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## IMMIGRANTS AND RADICALS IN TAMPA, FLORIDA

by GEORGE E. POZZETTA \*

**T**HE ROLE that radical ideologies have played in the experience of America's immigrant groups has been the subject of increasing scholarly attention. Historians are coming to realize that these philosophies often exerted a substantial influence on ethnic group development. This was particularly true of the manner in which immigrants interacted with the labor movement in America. That these developments have often been overlooked has been explained, in part, by a lack of documentary evidence available for use in charting the events, issues, and personalities of the radical world. In recent years, however, a growing volume of historical material has become available which has shed important light on this fascinating aspect of America's immigrant past.<sup>1</sup> A case in point involves the Italian community of Tampa, Florida.

In the years surrounding the turn of the present century thousands of Italians came to Tampa in search of economic opportunities offered by the city's cigar factories. Together with other "Latins" - Cuban and Spanish immigrants - they transformed this small coastal village into a major manufacturing center. While helping to underwrite the economic success of Tampa, these immigrants also created a flourishing community life of their own. There were a number of ethnic institutions-press, theater, fraternal clubs-established in Ybor City and West Tampa that provided cultural and intellectual activities for the workers. Occupying a conspicuous place in this ethnic sub-society were a number of anarchist and socialist groups.

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1. Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Pane e Giustizia," *La Parola del Popolo*, XXVI (September-October 1976), 58-61; Edwin Fenton, *Immigrants and Unions, A Case Study: Italians and American Labor, 1870-1920* (New York, 1975), 136-96. The Immigration History Research Center of the University of Minnesota contains an unusually rich collection of historical documents describing the impact of radical ideologies on immigrant life.

Many of Tampa's Italians were familiar with these ideologies even before they arrived in America. The overwhelming majority had emigrated from a cluster of five small villages in mountainous, west-central Sicily.<sup>2</sup> It was this section of the island that figured prominently in a wave of peasant uprisings that swept through Sicily in the early 1890s. These movements most commonly took form in the creation of *fasci dei lavoratori*, or workers' leagues. In village after village, including those that sent their sons and daughters to Tampa, the *fasci* took control and began to institute a series of reforms. Many of the leagues were under the leadership of socialists who infused the populace with a new vision of society. A noted socialist teacher named Lorenzo Panepinto headed the *fascio* of Santo Stefano Quisquina, the village which alone supplied nearly sixty per cent of Tampa's Italian population.<sup>3</sup>

The programs of the *fasci* included efforts to reduce or abolish taxes, redistribute land, and establish schools and cooperatives for the peasantry. Leaders placed a heavy emphasis on familiarizing workers with their rights under the laws of man and nature., The successes of the *fasci* contributed in 1893 to bringing about a changeover in the Italian government. The new premier, Francesco Crispi, dedicated himself to restoring order in Sicily and, to this end, sent an army to eradicate the leagues. In the suppressions that followed, many of the closest adherents of the *fasci* fled the country.<sup>4</sup> Some made their way to Tampa. As Stefanesi, one of these immigrants, wrote: "When in 1902 I landed in Tampa, I found myself in a world of radicals for which I was prepared. . . . In those days in Tampa, anarchists and socialists were many."<sup>5</sup>

Once in Tampa, these individuals established numerous study groups, debating clubs, and social circles to popularize their beliefs. Small libraries were created for the education of

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2. Santo Stefano Quisquina, Alessandria della Rocca, Bivona, Cianciana, and Contessa Entellina.
  3. Calogero Messina, *S. Stefano Quisquina: Studio Storico-Critico* (Palermo, 1976), 82-85; Angelo Massari, *La Comunita Italiana di Tampa* (New York, 1967), 477-535; Anthony J. Pizzo, "The Italian Heritage in Tampa," in *Back to Ybor City Day* (Tampa, 1976), 13-16.
  4. By late 1894 Crispi struck out at all "subversive" organizations in Italy and sent many more radicals fleeing.
  5. Angelo Massari, *The Wonderful Life of Angelo Massari* (New York, 1965), 56.

the membership, and some large organizations funded the publication of newspapers. Rival groups often vied with each other for the prestige of inviting world famous anarchists and socialists to Tampa. The city soon came to be a regular stop on the "propaganda tours" of radical luminaries. Included among the individuals who made trips to Florida in the early years of the century were Errico Malatesta, Luigi Galleani, Arturo Caroti, and, of course, Lorenzo Panepinto.<sup>6</sup>

Yet, the radicals of Tampa did not confine their attentions totally to activities of the mind. At times they became actively involved with affairs of the real world. This was especially true of their efforts to organize the multi-ethnic work force of the cigar factories. In 1901 and 1910 radicals played a role in two general strikes which paralyzed Tampa's cigar industry. They were able to supply a class ideology to workingmen that aided in maintaining union solidarity.

The following documents are selections from two Italian language anarchist newspapers printed in Tampa. They supply an insight into the kinds of activities and philosophies that were present in the city, but have been essentially lost to history. The very names of the papers are revealing: *L'Alba Sociale* (The Social Awakening) and *La Voce dello Schiavo* (The Voice of the Slave).<sup>7</sup> But they have importance beyond the fact that they illuminate an aspect of Tampa's past that has been largely forgotten. They reveal that the intellectual life of the Tampa immigrant community was far richer and more diverse than many natives of the time imagined. Indeed, they point out the irony of stereotypes which branded immigrants as ignorant. In fact the range and complexity of the issues which these immigrants commonly dealt with were quite sophisticated. Studs Terkel, the noted chronicler of American social life, recorded descriptions of immigrant miners in Depression-era Pennsylvania that could have just as well been made of Tampa's cigar workers. "They would be discussing Daniel De Leon and Debs and Christian Socialism and Syndicalism and Anarchism," an observer recalled. "The ones who couldn't read, someone would read it to them."<sup>8</sup>

6. Tampa *La Federacion*, February 16, March 2, 9, 1900; Tampa *El Internacional*, November 10, 17, 1905; Massari, *Wonderful Life*, 56-57, 107.

7. *L'Alba Sociale* and *La Voce dello Schiavo* are available on microfilm at the Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota.

8. Studs Terkel, *Hard Times* (New York, 1970), 208.

The following newspaper articles also present a window through which one can gain a fuller appreciation of what these Tampans were thinking and discussing. By glimpsing their efforts to structure a different, and, to them, a better world, one learns something of their values. Additionally, the documents give an indication of how these immigrants reacted to the conditions they encountered in Florida. They framed responses to America and to local conditions in the sunshine state in large part based upon an ideological framework that they themselves shaped. They presented criticisms of the existing order that were often quite accurate, at least with regards to the abuses that were present. While some of the remedies that they proposed were perhaps idealistic and unworkable, they offered alternative ways of viewing some of the basic relationships involving man and his society.

The documents fall into two categories. The first three items present differing glimpses of happenings within the radical community of Tampa. The initial article attempts to give an overall summary of anarchist philosophy for those Tampans who expressed an interest in joining the radical ranks. The second recounts a somewhat humorous adventure involving the practice of surveillance in Tampa carried out by the Italian government in its efforts to control radicals. The third is a very personal letter of farewell written by a Tampa anarchist who had been forced to flee Italy and was now leaving Florida to return to his family. It poignantly reveals the sense of comradeship and purpose present in these small groups. The final two selections deal with the 1901 general strike of Tampa's cigar workers. It was during this labor struggle that a self-appointed Citizens' Committee kidnapped the leaders of the striking union, some of whom were radicals, threw them aboard a ship, and dropped them off on a deserted stretch of the Honduras coastline.<sup>9</sup> All of the following articles have been translated by the editor from Italian into English.

*La Voce dello Schiavo*, January 26, 1901.<sup>10</sup>

9. The events of the 1901 strike are covered in Durward Long, " 'La Resistencia': Tampa's Immigrant Labor Union," *Labor History*, VI (Fall 1965), 193-213.

10. *La Voce dello Schiavo* was the publication of an Italian anarchist group in Tampa of the same name. Like other such organizations in

## AROUND TAMPA: THE SECRET OF ANARCHY

Many young people have asked me for a long time if they could become part of the anarchist society. But, before entering they want to know the rules, regulations, and mysterious secrets that their naivete ascribes to anarchist principles.

I answer them that our statute is Liberty and our rules are the fight, the struggle, against authority and that in these struggles and battles there are not presidents, there are not men who have authority over others. They are all equal.

Anarchism is to fight everything that forms the law, to fight the abuse of the strong authority over the weak, to fight those associations that under the government are taking advantage of the proletariat. We must fight the hypocrisy of all men, the pride, and the bad will which are against anarchist principles. And we must fight for anarchy and the anarchists; we must loyally observe our statutes which are impressed upon the soul of the worker.

We must apply ourselves against private property and the ability of money to cover over all evil. We know that money is the main cause of all social disease and all of us are part of this. We want equality for the anarchists and we want to fight those men, who, even though they are born good like everyone else, have been corrupted by society, They all carry and cherish an interest, a passion, and an idiosyncratic love toward money. We must promptly resolve to make the greatest moral and material sacrifice. Our propaganda desires, right now, the rebirth of this present society to fight evil institutions and to unite all men who are now so brutally divided. These words, expressions, and thoughts are all that we plan to do; these are the mysterious proceedings of anarchism.

Who wants to unite themselves with us? Whoever desires the liberty, brotherhood, equality, and love of all humankind and wants to bring all this together in a united society and live happily. You must feel this happiness in your heart. Between us there are no distinctions, everyone is equal; the intelligent one

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Tampa, it viewed the printed word as a major tool in its quest for converts. Most of these publishing ventures, however, were short lived. No copies of *La Voce dello Schiavo* are known to exist beyond the year 1901.

as well as the ignorant one are equally respected between themselves and other people. This is the constant rule. Anarchy and the anarchists must not have secrets. Where there are secrets it only serves to aid the politicians in their efforts to govern the people. If we had secrets among ourselves, liberty would not exist, but rather authority would rule, and it is this authority that we are fighting. And we know that authority is the source of the brutality and power that today is in existence and which today enslaves the worker. Slavery is not liberty and in slavery we can say goodbye to anarchism for good.

Do not believe the stories that the police department invents, and the propaganda that they give out to the newspapers which are themselves sold and prostituted. For example, look at the newspaper *Progresso Italo-Americano* and its own companion, *L'Araldo*.<sup>11</sup> This is their own secret to do the worker in. The policemen never discover conspiracies or lies before something happens. They invent them and so they are just as mysterious as the newspapers and the government. Newspapermen and policemen see conspiracies to kill everywhere-to kill Emperors, Presidents of Republics, and Kings-and so they have publicized these fantasies everywhere, in every newspaper, for their own interests. In this way they can fill up the columns of the newspapers and they can appeal, with great magnificence, to the bourgeoisie who applaud them in their great imagination. The great majority of the workers do not read the daily press. These newspapers end up in the hands of the bourgeoisie, which really believes that anarchism is based upon a secret pact to destroy everything and everybody.

On the contrary, our principles push us only to publish propaganda and manifestos. We want to educate the people to their own right to defend themselves; to convince them that this defense begins with their own hands and their own work, and that this is a natural thing to do. We have decided to tell the workers, fearlessly and in public, to work and strive for the awakening of their moral consciousness.

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11. *Il Progresso Italo-Americano* and *L'Araldo Italiano* were two Italian language daily newspapers published in New York City. They were owned by wealthy members of the Italian-American business community, who often turned these journals into sounding boards to promote their own interests. Radicals attacked them as enemies of the working class.

Therefore, we invite all workers to come close to us, to dedicate a little bit of their time to read our newspaper and the propaganda journals that we are publishing. If they read our materials, they will see all of the secrets of anarchy, written by the workers themselves. Everyone who chooses can come to 1618 7th Avenue and find the necessary books and papers to educate themselves.<sup>12</sup> Here you will find friends, and we can take advantage of the opportunity to get to know one another. We can educate ourselves.

Come and you will be very openly accepted. All are accepted, except those who smell like policemen.

G. SCAGLIONE

*La Voce dello Schiavo*, October 18, 1900.

#### THE FIASCO OF A SPY

In Ybor City many people are surprised that the Italian government, as it did elsewhere, had not sent policemen accompanied by some evil person to search secretly for anarchists. We have smiled and laughed because we understood the true situation. The government did not send someone because it knew that one of these poisonous snakes was already in Ybor City, down crawling in the mud and waiting to do something bad to somebody with its own slimy saliva. And, by God, we were feeling and smelling the odor! But how are we going to find out who is this awful animal?

Well, we waited until something came up so as to indicate where he was hiding. This happened at the end of August of last year when a certain fellow named Giddio Giuseppe, known here in the colony as a friend of our close friends, was leaving Ybor City to go back to Italy. In fact, he was going to Santo Stefano in Sicily. As he was leaving, another man had already

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12. Each radical group in Tampa possessed some sort of library, whether it was a single shelf of books or a more extensive collection. Most of the reading materials consisted of small, inexpensive pamphlets (*opuscoli*) which featured the writings of Marx, Malatesta, Bakunin, etc. The Tampa societies also stocked the works of local Italian and Spanish radicals such as Alfonso Coniglio and Pedro Esteve. For more information, see George E. Pozzetta, "An Immigrant Library: The Tampa Italian Club Collection," *Ex Libris*, I (Spring 1978), 10-12.

anticipated that he was departing and knew of his past and that he was an anarchist and, therefore, dangerous to the Italian government. He went and told the officials. He said that this man was such a dangerous anarchist that they should be careful, especially on the boat.

We can imagine the morbid anxiety of the Italian government as it was waiting to have another anarchist in its hands. The rumor swept through the boat, which was going to Naples; everyone was very upset in the boat knowing that an anarchist was there. Santo Stefano was telegraphed and the whole population was in a turmoil. It was so bad that people went to the relatives and parents of Giddio and broke down their homes and closets. They wanted him dead or alive for questioning.

This man, in the meantime, had established himself in New York City and later he travelled to London. The entire matter turned out to be a fiasco because it was a trick and Thank God, he was not in Italy.

Meanwhile, those people who had knowledge of the affair, but were not necessarily involved in any way, were laughing and generally not paying very close attention. But we, the anarchists of Tampa, were looking at the facts very closely. We found out who the spy, this reptile, was. We also know the hole in which this reptile has buried himself waiting to see how much harm he can do to the anarchists. We are just waiting for him to put his head out of his hole, and if he does, we will trap this reptile and smash his head just like the woman did in the serpent in the hole legend. By these words, this reptile better know that it will no longer be possible for him to bite, to spy on, and to betray the anarchists. In our next issue of the *Schiavo* we will publically make known this person, and believe us, it does not matter who he is. . . .

THE ANARCHISTS OF TAMPA

*La Voce dello Schiavo*, February 4, 1901.

TO THE ANARCHIST GROUP, THE VOICE OF THE SLAVE

Dear Comrades: With this number I leave the newspaper. I am very sorry but exceptional circumstances involving those who have caused my exile have brought me to believe that I can finally

hug my children in my arms again. It has been such a long time since I have seen them—ever since I was abruptly brought away from the violence of those who govern the land.

I cannot tell you how happy I am in these circumstances which will permit me to see my children again. But, I repeat, leaving you and the entire group which was so generous and full of affection while taking care of me will be a sad, painful thing. I am going back to the affectionate love of my children. I am going back to sustain and devise new struggles with my brothers and friends, both old and new, in Italy.

I can forget easily my sad exile, but I can never forget the friendship and the affection that I have found here. These gifts which you have given me were forged in the difficult cement of propaganda and sustained in the face of prejudice, censures, and the animosities of those workers who were ignorant of the everyday realities of their lives.<sup>13</sup> And you, my dear friends, you from our own group who have freely given part of your own everyday money to the cause, you that have been indifferent to the unpopularity, even among the *paesans* of your own village, of your friends and ideas; you have tried to popularize and make this propaganda comprehensible and acceptable to the great principles of anarchism. You people have remained in my soul, and you will always be a part of my body and heart. We have fought hand-in-hand, and my heart will always remember this truly exceptional fight that we have gone through together.

Continue my dear friends and comrades the difficult duty of illuminating your own consciousness and that of others as well. You must know that the indifferent, the hypocrites, the naive ones, the evil ones, and the simple will end up absolutely admiring you for your ideals and for your great beliefs. Your noble work will continue to capture the consciousness of all people and this will be your duty. This will be your guidance. What you will gain from this will be big and precious. You will be working for the great principles of anarchy for which today

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13. Radical groups in Tampa and elsewhere were often sustained in their early years by the dedication and zeal of exiles from Italy. These men perpetuated groups that were almost always small in membership and besieged from every side by critics. Native Tampans branded radicals as "agitators" and viewed them with extreme distrust. Within the immigrant colony, they could count on the opposition of clergymen, businessmen, and members of conservative AFL unions.

and always and everywhere in the world you will have me with you.

YOURS, P. CALCAGNO

*L'Alba Sociale*, August 15, 1901

#### THE GENERAL STRIKE

From the last issue of *L'Alba* the reader will know that here in Tampa there has developed a general strike. It is not the strike that our votes and aspirations would want, but, for the effect that it is having, it looks something like that. The bourgeoisie, big and little, businessmen, landowners, restaurant owners, factory owners, store-keepers-are all in a tremendous uproar. The nerves of all these people are just up in the air. They do not know where to turn, or how to plead with the upcoming catastrophe. For them things are going badly.

But, let us not exaggerate. Tampa, before the workers came here, used to be a small town, a town that even dogs would not have wanted to come to. But you know that dogs go where their masters are, so here they are. Six thousand workers came here in this desert of quicksand, marsh, and nothing else just because the capitalists, for economic reasons, were offering them a deal. Also, we must admit that the climate is more favorable here for the industry than elsewhere. So the workers liked it and they came and established themselves here. The authorities, whatever little authority existed in this locality before now, came very proudly offering the capitalists land for free as long as they would put their factories here. In a few years Tampa gained the flourishing ways of many other cities in this country, as you see. And you can see the reasons why.

Let us not exaggerate, we repeat. Factories exist here that, when they used to be in Chicago, could not even employ forty or fifty workers. The owners of these factories, naturally, they do not do anything anyway, as always, were happy to just have these few workers on whose shoulders they could make a good profit. They could take advantage of them as they pleased and they possessed no other inclinations. But, you can see, they transgressed as a good Christian the fifth commandment by treating these people so badly. Today these gentlemen are here in Tampa and

they have doubled the number of workers and their labor, and consequently doubled their earnings. The workers do not work for themselves alone, but they are here for the whole community and the whole community becomes involved. That is the way of life. When the truths about the workers' cause are revealed, it is seen that there is a great deal of reason for this strike. Seeing Tampa flourishing is proof of the justice of this strike.

*L'Alba Sociale*, August 15, 1901.

#### THE SEIZURES

Up until now, all of these old emigrants-and us-who came here to collect some small savings and earn a piece of bread, actually came to enrich the Yankees with their own sweat. We thought we came to a land that was relatively free, that had freedom of work and a freedom of speech which would enable us to express our thoughts and ideas.

How much we had fooled ourselves in our honest anticipations! This is demonstrated by the fact that a committee of citizens is now withholding the freedom of fifteen friends of ours, honest and very hard working men who have no fault whatsoever. Indeed, these men should be praised for their love of humanity. The authorities had no reason to proceed against some of the six thousand workers of Tampa that are actually on strike. On the contrary, the committee of American citizens, which is so jealous in keeping up its flag, is using all means at hand to take advantage of these poor workers. We are asking ourselves, what is this committee of horrible citizens, which claims to be so patriotic, proposing to accomplish by carrying out such monstrous acts as they have committed at the expense of the workers? Do they believe that by such actions the striking workers will come back and submit to work? If this is their hope, they are truly fooling themselves because the workers of Tampa are not the ignorant fools that they imagine.

They will not go back to work until they have obtained complete satisfaction for the violence and abuses committed unjustly against them. And they have not forgotten their rights. These acts against them, which are monstrous and arbitrary, are like the actions of the Zulus of Africa. But even the Zulus would

be ashamed of themselves to act in such a way. This is not the way most indicative of persuading a mass of honest working people as those of Tampa. The bourgeoisie of Tampa are not accomplishing anything else but injecting in the minds and souls of the workers a most tenacious and long lasting resistance. It seems ridiculous and pathetic that the *Tampa Daily Times* wrote some days ago that the striking workers were waiting for the liberation of their friends to come back to work. They can wait eternally because these workers will never, never see Tampa again. . . . The question of increasing salaries has been a dead issue since the time of the brutal violence that was committed. The salary increase has passed to the last line. First we must consider the dignity and self-respect of the workers who have been so brutally mistreated by the oppression of these gangsters, next to whom even the figures of Minaldi and Musolino would pale by comparison.<sup>14</sup>

Yet, our friends will be liberated and there exists the probability of finishing the strike soon on the worker's terms. If this does not happen, let Tampa become what it once was, a desert of sand populated by animals—a very biased kind of animal which the bourgeoisie can get along with better than they can with us.

The daily newspapers of the other states do not seem inclined to show compassion toward the inhuman act done to our workers. We see in this a terrible testament on human rights under the American flag, a symbol of protection and hospitality in this country. These gangsters, we say, in the shadow of their own stars and stripes rag, continue to hold our friends hostage. Our beloved brothers and friends were so threatening to the gangsters in this locality that they seemed to them to be stones in their eyes. Thus, they have seized our friends in this brave act of theirs. It would astonish us if the people in this area were ashamed of themselves and no longer were dominated by the basest hunger and impatience for gold.

Let them continue in this way. The final victory will be ours and the entire world will see who the workers of Tampa are. And they will see to what extent we can gain dignity and self-respect through their actions.

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14. Two well known Italian bandits.

## FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

This list shows the amount and variety of Florida history research and writing currently underway, as reported to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Doctoral dissertations and masters theses completed in 1978 are included. Research in Florida history, sociology, anthropology, political science, archeology, geography, and urban studies is included.

### *Auburn University*

- Robin F. A. Fabel (faculty)-“Economic Aspects of British West Florida” (continuing study).  
Robert R. Rea (faculty) -“Governor John Eliot of British West Florida” (continuing study).

### *Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, St. Augustine*

- Luis R. Arana-“Fort Matanzas: Guardian of St. Augustine’s Back Door, 1740-1763”; “The Disintegration of Fort Matanzas, 1784-1821” (research completed).  
Edwin C. Bearss (National Park Service, Denver Service Center)-“Fort Matanzas: The War Department Years, 1821-1933” (research completed).  
Randall G. Copeland, Craig C. Frazier, and Terry Wong (National Park Service, Denver Service Center)-“Architectural Data, Fort Matanzas” (research completed).  
Kathleen A. Deagan (for the National Park Service, Southeast Archeological Center, Tallahassee)-“Archeological Investigation of the Fort Matanzas Interior, 1978” (research completed).  
John C. Paige (National Park Service, Denver Service Center) -“The British Occupation of Fort Matanzas, 1763-1784”; “The National Park Service at Fort Matanzas since 1933” (research completed).

### *Daytona Beach Community College*

- Peter D. Klingman (faculty)-“Black Politicians in Recon-

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struction Florida”; “History of the Republican Party of Florida” (continuing studies).

*Emory University*

Elliott Mackle - “Utopian Colonies in Florida” (continuing study).

*Flagler College*

Thomas Graham (faculty)-“Charles H. Jones, 1848-1913: Editor and Progressive Democrat” (continuing study).

Michael J. Sherman and Dawn Wiles (faculty)-“Mexico/St. Augustine Living History Project” (continuing study).

*Florida A & M University*

Barbara R. Cotton (faculty)-“The Effects of Antebellum Conditions Upon Postwar Economic Adjustment of Blacks in Jacksonville, 1870-1895” (continuing study).

James N. Eaton (archivist)-“Collection and Compilation of the Records of All-Black Secondary Schools in Florida” (continuing study).

*Florida Atlantic University*

Harry A. Kersey, Jr. (faculty)-“Seminole Indians of Florida” (continuing study).

R. Duncan Mathewson-“Method and Theory in New World Historic Wreck Archeology: Hypothesis Testing on the Site of Nuestra Senora de Atocha, Marquesas Keys, Florida” (M.A. thesis-completed).

*Florida Division of Archives, History, and Records Management*

Sherry Dougherty-“The 1902 Capitol Building of Florida”; “The Historic District of Tallahassee” (continuing studies).

Terrence H. Nolan-“Corbett vs. Mitchell: Florida’s First Championship Fight”; “The Kingsley Plantation”; “Outpost in the Sun: A Historical, Architectural, and Archeological Survey of Key West, Florida” (continuing studies).

Terrence H. Nolan, Jerrell H. Shofner, and William Warren

- Rogers-"Trouble in Paradise: A Pictorial History of Florida During the Depression" (continuing study).  
 William Carl Shiver-"Architecture of Historic Key West" (continuing study).

*Florida Southern College*

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

*Florida State University*

- Chad Braley (faculty)-"Archeological Investigation of the De Leon Site, St. Augustine"; "Archeological Investigations at Fort Barrancas, Pensacola"; "Archeological Investigations at the Bay Pines Veteran's Administration Hospital Site, Tampa" (research completed).  
 William R. Brueckheimer (faculty)-"The Quail Plantations of the Thomasville-Tallahassee Region"; "Historical Geography of the Tall Timbers Region" (continuing studies).  
 Robert F. Crider-"Jose Coppinger, Governor of East Florida, 1816-1821" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).  
 Kathleen Deagan (faculty)-"Archeological Investigation of Sixteenth-Century Spanish Florida" (continuing study).  
 John Ehrenhard (faculty)--"Cultural Resource Inventory of the Everglades National Park" (continuing study).  
 Katharine B. Gedris-"Archeological Investigations of the Protohistoric Apalachee Indian Village Life, Leon County, Florida" (M.A. thesis in progress).  
 Robert Hall (faculty)-"Slave Religion in the Deep South"; "A Rural Unemployment Survey" (continuing studies); "Florida's Black Churches in the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).  
 Robert Hall (faculty) and Paul George - "Black Floridians as Seen in *The Crisis*, 1910-1940" (continuing study).  
 James P. Jones (faculty)-"History of the Florida State College for Women" (continuing study).  
 Edward Keuchel (faculty)-"History of Columbia County" (continuing study).  
 Joan Koch-"Analysis of the Site of the Spanish Parish Ceme-

- tery in St. Augustine, 1598-1763" (M.A. thesis in progress).
- Richard Alan Nelson-"A History of the Motion Picture Industry in Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Greg Padgett-"A History of the Black Churches in Florida as an Organ of Protest" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- J. Anthony Paredes (faculty)-"Archival Research on the Eastern Creeks, 1815-1950" (continuing study).
- Charles Poe-"Archeological Investigation of an Upper-Income Criollo Household in Eighteenth-Century St. Augustine: The Ponce de Leon Site" (M.A. thesis in progress).
- William Warren Rogers (faculty)-"A History of Saint George Island" (continuing study).
- William Warren Rogers (faculty), Jerrell H. Shofner, and Terrence Nolan-"Trouble in Paradise: A Pictorial History of Florida During the Depression" (continuing study).
- Fay Ann Sullivan - "Georgia Frontier, 1754-1775" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Burke G. Vanderhill and Frank A. Unger-"Geographic Implications of the Georgia-Florida Boundary Dispute" (continuing study).
- J. Leitch Wright, Jr. (faculty)-"Southern Indians in the Colonial Period" (continuing study).

#### *Georgia College*

- Paul George (faculty)-"Miami's Police During the 'Roaring Twenties' "; "The Evolution of a Penal System in Dade County"; "Early Black Communities in Miami" (continuing studies).
- Paul George (faculty) and Robert Hall - "Black Floridians as Seen in *The Crisis*, 1910-1940" (continuing study).

#### *Georgia Southern College*

- George A. Rogers (faculty)-"Stephen Elliott in Florida"; "William Bartram's Route through Georgia and Florida" (continuing studies).

*Guilford College*

Alexander Stoesen (faculty)-“Biography of Claude Pepper” (continuing study).

*Hillsborough Community College*

Nancy Rachels (faculty)-“Biographical Study of Peter D. Knight and His Influence on the Tampa Bay Area” (continuing study).

L. Glenn Westfall (faculty)-“West Tampa: The Second Industrial Community in Hillsborough County”; “The Tobacco Industry in Jacksonville”; “Eduardo Hidalgo Gato: Migrant to Millionaire” (continuing studies).

*Hillsborough County Museum*

Mike Mayfield and staff - “Black History of Tampa”; “Florida Maritime History” (continuing studies).

*Historic Pensacola Preservation Board*

Linda V. Ellsworth-“Pensacola Creoles, 1860-1970”; “West Florida Furniture Making, 1800-1820”; “West Florida Vernacular Architecture in the Nineteenth Century” (continuing studies).

*Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board*

Michael C. Scardaville and staff-“Biographical File of Cathedral Parish Registers, 1594-1763” (continuing study).

Robert Steinbach and staff-“Archeological, Architectural, and Historical Investigations of the de Mesa-Sanchez Site” (continuing study).

*Historical Association of Southern Florida*

Dorothy J. Fields - “Black Historic Archives and Oral History Collection of South Florida” (continuing study).

Arva M. Parks - “Pre-1896 South Florida”; “Coconut Grove” (continuing studies).

Thelma M. Peters-“Early Homestead Families on Upper

Biscayne Bay" (continuing study).

Jean C. Taylor-"South Dade County" (continuing study).

*Jacksonville Historical Society*

James R. Ward and Dena Snodgrass-"The King's Road"  
(continuing study).

*Jacksonville University*

Frederick S. Aldridge (faculty)-"An Analysis of the Effect  
of Consolidation Upon the Productivity of City Employees,  
City of Jacksonville"; "History of the Jacksonville  
Planning Board" (continuing studies).

George E. Buker (faculty) - "History of the Jacksonville  
District, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers"; "The Union  
Blockade of Florida During the Civil War" (continuing  
studies).

Joan S. Carver (faculty)-"Analysis of the Political Impact  
of Consolidation in Jacksonville"; "Women in Florida  
Politics" (continuing studies).

James M. Olson (faculty) - "Participation of Women in  
Florida Politics Since 1920, With Emphasis Upon Jackson-  
ville Women" (continuing study).

*Louisiana State University*

Roland Chardon (faculty)-"Wet Sediment Transport on the  
Atlantic Shore of Miami Beach, 1770-1867"; "Evaluation  
of DeBrahm's 1769-1770 Maps of Biscayne Bay"; "The  
Derrotero of 1595" (continuing studies).

Brian Coutts - "Martin Navarro: Spain's First Louisiana In-  
tendant" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Carolyn O. French - "Cadastral Patterns in Louisiana: A  
Colonial Legacy" (Ph.D. dissertation-completed).

Janet Gritzner - "Tabby in the Coastal Southeast: The Culture  
History of an American Building Material" (Ph.D. disser-  
tation-completed).

Paul E. Hoffman (faculty)-"St. Augustine, 1580"; "The  
Chicora Legend and European Exploration and Settle-  
ment in the Southeastern United States to 1600" (con-  
tinuing studies).

Patricia Woods-"A History of the Frontier in French Louisiana" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

*McNeese State University*

Thomas D. Watson (faculty)-"United States-Creek Relations, 1783-1830" (continuing study).

*Palm Beach Atlantic College*

Robert D. Billinger, Jr. (faculty)-"With the Wehrmacht in Florida: The Evolution of German POW Facilities in Florida between 1942 and 1945" (continuing study).

Jerry W. Weeks (faculty)-"History of the Florida Citrus Industry" (continuing study).

*Pasco-Hernando Community College*

Richard J. Stanaback (faculty)-"History of Pasco and Hernando counties" (continuing study).

*Southern Illinois University at Carbondale*

Guy Bishop-"Commerce and Trade Between the English and the Indians, British East and West Florida, 1764-1784" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

L. David Norris-"The Administration of Jose Coppinger: The Incident and Consequence of the International Transfer of Florida in 1816-1821" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

*Stetson University*

Kevin J. O'Keefe (faculty)-"The Cuban Crisis as Reflected in the Florida Press, 1895-1898"; "Senator Smathers and the Poll Tax" (continuing studies).

Janice Fluegel (faculty)-"Eighteen Months of the New Deal in Daytona Beach" (continuing study).

*Tallahassee Community College*

Janice B. Miller (faculty)-"History of the Administration of Governor Juan Nepamuceno de Quesada of East Florida, 1790-1796" (continuing study).

*Troy State University-Bay Minette*

Randall J. Broxton-"Occie Clubbs: Her Role in Education and History" (continuing study).

*Troy State University at Fort Rucker*

Morris Simon (faculty)-"Ethnological and Ethnohistorical Reconstructions of the Spanish Colonial Period" (continuing study).

J. Barton Starr (faculty)-"Loyalists of East Florida": "Slave Codes of the British Floridas"; "Mid-Eighteenth Century Cotton Gins" (continuing studies).

*University of Alabama*

James F. Doster (faculty)-"The Creek Indian Confederacy, 1700-1825" (continuing study).

Alan Thompson-"Social and Economic Characteristics of the People of Mobile, Alabama, 1850-1861" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

*University of Alabama in Birmingham*

Jack D. L. Holmes (faculty) - "Pensacola Settlers, 1780-1821"; "Bernardo de Galvez and the American Revolution in West Florida" (continuing studies); "Studies in the Spanish Borderlands of the Southeast" (research completed); "The Gulf Coast Hurricane of July 1819"; "The Removal of Billy Bowlegs to Arkansas, 1858" (research in progress).

*University of Arizona*

George R. Adams - "William Selby Harney: Frontier Soldier" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

*University of Central Florida*

Richard C. Crepeau (faculty) - "A History of the Melbourne Village Project" (continuing study).

Thomas D. Greenhaw (faculty) - "Patrick Tonym: Last Royal

Governor of East Florida"; "Prisoners of War in Florida During World War II" (continuing studies).

Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty) - "Peonage in Twentieth Century Florida"; "A History of Apopka"; "An Interpretive History of Higher Education in Florida"; "Mary Grace Quackenboas: A Visitor Florida Did Not Want"; "Involuntary Servitude on Flagler's Overseas Railroad"; "The Knabb Turpentine Company at Maclenny: A Case Study of Labor Practices in the Florida Turpentine Industry"; "The Lynching at LaBelle" (continuing studies).

Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty), William Warren Rogers, and Terrence H. Nolan-"Trouble in Paradise: A Pictorial History of Florida During the Depression" (continuing study).

Paul W. Wehr (faculty)-"History of Central Florida" (continuing study); "Will Wallace Harney of Pinecastle" (research completed).

#### *University of Florida*

Afolabi A. Adedibu - "Spatial Diffusion Analysis of Commercial Land-Use Changes Associated with the Jacksonville, Florida, International Airport, 1965-1976" (Ph.D. dissertation-completed).

Elizabeth Alexander (project director), Bruce Chappell, Lorne McWaters, and Michael Getzler (editorial assistants)-"Calendar of the Spanish Holdings of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History" (continuing study).

Rebecca S. Auve - "Social Services Delivery for the Elderly in Marion County, Florida" (M.A. thesis-completed).

Amy Bushnell-"The Royal Treasury Officials of Spanish Florida, 1566-1702: Constants and Variables in Provincial Administration" (Ph.D. dissertation-completed); "The Governors of Florida, 1568-1700" (research in progress); "Don Patricio de Hinachuba: Defender of the Word of God, the Crown of the King, and the Little Children of Iritachueo" (research completed).

James Button (faculty) and Richard Scher (faculty) - "The Impact of the Civil Rights Movement in Six Florida Communities, 1960-1976" (continuing study).

- Kathleen Cargill-Mazer - "A Rural [Florida] Clinic in Transition" (M.A. thesis-completed).
- Bruce Chappell - "A History of the Diego Plains in the Second Spanish Period" (continuing study).
- William C. Childers (faculty) - "Garth Wilkinson and Robertson James: Abolitionists in Gainesville During Reconstruction" (continuing study).
- David R. Colburn (faculty)-"St. Augustine, 1964: Racial Crisis and Community Adjustment" (continuing study).
- Caroline Johnson Comnenos - "Florida's Sponge Industry: A Cultural and Economic History" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Merlin G. Cox (faculty) and Charles Hildreth - "A History of Gainesville, Florida, 1853-1978" (research completed).
- Charles H. Fairbanks (faculty)-"History of Florida Archeological Work"; "Indian Tribes of the Central Gulf Coast" (continuing studies).
- Charles H. Fairbanks (faculty) and Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)-"Florida Archeology" (continuing study).
- Michael V. Gannon (faculty)-"Documentary History of Florida, Volume I: The Colonial Period, 1513-1821" (continuing study).
- William Tucker Gibbs-"Claude Pepper and the Election of 1948" (M.A. thesis-completed),
- E. A. Hammond (faculty)-"History of the Medical Profession in Florida, 1821-1875" (continuing study).
- Ellen Hodges-"The Stephens family of Antebellum and Civil War Florida: A Social and Economic History" (M.A. thesis in progress); "Letters of Winston and Octavia Stephens" (continuing study).
- John Paul Jones (faculty) - "History of the Florida Press Association, 1879-1968" (continuing study).
- Stephen Kerber - "Park Trammell of Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); "Letters of Winston and Octavia Stephens" (continuing study).
- Robert Thomas King - "The Florida Seminoles in the Twentieth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation-completed).
- Timothy Kohler - "The Social and Chronological Dimensions of Village Occupation at a North Florida Weeden Island

- Period Site" (Ph.D. dissertation-completed).
- Kevin M. McCarthy (faculty)-"A Cultural, Literary, and Historical Tour of Florida" (continuing study).
- Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)-"Archeology of Weeden Island Peoples in Northern Florida" (continuing study).
- Paige Parker-"Political Mobilization in the Rural South: A Case Study of Gadsden County, Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Ralph L. Peek (faculty)-"Florida in World War II" (continuing study).
- Julian Pleasants (faculty) - "Zibe King, Jacob Summerlin, and the Cattle Barons in Florida, 1860-1910" (continuing study).
- George Pozzetta (faculty)-"Ethnic Interaction in Tampa" (continuing study).
- Samuel Proctor (faculty)-"Documentary History of Florida, Volume II: Modern Florida, 1821-Present"; "Florida Slave Interviews"; "History of the University of Florida" (continuing studies).
- Storm L. Richards-"Geographic Techniques for Differentiating Archaeological Sites in Florida" (M.A. thesis-completed).
- Richard Sapp-"Suwannee River Town, Suwannee River Country: Political Moieties in a Southern Country Communities" (Ph.D. dissertation-completed).
- Claire Shulman-"The Stylistics of Zora Neale Hurston's *Moses, Man of the Mountain*" (M.A. thesis in progress).
- Willie J. Simmons-"Johnson Crossing: The Study of a Rural Black Community" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Phillip Slocum - "The Impact of the Panama Canal on Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Linda Vance - "May Mann Jennings: Florida's Genteel Activist" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Arthur O. White (faculty) - "William N. Sheats: A Biography, 1851-1922" (continuing study); "One Hundred Years of State Leadership in Florida Public Education, 1876-1976" (accepted for publication, University Presses of Florida).
- Kimball D. Woodbury - "The Spatial Diffusion of the Cuban Community in Dade County, Florida" (M.A. thesis-completed).

*University of Maryland Overseas (Spain)*

Eric S. Beerman (faculty) - "Jose de Ezpeleta"; "Jose de Riano"; "Family Backgrounds of the Major Spanish Explorers" (research in progress).

*University of Miami*

Ernest R. Dibble - "Joseph M. White and Florida Territorial Growth"; "The Naval Live Oak Reservation" (continuing studies).

Charlton W. Tebeau (emeritus) - *A History of Florida* (revisions and additions).

*University of New Mexico*

Michael E. Welsh-"Tribal History of the Oklahoma Seminoles" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

*University of North Florida*

Dan Schafer (faculty)-"Biographical Study of the Stevens Family in Jacksonville"; "Biographical Study of Eartha M. M. White" (continuing studies).

*University of South Florida*

Rita Hammond - "A History of West Tampa" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Robert P. Ingalls (faculty)-"Labor and Urban Vigilantes" (continuing study).

Steven F. Lawson (faculty)-"The Civil Rights Movement in Tampa in the 1960s" (continuing study).

Gary Mormino (faculty) - "Italian Immigration in Tampa" (continuing study).

Louis A. Perez, Jr. (faculty)-"Cuban Immigration and Labor in Tampa" (continuing study); "Tampa Cubans and the War for Independence" (research completed).

*University of Tampa*

Lois Benjamin (faculty)-"History of Blacks in Tampa" (continuing study).

*James W. Covington* (faculty) - "History of the University of Tampa"; "The Rough Riders in Tampa"; "Federal Relations with Florida Indians, 1859-1970" (continuing studies).

*University of West Florida*

William S. Coker (faculty) - "Papers of Panton, Leslie and Company" (continuing study).

Jane E. Dysart (faculty) - "Immigration in West Florida Before the Civil War"; "The Spanish Population of West Florida, 1820-1860" (continuing studies).

Lucius F. Ellsworth (faculty)-"Lumbering in Northwest Florida During the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries" (continuing study).

Janice R. Holmlund - "Living History Farm Museum: A Feasibility Study for Pensacola" (M.A. thesis-completed).

George F. Pearce (faculty)-"The United States Navy in Pensacola"; "The West Indies Squadron and American-Caribbean Diplomacy, 1823-1841" (continuing studies).

H. O. Simpson-"Confederate Occupation of the Forts and Navy Yard in Pensacola During the Civil War" (M.A. thesis in progress).

*Valdosta State College*

Lamar Pearson (faculty)-"Spanish-Indian Relations in the First Spanish Period" (continuing study).

Joseph Tomberlin (faculty)-"The *Brown Case* and Its Aftermath" (continuing study).

*Woodville Historical Society*

A. R. Ferrell-"Major Families of the Woodville Area" (continuing study).

Robert Mullins-"Woodville's Civil War Veterans" (continuing study).

F. A. Rhodes-"The Summer of 1920: Woodville's Religious Revivals" (continuing study).

John Ryan-"The Great Woodville Fire of 1929" (continuing study).

Woodville Historical Society Field Project—"Census of the  
Woodville Cemetery" (continuing study).