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## TOM MORENO: A PENSACOLA CREOLE

by WILLIAM S. COKER

A recently published volume about the Moreno family of the Gulf coast contained a picture and brief note about Tom Moreno who died in Pensacola, September 23, 1942.<sup>1</sup> Tom reportedly was over 100 years old at the time of his death, but he could have been as young as eighty-three or as old as 105 depending upon which source one used (see table). An article by Gary R. Mormino, which was published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, called attention to an interview with Moreno conducted by Modeste Hargis in 1937 as part of the Work Projects Administration, Federal Writers' Project.<sup>2</sup> The Moreno interview, was one of four that Hargis did with blacks living in Pensacola.<sup>3</sup>

There is a picture and a brief reference to Tom as the slave of Francisco Moreno among the Moreno family papers. Further research questions whether Tom was a slave, and, if so, whether he ever belonged to Francisco Moreno. In his interview he does not admit that he was a slave, and his daughter, Annie Reese,

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1. The date of Moreno's death is not officially recorded, but according to Mrs. King, he died in Pensacola on the date given and is buried in Magnolia Cemetery in Milton. See also Regina Moreno Kirchoff Mandrell, in collaboration with William S. Coker and Hazel P. Coke, *Our Family: Facts and Fancies, The Moreno and Related Families* (Pensacola, 1988), 84.
2. Gary R. Mormino, "Florida Slave Narratives," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (April 1988), 408-09.
3. The Hargis interviews, "Interviews with Colored People Who Live in West Florida" (Florida Historical Society collection, University of South Florida Library, Tampa) include Joe Youder (age eighty-six), May 27, 1937; Thomas Moreno (age ninety-six), June 1, 1937; Alex Thompson (age eighty-six), June 4, 1937; and Richard Lindsay (age seventy-nine), July 6, 1937.

Differing ages and dates of birth for Thomas Moreno and Nancy Jackson Moreno.<sup>4</sup>

Year	Age	Thomas	Birth	Occupation
1870	22		[1848]	Laborer
1880	42 [32]		[1848]	Carpenter
1895	43 [47]		[1852]	Carpenter
1900	42 [52]		2/1858 [1848?]	Carpenter
1910	61		[1859]	Carpenter
1937	96		[1841]	Carpenter
1942	105		[1837]	Carpenter
		Nancy		
1880	35		[1845]	Wife
1895	45 [50]		[1850]	None
1900	36 [55]		10/1863 [1845?]	Washerwoman
1910	58		[1852]	None

emphatically stated, "he was never a slave."<sup>5</sup> During the conversation with Hargis, Tom referred to Don Francisco Moreno but not by name. He described Moreno's chest of gold and paints a rather fanciful story about the chest; he talked about Francisco's three wives and his great fear of cemeteries.

Francisco Moreno was born in Pensacola in 1792. He married the first of his three wives, Josefa Lopez, in 1815. Three children were born of that marriage. Josefa died in 1820, and Francisco soon after married her sister, Margarita Eleutaria. The couple had twelve children born between 1822 and 1846.

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4. Information on age and occupation for the years 1870, 1880, 1900, and 1910 from manuscript returns of Ninth U. S. Census, 1870, Schedule I, Pensacola, Escambia County, FL, 69; Tenth U. S. Census, 1880, Schedule I, Pensacola, Escambia County, FL, 12; Twelfth U. S. Census, 1900, Schedule I, Pensacola, Escambia County, FL, 197A; Thirteenth U. S. Census, 1910, Schedule I, Pensacola, Escambia County, FL, 5577B, on microfilm, John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola. Age and occupation for 1895 in Sidney Phoenix Thomas, Jr., *Early Vital Records of Pensacola, Florida 1891-1899: Births and Deaths*, Special Publication No. 4 (Pensacola, 1988), 140. The 1937 age and occupation was noted in the Moreno-Hargis interview. The 1942 record of Moreno's age is in a letter from his daughter, Annie Reese, to the editor of the Pensacola Journal, August 12, 1959, Leora Sutton collection 86-1, box 5, folder 74, John C. Pace Library. The numbers in brackets are probably more accurate ages.
5. Reese to editor, *Pensacola Journal*.



Thomas Moreno (1841?-1942). Date of photograph unknown. Courtesy of Pensacola Historical Society.

Margarita died in 1851, and a year later Francisco married seventeen-year-old Mentoria Gonzalez. She also gave birth to twelve children between 1853 and 1871. Francisco engaged in various enterprises during his nearly ninety years as a resident of Pensacola. He owned large tracts of land in and around Pensacola, served as the Spanish consul there from 1836 to 1865, reportedly opened the first hotel in the city (the Hotel de Paris),

and loaned money from the chest he kept under his bed. Francisco was often referred to as the “king of Pensacola.” He also owned many slaves which was surprising for someone who lived in town and who was not a large-scale planter. In 1850, Francisco owned twenty-one slaves ranging in ages from three to seventy years old; in 1860, he had thirty slaves from one to sixty years of age.<sup>6</sup> Although the slaves are not identified by name, any one of the several young males could have been Tom. When freedom finally came with the end of the Civil War, three of the freedmen remained with the Moreno family: Old Mose, Uncle Dick, and Teresa.<sup>7</sup>

According to his family, Tom’s father was named Chico Moreno. Although he talks about his mother in his interview, she, like Francisco Moreno, is never mentioned by name. He intimates that he accompanied the Union soldiers to Mobile Point, and perhaps witnessed the siege of Fort Morgan. Tom moved to Philadelphia for several years sometime after the Civil War and then tried his hand at seafaring, but he returned to Pensacola and was there when the 1870 census was recorded. He was classified as a laborer.<sup>8</sup> In 1876, Tom was under contract with George W. Wright and Co. of Pensacola, a lumber company, to operate a lathe. Fifteen months later he “mutilated” his hand on the lathe and blamed the company for failing to keep the machine in safe operating condition. He sued for \$5,000, but the court did not find in his favor.<sup>9</sup> Tom became a carpenter, a trade he continued the rest of his life. His sons, John and Ernest, were also carpenters.<sup>10</sup>

About 1875, Tom married Nancy Jackson. Although she was born in Florida, both her parents were from Virginia.<sup>11</sup> By 1895, eight children were born of this marriage. These include John, Thomas, Annie, Ernest, Matilda, Pearl, Frank, and one child

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6. Manuscript returns of Seventh U. S. Census, 1850, Schedule II (slaves), Pensacola, Escambia County FL, 133B; Eighth U. S. Census, 1860, Schedule II (slaves), Pensacola, Escambia County, FL, 6, on microfilm, John C. Pace Library.

7. Francisco died in 1883, Mandrell, *Our Family: Facts and Fancies, The Moreno and Related Families*, 31-96.

8. Ninth U. S. Census, 1870, 69.

9. *T. Moreno v. Wright and Dorr*, case no. 1878-6137, filed February 4, 1878, Escambia County Circuit Court.

10. Twelfth U. S. Census, 1900, 197A; Thirteenth U. S. Census, 1910, 5577B.

11. Thirteenth U. S. Census, 1910, 5577B.

for whom no name is recorded. One can trace the family residence in Pensacola from Nineteenth Avenue and Second Street in 1893, to Wright Street (near Bayou Texar) in 1903, to East Chase Street in 1910. Tom and his family resided at 608 East Chase Street for many years. About 1939 or 1940, the family moved to 1115 North Sixth Avenue and was living there when Nancy died on November 18, 1940, and Tom two years later.<sup>12</sup> They are buried in Magnolia Cemetery, Milton, Florida. In 1988, the family included three grandchildren, three great-grandchildren, fifteen great-great-grandchildren, thirty-three great-great-great-grandchildren, and six great-great-great-great-grandchildren, for a total of sixty people.<sup>13</sup>

In the interview with Tom, Miss Hargis classified him as "creole." A number of blacks in Pensacola considered themselves creoles and segregated themselves from the rest of the black population.<sup>14</sup> Pensacola creoles were a distinct group in the community and literally created their own particular classification. According to the normally accepted criterion, there was only one way for Tom to have been a creole; he had to have some Spanish (or Caucasian) blood which was possible. On the other hand, if he had been raised by the Morenos, he might have considered himself a creole because of the Spanish heritage acquired through his association with the family. His interview notes his affection for things Spanish and especially Spanish cooking.

#### TOM MORENO'S INTERVIEW WITH MODESTE HARGIS, 1937

"I was born in 1841 in Pensacola, Fla. I was christened in the Episcopal Church.

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12. Pensacola city directories for 1893-1894, 1903, 1910, 1911, 1919-1920, 1927-1928, 1931, 1940, and 1942, Special Collections, John C. Pace Library. See also Reese to editor, *Pensacola Journal*.

13. Information provide by Moreno family members.

14. Ruth B. Barr and Modeste Hargis, "The Voluntary Exile of Free Negroes of Pensacola," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 17 (July 1938), 3-4; Linda Ellsworth, "Pensacola's Creoles: Remnants of a Culture," 1-16, unpublished manuscript in the files of the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, Pensacola. See also D. C. LaFoy, "A Historical Review of Three Gulf Coast Creole Communities," *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 3 (Spring 1988), 6-19.

“The Lord has been very good to me,” he said. “I have lived to see grown up great grand daughters. I have been married seventy-one years and I have traveled many places.

“All the old Spanish people had Claret wine by the barrels. You didn’t see drunk people on the streets in those days. There was pitchers full at the dinner table. Childrun was raised on it. The chillun in those days– people didn’t care which way they went. They let them run loose fat as little pigs. They didn’t have no doctor every time they had something wrong with them. Every morning they gave them a teaspoon of dogwood, cherry bark, and whiskey and let ‘em go.

“I didn’t fool with all these doctors. Taint good for nothing all these medicines. If I can get my roots, I’ll get ‘em. I gather Queen’s Delight, wild sage, sassafras, catnip, peppermint and prickley [sic] pear. That prickley [sic] pear, you see it over yonder in the corner of my garden, is the most valuable thing I got. It’s worth thousands of dollars if you know how to use ‘em. It’s going to make the hair grow, and the finest kind of a hair tonic. I also makes medicine of it, but I’m not going to tell you how.

“One time I was recommended to build a home for a white lady here. She spent so much money on herself, more than a thousand dollars and still couldn’t get herself cured. One day she said to me, ‘Moreno, if I had a gun, I’d blow my brains out. No, mam, Don’t do that. Self murder is one sin that the Lord doesn’t forgive.’ She had heard that I made medicines. She asked me. ‘Moreno, are you in the habit of telling everything you know?’ As I says, ‘no, mam, why?’ She told me that she had thought my medicine would help her. I fixed her up two boxes. I only charged her \$7.50. She was cured and she was so happy that she did her work right along.

#### *Spanish Cooking*

“When a Spaniard was doin’ his cookin’ and you come along a block away, you would want to go right in there. He used plenty of garlic, pepper, onions and tomatoes. You couldn’t stand their coffee. It was so strong. I used to work for a captain here. Every morning I parched and ground coffee by hand. It all came in boatloads from Cuba and they used the very best, not with any chickory [sic]. The captain was a Frenchman from New Orleans. I used to pack the coffee into the pot. I’d put a small amount of boiling water on it and let it sweat out. It would

seep out just like poison and the captain would drink a small cup of it.

“Bananas and plantains came in. In Cuba and in old Pensacola they used to have bum boats peddling things.<sup>15</sup> Oranges and figs grew all around Pensacola. I hang irons on my trees to keep them from freezing. My mother belonged to a very rich lady who lived in Holmes Valley, ten miles from Vernon. She set them free and went to California. Her brother in law, Baker, stole the colored folks and took them to the slave market in Pensacola. He sold them for \$900.00. I was not born yet. When the lady in California, I don’t remember her name, heard about it, she came right away. She took us all back and Baker lost his \$900.00. I was then born. She held me in her arms all the time. She took us to a hotel out in East Pensacola and kept us there a while. After that she made Baker the gardeen [guardian] over us to see that nobody got us.<sup>16</sup>

“There was a selling of slaves in the public square. They used to kidnap the colored people and then sell them very cheap for slaves. They picked out the good looking daughter and married her. Colored people had to have gardeens. They paid the slaves \$5.00 and the gardeen got the rest.

“At the Navy Yard in Pensacola they treated them well. You couldn’t whip a slave here. But some places they was mean as dogs. The worst place ever I went was a place near Sparta, Alabama, just above Brewton. I got off the train at sundown. There was one man that had about a hundred slaves. He had a large log in front of the house and it had two rings driven into it. They was made fast to those and lashed and then he made the bullhide sing. It kept on until ten and eleven o’clock at night. He bathed them in blood and then rubbed them down with salt and pepper. I got out of that town the next morning. I couldn’t stand it.

15. Bumboats were used to peddle provisions, etc., to vessels in port or anchored off shore.

16. For the appointment of gar-deens (guardians) for “Free People of Color” in Pensacola, see Barr and Hargis, “The Voluntary Exile of Free Negroes of Pensacola,” 9-14. Francisco Moreno was appointed guardian of Isabella and Maria Durant (p. 13). A search of the Escambia County deed books, wherein appointments of guardians are recorded, did not reveal any reference to a guardian named Baker, nor any free blacks named Moreno for whom guardians had been appointed. Thus, if Tom is correct in his statement about Baker as a guardian, perhaps this is recorded somewhere other than Pensacola or Escambia County.



“When the slaves was bad, their massa gave them a note that they couldn’t read, and he would carry this note to the jailer who would give him a whipping. Then he would say, ‘Now you go home and be a good boy.’

“I was sitting in my yard on Aragon Street when the first gun was fired. The first Florida Regiment fooled them all. They made out as if they were on Jeff Davis’s side and they were all on Abe Lincoln’s side. So many of the soldiers were buried on Santa Rosa Island. Then they left Pensacola and went to Fort Morgan where they fought eight days and nights without ceasing. I was old enough to ride the horses and I stayed with them till just before the end of the war. I came back to Pensacola Navy Yard and then went to Philadelphia and stayed four years. My brother never did come back. He went to Maine.<sup>17</sup> I returned to Pensacola, shipped out and went to sea, landing at Cuba. There I found mo’ war. We loaded the ship with sugar and syrup. We went to Matanzas and Mount Tanimar. Then I went to Boston, but I got off the ship. She was going to the strait and I didn’t want to go. I shipped on another vessel to Mobile. I came back to Pensacola and went to Molina to work in the mill. Ayer was one of the first to have a big mill up there.

“In those days Milton was called Scratch Ankle. Floridatown was nothing but a settlement. There was a cotton factory at Arcadia and mills at Bagdad. In traveling we used to go across Carpenter’s Creek, where there was a fording place. There wasn’t any bridge across Bayou Texar like there is now.

“Jacob Kelker owned piles of land around Floridatown. He still owns some. The creek there is called Jacob’s Creek for him. My wife is a cousin of the Kelkers. I remember all the Spaniards and a few of the English who were here. One of them used to sit on his porch and cry, ‘Jesus Christ was a dark complected man and had very large eyebrows.’ He had his coffin made long before he died and every morning he used to git in it and say, ‘Here restes [?] in Heaven. Oh, I wish I were dead.’ All day Sunday the people had cock fights. Sometimes they had duels.

“There was two kinds of money, for the Spaniards, gold and silver. One of the old Spaniards [Francisco Moreno?] found a chest full of gold near Baylen Street. He took it to the blacksmith

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17. His brother’s name was John, and according to Tom’s daughter, Annie Reese, he never returned to Pensacola. Reese to editor, *Pensacola Journal*.

shop and told the smith, 'You open dis chest. I pay you.' The next day when he came back the chest was there full of gold. The smith met him in the door with a hammer and said, 'I kill you. You make me out tief, stealing gold.' And the Spaniard had to beg for his life. He paid the smith for opening the chest. He loved gold so that when he loaned money, or sold land he wouldn't take checks or bills. Every bit of it had to be paid in gold.

"He had three wives, but he was so afraid of dying that when his wives died, he wouldn't go any nearer the cemetery than Alcaniz and Intendencia Street. 'I go there soon enough,' he say. Every evening he used to ride in a hack. He told the driver not to go near the cemetery. He was reading one day and when he looked up they were in the gate of the cemetery. Not one cent would he pay the driver.

"In the Spanish American War I was following my trade as a carpenter. I helped to build the large lighters. During the World War, I helped build ships at the shipyard. They used to call me and tell me to come work at the navy yard and I could have a home on the reservoir long as I lived, but I never would go.

"Before Witherspoon came to Pensacola everybody was one big family, and whites and colored worked together for the good of everyone.<sup>18</sup> We used to make from \$6.00 to \$10.00 a day. But Witherspoon sold the colored people out. He promised them all kinds of things and after he left the colored women had to pull grass in the parks.

"There is one white man who is burning in the bad place for trying to take my land from me. I was working at Point Washington at the mill. I heard that he was trying to get my land so I come back in a hurry. When I came back, my friend, Wright, said, 'Have you any money?' A little bit. 'Then get a lawyer.' I did, but there wasn't much in the case except what I said. Then the jury went out and hardly stayed ten minutes. They came back and said, 'We find that this man has a title deed to the land.'

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18. Witherspoon cannot be positively identified. There is a George W. Witherspoon noted in the 1885-1886 Pensacola directory. He was listed as pastor of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and as a city commissioner for Pensacola.

“The meanest man that was ever in Pensacola was Sam Pollard. He lied and he stole. One day he went up to Jo Shierra [José Sierra] and said to him ‘My wife can’t take care of the goose. I sell them to you cheap, for \$3.00 a dozen.’ Shierra said, ‘All right, you bring them goose here.’ When Sam brought them he told Shierra, ‘You better be careful. You better watch. People steal you goose.’ That night Shierra sat up until four o’clock watching. He went in to get his coffee. When he came back half of the geese were gone. When he met Pollard that day, Pollard ask him ‘How dem goose?’ The next night the rest of them disappeared.

“He stole a fine western cow and took her across the other side of the bayou, and hid her in the bushes. When Hutchinson came to look for the cow and found her, Pollard said, ‘That not you cow. That my cow.’ Hutchinson said, ‘I don’t want to send you to jail or to kill you, but if you don’t drive that cow across bayou, I’ll shoot you down. Mind, no tricks now.’

“While they were fording the Bayou, Pollard caused the cow to trip and upset Hutchinson in the Bayou. Hutchinson got up and said, ‘You hurt that cow? I’ll kill you.’ She wasn’t hurt. Pollard ended up by gettin’ lynched.

“There was haunted houses all round Pensacola. You didn’t never know when you was going to get in one. I’m going to [tell] you the truth, I remember the house that I used to live in. Me and my wife lived in one half and a woman had the other half. It was on the short street [Bru]. That woman on the other side was tormented but she just moved out and wouldn’t tell us there was ghosts. One night I was lyin’ in the bed and something come walkin’ and walkin’ and just worried me to death. Somethin’ tall and thin and white come in the room and stood over me and my wife. The dishes would rattle and me and my wife both went out of the window. That must have been the house where the sailor was murdered and there was blood all over this house. I had a dog that Gam Bell gave me. One night he hollered an awful holler and I haven’t seen that dog till this day.

“There was a house by Escambia Bridge. Every night when the moon was bright as day, there would be a crunching on the oyster shells and the tallest man I ever seen or heard of would walk about. They wanted me to follow him but I wouldn’t do it. One time a woman followed him and went to a certain spot where she dug up a jar of gold. Anybody born with a caul over

the eye can see spirits. When you die, your body is in the cemetery. Your soul and spirit are not. They are in the wind, everywhere.

“There weren’t pirates right in Pensacola. They were on the peninsula and the island. There’s a graveyard on the island. You can’t find it but one time. When you go back, it will be gone. Near Forty-nine Point there was a hole in the ground. They tried and tried but they couldn’t get to the bottom.

“If you spend the night at that place on the island, I’ll guarantee you can’t sleep. You’ll hear guns and shooting, horses runnin’ and commands given same as in war. The noise was terrible. At Town Point, if you go over there any night at twelve o’clock and anchor your boat, you’ll hear the most beautiful music that nobody knows where it comes from. Town Point was really treasure ground.

“There was once a young man who, when he was a good lad of a boy, about eighteen or nineteen years old, killed another fellow with a Barlowe knife. In those days the courts would keep after you for years and years, especially if you’d killed a person. One day years later this man wrote a note at his office on Palafox Street and killed himself. In the note he said that the man he killed had come for him and said to him, ‘Get yourself ready. It’s time for you to go with me.’

#### *Yellow Fever*

“The last big fever we had was in 1882. I seen them die like sheep. it used to always be fever and smallpox, but it isn’t that way now.

“There was one old colored man who wanted his daughter to marry a white man so bad that he offered \$10,000 to any white fellow who would marry her. He had more money than he had sense.”

## 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 master's theses completed in 1987 are included. Research in Florida history, sociology, anthropology, political science, archaeology, geography, and urban studies is listed.

### *Auburn University*

Robin F. A. Fabel (faculty)– “The Narrative of Pierre Viaud as History” (continuing study).

David J. Stanhope– “Trade in British Mobile” (master's thesis in progress).

### *Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University*

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

### *Florida Atlantic University*

Donald W. Curl and Fred L. Eckel (faculty) – *Lost Palm Beach* (published).

Donald W. Curl and John Johnson – *Boca Raton: An Illustrated History* (published).

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

### *Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research*

Charles Ewen– “Soldier of Fortune: Hernando de Soto in the Territory of Apalachee, 1539-1540” (publication forthcoming).

[340]

- B. Calvin Jones– “San Pedro y San Pablo, Seventeenth-Century Apalachee Mission” (publication forthcoming).
- B. Calvin Jones and Charles Ewen– “Archaeology of the de Soto Site” (continuing study).
- B. Calvin Jones and Gary Shapiro– “Nine Mission Sites in Apalachee” (publication forthcoming).
- John H. Hann– “Juan Baiva, Prototype of Colonial Florida’s Spanish Friar”; “Missions of Western Timucua (continuing studies); “Translations of the Apalachee Portions of the de Soto Chronicles and the Cabeza de Vaca Accounts”; “Mission to the Calusa” (translations); “Summary Guide to the Missions of Florida” (publications forthcoming).
- Gary Shapiro and John H. Hann– “Documentary Image of the Council House of Spanish Florida Tested by Excavations at the Mission San Luis de Talimali” (publication forthcoming).

*Florida Division of Historical Resources*

- Brent Weisman– “Archaeology of Mission San Martín de Timucua, Columbia County” (continuing study).

*Florida Historical Society*

- Lewis Nick Wynne (faculty)– “Still They Sail: Shipbuilding in Tampa During W.W. II”; “Punishment, Profits, and Public Opinion: The Convict Lease System in the South, 1865-1910” (continuing studies).
- Lewis Nick Wynne and John Belohlaveck (eds.)– “Divided We Fall: An Examination of Confederate Leadership” (publication forthcoming).

*Florida Museum of Natural History*

- Kenneth W. Johnson– “Aboriginal Settlements in Early Spanish Period North Central Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- William Marquardt (faculty)– “Culture and Environment in the Domain of the Calusa” (publication forthcoming); “Archaeology of the Calusa Indians and their Prehistoric Ancestors” (continuing study).

- William E. McGoun– “Archaeology of South Florida, An Overview” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)– “Archaeology of the Hernando de Soto Expedition in Florida and its Impact on Native Peoples”; “Archaeology of the Santa Fe Mission” (continuing studies).
- Jeffrey M. Mitchen– “Redefining Saftey Harbor: Late Prehistoric/Protohistoric Archaeology in West Peninsular Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Claudine Payne– “Political Transformation within Chiefdoms: The Prehistoric and Historic Apalachee of Northwest Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Donna L. Ruhl– “They Could Not Live on Bread Alone: A Paleoethnobotanical Analysis of 16th and 17th Century Coastal Spanish Mission Sites in La Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Rebecca Saunders– “Archaeology of the Santa Catalina and Santa Maria Spanish Missions, Amelia Island” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

*Florida Southern College*

- Larry J. Durrence (faculty)– “The Role of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching in Florida” (continuing study).

*Florida State University*

- Frank W. Alduino– “Prohibition in Tampa, 1880-1932” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Tim Barton– “Ethnohistorical Researches of Cemeteries in Leon County, Florida” (master’s thesis in progress).
- Neil B. Betten and Edward F. Keuchel (faculty)– “Homicide and Capital Punishment: Jacksonville, 1870-1920” (continuing study).
- Kathryn Holland Braund– “Political, Economic, and Social Impact of Trade with the British on the Creeks, 1763-1783” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- James H. Denham– “Crime and Criminal Justice in Antebellum Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation completed).
- Charlotte Downey-Anderson– “Desegregation and Southern Mores in Madison County, 1956-1980” (master’s thesis in progress).

- Glen H. Doran and David N. Dickel (faculty)– “Windover (8,000 year-old burial pond) Archaeological Research Project, Titusville” (continuing study).
- Mary Louise Ellis– “Benjamin Chaires, Entrepreneur of Territorial Florida” (continuing study).
- Judith E. Fandrich– “Revision: A New Look at St. Johns II Subsistence” (master’s thesis completed).
- Anne G. Foshee– “Exploitation of Forest Resources in Early Florida” (master’s thesis in progress).
- Miriam Freeman– “The Early Decades of Florida State College for Women” (master’s thesis in progress).
- Peter P. Garretson (faculty)– “General William Wing Loring: A Florida Pasha in the Egyptian Army, 1869-1879”; “Pasha Loring’s Dispatch to Khedive Ismail Following his Defeat at the Hands of the Ethiopian Army at the Battle of Gura, 1876” (continuing studies).
- Peter P. Garretson and David Coles– “Life of General William Wing Loring” (continuing study).
- Bruce Grindal (faculty)– “Religious Life and Experience in North Florida” (continuing study).
- Susan Hamburger– “The Development of the Horse Racing Industry in Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); “Survey of Leon County Quail Plantations”; “History of Hospitals in Tallahassee”; “Letters of the Family of George Fairbanks in Civil War Florida” (continuing studies).
- Diane Harney– “Rhetoric of the Pepper-Smathers Election” (master’s thesis in progress).
- William Hickey– “Key West Salvagers before the Civil War” (master’s thesis in progress).
- Susan Hortenstine– “Historical and Ethnographic Study of a Rural Methodist Church in Leon County, Florida” (master’s thesis in progress).
- James P. Jones (faculty)– “History of Florida State College for Women” (continuing study).
- Ric Kabat– “The Administration of Albert Waller Gilchrist” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Edward F. Keuchel– “Oral History of the First Twenty Years of Florida State University” (continuing study).
- Edward F. Keuchel and Joe Knetsch– “Surveying the Arredondo Grant in Columbia County, Florida” (continuing study).



- Susan Losh (faculty)– “Cohesiveness and Commitment in Florida Churches” (continuing study).
- Rochelle A. Marrinan– “Mission San Pedro y San Pablo de Patale” (field school, continuing study).
- William Warren Rogers (faculty) – *A History of Foshalee Plantation* (published); “A History of Tallahassee Capital City Bank” (continuing study).
- William Warren Rogers and Mary Louise Ellis – *A Pictorial and Narrative History of Tallahassee, Florida* (published).
- Brian Rucker– “Manufacturing in the Pensacola Area to 1860” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Mark Sannino– “Italian Immigrants in Florida” (master’s thesis in progress).
- Robert Taylor– “Florida’s Economic Contribution to the Confederacy” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Raymond B. Vickers– “Florida Banking in the 1920s” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Sally Vickers– “Ruth Bryan Owens” (master’s thesis in progress).
- Lynn Ware– “History of the Apalachicola River, 1800 1865” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Roderick Watters– “Senator Gwynn Cherry” (master’s thesis in progress).
- Linda D. Wolfe and Elizabeth H. Peters– “History of the Freeranging Rhesus Monkeys (*Maccaca Mulatta*) of Silver Springs” (published, 1987).

*Historic Keys Preservation Board*

- Love Dean – *Reef Lights: Seaswept Lighthouses of the Florida Keys* (publication forthcoming of revised edition with new material).
- Joan and Wright Langley– “Aviation History of Key West” (publication forthcoming).
- Wright Langley and Sharon Wells– “Harry S. Truman’s Little White House” (continuing study).

*Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board*

- Valarie Jackson Bell– “An Eighteenth-Century High Status Residential Site in St. Augustine”; “Three Sixteenth-Century Burials in St. Augustine” (continuing studies).

- Stanley C. Bond, Jr. – *Excavations and Monitoring on St. George Street, St. Augustine, Florida* (published).
- Stanley C. Bond, Jr., and Susan R. Parker– “Investigations of the Sabate Plantation: A Nineteenth-Century Minorcan Farm”; “St. Johns County Historical, Archaeological, and Architectural Report” (continuing studies).
- Christine Newman and Bryan Guevin– “City of St. Augustine Archaeological Preservation Ordinance” (continuing study).
- Christine Newman and Bruce Piatek, in collaboration with the city of St. Augustine– “Archaeological Investigations of the Rosario Redoubt” (continuing study).

*Historical Association of Southern Florida*

- David Blackard, Patsy West, Daniel O. Markus, Rebecca A. Smith, Tina Bucuvalas, and J. Andrew Brian– “Indians of Florida” (exhibition forthcoming).
- Miguel Bretos, Rebecca A. Smith, Tina Bucuvalas, Daniel O. Markus, and J. Andrew Brian– “Cuban Florida” (exhibition forthcoming).
- Tina Bucuvalas– “South Florida Forklife” (continuing study); “Shell Monuments: Tourist and Folk Art in South Florida” (publication forthcoming).
- Tina Bucuvalas and J. Andrew Brian– “Tropical Traditions: Folklife in South Florida” (exhibition forthcoming).
- Robert S. Carr, William S. Steele, Amy Felmley, and J. Andrew Brian– “The Cutler Site: Archaeology in South Florida” (exhibition forthcoming).
- Dorothy Fields– “Black Archives, History and Research Foundation of South Florida” (continuing study).
- Joseph H. Fitzgerald, Rebecca A. Smith, and J. Andrew Brian– “Routes of Discovery: Charting the New World” (exhibition forthcoming).
- Paul S. George, Tina Bucuvalas, Rebecca A. Smith, Daniel O. Markus, and J. Andrew Brian– “South Florida Tourism” (exhibition forthcoming).
- Arva Moore Parks– “Dade County” (continuing study).
- Thelma Peters– “Buena Vista”; “Personal Travels in the West Indies” (continuing studies).
- William S. Steele– “Military History of the Joe Robbie Dol-

- phin Stadium Site"; "Major General Thomas S. Jesup's South Florida Campaign" (publications forthcoming).  
Patsy West— "Photographic History of the Seminoles and Miccosukees"; "Seminoles in Tourist Attractions" (continuing studies).

*Hong Kong Baptist College*

- J. Barton Starr (faculty)— "The Loyalists of British East Florida, 1763-1783" (continuing study).

*Jacksonville University*

- George E. Buker (faculty emeritus)— "Jacksonville: The Janus Port, A History of the Port of Jacksonville, 1562-1988" (continuing study).  
Joan Carver and Wynn Teasley (faculty)— "City Council Voting Patterns: Jacksonville and Pensacola" (continuing study).

*Louisiana State University*

- Paul E. Hoffman — *A New Andalusia and a Way to the Orient: A History of the American Southeast During the Sixteenth Century* (published); "Encounters between European Hopes and New World Realities, The Case of Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón, 1526" (published).

*National Park Service*

- John W. Griffin— "The Archaeology of Everglades National Park: A Synthesis" (publication forthcoming); "The History of Florida Archaeology"; "Highlights in the History of Florida Archaeology"; "Changing Perspectives on the Spanish Missions of La Florida"; "The Archaeology of Flagler County" (continuing studies).

*Saint Leo College*

- James J. Horgan (faculty)— "Centennial History of Saint Leo College" (publication forthcoming).

*State University of New York*

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

*Stetson University*

William J. Dreggors and Steve Hess– “A Pictorial History of West Volusia County, 1870-1940” (publication forthcoming).

Evans C. Johnson (faculty)– “An Oral Biography of J. Ollie Edmunds, President of Stetson University (1948-1967)” (continuing study).

*Tallahassee Community College*

Fred Akers – *John Frederick Mathews: Educator, Scholar, and Member of the Harlem Renaissance* (published).

*University of Central Florida*

Edmund F. Kallina (faculty)– “Gubernatorial Administration of Claude Kirk” (continuing study).

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

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

*University of Florida*

Ignacio Avellaneda– “De Soto’s Men: The Survivors of the Florida Conquest” (publication forthcoming).

Arch Frederic Blakey (faculty)– “Civil War Papers of the Bryant-Stephen Families” (continuing study); “Florida” (published in the 1988 *World Book Encyclopedia*).

Everett W. Caudle– “King Cotton Comes to North-Central Florida: A Study of the Forces Shaping Emigration in the Late Antebellum Era”; “‘We Have a Duty to Perform’: The Florida Black Codes of 1865-1866” (completed studies); “The Social Role of the Militia in the Antebellum South” (master’s thesis in progress).

- Jeffrey Charbonnet— “Reform Politics in Alachua County, Florida, 1927-1973” (master’s thesis in progress).
- William C. Childers (faculty)— “Garth Wilkerson James and Robertson James: Abolitionists in Gainesville During Reconstruction” (continuing study).
- James C. Clark— “The Pepper-Smathers 1950 Senatorial Primary” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- David R. Colburn (faculty)— “Florida’s Governors Confront the *Brown* Decision: The Process of School Desegregation, 1954-1970”; “The Roaring Twenties in Florida” (continuing studies).
- David Dodrill— “The Gulf American Land Corporation and the Building of Cape Coral, Florida, 1957-1969” (master’s thesis in progress).
- Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. (faculty)— “The History of the Florida Historical Society”; “Railroads of North Central Florida”; “Biography of David Levy Yulee” (continuing studies).
- Michael Gannon (faculty)— “A Quincentenary History of Florida”; “The Administration of Florida Governor Juan Marquéz Cabrera, 1680-1687”; “German-United States Warfare in the North Atlantic, 1941-1942 (U-Boats off the Florida Coast)” (continuing studies).
- Patricia S. Garretson— “Culture and Community in Late Antebellum Alachua County” (master’s thesis in progress).
- Patricia C. Griffin— “Tourist Influence on Public Ritual in St. Augustine, Florida: 1821-1987” (Ph.D. dissertation completed); “An African Slave in St. Augustine” (continuing study).
- Kermit L. Hall (faculty)— “History of the Federal District Court of Florida” (continuing study).
- E. A. Hammond (faculty emeritus)— “History of the Medical Profession in Florida, 1821-1875” (continuing study).
- Yael Herbsman (librarian)— “Jewish Life in Florida, 1854-1900” (continuing study).
- Sherry Johnson— “Women in St. Augustine in the Second Spanish Period” (master’s thesis in progress).
- John Paul Jones (faculty)— “History of the Florida Press Association, 1879-1968” (continuing study).
- Patricia Kenney— “LaVilla, Florida, 1865-1910: A Community in Transition” (master’s thesis in progress).

- Jane Landers– “Race Relations in Spanish St. Augustine, 1784-1821” (Ph.D. dissertation completed); “Jorge Biasou: Black Caudillo in Spanish St. Augustine, 1796-1806”; “Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose: Free Black Town in First Period Spanish Florida” (continuing studies).
- Robert Lauriault– “A Pilot Statistical Study of Damaging Freezes on Land Tenure in Five Florida Citrus Producing Counties, 1885-1985” (continuing study).
- Eugene Lyon (faculty)– “The Spanish North American Conquest by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, 1568-1577” (continuing study).
- Kevin McCarthy– “Contemporary Florida Authors” (continuing study).
- Susan R. Parker– “Anglo-American Settlers of the St. Johns and St. Marys River Basins During the Second Spanish Period” (master’s thesis in progress).
- George Pozzetta (faculty) and Randall Miller, editors– *Shades of the Sunbelt: Essays on Ethnicity and Race and the Urban South* (published).
- Samuel Proctor (faculty)– “Essays in Southern Jewish History” (continuing study).
- Michael R. Scanlon– “At-large Elections in the Progressive Era in Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Susan Sowell– “History of Archer, Florida” (master’s thesis in progress).
- Arthur O. White (faculty)– “William N. Sheats: A Biography, 1851-1922” (continuing study).

#### *University of Georgia*

- Charles Hudson (faculty) and Jerald T. Milanich– “Hernando de Soto and the Florida Indians” (publication forthcoming).

#### *University of Miami*

- Greg Bush (faculty)– “Behind the Magic City: Urban Development and the Redemption of Leisure in Miami, 1896-1930” (continuing study).
- Paul S. George (faculty)– “A Jewel In The Wilderness: A History of Fort Lauderdale from Early Times To 1911”;

“An Enduring Covenant: Temple Emanu-El, 1938-1988” (research completed); “A Guide To the History of Florida”; “Reaching for Utopia: The Liberty Square Housing Project, 1937-1987”; “‘Land By the Gallon’: The Progresso Land Lottery, 1911” (publications forthcoming); “A History of Tourism in Florida”; “Florida During World War II” (continuing studies).

Paul S. George, Charlton Tebeau, and Wright Langley—*Hurricane History: A Pictorial History of the University of Miami* (publication forthcoming).

*University of North Florida*

James Crooks (faculty)— “After the Fire: Jacksonville in the Progressive Era” (publication forthcoming); “Jacksonville Renaissance Since City-County Consolidation in 1968” (continuing study).

Daniel Schafer (faculty)— “Slaves and Free Blacks in Duval County, 1821-1861” (publication forthcoming); “A History of British East Florida” (continuing study).

*University of South Alabama*

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

*University of South Florida*

Ray Arsenault (faculty) — *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream, 1888-1950* (published); “Cultural History of Florida” (continuing study).

Marylaire Crake— “Women’s Clubs in Tampa, 1900-1930” (master’s thesis in progress).

Jack Davis— “Race Relations in North Florida’s Black Belt” (master’s thesis in progress).

Nancy Hewitt (faculty)— “Working Women in Tampa, 1885-1945” (continuing study).

Robert P. Ingalls (faculty) — *Urban Vigilantes in th New South: Tampa, 1882-1936* (published).

Gary R. Mormino (faculty)— “Biography of Claude Pepper”;

“A Social History of Florida, 1492-1992” (continuing studies).

James Todd– “The W.P.A. in Hillsborough and Pinellas Counties” (master’s thesis in progress).

*University of Tampa*

James Covington– “The Negro Fort”; “The Seminole Indian Murderers of Daniel Hubbard”; “History of the Seminole’ Indians of Florida” (continuing studies).

*University of West Florida*

William S. Coker (faculty)– “The Effect of the Reign of Charles III upon La Florida”; “West Florida During the Reign of Charles III” (publications forthcoming).

Mary Dawkins– “St. Michael’s Catholic Church, 1820-1860” (master’s thesis in progress).

Jane Dysart (faculty)– “Antebellum Pensacola” (continuing study).

Wendell L. Griffith– “The Royal Spanish Presidio San Miguel de Panzacola, 1753-1763” (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

Tom Muir– “William Alexander Blount” (master’s thesis completed).

George F. Pearce (faculty)– “A History of Pensacola, 1860-1900” (continuing study).

*Valdosta State College*

Fred Lamar Pearson (faculty)– “Spanish-Indian Relations in Florida, 17th Century”; “The Guale Indian Revolt” (continuing studies).

*Consulting and/or Research Historians*

Anthony Q. Devereux– “The New World Policies of Ferdinand, Isabella, and Charles I as Shown in the Life of Juan Ponce de Leon” (continuing study).

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

George W. Wertz and Yvonne Yniestra Wertz– “Silas Dinsmoor” (continuing study).



Patricia Wickman— “Following in the Footsteps of Osceola: A Photographic Journal”; “Jewish Mosaic: The Story of the Jews in Florida, 1821-1990” (continuing studies).

*University Presses of Florida, Forthcoming Publications*

Patricia Nassif Acton – *Invasion of Privacy: The Cross Creek Trial of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings* (published).

Charles P. Bennett – *Twelve on the River St. Johns*.

George R. Bentley – *From Tiny Acorns: The Episcopal Diocese of Florida, 1892-1975*.

Marion S. Gilliland – *Key Marcos Buried Treasure: Archaeology and Adventure in the Nineteenth Century*.

Harry A. Kersey, Jr. – *The Florida Seminoles and the New Deal 1933-1942*.

Kevin McCarthy – *Florida Stories*.

Francisco Morales Padron, ed. – *The Journal of Don Francisco Saavedra 1780-1783*, translated by Aileen Moore Topping.

David Scheinbaurn – *Miami Beach: A Photographic Essay*.