson argues that the extinction of even one specie disturbs the entire environmental balance.

While focusing on Florida's ecology environment, *Swamp Song* nevertheless paints a sad historical picture of human manipulation gone awry. Throughout their history, Floridians have attempted to dominate and control their environment. Ron Larson's study describes the environment Floridians have confronted and the changes they have enforced. Larson's enthusiastic and descriptive writing style, along with an elementary explanation of scientific terms, numerous color photos and ink sketches, makes this study accessible to any reader interested in Florida's natural environment.

Mississippi State University PATRICIA G. DILLON

Jump at the Sun: Zora Neale Hurston's Cosmic Comedy. By John Lowe. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1995. xiv, 373 pp. Acknowledgments introduction, works cited, index. $19.95.)

Focusing on Zora Neale Hurston's "mask of comedy" in her major fiction, John Lowe traces the influences of Hurston's concept of comedy. Specifically, he identifies its origins in African and African-American traditions. Historians and students of culture will find Lowe's summaries of the African traditions of humor, of the griot, and of the Esu figures in Hurston's work to be quite solid. Lowe asserts that this tradition offers Hurston double perspective on life which she used in her storytelling and which influenced her understanding of irony. In addition, he traces the traditions of Af rican-American humor including its use of stereotyping, beast fables, and witty word play. These traditions converge in her selection of Florida as her favorite setting.

Lowe writes persuasively that Hurston's identity as a writer is with the South and the state that produced her. The Florida she presents in her work is a prelapsarian frontier. Lowe asserts that Hurston's 18 months with the Florida Federal Writers Project only underscored her love of her Florida roots. Throughout her work, the flora, fauna and weather of Florida are meticulously described. She has an ear for the dialects of African-Americans, Florida crackers, and other Florida whites during the period of the 1920s and 1930s. Lowe identifies her Floridian characters as jokesters, often innovative, ambitious and energetic, in keeping with the Florida frontier population of the early 20th century. Many of her observations, when writing for the team-written, *The Florida Negro* and *The Florida Guide,* find their way into her novel, *Saraph on the Suwanee.* In

fact, Lowe points out that it was Hurston who observed that Stephen Foster wrote his famous songs without ever having seen the Suwanee River.

Literary critics and cultural historians will note Lowe's use of the insights of Mikhail Bakhtin which afford Lowe a useful theoretical description of Hurston's world view. Bakhtin's idea of the carnival, the cosmic comedy, emphasizes comic forms such as parody, anti-ritual, rebellion, transformation, loss of control, and pleasure. Lowe identifies these attributes in Hurston's work and also in her own life. She adopted the comic role of the trickster and verbal dual/list, the uncorrect, wanton, offensive, and unapologetic person.

Lowe grounds his close readings of her work in a multi-cultural and historical perspective. This approach succeeds well in allowing perceptive readings of her major work. For example, in *Jonah's Gourd Vine,* Lowe is able to use analysis to point out the dualism of the black preacher's cosmic and comic dimensions. Lowe identifies John Pearson as half Christian and half griot.

Lowe's analysis of *Their Eyes Were Watching God* is especially well done. Since most readers are familiar with this novel, they will recognize the argument derived from Henry Louis Gates, that Janie is a trickster figure who learns to see from a dual perspective. Lowe's analysis of this novel is particularly perceptive in describing the relationship between Teacake and Janie as being ultimately comic since the relationship is based on play, laughter, pleasure, and a sense of the present.

Students of literature, history and culture will recognize Lowe's study as an important contribution to Hurston's scholarship. His study is a good example of the second wave of contemporary Hurston scholarship that continues to recognize her uniqueness in American literature and at the same time, appreciates that her genius exists within a context of cultural diversity and individual innovation.

University of Central Florida KATHRYN LEE SEIDEL

Foraging and Farming in the Eastern Woodlands. Edited by C. Margaret Scarry. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993. xiii, 352 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, figures, tables, references cited, contributors, index. $49.95.)

This volume is a compilation of papers presented in two paleoethnobotany symposia at professional archaeology meetings held in 1988. Topics include prehistoric and early historic chronological syntheses and specific case studies based on current paleoethnobotanical research in the Eastern Woodlands of North America.

In the introduction, Scarry briefly outlines the focus, intent, relevant terminology, and organization of the chapters. Although some may consider the terminology review a belaboring point, given the continued use of similar terms for different human/plant interrelationships and concomitant practices, the definitions are needed.

The book is divided into three sections. The first section provides a chronological synthesis of archaeobotanical data for the Eastern Woodlands. Six authors (Yarnell, Chapman, Watson, Fritz, Johannessen, and Scarry) provide a comprehensive review of current paleoethnobotanical knowledge spanning the Late Archaic through Mississippian time periods. Native and introduced plants are traced from their earliest appearance in the archaeobotanical record and tracked through time. With each temporal chapter, authors discuss geographical locations of key plant resources utilized and review the evidence for changing interrelationships from plant husbandry to domestication.

The second section is composed of three chapters focused on new perspectives and methods for interpreting specific archaeobotanical datasets. Decker-Walters summarizes her studies of *Cucurbita pepo* using allozyme and image analysis, while Dunavan presents the results of her reanalysis of a Late Woodland assemblage providing new perspectives with the aid of morphological analyses, and Newsom's innovative study of three different wood assemblages advances our understanding of human ecology and resource utilization.

The final section is a compilation of case studies. Five chapters present specific temporal/spatial case studies of subsistence practices, changes, and social behavior: Wymer describes the similarities in Middle and Late Woodland subsistence patterns in Ohio, Scarry presents her work on the Mississippian Moundville assem-

blage and examines socioeconomic behavior in terms of agricultural risk, Johannessen addresses changes in food production and consumption in the American Bottom region spanning the Late Woodland to Mississippian periods, King analyzes an Oneota component in Illinois emphasizing the relationship between social change and climatic factors, and Ruhl describes a series of 16th and 17th century archaeobotanical assemblages from *La Florida.* Lopinot and Wood's chapter focuses on the collapse of Cahokia by examining wood resource utilization, procurement, and overexploitation. Clearly exemplified in these chapters, critical, paleoethnobotanical perspectives can bring a heightened understanding to questions regarding the manifestation of social behavior and causal factors relating to changes in Eastern Woodland cultures.

For readers especially interested in the protohistory of the lower Southeast, Ruhl's chapter on *La Florida* brings together ethnohistorical documentation and archaeobotanical data to identify patterns in plant use during the 16th and 17th centuries. Ruhl explores the interactions between three Native American tribes (Guale, Timucua, and Apalachee) and the Spanish to determine changes in traditional foodways experienced by each. Although the archaeobotanical data is presented in a rudimentary presence/absent format, gross generalities are gleaned from the analysis. Ruhl successfully identifies changes in subsistence strategies practiced by both groups.

Margaret Scarry has brought together a fine example of current research by some of the leading paleoethnobotanists conducting analytical studies on diet and subsistence in the Eastern Woodlands. After years of compiling, analyzing, and synthesizing archaeobotanical data, the authors have interwoven a volume that stands as an excellent contribution to our understanding of prehistoric and early historic foodways of Eastern Woodlands cultures. I would certainly concur with Deborah M. Pearsall that "[this is] a volume which belongs on the bookshelf of every archaeologist and paleoethnobotanist who is concerned with plants and culture in North America."

Northern Arizona University ANDREA A. HUNTER

The Economy and Material Culture of Slaves: Goods and Chattels on the Sugar Plantations of Jamaica and Louisiana. By Roderick A. McDonald. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993. xiv, 339 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, figures, maps, tables, conclusion, appendices, essay on bibliography and historiography, sources, index. $39.95.)

Roderick McDonald has written a tremendously valuable study of the economy and material possessions of sugar plantation slaves in Jamaica and Louisiana. The extent of the so-called internal economy, the production, exchange and consumption of goods by and for slaves, is not well known for the United States. Readers will find several of McDonald's conclusions startling. For example, by selling corn, wood, poultry, hogs, and Spanish moss, Louisiana slaves earned upwards of $20 each per year, more than the expense to masters for clothing and feeding them. On one plantation, slaves made as much as $170 in a year. Moreover, these figures, because they are calculated from accounts kept by masters, do not include hidden earnings from forbidden sales off the plantation, the trade in stolen goods, and so forth. The more extensive internal economy of Jamaica has long been known to scholars. After all, it was a contemporary, planter-historian Edward Long, who observed in 1774 that slaves held perhaps 20 percent of Jamaica's coin, and that 10,000 slaves attended market every Sunday in Kingston. Nevertheless, by comparing the island to Louisiana, McDonald sheds new light on this familiar subject as well. The material goods slaves acquired through their internal economy in Jamaica came to them in lieu of provisions that might have been provided by slaveowners. In contrast, Louisiana slaves used their internal economy to supplement the provisions they received from masters. In both places slaves sought to improve their material well-being. They shared certain priorities, desiring cash or commodities that they could exchange for, first, food, clothing, housing, tobacco and liquor, and second, housewares, tools, and luxuries. What is perhaps more remarkable, they developed a sense of proprietary rights for the goods they traded and accumulated, keeping them secured under lock and key. In Louisiana, however, where masters provided more basic necessities, slaves were able to devote more of their earnings to satisfy their desire for less essential luxury purchases, such as watches.

McDonald's findings bear on the complex matter of the master-slave relationship and its consequences for the slaves. Island slaves enjoyed much more autonomy through their more extensive economy than did their mainland counterparts. As a result, they held on to more of their African heritage. They built their own housing in African style, and made and exchanged African style clothing. But their material well-being suffered– the death rate remained high, the fertility rate low– in part because masters left their slaves to fend for themselves. Louisiana masters interfered more directly in the lives of their slaves by providing housing and clothing, but of course in Anglo-American fashion. Materially, Louisiana slaves were much better off, and their rate of natural increase demonstrated as much. There was, in short, no positive relationship between the extent of the slaves' economy and the harshness of slavery as measured in its toll on human life.

It is disappointing that McDonald never explores the relationship between the slaves' economy and their rate of natural increase. Perhaps their was none. Still, the matter ought to have been considered because McDonald's comparative perspective is well-suited to it, and because it speaks so directly to the significance of the slaves' economy for the slaves themselves.

Although the subject of the book may seem narrow in scope, the implications of the author's painstaking research are large indeed. Moreover, data presented in 90 pages of appendices will doubtless prove useful to scholars long after McDonald's own very significant findings have been digested. There would appear to be a growing trend toward more sophisticated quantitative studies of historical research that show some disdain for number-crunching. May these studies not be ignored as a consequence.

University of Texas at Arlington CHRISTOPHER MORRIS

The Work of Reconstruction: From Slave to Wage *Labor in South Carolina, 1860-1870.* By Julie Saville. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994. xiv, 221 pp. Acknowledgments, abbreviations, map, photographs, bibliography, index.)

Julie Saville's monograph, *The Work of Reconstruction,* probes deeply into one of the most important decades in American history– the 1860s, when millions of slaves became free men and women. Drawing on a wealth of archival sources and secondary lit-

erature, especially U.S. Army and Freedmen's Bureau records in the National archives, Saville presents a penetrating portrait of the emancipation experience in South Carolina. Saville argues that, for many newly freed African Americans, emancipation was more than a physical struggle for the liberation of their bodies from bondage. Emancipation was an economic, political, and cultural process of defining freedom as something more than selling labor on the free market; the ideal that free black people should possess their own land was the material foundation for emancipation.

Saville's study begins with a brief discussion of how slaves attempted to gain some control over their labor when they tended their own kitchen gardens and fields. In the immediate aftermath of emancipation, freedmen and women tried to establish on a permanent legal basis these practices of working their own land with their own families. Meanwhile, plantation owners and Northern officials often forced ex-slaves off land claims; and sent those displaced back to work the property recently restored to the planters, using wage or share contracts to keep the newly freed black population under a system of white control. At the same time, poor whites, fearful of competition from the freedmen and women, engaged in terrorist attacks on black land holdings and trade networks.

Much of Saville's recounting of the initial emancipation experience and the origins of sharecropping echoes the work of previous scholars such as Willie Lee Rose, Leon Litwack, and Gerald Jaynes. Saville does add some important observations about how age shaped the response of freedmen and women to new forms of wage labor– older workers were often more adaptable to new rules, while piece rates were set to the pace of younger, stronger workers. She also demonstrates how recalcitrant workers could be set adrift if they protested the new labor regimes.

Saville's later chapters contain tantalizing glimpses into the political organizations and cultural practices of ex-slaves. But the material on festivals, work drills, militias, and mass political meetings is sometimes awkwardly analyzed and not always completely connected with the book's major themes about slave and wage labor. Perhaps if Saville had extended her study to the traditional boundary of this period– 1877– she might have drawn together more of her rich material on both the physical "reconstruction of work" and the political "work of reconstruction."

In the end, Saville has written a meticulously detailed reconstruction of the ex-slaves' economic and political condition in the years immediately following emancipation. But she has embedded much of her extensive and primary material in a presentation which is often rhetorically dense and analytically obtuse. Had she conveyed more directly the emotional passion, physical struggle, and political calculation at the heart of the ex-slaves' experiences, an important piece of historical research might have become an even more valuable contribution to the historical literature on the post-bellum South.

North Carolina State University DAVID A. ZONDERMAN

Race, Class, and Community in Southern Labor History. Edited by Gary M. Fink and Merl E. Reed. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994. xvii, 297 pp. Preface, introduction, tables, notes, editors and contributors, index $39.95, cloth.)

Drawn form the 1991 Southern Labor Studies Conference, these 13 essays showcase the historiographical richness of the latest work in southern labor history. As the title suggests, the sources and research agenda of social history inform much of the work in *Race, Class, and Community in Southern Labor History* The collection casts a wide net to include the working lives of urban slaves, antebellum overseers, convict laborers, African-American factory workers, and the men and women of southern mill villages. No volume of labor history would be complete, of course, without a dramatic narrative of a strike or two, and this book offers several essays that account for the region's abysmal record for organizing labor. With a well-developed sense for nuance and complexity, these essays underscore the importance of individual agency and historical contingency in trying to explain the course of southern labor history.

The first part of the book examines the historical development of the textile industry. David Carlton's thoughtful analysis of the literature on village paternalism reminds historians that while the system allowed for a degree of employee resistance and autonomy, paternalism was part of a larger historical process that left southerners with few choices and even fewer chances for "institutionalized worker power" (p. 23). Gary Freeze complements Carlton's work with a study of the psychological toll of paternalism on the al-

ready diminished status of the former agrarian patriarchs. Emphasizing the much neglected but important political behavior of southern textile workers, Bryant Simon suggests that the layoffs, wage-cuts, and stretch-out of the late 1920s forced laborers to reexamine their antistatist assumptions and turn toward the promises of the New Deal. Taken as a whole, these and the remaining essays offer a comprehensive review of the literature and issues on one of the region's most important industries.

The second part places black workers within the broader context of southern society from slavery to industrial unionism in the era of Jim Crow. Suzanne Schnittman offers an interesting essay that traces the origins of African-American working class formation to the experience of Richmond's tobacco factory slaves in the 1840s and 1850s. Even within the constraints of industrial slavery, Richmond's tobacco workers, frequently hired by agents or employers, could secure considerable autonomy with access to cash wages and independent living arrangements. Working form oral interviews, Michael Honey also points to an ambiguous legacy of African-American labor history with an account of trade unionism in Memphis nearly a century later. Despite the industrial discrimination of the CIO in the 1930s and 1940s black unionists used the organization to improve working conditions and fight for civil rights both inside and outside the factory gate.

The book concludes with a set of essays that addresses the relationship between labor and politics in the New South. Alex Lichtenstein dismisses simplistic generalizations about the power of the state with a sophisticated understanding of the conflicts and limitations of Georgia's convict lease system. Although state and industry officials may have shared attitudes about race, labor, and punishment for criminal behavior, conflict over the level of exploitation of prison labor consistently forced the state to grapple with its contradictory position as the final enforcer of discipline and protector of "state-created slaves" (p. 164). Michael Goldfield and Douglas Flamming's essays challenge traditional assumptions concerning southern exceptionalism in American labor history. Their work suggests that a cautious bid for mainstream respectability by national union leadership may have been more responsible for squelching conservatism during the late 1940s and 1950s.

This volume represents the variety and originality of the latest research in southern labor history. With summary reviews of the literature to each part of the book, *Race, Class, and Community in*

Southern Labor History stands as an important introduction to the major debates and issues of an expanding field of scholarship.

University of Florida MICHAEL DAVID TEGEDER

The Last Voyage of El Nuevo Constante: The Wreck and Recovery of an Eighteenth-Century Spanish Ship off the Louisiana Coast. By Charles E. Pearson and Paul E. Hoffman. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995. xix, 245 pp. Preface, abbreviations, tables, bibliography, index, $29.95.)

This fascinating book is both a compelling historical account of an 18th century Spanish merchantman's loss and an intriguing archaeological report of its recent discovery and excavation. Many books have chronicled the discovery of treasure-laden Spanish galleons in America waters, but this is the first that thoroughly documents historical background and excavation of an ordinary merchant ship. Pearson, a meticulous archaeologist, and Hoffman, a noted historian, enlisted the assistance of other scholars, scientists and technicians and were able fully to describe the physical features of the wreck, surmise how the hull was constructed, and where and how the cargo was stowed. Archival research in Spain, Mexico and Louisiana enabled the authors to trace the history of the ship from its purchase by a mercantile family in Cádiz from its owners in England to the final disposal of the salvaged cargo after the disaster in 1766.

On February 27, 1766, *El Nuevo Constante* reached Veracruz with a cargo of 100 tons of mercury and after being unloaded was incorporated into the *Flota de Nueve España,* commanded by Captain General Augustín de Idiaguez which was preparing to return to Spain. The registered cargo of the entire fleet was valued at 15,622, 284 pesos of which over 13 million was in silver coin, but the *El Nuevo Constante* only carried about 22,000 pesos in specie. The bulk of her cargo consisted of indigo, vanilla beans, leather hides, copal paste, logwood and other products of the land. Numerous delays ensued and the convoy finally set sail on August 21, 1766. The first ten days of the voyage were uneventful. Then on September 2, a hurricane struck and the ships were scattered off the coast of Louisiana. After three days of trying to keep the leaky ship afloat, the captain finally decided to run her aground to save

her cargo and people. Further to the west another ship of the convoy, *El Corazon de Jesus y Santa Barbara* was also run aground.

Immediately upon hearing word of the disaster, the first governor of the new Spanish colony of Louisiana, Don Antonio de Ulloa y de la Torre Guiral, undertook salvage operations on both wrecks. Over a period of two months, six different salvage vessels worked on the *El Nuevo Constante* and most of her cargo was recovered. An entire chapter of this book is dedicated to this contemporary salvage effort. Then for 213 years the wreck was forgotten.

Then in November 1979, a shrimp boat out of Port Bolivar, Texas, *The Lady Barbara,* skippered by Captain Curtis Blume, snagged into a portion of the wreck. Pulling their nets up they discovered three large copper disks weighing 70 to 80 pounds each. Later when Blume determined that he had found a shipwreck, he decided to salvage the site and he formed a company named Free Enterprise Salvage, Inc. Several dives resulted in an unknown number of gold and silver ingots being discovered– most likely contraband treasure on the wreck. Then they used a barge– mounted dredge bucket and recovered a large quantity of artifacts, including more gold and silver ingots, ballast, ship's timbers, pottery, turtle shell, cannon balls and ship's fittings. Many of the artifacts were damaged and by removing them from the wreck they made the work more difficult for the authors to interpret the wreck.

Realizing the wreck might have historical significance and that they were probably in legal peril because the wreck lay in state waters, some of Blume's associates convinced him to notify the Louisiana Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism. The state then entered into a contract with the salvors in which the salvage would be undertaken under the supervision of professional archaeologists. All the materials recovered would remain with the state and the salvors would be compensated for their discovery and further work by receiving 75 percent of the value of the precious metals discovered.

This result is one of the best documented underwater archaeological excavations accomplished on a shipwreck in recent times. Half of the book deals with an analysis of the artifacts recovered from this site. With its abundance of maps and photographs, diagrams and tables, this important book is a good example of how all shipwreck excavations should be conducted and documented.

Indialantic ROBERT F. MARX

Marching With Sherman. By Henry Hitchcock. Edited by M. A. DeWolfe Howe, with an introduction by Brooks D. Simpson. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1995. xiii, 332 pp. Photos, maps, illustrations, index, $12.95.)

Edmund Wilson once wrote that the "'American Civil War was not one in which belles letters flourished, but it did produce a remarkable literature which mostly consists of speeches and pamphlets, private letters and diaries, personal memoirs and journalistic reports." Henry Hitchcock, an aide assigned to General William T. Sherman from October, 1864, until the end of the war, created a fair example of this literature.

In a series of letters written to his wife and in a campaign diary he kept at times when mail service was interrupted, Hitchcock penned a humane, fascinating account of his experiences in the midst of "mass war" waged against rebel homelands in Georgia and the Carolinas. His account, not written for publication, offers the story of a novice soldier's effort to understand why the tactics of "mass war" became tolerable, even justifiable, in the cause of preserving the Union.

Although he was born near Mobile, Alabama, Henry Hitchcock was hardly a typical white southerner of his time. Yale educated, selfconsciously tied to his New England ancestry, he established a prominent law office in St. Louis during the early 1850s. He was elected to the Missouri state convention of 1861 as a Republican, helped to block the passage of an ordinance of secession, and later, joined a majority of delegates in forming a provisional state government that was loyal to the Union. In the post war years, Hitchcock returned to his stellar legal practice, taking part in founding the American Bar Association.

The young Hitchcock began his military service at a camp near Rome, Georgia, on October 31, 1864, after having petitioned for an appointment through secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton and his uncle, Ethan Allen Hitchcock, Major General of volunteers and a friend of General Sherman. In the first few weeks of his duty, the new aide recoiled at the degree of destruction he witnessed as the Union army ground its way through the hills of Central Georgia.

Gradually, if reluctantly, he came to accept the demolition of property used by rebel military forces and the routine seizure of cattle, hogs, work animals, grains and other items as sure ways to defeat the Confederate army. A December 1, 1864, diary entry is il-

lustrative: "It is a terrible thing to consume and destroy the sustenance of thousands of people, and most saddening and distressing in itself to see and hear the terror and grief of these women and children. But . . . if that terror and grief and even want shall help paralyze their husbands and fathers who are fighting against us . . . it is mercy in the end."

Originally published in 1927 and edited by Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Mark DeWolfe Howe, Hitchcock's account immediately became a standard source for investigations into Sherman's most famous campaign. Scholars ranging from Lloyd Lewis *(Sherman, Fighting Prophet:* 1932) to James M. McPherson *(Ordeal By Fire:* 1982), among many others, have utilized *Marching With Sherman* as reliable testimony. Hitchcock's honest criticism of what he believed to be excessive, unauthorized actions by soldiers under the general's command has made the document particularly valuable for appraisals of what Sherman and his men attempted to do, and what they actually did.

Thanks to the University of Nebraska Press, this long out of print source is now available in a paperback edition. Other publishing houses, please take note.

Florida Farm Bureau, Gainesville G. B. CRAWFORD

New South - New Law. The Legal Foundations of Credit and Labor Relations in the Postbellum Agricultural South. By Harold D. Woodman. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995. x, 124 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, cases cited. $19.95.)

There will always be a need for a writer who can discuss the law in a way which laymen can understand. Dr. Woodman accomplishes this in his exploration of postbellum southern credit law as it affected share croppers, tenant farmers, and landowners.

He begins with the post-war plight of southern plantation owners who sought ways to make their land productive without slave labor. They attacked the problem by subdividing and renting it for a share of the crop, or granting workers a share in exchange for their labor. Problems arose when creditors claiming lien rights competed for the crop or its proceeds.

By 1868, state statutes provided three bases for the creation of crop liens: rent and the cost of supplies or wage advances owed by

the tenant to the landlord, the amount owed by the tenant to a merchant for supplies, and wages owed by the landowner to the laborer. Depending on how the lien was created, a lienholder might seek satisfaction from the landlord's interest in the land, the tenant's interest in the crop, or the sharecropper's share of net crop proceeds. The chief legal problems were those which dealt with issues of priority. By 1837, states led by Georgia had adopted laws which gave the landlord a superior lien for rent and supplies advanced. These laws were upheld by the state courts.

To accomplish this, the courts distinguished between a tenant and a sharecropper, and in the process, gave landlords enormous power. A tenant had an interest in the land and the crop. A cropper was a contract laborer, whose only right was to receive his wages *from net crop proceeds.* Thus, he could not give a crop lien. Needless to say, landlords tended to argue in court that their farm workers were "croppers," not tenants. Understandably, merchants often refused to give credit to a cropper, and croppers were forced to resort to the landlord's plantation store. In such an environment, the cropper found it most difficult to get out of debt to his landlord.

Woodman's analysis provides a readable and informative discourse on the legal underpinnings for the failure of southern Reconstruction. Lawyers, and those who are interested in the evolution of the law, will find this a very useful book. The historical value is somewhat limited. This is neither a social nor economic history, and no new interpretations are presented. The relationship, if any, between crop lien laws and the Black Codes is not addressed. Rather, it is an explanation bordering on an apologia for the way the legal system enabled the benighting of the redeemed South. There is even a suggestion that a different result might have obtained if the federal government had adopted laws which protected southern farm workers when their rights were in conflict with those of landowners.

An intriguing statement is found in the closing passages where the author deals with the politics of jurisprudence, which he argues is not an oxymoron. In the postbellum South, the immediate goal of the most influential constituents (white plantation owners) was to replace slavery with a free labor system while still maintaining control over the work force. In the process of achieving this, they created a rural proletariat consisting mostly of poor black farmers who could not escape from the resulting repression. While alternatives to tenant farming and sharecropping existed, they were not

used because ultimately, the politics of redemption prevailed. Those politics sought to shift any risk of loss so as to protect the ownership and control of the land and its produce. Court decisions supported this. Those who are familiar with southern history will find a nice consistency in this.

University of Central Florida MICHAEL WOODS

Country People in the New South. By Jeanette Keith. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995. xi, 293 pp. Acknowledgments, tables, figures, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $45.00 hardcover, $18.95 paper.)

Professor Keith has written a valuable regional study that reinvigorates the traditional picture of the southern rural uplands. Using a variety of sources including federal census reports, state government documents, church records, and newspapers, she analyzes social and economic developments between 1890 and 1925 in ten counties in the Cumberland highlands of East and Middle Tennessee. As a native of the region, she is aware of many significant differences in what appears to be a homogenous society, and she is, therefore, able to provide her readers with a nuanced description of the life of the people she studies.

Keith's thesis is clear and unapologetic: the Upper Cumberland region was one place where the traditional picture of the small landowner as the dominant social and political figure was accurate. While recognizing that a small elite existed and often held political office in the county seats, she convincingly argues that they were unable to dominate county politics and force a more progressive agenda on their rural neighbors. Keith also notes a fairly numerous dependent population in the rural areas-tenant farmers primarily– but she dismisses them as sons who will soon join the landowning class. This analysis may not be convincing to other scholars, but Keith offers considerable evidence to support her interpretation

The majority of the population, however, lived on independent farms. Practicing a "safety first" approach to farming, most families produced food and other necessities for themselves. Few of the region's farmers grew commercial crops and even fewer of them borrowed money or supplies– there were virtually no share-

croppers in the ten counties. This economic conservatism was matched by a companion political, fiscal, and religious conservatism. The adult male in the household was the dominant figure in the family, although the adult women and children made significant financial contributions. While the Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Christians disagreed vehemently on matters of doctrine, they all believed that individuals and the society should follow certain patterns of behavior.

This insulated world was challenged by the national emergency created by America's entry into World War I. Despite a strong pacifist tradition among some of the local congregations, most young men signed up for the draft and served when called– the famous Alvin York came from this region. At home, the progressives in the county seats suddenly found themselves in positions of power. They directed the draft boards, local councils of defense, food administration, war bond sales, and enforcement of the Sedition Act. The state and local governments greatly increased taxes to pay for the expanded services, and, in 1920, the overburdened farmers of this region voted Republican in much greater numbers than they had previously. The Republicans reduced expenditures, and control of local politics returned to the more rural parts of the Upper Cumberland. One expression of the returning conservatism in the region's politics was the anti-evolution law introduced by John Washington Butler of Macon County. The law was the central issue in the famous Scopes trial in Dayton. Keith concludes the book with a brief description of the ten counties today.

The study of rural society in the South describes a lifestyle once common from Kentucky to Florida. What distinguishes the Upper Cumberland is that the region remained largely unchanged until the middle of the 20th century. Keith's research is impressive; her writing is clear; and the breadth of her coverage of all aspects of Upper Cumberland society is impressive. This volume is an important addition to the growing literature about the rural South during the Progressive period.

Berea College GORDON B. MCKINNEY

Remembering the Maine. By Peggy and Harold Samuels. (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995. 358 pp. Acknowledgment, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

There is merit in the thought of Wallace Stevens that "it is the unknown that excites the ardor of scholars, who, in the known alone, would shrivel up with boredom." The question of who and what sank the *U.S.S. Maine* in Havana harbor on the night of February 15, 1898 has played a lasting role in fighting off scholarly boredom and preserving the intellectual apparatus from atrophy. With varying degrees of analysis and emphasis, historians seasonally return to the question in a perennial shuffling of the evidence.

In 1958 John Edward Weems published *The Fate of the Maine* (republished in 1992) and concluded that there was no way to answer the question of external versus internal explosions: "too many other possibilities suggest themselves." Admiral Hyman G. Rickover entered the lists in 1976 with *How the Battleship Maine Was Destroyed.* With characteristic surety and certainty, Rickover concluded (basing his analysis on the work of Hansen and Price) that a fire in coal bunker A-16 set off the 6-inch reserve magazine. There was no evidence that a mine destroyed the *Maine.* Michael Blow in his *A Ship to Remember: The Maine and the Spanish-American War* (1992) did solid work in establishing that far from being the final and definitive answer to the enigma of the *Maine,* Rickover's work was "conjectural and inconclusive." Blow went further and cited the evidence (from the 1898 Sampson board of inquiry) that "the sinking of the Maine had been arranged by Spanish military officers"- evidence that the court did not follow up.

Now we have Peggy and Harold Samuels with *Remembering the Maine.* This is quite simply the most thorough, the best reasoned, and the most persuasive treatment that we have ever had on the question of the *Maine* and its demise. Not only do the authors make a strong and believable case for the physical causes of the explosions, but they answer the forever intriguing question of "who dunnit."

Since this is a book to read and not just read about, no effort at resume will be attempted here. The Samuels make the case that the *Maine* was destroyed by the fanatical supporters of General Valeriano Weyler. The destruction was initiated by the explosion of a small mine, most likely containing black powder. They substanti-

ate their thesis through the twists and turns of the naval inquiry in 1898, the international arguments concerning cause, and the raising of the *Maine* and subsequent investigation in 1911. They are particularly thorough on the 1911 investigation and correctly report that the evidence of the Vreeland Board has never received the weight and credibility that it deserved. It was not a rehash and a confirmation of the earlier Sampson inquiry, and the citations to historians who reported otherwise shed no luster on our profession.

Those who enjoy the cut and thrust of rational argument will smile their way through the fine analysis and rebuttal of the Rickover findings. While there are minor objections and queries along the way, they in no way detract from the achievement of these authors. This is a splendid study and a major contribution to almost 100 years of *Maine* scholarship.

Georgia Southern University, Emeritus ROBERT DAVID WARD

Code-Name *DOWNFALL: The Secret Plan to Invade Japan– And Why Truman Dropped the Bomb.* By Thomas B. Allen and Norman Polmar. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995. 350 pp. Prologue, photographs, map, notes, bibliography, index, picture credits. $25.00.)

The great difficulty in understanding World War II in the Pacific lies in the disjunction of the realities of 1945 and 1995. Today, academic specialists ensconced in their antiseptic, air conditioned offices explain why Harry Truman should not have employed the atomic bomb against the gentle, civilized Japanese. About the only risk these scholars run is being denounced in letters-to-the-editor.

By contrast, in 1945 hundreds of thousands of American soldiers, sailors, and marines found themselves in rather different circumstances. Caught up in a sickening blood letting on faraway islands against an enemy who preferred death to surrender, these men simply wanted to survive. Thousands, of course, did not.

The greatest compliment that can be paid any book on World War II in the Pacific is that it conveys something of this reality of 1945. *Code-Name DOWNFALL* meets this test. Based on sources in the National Archives, the U.S. Army's Center of Military History, the MacArthur Archives, the Japanese National Institute for De-

fense Studies and the Japanese Historical Research Institute, the book starts slowly. The prologue and the first five and a half chapters (of a total of twelve) recite the military history of the Pacific war from the evolution of Plan ORANGE in the late 19th century through the Battle of Okinawa. Those familiar with these subjects will find little new here.

Midway through Chapter 6, though, this book becomes vastly more interesting. The authors provide a fascinating description of DOWNFALL (the name given to the invasion of Japan) that included OLYMPIC (scheduled for November 1945 against Kyushu) and CORONET (set for March 1946 against Honshu). They also discuss Japanese defense plans and offer an analysis of the likely outcome had OLYMPIC been launched. The book is enhanced by maps of the projected landings and appendices that outline the American and Japanese forces that would have opposed each other.

Intertwined with this is a far less detailed account of Truman's decision to use the atomic weapon. This decision Allen and Polmar find fully justified and attribute it to the fanatical Japanese resistance on Iwo Jima and Okinawa, the expectations of large casualties in any invasion of the home islands, and the conviction that the Japanese had no intention of surrendering.

The portrayal of what the invasion of Kyushu would have been like is a horrifying one. Japanese intelligence correctly predicted the location of the American landings, so there would have been no surprise. Both sides were prepared to unleash chemical and bacteriological weapons and hundreds. of thousands of Japanese were committed to suicide attacks. George C. Marshall spoke of the use of atomic bombs to support the invasion. Kyushu would have become a slaughterhouse beyond imagination for both Americans and Japanese.

Of course, the subject of casualties in any invasion has become central to the controversy over the use of the atomic bomb. Part of the argument against the bomb is that it was unnecessary because an invasion of Japan would have been far less costly than later advertised by Truman with substantially less than 100,00 casualties, according to critics of the president.

On this sensitive subject, Allen and Polmar emphatically rebut the revisionists. They estimate American losses for OLYMPIC at 147,500 deaths and 343,000 wounded and contend numbers would have been much greater in CORONET. Needless to say, even larger

numbers of Japanese would have perished. But the most intriguing aspect of their examination of this issue is their suggestion that at least some of the casualty estimates of 1945 were manipulated downward in order to try and influence Truman's decision.

Code-Name DOWNFALL makes a compelling case but because it deals with a hypothetical event, its central thesis (that the invasion would have been a bloodbath for both Americans and Japanese) is unprovable. Those interested in this subject should also read John Ray Skates, *The Invasion of Japan: Alternative to the Bomb* (1994) which presents a very different scenario. The one certainty in all this speculation is that the American troops scheduled to participate in the invasion were most thankful that they did not have to test the hypotheses advanced with so much fervor (and in so much safety) by historians fifty years later.

University of Central Florida EDMUND F. KALLINA, JR.

BOOK NOTES

Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings and the Florida Cracker by Sandra Wallus Sammons and Nina McGuire was released in October 1995 by Tailored Tours Publications of Lake Buena Vista, Florida. Sandra Wallus Sammons, a former elementary school librarian, and Nina McGuire, a historian and author of several Florida books, spent several years on the manuscript for a children's book commemorating Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, her life and her writings. *Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings and the Florida Cracker,* published in a large print and illustrated with more than 20 photographs, is the result of their effort. Although intended for younger folk, the book provides a thoughtful introduction to Rawlings and her life at Cross Creek for readers of all ages. It is available from local booksellers, or may be ordered from Tailored Tours Publications, Box 22861, Lake Buena Vista, Florida, for $14.95 plus $2 for postage and handling.

Pineapple Press has just published David Nolan's *The Houses of St. Augustine,* a comprehensive survey of the city's architecture from the mid-1500s to the 1960s. The handsome book is illustrated by the paintings of Jean Ellen Fitzpatrick and photographs by Ken Barrett, Jr. Nolan makes it clear that the nation's oldest continuous settlement has weathered Spanish, British, and American governments, a number of wars, and many changes in architectural fashion. Each chapter in the book addresses a distinctive era in St. Augustine's development with a historical summary and photo essays which illustrate representative styles and forms. A good example is the treatment of the Colonial Period with its distinctive coquina stone houses and overhanging balconies. Another is the chapter dealing with the Victorian Age with its easily recognizable buildings trimmed in lacy gingerbread. The book also features the influences of major personalities. Henry Flagler's reintroduction of Spanish-style architecture is unquestionably the most striking example of the influence of an individual. The advent of the automobile was a national trend which had an impact on St. Augustine because it allowed the city to expand quickly. Throughout the work, David Nolan offers insight into the continuing struggle for preservation of older structures as successive generations have imposed their ideas on the city's future. To celebrate the publication

of *The Houses of St. Augustine,* as well as the 150th birthday of the state, the St. Augustine Historical Society has opened a new exhibit, "The Way We Looked." Featuring photographs by Ken Barrett, Jr., and watercolors by Jean Ellen Fitzpatrick, the exhibit will run through January 1996.

Stonewall Jackson's Surgeon, Hunter Holmes McGuire: A Biography is the outgrowth of Maurice F. Shaw's master's thesis which was completed in 1970 at Texas Christian University when Don E. Worcester– a longtime professor of history at the University of Florida– was chairman of the TCU history department. Urged on by both Worcester and his major professor, W. C. Nunn, Shaw continued his research and this book is the result of his efforts. *Stonewall Jackson's Surgeon* traces the life and career of the medical director of General Thomas Jonathan Jackson's Corps. Dr. McGuire attended General Jackson after he was wounded at the Battle of Chancellorsville. After Jackson's death, the physician continued his duties under the command of General Richard Ewell. Married almost immediately after the Civil War, Dr. McGuire opened a medical practice in war-torn Richmond. During the next 35 years he practiced medicine, built a hospital, and became a renowned surgeon. The book was published in 1993 by H. E. Howard, Inc., Lynchburg, VA. Complete with illustrations, it is available from that publisher for $19.95 plus $2.50 postage.

John Egerton's widely acclaimed, prize-winning *Speak Now Against the Day: The Generation Before the Civil Rights Movement in the South* focuses on the ministers, writers, educators, journalists, social activists, union members, and politicians who "pointed the way to higher ground." Among them were Will Alexander who founded the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Miles Horton of the Highlander Folk School, Osceola McKaine. a black political sage who helped establish the South Carolina Progressive Democratic Party in 1944, and Lucy Randolph Mason, a Virginia gentlewoman who became the "advance man" for the CIO's urban organizers. Florida readers will be especially interested in his treatment of Mary McLeod Bethune who, "after starting a 'school for Negro girls' in Florida," became a deputy director of the National Youth Administration, the first black woman to hold an executive position in the federal government. At the same time, Egerton also reminds his readers of South Carolina's "Cotton Ed" Smith,

Georgia's Herman Talmadge, and Mississippi's Theodore G. Bilbo, James O. Eastland, and John E. Rankin. Winner of the 1995 Robert F. Kennedy book award, the 1995 Ambassador book award in American Studies of the English-Speaking Union of the United States, and the 1995 Southern Book Critics Circle Award for Nonfiction, *Speak Now Against the Day* is now available in paperback from the University of North Carolina Press. The price of this 768-page, illustrated book is $18.95.

HISTORY NEWS

Awards and Honors

Dr. Leon J. Weinberger, University of Alabama research professor in religious studies and, since 1969, general editor of the Judaic studies series of the University of Alabama Press has received the prestigious Friedman Prize, a $5,000 cash award made by the National Hebrew Language and Culture Foundation (Histadrut Ivrit). The presentation was made on November 5 in New York City.

Meetings and Calls For Papers

The Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, originally scheduled for early October, was canceled because of Hurricane Opal. It will be rescheduled for January or February 1996. For additional information, contact Dr. Glen Costen at (904) 484-1449 or (904) 484-1425.

The Florida Folklore Society will hold its annual meeting in Cassadaga on February 10-11, 1996. Cassadaga, now over 100 years old, is a Spiritualist Camp which has been designated as a Historic District on the National Register of Historic Places. Resident spiritualists and scholars will explore Cassadaga's history, religion, and folklife. Panels, presentations, and a walking tour will be on the program. For more information, call Dr. Kristin Congdon at (407) 823-2195.

The Oral History Association invites applications for three awards to be presented in 1996 that will recognize outstanding work in the field. Awards will be given for a *published article* or *essay* that uses oral history to advance an important historical interpretation or addresses significant theoretical or methodological issues; for a *completed oral history project* that addresses a significant historical subject or theme and exemplifies excellence in oral history methodology; and to a *postsecondary educator* involved in undergraduate, graduate, continuing, or professional education who has made outstanding use of oral history in the classroom. In all cases, awards will be given for work published or completed between January 1, 1995 and March 30, 1996.

Awards are honorific and will be announced at the Association's annual meeting, to be held October 10-13, 1996, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Association welcomes entries and nominations from all who practice oral history, including academic scholars and educators, public history institutions and practitioners, independent professionals, libraries and archives, community-based groups and individuals, and others.

For guidelines and submission information, write Rebecca Sharpless, Executive Secretary, Oral History Association, Baylor University, P. O. Box 97234, Waco, TX 76798-7234. Deadline for receipt of all nomination materials is April 1, 1996.

The 1996 conference of the International Society for Comparative Study of Civilizations will be held at the Kellog West Conference Center of California State Polytechnic University, Pomono, June 21-23, 1996. The major theme of the conference is *Science and Technology in World History.* Subthemes include: Globalization, Comparative Religion, Comparative Literature, The UN, and other World System Networks, Theory and Methods for Comparative Study of Civilizations, and What Makes a Civilization. For inquiries and additional information, contact: Michael Andregg, University of St. Thomas, 1976 Field Ave., St. Paul, MN 55166.

News

The University of Oklahoma Libraries' Western History Collections, in cooperation with the Oklahoma Historical Society, has completed filming the Cherokee Nation Papers. The Collection contains nearly 100 linear feet of official records and publications of the Cherokee Nation, as well as the personal papers of James Madison Bell, Stand Watie, John Rollins Ridge, and Elias C. Boudinot. For information about purchasing all or part of this microfilm set, contact the Curator, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries, Rm. 452, Monnet Hall, Norman, Oklahoma 73019.

The Historical Museum of Southern Florida will host "Tobacco Art: Cigar and Cigarette Labels from Cuba and Florida," until January 7, 1996. The museum is open seven days of the week. For more information about specific times, contact the museum at (305) 375-1492.

Gail Buckland, an author for Random House, is searching for photographs that depict America's great engineering achievements. She is interested in finding pictures that are "powerful, evocative, significant, lovely, and memorable images of construction and the growth of the infrastructure." If you have any such pictures, please send a photocopy to Gail Buckland, 626 Boulevard, Westfield, NJ 07090 or call her at (908) 233-3227.

Dorothy Hinn, a doctoral student at the University of Central Florida, is seeking information about the small town of Midway, Florida. Anyone with information about Midway should contact Ms. Hinn at 1666 Fife Court, Titusville, FL 32796.

The Boca Raton Historical Society is offering weekly guided tours of that city. The tour will include many buildings/residences that are the work of renowned architect, Addison Mizner. For more information, contact Kristen Hamre at (407) 359-6766.

A new historical society, the Historical Society of Melbourne's Beaches, is now in business. The society publishes a news letter, *The Beach Historian,* and conducts regular quarterly meetings. For more information, contact Frank Thomas at (407) 723-2655.

The Presidio de San Augustin Commission has a new news letter *Las Noticias,* which keeps interested persons up to date on activities for Historic St. Augustine. To get on the mailing list, contact the Presidio Commission, P.O. Box 1987, St. Augustine, FL 32085.

The Tampa and Ybor City Street Railway Society, Inc., has persuaded the Hillsborough County Commission and the Hillsborough Area Rapid Transit authority to inaugurate electrical street car service again from downtown Tampa to the Ybor City Historic District. The new service is expected to begin as soon as new cars (replicas of the 1923 Birney) can be made. For more information, contact the TYBCRS at (813) 622-3912 or (813) 247-3545.

The Mount Dora Historical Society is preparing a historical display at its Royellou Museum featuring the citrus industry of Mount Dora. It is soliciting donations or loans of artifacts, photographs, and general citrus-oriented memorabilia. For more information call Don Copeland, display project coordinator, at (904) 735-1842.

The Tampa Historical Society announces the availability of "Tampa Times," a 55-minute video of the history of the Tampa Bay area from earliest recorded time to the present. Material was provided by Dr. Gary Mormino of the University of South Florida and narration is by Mr. Bob Hite. The video may be ordered from the Tampa Historical Society, 245 S. Hyde Park Ave., Tampa, FL 33606. The price is $13.00. The Society has also recently published *The Bayshore Boulevard of Dreams,* encompassing the 105 year history of the boulevard. Coauthored by Mary Judy Brown and Charles A. Brown and illustrated by over 125 photographs, it may be ordered by mail from the same address for $13.50.

The Jacksonville Historic Center, on the Southbank Riverwalk, announces a change in its operating hours. Beginning on Monday, October 16, the center will be open from 12:00 p.m. until 5:00 p.m., seven days a week.

Dr. Madelaine Burnside, executive director of the Mel Fisher Maritime Heritage Society of Key West, has been elected to the board of the Florida Association of Museums. She will chair the organization's History Affinity Group. A member of the Florida Association of Museums for the past ten years, the not-for-profit Mel Fisher Maritime Heritage Society was founded in 1982. Its Key West museum is believed to hold the richest single collection of 17th-century maritime and shipwreck antiquities in the Western Hemisphere.

The Citrus County Historical Society held an official Citrus County Sesquicentennial Committee event on October 7, 1995. The symposium featured David Yulee, and Florida Becomes A State. Dr. Samuel Proctor, distinguished service professor of history and Julien C. Yonge professor of Florida history at the University of Florida, was the keynote speaker. Other featured speakers were Canter Brown, Jr., James M. Denham, and Robert McNeil.

On November 18, 1995, the Florida Historical Society sponsored a workshop at the Historic Roesch House Education Annex at its new headquarters in Melbourne. Entitled "Practical Conservation of Metal Artifacts: Layman's Hope for Corroded Heirlooms," the workshop was conducted by Doug Armstrong.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS . . .

1996

Mar. 28-31	Organization of American Historians	Chicago, IL
April 10-12	Florida Anthropological Society	Sarasota, FL
May 23	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	Cocoa Beach, FL
May 23-25	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY 94TH MEETING	Cocoa Beach, FL
Sept. 7-10	American Association for State and Local History	Nashville, TN
Oct. 10-13	Oral History Association	Philadelphia, PA
Oct. 25-27	Southern Jewish Historical Association	Miami, FL
Oct. 30-Nov. 3	Southern Historical Association	Little Rock, AR

1997

Jan. 2-5	American Historical Association	New York, NY

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA, 1856
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY successor, 1902
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, incorporated, 1905

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The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is $35; family membership is $40; library membership is $45; 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, 1320 Highland Avenue, Melbourne, Florida 32935. Telephone: 407-259-0847; Fax: 407-259-0847. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Wynne.

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