

*The
Florida
Historical
Quarterly*

October 1979

PUBLISHED BY THE FLORIDA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COVER PHOTO

The arrival of the first passenger train to Daytona Beach, 1886. The St. Johns and Halifax Railroad provided the service. In this photograph, the train crew poses with Engine Number 3, the "Bulow," which made the first trip. See George W. Pettengill, Jr., *The Story of the Florida Railroads, 1834-1903* (Boston, 1952), 103. Photograph courtesy of Florida Photographic Archives, Robert M. Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee.

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume LVIII, Number 2

October 1979

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(ISSN 0015-4113)

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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CIVIL WAR CAREER OF COLONEL GEORGE WASHINGTON SCOTT

by MARION B. LUCAS *

"IS THERE NO remedy for this seeming madness?" John Scott of Pennsylvania wrote his brother George Washington Scott in January of 1861.¹ Their world seemed to be crumbling around them as they viewed the rapidly approaching conflict between the North and South which would pit one brother against the other, a tragedy which occurred often in this most devastating of American wars.

George Washington Scott was born in Alexandria, Pennsylvania, on February 22, 1829.² Well-educated as a child, he undoubtedly became familiar with the Bible. Throughout his life, Scott maintained a strong attachment for his mother, Agnes Irvine Scott, and he never forgot the admonitions she often quoted to him from the scriptures.

In 1850 Scott, a sickly lad, had left his home state of Pennsylvania for an extended tour into the Southeast. As he traveled with a horse and buggy through South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and then into Florida, selling jewelry to pay his expenses, he was increasingly attracted to the South and its people. Convinced that the Florida climate would have a salubrious effect on his health (he had frequent trouble with his throat), Scott returned home in 1851, collected his belongings, and with borrowed money and the prayers of a devoutly Christian mother, he left for Florida. He

* Mr. Lucas is professor of history at Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green.

1. John Scott to George Washington Scott, January 15, 1861, George Washington Scott Papers (in possession of J. J. Scott, Wheaton, Illinois). The George Washington Scott Papers, with the exception of one letter, were previously unavailable to historians. They consist of 25 pieces of family correspondence dealing with a wide range of subjects, 14 letters, notes, charts, and military drills relating to the Civil War, 17 hand-drawn civil War maps, 13 miscellaneous plantation records, 20 miscellaneous newspaper clippings and pamphlets, and a typescript diary from October 4, 1850, to February 20, 1851. The manuscripts are dated from 1850 to 1898.
2. Undated genealogy manuscript, Scott Papers.

lived for about a year in Quincy, and moved to Tallahassee in 1852 where he established a mercantile business.³

Scott, by 1860, had become a prosperous businessman and planter.⁴ During his early years in Florida, Scott, as other Northerners who had moved South, became convinced of the rightness of the southern position in the slave controversy. The approach of the Civil War found Scott taking his stand with his adopted state, basing his position on constitutional grounds.

Even before the conflict began, he began making preparations for his involvement. Entering the Tallahassee Guard as a sergeant in 1860, Scott began a study of *Benn's Tactics*, and in December of that year passed his first lesson in cavalry drill under the instruction of the unit's captain, Dr. D. B. Maxwell.⁵ On March 5, a month before the firing on Fort Sumter, the Tallahassee Guards were mustered into Confederate service, and Scott was given the rank of captain in Company D, Second Florida Cavalry. It was known as Captain Scott's Company. A newspaper editorial later noted that he had "shouldered his musket, but with a resolute front, and with the Tallahassee Guards to the battle line."⁶

By 1863 Scott had risen to the rank of lieutenant colonel and was commander of "Scott's Cavalry" of the 5th Battalion Florida Cavalry, one of the few units that operated in the backwaters and marshes of the middle and eastern districts of Florida throughout the entire war.⁷ Scott is an excellent example of the minor officer, the unsung hero, who often endured hardships in out-of-the-way places of the Confederacy for love of the South and his family.

On the roster of important Civil War events, Florida played a minor military role. Its most significant contributions to the Confederacy were in the area of commissary supply. The production of corn, beans, potatoes, pork, and cattle far outweighed the eighty-four skirmishes, only one of which could be considered a major battle.⁸

3. Diary of G. W. Scott, October 4, 1850, to February 20, 1851, typescript, Scott Papers; "Colonel George W. Scott," October 12, 1852, typescript, Scott Papers.
4. Clifton Paisley, *From Cotton To Quail: An Agricultural Chronicle of Leon County, Florida, 1860-1967* (Gainesville, 1968), 20.
5. Manuscript text, 1860, Scott Papers; State of Florida, *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian-Civil and Spanish-American War* (Live Oak, 1903), 267.
6. Manuscript notes, 1865, Scott Papers; *Soldiers of Florida*, 267.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Rembert W. Patrick and Allen Morris, *Florida Under Five Flags* (Gaines-

For more than two years the war, for the most part, passed most Floridians by, with the slowly tightening blockade the major threat. Fernandina and St. Augustine on the east coast and Pensacola in west Florida had fallen to Federal forces by the spring of 1862. Key West remained a Union stronghold throughout the war. Maintaining a Confederate presence and authority in the Middle District, the area between the Suwannee and Choctawhatchee rivers, was the chief occupation of Scott and his cavalry. Vigilance was the key during those years, and he was called upon to oppose landing parties, warn citizens to evacuate slaves and other property, and occasionally suppress anti-war activities of Union sympathizers.⁹

The absence of a constant threat in the Middle District enabled Scott to continue the active management of his nearby plantation and even expand his business interests. The indifference that led some growers to continue producing cotton at the expense of sorely-needed foodstuffs, was not shared by Scott who sought to increase his production of grain and meat.¹⁰ Scott increased his labor force and attempted to oversee the planting of crops whenever possible. His plantation records reveal the purchase of ten slaves during 1862, some of whom were children, for \$6,100. In early 1863 he paid \$1,000 for a female slave and her child.¹¹

As a result of his military activities, Scott became involved in the production of salt from sea water. One of the areas best suited for salt-making lay between the Choctawhatchee River and Tampa Bay, which was included in Florida's Middle District.¹² Part of Scott's assignment was to defend the salt-making establish-

ville, 1967), 52-53; Allen W. Jones, "Military Events in Florida During the Civil War," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX (July 1960), 42-45.

9. Clement A. Evans, ed., *Confederate Military History* 12 vols., (Atlanta, 1899; facsimile ed., New York, 1962), XI, pt. 2, 47-48; William Frayne Amann, ed., *Personnel of the Civil War* 2 vols. (New York, 1961), I, 185.
10. John F. Reiger, "Deprivation, Disaffection, and Desertion in Confederate Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLVIII (Jan. 1970), 279-80. G. W. Scott to wife, Bettie Scott, March 9, 19, 1864, Scott Papers. Scott's northern background may have influenced his farming practices.
11. Manuscript receipts, October 17, December 30, 1862, April 6, 1863, Scott Papers.
12. Ella Lonn, "The Extent and Importance of Federal Naval Raids on Salt-Making in Florida, 1862-1865," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, X (April 1932), 167; *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* 128 vols. (Washington, 1880-1901), ser. I, XIV, 735 (Hereafter cited as *OR*).

ments, and their business potential was too obvious to be neglected by his shrewd financial mind. Though St. Andrews Bay, where the recent years of drought had caused the evaporation of much of the fresh water, was considered the ideal location for salt-making, Scott and a fellow officer chose to invest nearer home in the Newport area, about five miles north of St. Marks. There they purchased large sugar boilers and several steam boilers commonly used on ships. Though salt manufacturing establishments were in constant danger from rather effective hit-and-run attacks from the blockading Union forces after the fall of 1862, Scott and his partner, Captain P. B. Brokaw, apparently prospered. In early 1864 Scott estimated his share of the investment to be worth between six and eight thousand dollars.¹³

The scarcity of the product and the danger involved in the process of salt-making led to large profits. But the enterprises were not without criticism. Their workers, exempt from military service, were thought by many to be little more than draft dodgers, and the owners were accused of gouging the public. To ameliorate some of these criticisms, the salt workers were organized on a militia basis in early 1863. Rendezvous points for these irregulars were arranged in case of attack, and they were ordered to cooperate with the military in the vicinity. These efforts, however, were severely hampered by shortage of arms. The first inspection revealed only forty-three guns for the 498 men in the area between St. Marks and the Suwannee River.¹⁴

While protecting salt works in the Newport area in early 1863, Scott became involved in one of the largest engagements of his career on the Ocklockonee River. On March 20 Acting Master Richard J. Hoffner, with two boats and a crew of thirty, led a Union raiding party from the blockading squadron aimed at capturing a recently-arrived blockade runner, the *Onward*. The small force battled treacherous currents, stiff winds, and thick fog for almost three days before the mouth of the Ocklockonee was located and the race up the river began. The *Onward* was sighted at 8:00 a.m., and as the raiders approached, the Con-

13. G. W. Scott to wife, March 18, 1864, Scott Papers; Lonn, "The Extent and Importance of Federal Naval Raids on Salt-Making in Florida," 167, 175.

14. Lonn, "The Extent and Importance of Federal Naval Raids on Salt-Making in Florida," 181-82; Reiger, "Deprivation, Disaffection, and Desertion in Confederate Florida," 286-87.

federates aboard, except for an old man and a boy, successfully made their escape.¹⁵

Hoffner attached a line to the *Onward* and began towing it downriver, stopping between 11:00 a.m. and five that afternoon because of low tide. Unluckily, the *Onward* ran aground about nine o'clock that night, having covered only half the distance to the sea. Floating with the tide at daylight, March 24, the escape continued, when, until about two hours from the open sea, the vessel again ran hard aground. A line was run to shore to pull the *Onward* free of the mud, but all efforts proved fruitless. Hoffner and his men built makeshift breastworks, recapped and primed their weapons, and waited for the tide to free them.¹⁶

At 2:30 a.m. on March 24, Scott received word to report to Roberts' Ferry on the Ocklockonee River to assist Lieutenant H. K. Simmons in the recapture of the *Onward*. Within the hour Scott had left his camp at Newport with thirty cavalrymen. Lieutenant J. Tucker of Company I, Second Florida Cavalry, was also requested to dispatch a similar force to the same rendezvous. Four and one-half hours later Scott's cavalry linked up with Lieutenant Simmons's detachment where the *Onward* was aground. Simmons's men had been watching Hoffner since the evening of the twenty-third.¹⁷

Hoffner's lookouts had observed Scott's approach long before he arrived, but remained unaware that Lieutenant Simmons's men were already on the scene. Within thirty minutes Hoffner's men observed some 200 Confederates running from tree to tree, making their way to the river's edge. Upon signal the Southerners opened fire. Scott's men were utilizing Maynard rifles at a distance of about 300 yards. The Union forces, with minie bullets rattling all around them, responded with rifles and a howitzer which fired canister and shrapnel.¹⁸

After a fight lasting about one hour and a half, Hoffner decided to burn the *Onward* and try to escape in the other boats. To their chagrin, however, when the Union seamen climbed into the smaller boats, their weight caused the vessels to sink. Thus,

15. *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy* (Washington, 1863), 38 Cong., 1 sess., IV, No. 1, 291-92; (Hereafter cited as *Annual Report*).

16. *Ibid.*, 292.

17. *OR*, ser. I, XIV, 236-37.

18. *Annual Report*, 1863, 292; *OR*, ser. I, XIV, 236-37.

under brutal Confederate fire, the Union seamen were forced to jump overboard and drag the two craft across the mud flats for about half a mile.¹⁹

It was during this imprudent evacuation that the Federal raiders suffered all their casualties. One man was shot through the heart and six were wounded, including Hoffner, who took a bullet in his neck. Hoffner's only comfort came from his belief that the Confederates had also suffered heavily, but in fact Scott's men suffered not a single casualty.²⁰

Scott, quite accurately, placed the size of the Union force at twenty-four to twenty-eight, but like Hoffner, his estimate of the enemy's casualties was too high. He thought only nine to twelve had escaped.²¹ Both Captain Scott and the commander of the Federal squadron, when praising their men for this engagement, used the same phrase, "coolness and bravery."²²

In mid-February 1864, Brigadier General Truman Seymour began his ill-fated Olustee campaign, marching westward out of Jacksonville with about 5,500 Federal troops. With the Union build-up, the Middle District was alerted, and Colonel Scott was ordered, on February 10, to Sanderson, about eight miles east of Olustee, where he was to link up with Major Robert Harrison's command. Their mission was to harass the enemy "without risking too much."²³

Scott's men were really in no condition to take part in this campaign. The years of service without resupply had taken its toll in both personnel and equipment. An inspection of the Second Cavalry shortly before Scott received orders to go to Sanderson revealed these weaknesses. One company had no rifles-only sabers. Saddles were of such poor quality that they hastened the breakdown of their horses. Other companies were only partially armed with weapons, and there was a shortage of cartridges for the Maynard rifles. The inspecting officer, Captain L. Jaquelin Smith, concluded that while Scott's men made a fairly good appearance, they were "armed in a very inferior manner."²⁴

Scott had long realized these deficiencies and had been trying

19. *Annual Report*, 1863, 293.

20. *Ibid.*; undated newspaper clippings, Scott Papers: *OR*, ser. I, XIV, 237.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Annual Report*, 1863, 290; *OR*, ser. I, XIV, 237.

23. *OR*, ser. I, XXXV, pt. 1, 595.

24. *Ibid.*, 582-83, 585, 588.

to rectify the situation for months. His requests for arms and ammunition, previously endorsed by Governor John Milton, were seconded by Captain Smith on the eve of the Olustee campaign.²⁵ It was, however, too late. The ten days before the battle proved to be a difficult period for Scott's 140 cavalymen. They spent much of their time in the saddle, and in the twenty-four hours preceding the fighting Scott's men were engaged in such "hard service" that they were held in reserve through much of the battle.²⁶

In preparing for the Union attack at Olustee, Confederate Brigadier General Joseph Finegan built a defensive line which blocked the transportation routes that ran from Jacksonville to Lake City.²⁷ His cavalry were positioned on his flanks to prevent turning movements by the adversary.²⁸ Once the fighting started a cloud of confusion descended over the raw, recently-recruited, and untrained black Federal troops. The poorly-led Union line wavered, then panicked, and retreat soon turned to rout.²⁹ Olustee was a hard-fought battle on both sides, and casualties ran high. Union losses were 203 dead and 1,152 wounded, most of whom were left on the field, and another 506 missing, many of whom were captured. Confederate casualties were placed at ninety-three killed, 847 wounded, and only six missing.³⁰

Though the Confederate cavalry at Olustee did play a part in the battle, their role was minor. Scott's cavalry was not sent into action until about four o'clock in the afternoon when he was ordered to reinforce Lieutenant Colonel A. H. McCormick's cavalry on the Confederate right.³¹ Scott made no mention of his activities at Olustee in extant letters, but General P. G. T. Beauregard, upon evaluating the battle reports and visiting the battlefield, concluded that the failure of the cavalry to pursue the panic-stricken Union forces allowed "the fruits of victory" to slip away. Indeed, Beauregard's criticism of the Confederate cavalry

25. *Ibid.*, 582-85; ser. IV, III, 45, 83, 111.

26. *Ibid.*, ser. I, XXXV, pt. 1, 353, 594-95.

27. John E. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War* (Gainesville, 1963), 197.

28. George F. Baltzell, "The Battle of Olustee," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, IX (April 1931), 219; *OR*, ser. I, XXXV, pt. 1, 352-53.

29. *OR*, ser. I, XXXV, pt. I, 304, 311, 313-14, 318; Richard McMurry, "The Battle of Olustee," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, XVI (January 1978), 18-19.

30. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War*, 198-99.

31. *OR*, ser. I, XXXV, pt. 1, 353-54; Baltzell, "Battle of Olustee," 219.

commander, Colonel Carraway Smith, was so sharp that the colonel asked for a court of inquiry in order to clear his name.³²

In the dispute, however, it appears that Colonel Scott was free of criticism, since immediately after the battle he was appointed "chief of the vedettes." He was given "150 picked men" and ordered to watch the movements of the Federal forces who had retreated east of the St. Marys River. And while the Confederate position was to be purely defensive, General Finegan was given the authority, should Scott find the Union forces had abandoned the St. Marys line, to occupy territory between that river and Jacksonville.³³

While Scott did not take part in the worst of the fighting at Olustee, it is clear that the carnage of the battle had a lasting effect on him. The absence of men and material made facing the hard facts of the situation imperative: Federal armies, if properly led, could march just about anywhere in Florida they desired. Consequently, Scott decided that both he and his family should make preparations for the future. Less than a month after Olustee, Scott wrote his wife Bettie two extensive letters. "For fear anything might happen to me," he wrote on March 18, 1864, "I have thought it best that I should give you a statement of how my affairs are arranged." What followed was a meticulous two-page review of his indebtedness, both in the North and the South, and a complete accounting of his various business interests, their value, and the money owed him.³⁴

The second letter, dated March 19, proceeded to suggest a course of action for his family should the Union army invade the Middle District of Florida. After "quietly" packing clothes, bed spreads, dishes, and utensils not currently in use, Scott told his wife, she should be ready, "without attracting attention," to flee at a moment's notice to South Georgia. Scott went on to suggest which teams were to be hitched to particular wagons, how loads were to be arranged, and how much food should be taken. He drew a diagram in the letter explaining how the parlor carpet could be rigged into a tent for his wife and children. Only "Aunt Gina" was to be left behind with enough food and money to watch over things while the Federals were there.³⁵

32. *OR*, ser. I, XXXV, pt. 1, 323, 353-55.

33. *Ibid.*, 335.

34. G. W. Scott to wife, March 18, 1864, Scott Papers.

35. *Ibid.*

Scott carefully pointed out to his wife the need of paying the tithe tax, a ten per cent levy on agriculture products and one of the most hated of Confederate government taxes, before she departed Tallahassee.³⁶ His feelings were patriotic, practical, and without remorse. Duty compelled him to pay his share. Scott's letter describing his debts and how they should be met is a lesson in character. The government needed these items for the war effort, and besides, it was clear that Aunt Gina would not be able to prevent the invading army, should it come, from making off with most of his stored goods. Finally, Scott reminded his wife that she should not let governmental agents sequester his horse "Stonewall." The law allowed him to retain three military horses, the letter concluded, and "Joe," his present mount, was failing fast.³⁷

But what if the Middle District were not invaded? Scott hoped to be prepared for that also. He directed his wife to see that the spring planting was completed, especially the corn crop. It was important, he wrote, that the slaves "push early and late" to ensure a good crop. Drawing upon his experience, Scott urged Bettie not to let the field hands "lay off for every little complaint" during the next three months, the cultivating season.³⁸

The period of extensive operation that had begun before Olustee for Scott continued through August. There were, during those months, no improvements in commissary supplies, mounts, ammunition, or arms for his men, and while Scott reported having enough to eat, he characterized his meals as "pretty rough fare." Only boxes of food from home, and the hope that the Yankees would be defeated in Virginia kept his hopes up.³⁹ In the spring of 1864 his base of operation was Camp Milton, about twelve miles west of Jacksonville. Scott attempted, with 168 men, to patrol the territory from Callahan to Bayard, a distance of about sixty miles.⁴⁰

While Scott was operating in the eastern part of Florida, Con-

36. *Ibid.*; Reiger, "Deprivation, Disaffection, and Desertion in Confederate Florida," 283-84.

37. G. W. Scott to wife, March 19, 1864, Scott Papers.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*, March 9, May 14, August 14, 1864, Scott Papers; [G. W. Scott] to Captain W. G. Barth, July 21, 1864, Scott Papers.

40. G. W. Scott to wife, May 19, 1864, Scott Papers; [G. W. Scott] to Barth, July 21, 1864, Scott Papers; Evans ed., *Confederate Military History*, XI, pt. 2, 80, 92.

federate authorities were attempting to deal with one of the more troublesome aspects of the Civil War in Scott's home area, the Middle District. For years deserters and anti-war Floridians had congregated in swamp-infested Taylor County where they were led by William W. Strickland. Strickland and his "Rangers," who formed the "United States of Taylor," gave information to Union forces, acted as guides for Federal raiding parties, and even engaged in guerrilla activities such as burning bridges, cutting telegraph lines, and derailing trains. In 1864 a brazened band of about 100 partisans attempted to ambush Governor Milton in the vicinity of Tallahassee. Their intention was to deliver him to the Federal officers commanding the Gulf blockading squadron, but their plot failed when a pro-Confederate Floridian exposed the scheme.⁴¹

Command of the forces chosen to root out the "Rangers" was given to Lieutenant Colonel H. D. Capers. With him was Major Charles H. Camfield, one of the more ruthless of the Confederate officers involved in the operation of burning and killing. Camfield's harsh policy, rather than suppressing the deserters and winning the support of the people in Taylor County, actually increased disaffection among the pro-Confederate population. Strickland was finally captured and executed in March 1865 during the Natural Bridge campaign.⁴²

In mid-July 1864 Union forces in the Eastern District began another invasion of central Florida when 700 to 800 men were landed near Broward's Neck. Scott, guarding the region with only 156 men, realized that the best he could hope for would be the delay of whatever move Union Brigadier General William Birney might try to make. Several skirmishes occurred, some Confederate property was destroyed, and Camp Milton was abandoned, only to be recovered shortly without loss of property.⁴³ The Confederate defense had been bent, but it was not yet broken.

On July 22, however, the main Union force of about 3,000 infantry, cavalry, and artillery, in a flanking movement up the St. Johns River, landed at Black Creek near Middleburg. The slow-

41. William T. Cash, "Taylor County History and Civil War Deserters," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVII (July 1948), 49-53; Reiger, "Deprivation, Disaffection, and Dessertion in Confederate Florida," 294-96.

42. Cash, "Taylor County History and Civil War Deserters," 49-57.

43. G. W. Scott to wife, August 14, 1864, Scott Papers; *OR*, ser. I, XXXV, pt. 1, 411-13; Evans ed., *Confederate Military History*, XI, pt. 2, 98-99.

moving Union force had not been unnoticed, but the previous week of skirmishing had so scattered Scott's cavalry in front of Camp Milton and Baldwin that he had only ninety-eight men to oppose the landing.⁴⁴

General Birney's forces were soon in control of the bridges over Black Creek at Middleburg and Whitesville, and shortly had a cavalry force and about 400 infantry across the waterway. With his small forces Scott began a brief battle after which the opposing commanders claimed victory. Scott believed that he had killed or wounded twelve of the enemy, while Birney claimed to have killed two, mortally wounded one, and forced many of Scott's men to scatter into the swamps.⁴⁵

The weight of numbers, however, was too much for Scott. Union cavalry were on his side of the creek, and to prevent being cut off he retreated six miles to a stronger defensive position. At 1:00 a.m., however, a force of Union infantry, later supported by cavalry, attacked Scott's pickets. Scott withdrew again, leaving a rear guard, moving about four miles toward Clay Hill. There, to his chagrin, he learned that about eighty to 100 cavalry had flanked him, though he did not know their location. As his rear guard, pressed by the Union cavalry, fell back on his main body, Scott slowly began to recognize his predicament-possible entrapment. His best option, he decided, was "to check" the Union forces piecemeal. He would turn on his pursuers first and worry about the cavalry behind him later. Utilizing high ground behind a creek bank, Scott's men dismounted and prepared for battle. The pursuing Federal cavalry appeared shortly, but after a "slight skirmish" withdrew, Scott presumed, to wait for infantry and artillery. When the action was not renewed within half an hour, and the Union cavalry was not located at his rear, it became increasingly apparent to Scott that the Federal cavalry had by-passed him in an effort to flank Baldwin.⁴⁶

Scott decided to march to Baldwin to unite with Colonel A. H. McCormick, his commanding officer. His force reached Baldwin about 2:00 p.m., Monday, where he learned that the St. Marys trestle had been burned, cutting Baldwin's supply line from Lake

44. G. W. Scott to wife, August 14, 1864, Scott Papers; *OR*, ser. I, XXXV, pt. 1, 424.

45. G. W. Scott to wife, August 14, 1864, Scott Papers: *OR*, ser. I, XXXV, pt. 1, 420.

46. *Ibid.*

City and forcing the Confederates to evacuate Baldwin that night.⁴⁷

About seven miles out of Baldwin, the Federal cavalry attacked their rear, only to fall back after a thirty-minute skirmish. The Confederate forces waited from 6:00 a.m. until 3:00 that afternoon for the Federals to reappear, but the battle was not renewed. The retreating army resumed its march, arriving at Camp Jackson on Thursday. The Federal army arrived the next day, and a "short skirmish" followed before they disengaged and withdrew to Baldwin.⁴⁸

The five days of campaigning from July 23 to 28 were especially difficult ones for both Scott and his men. When the retreat began, Scott was ill with a "fever." Fortunately, it ended the first night, although his rheumatism pained him so much that he often had to be helped into his saddle. Fighting day and night, the men got little sleep and had insufficient time to prepare adequate meals. It was very warm, and it rained every day of the retreat, flooding the swamps and making the swollen streams difficult to cross. Nor did their horses fare well. Without fodder and constantly in use, they, along with the men, were rapidly "broken down."⁴⁹

The Union thrust against Camp Jackson and central Florida continued for another two weeks, during which time Scott was involved in three minor engagements. The first came in early August when a party of his cavalry slipped behind the Union forces along the Florida, Atlantic, and Gulf Railroad line and attempted to capture a Federal supply train. The scheme was discovered, however, and the Confederates were forced to flee, but not before they had loosened the rails, causing the train to crash.⁵⁰

At about 1:00 a.m. on August 10, Scott led a company of some 100 cavalymen, accompanied by Major J. J. Daniels with 100 infantry, on another probe. Their objective was to drive off a northern force engaged in destroying the railroad about eight miles east of Camp Jackson. Their men were in position by daylight, with Daniels's infantry on the north side of the railroad and Scott, with seventy-eight dismounted cavalry, on the south side.

47. G. W. Scott to wife, August 14, 1864, Scott Papers; *OR*, ser. I, XXXV, pt. 1, 422.

48. *Ibid.*

49. G. W. Scott to wife, August 14, 1864, Scott Papers.

50. *Ibid.*

They awaited the enemy until about 8:00 a.m., when, according to orders, Major Daniels began returning to camp.⁵¹

Scott sent for his reserves and his horses, about half a mile to his rear, with the intention of moving closer to Baldwin to locate the enemy. Just as his men and mounts arrived, however, a scout reported that about forty enemy cavalymen and 400 infantrymen were moving on their position. Realizing that he could not meet the Union troops in a pitched battle, Scott successfully harassed them enough to prevent their destroying more of the railroad though he could not dislodge them. He was convinced, however, that if Major Daniels had continued to occupy his position north of the railroad, their combined force could have handled their enemy "pretty roughly." Scott's casualties during the encounter consisted of one wounded.⁵²

On Friday, August 12, 1864, the Confederate commander at Camp Jackson, Colonel A. H. McCormick, led Scott and Daniels on another raid along the railroad. Their force consisted of 100 cavalry, 300 infantry, and two pieces of artillery. Daniels's infantry again occupied the north side of the railroad, with Scott's cavalry to the south. The Union force, consisting mostly of black troops engaged in destroying the railroad, soon appeared, and a short skirmish followed. McCormick, believing it imprudent to try to stand against the superior Federal army, decided to withdraw. While there was no report of Confederate casualties, the northern troops apparently suffered one killed and several captured.⁵³

Scott felt he was in a "very unpleasant position" during the July and August campaigning. His men were forced to go into the interior of Florida to obtain fresh horses, an irregular process that often led to their piecemeal return.⁵⁴ The enemy outnumbered him, he believed, ten to one, and the terrain allowed Union troops, often with Confederate deserters as guides, to filter through his scattered pickets. The result was that the people of the Eastern and Middle districts of Florida were becoming increasingly critical of the military, and that worried Scott. If they only knew "the disadvantages we have had to labour under," he

51. *Ibid.*; *OR*, ser. I, XXXV, pt. 1, 426.

52. *Ibid.*

53. *Ibid.*

54. G. W. Scott to wife, August 14, 1864, Scott Papers: *OR*, ser. I, XXXV, pt. 1, 438.

wrote his wife, they would not “blame us” for the current predicament. It was the “circumstances,” not the will of his beleaguered fighting men that dictated their withdrawal from Baldwin.⁵⁵

Scott did not have to wait long before the immediate situation improved for East Florida. The Federal “invasion” was only another “raid,” and on August 15 Baldwin was evacuated after the buildings and supplies had been set on fire. Scott’s dissatisfaction with his army’s inability to defend East Florida was no greater than was the Union commander’s with the failure of his army to do more than raid and retreat. When one of his colonels took time in his report to praise several of his subordinates, the Federal commanding general labeled the praise as “simply ridiculous,” saying that their achievements were only valuable as a “record of raiding and not of fighting.”⁵⁶ With this withdrawal, Federal activity in East Florida declined until the end of the war, and Scott and his cavalry returned to patrol duty in the Middle District.⁵⁷

With the Confederacy crumbling in the fall of 1864, General Beauregard and Governor Milton, with literally no other choice, threw their support behind a new plan for defending Florida. Upon being attacked, Confederate forces were to retreat, following a scorched earth policy, luring the Federals into the interior of the state, thus lengthening their supply lines. At a prearranged point, a newly-organized militia force would rendezvous with the retreating Confederate troops and defeat the enemy.⁵⁸

Though this minute-man-type militia was stronger in the communiques of Confederate officials than it was in military potential, the concept did play an important part in the last campaign in which Colonel Scott participated. In late February 1865, Federal naval and military officers worked out a joint plan for an attack on Tallahassee. The operation began on March 3 with the landing of sixty cavalymen and thirty sailors led by Major Edmund C. Weeks on Light House Island. Their objective was to secure a bridge, about four miles to the northeast, which spanned the East River and hold it until the army had crossed. After the cavalymen disembarked, the sailors rowed up river

55. G. W. Scott to wife, August 14, Scott Papers.

56. *OR*, ser. 1, XXXV, pt. 1, 429-31.

57. Evans ed., *Confederate Military History*, XI, pt. 2, 118.

58. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War*, 202-03.

where they surprised the Confederate pickets and captured the bridge, but four hours passed before Weeks and his troops arrived.⁵⁹

Scott, commander of the forces guarding the bridge, was alerted by the fleeing pickets, and a reconnaissance by Major William Milton reported about 150 Union troops at the bridge. At daylight Milton attacked with forty-five men.⁶⁰ Weeks estimated the attacking force at sixty and later reported that they were repulsed without loss to himself. Nevertheless, Weeks was not sure that he could hold the bridge without the expected reinforcements. Upon learning that the Union troops had not yet disembarked, Weeks decided to fall back to the light house.⁶¹ Scott, however, saw Weeks's retreat as running for the "cover of the guns of the fleet."⁶²

With the attack on East River bridge, Scott had sounded the alarm, and the new defense plan went into action. Tallahassee quickly became a beehive of activity as preparations were made to defend the city.⁶³ In addition to the militiamen and townspeople who joined the Confederate troops, the most unique volunteers consisted of the cadets of the West Florida Seminary. They were about twenty-five in number, all of whom were under seventeen years of age. Before the campaign was over, they were involved in some of the very hard fighting but without loss of life.⁶⁴

Weeks's movement to the bridge had been premature by more than twenty-four hours. Successive delays prevented the landing of the reinforcements before 4:00 p.m., and by the time supplies, ammunition, and artillery had been moved ashore, night had fallen. It was 8:00 a.m. the next morning, March 5, before the Union advance began.⁶⁵

Scott, realizing he was hopelessly outnumbered, decided to make a temporary stand behind the East River bridge. A small force of cavalry under a Lieutenant Croome was left to watch the

59. *OR*, ser. I, XLIX, pt. 1, 70; Edwin C. Bearss, "Federal Expedition Against Saint Marks Ends at Natural Bridge," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLV (April 1967), 381.

60. [G. W. Scott] to Major W. G. Poole, March 10, 1865, Scott Papers.

61. *OR*, ser. I, XLIX, pt. 1, 70.

62. [G. W. Scott] to Poole, March 10, 1865, Scott Papers.

63. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, March 11, 1865.

64. Mark F. Boyd, "The Joint Operations of the Federal Army and Navy Near St. Marks, Florida, March 1865," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXIX (October 1950), 119-20.

65. *OR*, ser. I, XLIX, pt. 1, 60.

Union army on the east side of the river. Scott had the plank floor of the bridge removed to prevent a crossing without destroying the facility. With only sixty men and one piece of artillery, he awaited the enemy, allowing them "within easy range." When the Union attack came, about 9:00 a.m., the size and swiftness of the move caught Scott by surprise. Orders were given to retreat, but the heavy fire laid down by the Federal troops caused so much confusion among a portion of Scott's men that his only piece of artillery had to be abandoned. Scott's sole recourse was to harass the Union army as it marched toward Newport.⁶⁶

After delaying the Union advance for several hours, Scott retreated across the St. Marks River, fired the east end of the bridge, and then occupied the well-placed breast-works on the west bank. He was soon reinforced by thirty-five militiamen under Captain H. A. Gray and a detachment of marines commanded by a Midshipman Hogue.⁶⁷

When the Union commander observed the smoke, he assumed the bridge over the St. Marks, which he had hoped to capture intact, was ablaze, and he ordered Major Weeks forward in an attempt to save it. When Weeks arrived, he found that the east end of the bridge had been destroyed, and the rifle pits on the west bank completely infilladed the portion of the facility which remained. Nevertheless, Weeks attacked, only to be repulsed by Scott's forces in a three-hour skirmish.⁶⁸ Scott won the fight, but there was an unfortunate side effect. The flames from the burning bridge were blown to a nearby grist mill, a saw mill, and some workshops, all of which were extremely valuable to the economy of the community.⁶⁹

During the fighting at Newport Bridge, Confederate Brigadier General William Miller arrived and assumed command. He ordered Scott to move up the west bank of the river to Tompkins Mill where he was to block a ford. Scott guarded the crossing until 2:00 a.m. when he learned, probably from Lieutenant Croome, that the Union troops were moving further upriver toward

66. [G. W. Scott] to Poole, March 10, 1865, Scott Papers; *OR*, ser. I, XLIX, pt. 1, 60.

67. *Ibid.*

68. *Ibid.*

69. *OR*, ser. I, XLIX, pt. 1, 60; Bearss, "Federal Expedition Against Saint Marks," 384.

Natural Bridge. The southern cavalryman knew his next destination.⁷⁰

Scott reached Natural Bridge just as J. J. Daniels appeared with 380 reserves and militiamen and two pieces of artillery. Scott quickly selected a defensive position, but before all the Confederate troops were aligned, Brigadier General John Newton's Union force of about 500 black troops attacked.⁷¹ Scott's cavalry held the Confederate right, next to the cadets who occupied part of the center. The Confederate line was a semi-circle, starting at the river and running back to the waterway, thus allowing excellent fields of fire from light trenches which had been previously dug.⁷² The northern troops found the "sloughs, ponds, marshes, and thickets" a great ally of the Confederate defenders in the dawn attack, and were beaten back with substantial losses.⁷³ While the Union force regrouped, the Confederates placed newly-arrived reinforcements into their line.⁷⁴

Following a lull of about twenty minutes, the Union army began a second attack. During the fighting Daniels was thrown from his horse and severely injured.⁷⁶ He apparently instructed Scott to take command, but then General Miller arrived, and he ordered Scott "to combine a supervision of the line under his direction."⁷⁶

When it became apparent that the Natural Bridge could not be carried by direct assault, General Newton began probing the Confederate flanks.⁷⁷ Scott had anticipated a flanking move on his right and had ordered Captain D. W. Gwynn to move further down river to resist any attempted crossing. During the afternoon Colonel Carraway Smith's cavalry arrived, and Scott's right was extended even further. After several more hours of fighting, the

70. [G. W. Scott] to Poole, March 10, 1865, Scott Papers. Major Weeks remained at Newport bridge to prevent the Confederates from attempting to cut off the Federal retreat route. *OR*, ser. I, XLIX, pt. 1, 60.

71. [G. W. Scott] to Poole, March 10, 1865, Scott Papers; Major General William Miller, "Battle of Natural Bridge," July 4, 1898, manuscript, Scott Papers.

72. *OR*, ser. I, XLIX, pt. 1, 60.

73. *Ibid.*

74. Miller, "Battle of Natural Bridge," Scott Papers.

75. [G. W. Scott] to Poole, March 10, 1865, Scott Papers; Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, March 11, 1865.

76. [G. W. Scott] to Poole, March 10, 1865, Scott Papers.

77. *OR*, ser. I, XLIX, pt. 1, 60-61.

Union forces broke off the engagement and withdrew to a group of pine barrens about 300 yards away from the Natural Bridge.⁷⁸

The battle should have ended at that point, but it did not. Early in the afternoon the Confederates began an artillery bombardment of the northern forces in the pine barrens, followed by a frontal assault over the Natural Bridge. When the attack ended the Union forces were still holding their position, leaving the Confederates with only additional casualties to show for their heroic efforts.⁷⁹

Following the Confederate assault, General Newton began a withdrawal to the lighthouse. The road was blocked by felled trees preventing pursuit by the Confederate infantry. Scott, however, managed to follow the retreating enemy with a handful of cavalry, harassing them at every opportunity. His efforts were rewarded with thirty-five prisoners before nightfall.⁸⁰

When the Battle of Natural Bridge began, the Confederates were definitely outnumbered. They were, however, steadily reinforced with small numbers of reserves and militia to the extent that before the day ended about 475 troops were engaged in battle with three killed and twenty-three wounded. The Confederate commander placed the number of Union casualties at "not less than 300," a figure roughly double the number General Newton reported for the entire campaign.⁸¹

It is understandable why the Confederates were elated by Natural Bridge. A superior enemy had sought to invade Florida; it had been blocked and forced to retreat. When the war ended a month later, Tallahassee was the only Confederate capital east of the Mississippi River that had not fallen to the Federals.⁸² Much of the praise for the defense of Tallahassee went to Scott. One newspaper wrote: "It appears that it was mainly owing to the energetic and stubborn resistance of Col. G. W. Scott, with his small cavalry force, between the point of landing and the St.

78. [G. W. Scott] to Poole, March 10, 1865, Scott Papers; Boyd, "Joint Operations of the Federal Army and Navy," 110; *OR*, ser. I, XLIX, pt. 1, 61.

79. *Ibid.*, pt. 2, 1135-36; pt. 1, 61; Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, March 11, 1865.

80. [G. W. Scott] to Poole, March 10, 1865, Scott Papers; Boyd, "Joint Operations of the Federal Army and Navy," 110.

81. *OR*, ser. I, XLIX, pt. 2, 1135-36; Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, March 11, 1865; Boyd, "Joint Operations of the Federal Army and Navy," 111-13.

82. Bearss, "Federal Expedition Against Saint Marks Ends at Natural Bridge," 390.

Marks river, and the delay that it occasioned the Yankees, that we were enabled to concentrate sufficient forces to arrest them . . . where we did.”⁸³ Scott’s warning, the Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal* reported, allowed time for the “unanimous and invincible response” of its citizens.⁸⁴ “If the people of Georgia had turned out to oppose Sherman as the Floridians have in the battle fought at Natural Bridge,” another editor wrote, “he never could have reached Savannah.”⁸⁵

The lavish praise which the citizens of Tallahassee heaped upon themselves was, of course, exaggerated. There was no comparison between the small, poorly led force of General Newton and that of Major General William T. Sherman. Nevertheless, Natural Bridge was a great psychological victory and had an effect on the people of the Middle District not unlike that of New Orleans on an earlier generation.

The spirit of pride created by Natural Bridge was shortlived; a month later the Confederate army in Virginia collapsed and General Lee surrendered his remaining meagre forces to General Grant. No doubt Colonel Scott had anticipated the inevitable. He surrendered his troops on May 13, and was paroled ten days later.⁸⁶ Shortly after he was reunited with his family.

The problems of George Washington Scott during the Civil War were typical of those of a thousand other officers of the Confederacy. His lines were stretched beyond the breaking point on too many occasions, and he and his men seldom received adequate munitions or commissary supplies to prepare them for battle. In spite of these conditions, Colonel Scott fought loyally and diligently against overwhelming odds. He understood his task and performed it with increasing skill: to protect the Middle District of Florida, always being careful to keep his army in the field by preventing its capture or destruction. Scott’s ability, poor Federal officers, and the failure of the northern high command to see Florida as an important military front prevented Union success in northern Florida. The one consolation that Scott had was that he served his country in the vicinity of his home, permitting the loneliness and anxiety of a bitter Civil War to be

83. Undated newspaper clipping, Scott Papers.

84. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, March 11, 1865.

85. *OR*, ser. I, XLIX, pt. 1, 64.

86. Miscellaneous manuscript notes, 1865, Scott Papers.

broken by frequent letters and packages from home which assured him that his wife and children were safe.

The northern and southern wings of the Scott family never regained the closeness that had existed before the war. John Scott had gradually moved toward the Republican party during the war years, and in 1869 he was chosen United States Senator by the Republican-controlled legislature of Pennsylvania. His most notable work in the Senate involved his opposition to the deprecations of the Ku Klux Klan. After one term as senator, during which he was allied with the railroad barons, John Scott became a lawyer for the Pennsylvania Railroad. With his death in 1896, the families went their separate ways.⁸⁷

After the Civil War, George Washington Scott became again a successful merchant-planter in Tallahassee where he continued the model farm he had established in the 1850s. His progressive agricultural activities led to experiments with fertilizer. He was active both in state and Leon County politics. At the Constitutional Party Convention which met in Tallahassee on September 25, 1867, Scott was made secretary. He was also named to the state executive committee.⁸⁸ The following year, at a nominating convention in Quincy, Scott was nominated for governor on the Conservative ticket. In the election the Republican party, newly organized in Florida, scored an overwhelming victory. Scott received 7,852 votes to his opponent's 14,170.⁸⁹

In 1870, Scott moved to Savannah, Georgia, where he hoped to expand into cotton and other business interests. Following financial reverses, Scott moved to Decatur, Georgia, just outside Atlanta, in 1877, where he amassed a fortune in phosphate fertilizer, cotton manufacturing, and real estate. Scott was a strong supporter of the Presbyterian Church throughout his lifetime. While living in Tallahassee he had served as a deacon in the church there. He was one of the founders of Agnes Scott Institute, later Agnes Scott College, which was named for his mother. His gifts to the institution came to more than \$175,000 when he died

87. Erwin Stanley Bradley, *The Triumph of Militant Republicanism: A Study of Pennsylvania and Presidential Politics, 1860-1872* (Philadelphia, 1964), 314-19; United States Congress, *Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress, 1774-1961* (Washington, 1961), 1573.

88. Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974), 171.

89. *Ibid.*, 190-92.

on October 3, 1903, at the age of seventy-four. The Tallahassee paper described him in an editorial as “one of Florida’s noblest sons.”⁹⁰

90. Undated newspaper clipping, Scott Papers; *Atlanta Constitution*, October 4, 1904; Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, 20-22.

A CYCLONE HITS MIAMI: CARRIE NATION'S VISIT TO "THE WICKED CITY"

by PAUL S. GEORGE *

WHEN CARRIE NATION visited Miami in March 1908, the crusade against alcohol had already met with great success in the South and in many other areas of the country. With national Prohibition still twelve years away, more than two-thirds of the counties in the eleven states of the old Confederacy had voted in local-option elections to prohibit the sale of alcoholic beverages in their communities. While many counties in Florida were in the dry column, Dade remained wet. Surprisingly, Miami, county seat of Dade, had, in its brief existence, already experienced both dry and wet eras.¹

Before Miami's incorporation in 1896, Julia Tuttle and the Brickell family, the city's most prominent pioneers, had turned over to Henry M. Flagler, the millionaire railroad and hotel developer, land that comprised the community's original boundaries, with the stipulation that anti-liquor clauses must appear in the deeds to each lot sold. These clauses prohibited landowners from "buying, selling, or manufacturing" alcoholic drink at the risk of having their land revert to the original owners.²

Although several entrepreneurs erected saloons less than twenty feet north of the city limits in North Miami, Miami itself remained dry until after the death of Julia Tuttle in 1898. Following her demise, Harry Tuttle, her son and executor of the estate, sold a lot to a prospective saloon keeper without the anti-liquor clause in its deed. Within months of the transaction a

* Mr. George, who received his doctorate in history from Florida State University, is a director of the Florida Historical Society.

1. James Timberlake, *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900-1920* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1963), 150.
2. Ruby Leach Carson, "Miami: 1896 to 1900," *Tequesta*, XVI (1956), 8; Helen Muir, *Miami, U. S. A.* (New York, 1953), 68; John Sewell, *John Sewell's Memoirs and History of Miami, Florida* (Miami, 1933), 139. The lone exception to this stricture was Flagler, who received permission from Mrs. Tuttle and the Brickells to serve drinks in the Royal Palm Hotel during the tourist season.

saloon opened on the property. After this action went uncontested, Harry Tuttle sold other lots without liquor clauses, some of which became sites of additional taverns. By 1908, Miami contained eight saloons which, according to one pioneer, engaged in "a thriving business."³

Although the saloon business was brisk, a strong temperance element began to surface. In its vanguard were local chapters of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the Anti-Saloon League, numerous clergymen, and the *Miami Daily Metropolis*, the city's leading newspaper. As the prohibitionist forces grew, they prevailed upon the city council for more stringent liquor laws. Accordingly, the council enacted a series of laws prohibiting taverns in residential sections, increased significantly the fee on liquor licenses, limited the hours a bar could operate, and urged vigorous enforcement of a state law banning the sale of alcohol to Indians.⁴

Many liquor dealers ignored these strictures due in large measure to the inability of the area's understaffed police department to enforce them. Meanwhile, incidents of bootlegging and drunkenness rose sharply, resulting, according to the *Miami Metropolis*, in "many men reeling about Miami streets."⁵ On other occasions this journal complained of the rowdiness of Miami's saloons and the practice by many politicians of distributing free alcohol to voters on election day in return for their support. Joining the *Metropolis* was the Anti-Saloon League, which, in a 1907 resolution to the Florida legislature, complained of the ineffectiveness of the police in upholding the area's liquor laws and requested assistance in battling the evil.⁶

Shortly thereafter, the Anti-Saloon League and the WCTU decided to place the issue of a wet or dry county before voters in a special local-option election. Held in October 1907, the contest

3. *Minutes of the City Council* (hereinafter cited as *MCC*), III, July 2, 1908, 257; *Miami Metropolis*, July 24, 1908; Sewell, *John Sewell's Memoirs and History of Miami*, 141-42; *Official Directory of the City of Miami* (Miami, 1908), 227.

4. *MCC*, I, December 5, 1901, 223, August 6, 1903, 321; II, November 16, 1905, 209, November 1, 1906, 368; III, September 19, 1907, 41-42; *Miami Metropolis*, June 4, August 14, 1909.

5. *Miami Metropolis*, May 30, 1902.

6. *Daily Miami Metropolis*, April 12, 1907; *Miami Metropolis*, May 14, 1906. Depending on the year, the *Miami Metropolis* was also known as the *Daily Miami Metropolis*, *Miami Daily Metropolis*, and, by the early 1920s, the *Miami Daily News and Metropolis*.

resulted in a narrow defeat for the dries. The strong showing of the temperance forces, however, only stiffened their resolve for a dry county.⁷

Accordingly, a second referendum followed two years of intense campaigning by prohibitionists. Their strategy centered on the recruitment of new members. To achieve this goal, temperance elements, led by the WCTU, launched a series of recruiting drives highlighted by impassioned orators who spoke before large audiences. The high point of the campaign came with the appearance in Miami of Carrie Nation, one of the country's most influential and impassioned temperance advocates.⁸

At the time of her appearance in Miami, Nation was sixty-one years of age and in the twilight years of her stormy career. Tall and muscular, she was a woman of commanding presence, but a tragic life had left her singularly unhappy. Carrie's mother, Mary Moore, suffered from the grandiose delusion that she was Queen Victoria, and she spent her final years in an insane asylum. Dr. Charles Gloyd, Carrie's first husband, was an alcoholic who died two years after their marriage in 1867, leaving a young widow and a child affected with mental disorders. David Nation, her second husband, was a failure at nearly everything he attempted, causing his spouse further anguish. The marriage eventually ended in divorce.⁹

Mrs. Nation's interest in prohibition began with her attempt to break her first husband of his drinking habit. During this period she purportedly received a "command from God to go out and smash saloons."¹⁰ Carrie did not respond to this command, however, until thirty years later in 1900. By then she was living in Kansas, which was attempting with little success to enforce prohibition. Disappointed with the ineffectiveness of prohibition

7. *Minutes of the County Commission*, II, October 19, 1907, 321; *Miami Metropolis*, October 16, 1907; Isidor Cohen, *Historical Sketches and Sidelights of Miami, Florida* (Miami, 1925), 57.

8. *Miami Herald*, August 20, 1916; *Miami Metropolis*, March 7, 8, 1908; Cohen, *Historical Sketches and Sidelights of Miami*, 59; Alfred Hanna and Kathryn Hanna, *Florida's Golden Sands* (Indianapolis, 1950), 280.

9. *Miami Metropolis*, March 10, 1908; Stewart H. Holbrook, "Bonnet, Book, and Hatchet," *American Heritage*, IX (December 1957), 53-55, 120-21; Carlton Beals, *Cyclone Carry: The Story of Carry Nation* (Philadelphia, 1962), 10-12, 42-50, 52-59; Carry Nation, *The Use and Need of the Life of Carry A. Nation* (Topeka, 1905), 34-40; Robert Taylor, *Vessel of Wrath* (New York, 1966), 18, 51-53, 59, 61.

10. *Miami Metropolis*, March 10, 1908; *Miami Morning News-Record*, March 10, 1908. The *Morning News-Record* became the *Miami Herald* in 1911.

in Kansas, Nation directed futile appeals to state officials for stricter enforcement.¹¹

The failure of these entreaties moved her to embark on a more forceful approach. Armed with a hatchet, bricks, and a Bible, Carrie Nation assaulted her first saloon in Kiowa, Kansas, in June 1900. The damage she inflicted was extensive, with windows, bottles, and mirrors succumbing to her deadly missiles. "I hit everything I threw at," she later explained.¹² Inspired by this success, Mrs. Nation decided to take her campaign to other areas of the state.¹³

After numerous saloon smashings in Kansas, Carrie embarked upon a nationwide tour and broadened her list of targets to include tobacco, fraternal lodges, sexual immorality, and even President Theodore Roosevelt, who incurred her wrath not only for his opposition to prohibition, but also for his failure to break his brash daughter, Alice, of her nicotine habit. For years Mrs. Nation toured the country in her war against these evils. Lecture fees, which sometimes reached \$300 for a week of appearances, along with the sale of souvenir hatchets, copies of her autobiography, *The Use and Need of the Life of Carry A. Nation*, and a weekly publication, *The Hatchet*, sustained her temperance crusade.¹⁴

Carrie's *modus operandi* included an address containing a liberal sprinkling of quotations from scripture on the evils of alcohol mixed with harsh words for local politicians and saloon keepers and their patrons. Following her speech, Carrie sometimes repaired to the town's saloon area, entered a tavern, and boldly flailed away at everything within reach with a hatchet. On other occasions, "Cyclone Carrie," as she was sometimes called, hurled bricks about the property. Usually she waved them while severely scolding the startled patrons, imploring them to forsake drink and return to their families. For her efforts, Mrs. Nation was jailed more than thirty times and sustained many injuries. But her

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11. *Miami Metropolis*, March 10, 1908; *Miami Morning News-Record*, March 10, 1908; Holbrook, "Bonnet, Book, and Hatchet," 53.
 12. *Miami Metropolis*, March 10, 1908.
 13. *Ibid.*; *Miami Morning News-Record*, March 10, 1908; Holbrook, "Bonnet, Book and Hatchet," 53-54.
 14. *Miami Metropolis*, March 5, 10, 11, 1908; *Miami Morning News-Record*, March 10, 1908; Holbrook, "Bonnet, Book, and Hatchet," 120.

indomitable spirit brought increasing attention to one of the most controversial issues of the day.¹⁵

Mrs. Nation came to Miami in 1908 at the invitation of the local chapter of the WCTU, following visits to several other Florida cities. She arrived on Monday, March 2, one week prior to her scheduled meetings. She wanted time for "resting and recuperating," revising her new book, and visiting taverns to "warn saloon men of their peril."¹⁶

Two days after her arrival, Carrie appeared at a religious meeting in the Gospel Tent opposite the county courthouse in downtown Miami. Before a large, enthusiastic audience, she told of her mission and outlined plans for the following week. She averred that "her work was in defence [*sic*] of men, women and children and all that she has done was for the protection of the family."¹⁷ She insisted that this mission was "very dirty" and not of her "choosing," but "the same God that put a staff in Moses['] hand[,] a jawbone, in Sampson's [*sic*] hand, a sling in David's hand, put a hatchet in Carrie Nation's hand."¹⁸ Mrs. Nation admitted, however, that she was abandoning the hatchet as a weapon "for I have learned that I must go to the source of the trouble."¹⁹ "My cry," she proclaimed "is 'on to Washington.'" The country's lawmakers had it within their power to "close up saloons."²⁰ Carrie exhorted her audience to "write to your representatives and ask them to vote right."²¹

Echoing the feelings of many temperance supporters, the *Metropolis* applauded Carrie's "warmup" appearance, and maintained that many "disinterested persons" who "thought Mrs. Nation simply a sufferer from a certain form of dementia Americana . . . are daily changing their opinions."²² The *Metropolis* also informed its readers of the crusader's desire for information from all persons with knowledge of corruption and vice in the

15. *Miami Metropolis*, March 10, 1908; *Miami Morning News-Record*, March II, 1908; Holbrook, "Bonnet, Book, and Hatchet," 120.

16. *Miami Metropolis*, March 3, 5, 7, 1908; Samuel Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward: Florida's Fighting Governor* (Gainesville, 1950), 280-81.

17. *Miami Metropolis*, March 5, 1908.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1908.

area. On Saturday night, Carrie and two of her hostesses from the WCTU embarked on their own reconnaissance mission.²³

The trio visited several bistros where they witnessed gambling, as well as men *and* women drinking. The tour went without incident until the “investigators” entered Lassiter’s, near the center of Miami’s business district. There a patron grabbed Mrs. Nation amid shouts of “put her out,” but when she threatened retaliation, her assaulter decided to leave her alone.²⁴ Carrie and her escorts then ascended to the second floor of the saloon and walked into a “gambling game.”²⁵ Their surprising presence sent some of the participants scurrying from the room “with cards and chips in their hands.”²⁶

The party’s last stop was North Miami, a community of saloons, gambling dens, and brothels. Entering a brothel, Nation “found a number of women lounging around in loose attire, smoking and using profane and vulgar language.”²⁷ Further examination of the establishment revealed a couple in a “darkened room.” Carrie managed to “trick” its startled occupants into admitting that they were not married to each other. According to the newspaper account, “One of the women with a man in her room said that the man was her husband. ‘What is your name?’ asked Mrs. Nation. ‘Smith,’ was the answer. Quick as a flash Mrs. Nation darted into the room and asked the man. ‘Johnson,’ was the answer.”²⁸ This tour satisfied Mrs. Nation that there was “crime and corruption in plenty in Miami.”²⁹

One of the persons interested in these findings was County Solicitor H. Pierre Branning, who subpoenaed the trio to learn more about “just what crimes (they) saw on Saturday night.”³⁰ Their testimony, given on Monday, March 9, led to issuance of additional subpoenas on the following day to elements of Miami’s “sporting crowd,” as the investigation of gambling and other illegal activities broadened.³¹

Several hours after her meeting with Branning, Carrie ad-

23. *Ibid.*, March 7, 9, 1908.

24. *Ibid.*, March 9, 1908.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*, March 11, 13, 1908.

dressed an audience in excess of 2,000, the "largest crowd in the history of Miami," in the Gospel Tent.³² Accompanying her on the platform were members of the WCTU and several local ministers. The first two rows of seating across from the platform were occupied by young girls, "the future women, wives, and mothers of our city and country," who, on signal, "marched to the platform and filled the air with the sweet words and strains" of a temperance song.³³ In her address, Carrie quoted from scripture on the evils of drink, reviewed her career as a temperance advocate, and blamed the local authorities for the area's liquor traffic, insisting that Miami had a far-reaching reputation for wickedness owing to official corruption.³⁴

At the conclusion of the talk, Solicitor Branning, "in thunderous tone and voice filled with apparent excitement and extreme anger," denounced Mrs. Nation's charge that Miami officials had shirked their responsibilities after accepting bribes. He challenged Mrs. Nation to produce evidence for her assertion.³⁵ Pulling two bottles of whiskey from the "mysterious confines of her dress," Carrie thundered: "these were purchased from North Miami on Sunday," in contravention of state law.³⁶ Pandemonium "reigned for the next several minutes."³⁷ After the audience quieted down a bit, Branning began to speak on the "brutality of woman against man," but his words became quickly inaudible by the loud peals of the organ, reinforced by the "joyful voices" of the crowd singing "Onward Christian Soldiers."³⁸ Although the meeting was over, Mrs. Nation was not finished. After leaving the tent, she saw some men smoking, and promptly pounced on them, knock-

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32. *Miami Metropolis*, March 10, 1908; *Miami Morning News-Record*, March 10, 1908; Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Population*, II (Washington, 1913), 66. This figure represented a sizable percentage of Miami's population, for the census figures of 1910, the closest year for which data exists, show that the city contained 5,471 inhabitants.
33. *Miami Metropolis*, March 10, 1908; *Miami Morning News-Record*, March 10, 1908.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*; Cohen, *Historical Sketches and Sidelights of Miami*, 61; Hanna and Hanna, *Florida's Golden Sands*, 280.
36. *Miami Metropolis*, March 10, 1908.
37. *Ibid.*; Hanna and Hanna, *Florida's Golden Sands*, 280.
38. *Ibid.*; *Miami Herald*, August 20, 1916; Cohen, *Historical Sketches and Sidelights of Miami*, 60.

ing cigars from their mouths, while screaming, "you tobacco-saturated loafers, why don't you go home to your wives?"³⁹

Coverage of Carrie's address reflected the division of the city's two news dailies over the issue of prohibition. The *Metropolis* praised her "commonsense, logical talk," maintaining that "scripture is taken as the foundation for the war she is waging on the liquor traffic."⁴⁰ But the *Miami Morning News-Record* believed "it did not seem to matter last night that the chapter which (Nation) chose for her text had not the remotest connection with present day conditions."⁴¹ The *Morning News-Record* also questioned Mrs. Nation's "triumph" over Solicitor Branning, since "she failed to state by whom" the whiskey was purchased.⁴²

Mrs. Nation's subsequent addresses before large Miami audiences lacked the excitement of the opening speech. She continued to denounce local officials in harsh tones, accusing them, in the words of the *Morning News-Record*, "of all awful things which she claims to have discovered are rampant here."⁴³ On one occasion, Mrs. Nation attempted to substantiate her allegations by reading from a letter containing a list of "corrupt places" in the area.⁴⁴ But as the *Morning News-Record* saw it, the "mountebank lecturer's" expose "was about the same rambling, disconnected, illogical talk as the preceding evenings."⁴⁵ Even the *Metropolis* questioned the accuracy of some of her information. The *News-Record*, however, had the final word here, suggesting, with a hint of sarcasm, that Mrs. Nation had "satisfied herself that she is exactly and infallibly right."⁴⁶

Joining the *News-Record* in its attacks on Carrie was the *Tampa Tribune*, which maintained that "Miami seems to be taking Carrie Nation seriously with the aid of its disreputable daily the *Metropolis*."⁴⁷ Later, the *Tribune* would insist that

39. *Miami Herald*, August 20, 1916; Cohen, *Historical Sketches and Sidelights of Miami*, 61.

40. *Miami Metropolis*, March 10, 1908.

41. *Miami Morning News-Record*, March 10, 1908.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*, March 13, 1908.

44. *Miami Metropolis*, March 13, 1908.

45. *Miami Morning News-Record*, March 13, 21, 1908.

46. *Miami Metropolis*, March 13, 1908; *Miami Morning News-Record*, March 13, 1908.

47. Cited in the *Miami Morning News-Record*, March 19, 1908.

“what Carrie did to mess up the nerves of that pretty East Coast community [would be] a good study for psychologists.”⁴⁸

Mrs. Nation’s harangues also contained criticism of the federal government, especially President Roosevelt, who she called a “beer guzzling Dutchman,” for failure to heed her appeals for prohibition. She described the “tortures” of her frequent incarcerations, spoke on “the women’s mission from the standpoint of the Bible,” and condemned the Masons and other secret orders whom, she insisted, were “conceived in hell and the devil were [sic] the daddy of them.”⁴⁹ During one of her final sessions in Miami, Florida Governor Napoleon Bonaparte Broward joined her on the platform, and according to the *News-Record*, “proceeded for a time to deliver a fair imitation of a prohibition speech.”⁵⁰

Carrie also spoke in the afternoon to mixed, as well as segregated audiences of men and women. These sessions were devoted to prayer and testimony and discussions on sexual purity. Despite her heavy schedule, Mrs. Nation managed to sell many personal items, including an estimated \$300 worth of hatchets.⁵¹

Shortly after the conclusion of her lectures in Miami, Mrs. Nation took her crusade to other parts of Florida. Although the *News-Record* maintained that in spite of the crusader’s efforts “people here will continue to be almost as good as ever-and no better,” her impact on Miami was significant.⁵² For the first time in anyone’s memory, local and county officials were arresting numerous violaters of the Sunday liquor laws. In some cases, the police received tips on transgressors from concerned citizens. Although data is unavailable on the size of temperance groups in Miami during this period, a new organization, the Dade County Civic Association, designed “to promote and encourage good morals, good government, temperance and civic righteousness,” was organized soon after Carrie’s visit.⁵³

The city council also showed the effects of Carrie’s appear-

48. Cited in *ibid.*, March 26, 1908.

49. *Miami Metropolis*, March 11, 13, 1908.

50. *Miami Metropolis*, March 14, 1908; *Miami Morning News-Record*, March 15, 1908; Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward*, 281.

51. *Miami Metropolis*, March 7, 10, 1908; *Miami Morning News-Record*, March 13, 22, 1908.

52. *Miami Morning News-Record*, March 18, 1908.

53. *Miami Metropolis*, March 26, 31, August 29, 1908; *Miami Morning News-Record*, March 31, 1908.

ances. In May, it passed a tough saloon ordinance which reduced operating hours, placed restrictions on the size of the saloon district, called for the removal of any screen, frosted glass, or obstruction which prevented passers-by from seeing into saloons, banned women and children from bar premises, ordered saloons to close at ten o'clock on weeknights and midnight on Saturdays, and made it an offense to sell liquor to a drunkard or a person already intoxicated.⁵⁴ Following passage of this legislation, the Miami Police Department instituted periodic inspections of saloons and intensified the campaign against drunkenness. Meanwhile, much of the attention of the area's other law enforcement agency was riveted on the race for sheriff. One candidate, M. W. Goode, was running on an unprecedented anti-vice platform. Goode promised as sheriff to "use every means within my power to break up the gambling evil in this county and the illegal selling of liquor."⁵⁵ Surprisingly, the *News-Record* adopted a similar view. In late March 1908, the journal announced that "many Miamians were anxious for a cleanup," and it called for a campaign to "rid the city of vice" and "bad saloons."⁵⁶

Despite these developments, Dade County prohibition came only after additional difficulties and renewed efforts by the dry elements. For the temperance cause suffered another setback in a local-option election in 1909, and was forced to campaign for several more years in pursuit of its goal. Finally, in 1913, prohibitionists prevailed in another local-option contest, and Dade joined the other dry counties in Florida.⁵⁷

Ironically, prohibition, especially its national phase, lent additional credence to Mrs. Nation's insistence on the wickedness of Miami. For the city not only flouted prohibition as brazenly as any community in the country, but its proximity to the liquor smuggling Bahama Islands enabled it to become one of the chief purveyors of drink during the Prohibition Era of the 1920s. In the process, Miami attracted a gangster element anxious to exploit the opportunities for great wealth through illicit traffic in liquor, thereby ensuring its image of a "wide-open" city.

54. *Miami Metropolis*, April 17, 1908.

55. *Ibid.*, March 17, 20, April 17, 18, 20, May 8, July 24, October 21, 1908. Although the council passed the saloon ordinance in April, a technicality prevented it from becoming law until May.

56. *Miami Morning News-Record*, March 21, 22, 24, 1908.

57. *Miami Daily Metropolis*, November 8, 1909, October 31, November 4, 1913; *Miami Herald*, November 5, 1913.

WITH THE WEHRMACHT IN FLORIDA: THE GERMAN POW FACILITY AT CAMP BLANDING, 1942-1946

by ROBERT D. BILLINGER, JR. *

AN IMPORTANT ASPECT of the impact of World War II on the American homefront that has not been widely examined is how the government handled the nearly 378,000 German prisoners of war who were incarcerated in this country. Their odyssey took them from the deserts of North Africa, the mountains of central Italy, and the hedgerows of Normandy to Florida—one of forty-five states in which POWs were lodged during the war and immediately afterwards.¹ The story of the German prisoners remained until relatively recently a virtual *terre incognita* because of the low profile of POW operations during the war and because documents and papers relating to the issue are only now being declassified at the National Archives.² There has been a recent spate of books and articles on the POW issue, but more regional and state-level studies are needed.³

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1. Edward J. Pluth, "The Administration and Operation of German Prisoner of War Camps in the United States During World War II" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ball State University, 1970), 128.
2. Since Pluth completed his research in 1968, most records have been declassified. Pluth to Robert Billinger, September 28, 1976. However, as recently as the summer of 1977, most records of the POW camps which the Modern Military Archives Division of the National Archives has acquired were not indexed, thus being difficult to use. See Judith M. Gansberg, *Stalag U. S. A.: The Remarkable Story of German POWs in America* (New York, 1977). Other general studies of the POW camps are Jake W. Spindle, "Axis Prisoners of War in the United States, 1942-1946: A Bibliographical Essay," *Military Affairs*, XXXIX (April 1975), 61-66; Arnold P. Krammer, "German Prisoners of War in the United States," *Military Affairs*, XL (April 1976), 68-73; Herman Jung, *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen in amerikanischer Hand, USA* (Munich, 1972).
3. See Terry Paul Wilson, "The Afrika Korps in Oklahoma: Fort Reno's Prisoner of War Compound," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, LII (Fall 1974), 360-69; John Hammond Moore, "Hitler's Afrika Korps in New England," *Yankee* (June 1976), 82-89, 116; John Hammond Moore, "Hitler's Wehrmacht in Virginia, 1943-1946," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXXV (July 1977), 259-73; John Hammond Moore, *The*

An examination of Florida's experience with German prisoners is essentially the study of the evolution of the POW facility at Camp Blanding, the main POW base in Florida. It administered more than 4,000 prisoners. Camp Blanding was constructed on the edge of an inland lake near Starke, in north-central Florida about forty miles south of Jacksonville. It served as a major training depot for American troops during World War II. Its rural, isolated location, and immense size—handling up to 75,000 trainees at one time—made it an admirable place in which prisoners of war could be held relatively easily and inconspicuously. Blanding contained both a naval and an army compound which could hold up to 1,200 prisoners. There were also nearly 3,000 men incarcerated in eleven, later fifteen, branch camps, each holding about 250 to 300 men. They provided Florida's agriculture, lumbering, and canning industries with inexpensive labor. The story of Blanding and its internees is a microcosmic example of the American POW experience. It illustrates the type of prisoners that the government had to deal with and the problems Americans faced in guarding them, using their labor, and accepting their presence on our shores. The military personnel at Camp Blanding were forced to handle different types of prisoners, many of whom were difficult to control. At first there were a number of enemy aliens, who were confined in Blanding only for a short while. Then there were sailors taken off U-Boats in the Atlantic and Caribbean, General Rommel's battle-hardened veterans who had been captured in North Africa, and the soldiers taken in the fighting in Italy and during the invasion of France. Many were lodged at Blanding at one time or another during the war years.

Soon after Pearl Harbor and the German declaration of war on the United States, Camp Blanding became the home of a troubled mass of humanity: a number of German civilians who had been living in various Latin American countries. Interned as enemy aliens, they were transported by allies of the United States to this country. During the summer of 1942, they were housed temporarily in a special compound at Blanding until more permanent internment quarters could be arranged in Texas, Oklahoma, and North Carolina.⁴ Under the surveillance of a thirty-man mil-

Faustball Tunnel: German POWs in America and Their Great Escape (New York, 1978).

4. Copy, report of visit to Camp Blanding, March 26, 1942, by Willy C.

itary police detachment, the internees-men, women, and children -were confined in a stockade, 110 by 150 yards in area, which was enclosed by inner and outer cyclone fences topped with barbed wire. They slept in pyramidal tents, only large enough for four persons. According to a Swiss inspector, the whole facility looked barren. It was located about 100 yards from a coal dumping place, and the area was usually covered with black dust. The scene was brightened only by little gardens that some of the internees endeavored to start in front of their tents.

This original German population at Blanding consisted of confused and embittered former residents of Costa Rica, Guatemala, and the Panama Canal Zone. At Blanding they were separated by sex. Interned without trial, they had been transported to Florida against their will, forced to wear army fatigues marked with the letters "EA" (enemy alien), and left to camp out in the sand hills of northern Florida with little assurance of what the future held for them. They were guarded by inexperienced American soldiers who had little understanding of what should be done with or for their new charges. Among the sad immigrants was a particularly pitiful group of sixteen German Jews from Panama who, interned along with Nazi sympathizers, were treated as prisoners in the "land of the free."⁵

With the departure of the civilian aliens by the summer of 1942, Camp Blanding was ready for other foreign guests. On a new site about a mile from the unhealthy habitat of the original civilian internees were confined Blanding's first German naval prisoners. The group of fourteen men who arrived on September 24, 1942, were the first contingent of U-Boat prisoners.⁶ Eventually the number would increase to 216. The first German army personnel began arriving in November 1943. The two groups were

Bruppacher, Department of German Interests, Swiss Legation, record group 389, Camp Blanding, file 254, box 405, Modern Military Branch, National Archives, Washington. Ultimate transfer of the aliens to camps in Texas, Oklahoma, and North Carolina can be deduced from requests made by Blanding officials to the provost marshal's office for forwarding the mail of former Blanding prisoners to the new camps. See RG 389, files 311.7, 383.7, and 254, box 405, MMB, NA.

5. Internee to Enemy Alien Information Bureau, May 31, 1942, RG 389, file 014.311, box 405, MMB, NA.
6. Roster of prisoners at Camp Blanding, January 31, 1942, RG 389, file 383.6, box 405, MMB, NA. For date of arrival, see record of visit to Camp Blanding, December 26-29, 1943, Enemy POW Information Bureau, Reporting Branch, RG 389, box 2656, MMB, NA.

confined in separate compounds about one-half mile from each other. Unlike some of the army captives who arrived later, these original U-Boat prisoners were some of Hitler's finest personnel, and as such they were respected by many Blanding army officers. The American military hoped to take advantage of whatever expertise and knowledge of technology and planning the prisoners might have; they constantly quizzed the German officers.⁷

The resistance of the early German naval prisoners to defeatism was very high. In fact, the determination of a few of these officers to remain loyal to their fatherland in the face of the defeatist attitude of prisoners brought in later led to several nasty incidents, including death threats and beatings of the less patriotic newcomers.⁸ The steadily-growing pessimism over the final outcome of the war, which the later arrivals held, increasingly put even moderates on the defensive. As early as February 1944, twenty-four naval officers asked to be transferred to Camp McCain, Mississippi, because their fellow officers were giving Blanding a distinctly anti-Nazi character. They feared for their own reputations and the safety of their families in Germany because of possible charges of guilt by association.⁹ Their transfers were not approved, however, and, in fact, seventy-eight anti-Nazis from McCain were transported to Blanding, thereby confirming the increasingly anti-Nazi character of the camp.¹⁰ The result was that loyal German seamen feared for their lives and sought protection in self-inflicted isolation from their comrades.¹¹

Camp Blanding had one of the four naval internment facilities in the United States. The others were at Camp McCain, Mississippi, Camp Beale, California, and Papago Park, Arizona.¹² But Blanding became better known for its army prison compound. At one time, it held over 1,000 members of the Wehrmacht and administered some 3,000 other internees at eleven branch camps throughout the state of Florida. The first army prisoners arrived

7. Interview of Harry A. Johnston, former executive officer at Camp Blanding, West Palm Beach, June 22, 1977.

8. Major Henry R. Totten, post adjutant, to commanding general of the Fourth Service Command, July 3, 1944, Enemy POW Information Bureau, Reporting Branch, RG 389, box 2476, MMB, NA.

9. Memorandum from Camp Blanding staff to provost marshal general, February 13, 1944, RG 389, box 2476, MMB, NA.

10. Memorandum from Camp Blanding staff to provost marshal general, July 3, 1944, RG 389, box 2476, MMB, NA.

11. Moore, *Faustball Tunnel*, 109.

12. *Ibid.*, 68.

on November 5, 1943. There were two contingents each with 250 men, transferred from camps in Aliceville and Opelika, Alabama.¹³ These POWs had been captured when the Germans were ousted from Tunisia in May 1943. At first they had been incarcerated in camps located in the interior of the country to deter any threat of escape or sabotage. Then, in late 1943, they began to be dispersed to camps like Blanding because of the growing demand for POW labor outside military reservations and the feeling that the POWs should be distributed among the various service commands.¹⁴ Additional contingents of 250 men each arrived in Blanding from Aliceville and Opelika on November 12, 1943, bringing the total up to 1,000 men.¹⁵

The new arrivals were placed in an army compound about one-half mile from the navy area. The compound for army POWs was located on sandy soil amid a number of second-growth white oak trees. Sodding and seeding made both stockades fairly attractive. Housing consisted of sixteen-by-sixteen victory-type hutments and mess halls similar to those that had been used by Civilian Conservation Corps personnel during the 1930s. Each compound was surrounded by two fences of seven and ten feet respectively, and the area between the fences was of rolled sand so that guards in the six-by-six guard towers on the perimeters could detect any illegal activity occurring in the area.¹⁶

The first residents of the army compound were veterans of Rommel's tank corps captured in Tunisia. The animosity of these men, filled with esprit and arrogance, toward the relatively inexperienced American camp personnel led to violence that was not atypical of the early American POW camps. The Afrika Korps, at least its most loyal Nazis, wanted to sabotage American efforts to control and pacify it. Testing the camp commander's newly announced policy of "no work, no eat," German ring-leaders staged a strike on November 15. Later, on December 22, despite the transfer of the main leader, dissidents staged a riot that sent anti-Nazi elements fleeing to the protective custody of

13. Record of visit to Camp Blanding, December 26-29, 1943, RG 389, box 2656, MMB, NA.

14. Pluth, "Administration and Operation of German Prisoner of War Camps in the United States During World War II," 123-24.

15. Record of visit to Camp Blanding, December 26-29, 1943, RG 389, box 2656, MMB, NA.

16. *Ibid.*; International Red Cross inspection report of Camp Blanding, April 6-7, 1944, RG 389, box 2656, MMB, NA.

prison guards.¹⁷ Ultimately many of these anti-Nazi Germans were transferred to Camp McCain for their own safety. The Nazi troublemakers were sent to a special camp at Alva, Oklahoma.¹⁸

An investigation into the riot in the Blanding army compound concluded that it was caused by the proximity of ardent Nazi and strong anti-Nazi elements. The anti-Nazis were members of the 962 Regiment, a well-known "Communist" unit, and of the 361 Regiment, a former French Foreign Legion unit containing Austrians, Poles, and Czechs, some of whom had served prison terms in Europe for their anti-Nazi leanings before being drafted into the German army.¹⁹ Nazi elements were particularly bitter when they discovered a letter from a Foreign Legion captain, requesting that he be released so that he might fight against the Germans.²⁰

The presence of large numbers of young POWs who had little or nothing to do with their time led the War Department and the War Manpower Commission to consider how they might be put to work. The Geneva Convention of 1929 prohibited use of prisoners in either war-related or unusually dangerous occupations, and this restriction was carefully observed by the War Department to prevent retaliation by the Germans against our own captured personnel. POWs could not be left idle, however, if jobs were available.²¹

The POWs at Blanding were used, as at other base camps, in maintaining their own housing and facilities. In 1944 several branch camps were also established to provide labor for private industries whose own work forces had been depleted by the draft. On January 6, 1944, Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, announced that he had certified to the War Department the need for seven auxiliary camps in Florida "in order to supply muchly [*sic*] needed labor in pulp wood cutting

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17. Record of visit to Camp Blanding, December 26-29, 1943, RG 389, box 2656, MMB, NA.
 18. *Ibid.*; International Red Cross inspection report of Camp Blanding, April 6-7, 1944, RG 389, box 2656, MMB, NA.
 19. Major Woodruff H. Lowman, Camp Blanding commander, to assistant chief of staff, G-2, January 4, 1944, RG 389, box 2476, MMB, NA.
 20. Record of visit to Camp Blanding, December 26-29, 1943, RG 389, box 2656, MMB, NA.
 21. For a good presentation of the military's views on POW labor and the Geneva Convention, see Major General Archer L. Lerch, "The Army Reports on Prisoners of War," *American Mercury*, LX (May 1945), 536-47.

and gathering of naval stores." The announcement came in the form of a note to Florida Senator Claude Pepper, who had initiated a request for POW labor to aid the state's lumber industry. A news story also indicated that the War Manpower Commission's regional office in Atlanta had asked for 2,000 prisoners to be sent to Clewiston to aid in sugarcane harvesting.²²

Announcements of requests for large contingents of POW workers to be sent to Florida exaggerated the numbers involved while overlooking the strict regulations under which such laborers could be used. The Geneva Convention allowed only privates to do such work, and they had to be supervised by their own non-commissioned officers. The government paid each man eighty cents a day, while demanding the going rate from private employers. The POWs received coupons for use in the post exchange to purchase cigarettes, toiletries, food, and other commodities. Private employers had to show a need for POW labor by making application through their local county farm agents. These requests were then forwarded to regional military commanders, who referred them to base camp commanders.²³ In the case of Camp Blanding, requests came from the Fourth Regional Command in Atlanta.

In early 1944, 126 men were shipped from Blanding to Leesburg to help in fruit picking. Supplementary labor was also transported to Florida from other states to set up branch camps under Blanding's direction. The camp at Clewiston was established in February 1944, with POWs coming in from Aliceville, Alabama.²⁴ Shortly afterward, more POWs were processed through Blanding and sent to branch camps in Winter Haven, Dade City, and White Springs.²⁵ These 250-man contingents had arrived from Fort McClellan, Alabama, and Camp Gordon, Georgia. By February 1945, with branch camps also at McDill and Drew Fields, South Miami, Orlando, Homestead, and Venice,

22. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, January 6, 1944.

23. Lerch, "Army Reports on Prisoners of War," 544; John Brown Mason, "German Prisoners of War in the United States," *American Journal of International Law*, XXXIX (April 1945), 213.

24. International Red Cross inspection report, Clewiston POW camp, March 16, 1945, RG 59, 711.62114 IR/9-545, Civil Archives Division, Diplomatic Branch, NA; interview with David Forshay, former company clerk at Clewiston POW camp, West Palm Beach, May 28, 1978.

25. International Red Cross inspection report of Camp Blanding, April 6-7, 1944, RG 389, box 2656, MMB, NA.

Camp Blanding was administering a total of 4,686 members of the Wehrmacht. Of these, 1,064 were at Blanding and the rest in the eleven branch camps.²⁶

By July 1945, there were a total of twenty POW camps in Florida. These included Blanding with, by then, fifteen branch camps, and Camp Gordon Johnston with three branch camps at Eglin Field, Dale Mabry Field, and Telogia.²⁷

The presence of such large numbers of German prisoners in Florida increased apprehension about escapes. The army left all problems of detection and apprehension of escapees to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. At Blanding, the policy was to remind all new arrivals that if they escaped they would find themselves at the "tender mercies" of the FBI. Working on the reputation of "Hoover's finest," and on the dreaded reputation of Germany's national police agency, the Gestapo, officers hoped to thwart possible escape attempts.²⁸ A combination of such threats, combined with a realistic appraisal of the distances to neutral or friendly countries, seemed to help discourage potential escapees in Florida, as it did throughout the United States. Despite early fears of mass escapes, it was later noted that the percentage of escapes from POW camps averaged about the same as from federal penitentiaries.²⁹

There were some attempts, however. One POW nearly froze to death as he tried to hide in a refrigerator car en route to Jacksonville. In another instance, two Blanding escapees wandered in the woods for two days before turning themselves in, lost, hungry, and bloodied by brambles. To discourage others who might be making similar plans to run away, the Blanding administration had these two paraded before the assembled POW contingent in the clothes and condition in which they were returned to camp.³⁰ Other escapes occurred nonetheless. One POW escaped temporarily from Winter Haven in July 1944, two from Kendall in September 1944, one from near Orlando in January 1945, four in January 1945 from Clewiston, and four from Blanding in June 1945.³¹ Of

26. Army report, Camp Blanding, February 11-12, 1945, POW Special Projects Division, Administrative Branch, RG 389, box 1609, MMB, NA.

27. Monthly state list of POW camps, July 1945, RG 389, general file, MMB, NA.

28. Johnston interview, June 22, 1977.

29. Lerch, "Army Reports on Prisoners of War," 546.

30. Johnston interview, June 22, 1977.

31. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 11, 1944; *Miami Herald*, Sep-

all of these incidents, the most pathetic was the escape by Karl Behrens from the Clewiston camp in late December 1944. Behrens, a young man of eighteen, had been captured in Cherbourg after D-Day, and was thus a relatively recent arrival at the sugarcane harvesting camp in Florida. Probably because of his recent capture he did not receive any mail for a long time, and he was no doubt frustrated by the fact that others often received six to twelve letters at a time.³² When Behrens was discovered missing from the camp on the afternoon of December 30, a general search with the help of local FBI agents was initiated. On January 1, 1945, Behrens's body was found hanging from a tree two miles from the camp near Lake Okeechobee. He had been strangled by the rope from his own duffle bag. Despite the usual rumors of foul play-rumors that still persist today-FBI and camp personnel concluded that Behrens's death was a suicide, the result of depression.³³ His suicide was one of seventy-two totaled for the POW population in the United States, an average lower than that among the population of prewar Germany.³⁴

Escapes and suicides brought publicity to the Florida POW program. The involvement of the FBI and publication of descriptions and "mug shots" of escaped POWs generated a degree of publicity that might otherwise have been avoided. In fact, newspaper coverage of escapes and recaptures provided information about the German POWs that the army might otherwise have limited.³⁵ The less the press depended on the military for news, the more likely it was for the media to ferret out information about the Germans which would otherwise have been controlled. Thus, while Camp Blanding was the largest POW base camp in Florida, the *Bradford County Telegraph*, the weekly published in the nearby community of Starke, was so close to the military

tember 3, 1944, January 5, 1945; *Clewiston News*, January 5, February 2, 1945; *Belle Glade Herald*, January 26, 1945.

32. Interview with David Forshay, May 17, 1979.

33. *Clewiston News*, January 5, 1945; interview with Judge Hugh MacMillan, former FBI agent, West Palm Beach, February 26, 1979; Forshay interview, May 17, 1979.

34. Lerch, "Army Reports on Prisoners of War," 547; Provost Marshal General's Office, Prisoner of War Division, "Prisoner of War Operations," 4 vols. (unpublished monograph, historical mss. file, Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, Washington, 1945), 212. "Prisoner of War Operations" is available 'on microfilm through the Library of Congress.

35. Pluth, "Administration and Operation of German Prisoner of War Camps in the United States During World War II," 237-44.

establishment that it carried nothing about the Blanding POW camp until after V-E Day. An article about escaped prisoners appeared in June 1945. On the other hand, when Wilhelm Stuetzgen and Gerhard Anklam escaped briefly from the Clewiston camp in January 1945, the article on their recapture in the *Clewiston News* included personal facts about the men: that their home towns were Dusseldorf and Berlin and that they had been captured in Tunis in April 1943, and in Italy in September 1944, respectively.³⁶

While recaptured escapees were transferred to other camps and given bread and water diets as punishment, the Florida public-like the rest of the country-became increasingly aware of the POW program. Despite efforts by the government to keep the POW program in a low profile, public contact with POWs, either through their private employment in American industry or through newspaper articles covering escapes, led to stories and complaints of coddling the Germans. In February 1945, Florida Congressman Robert Sikes, a member of the House Committee on Military Affairs, became particularly vocal regarding complaints from Floridians.³⁷ The editor of the *Bradford County Telegraph* took up such general criticism of the POW program-with no reference to Camp Blanding-in an editorial on February 16, 1945, captioned, "The Germans Shoot Their Prisoners; We Feed Ours Shortcake." In his editorial he included menus for meals fed to German prisoners at McDill Field and juxtaposed these with recent stories of the Malmedy massacre.³⁸

The response from Camp Blanding took the form of a talk by public relations officer Captain Leon S. Theil to the local Rotary Club, in which he stressed that treatment of German POWs was based on the "twin policies of protecting Americans in German hands and easing our own manpower shortage under the Geneva Convention."³⁹ He explained that the government had realized \$25,000,000 from the labor of German prisoners through its policy of paying them only eighty cents a day in canteen checks. In return, the government was paid prevailing labor wage scales

36. Starke *Bradford County Telegraph*, June 22, 1945; *Clewiston News*, January 26, 1945.

37. Pluth, "Administration and Operation of German Prisoner of War Camps in the United States During World War II," 267-68.

38. Starke *Bradford County Telegraph*, February 16, 1945.

39. *Ibid.*, March 9, 1945.

for their work. Theil stressed further that in Florida alone the government received \$777,058.81 for POW contract labor over the four-month period ending December 31, 1944.

Meanwhile, Congressman Sikes and his colleagues on the House Committee on Military Affairs continued their official investigation of the "coddling" charges. Sikes was particularly adamant about confronting the military with letters from his constituents that seemed to substantiate these charges. He claimed that POWs had been "cat-calling" at American girls near Miami, that they worked side by side with American women in a laundry in Orlando, and that they received special hot lunches at a canning plant in Lake Wales.⁴⁰ Despite the army's rebuttal of such charges, the Sikes committee continued hearings, and then announced that it was satisfied that the army's close adherence to the Geneva Convention was a rationally-calculated policy to protect our own servicemen in German hands.⁴¹

The charges did bring about some changes in the way that POWs were handled in Florida and elsewhere. Newspaper commentary on fancy POW menus at Camp Blanding—in this case, the product of the literary imagination of a German chef rather than the serving of special delicacies—led to a prohibition of exotic phrases on POW menus.⁴² Then, as the spring of 1945 brought American victories on German soil and the opening of the concentration camps, newspapers contrasted German cruelty overseas with a two-day strike of German POWs at the Belle Glade branch camp over a cut in cigarette rations.⁴³ These accounts of German atrocities probably helped spur the War Department's decision to increase work loads, cut calories, and limit post exchange supplies for German POWs. These actions immediately drew complaints from the International Red Cross, and more adequate menus were restored by the fall of 1945.⁴⁴

40. Transcript, "Questioning of Brigadier General Blackshear M. Bryan by Congressman Robert Sikes," Hearing of the Special Committee of the House Committee on Military Affairs Regarding POW Treatment, April 30, 1945, 454, 461, 464, in RG 59, files 740.00114 EW/4-145 through 740.00114 EW/7-3145, box 3623, Civil Affairs Division, Diplomatic Branch, NA.

41. Pluth, "Administration and Operation of German Prisoner of War Camps in the United States During World War II," 286-87.

42. Johnston interview, June 22, 1977.

43. *Palm Beach Post*, April 13, 1945; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 13, 1945.

44. Jung, *Deutschen Kriegsgefangenen in amerikanischer Hand, USA*, 60-62.

In addition to the charges of coddling, Congressman Sikes and others complained that little effort was being made to try to re-educate German POWs in the ways of democracy. Sikes criticized the army's "voluntary indoctrination" program as ineffective. He argued that "German war prisoners should be thoroughly indoctrinated into the workings of democracy. . . . Although forcible indoctrination is prohibited by the Geneva Convention, force should be used, if necessary, because the United States is the only country to observe the convention."⁴⁵

What Sikes did not realize was that, since the spring of 1944, the army had been secretly developing and introducing a subtle, if technically illegal, system of reeducation for the POWs that was not revealed until after V-E Day. This program included adding an assistant executive officer (AEO) to all POW base-camp staffs. In each camp, this officer's job was to gain the confidence of prisoners through his work as an interpreter and assistant to the chaplain. He helped organize recreational programs, secured books and magazines, selected movies, and set up special interest courses. The AEO was to order fewer gangster and "wild West" films, and more highlighting heroism and the achievements of democratic peoples (film versions of the lives of Alexander Graham Bell, Mark Twain, and Louis Pasteur, for example) or those showing the capacity for goodness of the German people, such as "The Seventh Cross." Newsreels of the German concentration camps as American and British armies found them were also shown. Several German-language newspapers were banned from camps because of their chauvinism or National Socialist leanings. The post exchanges did stock the *New York Staats-Zeitung*, along with *Time*, *Life*, *Newsweek*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and the *New York Times*.⁴⁶

How effective such efforts were is difficult to ascertain, but after one of the concentration camp newsreels, the prisoners at Camp Blanding took up a collection for the survivors. The POW spokesman added the note: "The whole company had the occasion on 10 June 1945 to convince itself through a moving picture how the German government, during the past years, has mistreated and tortured to death citizens, foreigners and prisoners of war in the concentration camps and POW camps. Voluntarily,

45. *New York Times*, April 23, 1945.

46. Gansberg, *Stalag U. S. A.*, 89-119.

the company decided to forward the amount of \$411.00 to the German Red Cross, to be used for women, children and men, regardless of religion, who have suffered the most during the years of the German [Nazi] government. . . . We hope that all those criminals, regardless of class, religion, party, organization or military unit, will suffer just punishment."⁴⁷

In contrast, it must be noted that a former German POW reported that at one of the Blanding branch camps an American army chaplain held lectures extolling democracy, and on at least, one occasion he stomped off angrily when pro-Nazi prisoners began asking him questions about American racist policies toward blacks.⁴⁸

The end of the war in Europe in May 1945 forced planning for POW repatriation as well as overdue publication of indoctrination policies. Despite requests by Florida farmers and businessmen-like their counterparts throughout the United States-to continue the use of cheap German labor, the War Department determined to begin closing the camps later that year.⁴⁹ Gradually, throughout the fall, as harvests were taken in, Blanding's branch camps were shut down. Their occupants were transferred to military installations like those at Green Cove Springs and Jacksonville.⁵⁰ Requests for permission for POWs to be released early in order to fight against the Japanese were also denied.⁵¹ Similarly, requests for repatriation to non-German territory or for continued residence in the United States were refused. All German Wehrmacht personnel, regardless of nationality, were to be returned to Germany.⁵² Exceptions were made for prisoners of Russian background. Through a special agreement with the

47. Ibid., 103-04.

48. Jung, *Deutschen Kriegsgefangenen in amerikanischer Hand, USA*, 220.

49. Pluth, "Administration and Operation of German Prisoner of War Camps in the United States During World War II," 388. For an example of requests for Florida for further POW labor, see memorandum to regional manpower director, region VII, "Use of Prisoners of War in Florida Canning Plants," RG 211, series 175, region VII file, War Manpower Commission, Civil Archives Division, Industrial and Social Branch, NA.

50. Report, War Prisoners' Aid, World Committee of the YMCA, POW camps visited, December 19, 1945, RG 59, 711.62114 IR/12-1945, Civil Archives Division, Diplomatic Branch, NA. The group visited Camp Blanding and its branch camps October 14-23, 1945.

51. Johnston interview, June 22, 1977.

52. Pluth, "Administration and Operation of German Prisoner of War Camps in the United States During World War II," 385-413.

Soviet Union, the United States returned these men to Russian hands. The sad fate of these men, considered traitors by their own government, seems not to have been played out in Florida as it was at Fort Dix, New Jersey, where several prisoners committed suicide and others had to be overpowered by tear gas and shots when they learned that they were to be repatriated to the Soviet Union.⁵³

In April 1946, there remained only 243 POWs at Camp Blanding. As of May 1, all had been transferred or repatriated.⁵⁴ For some of the Blanding POWs, the odyssey was not yet over. About 178,000 of the 378,000 POWs in the United States were turned over to Britain, France, and Belgium to be used to help rebuild these war-torn countries. They would not be released for a year or more after their departure from American shores during the spring of 1946. Most prisoners, however, were more fortunate; embarking from Camp Shanks, New York, they arrived in Germany by way of French transit camps.⁵⁵ One of the naval officers who had feared for his life at Camp Blanding because of the extreme anti-Nazi elements in the compound was transferred to Fort Eustis, Virginia, soon after V-E Day and helped other POWs translate Werner von Braun's rocketry notes. With special commendations from the United States government, he returned to Germany in July 1946.⁵⁶

Wartime Florida, with its more than 4,000 German POWs, saw only a small fraction of the total Wehrmacht contingent in America. Its experiences, however, were representative of those that America had with the larger group. With strikes, riots, escapes, and public uproar, Florida's Camp Blanding and its branch camps experienced the unusual problems America faced as it held large numbers of foreign prisoners on its soil for the first time. This experience remains a unique, though frequently overlooked, aspect of life on the homefront in the United States, during World War II.

53. See Nicholas Bethell, *The Last Secret: The Delivery to Stalin of Over Two Million Russians by Britain and the United States* (New York, 1974), 166-69. The incident at Fort Dix was not a secret to the American press; see *Palm Beach Post*, June 30, 1945.

54. Weekly report, prisoners of war, April 15, May 1, 1945, RG 389, general file, MMB, NA.

55. Jung, *Deutschen Kriegsgefangenen in amerikanischer Hand, USA*, 248-57.

56. Moore, *Faustball Tunnel*, 109.

“YO SOLO” NOT “SOLO”:
JUAN ANTONIO DE RIAÑO

by ERIC BEERMAN *

WHILE Bernardo de Gálvez’s forcing the entrance of Pensacola Bay with his brigatine *Galveztown* during the American Revolutionary War is well known, virtually forgotten are the other Spaniards who also participated in that campaign on March 18, 1781. This is especially true of *teniente de fragata* (naval lieutenant) Juan Antonio de Riaño, Gálvez’s brother-in-law. For the heroism of Gálvez, King Charles III of Spain added to his coat of arms a replica of him on the deck of the *Galveztown* with the motto “Yo Solo” (I alone). Although Gálvez displayed his mettle on that day, he did not force the bay alone. Riaño accompanied the general aboard his own sloop *Valenzuela* together with two row galleys, and the crews of all four vessels. From Gálvez’s point of view, “Yo Solo” meant that he had entered Pensacola Bay without the assistance of the Spanish fleet. Nevertheless Juan Antonio de Riaño was also present, facing the British guns at Red Cliffs (*Barrancas Coloradas*) as he raced his ship with Gálvez across the sandbar into the bay during the siege of Fort George. Perhaps Gálvez’s motto would have conformed more to historical reality if it had read, “I alone, accompanied by my brother-in-law.”

Gálvez’s brother-in-law, Juan Antonio, belonged to the Riaño clan which had its roots in the ancient village of Riaño, some twenty-five miles northwest of the city of Leon in Spain. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, the family moved seventy-five miles east, to the hamlet of Lierganes in the province of Santander. Here Juan Antonio de Riaño was born on May 16, 1757.¹

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1. Copy of Riaño’s baptismal certificate in *expediente* for entry into Military Order of Calatrava, Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid (hereinafter cited as AHN), expediente 2182, 1, Orden Militar de Calatrava. Original document registered at Lierganes Parochial Church, Book of Baptisms, folio 37. See also Pascual Madoz, *Diccionario geografico, estadistico, his-*

Over the main entrance of the Riaño home stood the family coat of arms: two castles and two arrows under a brown crown with white plumes. This stone building, which still exists, is known locally as the *casa del Intendente Riaño*.² Riaño's mother was Rosa de la Barcena.³ His father, Juan Manuel de Riaño, held the municipal positions of mayor and judge.⁴ He was later appointed a knight in the prestigious Military Order of Malta and named Spanish governor of the provinces of Modica and Montalto in southeast Sicily, where he died at his post in 1784.⁵

Juan Antonio de Riaño grew up as a typical lad of Santander. In 1774 he became a midshipman *cadete* at the Spanish naval academy in Cadiz.⁶ Graduating early the following year, Riaño was commissioned an *alferez de fragata* in the Spanish navy as junior naval officers were needed for a coming expedition to North Africa. Moorish corsairs were a constant thorn to Spanish shipping in the Mediterranean. Exasperated, Charles III decided to end this harassment and ordered an assault on the Moorish bastion at Algiers. Several days after graduation, Riaño sailed from Cadiz to link up with the main invasion fleet from Cartagena commanded by Admiral Pedro de Castejo. It was a mighty fleet for the day with over 100 vessels. General Alejandro

torico de Espana y sus posesiones de Ultramar, 16 vols. (Madrid, 1845-1850), X, 280-81; Eric Beerman, "Juan Antonio de Riaño: la participacion ilustre de un marino montanes durante la Revolucion Norteamericana," in *Santander y el Nuevo Mundo* (Santander, Spain, 1979).

2. Testimony of José Domingo de Carcoba on Riaño coat of arms, expediente 2182, 22, Orden Militar de Calatrava, AHN; Maria del Carmen Gonzalez Echegaray, *Escudos de Cantabria-Trasmiera*, 2 vols. (Santander, 1971), I, 97-98; Fermin Sojo y Lomba, *Lierganes* (Madrid, 1936), 40.
3. Copy, baptismal certificate, expediente 2182, 5, 13, Orden Militar de Calatrava, AHN. Original document registered at Mogros Parochial Church, Book of Baptisms, 1728.
4. Copy, baptismal papers of Riaño's father, expediente 2182, 4, Orden Militar de Calatrava, AHN. Original registered at Lierganes Parochial Church, Book of Baptisms, folio 94. See also Sojo y Lomba, *Lierganes*, 40-43.
5. Juan Antonio de Riaño to Antonio Valdez, minister of the navy, July 22, 1785, legajo 3383, Estado, AHN.
6. "Hoja de servicios y expediente personal del teniente de navio Don Juan Antonio Riaño y Barcena, 1785." Archivo-Museo Bazan, Marina de Guerra, el Viso del Marques, Spain (hereinafter cited as "Hoja de servicios de Riaño"). After Riaño's transfer from the navy to the army in 1785, his service record of the navy was incorporated into that of the army, "Hoja de servicios del teniente coronel D. Juan Antonio de Riaño, 1795," Archivo General de Simancas (hereinafter cited as AGS), Secretaria, de Guerra, legajo 7272, IX, 15 (hereinafter cited as "Hoja de servicios del ejercito").

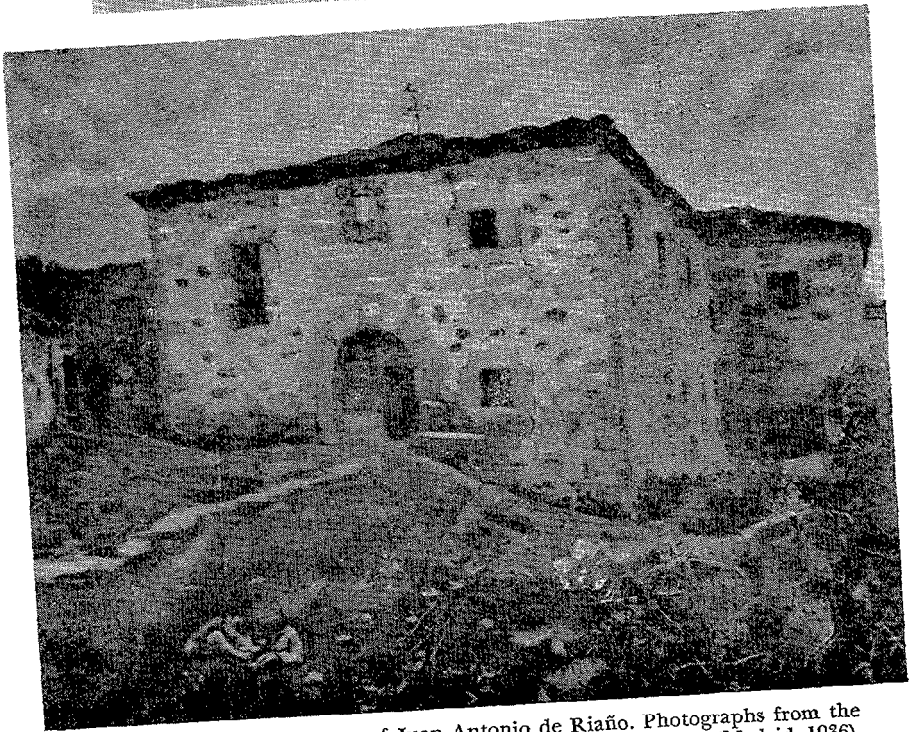
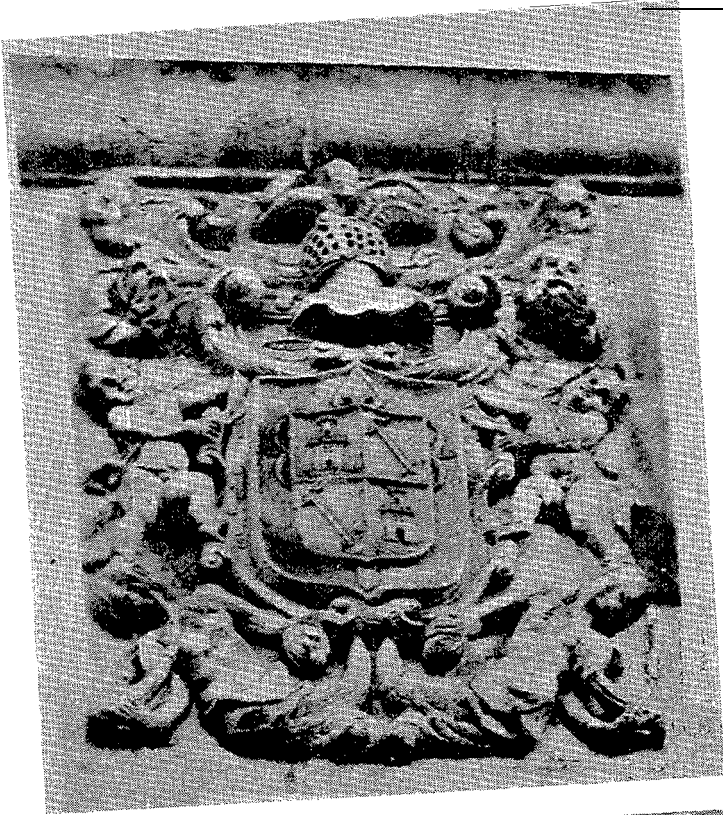
O'Reilly, who commanded the landing force of 22,000 men, was no stranger to the Gulf Coast of West Florida and Louisiana. Unfortunately, his performance on the rocky North African beach on July 8, 1775, did not match his crushing of the New Orleans Creole revolt six years before. The attack was disastrous for the Spaniards as the Algerians had been forewarned of the invasion. At the end of O'Reilly's "longest day," 2,000 Spanish soldiers lay dead and many other wounded, some of whom were evacuated by Riaño's ship.⁷

Riaño's naval career continued, and three years later he was promoted to *alferez de navio* (equivalent to the twentieth-century navy's lieutenant junior grade).⁸ Given the fact that he had no special influence at the Court, it is surprising that he received such recognition. Obviously, his superiors thought he had great talent. After the outbreak of hostilities between Spain and Great Britain in September 1779, Riaño was on duty in New Orleans serving under Bernardo de Gálvez, governor of Louisiana. In a brilliant campaign, Gálvez removed the British threat from New Orleans with his victories at Fort Bute at Manchac, Fort New Richmond at Baton Rouge, and Fort Panmure at Natchez. Riaño's naval expertise was important in this Mississippi campaign which freed the river for Spanish shipping and allowed Spain to supply the American Colonel George Morgan at Fort Pitt with money, munitions, material, and muskets.⁹

7. Sojo y Lomba, *Lierganes*, 40; *Diccionario Porrúa de historia, biografía y geografía de México*, 2 vols. 3rd ed. (Mexico City, 1976), II, 1760. For an account of O'Reilly at Algiers, see Eric Beerman, "General Alejandro O'Reilly, soldado irlandés al servicio de España," *Hidalguía*, forthcoming. See also Archivo del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Madrid, mss. 176, 193, AGS, Guerra y Marina, legajos 2004-2010.

8. "Hoja de servicios de Riaño."

9. Gálvez's diary of the Louisiana campaigns published in the official newspaper of the Spanish government, *Gazeta de Madrid*, December 31, 1779. For studies on these campaigns, see John Walton Caughey, *Bernardo de Gálvez: in Louisiana, 1776-1783* (Berkeley, 1934; facsimile ed., Gretna, Louisiana, 1972); Jack D. L. Holmes, *Honor and Fidelity: The Louisiana Infantry Regiment and the Louisiana Militia Companies, 1766-1821* (Birmingham, 1965); Guillermo Porrás Muñoz, *Bernardo de Gálvez* (Madrid, 1952); Sebastian Souvirón, *Bernardo de Gálvez, virrey de México* (Malaga, Spain, 1946); José Rodolfo Boeta, *Bernardo de Gálvez* (Madrid, 1977); Anna Lewis, "Fort Panmure, 1779, as Related by Juan de la Villebeuve to Bernardo de Gálvez," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVIII (March 1932), 541-48; Jack D. L. Holmes, "Bernardo de Gálvez: Spain's 'Man of the Hour' during the American Revolution," *Cardinales de Dos Independencias (Noreste de México-Sureste de los Estados Unidos)* (Mexico City, 1978), 161-74; Isidoro Vázquez de Acuña, Marqués de



Coat of Arms and home of Juan Antonio de Riaño. Photographs from the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid: *Liérganes*, by Fermin Sojo Lomba (Madrid, 1936).



Bernardo de Gálvez

The next Spanish objective was Fort Charlotte at Mobile. Despite Riaño's youthful age, twenty-two at the time, Gálvez regarded him highly and named him chief pilot for the invasion fleet which departed New Orleans on January 14, 1780. Riaño guided the expedition, with nearly 800 soldiers, safely down the difficult waters of the Mississippi and out through the river's eastern pass.¹⁰ This Spanish force would be joined later by units of various infantry regiments under José de Ezpeleta, leaving from Havana on March 5.¹¹ On February 9, with Riaño's sloop *Valenzuela* in the lead, the New Orleans expedition was approaching Mobile Bay when the Spaniards suddenly sighted what appeared to be a British vessel sailing out of the bay. Suspecting that it was bound for Pensacola, Gálvez ordered Riaño to take an armed launch and capture the ship. He did not want the enemy at Pensacola to hear about the attack on Mobile. Riaño jumped from his sloop into a launch and carried out Gálvez's orders to the letter. Riaño returned with the captured vessel and crew, and a British officer revealed that a large frigate was in the bay. Riaño reacted like a fire horse upon hearing the bell; he immediately asked authority to take a galliot with three launches in an effort to capture the frigate. Although Gálvez granted permission, this time fortune was not with Riaño. The darkness that night caused him to run aground repeatedly. Reluctantly, Riaño ordered his vessels to return to the main fleet.¹²

On February 12, Spanish troops, both soldiers and sailors; stormed ashore at Mobile. Riaño himself took charge of a ship's cannon and served throughout the siege as an artilleryman.¹³ Later on the day of the landing, a storm destroyed much of the Spaniard's armaments and supplies. The landing force, however,

García del Postigo, "El Conde de Gálvez," *Revista de Historia Militar*, V (1961), 51-89.

10. "Diario que yo D. Bernardo de Gálvez, Brigadier de los Reales Ejércitos, Gobernador de la Provincia de la Luisiana y encargado por S. M. de la expedición contra Pensacola y la Mobila formó de los acaecimientos que ocurren . . . Mobila, 2 de enero a 18 de marzo de 1780," AGS, Guerra Moderna, legajo 6912 (hereinafter cited as "Diario de Mobila"). This *diario* was printed in *Gazeta de Madrid*, June 20, 1780, supplement, 435-51.
11. *Ibid.*; María de Soto Serafín, Conde de Clonard, *Historia orgánica de las armas de infantería y caballería españolas, desde la creación del ejército permanente hasta el día*, 16 vols. (Madrid, 1851-1862), XI, 254.
12. "Diario de Mobila."
13. *Ibid.*

pulled itself together and established a beachhead. With the arrival of Ezpeleta's Cuban units, siege lines were established around Fort Charlotte. As the British situation appeared hopeless, the Spaniards raised a white flag and sent Lieutenant Colonel Francisco Boulogny to induce his old friend Colonel Elias Durnford of the British garrison to surrender. Durnford respectfully rejected the capitulation terms. Hostilities then resumed and, after a heavy bombardment, with Riaño's cannon contributing, Colonel Durnford surrendered Fort Charlotte on March 14.¹⁴ Gálvez was especially satisfied with the combat abilities of his naval aide Riaño, promoting him to *teniente de fragata* (lieutenant) two months after the fall of Mobile.¹⁵

Spain's next objective was Pensacola, the remaining British bastion on the Gulf coast. Gálvez first sailed to Havana and New Orleans, taking along Riaño, to prepare for the attack on Pensacola. At other times Riaño sailed alone, carrying Gálvez's secret dispatches and plans to diverse Spanish units in the Caribbean. Meanwhile in Spain, the siege of Gibraltar had failed and many of these Spanish army and navy units were transferred to Cuba for the projected assault on Pensacola. This was causing the British to fight a two-front war on the North American continent: in the north against the American patriots and in Florida and the Caribbean against the Spanish.¹⁶

After a storm aborted an earlier assault on Pensacola, Riaño sailed with the Spanish invasion fleet departing Havana Bay on February 28, 1781. It was destined for Santa Rosa Island at the entrance of Pensacola Bay. On the evening of March 9, Spanish infantrymen moved ashore on the western end of the island near Siguenza Point and successfully established themselves. At day-

14. *Ibid.*; "Artículos sobre la capitulación por Elias Durnford, sub-gobernador de la provincia de Florida Occidental y comandante del Fuerte Charlotte de Mobila, y Bernardo de Gálvez . . . Mobila, 13 de marzo de 1780," AGS, Guerra Moderna, legajo 6912. These capitulation terms were printed in *Gazeta de Madrid*, June 23, 1780, supplement, and William Beer, ed., "The Surrender of Fort Charlotte," *American Historical Review*, I (July 1896), 696-99. For information on Boulogny, see Gilbert C. Din, *Louisiana in 1776: The Boulogny Memorial* (New Orleans, 1977).

15. "Hoja de servicios de Riaño."

16. "La escuadra de dn. José de Solano, salió de Cádiz el 28 de abril de 1780. . . ." collection of the Conde de Clonard, legajo 31, Servicio Histórico Militar, Madrid (hereinafter cited as "La escuadra de Solano"); "Estado y noticias de la guerra," mss. 19445, f. 43, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid; Manuel Conrotte, *La intervención de España en la independencia de los Estados Unidos de la América del Norte* (Madrid, 1920), 236.

break the following morning the invaders captured three dismounted cannons at Siguenza and then seized two British launches with seven sailors which had come in to feed the cattle on the island.¹⁷

With Santa Rosa Island secure two days after the landing, Riaño took the *Valenzuela* and sounded the bar at the entrance to Pensacola Bay. He was surprised to find only twenty-one feet of clearance instead of the twenty-four feet Havana naval authorities had expected. Despite the limited depth, British cannons at Red Cliffs on the western shore of the entrance, harassing fire from the two enemy frigates *Mentor* and *Port Royal*, and serious reservations by the Spanish fleet commander José Calvo de Irazabal, Gálvez decided to enter the bay. He was acting on Riaño's recommendation. That same afternoon (March 11), Calvo's seventy-gun flagship *San Ramon* led the fleet towards the entrance, but the ship struck the sandbar. Understandably, the other vessels were reluctant to attempt entry.¹⁸

Gálvez's concern increased as no communication had yet been received from José de Ezpeleta and his Mobile contingent that was supposed to join the attack on Pensacola. The general ordered Riaño to sail to Mobile and to find out the cause for the delay. At eight o'clock on the morning of March 16, Riaño returned, bringing good news: Ezpeleta was leaving Mobile with 900 men and marching east towards the Perdido River and Pensacola.¹⁹

The performance of the navy had disappointed Gálvez, and he decided that he might have to act on his own and without naval

17. "Diario de las operaciones de la expedición contra la plaza de Pensacola . . . baxo las órdenes del Mariscal de campo D. Bernardo de Gálvez . . . Pensacola, 12 de mayo 1781," AGS, Guerra Moderna, legajo 6912 (hereinafter cited as "Diario de Pensacola"). This diario was published in *Gazeta de Madrid*, August 21, 1781, and also in booklet form. See also "La escuadra de Solano."
18. "A Journal of the Siege of Pensacola, West Florida, 1781," *Archivo del General Miranda*, 24 vols. (Caracas, 1929-1950), I, 179, which states that this diary was probably written by a British officer at Pensacola; "Diario de Panzacola: Diario de lo más particular ocurrido desde el día de nuestra salida del puerto de la Havana" (hereinafter cited as "Diario de la Havana"), in *ibid.*, I, 141, which states that this Spanish naval diary was written by a subordinate of Captain José Calvo serving on the flagship *San Ramón*, and it illustrates the frequent clashes between the army and the navy.
19. "Diario de Pensacola." For a biographical account of Ezpeleta, see Eric Beerman, "José de Ezpeleta," *Revista de Historia Militar*, XXI (1977), 97-118.

support. His own ship, the *Galveztown*, Riaño's *Valenzuela*, and two armed launches were not under Calvo's command as were the other vessels in the invasion fleet.²⁰ With his troops living under bad conditions on Santa Rosa, the imminent arrival of Mobile and New Orleans units, and a large fleet on the open sea with possible destruction or dispersment by a sudden storm, Gálvez decided that immediate action was imperative.²¹

On March 18, he dispatched an aide to inform Calvo that if he had the least degree of courage and honor, he would enter Pensacola Bay. Gálvez, of course, would go first, aboard the *Galveztown*, in order to protect the larger *San Ramón* and help in part to dissipate Calvo's temerity. Calvo responded to Gálvez's request for action with a message in which he described "a spoiled upstart and traitor to king and country." If he repeated his disrespect, Calvo threatened to hang Gálvez from a yardarm of the *San Ramón*.²²

Gálvez realized that he would have to act without the support of the fleet. He ordered Riaño to prepare the *Valenzuela* and the two armed launches for forcing their passage into the bay. Gálvez boarded the *Galveztown* and raised his general-of-division ensign in order to leave no doubt to friend nor foe alike that he was on board. Sailing past Calvo's fleet, the *Galveztown*, Riaño's *Valenzuela*, and the two launches then turned and headed under full sail for the sandbar. The British batteries at Red Cliffs had expected the entire fleet to attempt entry; they did not anticipate four small vessels sailing in alone. The British, caught napping, fired off only twenty-eight rounds as Gálvez and Riaño sailed into Pensacola Bay relatively unmolested. The Spaniards on Santa Rosa Island and on the ships with the possible exception of Navy Captain Calvo, cheered this heroic action. The other naval officers were probably chagrined to see Gálvez and their own young colleague Riaño safely inside the bay. They wanted to enter also, but Gálvez ordered them to stay put until he gave the word. The following day, March 19, despite British preparations in which their Red Cliffs's batteries fired off 140 rounds, the Spanish fleet moved into the bay. Only Calvo's *San Ramón* did

20. Ibid.; "Diario de la Havana," 141.

21. "Reales cédulas del Conde de Gálvez," Consejos Suprimidos, legajo 5085, 2, AHN; "Diario de Pensacola."

22. "Diario de la Havana," 144.

not join in the action.²³ Two years later the Crown authorized Gálvez to add to his coat of arms a replica of the *Galveztown* with the inscription, “Yo Solo.”²⁴ The involvement of Riaño and the other Spaniards who also were with “Yo Solo” seemed to have been forgotten.

With the Spanish navy securely anchored inside Pensacola Bay, relations between the two services improved but only temporarily. On March 22, rivalry erupted again when Gálvez and Riaño attended a working luncheon with naval officers. The conversation became heated when recent events were discussed, and Gálvez announced that he did not need the navy. The host of the luncheon, Navy Captain Miguel de Alderete, retorted that the minister of the Navy in Madrid would hear about Gálvez’s disrespect towards the sister-service.

The rancor abated somewhat the next day when the remainder of the New Orleans contingent of 550 soldiers arrived and the British instigated their heaviest shelling thus far—706 rounds. Rivalry no doubt declined further when Calvo departed on the *San Ramón* on March 24 bound for Havana. Gálvez and Riaño then began to enjoy an increasingly good rapport with the remaining Spanish naval officers as all desired to get on with the primary task—the conquest of Fort George.²⁵

Siege lines were tightened around Fort George. Many sailors like Riaño, as they had at Mobile, left their ships and served on land during the battle. Spanish force was further bolstered on April 19 with the arrival of Admiral José Solano’s fleet with 1,600 crack infantry veterans from the siege at Gibraltar, in addition to 750 Gallic troops who sailed on French ships. French sailors, like their Spanish comrades, also served on land. The British garrison at Pensacola was now heavily outnumbered by

23. Ibid.; “Diario de Pensacola”; “Reales cédulas de Conde de Gálvez.” The latter account indicates that, besides the *Galveztown* and *Valenzuela*, there was only one armed launch, whereas the other two diaries and “A Journal of the Siege of Pensacola” indicate two launches, for a total of four vessels which forced the bay.

24. “Reales cédulas del Conde de Gálvez.” For a biographical study on the Gálvez family, see Eric Beerman’s introduction in *Yo Solo: The Battle Journal of Bernardo de Gálvez during the American Revolution* (New Orleans, 1977.)

25. “Diario de la Havana,” 147. Some of the army officers bickered among themselves, noting that one of Gálvez’s top generals, the Marquis González de Castejón, was married to the niece of General John Campbell, commander-in-chief of British troops in West Florida. Ibid., 145.

the invading forces as the siege continued. Riaño served with the unit that was laying siege to the advanced British battery of Half-Moon located on high ground overlooking Fort George.

On May 8 a Spanish grenade struck Half-Moon's powder magazine, blowing it up, together with some 100 of its defenders. The Spaniards moved quickly to take advantage of the opportunity. Riaño joined the troops which occupied the shattered British battery and unleashed a heavy barrage against the besieged Fort George below. British General John Campbell's position had become untenable. He raised a white flag at Fort George asking for capitulation terms. A Spanish delegation including Riaño worked out terms with the British. On the morning of May 10, the British garrison marched out of Fort George and surrendered to the Spaniards. There were 1,400 prisoners, including General Campbell and Vice-Admiral Peter Chester, governor and captain-general of West Florida.²⁶ Riaño participated with distinction in this epic victory, eliminating the last British stronghold on the Gulf coast of North America which contributed significantly to the success of the American Revolution.

As a result of his outstanding performance under fire at Pensacola, Riaño was promoted to *teniente de navio* (equivalent to the modern lieutenant commander) one week before his twenty-fourth birthday.²⁷ He then returned to New Orleans where he married Victoria de St. Maxent at St. Louis Cathedral. The ceremony was one of the social events of the year. Many veterans of the siege of Pensacola attended: Gálvez; Victoria's father Gilberto Antonio de St. Maxent; her brother Maximiliano; and Riaño's future brothers-in-law, Manuel Flon (Marquis de la Cadena) and Joaquín de Osorno, both captains in the Navarra Infantry Regiment. Another illustrious brother-in-law, Luis de

26. "La escuadra de Solano"; "Diario de Pensacola": "Diario de la Havana," 147-48. For additional accounts of the siege, see Albert W. Haarmann, "The Spanish Conquest of British West Florida, 1779-1781," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX (October 1960), 107-34; Maury Baker and Margaret Bissler Haas, eds., "Bernardo de Gálvez's Combat Diary for the Battle of Pensacola, 1781," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LVI (October 1977), 176-99; N. Orwin Rush, *The Battle of Pensacola, March 9 to May 8, 1781* (Tallahassee, 1966). For the names of British officials in West Florida, see *The Royal Kalender, or complete and correct Annual Register for England, Scotland, Ireland and America for the Year 1779*, signatura 5/884, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

27. "Hoja de servicios de Riaño"; *Gazeta de Madrid*, August 21, 1781.

Unzaga, the former governor of Louisiana and at the time the captain-general of Venezuela, was unable to attend the wedding.²⁸

After serving at Pensacola, Riaño received a new assignment as chief pilot at Baliza on the mouth of the Mississippi. However, he often accompanied Gálvez on missions in the Caribbean in preparation for the proposed Spanish-French assault on the British bastion of Jamaica.²⁹ This invasion never came off due to Admiral George Rodney's defeat of Comte de Grasse's French fleet and the conclusion of peace talks.

The year after the war ended, Riaño's father died in Sicily, and he returned to Spain to assist his sick and elderly mother in caring for their estate. As he himself was ill, Riaño requested permission to transfer from the navy to the army to serve in Mexico under Viceroy Gálvez.³⁰ It was granted, and Riaño departed Spain for the last time to commence his army career in Mexico. Riaño's joy of being associated again with Gálvez was cut short as the viceroy died on November 30, 1786. At the burial services of their brother-in-law at the church of San Fernando in the Mexican capital, Riaño and Manuel Flon had places of honor.³¹

Riaño spent the remainder of his life in the service of Spain in Mexico. In 1787, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and

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28. Marriage document, Riaño and Victoria St. Maxent, registered at St. Louis Cathedral, "Premier registre des Mariages des blanc" (1777-1784), 104, document 200, cited in J. Ignacio Rubio Mañé, "Matrimonio de D. Juan Antonio de Riaño," Mexico, *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, XVI (1945), 298; Lucas Alamán, *Historia de Méjico*, 5 vols. (Mexico City, 1849-1852), I, 75; James Julian Coleman, Jr., *Gilbert Antoine de St. Maxent: The Spanish-Frenchman of New Orleans* (New Orleans, 1968), 54-55; Stanley C. Arthur, *The Story of the West Florida Rebellion* (St. Francisville, Louisiana, 1935), 43-44. For a genealogical sketch of the St. Maxent family, see Eric Beerman, "The French Ancestors of Felicite de St. Maxent," *Louisiana Review*, VI (Summer 1977), 69-75.
 29. Letters from Riaño to Bernardo de Gálvez, 1781-1782, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 605-1, Archivo General de Indias, Seville.
 30. Riaño to Antonio Váldez, July 22, 1785, Luis de Córdoba to Váldez, August 2, 1785, Váldez to Córdoba, November 14, 1785, in "Hoja de servicios de Riaño."
 31. *Gazeta de México*, December 5, 1786, 251-53; Fernando de Córdoba to José de Gálvez, Marqués de la Sonora, December 2, 1786, expediente 7, 13, Estado, legajo 3885-bis, AHN. Gálvez made out his will shortly before his death. It stated that his relative Fernando de Córdoba and brother-in-law Riaño should retain their respective assignments: no mention was made of brother-in-law Manuel Flon, who was married to Mariana de St. Maxent. Abstract of Gálvez's will in the expediente of Miguel de Gálvez y St. Maxent, his son, for entry into the Military Order of Calatrava, 1797; expediente 1009, V, Orden Militar de Calatrava, AHN.

named intendant of Michoacán.³² After five years at that post, Riaño transferred to Guanajuato, where he served for the next eighteen years.³³ There, on September 28, 1810, he became one of the first Spanish victims of Father Miguel Hidalgo's bid for independence in Mexico. Thus, at the age of fifty-seven, after forty years of dedicated service in behalf of his country, Juan Antonio de Riaño died. His son Gilberto also perished in this action at the *alhóndiga* (public granary), which Intendant Riaño had built some years earlier.³⁴

From Riaño's marriage to Victoria de St. Maxent there were born four children: Gilberto; Honorato, born in 1791 at Valladolid (today Morelia), capital of Michoacán, who married his niece Victoria Setien y Riaño and who died in Mexico City in 1857; Rosa, who married Miguel Setien; and Gil, who was born in Mexico and killed in action in 1812 at the battle of Cattle de Amilpas.³⁵

In this era of the Bicentennial celebrations, greater recognition should be made of Juan Antonio de Riaño's services at Pensacola. Perhaps too much credit has been given to Bernardo de Gálvez and his motto of "Yo Solo" on that day in 1781 when he crossed the sandbar into Pensacola Bay. A more fitting and accurate motto would be, "Yo solo, acompañado por mi cuñado."

32. "Hoja de servicios del ejército."

33. Lucio Marmolejo, *Elermérides Guanajuatenses*, 2 vols. (Guanajuato, Mexico, 1883), II, 320-21; "Real Orden del 22 julio 1791," *Titulos de Indias* (188-581), AGS; *Diccionario Porrúa de historia, biografía y geografía de México*, II, 1760.

34. Sojo y Lomba, *Liérganes*, 42-43; *Guía Oficial de España* (Estado Militar de América), 1802, 200; Alamán, *Historia de Méjico*, I, 424-27; Emilio del Castillo Negrete, *Historia militar de México en el siglo XIX*, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1883), II, 284.

35. Sojo y Lomba, *Liérganes*, 42-43.

TALLAHASSEE'S BLACK CHURCHES, 1865-1885

by ROBERT L. HALL*

THE DEVELOPMENT OF religious freedom and the establishment of independent churches by blacks, following the Civil War, was a momentous change in black-white social relations. Although the black churches of various denominations shared a general feeling of assertiveness and independence, the individual churches in Tallahassee, representing distinctive denominations, were not uniform in their historical origins, political orientations, or leadership styles. Following the war, black Southerners of the Methodist persuasion had several paths open to them. A sizable number cast their lot with the African Methodist Episcopal Church which made remarkable inroads in the former slaveholding states. A smaller number, about 500 in Florida as of 1869, retained ties with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, until they could fulfill their desire for independence through the formation of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church of America.¹

One of the most politically and socially active churches in Tallahassee during this period was Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church. Founded in 1786 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the A.M.E. Church, according to Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., was "perhaps the first large Christian denomination in the Western Hemisphere which sprang chiefly from sociological rather than theological differences."² As early as 1863, A.M.E. missionaries were at work among the freedmen of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. When the South Carolina Annual Conference-embracing North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida-was organized on May 15, 1865, William G. Steward was admitted on trial as a preacher, elected deacon,

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1. Charles T. Thrift, Jr., *The Trail of the Florida Circuit Rider* (Jacksonville, 1936), 113.
2. Richard Robert Wright, Jr., *Bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Nasville, 1963), 13.

and given the sole appointment to Florida. By June 1865, he had organized a church in Tallahassee as well as congregations in several other Florida towns.³ On February 20, 1866, almost three months before the second annual meeting of the South Carolina Conference, the Reverend Robert Meacham laid the cornerstone of Tallahassee's first A.M.E. Church on Duval Street.⁴

In Wilmington, North Carolina, on April 4, 1867, a motion was passed separating Georgia and Florida into separate conferences.⁵ After organizing the Georgia Annual Conference in Macon, Bishop Alexander Washington Wayman journeyed to Tallahassee, where, on June 8, 1867, he organized the Florida Annual Conference.⁶ In that year the Tallahassee district, with Charles H. Pearce as superintendent, included thirteen churches whose property was valued at a total of \$15,884. There were 4,367 members, including forty-five local preachers and thirty-one "exhorters." On Sunday, June 10, 1867, before the final adjournment of the first session of the newly-founded Florida Annual Conference, the church building in Tallahassee was officially named Bethel, Bishop Wayman preached the dedicatory sermon.⁸

Florida's A.M.E. churches early became embroiled in local and state politics. At a secret gathering in the Tallahassee church in 1866, Joseph Oats, a literate mulatto and former slave of Governor David S. Walker, was elected to represent Leon County freedmen at a meeting of the National Negro Convention.⁹

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3. At its founding, the South Carolina Annual Conference reported about 3,000 members. T. G. Steward, prefatory note, *Minutes of the South Carolina Annual Conferences, 1865-1866-1867*, reprinted in the appendix of Charles Spencer Smith's *A History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Philadelphia, 1922; facsimile ed., New York, 1968), 505. William G. Steward organized churches or missions in Marianna, Quincy, Monticello, Aucilla, Lake City, and Jacksonville. Charles Sumner Long, *History of the A.M.E. Church in Florida* (Palatka, 1939), 52.
 4. Meacham was assisted in the cornerstone-laying ceremony by Missionary Baptist preacher James Page. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, February 20, 1866.
 5. *Minutes of the Third Session of the South Carolina Annual Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, 1867*, reprinted in Smith, *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*, 514.
 6. Smith, *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*, 66; Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, June 14, 1867.
 7. Statistical table for 1867, *Minutes of the Third Session of the South Carolina Annual Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, 1867*, in Smith, *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*, 524.
 8. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, June 14, 1867.
 9. The mulatto carpenter's literacy alone was enough to persuade John Wallace that Oats was "therefore capable of hoodwinking the average

The March 1868 protest of Florida A.M.E. ministers against inadequate representation of black voters was lambasted in the Democratic Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian* as "a document conceived in folly and brought forth in impertinent impudence."¹⁰ The ministers, it seemed, would be satisfied with nothing less than the adherence of their members to "the Gospel According to Radicalism." They refused to recognize a separation between church and state and would not leave politics to the politicians.

The outstanding example of belief in the inseparability of political creed from religious duties was Reverend Charles H. Pearce, a Maryland native who had done missionary work in Canada. "A man in this state [Florida]," said Pearce, "cannot do his whole duty as a minister except he looks out for the political interests of his people. They are like a ship out at sea, and they must have somebody to guide them; and it is natural that they should get their best informed men to lead them."¹¹ Some people considered Pearce "the Father of the A.M.E. Church in Florida."¹² That many called him "Bishop" Pearce was probably as much a tribute to his political leadership as to any spiritual eminence.¹³

freedman." John Wallace, *Carpenter Rule in Florida* (Jacksonville, 1888; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 38-39. Many elderly people gave money to send a representative to the national congress. Most historians of Reconstruction had regarded Oats as a rascal and had accepted Wallace's conjecture that Oats never traveled beyond Savannah, where he, presumably, had a good time until the money ran out. A more recent study by Peter Klingman has shown that Oats was elected by Leon County freedmen to represent them at a meeting of the National Negro Convention. He apparently did what he was elected to do and was one of the black participants in a controversial interview with President Andrew Johnson at the White House. See Peter Klingman, "Rascal or Representative? Joe Oats of Tallahassee and the 'Election' of 1866," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LI (July 1972), 52-57.

10. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, March 17, 1868. A note in the manuscript of the 1870 census signed by Philip Walters, assistant marshal, characterized the *Floridian* as a Democratic paper and listed its average circulation as 1,100 copies. Manuscript schedule 5, item 8, "Newspapers and Periodicals," 1870 census, Office of Voter Registration, Leon County courthouse, Tallahassee.
11. Quoted in Dorothy Dodd, "'Bishop' Pearce and the Reconstruction of Leon County," *Apalachee*, II (1946), 6. In many cases, the black ministers were the black politicians. This was true for a variety of reasons. First, the number of blacks in the legal profession, the profession from which many white politicians came, was severely limited. Second, most black ministers during Reconstruction sincerely believed in the inseparability of political creed and religious duty.
12. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, April 7, 1868.
13. Albert H. Roberts, "Florida and Leon County in the Election of 1876," *Tallahassee Historical Society Annual*, IV (1939), 91.

In 1868, while serving as chairman of the Florida Senate Committee on Education, Pearce was instrumental in defeating a school bill because it had been amended to prohibit racially-mixed schools.¹⁴ The following year he was appointed superintendent of public instruction for Leon County. Later in 1876, he was one of the four Republican electors in the controversial presidential election.¹⁵

Most of Pearce's troubles stemmed from opposition to the political influence of the A.M.E. Church in Florida. But on one occasion a fellow A.M.E. minister incorrectly identified him as a British subject, and correctly claimed that he was a Johnny-come-lately on the Florida scene. Perhaps Pearce's colleague was envious of his position within the church.¹⁶ Pearce's home burned on several occasions and, although the evidence was not conclusive, some suspected arson committed by his political enemies.¹⁷

The events following the death in 1878 of Isaac Roberson, a woodcutter, illustrate the close scrutiny to which blacks and their churches were subject. The local Tallahassee paper accused the A.M.E. Church of neglecting one of its members. Reverend A. E. Grant, in his last year as pastor of Bethel A.M.E., replied that although Roberson had left the church before his death, two brothers in the church had circulated a subscription paper to pay for the burial as soon as they learned of his death.¹⁸

Concerts, festivals, and picnics were favored social activities sponsored by Bethel A.M.E. Church. The Fourth of July was usually a time when festivals were staged and concerts performed. Funds might be raised to aid organizations within the church, such as a literary society, or to satisfy the needs and desires of the pastor. Picnics were also popular social outlets in the years after the Civil War. One African Methodist picnic was like a parade complete with banners, music, and general pageantry.¹⁹

14. Dodd, " 'Bishop' Pearce and the Reconstruction of Leon County," 8.

15. Roberts, "Florida and Leon County in the Election of 1876," 91. The other electors were Frederick C. Humphreys, Thomas W. Long, and William H. Holden.

16. William Bradwell's letter in the Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, April 7, 1868.

17. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, April 15, 29, 1873, March 16, 1875.

18. *Ibid.*, June 4, 11, 1878.

19. *Ibid.*, July 21, 1878, mentions the Fourth of July festival and a fund-raising activity for the Literary Society. The picnic was described in *ibid.*, June 5, 1877.

Although it is difficult to detail the effect of temperance resolutions on rank and file church members, there are occasional glimpses of the stated positions and actions of some elements of the A.M.E. denomination concerning ministers who drank. In 1873 the district conference issued a resolution condemning the use of alcohol and tobacco.²⁰ Taking these resolutions seriously, one Leon County congregation brought formal charges against Reverend Robert Meacham for being drunk in church. When the charges were sustained at a trial, the opinion was that Meacham was "politically and religiously dead."

The A.M.E. Church was also intimately involved in education. In addition to sabbath schools, the district, on May 23, 1873, established a committee to collect funds for the Brown Theological Institute at Live Oak. The resolution stated: "We believe the hour has come when we as a church must either encourage sanctified learning or be blotted out as a church."²¹ By July 1873, enough funds had been raised to begin construction, and the laying of the cornerstone was conducted with impressive ceremony by the Black Masons.²² Although the institution at Live Oak eventually failed, the educational efforts of the A.M.E. Church did not cease. In 1883 a normal school was founded by the denomination in Jacksonville.²³ This marked the beginning of what has become known as Edward Waters College.

As has been pointed out, the rapid spread of the A.M.E. Church into the South drastically depleted the black membership of southern white-controlled denominations. Of the 8,110 black

20. The Committee on Resolutions of the district conference of May 22, 1873, declared the use of intoxicating liquors "one of the greatest evils." Ministers and members alike were charged to "stand up and cry against this unholy fire among our people." The same resolution labelled the use of tobacco "a species of intemperance" which should be discouraged by all ministers. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, June 5, 1877.

21. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, June 3, 1873.

22. *Ibid.*, July 9, 1873. The marble cornerstone carried the following inscription:

Erected for Educational Purposes
July 4, 1872
by the A.M.E. Church
Rev. Charles H. Pearce, P.E. Founder

23. Daniel Alexander Payne, *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Philadelphia, 1888; facsimile ed., New York, 1968) 448; Smith, *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*, 359. The leading spirits in the formation of the Scientific, Normal and Divinity Institute in Jacksonville, later known as Edward Waters College, were the Reverend W. W. Sampson, W. P. Ross, and John R. Scott.

Methodists in the Florida Conference in 1860, only 3,935, or 48.5 per cent remained in 1866.²⁴ The appeal of African Methodism was not strong enough, however, to drain off all the blacks from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. In some instances the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church responded by advising black ministers to seek out the African churches or to set up organizations of their own, but on the whole it seems to have genuinely regretted the departure of its black brethren.

The General Conference of 1866 revised its codes and authorized the formation of black circuits, missions, and quarterly and annual conferences, "with a view toward their ultimately forming their own General Conference."²⁵ One church organized under the revised code of discipline was in Tallahassee. By December 1870, black southern Methodists had organized eight annual conferences, and the first General Conference was held at Jackson, Tennessee. White bishops came to consecrate W. H. Miles and R. H. Vanderhorst as the first bishops of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church.²⁶ Three years after the organization of the C.M.E. Church of America, Bishop Miles reported to the General Conference that the denomination had grown to fourteen annual conferences with 635 travelling preachers, 583 local preachers, and a total membership of 67,888.²⁷

In June 1871, Bishop Vanderhorst preached several sermons at the Reverend James Smith's St. James C.M.E. Church on the northwest corner of Park and Bronough streets in Tallahassee. The Tallahassee *Floridian* described the bishop as "a fine looking colored man," and intimated that from its point of view his discourse and deportment were above "the conduct of other divines in our midst."²⁸

Black Christians of the Baptist persuasion could choose from a variety of local churches representing different organizations of Baptists. By June 1868, the Tallahassee black Missionary Baptist

24. Thrift, *Trail of the Florida Circuit Rider*, 107.

25. Hunter Dickenson Farish, *The Circuit Rider Dismounts: A Social History of Southern Methodism, 1865-1900* (Richmond, 1938), 73.

26. Excerpt from Bishop Miles's speech to the General Conference of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in Augusta, Georgia, in Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, April 8, 1873. This "friendly withdrawal" has been called the starting point of the most important of the secessionist churches. See August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1963), 15.

27. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, April 8, 1873.

28. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1871.

Church on Bel Aire Road, founded by the Reverend James Page in 1866, had a Sunday school large enough to occupy twelve teachers.²⁹ Church activities included Sunday school picnics at Lake Bradford and fund-raising festivals at the courthouse. Within several years, Mr. Page, responding to the influx of blacks into Tallahassee, decided to found a church closer to the heart of the city. On March 24, 1869, the trustees purchased a lot in the northwest addition of the city from Philip J. Pearce for \$250.³⁰ On April 24, 1869, the Tallahassee *Sentinel*, a Republican newspaper, appealed to self-interest by encouraging whites to patronize the entertainments being given at the Capitol to raise funds for Page's new Baptist Church. Implying that the alternative to building churches and schools was the building of more jails and prisons, the newspaper said, "Aid them to build their churches and schools and you will thus build the surest protection around your dwellings and your henroosts."³¹ Public response to these appeals was good. One festival held in April 1869 netted \$100—"quite a good sum to realize in these hard times," said the *Sentinel*. Probably one of the last festivals given to raise funds for a new Bethel Baptist Church on Boulevard Street occurred late in January 1873.³²

Four years later, a robber took all thirteen of the lamps in the building—"a most uncivilized crime."³³ Such setbacks were only momentary, however, and the church continued to flourish under the seasoned guidance of the Reverend Mr. Page, reputedly the oldest black minister in Florida at that time. A former slave and body servant of Colonel Jonathan Parkhill, Page was still being credited with converting sinners in his waning years.³⁴ He was also one of thirteen justices of the peace serving in Leon County in 1876.³⁵

29. *Ibid.*, June 2, 1868.

30. Leon County records, deed book P, 41, Leon County courthouse, Tallahassee. The following persons were listed in the deed as trustees of the church: J. W. Toer, Agrippa Sutton, Elijah S. Shepard, John N. Stokes, and Henry Cook.

31. Tallahassee *Sentinel*, April 24, 1869.

32. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, January 21, 1873.

33. *Ibid.*, July 3, 1877.

34. The slave schedule of the 1860 manuscript census indicates that Parkhill owned eight male slaves in the sixty to sixty-nine age bracket; Page was one of them. Schedule 2, slave inhabitants of Leon County, Florida, 1860 census, Leon County courthouse, Tallahassee.

35. Tallahassee *Sentinel*, May 13, 1876.

Among the better known black citizens in Page's congregation was Uncle Tom Mason, a former South Carolina slave and a famous drummer. After the Civil War Mason endeared himself to conservative whites by becoming one of the first blacks in Florida to declare himself a Democrat. When Mason died in 1881, the governor's guards attended the funeral, escorted the body to the cemetery, and fired a military salute over the grave. Mason had been a drummer of the company since its organization.³⁶ Two years after Mason's death, Mr. Page also died at the age of about eighty-six. His funeral attracted an estimated 3,000 persons, black and white, including representatives of the various orders of which he had been a member: Odd Fellows, Good Templars, and the Good Samaritans.³⁷

Like African Methodists, the Missionary Baptists were concerned about education. At a January 1872 convention in Tallahassee, the black Missionary Baptists of Florida appointed a three-person committee to establish a school for the education of ministers. In April 1872 this board of education for the Baptist Association of the State of Florida purchased a site for the school.³⁸

In 1865, at Columbia, Tennessee, black members of the white-controlled Primitive Baptist Churches of the South established a separate organization called the Colored Primitive Baptists in America.³⁹ The Florida Primitive Orthodox Zion Baptist Association was founded in 1869, and by its eleventh annual session in 1880 it included thirty-nine churches and 2,659 members.⁴⁰

The oldest Primitive Baptist Church in Tallahassee was St. Mary's, located near the northwest corner of the city cemetery within sight of the Reverend Mr. Page's Missionary Baptist Church. In May 1873 Pastor Phillip H. Davis laid the cornerstone of a new church building adjacent to the older edifice which the

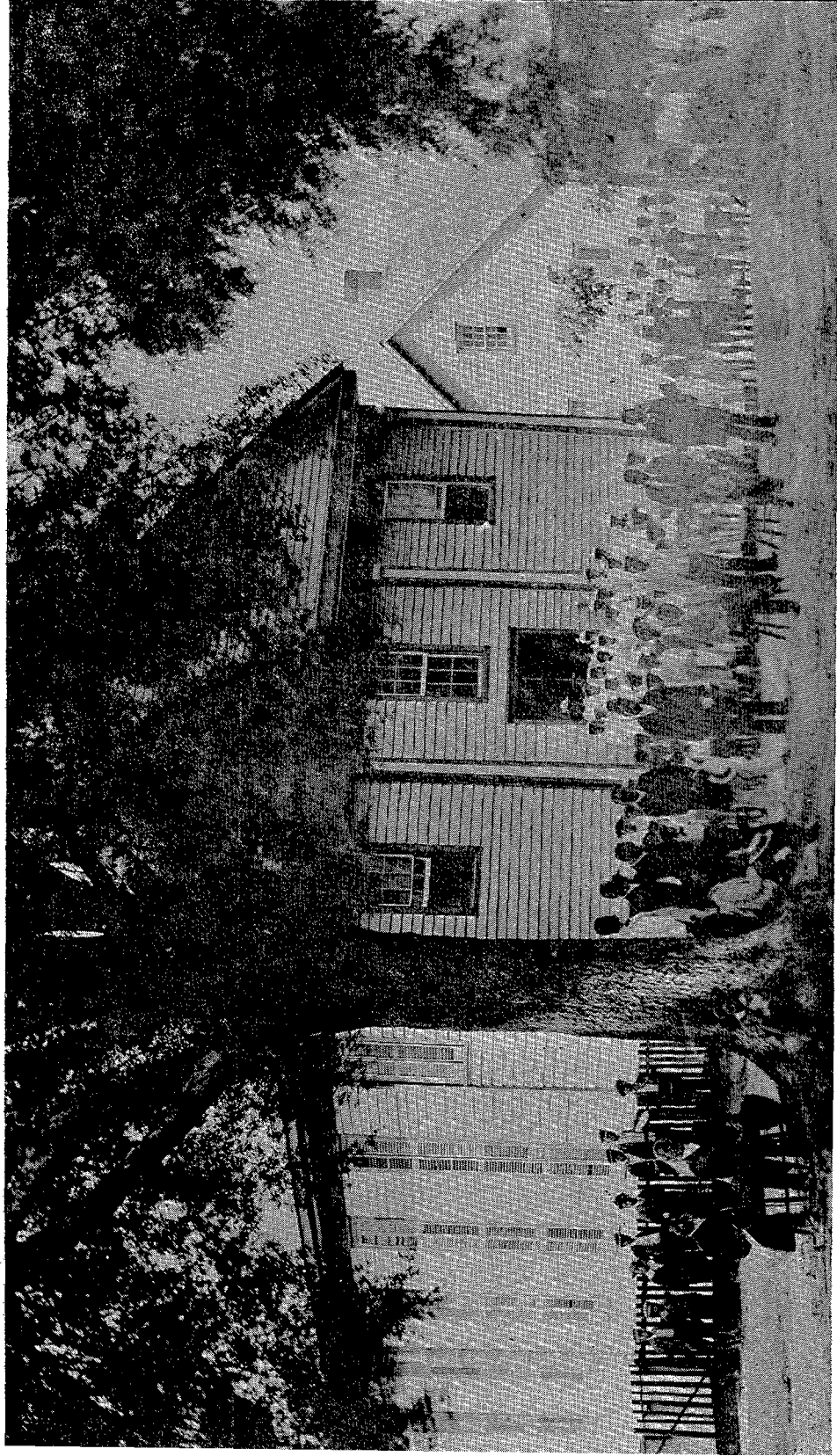
36. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, January 18, 1881.

37. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1883.

38. *Ibid.*, April 9, 1872. The committee members were Reverend James Page, J. W. Toer, and Daniel Hall. The site purchased for the school was the mansion of the late George K. Walker.

39. John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1967), 309; Carter G. Woodson, *The History of the Negro Church* (Washington, 1921), 192.

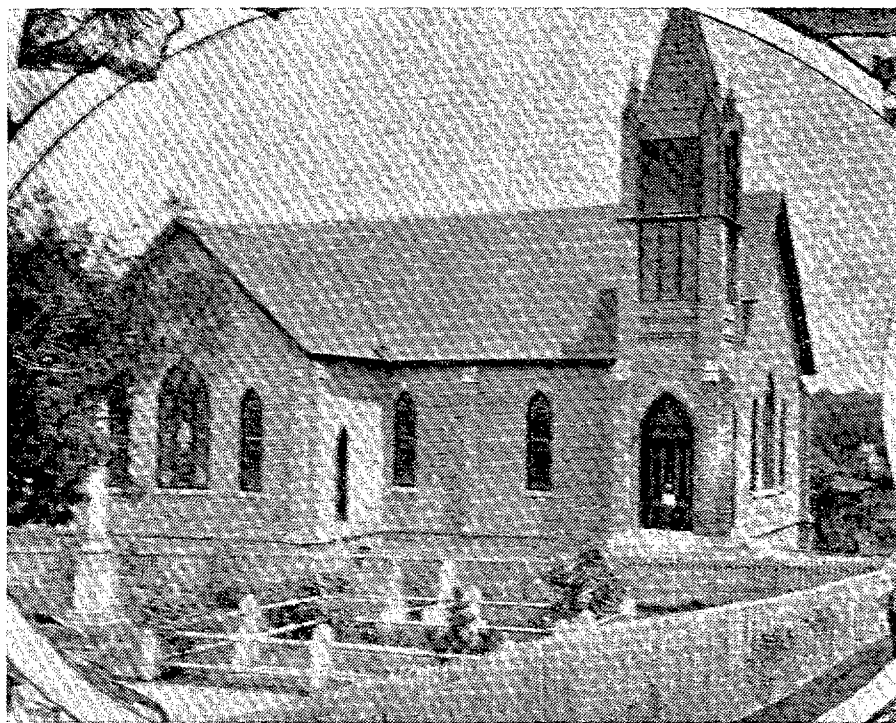
40. Statistical table, *Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Session of the Florida Primitive Orthodox Zion Baptist Association, November 18-20, 1880* (Atlanta, 1881).



Unidentified Black Church, Tallahassee, ca 1892-1894. Photographs from State Photographic Archives. Robert M. Strozier Library, Florida State University.



Bethel A.M.E. N.W. corner of Virginia and Duval Streets, ca 1892-1894.



Bethel Baptist Church, west side of boulevard between Call and Tennessee streets, 1898.

congregation had outgrown.⁴¹ By 1880 St. Mary's had ninety-six members making it one of the largest congregations in the Florida Primitive Orthodox Zion Baptist Association.⁴² As with many other black or white Tallahassee churches, the Sunday school picnic was an annual affair at St. Mary's.⁴³

While the African Methodist denominations from the North grew largely because they had a national organization run by bishops, the various Baptist churches were self-governed. The Baptist associations were more like loose coalitions of autonomous local churches.⁴⁴ According to one writer, this local autonomy made possible a rapid increase in the number of Baptist churches. In Tallahassee the various black Baptist churches, whose ministers and members were mainly former slaves, found much room for expression and "self-government" in this independence.

Although Tallahassee's white citizens were aware of denominational differences among blacks and knew something of the personalities of their ministers, at certain points of perception they lumped "colored people's churches" into a single category. When whites complained about "the singing and exhorting at a late hour," the *Floridian* suggested "that the colored people begin services earlier and preach short sermons."⁴⁵

Blacks seemed particularly fond of excursions—a custom which carried mild overtones of denominational rivalry. In 1871, for example, both the A.M.E. Church and the Missionary Baptist Church scheduled excursions for the Fourth of July. "There appears to be a kind of rivalry between the two Churches," suggested the *Floridian*, "but we suppose no one will condemn this if conducted in a friendly and christian-like [*sic*] manner."⁴⁶ Excursions were so popular among blacks that the failure of an

41. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, May 13, 1873. The new building was designed to be forty feet wide and sixty feet long.

42. *Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Session of the Florida Primitive Orthodox Zion Baptist Association*. The pastors and delegates attending this session from the Tallahassee area were quite active. The introductory sermon on the first day of the session was preached by Reverend Phillip H. Davis of St. Mary's, with the assistance of Elder T. Roberson, pastor of Tallahassee Mount Pleasant Church. Roberson was also listed as pastor of the Oclocknee Church.

43. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, May 30, 1882. The annual picnic of 1882, for example, was held at Lake Hall on May 26.

44. Woodson, *History of the Negro Church*, 108.

45. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, August 12, 1879.

46. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1871.

advertised excursion from Jacksonville in 1877 moved the *Floridian* to comment, "the best proof of hard times is given when the colored element don't excurt."⁴⁷

Black ministers contended with the power of both Divine Providence and folk beliefs. When, in 1880, the horse of a black drayman died after the fellow had "cussed out" his preacher, the minister interpreted the man's misfortune as "a visitation of Divine Providence for his cussedness."⁴⁸ Equally powerful was the belief in the abilities of special individuals to cast spells on people who had wronged them. A man in a Tallahassee suburb, assisted by an elderly woman, astounded onlookers by appearing to vomit nails, moss, and other debris. "His friends believe strongly in the reality of it all," noted the *Floridian*, "and insist that he has had 'a spell' put upon him by a woman to whom he was engaged but whom he jilted and who now protests that she intends to pay him off for his base desertion."⁴⁹

Besides tending their own religious flocks and grappling with tenacious rural folk beliefs, black ministers also had to deal both antagonistically and cooperatively with people from other denominations. Cooperation usually involved such things as officiating at dedication ceremonies and aiding visiting ministers. In 1873 the Reverend R. D. Dunbar, pastor of Elizabeth Baptist Church of Greenville, Georgia, received a collection of \$4.05 at the Reverend Mr. Page's Missionary Baptist Church and \$4.21 at the Reverend A. E. Grant's A.M.E. Church.⁵⁰

There were, on the other hand, situations, largely political in nature, where black ministers of different denominations competed with each other for influence and positions. In an 1868 election contest between Missionary Baptist minister J. W. Toer and A.M.E.-backed Samuel Walker, denominational rivalry was used as a political tool to alienate freedmen from the Charles H. Pearce faction of the Republican party. The proposition was widely circulated among black Baptists that the pushy African Methodists were depriving them of representation.⁵¹ Then in 1870 Missionary Baptist minister James Page opposed Charles Pearce for a state Senate seat. John Proctor, a member of Page's church,

47. *Ibid.*, June 12, 1877.

48. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, September 17, 1880.

49. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, February 12, 1878.

50. *Ibid.*, April 23, 1878.

51. Dodd, "'Bishop' Pearce and the Reconstruction of Leon County," 8.

ran for a House of Representatives seat. This Page slate was considered "the white folks' ticket."⁵²

There is no evidence that black ministers in Tallahassee preached against voting and running for office during these years after the Civil War. Candidates came forth from all denominations. Even the Primitive Baptists, whose ministers were not as literate as those in other denominations, were represented by political candidates. In one Leon County election, Henry Griffin, a Primitive Baptist preacher who could neither read nor write, assured a crowd that if elected to the state legislature he would do whatever Governor "Starns" [*sic*] told him to do.⁵³

Through voluntary separation into independent religious bodies blacks developed institutions which were deeply rooted in their culture and history and uniquely adapted to their needs. Even before 1865, when many slaves worshipped in the white churches, there had been a social and psychological separation between blacks and whites. After emancipation, with black eagerness and ability to own and aggressively expand their churches, a greater degree of economic and spatial separation was added to the complex of factors shaping black religious life.

This examination of the experience of black folk in Tallahassee in the twenty years following the Civil War suggests that their resentment toward discrimination was expressed in a wide variety of ways. Retaliatory and self-defensive violence was not unknown, but more frequently blacks turned to verbal protests, vigorous use of the ballot, and the development of their churches. Their efforts to build churches and schools were substantially aided by whites. Many of the fund-raising festivals were held in public meeting places like the courthouse and Gallie's Hall (later the Opera House), and were well attended by both races. The church became a social cosmos which offered spiritual satisfaction, pageantry, picnics, drama, and music. The churches attempted, not always successfully, to erect standards of behavior for their members. Finally, they touched the lives of many people at several points along the life cycle. They married them, christened their babies, aided them in distress, and buried them.

To the extent that black churches performed all these functions they were servants of the needs and aspirations of their

52. *Ibid.*

53. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, 227.

members. Yet, almost inevitably, they also performed tasks which were valuable from the point of view of the local white community. The black churches in Tallahassee were partially successful in their attempts to influence the behavior of their members. To the extent they were successful in enforcing proscriptions against cursing, rudeness, drunkenness, and theft, the black churches also, ironically, acted as agencies of social control for the larger community. Thus, organized religion was for black folk in Tallahassee many-sided and ambiguous, performing roles of protest, relief, and accomodation to the expectations of the dominant white community.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Minutes, Journals, and Acts of the General Assembly of British West Florida. Compiled and edited by Robert R. Rea and Milo B. Howard, Jr. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1979. xxv, 406 pp. Preface, general introduction, bibliographical note, roster of members of the council sitting as the upper house, roster of members returned to the Commons House of Assembly, notes, epilogue, index of legislative proceedings, general index. \$45.00.)

More than most of the states, Florida has benefited from scholarly publications spawned by the Bicentennial. A good example is this book, published under the Alabama Bicentennial Commission's auspices. The University of West Florida, which is located in Pensacola, the former capital of British West Florida, also appropriately collaborated.

British West Florida existed for only two decades. Having defeated France and Spain in the Seven Years War, Britain took part of the conquered territory from each enemy in 1763 to form a new colony. Its eastern limit was the Appalachian River and the western boundary, stretching to the Mississippi, included French Mobile and, after 1764, French Natchez.

As soon as practical, civilian government replaced rule by the British army. The first governor, George Johnstone, arrived in 1764. The appointed upper house soon began to function, and in 1766 elections were held for the lower house. As a consequence the first general assembly finally met, and the seventh and last one concluded deliberations in 1778, just before Spanish troops launched their successful campaign to conquer the province.

There is little melodrama in these minutes. The laws tend to be dry and repetitive, and the politicians' character, factional disputes, and substantive differences remain obscure. Many of the debates and laws concern creating parishes, vestries, and other elements and areas of government, granting land, and supervising Indian affairs. Such mundane items as regulating markets and keeping filth from Pensacola's and Mobile's streets and the waters immediately joining these towns were also matters

for concern. A close look at the documents reveals such details as the new provincial capital of Pensacola requiring not one but two jails, and the French colonists throughout the population-starved province being courted and treated far more leniently than their Catholic counterparts in Britain. Reading the delegates' surnames makes it obvious why the Scotch party was so powerful. Laboring on plantations and serving on ships calling at Pensacola and Mobile, Negro slaves were conspicuous in the province, and several of the acts formed the basis of a provincial slave code. Disputes between the lower house and the governor over appointing a treasurer and other provincial officers disclose that West Florida's assembly, like those in other American colonies, was flexing its muscles. Even so there was little question that the royal prerogative counted for more in West Florida than in the older, more northern colonies.

Despite his publicized pugnaciousness, Governor Johnstone, according to the editors of this volume, got along with the assembly as well as any provincial governor. The editors' rosters of members of the general assembly, indicating when they served and whom they represented, and especially Rea and Howard's inciteful comments, descriptions of the governors, interpretation of political conditions, and introductions to the various general assemblies are perceptive. They claim too much, however, in contending that "no other colony succeeded in passing such an act . . ." to regulate the Indian trade (xvii); and in their enthusiasm for the Bicentennial they perhaps have overstressed similarities of West Florida assemblymen with Patrick Henry and Sam Adams and have muted real differences. These minor considerations aside, scholars are indebted to Rea and Howard, and will find this work a convenient and indispensable source to help interpret and bring to life the history of this British colony.

Florida State University

J. LEITCH WRIGHT, JR.

Cardinales de Dos Independencias (Noreste de México-Sureste de los Estados Unidos). A symposium held at the Universidad Iberoamericana with the collaboration of the University of Florida, 29 and 30 November 1976, in commemoration of the Bicentennial of the Independence of the United States. (Mexico, Fomento Cultural Banamex, A. C., 1978, 281 pp. Presentation, notes.)

Five papers written in the Spanish language comprise the first section of the volume. In the second section there are four papers in English. A *Relatoría* gives the chronological order in which the papers were presented.

Dr. Ernesto Lemoine of the Universidad Autónoma de México painted a dramatic picture of *New Orleans: Center of Propaganda and Activities of the Mexican Insurgency*. In 1810 leaders of the Mexican uprising believed that their cause would triumph only if they could count on assistance from the United States, "the paradigm of liberty and democracy in the New World." Their diplomacy was centered in New Orleans, where it was hampered by adventurers and double agents.

Maestro Roberto Moreno, also of the UNAM, spoke about *Spanish Attitudes toward the American Revolution*. Spain preferred to aid the North American colonists indirectly, instead of choosing the more expedient course of open participation and recognition of the new nation which might have guaranteed her territorial boundaries.

Lic. César Sepúlveda of the Instituto Mexicano "Matías Romero" discussed *Independent Mexico and the Onís Treaty of 1819*. He said that the Onís-Adams Treaty, which resulted in the transfer of Florida to the United States, had its origin in "that passion for expansion with which the United States was born, a passion based on strange ideas of natural rights, geographical predestination, and manifest destiny."

The Spanish historian Dr. Francisco de Solano of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid described *Spanish Strategy and Warfare in the Sea of the Antilles*. After Spain declared war against Britain in 1779 the conflict acquired a distinctly naval character. The notable performance of the Spanish naval forces demonstrated the efficacy of the Bourbon reforms.

Dra. María del Carmen Velásquez of the Colegio de México

told of *Don Matías de la Mota Padilla and the Provincias Internas*. In the eighteenth century economic power in New Spain was concentrated in Mexico, the capital, while the interior provinces lacked the funds necessary to protect their northern borders. Mota Padilla proposed reforms which, had they been instituted, might have preserved the Provincias Internas for a while.

The English language section of the book, headed *North-eastern Mexico-Southeastern United States, Key Zone in the Independence of Both Countries*, begins with a comprehensive study by Dr. Michael V. Gannon of the University of Florida of *Church Influence in Louisiana and Florida during the Eighteenth Century*. "Over a space of two and a half centuries, and across a distance of 3,000 miles from St. Augustine to San Francisco (including French Louisiana) the Roman Catholic religion was firmly implanted early in United States history."

To tell the story of the great *Bernardo de Gálvez: Spain's Man of the Hour during the American Revolution*, Dr. Jack D. L. Holmes of the University of Alabama in Birmingham skillfully used the device of quoting a royal cédula of King Charles III of Spain. In that cédula of November 12, 1781, the monarch reviewed the distinguished career of Gálvez, conferred on him the title of Conde de Gálvez, and named him governor and captain-general of the Province of West Florida.

In his very informative lecture, *A Distant Thunder: Anglo-Spanish Conflict in the Eighteenth Century*, Dr. Robert R. Rea of Auburn University of Alabama reminded his listeners that the Declaration of Independence of the United States was but "one important step in a long process," and that the clash of European dynasties in the eighteenth century "reshaped the continents, exhausted the European competitors, and contributed to the freedom of all the American states."

The final paper in this volume was the one heard first in the symposium. Dr. John J. TePaske had been asked "to provide a backdrop" for the other papers. He did that brilliantly in *Old Spain, Mexico, and the Creation of Empire*, by commenting on certain factors which caused the Spanish colonial experience to differ greatly from that of British colonists in North America. A primary factor was the medieval character of the Spanish conquest and colonization. The timing of the discovery of America, just nine months after the Moors surrendered Granada to the Catholic

kings, perpetuated in the New World the military virtues esteemed in the seven-hundred year Reconquest, as well as a host of medieval institutions, attitudes, and practices. Other important factors were the large populations of indigenous peoples and the abundance of natural resources found in Spanish America.

The Bicentennial conference at which these scholarly papers were read was held in Mexico City under the sponsorship of the American Embassy. Dr. Samuel Proctor and Dr. Terry McCoy of the University of Florida coordinated the American papers and the arrangements for the meeting.

Orange Park, Florida

AILEEN MOORE TOPPING

Nature Guide to Florida. By Richard Rabkin and Jacob Rabkin. (Miami: Banyan Books, 1978. 80 pp. Introduction, illustrations, index. \$7.95.)

The short introduction to this paperback notes that it "is not a scientific treatise or an identification manual. . . . The primary purpose of the book is to turn some of the attention of residents and visitors of all ages to the ecological wonders that can be observed with relative ease and enjoyed with minimum effort in this subtropical climate. . . . The book will serve its purpose if, from time to time, it stimulates you to notice and appreciate the miraculous ways of life in the fields and prairies, forests and swamps, seashores and beaches, marshes and mudflats, streets and gardens of south Florida." The book is divided into twenty-nine chapters, each touching on a different facet of the subject, including geography and geology, turtle grass jungle, coral reefs, wading birds, alligator holes, bromeliads, epiphytes, exotics, roadsides, state parks, and wildlife refuges.

The authors unfortunately provide no lyrical descriptions like such nature writers as Rachel Carson, N. J. Berrill, Aldo Leopold; nor do they feel the intense personal empathy of, say Jack Rudloe, in dealing with their subject.

There are twenty-nine pages of water color illustrations. These are more impressionistic than photographic, yet some-most of the birds and a few plants-catch their subjects so well they might serve better than photographs for quick-glimpsed identification.

Others seem to have been painted from descriptions given in a poorly understood language. The Australian pine, for instance, might be mistaken for a board stabbed with feathered darts, or maybe a dune sparsely grown with seaoats. Even so, it fits beautifully onto its page, and every page of illustration makes an attractive whole.

Because of its brevity and the wide variety of its subjects, the book must skim lightly over most of them. Still, in parts it gives fascinating information that is probably unknown to most amateur nature watchers. Take a few lines from the section Bromeliad Kingdom: "The bromeliads are most ingenious in their adaptation. They have developed a special structural form for collection and storing water. Their pointed leaves are furled at the base, but then spread open to form a vasselike container for funneling rainfall and dew. This minature resevoir becomes the center of an active environment. Mosquitos and other aquatic insects live and breed in the water small tree frogs find shelter and moisture in the rosetts of leaves, snakes search out frogs and lizards, and birds drink from these readily accessible and almost perpetual water sources and forage for insects among the leaves."

This sort of information can truly help "to notice and appreciate the miraculous ways of life" in the south Florida outdoors.

Anna Maria, Florida

WYATT BLASINGAME

A Season of Youth: The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination. By Michael Kammen. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978. xxi, 384 pp. Preface, illustrations, notes, index. \$15.00.)

In many respects Professor Kammen's latest work is a sequel to his *People of Paradox* for which he received a Pulitzer prize in 1973. As opposed to the Civil War or any other conflict, the Revolution, according to the author, has held the greatest interest over the years for Americans. Although blacks, white Southerners of Confederate ancestry, and certain others perhaps will not agree, by and large the author's basic assumption may be valid. Influenced by the many Revolutionary publications, exhibitions,

and projects spawned by the Bicentennial, this work tells relatively little about the Revolution itself. Instead the author is concerned with how for two centuries Americans have viewed the conflict with Britain.

As one might expect in an intellectual and cultural study of this nature, Kammen has relied heavily on literary sources, including works by James Fenimore Cooper, William Gilmore Simms, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Esther Forbes, Kenneth Roberts, and the prolific historical novelist of the 1970s, John Jakes. Beyond such standard fare Kammen has utilized paintings ranging from those of Washington's contemporary, John Trumbull, to those of Peter Saul, who in 1975 painted a somewhat irreverent version of Washington crossing the Delaware. Films and Paul Green's successful dramas were also consulted as, to a limited extent, were engravings of Bernard Romans, the West Florida cartographer and military engineer. Romans was a Patriot in Tory-dominated West Florida who found it expedient to return to New England where he made one of the earliest engravings of the Battle of Bunker Hill.

The relative lack of interest in history and tradition in this country is due, as Kammen sees it, to several facts: the United States is a nation of immigrants; it has its own special notions of progress; and the vast majority of Americans believe that the earth belongs to the living, not to the dead hand of the past. Yet whenever the public does turn to the past the Revolution assumes a pivotal role, and Kammen contends that, for better or worse, the general public is far more likely to form its impressions from historical novels, plays, and films than from more standard though perhaps less melodramatic historical tomes. Americans have altered their views of the Revolution over the years. The Anglo-phobia of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries tended to push Britain into the background and separation from the mother country was equated with prosperity and growth. In more recent times, Americans have shown a more sympathetic treatment of George III and his subjects. As passions of the Revolution have cooled, the conservative point of view—that the struggle of '76 was not very radical or revolutionary—has been in the ascendancy.

According to Professor Kammen, in popular culture the Revolution has come to assume a national *rite de passage*, the ending of "a season of youth" by breaking away from the mother country

and in turn forming a new more mature and virtuous society. Among fictional characters, Esther Forbes's Johnny Tremain experienced an adolescent time of troubles, a parental separation, and a symbolic rebirth. Or in real life, after Andrew Jackson was orphaned during the Revolution, he took up arms against the enemy, was wounded and imprisoned, all of which helped prepare him for later dynamic leadership of the young republic. Somewhat prolix and loosely organized, this study, nevertheless, affords stimulating insights into what kind of people Americans have become since 1776.

Florida State University

J. LEITCH WRIGHT, JR.

The Gentlemen Theologians: American Theology in Southern Culture, 1795-1860. By E. Brooks Holifield. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1978. ix, 262 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, manuscript collections cited, indexes, \$11.95.)

This is a significant book, a breakthrough in our knowledge of thought in the Old South. Its importance in detail is largely limited to those with philosophical or theological skills; its general importance is becoming widely known, nevertheless, because of its effectiveness in overturning deficient notions about the intellectual life of that society. In the theological area, in particular, it moves beyond and much deeper than Clement Eaton's *The Mind of the Old South*, the standard study to date.

What Brooks Holifield does is demonstrate the formidable learning of 100 ministers from several denominations in the cities and towns of the Old South. His extensive and meticulous documentary research introduces us to the training of the ministers—some of it in Europe, much of it in northern institutions; the degree of their literary familiarity (they were knowledgeable about the seminal philosophical and theological works of modern Europe and colonial New England); and their self-conscious reference to various schools of epistemology, hermeneutics, and apologetics.

Hitherto we have been inclined to think that even the leading ministers of the Old South were quite limited in training, if not skill, and in conversancy with the most sophisticated conceptual

analyses in wider Christendom, with precious few exceptions. We now know that the number of exceptions was considerable and that the erudition of such clergymen was impressive. They were in touch with the wider world; they were accomplished enough to have graced pulpits, altars, and parishes in more cosmopolitan centers outside the South.

Yet their presence and influence are only a small part of the larger southern picture, as Holifield himself acknowledges. This cadre of padres made up a tiny fraction of clergymen serving the South. Moreover their ministries were conducted in the few larger towns and cities of the antebellum South, those strung along the coastal regions of the seaboard states, for the most part. These were the "gentlemen," the "genteel," the "bourbons," the "elites" among the ministers, and their congregations comprised the better classes. Thus, this study is hardly panoramic or representative, a fact recognized by the author as well as his reviewers. This study does have a signal accomplishment, even so: the intellectual historian's rescuing Old South religion from the mistaken assumption that it was devoid of substance.

A fundamental question raised here has to do with the validity of the presupposition that what ministers say is heard by their listeners. Just how telling were the informed sermons, learned teachings, and printed essays of these clergymen for the actual comprehension-to say nothing of the practice-of their parishioners? Perhaps the most positive evidence for the power of such knowledge in antebellum southern culture was the founding of numerous colleges by the churches during the period.

One does well to read Holifield on the "gentlemen theologians" in tandem with Donald Mathews's *Religion in the Old South*. The "populism" of the latter balances the "elitism" of the former. The isolation of thought from perception and practice, a danger in the former analysis, is corrected by Mathews's work. The interrelatedness of church and society, of thought and culture in the latter enriches Holifield's approach. Yet, there they were, these erudite people and sophisticated concepts and responsive congregations, a real part of urban and town life in the Old South.

By implication, Holifield underscores how different the antebellum South was to be from the cultural life of the region from the Civil War forward for many decades. The quality of learning

he introduces us to was hardly repeated until the deprovincialization of the South following the 1960s. It is to be hoped that he or someone else will trace the career of these learned traditions, or their counterparts, through the late decades of the nineteenth century and into this one. We learn again that the religious South as we know it is a product of neither the colonial nor the antebellum societies but of the (lengthy) aftermath of the Civil War and Reconstruction.

This study is excellent; it is a breakthrough in our own understanding of the "mind of the South." The fact that it is a book for scholars-in truth for certain kinds of scholars-only magnifies its value, and should stand as an encouragement to other kinds of scholars and the sophisticated public to work to comprehend it.

University of Florida

SAMUEL S. HILL, JR.

The Southern Federalists, 1800-1816. By James H. Broussard. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978. xiii, 438 pp. Preface, notes, tables, maps, bibliography, index. \$24.95.)

"If it rains during my administration I'll take credit for it." The source of this political truism is unknown, but it might well have been a Republican in Jefferson's first administration. Professor Broussard points out that after its narrow defeat in the elections of 1800, the Federalist party fell a victim to peace, prosperity, and Louisiana. By the end of Jefferson's first administration the once-mighty Federalists had been put to rout.

This study of southern Federalists is a welcome addition to the literature of early nineteenth-century political history. Broussard traces the history of the party in the four southeastern states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia from the defeat of John Adams in 1800 to the end of the War of 1812.

Already in the minority in 1800 the southern Federalists fell into total disarray by 1807. Aside from the brilliant successes of the Jeffersonians, Professor Broussard notes other factors that contributed to the party's decline. Federalist leaders showed a singular inability to organize their party. They maintained almost no communication with leaders of the northern and eastern states; even within their own states they made little effort to establish

state and county committees or to utilize caucuses and tickets. In short, southern Federalists displayed neither the industry nor the aptitude for the mechanics of party machinery at which their Republican rivals had become so adept. As a notable instance, in the campaign of 1808, although Charles Cotesworth Pinckney's nomination for the presidency was not known to North Carolina leaders until early September, it was decided to keep it a secret from the public until October!

From the nadir of 1807 southern Federalists revived somewhat. The increasing unpopularity of Republican foreign policy afforded them the opportunity to make some headway, although Professor Broussard points out that "it was the embargo and not Democracy, that lost popularity" (quoting Archibald Henderson, p. 109). Although Federalism made notable gains in the northern states during "Mr. Madison's war," southern Federalists were reluctant to incur the stigma of disloyalty by opposing the administration. The antics of the New Englanders at the Hartford Convention which mortally wounded the party seemed to confirm their judgment.

Broussard follows his chronological account of southern Federalists in national politics with an examination of their roles in state politics. Here he is properly cautious, noting that, except in North Carolina, the small number of Federalists makes statistical analyses suspect. Such leaders as William R. Davie in North Carolina and John Rutledge, Jr., in South Carolina might have attracted support as much by their personal prestige as by their party connections. He also examines the relationships of economic, social, and regional influence on party affiliations, and his findings tend to confound traditional conclusions to which we are accustomed. While Federalists were numerous among the planters of the South Carolina low country, their strength in Virginia was greatest in the western mountains, and in North Carolina there was no regional pattern at all. Although Federalist leaders tended to have an elitist outlook, favored Britain over France, and came from the ranks of the well-to-do, voting patterns "throughout the region cannot be explained by . . . an economic division between the wealthy planter and small farmer, sectional rivalry within the state, ethnic background, or religious belief" (p. 402).

Professor Broussard might have helped his readers by providing biographical sketches of the most prominent Southern Fed-

eralists. James Jackson, William R. Davie, Benjamin Huger, and James Breckinridge appear so frequently that one needs to know something of their previous careers and achievements. Also there are occasions when it is difficult to distinguish between Broussard's judgments and those of his Federalist protagonists. Speaking of the post-embargo crisis, he writes, "True, the British might occasionally impress American seamen or seize cargoes, but such injuries could well be borne. France was far more predatory; insurance premiums were twice as high on voyages to British ports as to French and Spanish ports, reflecting the danger of French interference" (p. 108). Are these Broussard's judgments or those of the Federalist editors whom he cites in his note? But these are relatively minor matters. Professor Broussard's findings, qualified though they may be, will necessitate serious reconsideration for those of us who are in the habit of making glib generalizations about southern Federalists.

University of Alabama

JOHN PANCAKE

The Papers of John C. Calhoun: Volume XI, 1829-1832. Edited by Clyde N. Wilson. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1978. xxxiv, 728 pp. Preface, introduction, symbols, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

This eleventh volume of Calhoun papers covers the years of John C. Calhoun's second vice presidential term, which were also the years of Andrew Jackson's first presidential term. It ends a few days after Calhoun's resignation, following South Carolina's 1832 nullification of the federal tariff laws. These were complex and dramatic years during which occurred the Peggy Eaton affair, the Calhoun-Jackson breach over the First Seminole War, the breakup of the first Jackson cabinet, the germination of a new political party system, and the refinement and elaboration of Calhoun's theories on nullification and the nature of the Union.

Two-thirds of the almost 500 documents herein have never been previously published, and another ten per cent have been printed only in the newspapers of the time. All known letters and documents written by Calhoun during the years covered are included excepting routine or official documents sent to him as

presiding officer of the Senate. Like earlier volumes in the series, this one bears testimony to the wealth of yet unexplored documents in the National Archives.

The editor has prepared useful previews to the documents of each year which provide a chronology of events and notes guiding the reader to the more interesting documents. Particularly valuable is the editor's twenty-two page general introduction. It provides biographical material about the more important correspondents and an essay on the political scene which is an extraordinarily rewarding and suggestive contribution. In it he provides a useful interpretive touchstone for these paradoxical years. Though he does not specifically admit to the modern elitist interpretation of politics, Professor Wilson views the politics of Jacksonian America as "a loose confederation of local patriarchies," in which "political success consisted of winning the allegiance and cooperation of a relatively large number of men of local standing—men who, through property, family, personal force, professional attainments, or other distinctions, both represented and dominated the opinions and allegiances of their immediate neighborhoods" (p. xiii).

What delights the mind are the editor's refreshing insights into the too-often superficially presented events of 1829-1832. He, for instance, sees a gentler, more loyalist Calhoun than text-writers have usually seen, and nullification is viewed as a tactical dispute between two groups of Southerners (the Jacksonians, the more aggressive of the lot), "one wishing to dominate the federal government by conventional politics and the other wanting to prepare for a possible future minority position" (p. xvii). Professor Wilson has obviously reflected carefully upon the papers he has edited and has brought to his commentary an even-handed objectivity that makes this one of the most valuable little essays on Calhoun which this reviewer has seen. One hopes he will develop his ideas at greater length when his editorial task is done.

Readers of this *Quarterly* who wish to use the volume as a reference for Florida history will find slim pickings. In the 686 pages of documents and letters there are only eleven indexed references to Florida; five to Joseph M. White, the territorial delegate to Congress; four to James Gadsden, a South Carolinian active in the territory; two to territorial Governor William P. DuVal; and one to political activist Richard K. Call. More num-

erous are references to the First Seminole War (1818-1819) which rates thirty-six index entries. These, however, relate largely to the dispute that raged in 1830-1831 between Jackson and Calhoun over Calhoun's desire in 1819 to punish Jackson for his invasion of Florida. These letters are more informative about events of 1830-1831 than about the Florida happenings of 1818-1819.

Unfortunate though it may be for Florida history buffs, events here simply did not loom large in the life of Calhoun between 1829 and 1832. This excellent volume, however, is invaluable for students of Jacksonian America.

University of Florida

HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

Revisiting Blassingame's The Slave Community: The Scholars Respond. Edited by Al-Tony Gilmore. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978. xvi, 206 pp. Introduction, notes, appendix, index, about the contributors. \$15.95.)

This volume of essays regarding Blassingame's *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (1972) grew out of the 1976 meeting of the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History which was held in Chicago. In addition to an introduction by the editor, the volume contains essays by Mary Frances Berry, George P. Rawick, Eugene D. Genovese, Earl E. Thorpe, Leslie Howard Owens, Ralph D. Carter, Stanley Engerman, John Henrik Clarke, James D. Anderson, and a response by John W. Blassingame. The appendix is a reprint of Blassingame's article "Using the Testimony of Ex-Slaves" from the *Journal of Southern History*, 41 (November 1975).

Al-Tony Gilmore, noting that the "puzzle of slavery is a difficult one," states that the purpose of these essays is to assess the place of *The Slave Community* in the "total picture" (xiv). Mary Berry, reviewing the reviews of *The Slave Community*, raises consideration of why Blassingame's important study "did not receive the wide discussion and emphasis in the public press" as was accorded other recent studies of slavery (p. 14). The following eight essays answer both questions. All of the essays attest to the value of *The Slave Community* in presenting a picture of slavery

from the slaves' perspectives; many accept its contribution as a response to Stanley Elkins's provocative study of the psychological impact of slavery; some complain that *The Slave Community* was muted, too narrowly focused, or that it did not go far enough.

The value of these essays is to be found in the thoughtful criticisms of Blassingame's study, for each contributor suggests new directions for the study of slavery. Four essayists express the need for a psychological framework: Genovese and Thorpe suggest Freudian concepts; Anderson recommends black personality theory; and Carter notes the need for a greater understanding of the "dynamic interaction" between whites and blacks. Owens and Rawick reflect their well-deserved reputations by wishing to see an expanded picture of life within the slave community. Clarke decries the absence of work on Africa and the slave trade, while Engerman continues to promote quantitative analysis. Blassingame answers his critics in the concluding essay, and points out the need to examine the abolitionists' literature, and to understand the "personality development of the planter" (p. 166).

The essays are somewhat uneven. Some reflect a thoughtful analysis of *The Slave Community*; some exhibit the strident tones of polemics; but all are intellectually provocative. If such a collection of essays is necessary to "assess" John W. Blassingame's *The Slave Community*, then this volume serves its purpose.

University of Mississippi

HARRY P. OWENS

Social Origins of the New South: Alabama, 1860-1885. By Jonathan M. Wiener. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978. xiii, 247 pp. Acknowledgments, maps, tables, notes, epilogue, appendix, index. \$14.95.)

In a recent analysis of Barrington Moore's *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, Jonathan Wiener wrote, "Moore's concept of the 'reactionary coalition' of a persistent traditional landed elite with a weak modernizing bourgeoisie is one of the richest aspects of his thesis; it deserves elaboration and refinement" (*History and Theory*, May 15, 1976, p. 175). In his own book Wiener undertakes such an elaboration and refinement by focusing on Alabama in the twenty-year period following the

Civil War. Despite the title, the work does not deal with the South as a whole nor with all aspects of Alabama during the time period specified. It is a broad, well-written, and stimulating interpretation of the dominant role played by the planter class during the immediate post-war years in one southern state. Wiener thereby hopes to demonstrate how the South deviated, via Barrington Moore's "Prussian road," to modern society rather than follow the rest of the nation down the "classic capitalist-bourgeois road."

He finds the key to this deviation in the planter class which successfully fought off or thwarted challenges from black workers, merchants, and industrialists. The work is divided into three parts, the first of which consists of two chapters dealing respectively with planter persistence and with the reorganization of plantation labor. Manuscript census returns on 236 planter families in five Black Belt counties reveal a persistence rate of approximately forty-five per cent in both decades of the 1850s and the 1860s. In reestablishing their control over the freedmen, the planters resorted to statutes such as the Black Codes, supported the Ku Klux Klan, and worked with the Freedmen's Bureau in developing the share-cropping system which proved to be the most feasible method of "extracting an economic surplus from the underlying population" (p. 85).

The two chapters in Part II recount and analyze the struggle between the planters and the merchants who were also anxious to reap profits from the "surplus" agrarian labor through the newly-enacted crop-lien laws. Again planter power and influence prevailed; the legislature enacted laws both during and after Reconstruction that made planters' liens superior to others or abolished crop liens in most of the Black Belt counties. The result was a decline in the number of merchants in the five Black Belt counties and an increase in five "hill counties" in northwestern Alabama, with many of the merchants becoming landowners. Wiener emphasizes, however, that, contrary to Woodward and others, there was no merger of planter and merchant classes; the planter elite had simply won out in the Black Belt and retained its power and distinctiveness. The third part treats in three chapters the relationship between planters and industrialists, especially the Birmingham entrepreneurs supported by ardent advocates of a "New South" ideology. The planters did not oppose industry and rail-

roads per se; they simply supported types that were complementary and subordinate to agriculture and opposed any tendency toward the rise of a powerful bourgeois class of industrialists. The concluding chapter broadens the discussion of the ideological conflict to the entire South and advances the interesting notion that the "New South" promoters embraced the Old South myth because they were "not strong enough to attack it" (p. 218).

This study adds considerably to the growing evidence that for at least two decades after 1865 the New South was more similar to than different from the Old. Wiener's principal contribution lies in his use of manuscript census returns to demonstrate the persistence of planters, their predominance over subservient black labor, and their defeat of competition from merchants in their own Black Belt domain. Less convincing is his contention that Alabama's slow industrial development and general economic stagnation can be attributed largely to predominant planter influence in state politics and government. The author himself admits that the planters made a number of concessions, such as the tax rate-debt settlement, and that neither planters nor industrialists exercised hegemony over Alabama affairs by 1890. A clearer understanding of the nature and "power structure" of Redeemer Alabama will have to await a more definitive study utilizing a broader range of manuscript and other primary materials. Wiener has based his generalizations largely on secondary accounts supplemented by census data, a few legislative documents, and random samplings of newspaper opinion. Rather exhaustive footnotes appear conveniently at the bottom of the page, but no bibliography is provided.

To this reviewer, the most disturbing aspect of the book is the author's apparent acceptance of a preconceived thesis followed by the selection of appropriate evidence to support its applicability to post-Civil War Alabama. It may be true that planters wielded a disproportionate amount of power, but certainly this was changing during the 1880s and the 1890s. A better understanding of Alabama's divergence from national norms should emerge from a more broadly conceived study of economic, sectional, and political rivalries rather than the role of one elite social class. Taken as a whole, Wiener's book significantly increases our understanding of the post-war planters' activities and

beliefs, but falls short of proving his hypothesis of planter predominance in the state as a whole.

University of Houston

ALLEN J. GOING

Emancipation and Equal Rights: Politics and Constitutionalism in the Civil War Era. By Herman Belz. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1978. xviii, 171 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, bibliographical review, index. \$10.95; \$3.95 paper.)

Speaking to the Southern Historical Association in Lexington, Kentucky, in November 1939, Howard K. Beale called for the examination of Reconstruction freed from the moral preconceptions of scholarly researchers. Historians have ignored Beale's advice at their own peril. Each new reevaluation of the postwar years has reflected the unique temper and spirit of the age in which it was written. Building on his earlier well-received volumes on Reconstruction, Herman Belz has provided us with an interpretation which fits the preconceptions of our own post-liberal age. While readers may criticize Belz for his reliance on secondary literature, what the author offers in this extended essay is not new sources, but a new interpretive framework. The target of this volume is those writers of "the new orthodoxy" who, fired by the awakened social conscience of the 1960s, sought to reinterpret postwar events in the light of the "deferred commitment" to blacks that emerged as a result of the fratricidal sectional conflict. Thus, in the past twenty years, dozens of studies have explored the condition of blacks in the immediate post-bellum South. If these studies shared one thing, it was the belief that the black man was exploited and abandoned by the military and the Republican-controlled national government. So emancipation meant freedom in name only, and Reconstruction stood as the "tragic era" of lost opportunity for social justice for blacks.

Belz has little patience with this argument. Central to his thesis is the understanding that the freedmen's status was never viewed by contemporary northern whites as the central problem of the age. Here Belz makes one of his best points. The fact that revisionist historians have been critical of the "herrenvolk" racial democratic principles of America does not change the reality of

their wide acceptance during the nineteenth century. Thus Northerners did not approach the problem of reunion with a mind free to experiment in the cause of racial justice. Here Belz dissects the "republican ideology" which accepted the reunion and nationalism as the basic and legitimate goals of the northern victory. On this point the author has cogently examined the northern preconceptions in the light of Eric Foner's examination of Republican prewar ideology and Phillip Paludan's explorations in mid-century constitutional suppositions. Thus, Belz would argue, Northerners never could approach Reconstruction as a period ripe for social experimentation. They were restricted by the limits of their ideology. Thus blacks could lay claim to little more than their freedom and a limited confirmation of their civil but not their social rights.

Given the limited possibilities then available, Belz would argue that even sharecropping and segregation were decided gains in an era of pervasive social prejudice. Even the Emancipation Proclamation is dusted off, polished up, and presented in a new light. While certainly a practical expedient, the Proclamation did embody the antislavery principles and moral prerogatives of the Republican party. Lincoln thus reemerges as the "Great Emancipator" of old. For a quite different picture of a befuddled and confused Lincoln, Peyton McCrary's new study of Reconstruction Louisiana provides a useful foil. Having taken stock of the possibilities for black social justice available to the postbellum generation, Belz argues that much was accomplished. The laissez-faire individualistic framework of the era precluded such remedies as the land redistribution and forced social adjustment for which revisionist historians have clamored.

In Belz's view Reconstruction does not merit its "tragic era" tag. It was neither a tragedy for the recalcitrant rebels, as the Dunningites once claimed, or for freedmen, as recent revisionists have contended. Will this new view become the new orthodoxy? Perhaps. But it is hard to read this volume without feeling that the author has struck at the very fault lines of the current interpretation of the period.

The Enchanted Country: Northern Writers in the South, 1865-1910. By Anne E. Rowe. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978. xxi, 155 pp. Abbreviations, introduction, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$11.95.)

Anne E. Rowe, associate professor of English at Florida State University, has provided interesting reading for students of southern history on northern writers in the South from 1865 to 1910. For make no mistake about it—the South surfaced early as the stuff of romance, as Ms. Rowe shows. Her treatment of Harriet Beecher Stowe underscores the point by a discussion of the romantic elements in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as well as in *Palmetto Leaves*. If we remember Simon Legree, we also remember Augustine St. Clare, whom Mrs. Stowe compared in one instance to “Moore, Byron, Goethe.”

After the Civil War southern “territory” (the quotes are Ms. Rowe's) was opened to northern literary men who succumbed in delight to the lures of Spanish moss, decaying feudalism, and a place which one of these pilgrims, Edward King, characterized as “slumbrous, voluptuous, round, and graceful. Here beauty peeps from every door-yard. Mere existence is pleasure.” Especially was this true when compared to existence in northern factory towns.

Comprehensive coverage is given to Mrs. Stowe, John DeForest, Albion Tourgée, Constance Fenimore Woolson (a great-niece of James Fenimore Cooper), Lafcadio Hearn, Owen Wister, and the Henry James who wrote about Charleston, South Carolina. Albion Tourgée and John DeForest, through his novel *Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty*, were promoting political and social reform in the South. “The pro-slavery South meant oligarchy, and imitated the manners of the European nobility. The Democratic North means equality,” observes Dr. Ravenel. Tourgée also had a social axe to grind, perhaps more legitimately than did DeForest, since he actually lived in the South although he hailed from Ashtabula County, Ohio. Tourgée gave the world, among other things, a dialect account by a black man of a Ku Klux Klan murder. Ms. Rowe very properly points out to us the black stereotypes of the northern writers. She also deals in interesting detail with the local color of Constance Fenimore Woolson, whose writing about St. Augustine Minorcans had and has particular relevance for Floridians. *East Angels* is

set in the St. Augustine Miss Woolson loved "better than any other place in America." The northern writers are agreed: why does the gorgeous South have to have such an unfortunate social philosophy? Therein, of course, is their paradox.

It is in her discussion of Lafcadio Hearn, that enchanting lover of feudalism's high charm, that Ms. Rowe excels. She profiles the Hearn who provided the ultimate rationale for Northerners' love of the South: "I suspect what we term the final moral susceptibilities signify merely a more complex and perfect evolution of purely physical sensitiveness. . . . When one's physical sensibilities are fully developed and properly balanced, I do not think wickedness to others possible." If it is the Hearn of his Louisiana novel *Chita* that Ms. Rowe explores, it is also, by implication, the Hearn of the West Indies and of post-Tokugawa, Japan. Both were declining feudal societies.

There is a chapter on Owen Wister, a northerner but a grandson of the English actress Fanny Kemble and her southern husband, and also a "coda" on the Henry James of *The American Scene*, and here Ms. Rowe points out, along with Lionel Trilling whom she quotes, that "by involving the feminist movement with the struggle between North and South, he [James] made clear that his story was dealing with a cultural crisis." This crisis, of course, continues.

The Enchanted Country is not the work of a romancer but of a practitioner of traditional English department academic criticism. But Ms. Rowe's sympathy with place and with human subjects lends her book a particular charm. Certainly it belongs in any collection with pretensions to coverage of American literature.

Tallahassee, Florida

GLORIA JAHODA

New Deal Policy and Southern Rural Poverty. By Paul E. Mertz.
(Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978. xiii,
279 pp. Preface, notes, bibliographical notes, index. \$14.95.)

The 1930s and 1940s brought wrenching change to the rural South. With the onset of the Great Depression chronic poverty deepened into near collapse of the agricultural system. The federal government's program of aid to distressed farmers unin-

tionally drove masses of propertyless tenants, croppers, and laborers off the land. By the end of the 1930s the South's long-lived hoe-and-plow culture was giving way to the mechanization which would render superfluous most agricultural labor. During this era, in short, the labor-intensive plantation system, which had survived invasions of Yankees and bollweevils, finally succumbed.

Set against this backdrop, Paul Mertz's account of a federal war on southern rural poverty is in part the study of a struggle against inexorable change, but it is also a story of missed opportunities and halfway measures. Mertz shows how the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and some of the early federal relief programs reinforced cotton planters' efforts to maintain control of "their" tenants or, conversely, to rid themselves of the vestigial burdens of plantation paternalism. However, Mertz's study focuses on the other side of federal policy, a persistent, if secondary, effort to create a New Deal for the southern mudsills whom the AAA either ignored or hurt. In 1934 the Federal Emergency Relief Administration began settling displaced farmers on idle AAA land, with the federal government effectively functioning as furnishing merchant. This temporary program tended to help people who were *relatively* well off, but it also furthered the notion that the government should support rural rehabilitation of family farmers and foster land ownership among tenants.

The idea of rural rehabilitation found legislative and administrative expression in the Bankhead Farm Tenancy Bill, introduced in 1935, and the Resettlement Administration, established the same year under the leadership of Rexford Tugwell. The comprehensive rehabilitation plans of Tugwell and Will Alexander had to be scaled down when Congress failed to pass the Bankhead bill in 1935. The Bankhead-Jones Act, as finally adopted in 1937, was substantially weaker than the original bill. The Farm Security Administration, successor to the Resettlement Administration, did promote resettlement through loans and various cooperative ventures, but it could not stem the tide of rural outmigration.

New Deal Policy and Southern Rural Poverty is essentially a study of policy making, and a particular strength of the book is its account of the interplay between various individuals and

groups in that process. We see southern liberals led by Will Alexander, southern Socialists, especially spokesmen for the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, New Deal bureaucrats of various ideological bents, and a similarly varied lot of southern congressmen. The figure of Franklin Roosevelt, though seldom glimpsed directly, looms just offstage. The ideological and bureaucratic jousting of these parties at interest demonstrates in microcosm the internal contradictions of the New Deal. Except for the radicals, almost all believed that the family farm was still a viable economic unit in the South, as well as a cherished ideal. The warnings of a few that small farms were anachronistic in the plantation districts of the Deep South proved prophetic.

Many details of Mertz's story are familiar to us through the published histories of New Deal agencies and of liberal and radical protest in the 1930s. Given the author's intention to produce a synthesis "on the subject of the New Deal's failure to cope with rural poverty" (p. xii), one is surprised by what is not discussed. There is no account of the Tennessee Valley Authority or the Rural Electrification Administration, which certainly represented ambitious federal efforts to alleviate rural poverty. Neither is there discussion of federal relief programs other than the FERA and CWA, even though large numbers of rural Southerners were employed in non-farm work by agencies such as the WPA and CCC. The study understandably focuses on problems of the cotton South and particularly on the Mississippi Delta, but Mertz or some other scholar needs to explore the impact of federal policies on other parts of the South, including the tobacco and turpentine/ lumber belts.

While this is not a comprehensive study of the New Deal and southern rural poverty it is certainly a well-written and carefully-presented synthesis of what we now know about the federal government's major response to rural poverty and the crisis of land tenure in the Cotton Kingdom during the Depression. The research of Professor Mertz confirms Gavin Wright's sad conclusion that "the problems of southern agricultural development were never really solved. . . . The only escape came with the massive departure of Southerners from agriculture."

The du Pont Family. By John D. Gates. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1979. ix, 358 pp. Genealogy, preface, illustrations, acknowledgments, appendix. \$11.95.)

Americans have generally been interested in reading about rich people, and with the current interest in family history it is not surprising that we are now seeing histories of rich families such as the Rockefellers, Mellons, and now the du Ponts. John D. Gates is not a completely undetached observer, having been married to a du Pont, but the former Wilmington, Delaware, newspaperman does a reasonably good job in keeping the book from being either an attack upon or an apology of this very wealthy and influential family.

It is interesting to observe the history of the family which is not a "rags to riches" theme since the family had both established social status and wealth in France before they arrived in the United States in 1800. It is also interesting to note that although rich the family did not possess a great fortune until the period of the First World War when profits from gunpowder and explosives sales were put into the developing General Motors Corporation and chemical production. By the mid-1920s the Du Pont Corporation was one of the nation's largest and the du Pont family one of the wealthiest.

Many members of the family are not particularly interesting, but this is not the case with Alfred I. du Pont, the family "rebel," who played such an influential role in twentieth-century Florida history. Much of the chapter on Alfred is based upon Marquis James's biography, *Alfred I. du Pont, the Family Rebel*, but Gates does bring the account up-to-date. The story is retold of Alfred's efforts in 1902 to keep the company in family hands, an act which did much to strengthen family unity as well. The questionable nature of Alicia Bradford Maddox's divorce and her marriage to Alfred in 1907, however, ruffled many feathers among the flock. In 1910 Alfred built a nine-foot wall around his 300-acre estate outside of Wilmington. The wall had broken glass embedded on its top which, according to family legend, was designed to keep out du Ponts as well as intruders. A more serious split occurred in 1915 when Alfred filed a lawsuit against his cousin Pierre relating to a stock purchase.

The suit effectively brought about the removal of Alfred from

company affairs. In 1920 his wife Alicia died, and a year later Alfred married Jessie Ball of Virginia, a descendant of George Washington's mother. She was Alfred's third wife. He became interested in Florida real estate during the land boom of the 1920s. Aided ably by his brother-in-law Edward Ball, du Pont purchased large tracts of land from retreating speculators after the bubble broke. In 1926 Alfred moved to Florida, transferring assets amounting to some \$34 million. In a mansion on the St. Johns River in Jacksonville du Pont and Ball put together a business and financial structure containing more than 300,000 acres of Florida land and the Florida National Bank chain. When Alfred died of a heart attack in 1935 he was worth about \$60,000,000. His brother-in-law had become quite wealthy in his own right and controlled the Florida East Coast Railroad, originally built by Henry Flagler.

Gates brings the story up-to-date by relating the current controversy between Alfred Dent, the grandson of Alfred I. du Pont, and Ed Ball who manages the Nemours Foundation which received the bulk of du Pont's estate. Gates sets the current value of the foundation at \$2,000,000,000. Dent contends that the foundation has not been run in accordance with Alfred's will because only a small percentage of the income has been used for charitable purposes. So far Ed Ball, who does not receive an income from the foundation, has successfully resisted all challenges to his control of the foundation. Indeed, the limited information about Ed Ball causes one to wonder if a critical study of the Florida multimillionaire might not be of more interest than some of the du Ponts.

Gates's *The du Pont Family* was not written as a critical, scholarly work. As a readable, popularized work written by a knowledgeable insider it does a good job.

Florida State University

EDWARD F. KEUCHEL

Max Perkins, Editor of Genius. By A. Scott Berg. (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1978. 498 pp. Illustrations, acknowledgments, sources and notes, index. \$15.00.)

American literature has seen two major peaks of creativity, the

so-called American Renaissance of the 1840s and 1850s and a second renaissance in the decades between the two world wars. In this second renaissance, one of the centers of creativity was, without question, Maxwell E. Perkins. He was not a poet or novelist or essayist but an editor at *Scribners*, a man little known, and until this present book, nearly unsung, but who in one way or another sponsored a truly astonishing number of the best-known authors of this century-Fitzgerald, Hemingway, Wolfe, Lardner, Caldwell, Sherwood Anderson, Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, Taylor Caldwell, Alan Paton, Marcia Davenport, and James Jones -among others. If the word "great" is infrequently applied to editors, Perkins is surely one of those to whom it most applies; Mr. Berg's sub-title is quite accurate: "Editor of Genius."

I have personally known about this little-known man for more than twenty years, because in the course of doing a book on Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, I read several hundred of his letters to her, and, at that time, knowing nothing about him except vaguely that he had been Thomas Wolfe's editor, I felt the warmth and power of the man's personality and his remarkable critical intelligence. So I have read this book with more than usual interest, and it seems to me to be a splendid piece of work, a happy blend of biography and literary history, scholarly, but also fast-paced and readable, a real contribution to our knowledge of this major period in American literature.

Perkins as a man is poignantly rendered-the Yankee reserve, the eccentricities, the awesome integrity, the warm heart, the loyalty. The account of the career as editor is fascinating, not only for the man himself, but because it interlocks with the lives, personal and professional, of his famous proteges, and one has the vivid sense of watching the unfolding of major literary events from a close inside view. One cycles through the major titles one at a time - *This Side of Paradise*, *The Sun Also Rises*, *Look Homeward Angel* - and in dozens of vignettes and anecdotes, many of them published here for the first time, one has intimate glimpses into the miseries and triumphs of the creative process, the lives of the authors, and the world of publishing.

As might be expected, Mr. Berg is most absorbed in the big three-Fitzgerald, Hemingway, and Wolfe-to the slighting of some other figures, among them Mrs. Rawlings. In his summary treatment of her work, he gives Perkins almost more credit for

her books than herself. She did as a matter of fact value Perkins's advice extremely, and he was a major and indispensable influence on her career, but it distorts the fact to give Perkins primacy. His special gift was, after all, the ability to draw out the best from his authors without usurping the creative function.

But one should not cavil about details. This is a big book, and a very good one. Scholars of the period could learn from it, and almost anyone should enjoy reading it.

University of Florida

GORDON E. BIGELOW

A Streak of Luck: The Life and Legend of Thomas Alva Edison.

By Robert Conot. (New York: Seaview Books, 1979. xvii, 565 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, appendices, reference guide, source notes, index. \$15.95.)

Reformer in the Marketplace: Edward W. Bok and the Ladies' Home Journal. By Salme Harju Steinberg. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979. xix, 193 pp. Preface and acknowledgments, introduction, conclusions, notes, bibliography, index. \$12.95.)

Thomas A. Edison acquired property in Fort Myers, Florida, in 1885, and shipped prefabricated buildings there to set up a laboratory. Starting in 1901 he regularly spent each February and March in Florida. Among his famous guests were Henry Ford and Harvey Firestone. Ford eventually acquired a home next door to the Firestone estate. The Edison home and laboratory are major tourist attractions in Florida today. Their most publicized project was a wide search for a source of natural rubber. Ford met Firestone first in 1896, and he became a great admirer and benefactor of the famous inventor, rebuilding the laboratories at Fort Myers, financing the search for rubber, and establishing the Edison Institute in the Greenfield Village complex in Dearborn, Michigan, where the early history of the Edison researches and inventions is preserved. Edison himself professed no love for the past; his interest was in the future. The Florida aspect of Edison's life and work is only incidental to a much larger story in a worldwide arena.

This is a fascinating story of the nation's most prolific inventor and certainly one of the best-known Americans in the world at the time of his death in 1931. The story is buttressed by a six-page Edison chronology which demonstrates the enormous number of projects which he as inventor and businessman carried on concurrently. He habitually organized companies to advertise and market the things he invented. There are sixty pages of source notes.

One impression comes strongly from the reading. It is remarkable that Edison ever achieved as much as he did. Actually he was not very well educated in the scientific areas in which he worked, nor was he really a practical man. He squandered fortunes on ill-advised ventures, was never free of lawsuits over patent rights, and he was often short of working capital. After describing in some detail each aspect of Edison's work, his biographer ends with an assessment of his genius. His success lay in the practical and topical nature of the problems he studied. He was the epitome of the practical inventor; he worked in the mainstream of technology or jumped into a developing field. He had great ability to gather around him talented and loyal associates who could supply all the technical knowledge he lacked, but who lacked the insight to make use of it. It was a remarkable partnership for both.

Edward Bok is best known to Floridians for the Bok Tower in the bird sanctuary he created near Lake Wales. This famous carillon which has become such a well-known Florida landmark is mentioned in only one sentence as an example of his public benefactions. The book is almost exclusively a business history of *The Ladies Home Journal*, the most successful pioneer in the mass circulation magazine field, the first to have one million subscribers. Bok edited the *Journal* from 1889 to 1919. It is almost as much the story of Cyrus H. K. Curtis, president of the Curtis Publishing Company which owned the *Journal* as well as the *Saturday Evening Post* and other publications. Between the two they satisfied the needs of the advertisers and the readers with only a minimum of conflict between themselves. They were among the first publishers in America to recognize the role being played by women in the marketplace, and they addressed their special appeals to them

There is doubt as to whether Bok reflected the middle class

culture or whether he led and helped shape it. He certainly was not the crusading editor characteristic of the muckraker journals popular at the time, and the *Ladies Home Journal* outlived most of them. He did champion two reforms, patent medicine and sex education for children, which cost the magazine some subscribers and the very lucrative patent medicine advertising contracts. He shared with the progressives of his day a faith in people, and in education as a guide to conduct. His vision of a beautiful America did not include billboards. It emphasized farm people and churches; churches which were interested in saving bodies and minds as well as souls. Unlike some other progressives he had unquestioning faith in the American business system. This book is valuable for its penetrating analysis of the America of Bok's day. The people have moved forward more rapidly than have the concepts of this publisher who for so long had been recognized as a spokesman for middle class values and objectives.

University of Miami

CHARLTON W. TEBEAU

Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., a Biography. By Robert F. Kennedy, Jr. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1978. 288 pp. Acknowledgment, introduction, preface, illustrations, notes, index. \$10.95.)

Originally written as a senior thesis at Harvard, this brief study examines the character and career of U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., whom the author declares has "almost single-handedly" changed Alabama into perhaps the "most progressive state in the Union in the areas of human and civil rights" (p. 24).

Judge Johnson is a native of Winston County, located in the red clay foothills of northwest Alabama, far from the traditional centers of influence and power in the Black Belt. Like his father, Johnson grew up a Republican, and his party loyalty in this staunchly Democratic state was rewarded in 1955 when President Eisenhower appointed him to the federal bench in Alabama's Middle District. At the age of thirty-seven, Johnson thus became the youngest federal judge in the country.

Within the next ten years, Johnson also established himself as one of the most active and enlightened federal judges in the South, handing down far-reaching decisions which desegregated schools, buses, recreational facilities, and waiting rooms, and which opened voting rolls to blacks in a number of counties for the first time since Reconstruction. In more recent years, Johnson has extended his fundamental belief that all human rights are protected by the Constitution to include inmates of Alabama's prisons and mental health facilities. In these controversial landmark cases, Judge Johnson ruled that Alabama had failed to provide adequate funds, staffs, and facilities to meet the basic human and rehabilitative needs of these two captive populations. As a remedy, he outlined lengthy and detailed guidelines for state officials to follow, an unprecedented involvement by the federal judiciary in a state's affairs.

Clearly, Frank Johnson's career provides an interesting focal point for the vast social changes which have occurred in Alabama over the last two decades. Yet Kennedy's study, in its brevity, offers us only brief glimpses at the very heart of that career: Johnson's civil rights decisions. The background to the cases and the issues involved are sparingly presented. At the same time, the decisions themselves are strung together in a basic chronological format with no sustained effort either to analyze or to characterize them with a unifying theme.

On the one hand, for example, Kennedy appears to argue that Johnson is in fact a judicial conservative, initially ruling against black litigants in *Gomillion v. Lightfoot*, the famous Tuskegee gerrymander case, and refusing to use busing to achieve a racial balance in desegregated schools. On the other hand, Johnson's clear activism in most civil rights cases, in the Alabama reapportionment case, and in the prison and mental health cases remains unquestioned. Kennedy never adequately explains this apparent contradiction in Johnson's philosophy, except to contend that he consistently acted only when state officials had abdicated their responsibilities. Such an explanation only begs the question, however, since most federal action is predicated on state and local inaction.

Essentially, and perhaps unfortunately, Kennedy has chosen to write only a narrative and anecdotal account of the judge's life, casting his subject as a hero of the progressive South who is

constantly at odds with the proponents of resistance, led by George Wallace. Since this does not purport to be a scholarly work, it cannot really be faulted for its paucity of citations, although one constantly yearns for more documentation. Kennedy apparently had no access to any of Johnson's private papers and has relied instead on newspapers, interviews, and court records for his information.

Thus, for those students of the recent South who are interested in Johnson's career, this study offers only a starting point, and it will surely be followed by more scholarly and analytical works which can begin to plumb the depths of this intriguing and complex man.

Birmingham Public Library, Archives

ROBERT G. CORLEY

BOOK NOTES

The Florida Handbook, 1979-1980, compiled by Allen Morris, like the earlier editions in this series, is a valuable reference book. Nowhere else can one find the kind of information and data on departments and agencies of Florida government. Included also are articles dealing with state history, including Florida's role in the American Revolution and the Confederacy. Government departments and boards are listed together with mailing addresses and descriptions of duties and responsibilities. The history of Florida's counties and origin of their names, Florida literature, voting statistics, and a list of political party officers are also included. One can find information on the state's congressional delegation, citrus, minerals, wildlife, fishing, livestock, major bridges, parks and historic sites, and a copy of the State Constitution. Along with everything else the *Handbook* informs us that Eugenia Simmons of Okeechobee County was Florida's first woman sheriff and that Mrs. Fay Bridges was the first woman in Florida to vote. She cast her ballot at a polling station on the porch of the general store in Sneads (Jackson County). *The Florida Handbook*, published by Peninsular Publishing Company, Tallahassee, sells for \$10.95.

St. Augustine is undoubtedly one of the most widely photographed communities in the United States. Visitors have been snapping pictures of its historic monuments, narrow streets, and tropical vegetation ever since photography first came into vogue. Mark Tellier has collected a number of these historic pictures, some dating to the 1860s, and has published them in *St. Augustine's Pictures of the Past: A Second Discovery*. Photographs of the first excursion train coming into St. Augustine in 1883, old views of the downtown streets—King, Bay, St. George, Charlotte—Henry Flagler's lavish hotels, the beach, and the Castillo de San Marcos are included. Order from the author, 9½ North Park Avenue, St. Augustine 32084; the price is \$6.50.

Key West, The Last Resort is a guidebook of Key West written by Chris Sherril and Roger Aiello. It includes a brief

history of the Keys, and information on restoration, sightseeing, and natural history. And the people who live in Key West—conchs, Cubans, blacks, hippies, gays—are described, along with details on cultural and economic activities of the area. There is a list of artists and writers who live or visit there and information on festivals and entertainments. Photographs of several properties, before and after restoration, and some, like the Convent of Mary Immaculate, which have been demolished, are included. There is even a recipe for Key Lime pie (p. 170). *Key West, The Last Resort*, with illustrations by Mac Dryden, was published by Key West Book and Card Company, Key West 33040; it sells for \$4.95.

On the Bethel Trail is by the Reverend Mr. Enoch Douglas Davis who has lived in St. Petersburg for more than fifty years. He holds degrees from Florida Memorial College, Florida A & M University, and the Interdenominational Theological Seminary in Atlanta. When Mr. Davis first arrived in St. Petersburg in 1925, Florida was in the throes of its great land boom, and jobs were plentiful for skilled and unskilled workers. He earned \$21.00 a week, most of which helped support his family. Davis was interested in activities relating to his religious faith, however, and he preached his first sermon at Bethel Community Baptist Church in May 1930. Later he was ordained, and in 1932 became Bethel's pastor. This book is not only an autobiography and the story of Davis's ministry, it is a history of the black struggle for economic and political rights in the Tampa Bay area. Mr. Davis was one of the leaders in that struggle, and through his efforts the working and living conditions of blacks have been improved and white-black relations have been eased. Himself the son of a slave, the Reverend Mr. Davis notes how much the South has changed in the last two decades. Blacks, he points out, can now "eat with, ride with and study with those of other colors without fear of being lynched, mobbed or otherwise molested." *On the Bethel Trail* was published by Valkyrie Press, St. Petersburg, and it sells for \$4.95.

Florida In Pictures (Visual Geography Series), by George S. Fichter, is a collection of approximately 100 candid photographs describing the communities, economy, government, and history

of Florida. Published by Sterling Publishing Company, New York, the hardback edition sells for \$4.95, the paperback, \$2.50.

John Forbes' Description of the Spanish Florida, 1804 was edited by Dr. William S. Coker of the University of West Florida. Dr. Coker, who is director of the project that is collecting all of the pertinent manuscript material relating to Panton, Leslie & Co. and John Forbes and Company, has written a lengthy introduction which provides valuable background information on this area of Florida and this period of history. Coker points out that on a visit to Washington in the spring of 1804, after the purchase of Louisiana by the United States, John Forbes discussed with the Marques de Casa Irujo, the Spanish ambassador, a number of general matters relating to West Florida and specifically to his own business operations. Casa Irujo asked for a description of Florida, and the document which Dr. Coker has edited is what Forbes produced for the ambassador. The manuscript includes three parts: physical description, trade policies, and recommendations for a new governmental setup for West Florida. Forbes believed that if his recommendations were put into operation, West Florida could become one of the most prosperous agriculture and commercial settlements in Spain's American empire. The document was first written in English, and was then translated and dispatched to Spain. The original manuscript and the map which accompanied it have never been found. However, a new map, based upon Forbes's description, has been prepared by Jerome F. Coling, and it is included in this publication. The index was compiled by Polly Coker. *John Forbes' Description* was published by Perdido Bay Press (Rt. 2, Box 323), Pensacola; it sells for \$4.50.

Ruth Bryan Owen Rhode, daughter of former Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan, was a nurse during World War I, member of the faculty of the University of Miami, and the first woman to represent Florida in the Congress. She also became the first American woman to become a minister to a foreign country. President Franklin Roosevelt nominated her in 1933 as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Denmark, and she was unanimously confirmed by the senate. There is a brief sketch of Mrs. Rhode in *Women in American Foreign Affairs*

by Homer L. Calkin, published by the United States Department of State (1977).

Foreign Enterprise in Florida, The Impact of Non-U.S. Direct Investment is by Mira Wilkins, professor of economics at Florida International University. Based on public and private published and unpublished data, it describes the activities and interests of foreign firms in Florida. It was published by the University Presses of Florida, Gainesville, and it sells for \$15.00.

Everyone who sailed or was interested in boats in the area agreed that the establishment of the "Lauderdale Yacht Club was Inevitable." Organized in 1938, it helped to meet the recreational and sporting needs of the citizens of a community whose history since Indian Days has been associated with the water. Sailing and racing are primary activities of the club, but the social proclivities of its members have never been neglected. For the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary, it was agreed that a history of the Yacht Club was needed, and Fort Lauderdale's special historian was tapped to take on this responsibility. August Burgard, author of a number of books which help record the history of Fort Lauderdale, is the author of the *History of Lauderdale Yacht Club, 1938-1978*.

Key West, by Burt Hirschfeld, is a novel of intrigue and romance with the Florida Keys serving as a backdrop for the action. Published by William Morrow and Company, New York, it sells for \$9.95.

John of the Mountains, The Unpublished Journals of John Muir is a paperback reprint of a long-out-of-print volume. It was published by the University of Wisconsin Press of Madison, Wisconsin. Muir carried notebooks with him as he explored the wilderness areas of America, and he set down his impressions of what he saw and did. One section of his journal deals with the Southeast and the journey that he made into Florida in 1898. He visited St. Augustine, Miami, Key West, and Palatka. Muir had come to Florida once before, in 1867, and he worked in a sawmill at Cedar Key. On his later visit he sought out the lady, now living in Archer, Florida, who had nursed him through

a near fatal attack of malarial fever. She remembered him as "the finest, handsomest young man one could hope to see." This paperback sells for \$6.95.

Schooling for the New Slavery: Black Industrial Education, 1865-1950 is by Donald Spivey and is in Greenwood Press's Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies series. The slaves were legally free after the Civil War, but yet they remained in bondage because of the economic conditions that enmeshed them. In the rural areas the tenant system locked them in, and in the cities they became industrial chattels. Black intellectuals like W. E. B. DuBois and William Monroe Trotter opposed industrial schooling because they believed that it would deter black progress and indefinitely postpone equality. Many blacks, and a majority of America's white community, believed that vocational education was not only practical but necessary for whites and blacks alike. The Hampton Institute in Virginia, and later the Tuskegee Institute under Booker T. Washington, became prototypes for southern industrial schooling. Their curricula became models for the Negro Normal School, later Florida A. & M. University, established in Tallahassee in 1887. Railroad construction, mining, and cotton seed oil manufacturing were some of the industries that needed black labor, and these schools were supposed to help meet the demands. Blacks thus provided the basis for the South's economy both before and after the Civil War. Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, published this volume which sells for \$14.95.

The Cherokees, A Critical Bibliography, by Raymond D. Fogelson, is in the bibliographical series published by the Newberry Library Center of the History of the American Indian. Dr. Francis Jennings serves as general editor for the series. The Cherokees have been one of the most extensively studied of the North American tribes, and the literature concerning them is vast. During the colonial period and at the time of the American Revolution, the Cherokees played a critical role on the southern frontier. Although they became a "Civilized Tribe," they were forced to leave their traditional homes and traverse the Trail of Tears to the West. The index lists 347 items, including books and articles, several of which are pertinent to the Florida

frontier. Published by Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana, this paperback volume sells for \$4.95.

Museums in Motion, An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums, by Edward T. Alexander, was published by the American Association for State and Local History, Nashville. It is one of a series of informative books aimed at helping local, state, and regional historical agencies and museums in developing and interpreting their resources. *Museums in Motion* traces the rise of art, natural sciences, technological, historical, botanical, and zoological museums since the eighteenth century. The traditional role of museums as collector, conservator, and researcher is examined, and the function of modern exhibition, interpretation, and service to communities is defined. While Florida museums are not listed, several, including the Florida State Museum at the University of Florida, may have been used as examples of museums which provide a variety of services to the community. This volume sells for \$12.95. The price for AASLH members is \$9.75.

Funding Sources and Technical Assistance for Museums and Historical Agencies was compiled by Hedey Hartman as a guide to public programs. It is another of the important volumes being published by the American Association for State and Local History, Nashville, Tennessee. The objectives of each granting agency are listed, along with pertinent information on the type of assistance, uses and use restrictions, eligibility, assistance considerations, and range and average amounts of available financial assistance. There is also the name, address, and telephone number of each agency. All entries are preceded by a symbol in the margin to facilitate the use of the listing; H is the entry applying to history organizations and museums. This handy, well-organized guide sells for \$10.00. The price is \$7.50 to AASLH members.

Have We Overcome? Race Relations Since Brown is the collection of papers presented at the 1978 Chancellors Symposium on Southern History at the University of Mississippi. It includes essays by C. Eric Lincoln, Vincent Harding, Henry M. Levin, William E. Leuchtenburg, Robert W. Wiebe, Morton J. Hor-

witz, and Lerone Bennett, Jr. The volume was edited by Michael V. Namorato. The price is \$7.95 for the paperback edition. The University Press of Mississippi, Jackson, is the publisher.

The Life and Adventures of Daniel Boone by Michael A. Lofaro is one of the volumes published by the University Press of Kentucky for its Kentucky Bicentennial Bookshelf series. While not a lengthy book, as is true of all in this series, it is based upon primary sources, including the material in the Draper Manuscript Collection in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. It is from these documents that we learn of Boone's interest in Florida and his visit in 1765. Together with his brother Squire and their brother-in-law John Stuart, Boone explored East Florida and sailed the St. Johns. He encountered a Seminole Indian camp and gave an Indian girl a small shaving-glass. Daniel was so intrigued with Pensacola that he purchased a house and town lot there, but his wife was adamant about living in Florida, and the family moved West instead, *The Life and Adventures of Daniel Boone* sells for \$4.95.

Heroes of Tennessee was edited by Billy M. Jones and was published by Memphis State University Press, Memphis, Tennessee. Two of the essays, "Daniel Boone" by Emmett Essin and "Andrew Jackson" by Robert V. Remini, have a special interest for Florida readers because of their connections with this state. Other well-known personalities represented in this volume are John Sevier, Nancy Ward, Sequoyah, David Crockett, Nathan Bedford Forrest, Sam Davis, Casey Jones, Alvin C. York, and Tom Lee. The essays have been written by historians who are prominent in the study and writing of Tennessee history. The price for this volume is \$10.95.

HISTORY NEWS

Announcements and Activities

Recent news items noting the discovery of the sixteenth-century site of Santa Elena on the South Carolina coast and an archeological site near Williamsburg, Virginia, dating to the seventeenth century, have provoked interest in St. Augustine where historians and archeologists continue digging into one of the earliest chapters of American history. St. Augustine was founded in 1565, forty-two years before the English settlement at Jamestown. Archeological investigations into the early occupation of St. Augustine have been supervised by Dr. Kathleen Deagan, Florida State University, for the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board for the past three years, with funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the St. Augustine Restoration Foundation.

The plan and boundaries of St. Augustine have been located and confirmed, several sixteenth-century wells have been excavated, and much has been learned about the diet, activities, and material objects of the early settlers. Dr. Michael C. Scardaville, Preservation Board historian, notes that the original town plan laid out in the late sixteenth-century by Spanish Governor Goncalco Canço is still generally intact. Copies of baptism, marriage, and burial records dating from 1594, some of the earliest documents prepared on American soil, have enabled historians to reconstruct population characteristics of the early settlement. Dr. William R. Adams is director of the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, and Dr. Michael Gannon, University of Florida, is chairman of its advisory board.

The Florida Legislature appropriated \$800,000 to the Historical Museum, Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami, for the fabrication and installation of exhibits when its new museum facilities open in June 1981, in the Dade County Cultural Complex on West Flagler Street. The Historical Museum is being constructed at a cost of \$2,750,000. Upon comple-

tion it will take its place as one of the major history museums in the Southeast. A grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities supported planning and design of the exhibits which will interpret the history of the events and people of South Florida.

The Historical Association of Southern Florida and the Florida Department of Natural Resources sponsored the official opening of The Barnacle as a state historic site on July 1, 1979. This historic homestead in Coconut Grove, which has been completely restored, was built by Commodore Ralph M. Munroe in 1891. Arva Moore Parks, former director of the Florida Historical Society and author of *The Forgotten Frontier Florida Through The Lens Of Ralph Middleton Munroe* (Banyan Books, Inc., 1977) served as a consultant on the restoration. Patty Munroe Catlow, the Commodore's daughter, and Mary Munroe, his daughter-in-law, were also special consultants for the project.

The 1980 Georgia Studies Symposium will meet February 15 at the Urban Life Building, Georgia State University, Atlanta, and on February 16 at the Georgia State Department of Archives and History, Atlanta. For information write, Gary Fink, Department of History, Georgia State University, Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

The U. S. Army Military Institute, Carlisle Barricks, Pennsylvania, sponsors an "Advanced Research Program in Military History" as a means of stimulating research and study at the army's major repository for historical materials. Awards cover expenses while conducting research and writing. Both civilian and military scholars in the field of military history may apply to the Director of the Institute. Applications must be returned by January 1, 1980.

SEVENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTY-SEVENTH
MEETING OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1979

PROGRAM

Thursday, May 3

MEETING OF THE OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS

Downtown Holiday Inn

West Palm Beach

Friday, May 4

Registration: Downtown Holiday Inn, 8:00 A.M.

Morning Session-

Immigration and Community Building in Florida

Welcome: Judge James R. Knott, West Palm Beach

Chairman: José B. Fernandez, *University of Colorado*

“Historical Origins of Melbourne Village”

Richard C. Crepeau, *University of Central Florida*

“Slavia”

Paul W. Wehr, *University of Central Florida*

“New Upsala and Florida Swedish Settlers”

Bettye D. Smith, *Seminole Community College*

Commentator: Gary Mormino, *University of South Florida*

Afternoon Session - *The Palm Beach Area in History*

Chairman: Judge James R. Knott, West Palm Beach

“German Prisoners-of-War”

Robert D. Billinger, *Palm Beach Atlantic College*

“Changing Styles on Worth Avenue: New Elements and Old Palm Beach”

Katanga von Heitman, *Jupiter, Florida*

“Boom and Bust in Palm Beach County”

Donald Curl, *Florida Atlantic University*

Commentator: Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., *University of Florida*

Reception at Whitehall, the Henry Morrison Flagler Museum

Flagler film, Flagler Room

Downtown Holiday Inn

Saturday, May 5

Morning Session-

The Practice of Medicine in Nineteenth-Century Florida

Chairman: John Hebron Moore, *Florida State University*

“History of Dade County Medicine”

William Straight, *Miami, Florida*

“Folk Medicine in Northwest Florida”

Mark Barrows, *Gainesville, Florida*

Commentator: E. Ashby Hammond, *University of Florida*

Luncheon and Business Meeting

Flagler Room

12:15 P.M.

Invocation: Dr. Harold Faust

United Presbyterian Church

Presiding: Dr. Jerrell Shofner, president

The Florida Historical Society

Reception, Paul Maddock estate, Palm Beach

2:30 P.M.

Reception and Annual Banquet
6:30 P.M.

Invocation: Dr. Roger Green
Palm Beach Atlantic College

Presiding: Dr. Jerrell Shofner, president
The Florida Historical Society

Presentation of Awards

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History
Presented by Samuel Proctor to Jerrell Shofner

Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award
Presented by E. Ashby Hammond to Robert Hemenway

Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award
Presented by Thelma Peters to George E. Gifford, Jr.

American Association for State and Local History Awards
Presented by Linda V. Ellsworth, to

Jack D. L. Holmes, *University of Alabama, Birmingham*
Arva Moore Parks, *Coral Gables*

Speaker: Dr. Trevor Colbourn, president
University of Central Florida
Address: "The Value of History"

MINUTES OF THE BOARD MEETING

President Jerrell Shofner called the meeting of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society to order at 8:35 p.m. on Thursday, May 3, 1979, at the Holiday Inn, West Palm Beach, Florida. Present were Jay Dobkin, Nancy Dobson, Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., Linda V. Ellsworth, Sue Goldman, E. A. Hammond, Marcia Kanner, Hayes Kennedy, Wright Langley, Christian LaRoche, John Mahon, Janet Snyder Matthews, Thomas Mickler, Vernon Peeples, Thelma Peters, Olive Peterson, O. C. Peterson, Samuel Proctor, and J. Leitch Wright, Jr. Margaret Burgess of the Society staff and Dr. Thomas Greenhaw, editor of the Society's *Newsletter*, were also present. W. Robert Williams and Peter D. Klingman were absent.

Dr. Hammond made a motion, which Dr. Proctor seconded, that the minutes of the board meeting held in the Society's library at the University of South Florida on December 9, 1978, as published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LVII (April 1979), be approved. The motion carried.

Jay Dobkin, executive secretary, gave the financial report covering the period March 31, 1978-March 31, 1979. The \$2,300 increase in assets resulted from the sale of Pennzoil stock to the parent company and an increase in the number of family memberships. Sales of the *Quarterly* index are slow, and demand for back issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* have declined in comparison to the previous fiscal year. The board requested that all future financial reports include the value of the inventory of *Florida Historical Quarterlies*. Mr. Dobkin reported that inflation continues to affect the Society's budget in rising postage and other costs. Declining membership will also affect income. The value of the several endowments have increased.

Mr. Dobkin also reported on the status of the Society's library which is housed in the Special Collection Library, University of South Florida. During the past year, there were a number of gift books and pamphlets; contributions were made to the Father Jerome Book Acquisition Fund; and sixty-one books and thirty-four back issues of periodicals were purchased (see the attached list). Ms. Vertie Knapp recently completed a directed study project on the Society's archival collection. All significant material was filed and duplicates were put in storage. Dr. Proctor made a motion, which Mr. Mickler seconded, that the duplicate archival materials be offered to the research libraries in Florida for addition to their collections. The board approved, and Mr. Dobkin was asked to compile a list for circulation. Mr. Dobkin also noted that researchers and scholars are using the Society's manuscript files and its other holdings on a continuing basis.

The operation of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, according to Dr. Proctor's report, is continuing satisfactorily. The journal needs articles, particularly those dealing with Florida in the twentieth century and with women and minorities. He also encouraged submission of photographs for the *Quarterly* cover. Dr. Proctor announced the decisions by the committee judges for this year's literary prizes which will be presented at the banquet: The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award for the best book on

Florida History to Dr. Robert Hemenway of the University of Kentucky for *Zora Neal Hurston: A Literary Biography*; the Charlton Tebeau Junior Book Award to Dr. George Gifford, Jr., for *Dear Jeffie*; and the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History to Jerrell H. Shofner for his article, "Florida and the Black Migration," which appeared in the January 1979 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

Dr. Thomas Greenhaw, editor of the *Florida History Newsletter*, announced that the *Newsletter* will be expanded into an eight-page publication, and that it will be issued four times annually (March, June, September, and December). Each March issue will include material pertinent to the annual meeting and the site of the convention. There will also be news of local, county, and regional historical societies and agencies. He also plans to publish a few short articles.

The official name of the Confederation came up for discussion. The Executive Committee of the Confederation recommended that the name be changed from the Florida Confederation of Historical Societies, Museums, and Agencies to the less cumbersome title of the Florida Historical Confederation. After considerable discussion, Mr. Greenhaw made the motion, seconded by Mrs. LaRoche, that the name change be accepted. The board approved.

Mrs. Dobson, chair, reported on behalf of the nominating committee, which was comprised of Marcia Kanner, William Goza, William Adams, and George Pearce. Mrs. Dobson made the motion, seconded by Mrs. Kanner, that the committee report be approved and presented to the membership at the business luncheon. The board voted in agreement. The nominating committee which will report to the board and the membership in May 1980, will be composed of Marcia Kanner, Coral Gables; Milton Jones, Clearwater; Janet Snyder Matthews, Sarasota; Helen Ellerbe, Gainesville; and Dena Snodgrass, Jacksonville.

Ms. Kanner reported on the progress of the inventory of artifacts, art and art objects, maps, memorabilia, and other items belonging to the Society. She and Linda Ellsworth have checked through all back issues of the *Quarterly* for references to gifts and donations over the years and have indexed all pertinent information. Ms. Kanner recommended that Mrs. Burgess and Mr. Dobkin check through the list for all items that are part of the

collection in the Society library or are known to be on loan to other agencies, including museums, libraries, and historical societies. She further recommended that at the December 1979 board meeting that the directors receive a list of artifacts that cannot be located. Ms. Kanner and Ms. Ellsworth expressed their appreciation to Mrs. Burgess and to Mr. Dobkin for their assistance with the inventory. Dr. Proctor made the motion, seconded by Mrs. Peterson, that the committee be given a vote of appreciation. This was passed unanimously by the board.

Wright Langley gave a progress report on two subjects discussed at the December (1978) board of directors meeting: a Society logo and the development of portable exhibits. The board agreed that a letter should be sent to Secretary of State George Firestone indicating the Society's interest in working cooperatively with the Secretary's staff in developing portable exhibits. Secretary Firestone has already shown his strong interest in developing exhibits dealing with various aspects of Florida history that can be moved around the state. Dr. Shofner showed several examples of logos developed by a class at the University of Central Florida, and the board discussed the logo that has been created by Ms. Marty Grafton of Miami. The board proposed a study committee, to include Wright Langley and Ms. Grafton, to present a logo design proposal to the board at its mid-winter meeting.

Membership for 1978-1979 showed a decline according to Dr. Wright, membership chairman. The totals dropped from 1,715 to 1,650. This figure does not reflect the number of family memberships taken out during the past year. Since April 1978, 140 new members have been added, forty members have been reinstated, and 245 members have been dropped. Dr. Shofner announced that 103 letters containing membership brochures were mailed and about 600 brochures were sent to Pensacola for mailing in that area. The results from these efforts have not yet been ascertained. If these efforts are successful, they will be tried on a state-wide basis.

The 1980 annual meeting will be held in Winter Park, Florida, at the Langford Hotel, May 2-3. Dr. Glenn Westfall of Tampa and Dr. Thomas Graham of St. Augustine have been appointed by the president as program co-chairmen. Dr. Paul Wehr and Joan Yothers of Orlando will be in charge of local arrangements. Dr. Shofner thanked all of the directors whose

terms are expiring at this meeting for their help and support. He also expressed his appreciation to all of the officers and the board for their cooperation during the previous year.

The meeting was adjourned at 10:15 p.m.

Minutes of the Business Meeting

President Jerrell Shofner called the annual business meeting of the Florida Historical Society to order on Saturday, May 4, 1979, at 1:15 p.m. at the Holiday Inn in West Palm Beach, Florida. Past presidents of the Society who were present included Judge James J. Knott, Dr. Charles T. Thrift, Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., Dr. Thelma Peters, and Milton Jones. All were introduced.

Jay Dobkin, executive secretary, gave a brief report and analysis of the Society's financial status, and that report is appended. As librarian for the Society's collection of Floridiana, he noted that books and periodicals have been added during the past year. Many came as gifts, and others were purchased from income from The Father Jerome Book Acquisition Fund.

In his report as editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Dr. Samuel Proctor urged the membership to increase its activities in researching and writing local and state history relating to Florida. He also asked for appropriate photographs that could be used to illustrate the journal's cover. Dr. Proctor expressed his thanks to his graduate assistant, Donna Thomas; to the editorial committee, Michael V. Gannon, Herbert Doherty, Jr., John Mahon, Jerrell Shofner, Charlton Tebeau, and J. Leitch Wright, Jr.; to Joan Morris of the State Photographic Archives; to Elizabeth Alexander and the staff of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida; and to Jay Dobkin and Margaret Burgess and the Florida Historical Society for their assistance during the past year. He also recognized the able assistance and cooperation of the E. O. Painter Printing Company of DeLeon Springs, Florida, and especially Dick Johnston, in getting the *Quarterly* printed and distributed, always in the month indicated on the cover of the journal. Dr. Proctor expressed special thanks on behalf of the Society to the Wentworth Foundation, Inc., and to William Goza for continued and generous support of the *Quarterly*. The Wentworth Foundation has given \$1,000 to the Society for the support of the *Quarterly*.

Dr. Glenn Westfall, Hillsborough County Community College, and Dr. Thomas Graham, Flagler College, have been appointed co-chairmen of program planning for the convention to be held in Winter Park on May 2-3, 1980. They issued an invitation for topics for possible papers to be submitted as soon as possible. They indicated special interest in papers dealing with industry in Florida; tourism, including the image of Florida from the point-of-view of American and foreign visitors; preservation; and religion. Jean Yothers of Orlando issued an invitation to Society members to attend the 1980 meeting which will be held at the Langford Hotel in Winter Park. Ms. Yothers and Dr. Paul Wehr of the University of Central Florida are in charge of local arrangements.

Nancy Dobson reported on behalf of her nominating committee, which included Marcia Kanner, Dr. George F. Pearce, Dr. William Adams, and William Goza. They recommended the following slate of directors to the membership: District 1, Dr. Lucius F. Ellsworth of Pensacola, to fill the position being vacated by Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Jr.; District 3, Dr. Paul S. George of Miami, to replace Marcia Kanner; District 4, Dr. Paul Wehr of Orlando, to replace Dr. Peter Klingman, Jr.; At-Large, Dr. Thomas S. Graham of St. Augustine, to replace W. Robert Williams. There were no nominations from the floor, and the membership unanimously approved the slate recommended by the nominating committee.

Judge James J. Knott, chairman of the resolutions committee, presented the following resolutions which were unanimously approved by the membership:

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society deeply regrets the loss by death of the following members of the Society during the past year and expresses its condolences to members of the family:

Dr. Carita Doggett Corse, Jacksonville
Dr. Charles J. Kolinski, Boca Raton
Mrs. Jessie Porter Newton, Key West
Fred B. Noble, Jacksonville
J. Hardin Peterson, Lakeland
Herbert S. Sawyer, Miami

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Society expresses its sincere appreciation for the work of Dr. Jerry Weeks, members of the local arrangements committee, host organizations, and all those assisting in registration and other necessary business needed for arranging this successful annual meeting.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Society is most grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Paul L. Maddock for their hospitality in opening their home and gardens so that members of the Society could visit them on Saturday afternoon.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Society expresses its appreciation to the Glades Historical Society for providing the beautiful flowers for the banquet.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society approves and endorses the creation and program of the Palm Beach Landmarks Preservation Commission, and especially welcomes the inclusion of Mar-A-Lago, which heretofore has been designated as a National Historic Landmark, on the list of places to be recommended for preservation by the Commission.

The following awards, it was announced, will be presented at the banquet:

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize for 1978-1979 to Dr. Jerrell H. Shofner for his article, "Florida and the Black Migration," which appeared in the January 1979 number of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The awards committee included Arva Moore Parks, Coral Gables; Dr. George Pearce, University of West Florida; and Dr. Thomas Graham, Flagler College.

Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award to Dr. Robert Hemenway, University of Kentucky, for *Zora Neale Hurston, A Literary Biography* (University of Illinois Press). Judges were Dr. John Hebron Moore, Florida State University; Dr. David Colburn, University of Florida; and Dr. Edward C. Williamson, Auburn University.

Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award to Dr. George E. Gifford, Jr., for his book *Dear Jeffie* (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology). The judges were Marcia Kanner, Coral Gables; Marinus Latour, University of Florida; and Nancy Dobson, Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board.

The following American Association for State and Local History awards will also be presented at the banquet: Award of Merit to Dr. Jack D. L. Holmes, University of Alabama, Birmingham, and a Certificate of Commendation to Arva Moore Parks, Coral Gables.

Dr. Shofner announced the plans for the afternoon house tour in Palm Beach. The banquet will be held at the Holiday Inn at 6:30 p.m. Dr. Trevor Colbourn, president of the University of Central Florida in Orlando, will be the banquet speaker.

The meeting was then adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,
Linda V. Ellsworth
Recording Secretary

GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY

Donations were made to The Father Jerome Book Fund by Mrs. John DuBois. The Wentworth Foundation, Inc. made a contribution of \$1,000 to the support of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

There were gifts of books from Josephine Cortez (*The Goffs of Southwest Florida*, Report of Proceedings of the Goff Family Reunion 1978); Jay B. Dobkin (*Hopi Katcinas-Iroquoian Cosmology - 21st Annual Report of Bureau of American Ethnology*); Bessie W. DuBois (*A History of Juno Beach and Juno Florida*); Marian Godown (*RA-OO and the Porpoise, Rosie the Oldest Horse in St. Augustine*, and *Florida County Commissioners Manual - 1975*); Joe B. McBrien (*The Tennessee Brigade*); Mayor Herman Padillo, San Juan, P.R. (*Actas Del Cabildo De San Juan Bautista De Puerto Rico 1817-1819 and 1820-1821*); Samuel Proctor (*Cardinales De Dos Independencias*); Sarasota Historical Society (*The Bidwell-Wood House Around Which Sarasota*

Grew); Robert Schleppe (*Descendants of Hans Ulrich Schleppe*); Charlton W. Tebeau (*University of Miami; A Golden Anniversary History*); University of Illinois Press (*Zora Neale Hurston; A Literary Biography*); anonymous (*A Guide to Florida Plants, The Florida Experience, Land and Water Policy in a Growth State, Annual Report of the Florida Attorney General, 1977*); and the Presses of Florida University (Four titles from the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series).

The Indiana Historical Society presented a pamphlet, *Runnymede Lodge in Osceola County Florida*; Marjorie Patterson gave several Fort Lauderdale history pamphlets; and Brian Michaels gave a Beck and Pauli Print of Palatka, Florida. Thirty-six early issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and six back issues of other periodicals were also received as gifts.

NEW MEMBERS

1978-1979

- R. O. Adams, Fort Walton Beach
 Robert J. Allison, Clearwater
 Mrs. William F. Allison, Ozona
 Walter E. Aye, Tampa
 *Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Barber, Astor
 *Leander R. and Hilda Battle, Kathleen
 David S. Bearl, Tallahassee
 William B. Bell, Augusta, GA
 John T. Berteau, Sarasota
 Lt. R. L. Blazeovic, USN Ret., Key West
 *Ms. 'Lyn and Mr. Bert Wagnon, Panama City
 Elizabeth S. Bolge, Fort Lauderdale
 Mrs. K. W. Bremmer, Orlando
 Daphne M. Brownell, DeLand
 **Mrs. William R. Bullard, Jr., South Dartmouth, MA
 John A. Chamblin, Sr., Jacksonville
 Barbara Coulson, Ocala
 David F. Crawford, Orlando
 Standish L. Crews, Vero Beach
 Hannah D'Allessandro, West Palm Beach
 *Dr. and Mrs. George M. Dame, St. Petersburg
 William C. Davis, Jr., Pinellas Park
 Reed M. Dearing, Jr., Orange Park
 Rebecca Dewar, Largo
 Mrs. Forrest M. Divine, Pensacola
 Anne C. Dudley, Gulf Breeze
 Jane Dysart, Pensacola
 David E. Edmunds, Clearwater
 Mrs. David E. Edmunds, Clearwater
 Kenneth O. Ekelund, Jr., Jacksonville
 Frank H. Fee, III, Fort Pierce
 William G. Ferris, Orange City
 Eugene Flemm, Douglas, GA
 Claire France, Mayo

- Tom Gaskins, Palmdale
 Barbara J. Glowaski, Clearwater
 LaFay E. Gowan, Birmingham, AL
 Gregory Greek, McAlpin
 Roger F. Greenslade, Tarpon Springs
 Mrs. Oscar M. Griffith, Bradenton
 Mrs. Frank Hagel, Fort Pierce
 Stephen L. Hall, Orlando
 Gladys Faye Nye Hancock, Winter Park
 Jeanne P. Harman, Valdosta, GA
 Philip E. Hatch, Tampa
 O. E. Hawkins, Apopka
 E. A. Hendrickson, Clearwater
 R. L. Higginbotham, Lakeland
 Dr. Donald P. Humphrey, Plant City
 Dr. Robert L. Hunter, Davis, CA
 Jack V. Hurst, Gainesville
 William Mackey Ives, Manchester, MI
 Carolyn M. Jensen, Port Richey
 Sandrs L. Johnson, Gulf Breeze
 James Jones, Belleair
 Richard Jones, Ormond Beach
 Mrs. George Judge, Palm Beach Gardens
 Robert A. Kaekel, Holmes Beach
 Marge Kennedy, Winter Haven
 **R. Joseph Kennelly, Lakeland
 Colonel Robert J. Knight, Clearwater
 Dan Kraska, Tallahassee
 F. W. Kressman, Jr., Cross City
 Dr. Gloria Kuchinskas, Tallahassee
 Mrs. C. W. Lacy, Bradenton
 *Mr. and Mrs. Duncan Lamont, Jupiter
 David B. Land, Carlisle
 Margaret Anne Lane, Tallahassee
 Mrs. J. Edward McIlwain, Temple Terrace
 John L. McMullen, Clearwater
 Iain McWilliam, Miami
 Raymer F. Maguire, Jr., Orlando
 Alberto Martínez-Ramos, Miami
 Gilbert P. Mathis, Pinetta
 Gladys Max, Melbourne
 *Mr. and Mrs. David Mitchell, New Port Richey
 Mrs. Charles H. Montague, North Miami
 Carl Moulin, Port Charlotte
 Dorothy Mozley, Winter Park
 Mrs. Wallace Pack, Fort Myers
 Grace E. Patterson, Westminster, CA
 Jeffrey Peters, North Miami
 Paula Remencus, Ocala
 Lucille R. Rights, Fort Pierce
 Mrs. H. E. Robinson, Jr., Boca Raton
 Alfred H. Robson, Palm Beach
 R. Neil Scott, Richton, MS
 Bernard Shaine, Hallandale
 Mrs. Carl A. Sims, Madison
 William D. Slicker, St. Petersburg
 Ms. Sanford I. Smith, Margate
 John G. Stanley, Jacksonville
 *Mr. and Mrs. Peter J. Stelmat, Belleair

Arthur W. Steinman, DeLand
 Mary Ann Tabbron, Bushnell
 *Mr. and Mrs. Robert Taylor, West Palm Beach
 Tom Tobin, Winter Springs
 *Mr. and Mrs. Joseph I. Triplett, III, Orange Park
 Elizabeth Van Loan, Bradenton
 Loretta I. Van Winkle, Dade City
 Marvin Vorderburg, Sarasota
 Howard Wacks, North Miami
 Thomas R. Wagy, Tallahassee
 A. K. Whitakaker, Bradenton
 Mary Whitfield, Perry
 *Mr. and Mrs. George Wilhoit, Jr., Fort Myers
 Kathryn H. Wilkinson, Pensacola
 **Mrs. Angus Williams, Jr., Tampa
 *Lt. Colonel and Mrs. Victor Winebrenner (Ret.), Orlando
 Dr. Kathy Kirry, Fort Pierce
 L. Richard Zerkle, Orlando

Useppa Island Club, Captiva Island

Libraries

Alva Garden Club, Alva
 Broward Community College, North Campus, Pompano Beach
 Broward Community College, South Campus, Pembroke Pines
 Catharine Young Library, Margate
 Florida International University at North Miami, North Miami
 Highland Oaks Junior High School, North Miami Beach
 Hudson Branch Library, Hudson
 Land O'Lakes Library, Land O'Lakes
 Lindsey Hopkins Education Center, Miami
 Lyman High School, Longwood
 Maynard Evans High School, Orlando
 Miami Northwestern Senior High School, Miami
 Miccosukee Community College, Miami
 National Park Service Library, Denver, CO
 Robinson High School Library, Tampa
 Seminole Community College, Sanford
 Southside Branch Library, Jacksonville
 West Florida Regional Library, Pensacola
 Westminster Christian School, Miami

Historical Societies

Beaches Area Historical Society, Jacksonville Beach
 Cape Coral Historical Society, Cape Coral
 Delray Beach Historical Society, Delray Beach
 Downtown Beautification Project, Bradenton
 Manatee County Historical Commission, Bradenton
 Plantation Historical Society, Inc., Plantation
 South Brevard Historical Society, Melbourne
 Tampa Historical Society, Tampa

*Family membership

**Fellow membership

TREASURER'S REPORT

April 1, 1978-March 31, 1979

Net Worth, March 31, 1979		\$62,537.03
Current Assets:		
University State Bank (Tampa)		
checking	\$ 2,522.30	
University of South Florida		
account 91802	76.19	
First Federal Savings & Loan Assn.		
(Gainesville)	19,063.85	
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan Assn.		
(Gainesville)	3,239.07	
Tampa Federal Savings & Loan Assn. ...	4,085.58	
University State Bank (Tampa)	2,312.24	
Freedom Federal Savings & Loan Assn.		
(Tampa)	8,914.13	
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan Assn.		
(Gainesville)	22,197.67	
Middle South Utilities (six shares) ...	126.00	\$62,537.03
Receipts:		
Memberships:		
Annual	\$ 9,087.50	
Fellow	840.00	
Historical Societies	530.00	
Contributing	450.00	
Libraries	3,845.00	
Family	1,140.00	\$15,892.50
Contributions:		
Wentworth Foundation, Inc.	\$ 1,000.00	
Jerome Book Fund	25.00	\$ 1,025.00
Other Receipts:		
Quarterly Sales	\$ 790.00	
Labels	30.00	
Duplicating	161.95	
Postage	41.78	
Annual Meeting	2,686.50	
Interest:		
First Federal	\$ 939.51	
Guaranty Federal	165.85	
Tampa Federal	208.62	
Freedom Federal	455.89	
University State Bank	114.27	
Transfer of funds to checking:		
Main	\$ 1,000.00	
Jerome Book Fund	205.00	
Thompson Award	100.00	
Tebeau Award	100.00	\$ 6,999.37
Julian C. Yonge Publication Fund:		
Guaranty Federal interest	\$ 1,084.49	
Royalties (Aristocrat in Uniform)	45.21	
Middle South dividend	8.76	
Pennzoil dividend	37.20	
*Pennzoil sale of shares	1,020.00	
Reprinting <i>FHQ</i> articles	125.00	\$ 2,320.66
Disbursements:		
Florida Historical Quarterly		
Printing and mailing	\$13,145.31	

Mailer labels	168.94	
Copyrights	64.00	
University of Florida Teaching Resources Center (photographs)	45.05	
Editor's expenses	1,000.00	
Stationary and envelopes	45.35	
P. O. box rent, Gainesville	22.00	\$14,490.65
Annual Convention:		
Programs, meal tickets	\$ 389.66	
Motel	314.33	
Bus, flowers, records	265.58	
Lunch	389.65	
Banquet	1,152.00	
Executive secretary expenses	82.00	
Speaker's expenses	220.00	
Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize	100.00	
Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Award	100.00	
Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Award ...	100.00	\$ 3,113.22
Other Expenses:		
<i>Florida Historical Society Newsletter</i> . . .	\$ 33.69	
President's expense account	26.76	
Duplicating	155.00	
Postage	943.93	
Executive secretary's office expenses . .	2,382.63	
Jerome Book Fund	205.00	
Book purchases for library	736.32	
Corporate Tax	10.00	
Binding (serials)	353.81	
C.P.A. (preparing income tax)	45.00	
Checkbook expense (service charge) . .	14.20	\$ 4,906.34
Transfer of funds:		
Extra to Main	\$ 1,000.00	
Tebeau to checking	100.00	
Thompson to checking	100.00	
Jerome to checking	205.00	\$ 1,405.00
*Pennzoil closeout	200.00	\$ 200.00
		\$24,115.21
Net Income		2,122.32
Balance, March 31, 1979		\$62,537.03

*Pennzoil notified the Executive Secretary in October 1978, that the company was redeeming all outstanding shares of cumulative preference stock at \$1.33 1/3 and \$4.00, the type held by F.H.S.

Book value \$200.00; received, \$1,020.00.

WORKSHOP

1979

FLORIDA CONFEDERATION OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

WEDNESDAY

MAY 2

REGISTRATION AND RECEPTION
 CONFEDERATION HOSPITALITY SUITE
 DOWNTOWN HOLIDAY INN
 WEST PALM BEACH

THURSDAY

MAY 3

Morning Session- "Taping Florida's Past: The Nuts and
 Bolts of Oral History"

Samuel Proctor, Editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*

Afternoon Session- "Togetherness in Historical Pursuits"

Bob Harris and participating Confederation members

Evening Session- "James L. Glenn's Work with the Seminoles,
 1924-1936"

Narrator: Marjorie Patterson, executive director of
 Fort Lauderdale Historical Society

(This is a slide-tape presentation produced by Harry Kersey,
Florida Atlantic University)

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF
 THE FLORIDA CONFEDERATION OF
 HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING

May 4, 1979

The Executive Board, meeting at luncheon, reelected Dr. Robert Harris of Largo as chairman for another year. It was agreed that the Confederation should have a logo for identification purposes and that members will have an opportunity to present their ideas or designs. A contest will be advertised in the *Florida History Newsletter* for any member institution to submit

a design to the board through Dr. Harris. The board of directors of the Florida Historical Society will make the final selection.

Plans for two workshops to be held in the next few months were discussed. An oral history seminar will take place at the History Museum, Heritage Park, Largo, in August. The Florida State Museum in Gainesville may be the site for a restoration workshop in November. Membership stands at ninety. An effort will be made to increase membership to 125 by the May 1980 meeting.

Business Meeting

May 3, 1979

The business meeting of the Florida Confederation was called to order at 4:00 p.m. by Dr. Robert Harris, chairman. The financial statement, shows a balance of \$974.98.

John Opdyke was nominated and elected to the Executive Board. It was also voted to recommend to the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society that the name of the Confederation be changed to Florida Historical Confederation.

The matter of holding two workshops-one in late August and the other in November-was discussed. Major topics of interest for such workshops are oral history, preservation and restoration of books, documents, furniture, and other artifacts.

The meeting was adjourned at 5:00 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,
Dr. Robert Harris
Chairman

GREAT EXPECTATIONS.

1979

Oct. 3-7	National Trust for Historic Preservation	San Francisco
Oct. 25-28	Oral History Association Workshop and Colloquium	East Lansing, Michigan
Nov. 14-17	Southern Historical Association	Atlanta
Nov. 16-17	Florida State Genealogical Society, 3rd Conference	Winter Park
Dec. 28-30	American Historical Association	New York City

1980

Feb. 22-23	Round Table for Jacksonville History, 4th Conference	Jacksonville University
Apr. 9-12	Organization of American Historians	San Francisco
Apr. 30- May 1	Florida Confederation of Historical Societies- Workshop	Winter Park
May 2-3	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY- 78th ANNUAL MEETING	Winter Park

A GIFT OF HISTORY

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

A one-year membership costs only \$10.00, and it includes four issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, the *Florida History Newsletter*, as well as all other privileges of membership. A personal letter from the Executive Secretary of the Society will notify the recipient of your gift of your generosity and consideration. Convey your respect for that special person's dignity and uniqueness. What better way to express your faith in the lessons of the past and to celebrate old friendships?

Detach Along This Line

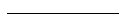
Send to: Florida Historical Society
University of South Florida Library
Tampa, Florida 33620

Please send as a special gift:

- Annual membership-\$10
- Family membership-\$15
- Fellow membership-\$20
- Special membership-\$50, \$75, \$150
- Life membership-\$350
- Memorial membership-\$350
- Check or money order enclosed
- Cash enclosed

TO

FROM



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

OFFICERS

JERRELL H. SHOFNER, *president*
JOHN K. MAHON, *president-elect*
OLIVE PETERSON, *vice-president*
LINDA V. ELLSWORTH, *recording secretary*
JAY B. DOBKIN, *executive secretary and librarian*
SAMUEL PROCTOR, *editor, The Quarterly*

DIRECTORS

NANCY DOBSON <i>Tallahassee</i>	MRS. CHRISTIAN LAROCHE <i>Valparaiso</i>
HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR. <i>Gainesville</i>	JANET SNYDER MATTHEWS <i>Sarasota</i>
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HAYES L. KENNEDY <i>Clearwater</i>	LINDA K. WILLIAMS <i>Miami</i>
WRIGHT LANGLEY <i>Key West</i>	THELMA PETERS, <i>ex-officio</i> <i>Coral Gables</i>

The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is \$10; family membership is \$15; a fellow membership is \$20. Special memberships of \$50, \$75, and \$150 are also available. In addition, a life membership is \$350, and a special memorial membership is available for \$350. The latter guarantees delivery of the *Quarterly* for twenty-five years to a library or other institution.

All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Jay B. Dobkin, Executive Secretary, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should be directed also to Mr. Dobkin.

