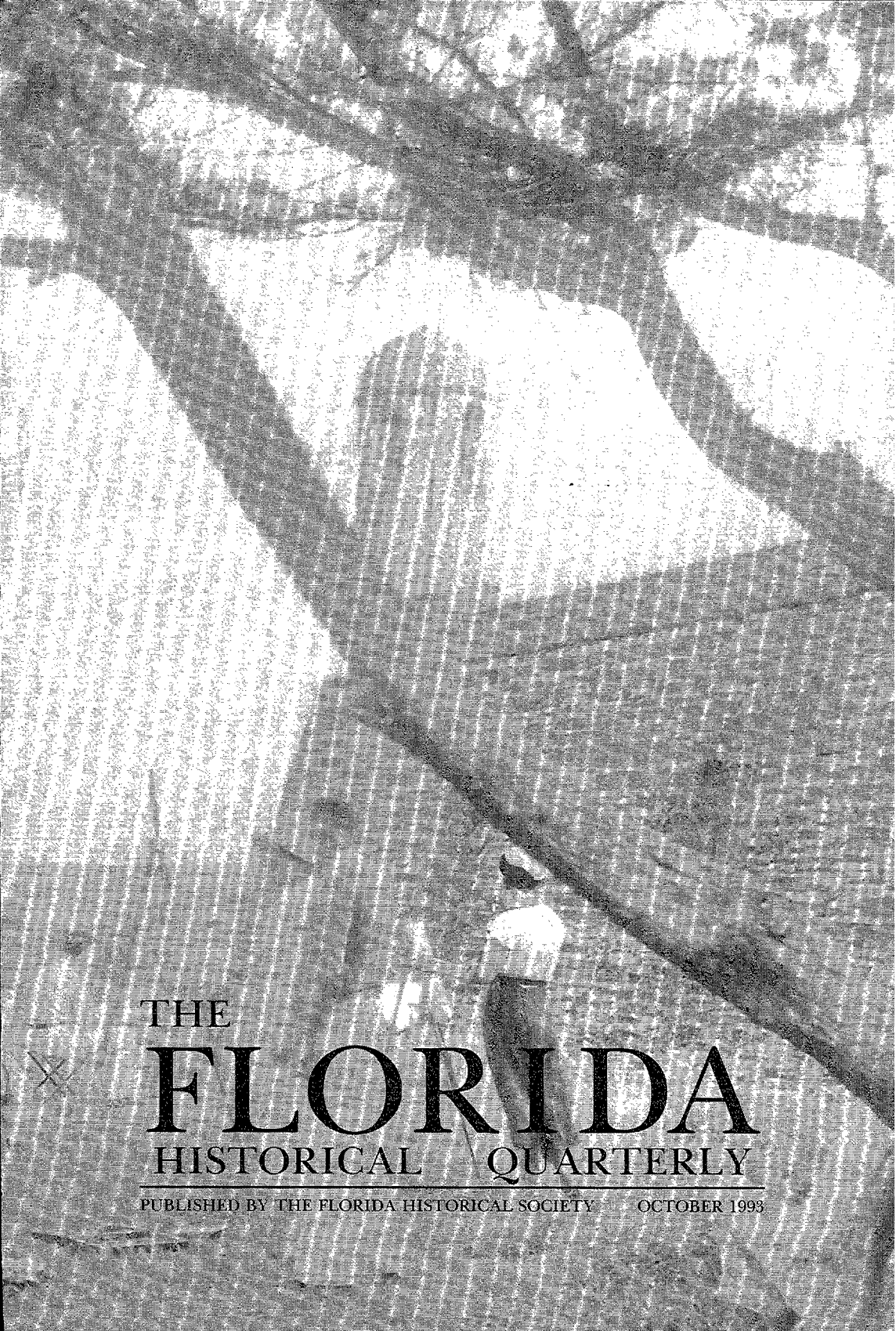

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

PUBLISHED BY THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY OCTOBER 1993

COVER

St. Augustine artists gather in the shadow of the San Carlos watchtower of the Castillo de San Marcos, c. 1930s. *Photograph courtesy Susan R. Parker.*

The Florida Historical Quarterly

Volume LXXII, Number 2

October 1993

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* (ISSN 0015-4113) is published quarterly by the Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida, 4202 E. Fowler Avenue, Tampa, FL 33620, and is printed by E. O. Painter Printing Co., DeLeon Springs, FL. Second-class postage paid at Tampa, FL, and at additional mailing office. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Florida *Historical Quarterly*, P. O. Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687.

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Box 14045, University Station, Gainesville, FL 32604-2045.

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The *Quarterly* reviews books dealing with all aspects of Florida history. Books to be reviewed should be sent to the Editor together with price and information on how they may be ordered.

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BOOK REVIEWS

SOUTHERN EXTREMITIES: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF FORT MYERS IN THE CIVIL WAR

by IRVIN D. SOLOMON

ALTHOUGH critical to American military operations in the Third Seminole War, Fort Myers would have probably faded into history after its abandonment in 1858 if not for the Civil War. Towards the end of that bloody conflict the post took on a new significance for both sides. Not only did the Union reactivate the fort in the very midst of a presumed Confederate stronghold, but it staffed the garrison with black troops– the ultimate insult to those Southerners who stubbornly remained true to the Stars and Bars. Consequently, the recommissioning of Fort Myers resulted in the largest military action of the Civil War in southwest Florida as well as numerous other wartime events that would prove important for state and nation.

From its reoccupation in January 1864, the former Seminole War garrison at Fort Myers proved to be a special irritant to both Confederate officials and local inhabitants. Most secessionists had resigned themselves to the embargo enforced by the superior Union East Gulf Blockading Squadron and periodic Union raids along the west coast, but few Florida Confederates were willing to tolerate a permanent Union post on the south Florida mainland. Furthermore, the Union garrison represented a serious threat to the extensive cattle industry of south Florida, an important source of food for the Confederate army in the eastern theater.

On February 20, 1850, Companies A and D of the Fourth United States Artillery under the command of Brevet Major L.

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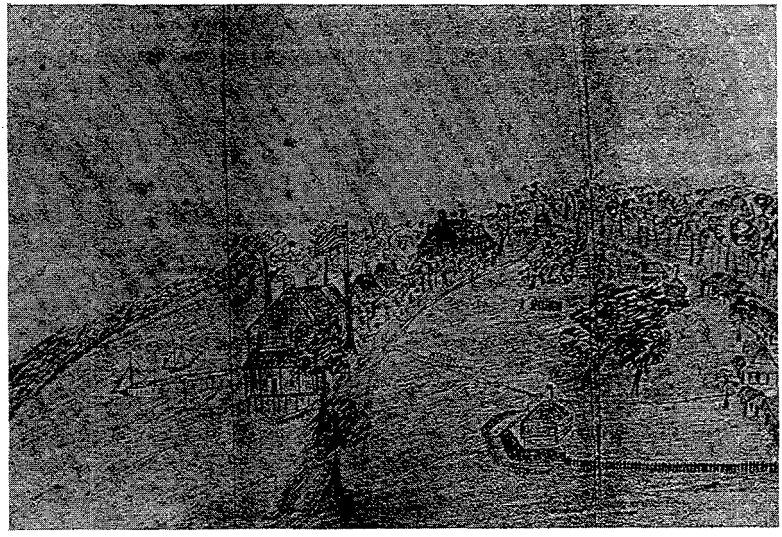

Drawing of Fort Myers in 1864 by an unknown soldier. *Courtesy District of Key West and the Tortugas, Department of the Gulf, Letters Received, RG 393, National Archives.*

C. Ridgely established Fort Myers. The federal government was increasing its presence in south Florida at that time in an attempt to solve permanently the decades-old problem of Indian disruptions in that region of the state. Located twenty miles from the Gulf of Mexico for better protection from hurricanes, the fort stood on roughly 139 acres on the south bank of the Caloosahatchee River. The new post received its name in honor of Brevet Colonel Abraham C. Myers, chief quartermaster for the Department of Florida and later a nominee for the position of quartermaster general of the Confederate States Army. The compound replaced the former Fort Harvie which had gained prominence during the Seminole campaigns of 1841-1842. Post records indicate the abandonment of Fort Myers by May 1858 after the final phase of the Third Seminole, or "Billy Bowlegs," War. In its brief history the fort gained distinction as one of the principal posts in the campaign to subdue and remove the indigenous Native Americans. Indeed, the famous Billy Bowlegs (Holatter Micco) himself unsuccessfully harassed the fort's in-

habitants on a number of occasions even though he subsequently surrendered to Federal troops at that same station.[1]

Although not an elaborate post, Fort Myers was congenial to its garrison and strategic in its location. Almira Russel Hancock, wife of famous Civil War general Winfield Scott Hancock, remembered with "much happiness" the couple's stay in 1856 at the pleasant site on the Caloosahatchee where their first child was born. The fort was composed of fifty-seven yellow-pine structures, including officers' quarters and enlisted men's barracks, an administration building, three-story hospital, blacksmith shop, two stores, drilling and exercising grounds, a large commissary and sutler's stores, a bakery, stockade, wagon yard and stables, and a l,000-foot-long wharf to receive vessels. It was noted for its well-kept appearance, unusual sea shell walk, and architecturally impressive two-story blockhouse, a sketch of which appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* in 1858. Moreover, the fort stood only a short distance up the Caloosahatchee from Punta Rassa, an outpost which at that time supplied most of the troops for the southwest Florida Indian campaigns. Together, the satellite post of Punta Rassa and the Fort Myers compound controlled the entire Caloosahatchee River, an area that stretched some 100 miles from the Gulf of Mexico to Lake Okeechobee near the geographical center of south Florida. In June 1857 a Florida editor visiting Fort Myers noted its special significance as the preeminent military post in

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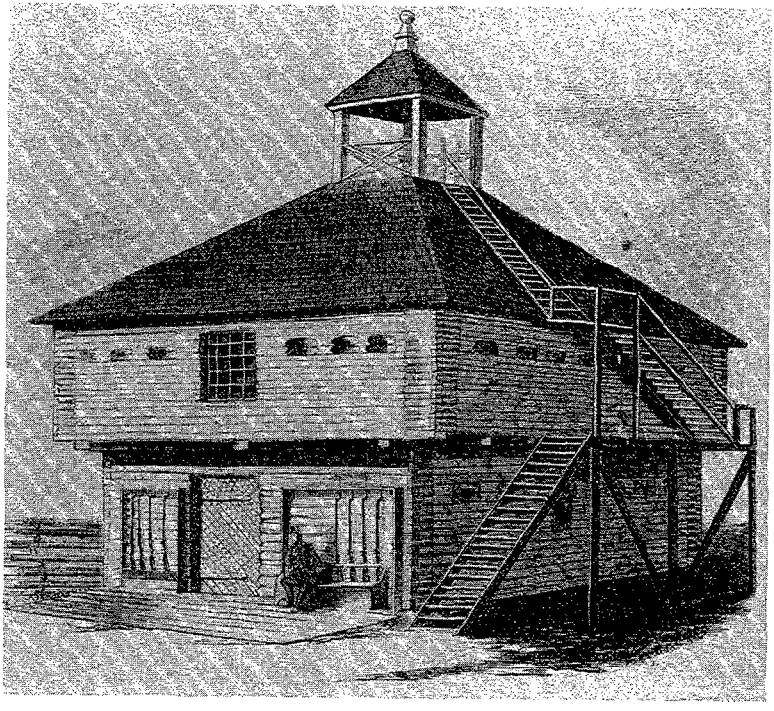
Returns from U.S. Military Posts: 1800-1916, Fort Myers, February 1850-January 1865, .M617-R827, RG 94, National Archives, Washington, DC (hereinafter, NA). See G. Davis to J. A. Seddon. April 26, 1864. United States War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (hereinafter, *ORA),* 128 vols. (Washington, 1880-1901), ser. 4, III, 319; F. A. Hendry, "A History of the Early Days in Fort Myers," manuscript, 1908, reprinted by the Captain F. A. Hendry Reunion Committee, April 12, 1985, Fort Myers Historical Museum, Fort Myers, FL, 1-2,10-11; James W. Covington, *The Billy Bowlegs War, 1855-1858: The Final Stand of the Seminoles Against the Whites* (Chuluota, FL, 1982), 14-17, 20-81; Covington, *The Story of Southwestern Florida,* 2 vols. (New York, 1957), I, 131. The spelling of proper names and places throughout this study follow that of the original document citation.



Blockhouse at Fort Myers. *Courtesy Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, October 2, 1858.*

Florida. Others described the fort as one of the "finest and largest" forts of the Seminole wars.[2]

Local Confederate supporters and sympathizers could have occupied the fort easily in the early years of the Civil War. The Confederacy, however, chose to concentrate its efforts farther up the coast of Florida, and the old site of Fort Myers remained little more than a way station for refugees until Federal troops

2. Almira R. Hancock, *Reminiscences of Winfield Scott Hancock* (New York, 1887), 26-34; Hendry, "Early Days in Fort Myers," 7, 9-10; Robert B. Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Historic Forts: The Military, Pioneers, and Trading Posts of the United States* (New York, 1988), 190; "Block-House at Fort Myers," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* October 2, 1858; D. B. McKay, ed., *Pioneer Florida,* 3 vols. (Tampa, 1959), I, 177; Simon B. Turman, Jr., "Military in Florida," [Tampa] *Florida Peninsular,* June 13, 1857.

moved to reoccupy it in January 1864.[3] At that time General D. P. Woodbury, commander of the District of Key West and the Tortugas in the Department of the Gulf, decided to reactivate Fort Myers, ostensibly as a haven for Confederate refugees and Union supporters and sympathizers.

Isolated from the war by geography and the Union blockade and alienated from the Confederate cause by conscription, taxation, and conscript "interlopers," the loyalty of south Florida citizens remained a persistent concern for Confederate officials. Woodbury estimated that there were up to 800 such "peaceable citizens" in the area, many of whom were rumored to be stockmen overseeing the sizable cattle herds of the Caloosahatchee ranges. The general set secondary goals of gathering cattle from the numerous wild and domesticated herds in the area, launching regular forays into the countryside and up the coast as far as Tampa and Bay Port, assisting the Union navy in its blockade of the Gulf coast, and attracting escaped slaves from the small numbers of such in south Florida.[4] Thus, Woodbury's actions were to transform this former outpost on the Caloosahatchee into a site of strategic concern for both Union and Confederate forces.

Woodbury's plan to use the reactivated fort as a strategic dagger made good military sense, as did his desire to have the fort supply much-needed beef to northern forces. Yet Woodbury's actions at this late stage of the war perhaps masked a less obvious goal. Woodbury probably sought to demonstrate the futility of the Confederate cause by garrisoning the fort with soldiers of the newly mobilized U.S. Colored Troops (USCT). Woodbury knew that such an action would humiliate Confederates in Florida and add the most ignoble of insults by placing

3. There was a Union report that refugees were using Fort Myers in 1863. See I. B. Baxter to senior officer, August 10, 1863, United States War Department, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (hereinafter, *ORN),* 30 vols. (Washington, 1894-1922), ser. 1, XVII, 528.

4. D. P. Woodbury to Headquarters District of Key West and the Tortugas, Woodbury to C. P. Stone, December 17, 23, 1863, *ORA,* ser. 1, XXVI, pt. 1, 873-75; Woodbury to Stone, January 22, 1864, *ORA,* ser. 1, XXXV, pt. 1, 460-61. See Samuel Proctor, ed., *Florida A Hundred Years Ago* (Coral Gables, FL, December 1963), 3-4; Rodney E. Dillon, "The Battle of Fort Myers," *Tampa Bay History* 5 (Fall/Winter 1983), 28.

the slavocracy's greatest fear– armed blacks– in the very heart of south Florida. Woodbury often hinted at this motive in his correspondence. The almost immediate deployment of black troops to Fort Myers from their station in Key West adds credence to this interpretation, as does the fact that black troops both comprised the nucleus of most Union raids into Confederate territory in Florida and remained permanent fixtures at the fort until its abandonment. In the words of one writer, Woodbury took particular pleasure in placing this "prickly pear cactus under the Confederate saddle."[5]

Predictably, state and local Confederate officials and supporters were outraged when Woodbury repositioned a small group of the 47th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers at Fort Myers in early 1864. Accompanied by General Woodbury and guided by Captain Henry A. Crane– a Union man and former newspaper editor from Tampa– and a contingent of men from the 2nd Regiment of Florida Rangers (soon to become the 2nd Florida Union Cavalry), the 47th departed Punta Rassa on the schooner *Matchless* and the steamer U.S.S. *Honduras* for the old fort site on the afternoon of January 6, 1864. The party of twenty men and two officers arrived at Fort Myers near midnight on January 7 and quickly "arrested" three Confederate loyalists– John Griffin, George Lewis, and George Tompkins– who had orders to burn the old fort if the Union attempted reoccupation.[6]

Shortly thereafter a second detachment of the 47th, accompanied by a small number of refugee families and rangers, sailed from the Charlotte Harbor area and joined the other troops at Fort Myers, all of whom came under the command of Captain Richard A. Graeffe of the 47th Volunteers. By February, however, Graeffe and the 47th were ordered to Key West in antici-

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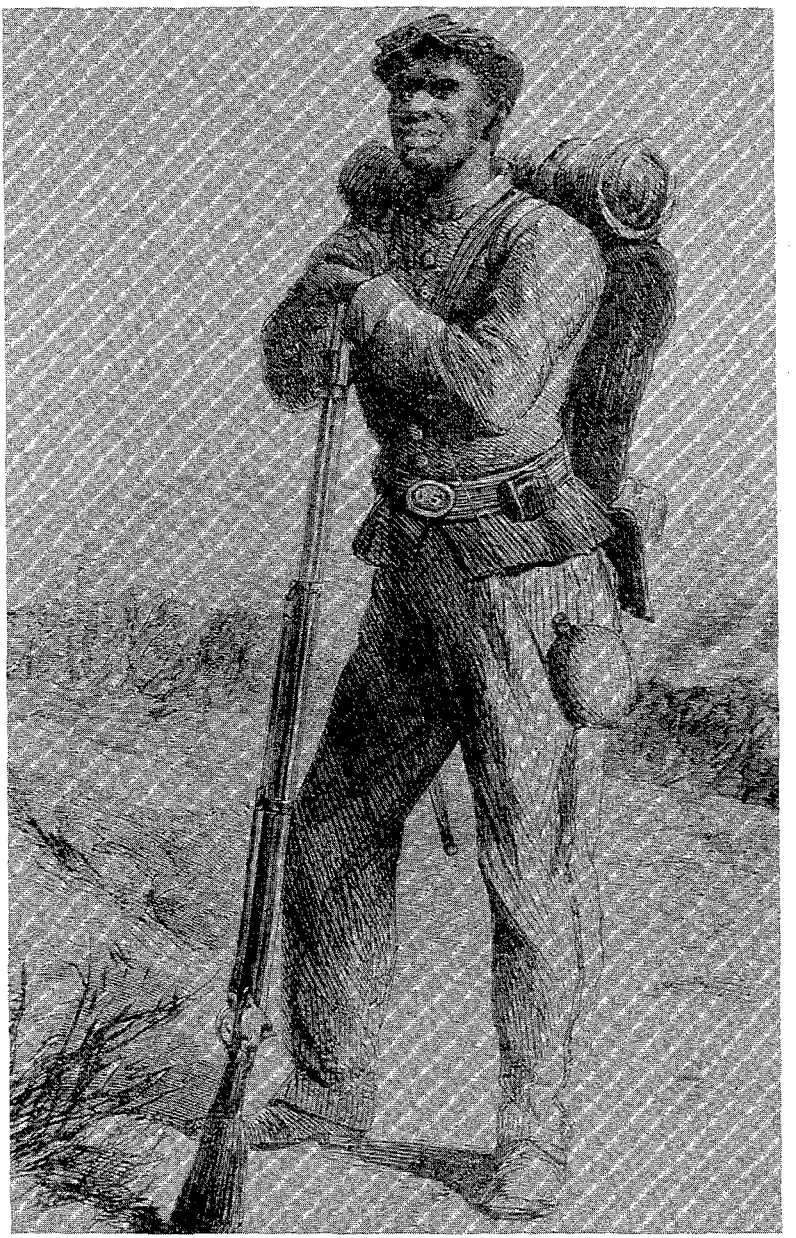
5. The author wishes to credit Vernon Peeples as the source of this quotation.
6. Lewis G. Schmidt, *A Civil War History of the 47th Regiment of Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers: The Wrong Place at the Wrong Time* (Allentown, PA, 1986), 400-05; Log of the U.S. Steamer *Honduras*, January 6, 1864, Logs of the U.S.S. *Honduras*, September 8, 1863-August 5,1865, Records of the Bureau of Naval Personnel, RG 24, NA (hereinafter, RBNP); T. Bailey to T. R. Harris, January 4, 1864, Bailey to G. Welles, January 6, 19, 1864, H. B. Carter to C. K. Stribling, January 20, 1865, *ORN*, ser. 1, XVII, 620-22, 630-31, 801; Henry A. Crane to Woodbury, January 7, 1864, District of Key West and the Tortugas, Department of the Gulf, Letters Received, RG 393, NA (hereinafter, DOG, Letters Received).



Former slave serving in the U.S. Colored Troops. *Courtesy of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.*

pation of joining the Red River Campaign in Louisiana. Captain Crane assumed command of the recommissioned fort, fifty-one men, a nearby cattle pen at Twelve-Mile Swamp, and the refitted wharf and buildings at Punta Rassa– all of which had to be constantly defended from "attacking parties [of] Confederate Cavalry on reconnaissance."[7] The fort was at this time the Union's only permanent mainland station between Tampa and the inhospitable environs of the Great Cypress Swamp and the Everglades on the southern tip of the peninsula.

Contemporaries described the fort in the spring of 1864 as improved with breastworks some seven feet tall and fifteen feet wide, which extended in a crescent 500 feet from the parade grounds to the wharf. A drawing of the reactivated fort by an unknown Union soldier shows about a dozen buildings, most of which bordered the river about 100 yards behind the parade ground and perimeter fortifications. Captain Graeffe reported to General Woodbury that he had repaired the blockhouse and intended to "fit up a schoolroom and church as soon as possible."[8] The fort also contained a hospital, commissary, numerous billets, two guardhouses, and a new two-story log house patterned after the blockhouse remaining from the late Seminole campaign. Expecting guerrilla attacks, the men of the 47th fortified the post with three more blockhouses enclosed by earth bastions. They also enclosed six nearby acres with a fortified picket fence.[9]

Graeffe's attention to these matters proved necessary since the fort had filled quickly with a motley assortment of over 400 civilian "lay-outs," including Union refugees, Union sympathizers, Confederate army deserters, conscription resisters, and escaped slaves. Many of the refugees found it prudent to sign up with the newly created 2nd Florida Union Cavalry at the fort, and the unit itself quickly reflected the varied interests and back-

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7. Log of the U.S.S. *Gem of the Sea,* January 11, 12, 1864, Logs of the U.S.S. *Gem of the Sea,* January 1863-February 1865, Log of the U.S. Steamer *Honduras,* January 11, 15, 1864, RBNP; Schmidt, *47th Regiment,* 402-04; Abstract from Returns of the Department of the Gulf, Major General N. P. Banks, U.S. Army Commanding, for the Month of January 1864, *ORA,* ser. 1, XXXIV, pt. 2, 199; Woodbury to Stone, February 19, 1864, *ORA,* ser. 1, XXXV, vt. 1, 485-86; Samuel Proctor, ed., *Florida A Hundred Years Ago* (Coral Gables, FL, January 1964), 1.
8. Richard A. Graeffe to Woodbury, February n.d., 1864, DOG, Letters Received; Graeffe quoted in Schmidt, *47th Regiment,* 404.
9. Schmidt, *47th Regiment,* 405.

grounds of the recruits. After observing the 2nd a field commander visiting Fort Myers in the summer of 1864 remarked: "Cavalry they were called, and as cavalry they were paid, but they never were mounted, much to their disgust. This was a regiment not to be lumped. Each man had a history of his own, sometimes more startling than fiction."[10] The new fort offered a strong attraction for local Floridians like the men of the 2nd Cavalry who wished to reside with their families in a secure Union post. In retrospect, it appears that many of the refugees who gravitated to Fort Myers under the strain of this peculiarly "personal" war in southern Florida were generally better off than their neighbors who remained loyal to the state and Confederacy."

Fort Myers and its support operation at Punta Rassa gave the East Gulf Blockading Squadron a strong base of communication and coordination with its fleet, which came to be arrayed around the fort and nearby Charlotte Harbor like the spokes of a wheel. Early in the war Confederate officials had conceded coastal control to the superior Union navy which established a particularly effective blockade in the Gulf coast region from Cedar Key in the north to Key West in the south. Beginning in July 1861 the Union steamer *R. R. Cuyler* began a successful blockade of Tampa Bay, after which, as the navy strengthened its position at Egmont Key near the mouth of Tampa Bay, blockade running shifted noticeably to the Charlotte Harbor area on the southwest coast. Charlotte Harbor, located just north of Fort Myers, proved troublesome for Union forces because of frequent Confederate attempts to slip shipments of cattle and, to a lesser

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10. John Wilder, "The Wedding at the Parker House," *Putnam's Magazine* (August 1868), 165.
11. Graeffe to Woodbury, February n.d., 1864; Covington, *Story of Southwestern Florida,* I, 145; Karl H. Grismer, *The Story of Fort Myers: The History of the Land of the Caloosahatchee and Southwest Florida* (St. Petersburg, 1949; facsimile ed., Fort Myers Beach, 1982), 80; Canter Brown, Jr., *Florida's Peace River Frontier* (Orlando, 1991), 170; John E. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War* (Gainesville, 1963), 160-63; W. G. Barth to P. W. White, April 19, 1864, *ORA,* ser. 1, XXXIV, pt. 2, 444. On the question of deserters' intent to keep their families intact see J. Milton to P. G. T. Beauregard, January 29, 1864, Milton Letterbook, John Milton Papers, Florida Historical Society Collection, University of South Florida, Tampa (hereinafter, Milton Papers). In February 1864 Florida repealed its draft exemption for cattlemen, which instigated more defections to the Union in south Florida.

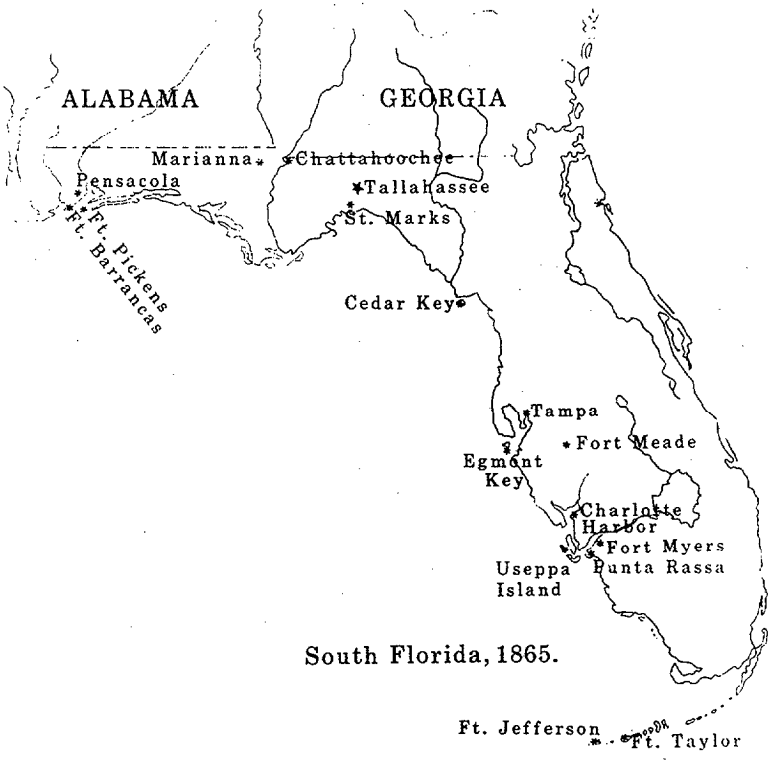
extent, cotton through the blockade. In fact, the nearby estuary of the Peace River became one of the most effective rendezvous points for would-be Confederate blockade runners.[12]

As a result, the Union command moved dramatically to end the blockade's hemorrhaging through the Charlotte Harbor/ Peace River region. The navy first repositioned the steamer U.S.S. *Penguin* at Charlotte Harbor to increase Federal surveillance of the area. Union commanders then sent *The Wanderer* (reputed to be the last slave-running ship captured by Federal forces), the *J. S. Chambers, The Restless,* and later the command bark *Gem of the Sea* to secure the coast. Eventually, the navy constructed a supply base on nearby Useppa Island from which large blockade ships sailed, and smaller shallow-draft tender sloops like the *Rosalie* and the *Georgia* departed on search-and-destroy missions up the Peace and Caloosahatchee rivers.[13]

The new flurry of Union naval activity in southwest Florida proved nettlesome to local Confederates. For example, Union ships and the small base on Useppa attracted numerous refugees and Union sympathizers, many of whom were coastal subsistence fishermen or poor whites from the backcountry. To these hard-scrabble locals the exigencies of day-to-day survival and the determination to keep families and economic interests intact far overshadowed the idealism of the southern cause. Although some were willing to serve in local "Home Guard" units in south

12. Welles to F. B. Ellison, May 17, 1861, W. Mervine to Welles, June 12, 14, 1861, Ellison to Mervine, August 17, 1861, *ORN*, ser. 1, XVI, 524-25, 545-46, 548, 667-68. See Milton to J. W. Baker, October 17, 1861, Milton Papers; Frank Falero, Jr., "Naval Engagements in Tampa Bay, 1862," *Florida Historicd Quarterly* 46 (October 1967), 134-40; David J. Coles, "Unpretending Service: The *James L. Davis,* the *Tahoma,* and the East Gulf Blockading Squadron," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 71 (July 1992), 41-62; Rowland H. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida,* 2 vols. (Atlanta, 1902), I, 250-60, 269-71; Canter Brown, Jr., "Tampa's James McKay and the Frustration of Confederate Cattle-Supply Operations in South Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 70 (April 1992), 415,418.

13. Log of the U.S.S. *Gem of the Sea,* August 8-December 13, 1863, RBNP; J. L. Lardner to Welles, September 15, 1862, Stations of Vessels Composing the East Gulf Blockading Squadron, January 15, February 1, July 15, 1863, C. P. Clark to W. R. Browne, July 8, 1863, Browne to Bailey, July 10, 1863, Baxter to senior officer, August 10, 1863, *ORN*, ser. 1, XVII, 312, 352-53, 361, 487-89, 502, 527-28.



Florida, few submitted to visiting Confederate conscript officers, being well aware that they would be torn from their families and livelihoods and shipped to the armies in Virginia and Georgia.[14] Indeed, the defection of locals in south Florida proved such a concern for the Confederacy that both General Pierre G. T. Beauregard, commander of the military department in south Florida, and Florida governor John Milton issued conditional proclamations of pardon to those Floridians in the region who had evaded conscript officers. Nevertheless, efforts to woo back

14. Samuel Proctor, ed., *Florida A Hundred Years Ago* (Coral Gables, FL, December 1963), 5; *New York Herald,* May 20, 1864.

the increasing number of "deserters and skulkers" proved largely futile.[15]

Union efforts to accommodate the steady stream of evacuees proved only partially successful, and many would-be refugees and sympathizers began to drift south to the Caloosahatchee River basin in search of a reprieve from Confederate persecution and harassment. What some refugees failed to recognize, however, was that Union activities near Charlotte Harbor also dislodged Confederate soldiers and sympathizers, many of whom were cattle runners whose herds went to the Confederacy or to any others willing to pay in cash. A number of these privateers soon began to challenge the Union blockade south of Charlotte Harbor; others gravitated in increasing numbers to the Confederate stronghold at Fort Meade.

Union and Confederate concerns over transshipment of the numerous cattle herds in southwest Florida proved a pivotal matter for both sides. By the end of 1863 south Florida represented the Confederacy's major source of foodstuffs for its hungry forces. In fact, after the fall of Vicksburg on July 4, 1863, and the cessation of shipments of trans-Mississippi beef supplies to the east, Florida became the main supplier of cattle for Confederate troops serving at Charleston and with the Army of Tennessee.[16] Regarding the issue of feeding the armies in the field, one Florida newspaper stated in November 1863 that "Florida is now . . . the most productive state remaining to the Confederacy."[17]

A Union commander meanwhile estimated that as many as 1,500 head of cattle per week found their way from the outlying

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15. P. A. Anderson to H. W. Feilden, May 14, 1864, *ORA*, ser. 1, XXXV, pt. I, 369, 371. See Milton to Richmond (VA) quoted in Samuel Proctor, ed., *Florida A Hundred Years Ago* (Coral Gables, FL, May 1964), 3; John F. Reiger, "Deprivation, Disaffection, and Desertion in Confederate Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 48 (January 1970), 279-98.
16. Robert A. Taylor, "Rebel Beef: Florida Cattle and the Confederate Army, 1862-1864," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 67 (July 1988), 15, 18; Taylor, "Cow Cavalry: Munnerlyn's Battalion in Florida, 1864-1865," Ibid. 70 (October 1986), 196; Taylor, "A Problem of Supply: Pleasant White and Florida's Cow Cavalry," in John M. Belohlavek and Lewis N. Wynne, eds., *Divided We Fall: Essays on Confederate Nation Building* (Saint Leo, FL, 1991), 178, 180; Richard D. Goff, *Confederate Supply* (Durham, NC, 1969), 202.
17. Quoted in Woodbury to Stone, December 23, 1863, *ORA*, ser. 1, XXVI, pt. 1, 873.

Fort Myers area to the northern Confederates. General Braxton Bragg's army, which requisitioned 1,000 head of cattle per week, reportedly depended almost entirely on Florida beef by mid 1863. General Woodbury gave Florida even more credit, estimating that 2,000 contraband cattle a week found their way north. Governor Milton often lamented that his state had few men to send north but conversely bragged that Florida was "the principal source of meat supply for the Confederate forces."[18]

Milton put such a premium on protecting the supply of "beeves" in Florida that he appointed Quincy lawyer Pleasant W. White as special commissary agent in charge of cattle operations. The new cattle agent quickly focused his attention on south Florida. The zealous White boasted he would secure Confederate cattle "at the rate of three to four thousand a month," mostly acquired from herds of 40,000 or more east and south of Tampa Bay. By March 1864, however, White's commissary agent in south Florida, James McKay, Sr., informed his superior that "no cattle may be expected from this District until the enemy is got Rid off [sic], hoping you will urge the necessity of immediate action by those whose duty it is to do so."[19]

Frequent raids from Fort Myers directed at disrupting Confederate cattle supplies lent an enormous significance to the small outpost on the Caloosahatchee. Local rancher and Confederate captain F. A. Hendry spoke succinctly to the southern view of the reactivated post: "Federal soldiers took possession of Fort Myers and made it headquarters for all manner of mischief common to warfare. Frequent and destructive raids were made

18. Pleasant W. White to J. F. Cummins, August 25, 1863, White to A. S. Summer, August 25, 1863, Pleasant Woodson White Papers, Letterbook I, box 2, Florida Historical Society Collection (hereinafter, White Papers). See Thomas Benton Ellis, Sr., "Confederate Diary of Thomas Benton Ellis, Sr., Company C, Hernando Guards, 3rd Florida Infantry, July 1861-April 1865," manuscript collection, box 26, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, 8-9; Charlton Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, FL, 1971), 232; Woodbury to Stone, December 23, 1863; Milton to S. R. Mallory, May 23, 1864. quoted in Proctor. ed., *Florida A Hundred Years Ago* (May 1964), 3.

19. White to Milton, December 9, 1863, Milton Papers; White to B. French, August 5, 1863, White to Lucius B. Northrop, August 29, 1863, White Papers; James McKay to White, March 25, 1864, box 1, White Papers.

far into the interior and into Confederate lines, causing much distress to the devotees of the Southern cause. Large herds of cattle were rounded up by Federal cavalry and driven to Fort Myers and there slaughtered for use by the garrison, and the blockading squadron . . . and a large number carried on transports."[20]

The "mischief" to which Hendry alluded included the effective interdiction of the cattle trade in south Florida by the end of 1864. In this respect, Fort Myers took on a new national significance as it ensured Federal disruption of sorely needed Florida beef supplies to southern soldiers in the field. One unforeseen Union side effect was that fewer foodstuffs were now being allotted to feed Union prisoners in the expanding camps of Georgia, including the infamous station at Andersonville.[21]

Understandably, rapidly changing military circumstances in south Florida captured the attention of the Confederacy. Major General Patton Anderson, Confederate commander of the District of Florida, noted with consternation that the Union fort stemmed the flow of cattle to the blockade runners and conversely "carried to the enemy from those counties in South Florida . . . a large proportion of the beef supplied by our commissaries of subsistence." On the other side, a Union commander in commenting on the acquisition of cattle, much of which was allegedly furnished by local cattle profiteers, noted during his visit to Fort Myers that northern troops "waxed fat on the spoils of the land."[22]

Confederate authorities were so determined to reduce the fort that they ordered light cavalry officer J. J. Dickison to Fort Meade in preparation for an attack on Fort Myers in early February 1864. The urgency of the mission rested on, in Dickison's words, the immediate quashing of "the destructive raiding parties that were continually alarming the citizens [of south Florida] by ruthless invasion of their homes– plundering the plantations, carrying off slaves and destroying valuable property." Dickison noted that "the enemy was in considerable force in the neighbor-

20. Hendry, "Early Days in Fort Myers," 2-3.
21. Taylor, "Rebel Beef," 27-31.
22. Anderson to Feilden, May 14, 1864, *ORA*, ser. 1, XXXV, pt. I, 368-74; Wilder, "Wedding at Parker House," 170.

hood of Fort Myers."[23] Just prior to undertaking their mission, however, the Confederate regulars received orders commanding their return to north Florida in anticipation of the Battle of Olustee on February 20, 1864. In April the Confederate military ordered Colonel T. W. Brevard, then in command of the Sixty-fourth Regiment of Georgia Volunteers, to Fort Meade some forty-six miles southeast of Tampa on a similar mission. He too was recalled because of impending actions in north Florida.[24]

Fort commander Henry Crane requested troops of the 2nd USCT from their station at Key West in a move to bring in disciplined soldiers to shore up the fort's defense amid persistent rumors of impending attacks. It appears that Crane also wanted to curry favor with General Woodbury, who wanted black troops stationed in south Florida. On April 20, 1864, Companies D and I under Captains John Bartholf and J. W. Childs, respectively, moved from Key West. Shortly after April 20 the seasoned Childs assumed temporary command at Fort Myers. Almost simultaneously Company G of the 2nd USCT moved farther up the coast to a new station at Cedar Key, the western terminus of the only trans-Florida railroad.[25] The new visibility of black troops in this theater did, indeed, place Woodbury's "prickly pear cactus under the Confederate saddle."

Deployment of the USCT to Fort Myers dramatically changed the conduct of the war in Florida. Prior to this action Confederate officials in Florida had for the most part grudgingly acknowledged the Union's superiority in south Florida, largely because of their own inability to counteract the long tentacles of the Union blockade along the Gulf coastline. Now, however, the Confederates bridled at the audacity of the Union's move to

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23. Mary Elizabeth Dickison, *Dickison and His Men: Reminiscences of the War in Florida* (Louisville, 1890; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1962), 48; J. J. Dickison, "Military History of Florida," in Clement A. Evans, ed., *Confederate Military History*, 13 vols. (Atlanta, 1899; reprint ed., Secaucus, NJ, 1970), 89-90.
24. Barth to Brevard, April 24, May 11, 1864, *ORA*, ser. 1, XXXV, pt. 2, 448-49, 481; Anderson to Feilden, May 14, 1864, *ORA*, ser. 1, XXXV, pt. 1, 372-73.
25. H. R. Crane to W. M. Bowers, April 15, 25, August 15, 1864, DOG, Letters Received; D Company USCT, Regimental Returns, Muster Rolls, 1864, M594-R206, Companies D and I USCT, Annual Returns, 1864, Companies D and I 2nd USCT, Annual Returns, 1864, RG 94, NA. All subsequent references to muster rolls may be found in M594-R206; for all succeeding company and regimental citations see RG 94, NA.

station African-American troops at the very heart of the southwest theater. Moreover, fear that the USCT would both attract and forcibly free the small numbers of slaves in the south peninsula loomed large in the minds of white Floridians.

Fear and anxiety caused by approaching Union operations caused many slaveholders to move their chattel far from the seacoast, to strengthen white patrols, and to reassert the powers of special "slave courts" charged with punishing any "indolent" slave, free black, or mulatto. Even though the North had no official plan to free slaves at the war's outset, Floridians realized early in the conflict that a Union victory would certainly destroy their "peculiar institution." Like other southern states, Florida cut off all news of the war from its black population. As northern troops probed ever deeper into the state, however, inevitable slave escapes and individual acts of rebellion occurred.

At first the Union command in Florida vacillated on a set policy to free the slaves, but eventually Congress, in its Confiscation Act of July 17, 1862, ordered all slaves belonging to "disloyal" masters classified as "free captives of war."[26] Subsequently, many of these blacks found their way to Union lines, especially after learning of Lincoln's January 1, 1863, Emancipation Proclamation. Others were freed by Union troops, like the USCT, which eventually enlisted large numbers of freedmen as former "farmers" or "contraband." The record of black companies at Fort Myers reflects this experience.

Companies D and I of the 2nd USCT lost little time in acclimating to life in the heart of enemy territory. The units, which usually numbered about ninety men each, sent detachments on patrols as early as April 1864. Skirmishes occurred at Cedar Key, Brooksville, Bay Port, Clearwater, Tampa, and the Manatee and Peace rivers areas.[27] One Confederate observer noted how events changed after the placement of the USCT at Fort Myers: "It was a war . . . for possession of this country. The Federal troops mostly negroes . . . made a move to go through

26. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War,* 146-53.
27. Companies D and I USCT, Regimental Returns, Muster Rolls, 1864; Companies D and I USCT, Annual Returns, 1864. See Bowers to G. B. Drake, August 6, 1864, *ORA,* ser. 1, XXXV, pt. 1, 405-06.

the country to burn, destroy, and capture everything from Ft. Myers."[28]

So many raids occurred in 1864 that the Confederates created. the First Battalion, Florida Special Cavalry– commonly called the Cow Cavalry or Cattle Guard Battalion– to repulse Union forays, protect Confederate cattle herds from Union raiders and privateers, and stem the rising tide of desertion. Composed primarily of veterans from the south Florida Seminole wars, returning Confederate soldiers, stockmen, and "renegades," and patterned after the former regional "cracker cavalries" of Florida, this colorful unit gained "soldier status" as nine companies mustered under the leadership of former Georgia lawyer and member of the Confederate Congress Major Charles J. Munnerlyn. Munnerlyn centered his command near Brooksville and extended his activities south to the outlying Fort Myers area, inland to Lake Okeechobee, and north to Lafayette County.[29] The Cow Cavalry formed the nucleus of the local militia for that region and through a quasi-guerrilla and vigilante campaign remained the primary threat to both Union forces in south Florida and Confederate turncoats until the Battle of Fort Myers. After this event the unit dissolved into a band of disparate, independent-minded units of local rather than regional orientation.[30]

As Confederate forces continued to wrestle with the vexing situation of black Union raiders, the commander of Fort Myers observed escalating tensions between the men of Companies D and I and the other fort inhabitants. The post had filled with hundreds of area deserters, draft evaders, and Union sympathizers who carried their concepts of race relations with them. The

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28. Frances C. M. Boggess, *A Veteran of Four Wars: The Autobiography of F. C. M. Boggess* (Arcadia, FL, 1900), 69. See E. G. Wilder, "Escapade in Southern Florida," *Confederate Veteran* 19 (February 1911), 75.
29. L. B. Northrop to J. A. Seddon, October 13, 1864, *ORA*, ser. 4, III, 730-31; F. W. Marston to C. T. Christensen, December 9, 1864, *ORA*, ser. 1, XLI, pt. 4, 808; 1st Battalion, Special Cavalry, Charles J. Munnerlyn, Department of War, M251-R14, RG 94, NA; D. B. McKay, "My Memoirs of Pioneer Florida," *Tampa Tribune*, August 24, 1958; Taylor, "Cow Cavalry," 198-99; Taylor, "A Problem of Supply," 192-93.
30. Taylor, "Cow Cavalry," 196-214; Taylor, "A Problem of Supply," 199; Tebeau, *History of Florida*, 229.

fact that Fort Myers attracted escaped slaves– many of whom enlisted in the 2nd USCT– greatly inflamed this racially tense situation.[31] Captain Crane even considered separating the black troops from all contact with the locals in order to diffuse the potentially explosive situation. In Crane's words, "The ignorance of the one and the sensitiveness of the other tends to make every duty unpleasant."[32] Despite the constant harassment and accusations of chicanery by local whites, the men of the 2nd continued to prove themselves in their duties at the fort. In fact, their exemplary behavior led the commander of the 2nd USCT, Colonel John Wilder, to comment that the men of Companies D and I "looked the very *beau ideal* of black soldiery." Wilder later remarked that the 2nd "attained such proficiency and exactness [in drilling], that perhaps not a regiment in the service, regular or volunteer, surpassed it."[33]

The discipline and dedication of the two companies showed on the battlefield as well. Post returns and military records reflect an explosion of Union activity after the arrival at Fort Myers of the 2nd USCT. Companies D and I comprised the bulk of these fighting units. Black troops participated in large actions, like the attacks on Tampa Bay and Fort Brooke in May 1864 and in minor actions, like the raid at Rialls Creek in August 1864.[34] It was, however, the bold sacking of the stronghold at Fort Meade southeast of Tampa and the attendant destruction of Confederate property throughout that summer that ultimately convinced both Confederate officials and local sympathizers that Fort Myers and its black troops had to be destroyed. As one local partisan noted, "In consequence of the operation of the enemy [at Fort Myers] every man who could use a musket was placed in Service." The official further acknowledged that a major concern for secessionists in the area was "running Negroes from reach" of the

31. Crane to Bowers, August 15, 1864; Ibid., September 4, 1864, *ORA*, ser. 1, LII, pt. 1, 614; 2nd Infantry USCT, Regimental Returns, Muster Rolls, 1863-1864. Former slaves frequently appear in these rolls as "contraband."
32. Crane to H. W. Braun, August 20, 1864, Crane to Bowers, September 4, 1864, DOG, Letters Received.
33. Wilder, "Wedding at Parker House," 164-65.
34. Companies D and I USCT, Regimental Returns, Muster Rolls, 1863-1864.

black Union troops.[35] Another Confederate observer, sensing the USCT's determination to free slaves, wrote how he saw men "running helter skelter . . . back to their plantations to run off their negroes. I saw at once that we could do nothing to check the advance."[36] For in southwest Florida, as in all theaters in which the USCT served, the black soldiers of the 2nd ranked freeing slaves as one of their highest priorities.

The long-planned attack on Fort Myers finally materialized in the winter of 1865. In January Colonel Munnerlyn received a communique ordering the Cow Cavalry to destroy the irksome post. Almost simultaneously James McKay, Sr., received orders to forward all beef captured in the operation, since his was the only district left in Florida with accessible cattle. Under the command of executive officer Major William Footman– a hero of the Confederate Kentucky campaigns of 1863– and company commanders Francis A. Hendry, John T. Lesley, and James McKay, Jr., a Confederate force of some 275 men marched out of Tampa in early February on the Fort Thompson trail. The attack force, composed primarily of cavalry officers and men from the Tampa Bay and Peace River regions, planned on catching the fort's defenders off guard through a surprise late evening or early morning attack.[37]

For its part, the garrison at Fort Myers appeared vulnerable. Numerous men were away on detachment, leaving primarily soldiers of the 2nd USCT and the 2nd Florida Cavalry to protect the post under its newly appointed commander, Captain James Doyle of the 110th New York Volunteers. Doyle had come to

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35. J. L. Peterson to W. Gwynn, May 28, 1864, Correspondence, 1845-1906, Comptroller's Office, RG 350, ser. 554, Florida State Archives, Division of Library and Information Services, Florida Department of State, Tallahassee.
36. Ellis, "Confederate Diary," 9.
37. McKay, Sr., to White, July 4, 1864, box 1, White to McKay, Sr., January 14, 1864, Letterbook II, box 2, White Papers; Ellis, "Confederate Diary," 9; Boggess, *Veteran of Four Wars*, 68-71; Wilder, "Escapade in Southern Florida," 75; James McKay [Jr.], "History of Tampa of the Olden Days: Capt. James McKay Tells of Town from 40's to 70's," *The Tampa Daily Times*, December 18, 1923; Taylor, "Cow Cavalry," 211; Hendry, "Early Days in Fort Myers," 3-4; J. Pegram to J. G. Martin, *ORA*, ser. 1, XXIII, pt. 1, 173. Munnerlyn had been promoted to colonel in December 1864. Some accounts place Footman's forces at over 400 men.

the fort from the prison fortress of Fort Jefferson at the Dry Tortugas. Furthermore, the 250 men at the fort were short of ammunition and arms; the approximately 180 men of Companies D and I, for instance, held only seventy-five serviceable muskets and fewer than thirty rounds apiece. The USCT soldiers had also returned tired and hungry from sustained skirmishes only two days earlier.[38]

Although interpretations of the ensuing battle remain contentious, the engagement itself represents perhaps the most notable event of the Civil War in southwestern Florida. The Confederates located their field command at Fort Thompson, the abandoned Indian-campaign garrison about thirty miles up the Caloosahatchee from Fort Myers. By the morning of February 29 Footman's soldiers drew near to Fort Myers. Although Footman planned a surprise attack, it had been postponed because, as Lieutenant Frances Boggess of his force later recalled, "On that night . . . it rained until the water was knee deep over the entire country."[39] Not to be deterred by these conditions, Footman's forces advanced down the Fort Thompson trail until they encountered their first sign of Union blues at Billy (Bowlegs) Creek, about four miles northeast of the fort. There, a Confederate party of ten, under the command of Lieutenant William M. Hendry, took prisoner four enlisted men of the 2nd Florida Cavalry serving as advanced pickets.[40]

On the morning of February 20– fifteen years to the day after the original establishment of Fort Myers– Footman's men approached the fort and met a laundry detail at a small pond frequented by the fort's inhabitants. Hoping to retain the element of surprise, Confederate forces swiftly fired upon the men, killing a black private and capturing five enlisted troopers and a

38. Companies D and I USCT, Regimental Returns, Muster Rolls, January-February 1865; Companies D and I 2nd USCT, Returns, February 1886; Doyle to E. B. Tracy, February 21, 1865, *ORA*, ser. I, XLIX, pt. I, 53-54; *New York Times*, March 18, 1865.
39. Ellis, "Confederate Diary," 10; Boggess, *Veteran of Four Wars*, 67.
40. Wilder, "Escapade in Southern Florida," 75 (Wilder served in John J. Lesley's company at the Battle of Fort Myers); Ellis, "Confederate Diary," 10; McKay, "Tampa of the Olden Days"; Hendry, "Early Days of Fort Myers," 4-5; *New York Times*, March 18, 1865. Contemporaries often referred to Billy Creek as Billy's Branch.

number of grazing cattle. Although the Confederate forces succeeded in winning this engagement, they had alerted the fort. Captain Doyle later reported that despite the party's attempted stealth, "we discovered the enemy approaching," and the fort was "instantly under arms and posted."[41]

Now dissuaded from his original plan, Footman decided to demand the surrender of the fort. The Confederate commander later claimed that the presence of women and children in the garrison discouraged him from a direct attack; however, the loss of surprise and Footman's own history of vacillation in the face of fire probably more accurately accounts for this action.[42] Thus, brazenly but not altogether convincingly, Footman's courier approached the fort and demanded a Union surrender within the half hour. Captain Bartholf of the 2nd USCT, who served as intermediary between Footman's forces and Doyle's command, barked out the Union response, "Surrender when you make us."[43] As a result of Footman's tactics, the Confederate forces now found themselves in the unenviable position of having to attack an alerted and fortified post manned by a determined, though tired and ill-equipped, garrison of Union forces.

Left with no honorable alternative, Footman opened fire with his lone artillery piece at 1:10 P.M. at a distance of 1,400 yards. The ensuing eleven-hour battle turned on the accurate firepower of the Federal cannon (two brass six-pounders) manned by men of the 2nd USCT. Also crucial was a forward skirmish line in the bushes and trees on the south side of the fort manned by the "volunteer" refugee- and deserter-soldiers of Companies A and B of the 2nd Florida Cavalry.[44] The Confederates answered Union fire with an ineffective twenty or so volleys. An officer

41. Doyle to Tracy, February 21, 1865; *New York Times*, March 18, 1865; Boggess, *Veteran of Four Wars,* 68-70 (Boggess erroneously reported Private Saunders as a sergeant); Companies D and I USCT, Regimental Returns, Muster Rolls, January-February 1865; Company D 2nd USCT, Returns, February 1865, box 5323; Dillon, "Battle of Fort Myers," 33; Ellis, "Confederate Diary," 10.
42. Ellis, "Confederate Diary," 10; McKay, "Tampa of the Olden Days."
43. Diary of L. G. Lesley, in the possession of Vernon Peeples. The Reverend Leroy G. Lesley was the father of Captain John T. Lesley. Ellis, "Confederate Diary," 10; Wilder, "Escapade in Southern Florida," 75.
44. Reports of Companies A and B 2nd Florida Cavalry, February 20, 1865; Companies A and B 2nd Florida Cavalry, Morning Reports, February 1865; Wilder, "Escapade in Southern Florida," 75.

of Company D recorded in his notes that the enemy "appeared in strong force before Fort Myers and initiated Artillery action maintained for about four hours when he retired."[45] Lieutenant Boggess recalled about the Confederate cannon response, "It was seen that nothing was accomplished." Another eyewitness, a reporter from the *New York Times,* saw things a little differently: "The colored soldiers . . . were in the thickest of the fight. Their impetuosity could hardly be restrained; they seemed totally unconscious of danger, or regardless of it and their constant cry was to 'get at them.'"[46]

Subsequent records indicate that the battle resulted in perhaps forty Confederate casualties and four Union losses– all members of the black troops stationed at the fort. Additionally, the Confederates captured a number of African-American troops– probably cattle and horse herdsmen working outside the fort– and some members of Companies A and B of the 2nd Florida Cavalry. Ex-slave John Wallace, who would later gain fame as a Florida legislator and presumed author of the Reconstruction classic *Carpetbag Rule in Florida,* was seriously wounded.[47]

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45. Company D 2nd USCT, Regimental Returns, Muster Roll, February 20, 1865.
46. Boggess, *Veteran of Four Wars,* 68; *New York Times,* March 18, 1865.
47. Companies D and I 2nd USCT, Regimental Returns, Muster Rolls, January-February 1865; Companies D and I 2nd USCT, Annual Returns, February 1865; 2nd USCT, Regimental Records, Descriptive Book, 1863-1865; 110th New York Volunteers, Descriptive Book, 1864-1865; 110th New York Volunteers, Quarterly Return of Deceased Soldiers, First Quarter 1865; Companies A and B 2nd Florida Cavalry, Muster Rolls. February 1865: Doyle to Tracy, February 21, 1865; Vernon Peeples, "Florida Men Who Served in the Union Forces During the Civil War," *South Florida Pioneers* 5 (July 1975), 12-16; Ibid. 6 (October 1975), 10-14; Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion,* 3 vols. (New York, 1959), II, 584; McKay, "Tampa of the Olden Days"; Hendry, "Early Days in Fort Myers," 3-4; Ellis, "Confederate Diary," 10; *Tallahassee Democrat,* February 22, 1967; John Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida: The Inside Workings of the Reconstruction of Civil Government in Florida* (Jacksonville, 1888; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 3. There are conflicting statements in the secondary literature as to the casualties sustained by both sides at the Battle of Fort Myers. The figures are typically based on Doyle's hasty report to his commanders rather than on the subsequent, more detailed, military records found in RG 94 and RG 393 of the National Archives. Moreover, only the 2nd USCT records reflect actual tallied deaths for the action under review.

By nightfall Footman's troops sensed the futility of the situation and withdrew through the woods. Footman himself justified the rather ignoble retreat by telling his troops, some of whom openly questioned the decision, that no "good general" would unnecessarily risk the lives of his men.[48] Because Doyle did not have a cavalry contingent sufficiently strong to pursue the Confederates, the enemy forces marched unimpeded to the north. A member of Footman's band later commented on the retreat, "We returned to Fort Meade the most worn out and dilapidated looking set of soldiers you ever saw."[49]

Thus ended the southernmost mainland battle of the Civil War. Whereas only days earlier the Confederates had dreamed of expelling Union forces from south Florida, they now had only a handful of unruly prisoners, several hundred head of scrawny cattle, and a bedraggled force to show for their efforts. In reality, this military engagement simply verified Union superiority in the region, a condition that continued until war's end. Confederate captain F. A. Hendry perhaps best summed up the southern view of the entire affair when he observed: "Two hundred and seventy-five men, poorly armed, with one field piece, attacking five companies of well-armed men [sic], with block houses, breastworks and three field pieces, mounted at commanding points, could not be expected to succeed. While the Confederates could not hurt the enemy much, they gave it a terrible fright."[50] What was left of the Confederate forces in southwestern Florida eventually surrendered formally to the Union on June 8, 1865.

Despite the heroism of both black and white Union troops in defending Fort Myers, the post itself was soon abandoned. Confederate veterans of the battle later claimed that their bold actions resulted in the fort's evacuation. One participant proudly noted, "The next morning the nest was warm but the bird had flown."[51] Military records indicate, however, that the process of withdrawal had been planned well before the battle.

By March 14, 1865, the last contingent of Union forces had departed the small fort for Punta Rassa, leaving the proud, battle-

48. Boggess, *Veteran of Four Wars*, 69-70; Ellis, "Confederate Diary," 10.
49. Doyle to Tracy, February 21, 1865; McKay, "Tampa of the Olden Days."
50. Hendry, "Early Days in Fort Myers," 3.
51. Ibid.

scarred post to the sun, alligators, mosquitoes, and future inhabitants. All the refugees at Punta Rassa were eventually transferred by the navy to Key West. As this evacuation occurred, the troopers of the 99th USCT joined veterans of the Battle of Fort Myers at Punta Rassa. Most of these soldiers were assigned to northern sections of Florida until the end of the war.[52]

Although not counted among the war's memorable battles, the engagement at Fort Myers demonstrated the inability of Confederate troops to dislodge Union forces from the lower peninsula, thus shifting the locus of subsequent battles to the northern reaches of the state until the hoisting. of the Stars and Stripes over Tallahassee on May 20, 1865. The history of Fort Myers also affirmed the Union's ability to disrupt Confederate activity throughout south Florida's interior. In this respect, actions carried out by Union troops took on a degree of national significance, as they confirmed the validity of the Federal strategy of blockading the coast, raiding the hinterland, and interdicting the critical cattle trade in south Florida. To be sure, these actions were not pivotal to Union victory, but they are worthy of note because they contributed in a special way to the decline of the Confederacy and its ultimate defeat.

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52. Doyle to (illegible), A. T. Pearsall to A. Ransom, March 15, 1865, DOG, Letters Received.

FROM CAMP HILL TO HARVARD YARD: THE EARLY YEARS OF CLAUDE D. PEPPER

by RIC A. KABAT

CLAUDE D. Pepper was born into economically deprived and socially humble circumstances on September 8, 1900, in Chambers County, Alabama. He grew up acquiring the traditional values of hard work, delayed gratification, Christian moral teachings, and, most importantly, a belief in cooperation and communitarian responsibility. These ethical standards shaped his personal life and propelled him into one of the most long-standing and productive political careers in American history. Together with contemporary liberal politicians from the South, such as Alabama congressman Carl Elliott, Senator and later Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black, Senator John J. Sparkman, Senator J. William Fulbright, and Lyndon B. Johnson, Pepper's early life experiences pushed him toward supporting an expansive role for the state in areas such as health care, education, women's rights, and regulation of the economy to solve the country's political, social, and economic problems.[1]

In matters of race Pepper, like other southern liberals, had a mixed record. Along with his liberal compatriots, Pepper adhered to a position of federal activism on a broad range of interests that, for the most part, excluded racial justice but still clashed with the region's insistence on state's rights. Caught in this dilemma, Pepper's record on racial issues was inconsistent at best, duplicitous at worst.

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1. The plight of the poor in Alabama is analyzed in Wayne Flynt, *Poor But Proud: Alabama's Poor Whites* (Tuscaloosa, 1989), 59-170, 281-363. For a discussion of poor blacks see Robin D. G. Kelly, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill, 1990), 1-10. Pepper's contemporaries are described in Carl Elliott, Jr., and Michael D'Orso, *The Cost of Courage: The Journey of an American Congressman* (New York, 1992); and Virginia Van Der Veer Hamilton, *Hugo Black: The Alabama Years* (Baton Rouge, 1972).

Following graduation from the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa (1921) and Harvard Law School (1924), Pepper returned to the South to teach at the newly created school of law at the University of Arkansas. Encouraged by friends in the real estate business, he moved to Perry, Florida, in 1925 to seek financial rewards and a career in politics. He served one term (1929-1930) in the Florida legislature's House of Representatives, fourteen years (1936 through 1950) as a United States senator from Florida, and as a congressman serving the Third Congressional District encompassing parts of Miami from 1962 until his death in 1989.

A liberal Democrat, Pepper supported virtually all of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, advocated early military preparation to oppose Nazi Germany in 1939, and introduced the Lend-Lease bill in Congress in 1940. After World War II he continued pursuing equal rights for women, protection of labor unions, increases in the minimum wage, a federally sponsored universal health care system, an end to the poll tax, and other liberal measures. Although generally in agreement with much of President Harry S. Truman's domestic agenda, Pepper publicly criticized the Cold War foreign policies of his administration. His leftist stands on America's relationship with the Soviet Union, liberal voting record on domestic issues, and glimmerings of support for the emerging civil rights movement swung many Floridians against him. A victim of the postwar Red Scare in 1950, Pepper lost a hard-fought and bitter campaign to George Smathers who accused him of having close ties to communists. Twelve years later Pepper returned to Congress as an advocate of the aged and a champion of John F. Kennedy's New Frontier and Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society.[2]

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2. Claude Pepper and Hays Gorey, *Pepper: Eyewitness to a Century* (New York, 1987), outline Pepper's career. The political heritage that Pepper inherited is described in C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South* (Baton Rouge, 1951), 291-320; Jonathan M. Wiener, *Social Origins of the New South: Alabama, 1860-1885* (Baton Rouge, 1978), 3-136; William W. Rogers, *The One-Gallused Rebellion: Agrarianism in Alabama, 1865-1896* (Baton Rouge, 1970), 31-55; Sheldon Hackney, *Populism to Progressivism in Alabama* (Princeton, 1969), 1-121; Paul M. Gaston, *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking* (Baton Rouge, 1970), 15-42; and Bruce Palmer, *Man Over Money: The Southern Populist Critique of American Capitalism* (Chapel Hill, 1980).

Claude D. Pepper as a Harvard University graduate; c. 1925. *Photograph courtesy Claude Denson Pepper with Hays Gorey, Pepper: Eyewitness to a Century (San Diego, 1987).*

Claude Pepper entered Joseph and Lena Talbot Pepper's family as their fourth child; the first three had died in infancy. In their mid-twenties in 1900, the Pepper's owned a 129-acre farm outside of Dudleyville, Chambers County, Alabama.[3] Overwhelmingly rural, the county's population in 1900 (32,554) had changed little ninety years later (36,876). Pine- and hardwood-covered hills of red clay still give way to small farms and villages. Like many Southerners of Scotch-Irish descent, the Peppers and Talbots had migrated from Great Britain and entered the American colonies in Virginia in the early eighteenth century. They then filtered through the Carolinas, Georgia, and eventually into Alabama.[4]

Joseph and Lena Pepper both attended local post-secondary academies, and, unlike many young rural Alabamians of similar background, they provided their son with an appreciation of the benefits derived from formal learning. Also, as an only child for his first ten years, Pepper's mother gave him lavish attention and encouraged him to read and work hard at school. He attended a one-room schoolhouse in Dudleyville unti1 1910 when the family moved to Camp Hill in neighboring Tallapoosa County so Claude could enroll in the town's superior school.[5]

The Pepper family expanded in Camp Hill. In 1910 Joseph was born, and his sister Sara and then brother Frank joined the family a few years later. A boisterous child, Pepper impressed his friends. Chambers County neighbor Al Sanders remembered

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3. Pepper's early life is described in Pepper and Gorey, *Eyewitness to a Century*, 1-32; and Alexander Stoesen, "The Senatorial Career of Claude Denson Pepper," (Ph.D diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1964), 1-21. See also Kenneth Stewart, "Serious Senator Pepper," *PM Magazine*, June 1, 1947; *The Tallapoosa News* (Camp Hill), June 26, 1947; and Claude Pepper to George O'Kell, October 28, 1933, vertical file, biographical fol., Claude Pepper papers, Mildred and Claude Pepper Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee (hereinafter, CPP).
4. Genealogical information about the Pepper and Talbot families is in fol. 1, box 1, ser. 406, CPP. For population data see *Population Abstract of the United States, Volume One* (McLean, VA, 1983), 5; and Bureau of the Census, *1990 Census of Population and Housing, Documents Disc B* (Washington, 1990).
5. *The Tallapoosa News*, June 26, 1947; Pepper to Julian Pennington, April 11, 1929, fol. 1, box 1, ser. 101, Pepper to O'Kell, October 28, 1933, Pepper, "Philosophy and Background," June 1946, Pepper, "When I was a Teener," n.d., vertical file, biographical fol., CPP.

Pepper as being "a holy terror." At church he "used to run up and down the aisle and once he got right up there in the pulpit with the preacher."[6] Pepper's boyhood companion W. H. Razor Smith recalled that the future senator and his friend Oscar Chester "were the local intellectuals." In contrast Smith characterized himself as "the common sense man." Pepper and Chester, fulfilling their recognized role as the local intelligentsia, frequented the public library and self-consciously discussed their literary interests with local educators. Not surprisingly Pepper served as president of the local Heflin Literary Society.

Pepper was clearly self-conscious as a child. "He was about the homeliest kid any of us had ever seen," remembered Razor Smith, "with his little old bumpy face and snotty nose." Pepper once "asked [Smith] what was the matter with him." Smith "told him he was all right, but that he ought to clean himself up and pay more attention to how he looked."[8] Pepper followed Smith's advice, and throughout his college and law school years he concentrated on improving his physical appearance. He continually consulted doctors about his acute acne problem, wore expensive clothing, and was well groomed.[9] If "he seemed to have a kind of inferiority complex," said Smith, "it was all in his own mind."[10]

As Pepper progressed through high school and on to college, his father faltered in farming, business, and public service. When the young family moved to Camp Hill in 1910, Pepper's father held a series of law enforcement jobs. Before becoming a police officer, however, Joseph opened a furniture business with one of his cousins. Unfortunately, the store– McClendon and Pepper– failed. He then started a small grocery store with a restau-

6. Stewart, "Serious Senator Pepper," 6.
7. *The Tallapoosa News,* June 26, 1947.
8. Ibid.
9. Pepper to mother, January 20, 1925, fol. 17, box 1, ser. 401A, CPP. See also Harvard Law School Diary (hereinafter, HLSD) I, December 3, 7, 10, 1921; HLSD III, March 20, 1922. Pepper's law school diaries were not cataloged within the Claude Pepper Papers when the author used them. They were pasted into a scrapbook documenting his Senate campaign of 1938. There are five diaries which do not have page numbers. Citations hereinafter are documented by date with the appropriate volume for each diary.
10. *The Tallapoosa News,* June 26, 1947. See also Stewart, "Serious Senator Pepper," 6.

rant attached which also went bankrupt. Following two business failures, Pepper's father served as town marshal of Camp Hill, and during the early 1920s he became deputy sheriff in neighboring Alexander City.[11]

In 1922 Joseph Pepper lost his campaign for sheriff of Tallapoosa County. Claude worked hard to get his father elected while living with his family during a summer break from law school and he gained valuable experience in electoral politics. But his father's loss put heavy financial demands on Claude. After 1922 his father moved through a variety of low-paying jobs and often depended on his son for support. Even so, Claude accepted the responsibility without complaint. In fact he willingly took on the burden. "It seems that our dear family is destined to die poor and how I hate it for mama's and papa's sake," wrote Pepper in his law school diary. "They haven't had the pleasures of comfort for sometime," he continued, "since papa's losing out in business in 1914 or thereabouts." Pepper consoled himself by "preparing to help them better."[12] He later made good on his pledge by providing his family with housing and financial support after he achieved political success in the 1930s.

The Peppers sought solace in religion as one way of relieving the emotional strains produced by their financial burdens. They attended the County Line Baptist Church in Chambers County which had been founded by Pepper's grandfather. Claude enjoyed Sunday school activities, and later he became a full member of the church. Beyond being a focal point for Christian worship, the church served as a community center. White families throughout the area converged at church to socialize and enjoy bountiful dinners on the grounds. For the most part the Peppers observed the strict moral teachings of the Baptist faith: no gambling, alcoholic beverages, dancing, or card playing. Even so, according to Claude, his mother allowed the family to square dance.[13] Without doubt the church provided Pepper with a moral

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11. See Pepper, "Biography for Saints and Sinners," March 16, 1963, vertical file, biographical fol., Pepper to parents, October 23, 1921, fol. 16, box 1, ser. 401A, CPP; HLSD II; February 10; HLSD III, June 14, 1922.
12. HLSD IV, December 12,1922. For similar comments see HLSD V, January 7, 13, 1924.
13. See Pepper, *Eyewitness to a Century,* 9. For information about the Baptist Church in Alabama and the South see Mitchell B. Garrett, *Horse and Buggy Days on the Hatchet Creek* (Montgomery, 1957), 168-85; and Flynt, *Poor But Proud,* 232-41.

code that remained with him his entire life. In addition, church oratory inspired the young man. As Al Sanders noted, Pepper clearly identified with the church's preacher and modeled at least his early oratory after him.[14]

Armed with his fundamentalist moral teachings, Pepper graduated from Camp Hill High School in the spring of 1917. Recognized as a scholastic leader by his peers, he hoped to pursue a political career. Because of his flair for oratory, residents of Camp Hill referred to Pepper as "senator." Years later he recalled writing "Claude Pepper, United States Senator" on an office door of a Chambers County justice of the peace. Razor Smith remembered the incident differently. According to Smith, Pepper wrote his name and future title on the door of the school's privy.[15] At any rate, Pepper planned to enter politics from an early age.

Following graduation Pepper had hoped to attend college, but unfortunately he had no money. In order to accumulate cash, Pepper entered the hat cleaning business. He spent the summer of 1917 traveling through central Alabama and west Georgia repairing hats. Much like his father, Pepper failed to prosper as an entrepreneur. After several months of lackluster business and several ruined hats, he ended his struggling business career.[16]

A teaching job followed. In September Pepper received notice from the school superintendent in Dothan, Alabama, that the city desperately needed schoolteachers. With the United States at the height of its involvement in World War I, the country experienced a shortage of teachers, especially in rural communities like Dothan. With many young men fighting on the Western Front or working in some type of military activity stateside, opportunities opened for Pepper. A friend had recommended Pepper for a teaching position, and, with no other options available, Pepper accepted the offer.[17] Although only six-

14. Stewart, "Serious Senator Pepper," 6.
15. See Pepper, *Eyewitness to a Century*, 20; Stewart, "Serious Senator Pepper," 6; and Stoesen, "Senatorial Career," 4.
16. Pepper, "When I was a Teener." See also Pepper, *Eyewitness to a Century*, 15; and Stoesen, "Senatorial Career," 5.
17. Pepper to Pennington, April 11, 1929; Pepper, "Philosophy and Background"; Pepper, "Biography for Saints and Sinners"; Pepper, "Pepper Biography," n.d., vertical file, biographical fol., CPP.

teen and qualified to instruct up to the second grade, he taught a fifth-grade class.

Through the fall semester Pepper taught basic reading, writing, and mathematics at the local grammar school. Paid sixty dollars a month, Pepper assumed his own living expenses, sent money to his parents, and still saved for college. During the second semester Pepper taught at the high school with an expanded role as athletic director. In return he received a five dollar raise. Yet, Pepper wanted to attend college, and after the end of the school year he left Dothan to seek a higher paying job.[18]

He found one in Ensley, Alabama. Arriving at the suburban Birmingham town during the summer of 1918, Pepper began working in a steel mill owned by the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company. He lived at a boarding house in nearby Bessemer. Working twelve hours a day, seven days a week soon made an impression on Pepper– a negative one. Within several weeks he tried to get a job in the administrative office as a secretary. Failing that he arranged, with an administrator he had befriended, to operate the torch machine that cut off flawed pieces from steel rails. Pepper considered it an easier task than the roller job he had previously held.[19]

Pepper's tough steel mill experience introduced him to the plight of industrial workers. His memories of the poor working conditions, low pay, and general helplessness of the blue-collar laborers remained vivid. As Pepper recalled, "Anyone who complained about the hours was told to get out."[20] As a result he worked hard to improve the conditions of the working class throughout his career. As a senator, Pepper supported virtually all of the New and Fair Deal labor legislation, including the minimum wage. In addition he became a close associate of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) and continually accepted the political support of organized labor.[21] Later observers considered Pepper's

18. Pepper, "Biography for Saints and Sinners"; Pepper, *Eyewitness to a Century*, 18.
19. Stewart, "Serious Senator Pepper," 6; Pepper, "Philosophy and Background"; Pepper to Pennington, April 11, 1929; Pepper, *Eyewitness to a Century*, 18-19.
20. Pepper, *Eyewitness to a Century*, 18.
21. For Pepper's connections to organized labor see Tilford Dudley Affidavit, April 27, 1950, fol. 20, box 1, ser. 204G, CPP; Tampa *Morning Tribune*,

union affiliations strange since he was a deep South politician, but they failed to take into account his early experience as an industrial worker. Pepper's steel mill job, though only lasting one summer, increased his already-present empathy for the poor and working class.[22]

Unfortunately for Pepper his meager savings still did not allow him to enroll at the college of his choice, the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa. Even though the Baptist Young People's Union (an organization in which he remained active) offered him a scholarship to attend Baptist-affiliated Howard College in Birmingham, Pepper did not want to commit himself to the small school. He did visit Howard in September 1918 but departed after only one night.[23]

Pepper was determined to attend the state university. Before leaving for Howard he had discussed with a local banker, E. L. Andrews of the Bank of Camp Hill, the possibility of getting a loan to attend college. Andrews promised him that a deal could be arranged, and Pepper now asked Andrews to fulfill his pledge. The banker did so, and the future senator funded his years at the University of Alabama on borrowed money. Pepper also largely bankrolled his law school years at Harvard with loans from Andrews. Going into debt did not bother Pepper. As he told his parents in 1924, "I will be in a position to handle it [paying Andrews back] when I get started for I suspect I will be making about as much if not more than he makes in the bank."[24]

Pepper participated in various undergraduate organizations at Tuscaloosa. He joined the staff of the yearbook *(The Corolla)* and edited the campus newspaper, *The Crimson.* Several debating societies served as the future senator's oratorical forums, and he served in student government. The freshman did not lack for

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April 30, 1950; Jasper [FL] *News,* April 7, 1950; George B. Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South* (Baton Rouge, 1967), 535; James C. Cobb, *Industrialization and Southern Society* (Louisville, 1984), 89-90; F. Ray Marshall, *Labor in the South* (Cambridge, 1967), 154-282; and Barbara S. Griffith, *The Crisis of American Labor: Operation Dixie and the Defeat of the CIO* (Philadelphia, 1981), 139-60.

22. See Pepper, *Eyewitness to a Century,* 18-19.
23. Stewart, "Serious Senator Pepper," 7; Stoesen, "Senatorial Career," 6-7; Pepper, *Eyewitness to a Century,* 19.
24. Pepper to family, May 12, 1924, fol. 16, box 1, ser. 401A, CPP.

confidence during his first year at college and ran (but lost) a campaign for student body president. As a senior Pepper traveled to Chapel Hill, North Carolina, and participated in the Southern Oratorical Contest. Later that year (1921) he attended the Midwest Conference of Colleges and Universities in Columbia, Missouri. Thoroughly ambitious, he sought and achieved election as vice-president of the organization.[25]

Success did not come without disappointment. Although Pepper desperately wanted to join a fraternity, the Greek community rejected him. He later blamed his exclusion on his acne problem. "I will be fair," he wrote in his diary in 1921, "I can't blame any fraternity at Alabama for not taking me in even though I did make good successes there on account of my face and maybe other things." The "truth, I think," he continued, "is that when I went there I had no pull."[26]

Pepper needed no "pull," though, to gain membership in the Student Army Training Corps. With the war in Europe still three months from its end, colleges across the country required their male students to participate in the army's preparation program. Pepper proved something less than the ideal soldier. The corps's commanding officer resented several articles in *The Crimson* critical of his actions, and on one occasion he ordered the entire newspaper staff locked in their dorm rooms. Penned up for a week, Pepper spent Armistice Day in his dormitory. After seven days the officer freed the offending journalists.[27]

Army service changed Pepper's life. While doing some heavy lifting he developed a hernia. The painful injury translated into disability money from the government. Designed to train disabled World War I veterans, the federally funded vocational program enabled Pepper to enter law school. In light of Pepper's financial status, the opportunity was, as Pepper later claimed, "Amazing!" Equally remarkable, he could apply the benefits toward the school he longed to attend– Harvard. Unlike his experi-

25. Pepper outlined his university years in "Philosophy and Background," and "Biography for Saints and Sinners." See also Pepper to Pennington, April 11, 1929, and Pepper, *Eyewitness to a Century,* 19-25.
26. HLSD I, December 3, 1921.
27. Pepper, "Biography for Saints and Sinners"; and Pepper, *Eyewitness to a Century,* 21-22.

ence at Tuscaloosa, where he worked part time shoveling coal at the university's power station, at Harvard Pepper used his disability money and loans from Andrews to avoid employment and to devote all of his energies to his studies. This turn of fate reinforced Pepper's sympathy for governmental activism. If federal money had not been available, he could not have attended Harvard Law School. Pepper later cited this fortunate opportunity as contributing to his political liberalism.[28]

Traveling by train from Camp Hill to Savannah and then by ship to Massachusetts, Pepper reached Cambridge in September 1921. Along the way he met another Harvard-bound Southerner named Wallace Walker from Atlanta, and they decided to room together. They remained lifelong friends. After arriving at Cambridge they found an apartment at a rooming house close to campus that cost them each $20.00 per month. With $50.00 a month from his disability check, Pepper had a little left over. Even so, he almost always ran out of money by the end of the month. "Things cost more than I expected and more than they will cost next year," Pepper informed his parents, "because I had to room out in a private house because the dormitories are taken months in advance."[29] Despite his family's impoverishment and the fact that they many times depended on Claude to send money, Pepper sometimes asked his father for financial assistance. He masked his embarrassment with humor. "What a joy it must be to have a fine son to whom you can send money?"[30] Throughout his Harvard years Pepper faced constant financial problems.[31]

The Harvard experience proved enormously important to Pepper's personal growth and professional ambitions. During the 1920s the law school ranked as one of the most prestigious in the nation. Such legal luminaries as Felix Frankfurter, Roscoe Pound, Francis Sayre, and others formed the faculty, and Pepper mixed with classmates such as Thomas Corcoran and James Landis. Harvard served as an ideal training ground for a young man from Alabama with political goals. Not only did Pepper

28. Pepper, *Eyewitness to a Century*, 24.
29. Pepper to family, n.d., fol. 16, box 1, ser. 401A, CPP.
30. Pepper to parents, June 6, 1922, fol. 16, box 1, ser. 401A, CPP.
31. HLSD II, January 4, 16, February 10, 1922; HLSD III, April 13, 1922; HLSD V, January 13, 1924.

become acquainted with men who would soon take commanding positions in the nation's government, economy, academia, and legal system, he encountered a social and cultural life much more sophisticated and cosmopolitan than he would have found in the South or Midwest. Simply put, Pepper acquired an excellent legal education and a broad exposure to America's cultural elites.[32]

Pepper could hardly contain his amazement. Harvard, he noted, comprised "perhaps the largest number of people of position, favor, wealth, culture, family, and tradition that was assembled anywhere in the world." He found the experience overwhelming when he first arrived. "I realize that not only is the prestige so many times greater here but that you actually learn something," wrote Pepper to his parents, "and they see that you do learn it or they kick you out." Nevertheless, Pepper adjusted and let his family know that he remained "delighted with the place and the work." Yet, feelings of inadequacy often surfaced. "Wonder if I deserve any credit for being where I am," wrote the introspective law student, "it has been handed out to me. I have mostly accepted thus far in life. Haven't really tried much it seems." In his diary he often recorded his anxieties. "What of my life if I flunk out of this place, what will Camp Hill say? What can I say? Have I got anything in me?" Pepper assured himself that he could not "fail and by God [he] won't. I am going to do something worthwhile in this world in spite of my past follies & indolences & weaknesses and fate is with me. My dad and mama need me & I am going to respond."[33]

While Pepper's law school diary reflected some typical fears and foibles of a young graduate student, it also shed light on his development as a southern liberal. Scattered throughout the diary are references to politics, Pepper's political ambitions, international affairs, race relations, Jews, labor unions, and relations between Northerners and Southerners. Interspersed with those observations are comments about his social life and a topic that

32. For information about Harvard during the early twentieth century see Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard* (Cambridge, 1936), 323-481.

33. HLSD I, November 19, 26, 1921; HLSD II, February 9, 1922; Pepper to family, n.d.

seemed to obsess him– women. Overall, Pepper's Harvard diaries reveal a sensitive and caring individual burning with ambition.

In these formative years Pepper emerged as a staunch southern Democrat with liberal leanings. "I am passionately fond of our old South & zealous to preserve the best that the great noble past has left us," wrote Pepper. He considered Southerners generally "quick tempered, impetuous, [who] take a chance, fight at pleasure of opponent . . . [who are] free, liberal, sincere, individual[istic], your friend, an awful enemy." Broadcasting his views did not win Pepper converts. For example, while at a restaurant he loudly defended Woodrow Wilson's internationalist policies. "I saw a fellow at nearby table smile and listen," noted Pepper, and "say 'that's one of those Southern Democrats.'"[34]

Wilson became Pepper's political hero. A Virginian and the first native Southerner elected president since the Civil War, Wilson attracted wide support in the region. In addition, by backing progressive reforms such as the eight-hour day (Adamson Act), tariff revision (Underwood-Simmons Tariff), rural development (Rural Credits Act), workmen's compensation (Kern-McGillicuddy Act), and child labor restriction (Keating-Owen Act), the president demonstrated that Southerners could be liberal and progressive. Although Wilson's institutionalization of racial segregation in the federal work place marred his administration's record of social justice, it did not alienate his white southern constituency or his white supporters in the North. Along with domestic liberalism, Wilson advocated an ambitious international role for the United States. The president hoped to make the postwar world "safe for democracy" through the creation of the League of Nations with strong American involvement.[35]

Pepper backed all of Wilson's policies. By 1922 he felt "bitterly towards Republicans for [their] treatment of Wilson," who had left office and had suffered a series of strokes. Pepper condemned "republican [sic] action on the league of nations," and

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34. HLSD I, December 8, 1921; HLSD III, March 15, 1922; HLSD IV, December 6, 1922.
35. Woodrow Wilson's domestic policies are analyzed in Arthur S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era: 1910-1917* (New York, 1954), 1-80, 223-51; Woodward, *Origins of the New South,* 456-80; Tindall, *Emergence of the New South,* 1-32.

he "wouldn't vote for the 4 power treaty now being put up." Pepper believed that Republican obstruction of Wilson's internationalist goals damaged the country. "Nationalism exacts a terrible charge for her existence," wrote Pepper. "I wonder if there will be a great change in the attitude towards war. Of course," Pepper noted, "not except temporarily."[36]

In the fall of 1922 Pepper actively supported William Gaston's campaign to unseat Wilson's archenemy and foe of internationalism Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts. With the exception of his father's race for sheriff, the Gaston-Lodge contest served as Pepper's first taste of political campaigning. He toured Boston neighborhoods speaking in support of Gaston and defending Wilson's foreign policy. The Democratic headquarters in Boston "pay my expenses," Pepper informed his parents. "I don't suppose I'll get to join Lodge in debate," he wrote, "but I'll pitch some little pebbles at his stately head."[37] Pepper's persuasions notwithstanding, Gaston lost.[38] The future senator remained a Wilson proponent throughout the 1920s and wondered whether the former president would return to active politics. "Mr. Wilson getting in better health," Pepper noted to himself, "wonder what political influence he'll exert in future."[39] Throughout his political career Pepper remained an ardent Wilsonian internationalist and liberal.

Although isolated politically in the Republican Northeast, Pepper retained his enthusiasm for his native region and the Democratic party. He sought out fellow Southerners, and they often discussed the problems confronting the region. With the "Jacksons," a couple from his hometown who had moved to Boston, Pepper ("over breakfasts of biscuits, ham, grits, etc.") analyzed Dixie's dilemmas. At a time when H. L. Mencken, editor of *The American Mercury*, and other national journalists continually criticized the South as the "Sahara of the Bozart," the young

36. HLSD III, April 19, 1922.
37. Pepper to parents, October 31, 1922, fol. 16, box 1, ser. 401A, CPP.
38. The Lodge-Gaston campaign is discussed in Pepper, *Eyewitness to a Century*, 28-29; Stoesen, "Senatorial Career," 18-19; and Jonathan Daniels, *The Time Between the Wars: Armistice to Pearl Harbor* (Garden City, NY, 1966), 72. See also *New York Times*, November 9, 11, 1922.
39. HLSD IV, December 6, 1922.

Alabamian defended his homeland. "Jacksons & I yesterday were talking of conditions at home," Pepper noted in his diary, and "I said that if we pretended to be conscientious we would go back home and help."[40] He discussed his home region with seemingly anyone who would listen. He filled his diary with notations: "Told Rand [fellow student] about South, politics, etc., wish Rand could come South," and "had long discussion with Ozias [friend and student] about South, customs, temper, etc."[41] Although Pepper admired Yankee culture, he also self-consciously attempted to persuade his northern friends that a South existed which Mencken would not have recognized.

Unlike the stereotypical Southerner, but very much like a young person, Pepper maintained a high level of idealism. "I wonder," mused the aspiring lawyer, "if I'll lose my ideals someday." He concluded that he probably would not and observed, "I think one can combine the practical and the ideal." With this in mind Pepper hoped "to render a service which will be valuable and shall reflect upon me the honor that it achieves." The young Southerner believed that the "world [was] getting better," and "illiteracy [was] declining." In addition Pepper sympathized with the problems of the poor. "It makes me sad to see the plight of people," he wrote, "hair drawn, sallow, emaciated, unhappy, wearied they all seem. The dirt, the sorrow, the tragedy of it all." But Pepper hoped to help them. "We keep our heads down on the grindstone, our noses on the ground, and play along until our energy all gone & the frail structure decayed, then we [vanish] into oblivion." Yet, he wanted "to see it better."[42]

Pepper's reaction in December 1922 to the negative treatment received by a doctor who had created a clinic for the poor in Boston was not surprising. According to Pepper, "Dr. Lorenzo of Austria [was] going back to Vienna because of the antagonism of the American doctors." The Boston physicians opposed Lorenzo's "conducting [a] free clinic for poor cripples." Human suffering and poverty among the rural people with whom he had grown up in the dirt hills of Alabama– or the slums of Boston– clearly concerned him. For Pepper the incident proved

40. Ibid., December 26, 27, 1922.
41. HLSD II, January 16, 1922; HLSD III, March 28, 1922.
42. HLSD III, March 18, May 6, 16, 1922.

that the "medical profession [was] darn selfish." Throughout his political career Pepper supported the creation of a comprehensive national health care program.[43]

Pepper's views on organized labor and the working class also reflected a liberal mindset. If his experiences at the Ensley steel mill and university power plant in Tuscaloosa had made him sympathetic to unionism, his exposure to industrial life in the Northeast confirmed his views. In January 1922 he noted in his diary that he went to "Widner [sic] Library to read on labor unions." Three months later Pepper wrote that he had "discussed labor conditions with [his friend] Rodney. I taking the side of labor in that they had not had a fair chance for a long time past, if ever." He believed that unions had "been crushed for so long." The organizations, thought Pepper, should be recognized as the legitimate representatives of working people.[44]

Unions did not get the respect they deserved, Pepper later argued, because they did not properly manage and represent themselves. At a law club meeting in December 1922 he supported fellow club member Thompson's view of labor problems. "Labor unions should [agree] each with the other not to bargain individually," noted Thompson, "then if [an] employer tried to hire or deal with them as individuals the great rule of law enforcing breach of [contract] which has been so powerfully used against labor would be turned against capital." Pepper added to Thompson's analysis. "Labor must hire the same trustworthy lawyer" as the employer, "preferably a corporation lawyer." He held these convictions throughout his political career, and in the 1930s and 1940s he strongly endorsed the Wagner Act and other pro-labor legislation and opposed the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act.[45]

In race relations Pepper showed few liberal convictions. The young Alabamian, like many white Southerners, believed in the inferiority of blacks. "I have no hatred of [the] negro," noted

43. HLSD I, December 9, 1921. For information about Pepper's later thoughts on doctors and American medicine see "Meet the Press Interview," June 9, 1950, fol. 5, box 15, ser. 203B, CPP; and Tampa *Morning Tribune,* February 18, 1950.
44. HLSD II, January 23, 1922; HLSD III, April 22, 1922.
45. HLSD IV, December 11, 1922. See also Miami *Weekly News,* April 14, 1938; Pepper, *Eyewitness to a Century,* 218-19.

Pepper, "just difference in social status, that's all." He observed that "his [a black person's] position [was] tragic."[46] As this statement demonstrates, Pepper had ambivalent beliefs about the position of blacks in American society. According to Pepper, if blacks wanted equality with whites they should demand that status. Because the black masses did not, whites assigned them to an inferior position. In Pepper's mind blacks lived lives of deprivation and inequality because they could not (or would not) compete with whites.

The future senator showed little appreciation of the massive obstacles– segregation, disfranchisement, and economic exploitation– that prevented blacks from effectively challenging the color line. When black persons asserted themselves, Pepper respected them. Otherwise, the timid behavior of oppressed blacks confirmed his preconceived notion of black inferiority. Pepper later used his ambivalence about race to appeal to both whites and blacks during the beginnings of the civil rights movement in the late 1940s.[47]

Pepper's reaction to an incident that occurred at Harvard reflected his attitudes about race. Members of the Texas Club (a private organization consisting of students from Texas) decided to have a party in February 1922. They looked through "their catalogue & invited all [the students] from Texas," Pepper noted, and found "that they've invited Mr. Dodson COLORED whom now they don't want & don't know what to do with." Pepper thought that the white Texans had no alternative "but lynch him if he comes."[48]

Even in jest Pepper's statement showed a deep insensitivity to black people. His comment also demonstrated indifference to the plight of a fellow law student who, as a Southerner, probably faced similar problems in adjusting to the Ivy League. Five days later Pepper seemed to show a little pity toward the beleaguered student. "Mr. Dodson spoke up in contracts class," wrote Pepper, and "I laughed at McFadden" (a white Texas Club member).

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46. HLSD III, March 17, 1922.
47. For Pepper's later views on civil rights see Pepper, "Vote for FEPC," n.d., fol. 1, box 1, ser. 424, CPP. See also *New York Times*, July 12, 1948, April 8, 1950.
48. HLSD II, February 27, 1922.

"But if that negro has come from Texas, and being as poor as I judge from his clothes, he deserves credit & I admire him."[49]

The young Southerner did not admire blacks who lived in the North. On a trip with attorney friends Harman Caldwell and Hap Hagood, Pepper entered the home of a black family in Boston. They interviewed the woman of the house about a personal injury she had suffered. "House pretty good & clean," wrote Pepper and he liked "to see these negroes getting on well." Even so, he thought that it grated "just a bit to hear them sometimes speak sharply or the like."[50]

Whatever his feelings about this family, he distinguished between northern and southern blacks. Talking to his friend Rodney, who sympathized with the bad conditions under which blacks lived, Pepper dismissed the concerns of his Yankee friend. "Poor Rodney," he sarcastically noted, "was so sorry for the sweet negroes of the South."[51] Pepper's ambivalence inspired him to wonder whether blacks in the North were actually black. On his way back home in June 1922 he stopped at Savannah. "Saw real negroes again," he noted.[52]

Thoroughly segregated and disfranchised, blacks in the South also suffered from vigilante violence. Lynching decreased as the twentieth century progressed but still occurred frequently in the 1920s.[53] Pepper condemned the crime, yet he refused to support making it a federal offense. Like many other white Southerners, Pepper argued that making lynching a federal crime encouraged the accumulation of power by the national government over the states. In essence, he and fellow whites in the region used the slogan "states' rights" as a smoke screen to preserve the South's racial practices. Pepper noted that he was "opposed to the proposed bill before Congress sponsored by the Judas, H. C. Lodge, for Federal Government to stop lynching in [the] South. It perhaps should be stopped," he wrote, "but

49. Ibid., March 4, 1922.
50. HLSD IV, December 9, 1922.
51. HLSD II, January 23, 1922.
52. HLSD III, June 20, 1922.
53. Violence against blacks is analyzed in C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York, 1966), 43, 114-15; and Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (New York, 1984), 253-75.

would best be done by the people and state governments, which will soon do it anyhow." Pepper believed that "all that will prevent friction between the North & South, should best be discouraged, than otherwise, especially for republicanism [sic] trying to get hold down there."[54]

Pepper consistently opposed the poll tax which sought to disfranchise poor whites and blacks, but his opposition to proposed anti-lynching legislation remained unchanged through his early political career. Although he later portrayed himself as a supporter of equal rights for blacks with only minor slips into racial demagoguery, his concern for civil rights issues actually revolved around his attempts to attract both the white and black vote. As a senator, Pepper actively filibustered to prevent the passage of anti-lynching laws. During the 1940s, however, he stopped participating and introduced legislation to ban the filibuster. Pepper claimed that he based his actions on ethical principles.[55]

Even so, Pepper's actions were politically motivated and reflected his ambivalence about racial issues. He realized that after the Supreme Court's ruling in *Smith v. Allwright* in 1944 many blacks began voting in the South. To attract these new voters he slowly moved closer to a pro-civil rights political posture when speaking to liberal audiences in the North and West and to blacks in the South. For example, at the Democratic national convention in 1948 Pepper informed potential supporters that he believed "in civil rights . . . in accordance with the Constitution." That same month he announced on the Senate floor that Southerners should not "array themselves as their forefathers did in 1860 against human rights for any part of our people." Moreover, six months later he told a gathering of Young Democrats at the University of Florida that it was his "intention to support President Truman's whole program of civil rights if it beats me in the next election."[56] Yet, a year and one-half later, in the midst of his reelection campaign, Pepper's literature promised voters that the senator was "absolutely opposed to any attempt by the

54. HLSD II, May 25, 1922.
55. *Congressional Record,* 75th Cong., 3rd sess., 1938, 83,1054; and *Congressional Record* clipping, July 28, 1948, fol. 13, box 57, ser. 201, CPP.
56. *New York Times,* July 12, 1948; *Florida Alligator,* December 17, 1948.

government to abolish or interfere in any way with the customs and traditions of the Southland."[57]

Pepper's wavering also entered into his personal correspondence. "I am not willing," Pepper wrote his friend Professor William Carleton of the University of Florida shortly after the Democratic convention of 1948, "to put myself on the wrong side of a moral issue, to throw myself across the stream of history, and to identify myself with those who seem to have no appreciation whatsoever of the true principles of democracy involved in this issue." What concerned him "more than anything else about the whole effort [convention] was the tragic discovery which I had always hoped against hope was not true, that the differences between the North and West on the one hand and the South on the other respecting civil rights are no more to be reconciled than the differences on the issue of slavery."[58]

Nevertheless, six months later Pepper told James A. Davis of Clearwater that "there has been a gross misrepresentation by the president's enemies and the reactionary element as to what the Civil Rights program as recommended by the president means." According to Pepper, "it does not and Congress cannot abolish segregation as we now know it in our local communities, in our state, and in the South." He informed Davis that "the idea that the president has ever recommended that Congress could make compulsory the abolition of segregation in restaurants, swimming pools, hotels, theaters, and picture shows, schools, religious and fraternal organizations, is utterly preposterous." Pepper made a strong effort to let segregationists in Florida, such as Lovich Williams of Inverness, know that "it is unnecessary for me to tell you that I do not have any view different from yours or any other southerner about racial equality."[59]

Apparently not recognizing the irony, Pepper outlined his own dilemma concerning race and politics in a private letter to

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57. "Claude Pepper and the Compulsory FEPC," n.d., Campaign Memorandum, Political Campaign 1950, fol. 3, box 42, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.
58. Pepper to William Carleton, August 12, 1948, fol. 13, box 57, ser. 201, CPP.
59. Pepper to James A. Davis, December 26, 1948, fol. 12, box 57, ser. 201, Pepper to Lovich Williams, February 11, 1944, fol. 16, box 14, ser. 431A, CPP.

H. S. McKenzie, editor of the Palatka *Times-Herald,* after losing his Senate seat in August 1950. "The race prejudice is so strong in our state and in the South," observed Pepper, "and is, of course, such an available weapon for the Demagogue and the candidate who wants that kind of instrument, and the honest Liberal is, of course, so vulnerable upon the subject that I just don't know what the future possibilities are for us."[60] Like other southern liberals, Pepper was caught between his concerns for social and racial justice and the fear of electoral defeat. The result was an inconsistent record on the major social justice issue of the twentieth century– racism. Pepper's ambivalence about race reflected in his later political maneuvering was a logical continuation of his ideas dating back to his years at Harvard.

Pepper's prejudices expanded at Harvard to include Jewish people. During his first few months in Boston he noticed the relatively large resident Jewish population as compared to the few Jews who lived in Alexander City and Camp Hill. Pepper also commented negatively on the Zionist movement taking place in the Middle East. Apparently, he considered Jewish encroachments on Arab land wrong. In a sarcastic mood Pepper jotted in his diary, "Give Palestine back to the Jews and make them give Revere Beach [a section of the city heavily populated by Jews] back to Boston." On New Year's Eve 1921 Pepper attended a celebration at the Copley Hotel. At the party, he "watched disgusting array of drunken fools, idealistic staggering Jews & loose bellied old women." The celebrants' behavior seemed to confirm Pepper's antisemitism.

Why Pepper held such negative notions about Jews remains a mystery. Very likely, he expressed his opinions because he had little exposure to Jews in eastern Alabama, and their cultural and religious customs seemed strange to the young Southerner. In this respect he was not alone. Jewish customs also alienated a number of northern Protestants as well. Many Jews living in the Northeast had only recently arrived from eastern Europe, and their long process of assimilation had just begun. Whatever its origins, Pepper's antisemitism stayed confined to his diary,

60. Pepper to H. S. McKenzie, August 2, 1950, fol. 3, box 22, ser. 201, CPP.
61. HLSD I, November 19, December 31, 1922.

and later in his career he strongly supported Jewish concerns and the State of Israel.[62]

If Pepper found Jews unappealing, he also thought Northerners a strange breed. "Saw Beal" (fellow student), wrote Pepper, an "eccentric Yankee who dropped in." He considered Beal "stupid, queer, ill at ease, [with] no manners." According to Pepper, the Northerner cared "nothing for anything but getting ahead." He had not "seen enough of his type to understand them" during his first months in Cambridge.[63] Yet, Pepper still showed little understanding later. At a party in May 1922 he tried to convince his northern friends to tell stories for entertainment. The polite refusals of his friends puzzled Pepper. "Here was a crowd of supposedly well educated people," he observed,, and "'anything of that sort didn't appeal." Pepper concluded that "the art of communication [could only be] found in secluded sparse corners." As his comment suggested, Pepper accepted Southerners' stereotypes of Northerners as cold and aloof. He considered Yankees "rather rigid in character & not prone to sentimentalism, but fine character withal."[64]

In his diary Pepper stated specifically what he admired about Yankees. Northerners "will treat a Southerner [well] if he behaves as a gentleman." Pepper also admired what he called the "Harvard" type. "I should like to have that calm, quiet, logical way," wrote Pepper, and he wondered "what [he was] like or [would] be?"[65] He hoped to gain a broad education. Thinking he was deficient in knowledge of the arts, he often asked his friend Ozias to guide him in the humanities. "I didn't know a thing about those things," he observed. Pepper projected his own ignorance onto all Southerners. "I'm sorry that we Southerners don't know about & appreciate those things," he wrote. "We are as a class," thought Pepper, "very rural and in many respects common."[66]

If Pepper had an inferiority complex as a Southerner living in the North, he experienced similar feelings toward women. Throughout his diary Pepper recorded a fairly typical young

62. See Pepper, *Eyewitness to a Century,* 181-82.
63. HLSD I, December 22, 1921.
64. HLSD III, May 7, 1922.
65. HLSD II, January 19, 1922.
66. HLSD IV, December 8, 1922.

man's sexual coming of age, and he frequently commented on the qualities necessary for his "ideal" woman. For Pepper she would encourage his political ambitions while simultaneously maintaining a stable and loving home and family. Pepper still suffered from both acne and a lack of confidence, and his contact with the opposite sex was limited.

Pepper's problems did not prevent him from dating. During his first year at Harvard he met and courted a young woman named Mary Wood. Mary did not fulfill his expectations, and Pepper soon began dating another woman named Camelia.[67] These two women ultimately did not satisfy Pepper's high standards for serious romance. For Pepper the right woman had to be beautiful, educated, and value his ambitions as much as he did. After attending a party at Radcliffe College in December 1921, Pepper recorded his thoughts about the college women he had met. "All of them were good girls," thought Pepper, "but were unfortunately not the extra social type." Unlike the Radcliffe women, Pepper desired a southern woman who would be "soft, refined, cultured, musical, imaginative, tender."[68]

In Josie Reaves, a neighbor in Alexander City, Alabama, Pepper thought he had found such a woman. Attending school in Montgomery while Pepper studied at Harvard, Reaves corresponded with Pepper on a regular basis. "I wonder if I could love her," wrote Pepper. "No college but she is sensible, pretty, emotional, fine in thought, etc." Nevertheless, Pepper knew that he could never marry a provincial woman like Reaves. "I must have a woman who will help me on, lift me up, make me be great," he confessed, "yet, is thoroughly feminine, handsome, charming, graceful, cultured."[69] Unfortunately, according to Pepper, Josie Reaves did not meet his demanding requirements.

With such severe standards, Pepper pondered whether he would ever find a woman to wed. "I wonder if any girls who know me would really marry me," he confided to his diary. "When? Where? Whom? Shall I ever take the leap?" The future politician was determined "to be careful, [and] find one who has all the qualities of grace, charm, easiness, is accomplished, intel-

67. HLSD I, November 23, 1921.
68. Ibid., December 9, 1921.
69. HLSD II, January 8, 1922.

ligent, warm to respond to, [has] friendliness, & has good family history and strong family in the affairs of the world."[70] Pepper did not find a woman to fit this list of demands while attending Harvard. According to all available evidence, he later found all his desired qualities in his wife Mildred Webster of St. Petersburg.[71]

Pepper's ambitions ran from women to politics. During his early years he found more success at the latter than the former. In 1924, his last year of law school, Pepper participated in the semifinals of the Ames Moot Court Contest. Although he and his teammates had prepared for weeks before the competition, they lost the case. Even so, Pepper made a positive impression on Dean Roscoe Pound. The dean told Pepper that he would "be a great trial lawyer." At their meeting, the future senator asked Pound to write a letter of reference to support his application for Oxford University the next year. Pound agreed to help Pepper and "said if [I] did go to England, just stay a year & have a good time."[72]

Pepper never made it to Oxford. With his family at Alexander City facing financial difficulties, he gave up his dream of traveling to Britain. "It looks like a hard road doesn't it," Pepper asked himself. "What it all may mean for me I dare not conjecture."[73] Yet, his indecision proved short lived. At the end of his last semester (spring 1924), a secretary at the law school, Dickey Ames, introduced Pepper to J. C. Futrell, president of the University of Arkansas. He offered Pepper a job as professor at his institution's new law school, and, strapped financially, Pepper accepted. The new teacher wrote his parents that he would soon "get a long breath, buckle up [his] belt, and hit for Dixie." Through his new job, Pepper informed his parents, he would have some leisure time, make a "good salary," and live in a healthy environment. In fact, he seemed pleased with the college's location at Fayetteville, nestled in the Ozark Mountains.[74]

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70. HLSD III, June 28, 1922.
71. Pepper, *Eyewitness to a Century*, 53.
72. HLSD V, January 17, 1924, See also Pepper to parents, February 12, 1924, and n.d., fol. 16, box 1, ser. 401A, CPP.
73. HLSD V, January 10, 16, 1924.
74. Pepper to parents, April 30, May 12, 1924, fol. 16, box 1, ser. 401A, CPP.

After visiting his family in Alexander City, Pepper spent three weeks in a New Orleans hospital having a hernia repaired. Following the surgery he began teaching at Fayetteville. With only one other colleague, Julian S. Waterman, on the law school's faculty, Pepper played an important role in the institution's founding. He introduced a moot court program, helped develop the library, and became a popular instructor among the students. Years later Pepper would serve in the Senate with one of his students, J. William Fulbright of Arkansas.[75]

At this point another student named Donald Trumbo made a greater impact on Pepper's career. Trumbo's father operated a bank in Muskogee, Oklahoma, and had investments in Florida real estate. When Arthur visited Fayetteville he met Pepper, and the two became friends. At the end of the school year in June 1925 Trumbo invited Pepper to attend a meeting in Chicago as a paid legal consultant concerning real estate investments in Florida. Bored with his teaching career in Arkansas, Pepper accepted an offer by William B. Davis, a participant at the Chicago meeting, to work in his law office at Perry, Florida. By the end of the month Pepper was a Florida resident.[76]

Pepper enjoyed his new home. Located on the west coast of Florida approximately fifty-five miles south of Tallahassee, Perry had a population of about 2,500 in 1925, a thriving lumber industry, and a subtropical climate. Pepper believed that his "future look[ed] unusually good from the money point of view." He informed his family that the "town is growing fast, they are paving miles of streets here, new and good homes are growing up, railroads are coming in, [and that he would be] making $10,000 a year within five years." Feeling confident, Pepper told them that he would send them all enough money each month to pay their bills and living expenses.[77]

As a defense attorney, Pepper gained notoriety in "a score of murder cases in which [he took] a leading or active part." In

75. Pepper to Lena Pepper, August 26, 1924, fol. 18, box 1, ser. 401A, CPP; Pepper to Pennington, April 11, 1929.
76. Pepper, "Philosophy and Background"; Donald Trumbo to Pepper, September 23, 1929, fol. 4, box 1, ser. 409, CPP. See also Pepper, *Eyewitness to a Century*, 34-35.
77. Pepper to parents, n.d., fol. 18, box 1, ser. 401A, CPP.

addition, he argued several cases in the Supreme Court of Florida. As he put it, "I like the match of wits, the human interest, and the strategy which characterizes trial work, in addition to the point of law involved." Nevertheless, he also experienced "sheer delight in working out a brief or presenting a case orally to the Supreme Court." Three years after arriving in Perry, Pepper sought a seat in the Florida House of Representatives.[78]

Pepper defeated Taylor County incumbent W. T. Hendry by playing up Hendry's failure to vote on a bill requiring farmers to dip their cattle to remove ticks. Claiming that the county needed a representative who would remember to vote when important issues were decided, he won his first political office. At the legislative session that ran from April through June of 1929, Pepper introduced no bills of lasting importance. He chaired the Committee on Constitutional Amendments and sat on eight other committees. If not playing an important legislative role, he did receive praise from the press for his oratorical talents. The Tallahassee *Daily Democrat* described him as the "eloquent and logical member from Taylor County."[79]

Pepper served only one term in the Florida House. According to Pepper, he failed to win reelection because of his stance on a racial issue during a special session of the legislature. When President Herbert Hoover's wife invited the wife of black congressman Oscar dePriest of Chicago to a formal luncheon scheduled for June 12, 1929, Florida legislators passed a resolution protesting the action. Pepper voted against the measure explaining that "I am a Southerner and a Democrat like my ancestors before me and have always voted for the Democratic nominees, but I consider such a resolution as this out of place as an act of this body."[80] Although he condemned the motion because of its harsh tone toward the president and not because of its racial bias, as a freshman legislator from a thoroughly racist county, his pronouncement was reckless and, as he later claimed, may have contributed to his defeat a year later. Though he had used white supremacy slogans while campaigning for Democratic

78. Pepper to Pennington, April 11, 1929.
79. Florida Legislature, *House Journal, 1929,* 9-11; Tallahassee *Daily Democrat,* May 17, 1929.
80. Florida Legislature, *House Journal, 1929,* 1145.

presidential candidate Al Smith a year before, Taylor County voters questioned their solon's act of conscience.

Whether Pepper lost his seat in the legislature as a result of the dePriest incident is difficult to determine. As a new and obscure representative from a small county, he warranted little attention from the press, and his statement against the resolution did not receive coverage in the newspapers. Contrary to Pepper's later explanations, the incident may not have played an important role in his reelection campaign a year later. His opponent, Alton H. Wentworth, a lifelong resident of the county, ignored the racial issue and successfully attacked Pepper for supporting an unpopular retail sales tax. Available evidence does not support Pepper's argument that he sacrificed his first political office because of an unpopular and courageous stand against racism.[81]

The young lawyer's driving ambition soon overshadowed his initial disappointment over his electoral loss. As he recorded in his diary in April 1922, "I should have the sense to not spend my time idly but reading gathering knowledge & thus power that I may force myself ahead & with position. I must."[82] Such single-mindedness formed Pepper's character throughout his political career. A tireless worker with lofty political ambitions, the young Southerner soon found the legal profession tedious and unfullilling.

Pepper considered a public service career as the best outlet for his talents. Believing that his own hard work combined with the help of his family and community had contributed to his success, Pepper successfully combined his southern heritage with twentieth century liberalism. As Pepper once put it, "Liberalism was . . . my honest disposition."[83] His political inclinations reflected his early struggles with economic hardship and the combination of private effort and public help that lifted him out of poverty and into a productive life. Along with fellow liberals from the South, he considered an activist government the basis of social stability and progress.

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81. See Stoesen, "Senatorial Career," 30. For Pepper's version of why he lost his legislative seat in 1930 see Pepper, *Eyewitness to a Century,* 41-43.
82. HLSD III, April 15, 1922.
83. Pepper, *Eyewitness to a Century,* xiii.

"FLORIDA AND THE BRITISH INVESTOR" REVISITED: THE WILLIAM MOORE ANGAS PAPERS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

by FRANK ORSER

IN his 1954 article Alfred P. Tischendorf discussed briefly the role of fifteen British-owned companies in Florida around the turn of the century.[1] He concluded that these enterprises were devoted to development and attracting British immigrants. Generally little is known about British business practices in Florida since very few records exist in the United States. Details about two of the larger English companies, the Land Mortgage Bank and the Florida Syndicate, can now be examined through their business files, recently acquired by the George A. Smathers Libraries at the University of Florida and accessioned as the William Moore Angas Papers.

Angas, an Englishman, came to Jacksonville in 1895 as resident agent and manager for a group of British-owned companies interested in Florida real estate. For more than a half century he and his son Robert Moore Angas represented these concerns in more than twenty Florida counties, while at the same time becoming involved in smaller Florida real estate and finance companies. The principal activities in which the businesses engaged included real estate sales and financing, brick production in Jacksonville, citrus farming, forestry, and phosphate mining. The British companies represented by Angas were the Land Mortgage Bank of Florida, Ltd., the Florida Syndicate, Ltd., and the Indian River Association. An examination of these records suggests that Tischendorf's conclusion is less applicable than previously thought.

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1. Alfred P. Tischendorf, "Florida and the British Investor," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 33 (October 1954), 120-29.

The oldest of the companies, the Land Mortgage Bank, was founded in 1889 exclusively to lend money for Florida mortgages. As a result of hard times following the freeze of 1895 and poor, if not fraudulent, management by its agents prior to Angas, the company foreclosed on many properties throughout Florida, making it a large landowner by default. The same adverse conditions ultimately forced the company into liquidation. When properties were foreclosed they usually reverted to the company's English liquidators, Robert Thomas Heselton and Benjamin Septimus Briggs. Technically the bank never owned property at all, but officials erroneously made some deeds to it rather than to the liquidators.

Angas's major activities consisted of collecting mortgages and rents due the company, selling repossessed property under the best terms possible, and managing affairs until a sale could be made. In addition to many lots and homes in Jacksonville, the bank controlled commercial properties and "wild lands" throughout the state. Although the papers do not show that Angas participated in large-scale plans to develop these properties, he did support improvements such as road building to make the properties more saleable. Sometimes he built new houses on the land if he thought it would encourage sales. Much of the company's Jacksonville property was in poorer, often black, neighborhoods where likely buyers lacked funds even during boom times. Once sold the property often had to be repossessed. The constant inability of both Angas's buyers and renters to keep up with payments is a recurring theme in the correspondence. Many of the properties had clouded titles, and the company was continuously engaged in title litigation. The most voluminous correspondence came from the bank's legal firm, Fleming, Hamilton, Diver, Lichtler, and Fleming.

Some formal subdivision of the bank's Jacksonville property did occur, as in the Westbrook, Avondale, and Heselton & Payne's subdivisions. The planning and selling of these properties was generally turned over to professional real estate companies. The bank also owned some out-of-state properties. Rural holdings included several orange groves. The correspondence includes detailed information about the management and production of these groves as well as attempts to sell them. By the time of William Angas's death in 1932 most of the property had been sold. His son Robert conducted whatever business was

necessary for twenty more years. By the end of this period a few properties were still unsold, and Robert agreed to buy them, concluding after sixty years the activities of the Land Mortgage Bank of Florida.

Until William Angas came to Jacksonville in 1895 the affairs of the bank were managed by a company owned by three men– J. C. Greeley, John Rollins, and Harwood Morgan. Affairs were in a very bad state. In the hope that business could be improved they formed a new company, the Florida Finance Company, and Angas became president. When conditions failed to improve the Land Mortgage Bank liquidators foreclosed on the Florida Finance Company, adding to the Land Mortgage Bank property. Apparently the old Land Mortgage Bank agents had been lending money on poor security to dummy buyers and using the money for their own speculation. After 1895 the Florida Finance Company existed only as a shell, and the Land Mortgage Bank conducted all actual business.

The Florida Syndicate, unlike the Land Mortgage Bank, was formed for the purpose of land speculation. The hope of finding phosphate-rich property was apparently the prime motivation. In addition to land speculation, the Florida Syndicate engaged in four distinct types of industry– brick making, mining, timber, and hotels. The syndicate purchased the Jacksonville Brick Company and the Hotel Montezuma in Ocala. Its land holdings included phosphate mines– leased principally to the J. Buttgenbath Company– and 75,000 acres of "wild" or undeveloped land. The hotel was soon sold and does not figure prominently in the papers.

The company acquired the brickyard in the 1890s and apparently it operated without much success. The fire of 1901 found the yard inoperative, but soon thereafter a flurry of activity took place to get it back into production. A few years seem to have been profitable, but the enterprise was always troubled. The principal problem seems to have stemmed from the difficulty of finding foremen who knew how to work with Florida clay and how to manage the extremely high temperatures required to burn it. The kiln was in constant need of repair, perhaps as a result of the high temperatures. Although Angas was not manager of the brickyard, he took great interest in it. He believed it would operate much better if he were the manager, and an "I told you so" attitude is barely disguised in his correspondence.

The brickyard finally ceased operation in 1913, and more than twenty years of effort to sell the property ensued. Angas concluded that it was unsalable as a business, and the Jacksonville School District ultimately purchased the land for a technical school. Although the brickyard business was owned by the syndicate, the Land Mortgage Bank owned part of the property on which the yard was located, making it one of the points on which the interests of the two companies overlapped and possibly conflicted. The Florida Syndicate file is rich in information on brickmaking. In fact, it is specific enough to reconstruct the production and financial history of the company as well as many of the technical aspects of production. Both Florida Syndicate and Land Mortgage Bank files contain material on the brickyard site itself, which contained its own clay pit.

The principal objective in forming the Florida Syndicate appears to have been acquisition of land for phosphate prospecting. Some of the properties did have the valuable mineral in sufficient quantity for mining, principally at Holder in Citrus County. Reports on the amount of phosphate extracted and the royalties paid are regular features of the Florida Syndicate correspondence until depletion of the mine after 1910. A curio of the collection is a small group of letters from 189l– preceding other correspondence in the papers by ten years– regarding phosphate prospecting in Florida. A letter from Albertus Vogt, pioneer of the Florida phosphate industry is included. Written even before Angas came to America, the survival of the letters is something of a mystery since no other correspondence prior to 1901 exists.

The Florida Syndicate purchased 75,000 acres in Florida in 1892 of which more than 60,000 were in Levy County. The property, part of the parcel Hamilton Disston had acquired from the state, was sold to the syndicate by phosphate prospector John Dunne.[2] In time the syndicate set about to sell the property, and most of the resulting transactions can be traced in the company's records and correspondence. Disposing of 60,000 acres in Levy County was a particularly daunting task, requiring many years of effort. The policy of the Florida Syndicate was to remove the resources from the land, in this case timber, and then sell the

2. T. Frederick Davis, "The Disston Land Purchase," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 17 (January 1939), 200-10.

property. Divided into roughly 20,000- and 40,000-acre tracts, the deforested property proved difficult to sell and to keep sold, especially as cash became a scarce commodity in the late 1920s and 1930s.

Finally, a group of investors interested in professional forestry successfully acquired the larger tract. The Forestry Managers were led by S. J. Hall of Jacksonville and included noted forester Dr. Austin Cary. Although the story of this transaction is not included in the annals of the Florida Syndicate, this tract was reforested and resold in 1992 to the State of Florida under its Preservation 2000 land acquisition program. Far from being the story of land development, in this instance the Florida Syndicate was part of the history of land preservation.[3]

In 1931 the stockholders of the Florida Syndicate liquidated the company and formed the Keighley Land Company to take over its assets and liabilities. The company was so named for the Yorkshire town in which several of the directors lived. The Keighley correspondence and business were simply continuations of the Florida Syndicate until operations ceased in 1942 with the satisfaction of the Levy County leases and sale of the brickyard property.

The Indian River Association began operations in 1892– the same year as the Florida Syndicate– and it contained several of the same principal stockholders. The company, whose existence Tischendorf overlooked, acquired the assets of the Indian River Pineapple & Coconut Association, a Florida company formed around 1885. Principal stockholders of the older company included former lieutenant governor William H. Gleason and several members of his family. By the time the Indian River Association obtained the property its officers included Harwood Morgan and John Rollins. The land consisted of prime Florida real estate, including Hobe Sound and other parts of Jupiter Island, prop-

3. Hall sold the property in 1942 to sawmill operator J. T. Goethe. It was resold to the state in 1992 as part of the Levy County Forest/Sandhills Conservation and Recreation Lands (CARL) project. A current description and map of the property may be found in the *Annual Report of the Conservation and Recreation Lands Program* (Tallahassee, 1991). A videotape of an interview with Goethe from the Florida Department of Agriculture and Consumer Services Information Network describes the history of the property during Goethe's ownership. A copy of the videotape and a legal description of the property are housed with the Angas Papers.

erty known as the Gomez Grant on the opposing mainland, and the Riverside division of Jacksonville.

The correspondence files preserved for the Indian River Association cover the period 1924-1937 and primarily concern liquidation of the company and the controversy over the name of Hobe Sound. Investors to whom the Indian River Association sold the property around Hobe Sound had changed its name to Olympia. The alteration displeased old-timers, including Angas himself who wintered there. Angus felt that the new owners had introduced an undesirable and possibly criminal element to the area. A subsequent sale of the property resulted in both restoration of the old name and return of the inn there to its former management.

An interesting aspect of the Indian River Association records is the documentation concerning title to the Gomez Grant. In order to ensure a clear title the owners had a completely new abstract prepared in 1916.[4] This resulted in a rash of correspondence between attorneys over procedures for preparing the abstract and the title itself. The attorneys gathered as much historical documentation as possible, some extending back to the land grant from the Spanish sovereign to Esuebio M. Gomez in 1821. They also acquired new quit claim deeds from Gomez descendants whenever possible. Unfortunately, Angas's files do not contain all of these documents.

The last company with which Angas was involved was the Hollybrook Company, a Florida business of which he was president and a large stockholder. The company primarily sold lots in the Hollybrook subdivision of Jacksonville. As part of the development the company donated land to the city for Hollybrook Park. A substantial part of the correspondence is devoted to Angas's efforts to have the city develop the park. Angas showed his greatest civic interest in the area of park building and development.

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4. *Abstract of Title to Jupiter Island and Gomez Grant Property of the Indian River Association* (Jacksonville, 1916) is held in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, as are two pamphlets: George M. Chapin's, *Hobe Sound, Florida: Winter Home* in *Summerland* (Jacksonville, 1913) and *Jupiter Island and Hobe Sound, Palm Beach County, Fla* (Jacksonville, 1919), published to promote the property.

Although the Land Mortgage Bank, Florida Syndicate, and Indian River Association were conducting business from the early 1890s, and Angas came to Florida in 1895, none of his correspondence is preserved prior to 1901. Some ledgers do exist from earlier dates. The early records do not appear to have been burned in the Jacksonville fire of 1901. Ironically, the earliest surviving correspondence is an account of the fire which mentions that Angas's office building was one of the few undamaged structures. The fire was a bench mark of sorts for the company as it began a new filing system shortly thereafter. Indeed the file boxes, no longer extant, began from the fire date with number one. It appears that clerks filed every copy and every letter received. Attachments that accompanied outgoing letters are usually not preserved. The oldest of the office copies are in very brittle condition. The great majority of the collection consists of correspondence, but there are a few copies of deeds, abstracts, and other legal documents.

Numerous bound volumes are preserved. Most important of these are the tract books through which it is possible to identify all the real estate holdings of the companies and to identify dates on which they were sold or leased and to whom. Often supplementing these records are copies of correspondence with the actual buyers. These materials reveal the negotiations of the sale. Company officials made constant efforts to clear or improve titles, and although the title work itself does not exist, it is often recapitulated in the correspondence. These documents often include the history of the property and its ownership as well as personal details of former owners, or present buyers.

The papers clearly show the complexity that often accompanied real estate and financial transactions. Many business dealings are told piecemeal through correspondence that continues for years and even decades. Occasionally, interesting vignettes enliven the records. One such story involved a citrus grove foreman who killed an Army of the Republic veteran who was pilfering oranges. Another tells the tale of a man who tried to prove that a deadbeat who was reported deceased was really alive, only to have the individual actually die during the course of his pursuit.

The financial ledgers have been preserved, and they make it possible to reconstruct the financial history of the companies. The correspondence has been purged of some of its most routine and duplicative pieces.

There is virtually no purely personal correspondence in the files, but at times personal observations enter the letters. Some of the more interesting correspondence in this regard emanates from Robert Moore Angas in the later years. After the death of the elder Angas in 1932 Robert continued his father's representation of the companies while operating his own civil engineering practice. Although little actual business was being conducted in the depression years, the younger Angas sent long letters back to England describing conditions in Florida. For example Angas believed construction of the cross-Florida ship canal would revitalize Jacksonville's economy. He gave an eyewitness account of the dedication ceremony at the beginning of construction and carefully followed its progress. He also commented hopefully on the coming of the pulp paper industry to north Florida and south Georgia, and he monitored the number of trains carrying tourists through Jacksonville as a barometer of coming economic conditions. The younger Angas appears to have been more involved with civic affairs than was his father, and he commented on his own role in defeating bond issues for a second bridge over the St. Johns River and for a Duval County seawall.

From the massive amount of correspondence, a picture of the older Angas emerges. Hardworking, frugal, persistent, and extremely meticulous are adjectives that describe him. The companies that Angas managed were very clear in insisting that debtors make some payment on what they owed, but Angas was usually willing to extend time to those who showed good faith. He appeared always mindful of the fact that he was only the agent of the property owners, and he pointed this out to debtors as part of the reason why some progress had to be made on their account. Angas reported that a nervous buyer had once been advised by an abstract company officer to not be afraid of dealing with the Land Mortgage Bank as it was as honest as any company in the state. Angas was honest and likely never cheated anyone nor told a lie, but he was also a firm negotiator and might not volunteer everything that a buyer might want to know.

Angas was clearly not always in agreement with the owners as to the best business course to follow, and at times his employers questioned his actions and judgment. Some of the tension between loyalty to employers and his own judgement was best expressed in letters to third parties, particularly the Jacksonville attorneys with whom Angas worked closely on company affairs. Many of Angas's misgivings proved well founded.

The papers are the gift of the five daughters of William Mack Angas, younger son of William Moore Angas. When received they were in their original file boxes, in most cases apparently undisturbed since they were initially filed. The Angas papers are housed in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, George A. Smathers Libraries. A researcher's guide has been prepared.

THE ADVANCE OF FLORIDA'S FRONTIER AS DETERMINED FROM POST OFFICE OPENINGS

by MORTON D. WINSBERG

THE geographical diffusion of human habitation throughout the United States has long interested social scientists. Unfortunately a paucity of detailed data has always hampered accurate cartographic representation of the advance of the frontier in the nation. Although the United States has conducted a decennial population census since 1790, meaningful cartographic displays of the advancing settlement frontier that might otherwise be derived from census data in the nineteenth century are obscured by changes in the number, area, and shape of counties. Florida provides an excellent example of such cartographic problems as well as one possible solution.

At the time of Florida's first census in 1830 there were only two counties, Escambia and St. Johns. By 1838 the number had risen to twenty, by 1860 to thirty-eight, by 1880 to forty-one, and by 1900 to forty-seven. In 1900 there were still only six counties in the entire southern half of the peninsula, whereas today there are seventeen. The state incorporated its sixty-seventh county in 1925, and that number exists today.[1] Until the most recent censuses, the division of counties into smaller population units (towns, precincts, etc.) varied greatly from one decade to another, making it impossible to use the census to define movement of the frontier.

A number of scholars have attempted to describe the early nineteenth-century advance of Florida's frontier through the use of population censuses. Charles O. Paullin did so cartographitally, utilizing censuses between 1830 and 1930. He calculated population densities per square mile for the ever-growing

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1. Edward A. Fernald and Elizabeth D. Purdum, eds., *The Atlas of Florida* (Gainesville, 1992), 98-99.

number of counties.[2] The *Atlas of Florida* did the same for a period of seven censuses. Unlike the Paullin maps, the *Atlas* used different densities of population for each map, making it difficult to discern advancing settlement.[3] Tebeau did not use maps, but aggregated the state's counties into four broad regions (west, middle, east, south).[4] All three efforts to show the advance of frontier settlement suffered because of the small number of counties during the nineteenth century, especially in the southern half of the peninsula.

A useful alternative cartographic representation of the advance of settlement in the United States, although little utilized, is to plot post offices on a map by the date they opened.[5] The primary reason why researchers seldom consult postal records is that to establish the date when a post office was opened and to locate it on a map are formidable tasks.[6] For Florida, the laborious task of ascertaining the opening date of its post offices and the period (or periods) they functioned has fortunately already been completed.[7] *A Chronology of Florida Post Offices* additionally locates each post office within the sixty-seven counties that exist today, not in the reduced number that existed at the time of their opening. This feature proved of enormous value in utilizing a huge data set.

A Chronology of Florida Post Offices lists over 3,500 post offices. Many had such abbreviated lives, however, that their use is inappropriate for plotting settlement patterns. Two defining criteria reduced the number to 1,665. First, this study examines only post offices that functioned for at least five years, even if those years were not consecutive. To limit the scope further, only post offices opened before 1920 are included. This is not a harmful limitation since, as a result of improved transportation, relatively

2. Charles O. Paullin, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* (Washington, DC, 1932), plates 76-79.
3. Fernald and Purdum, ed., *Atlas of Florida,* 96-97.
4. Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, FL, 1980), 183.
5. John A. Alwin, "Post Office Locations and the Historical Geographer: A Montana Example," *Professional Geographer* 26 (May 1974), 183-86, is an example of the use of postal records to establish frontier movement.
6. The National Archives maintains postal records and has available on microfilm the dates post offices were established and closed.
7. Alford G. Bradbury and E. Story Hallock, *A Chronology of Florida Post Offices* (Palm Beach, FL, 1962).

few post offices were established in Florida during the twentieth century and many older ones were closed.

The use of postal records to define the advance of Florida settlement poses problems, although they are not the same as those present when only population data are employed. During the first half of the nineteenth century, for example, the opening of post offices was only loosely based on population.[8] Post roads, river postal routes, and offices normally received authorization by petitioning Congress. Political influence and not need commonly guided the success rate of petitions. Furthermore, Congress believed that revenues generated by post offices were supposed to at least equal expenditures. David Yulee, during the period he represented Florida in the United States Senate, was an especially vocal advocate of self-sustaining post offices. This policy shortened the lives of many post offices, not only in Florida but throughout the nation. It also is the reason why this study only uses post offices that remained open at least five years. Following the Civil War, service and need began to take precedent over the ability of a post office to be self-sustaining, and new post office openings throughout the nation were more closely associated with population growth.

A second problem regarding the use of post office openings stems from the fact that during the nineteenth century the diffusion of people throughout Florida usually proceeded at a faster rate than the postal service. For example, census records found hundreds of woods ranchers in southwestern Florida before the first post office (Manatee) opened in 1850 to serve them.[9] For the purpose of this study these pioneers are regarded as having advanced beyond the settlement frontier.

A fundamental difficulty experienced by all who have endeavored to represent a frontier catographically has been the need to define the term itself. This study, like most examining the frontier, uses the word to refer to the line of settlement that separates territory into two divisions based on its level of social and economic integration with other places. At one end of the continuum rests places that are totally unoccupied; on the other

8. Wayne E. Fuller, *The American Mail: Enlarger of the Common Life* (Chicago, 1972), 42-78.
9. John S. Otto, *The Southern Frontier, 1607-1860: The Agricultural Evolution of the Colonial and Antebellum South* (New York, 1989), 135-36.

are locations that are settled and well integrated. Although there may always be disagreement as to where exactly the frontier line should be placed between these poles, this study employs post offices as a locating tool.

Especially close cartographic scrutiny has been devoted to the period 1821 to 1859 during which 184 post offices opened that survived at least five years. The location of each post office has been plotted on a map, and a specific symbol identifies the decade in which it began operations (Figure 1).[10] Although this map depicts the advance of settlement far more accurately than changes in population density by county, the results are disappointing to anyone expecting a contiguous diffusion of settlement from one or more central cores.

The most clearly defined core region is that of middle Florida, in what is today Jackson, Gadsden, Leon, Jefferson, and Madison counties. Here, on the more fertile sandy loams of the Red Hills, but not on the coarse sand flatwoods, settlers established planta-

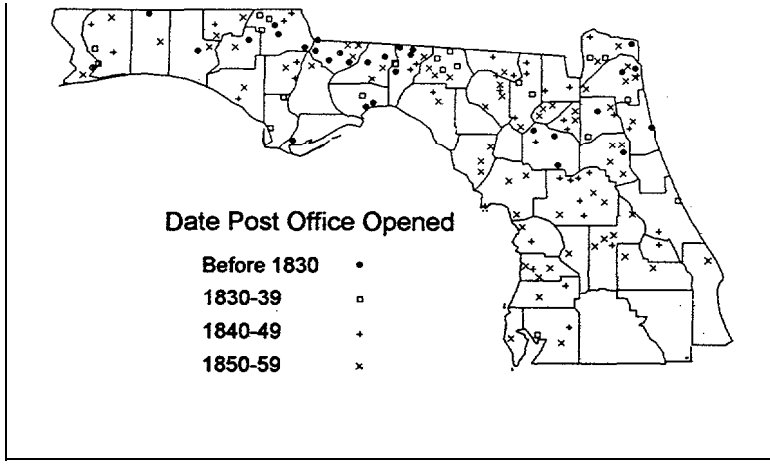

Figure 1

10. There are many useful maps of late nineteenth-century Florida. One of the best is Rand McNally, *Map of Florida* (Chicago, 1876). Also of great value in locating the earliest post offices was Lee Pickett, *Postal History and Postal Markings During the Stampless Period* (Palm Beach, FL, 1957).

tion cotton and tobacco cultivation during the 1820s.[11] Detached from this core region, but intimately associated with it, were the ports created for the exports of the Red Hills. Port areas that had post offices surviving at least five years were Apalachicola, St. Marks, and Newport. The map shows that during the 1830s there was an eastward expansion of the middle Florida core deeper into the uplands of Madison County and that during the 1840s settlement in the county turned south.

The expansion of settlement in west Florida was far slower than in middle Florida. Pensacola, the region's only colonial town, received a post office in 1821, the year the United States Congress ratified the annexation of Florida as a territory. Two more post offices, at Almirante and Euchee Anna, were established in the region during the 1820s. The number and distribution of the few post offices opened in west Florida during the three remaining decades before the Civil War suggest that no real frontier movement from a core occurred. The distance between these scattered offices is an indication that most of west Florida during the antebellum period remained lightly populated or unsettled. Cattle ranching on the flatwoods was the primary commercial agricultural activity, and there was some lumbering.[12]

Upon congressional ratification of Florida's annexation to the United States in 1821, the coastal communities of St. Augustine and Fernandina in northeastern Florida received post offices. Neither proved a locale from which settlement spread into the state's interior. Commercial possibilities in the hinterland of St. Augustine were poor in the 1820s. The low fertility of the flatwoods soils made settlement uninviting to most immigrants, and no water route linked the town to the interior. Additionally, Indian hostility to European occupation of the nearby St. Johns River Valley was intense. The soils around Fernandina were little better for commercial crops than those of St. Augustine, and access to the interior of the territory was nearly as bad.

Jacksonville formed the only possible core settlement in northeastern Florida from which settlement could expand. This town's first post office opened in 1824. Nearby St. Johns Bluff

11. For a recent history of the Red Hills plantations see Clifton Paisley, *The Red Hills of Florida 1528-1865* (Tuscaloosa, 1989).
12. Sam B. Hilliard, *Atlas of Antebellum Southern Agriculture* (Baton Rouge, 1984).

received one in 1828. Both communities were well situated, resting at the mouth of the St. Johns River. In the period before railroads, when travel on Florida's few sandy roads was slow and difficult, the St. Johns River system was the best route to the territory's interior.[13]

Transportation was vastly improved during the 1830s when steamboats began to ply the river.[14] The dates upon which post offices were established within the St. Johns River basin show that settlement proceeded up the river, but slowly. Indian raids in the basin remained a problem until the end of the 1830s. Once hostilities ended, upriver settlement proceeded more rapidly. By 1845 Sanford opened its first post office, and the following year one opened in nearby Enterprise. Before the Civil War the hegemony of the St. Johns River as a transportation route was such that few settlements of sufficient importance to merit a post office developed along the coast of northeastern Florida.

Three post offices opened in Alachua County– at Newnansville and Micanopy in 1826 and Spring Grove in 1829. Micanopy, in the southern part of the county, served the newly established Seminole Indian reservation which extended far to the south. The other two were near the Santa Fe River. Following the end of the Second Seminole War in 1842, when the Seminole Indian reservation moved farther to the south, new post offices opened along the central highlands into Marion County.

The distribution of new post offices on the peninsula during the 1840s and 1850s reflects the strong desire of immigrants to establish farming in the central highlands and to avoid the low flatwoods. Sandy loam soils are common on the rolling hills of the central highlands, just as on north Florida's Red Hills. The flatwoods soils of the coastal plain are poorly drained since a short distance below their surface a hardpan layer inhibits water penetration. A notable exception to upland settlement before

13. The skeletal road system and its contribution to transportation has been described by Burke G. Vanderhill, "The Alachua Trail: A Reconstruction," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 55 (April 1977), 423-38, and Vanderhill, "The Alachua-St. Marys Road," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (July 1987), 50-67.
14. Eric E. Elliott, *Paddle Wheels on the St. Johns: An Analysis of the Impact of Steamboat Technology on a Southeastern Region of the United States* (Ann Arbor, 1987).

the Civil War was Tampa, located in the flatwoods that surround Tampa Bay. Its first post office opened in 1850, as did that of the community of Manatee a short distance to the south. These towns were isolated from the main areas of antebellum settlement: Their primary function was to serve woods ranchers who grazed cattle on the poor grasses of the flatwoods. By then a cattle trade had been established between Florida and Cuba.[15]

As already noted, before the Civil War few coastal communities with post offices developed in northeastern Florida. Only a small number developed along the Gulf of Mexico as well. Within the panhandle, Apalachicola and St. Marks had grown to dominate the exports of middle Florida, and the latter quickly overwhelmed trade through Newport. Even before the Civil War, however, it became obvious that the Gulf ports would lose much of their trade importance to railroads entering middle Florida from the east.[16] Although Tampa had established links with Cuba, Pensacola's trade languished, awaiting the production of export goods in its hinterland.

Settlement of the southern half of the peninsula had barely begun by the Civil War. Both Europeans and blacks lived south of Tampa before the Civil War, but their numbers and density were so low that they lived beyond the population frontier. Only five post offices endured for at least five years prior to the war. Three were in the Keys, serving settlements that had mainly military or navigational functions– Key West, 1829; Indian Key, 1833; and Fort Jefferson, 1851. Miami's first post office opened in 1850.

Following the Civil War the state's population began to grow rapidly, posing new problems for analysis. At least one hundred post offices were established in each five-year period between 1875-1879 and 1905-1909. The number peaked in the 1885-1889 period at 249 (Table 1). Since so many post offices opened during so short a period, the use of their location to show frontier movement is impossible. As an alternative approach, this study determined the decade in which the first three post offices opened for

15. John S. Otto, "Open-Range Cattle Herding in Antebellum South Florida (1842-1860)," *Southeastern Geographer* 26 (May 1986), 55-67.
16. William W. Rogers, *Outposts on the Gulf: St. George Island and Apalachicola from Early Exploration to World War II* (Pensacola, FL, 1986).

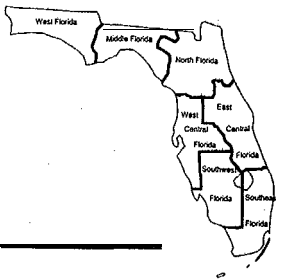

TABLE 1. POST OFFICE OPENINGS BY 5-YEAR PERIODS 1820-1919.

	5- Year Period																			
Florida	1820 1824	25 29	30 34	35 39	40 44	45 49	50 54	55 59	60 64	65 69	70 74	75 79	80 84	85 89	90 94	95 99	00 04	05 09	10 14	15 19
West	1	5	6	3	2	6	6	3	0	3	7	13	25	23	40	40	34	28	20	3
Middle	0	14	9	1	5	5	5	11	3	2	9	14	13	14	25	32	22	21	3	4
North	3	8	3	3	12	13	11	19	2	11	18	48	70	87	55	47	40	22	8	7
E. Central	0	0	1	0	0	5	3	3	1	5	14	31	60	56	32	15	7	9	9	11
W. Central	0	0	0	0	0	4	5	5	1	1	2	20	49	48	49	26	27	15	17	10
Southeast	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	3	5	13	14	7	7	8	12
Southwest	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	7	16	10	12	6	14	12	3
Total	4	28	20	7	19	33	32	41	7	22	54	131	227	249	217	186	143	116	77	51

At least 18% of all post offices established during 5-year period.

each Florida county. The figure three was chosen by trial and error– the advance of the frontier seemed too rapid when less were used, but too slow when there were more. The decade in which each county attained three post offices is identified on four maps (Figure 2). This method sacrifices a detailed description of the advance of settlement, but it does clearly indicate the time and direction of population movement.

The first two maps show an advance of population between 1821 and 1860 from the middle and northeastern Florida cores southward along both the central highlands and St. Johns River. Following the Civil War the movement southward was more rapid toward the southwest, but by the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth it was advancing swiftly down the southeastern coast. The last large area of the state to be settled was the extreme southwestern portion of the peninsula, especially its interior. Infertile, poorly drained flatwoods cover much of the region, as do wetlands in the Everglades. Until

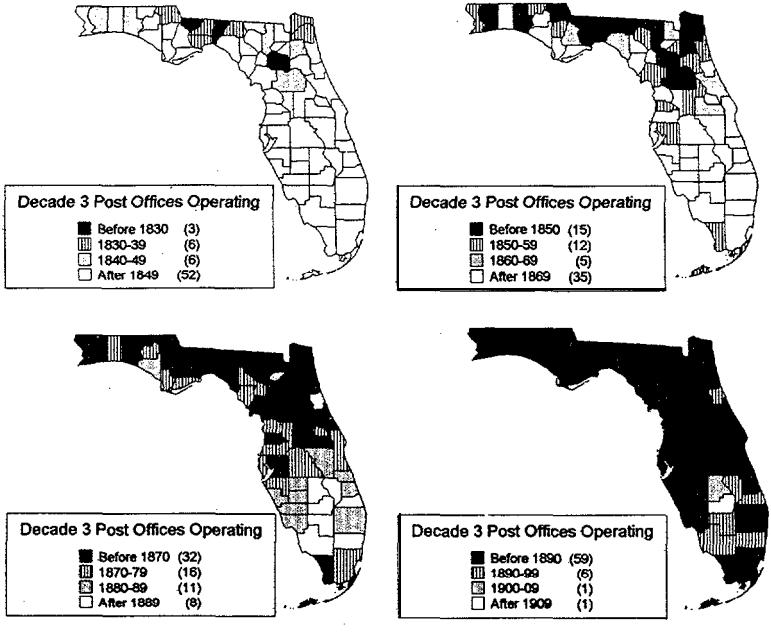

Figure 2

recently, extensive cattle raising was southwest Florida's major economic activity, but today intensive agriculture has risen in importance, as have tourism and retirement communities. These latter two developments, however, became important to the gold coast of southeastern Florida several decades before they did to the sun coast on the southwest.

Although it is impossible to represent cartographically the expansion of settlement by locating all 1,665 post offices by opening dates, the data is easily manipulated statistically. This is revealed in a table that divides Florida's sixty-seven counties into seven regions (Table 1). The number of post offices opened in each region for each twenty-five-year period beginning in 1820 appears in Table 1. The five-year period in which one region had at least 18 percent of all post office openings is also identified.[17]

If the establishment of post offices can be used as a surrogate for the growth of settlement, west Florida grew more rapidly than most other regions of the state between 1820 and 1854. Following a long hiatus, and with the lumber boom of the late nineteenth century, it enjoyed a second period of relatively rapid growth extending from 1910-1914. Middle Florida's period of rapid growth began early but was confined totally to the antebellum period. Northeastern Florida had the longest period of rapid settlement, largely due to the excellence of the St. Johns River system as an artery of transportation. Its period of relatively high growth began in the 1820-1824 period and extended into the twentieth century. East central Florida had a spurt of unusually rapid growth between 1865 and 1889, in large part a consequence of the arrival of railroads from the north, accompanied by the establishment of commercial citrus and vegetable farms. West central Florida's period of relatively rapid settlement followed that of east central Florida but lasted well into the twentieth century. In addition to cattle and crops, the region's growth stemmed from phosphate mining. Southeast and southwest Florida, regions of rapid settlement since 1950, were largely ignored by people in search of new economic opportunities during the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth centuries.

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17. The figure 18 percent is somewhat arbitrary, but statistical analysis shows that figures below this sum make geographic interpretation very difficult.

It is doubtful whether a more accurate surrogate to define cartographically the southern advance of Florida settlement will ever be found, but there certainly will be other methods that merit testing. The use of post office openings has distinct advantages for defining the frontier over the conventional method of using the population of counties. If one accepts the year when three post offices functioned in a county as the time when the frontier passed through, the maps do show a contagious diffusion down the peninsula, ending in southwest Florida, which even today is one of the emptiest areas of the state. Readers might not agree that this approach gives a fully appropriate indication of a county's incorporation into the state's settled area. Nonetheless, post office openings do have substantial explanatory power to define frontier movement.

SOME OBSERVATIONS FROM AND ABOUT THE *LUNA PAPERS*

by WILLIAM S. COKER

SEVERAL articles written in the last few years about the hurricane of 1559 that hit Pensacola Bay, then the Bahía Filipina del Puerto de Santa María, have inadvertently given the wrong date, August 19, 1559, when the hurricane struck. It seems appropriate to correct this error to prevent it from perpetuating, and the *Luna Papers* provide the necessary information.[1] This note also provides an opportunity to mention several other noteworthy aspects of the *Luna Papers.*

The error in the date of the hurricane can be traced to Herbert Ingram Priestley's two-volume *Luna Papers, 1559-1561.* In the introduction Priestley states that the storm hit on "the night of August 19, five days after the arrival" of the Spaniards at Pensacola Bay.[2] But Luna's letter to King Philip dated September 24, 1559, specifically stated that the hurricane struck on September 19, 1559.[3] Which is the correct date?

A further examination of the *Luna Papers* reveals a letter from the viceroy of New Spain, Luis de Velasco, to the king, dated September 24, 1559.[4] In this letter the viceroy stated that Luna had sent a ship to New Spain (Mexico) which departed Pensacola on August 25 with full news of what had happened in the settlement to that date. The ship reached San Juan de Ulúa, present-day Veracruz, on September 9. Luna said nothing

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1. Herbert Ingram Priestley, *The Luna Papers: Documents Relating to the Expedition of Don Tristán de Luca Arellano for the Conquest of La Florida in 1559-1561.* 2 vols. (Deland, FL, 1928).
2. *Luna Papers,* I, xxxvi.
3. *Luna Papers,* II, 243-47.
4. Ibid., 269-77.

about a hurricane striking Pensacola Bay. Thus it is quite obvious that the correct date must be September 19, not August 19, 1559.[5]

There are several other matters in the *Luna Papers* that merit attention. The first concerns a reference to the Río del Espíritu Santo– the Mississippi River– also called the Río Grande de Espíritu Santo.[6] Priestley wrote of an expedition by Sergeant Major Mateo del Sauz, who left Nanipacana on April 15, 1560, with a party of some 200 soldiers, officers, and priests. They journeyed to the Coosa country in the northwestern corner of Georgia.[7] There they joined forces with the Coosas, whom the Spaniards considered their allies, to defeat the rebellious Napochies. Priestley described the outcome as follows: "In this enterprise the major's detachment pursued the enemy across the 'Big Water,' called by the Coosas the Oquechiton, by [Fray Augustin] Dávila Padilla the Espíritu Santo, and by us the Mississippi."[8] This reference to the Napochies fleeing the Coosa country all the way to the Mississippi River, some 300-plus miles, is obviously an error. The "Big Water" to which the Napochies fled was the nearby Tennessee River and not the Mississippi. Dr. Charles Hudson, the noted ethnohistorian, agreed that Priestley erred in stating that the Napochies fled to the Mississippi River.[9]

But these two little errors should not detract from the overall excellence of the *Luna Papers.* The papers are still the best source for information on the Luna expedition.

Most scholars in discussing the Luna expedition have failed to make clear that the plans for the expedition called for the creation of two provinces: La Florida and Punta de Santa Elena. Luna was to govern both provinces.[10]

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5. Paul E. Hoffman, *A New Andalucia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast during the Sixteenth Century* (Baton Rouge, 1990), 159, states that the hurricane hit on September 19, 1559.
6. *Luna Papers,* I, 49.
7. Hoffman, *A New Andalucia,* 95.
8. *Luna Papers,* I, xliii. See Fray Augustin Dávila Padilla, *Historia de La Fundación y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de Mexico. . . .,* 2nd ed. (Brussels, 1625), 207-17, esp. 215. Two well-known colonial historians, Robert S. Weddle and Patricia K. Galloway, have recently stated that they believe Dávila Padilla made up this story about Major Sauz chasing the Napochies across the Mississippi River and that no such event ever took place.
9. Conversation with Charles Hudson, April 19, 1993.
10. *Luna Papers,* I, 49-51.

The western boundary of the two provinces was to begin fifty leagues west of the Río Grande de Espíritu Santo (the Mississippi). A line was to be drawn from the Gulf coast "toward the north," and the two provinces would lie east of that line.[11] The natives in those provinces were to be subjugated and Christianized.[12]

While the western boundary was clearly defined, the other borders of the two provinces were not specified except that the Coosa country would be under the jurisdiction of Punta de Santa Elena once that site was occupied.[13] Of course, one of the objectives of the expedition was to march inland and establish settlements through the Coosa country and on to Punta de Santa Elena. [14]

As to the boundaries between La Florida and Punta de Santa Elena, according to Spanish law the boundary of one municipality extended to the boundary of the next. Thus when the second town, Punta de Santa Elena, was established, the boundary between the two would have to be created and recognized. Since the Luna expedition never established a town at Punta de Santa Elena, a second colony never existed between 1559 and 1561. Therefore, Luna actually commanded only one colony, La Florida, with its capital at Bahía Filipina del Puerto de Santa María (Pensacola). Thus the first capital of La Florida was Pensacola.

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11. Ibid., 49. In 1753 the boundary of La Florida was extended westward to the Pánuco River in northeastern Mexico. The audiencia of Mexico City objected to that intrusion into territory claimed by the viceroyalty of New Spain. See Hoffman, *A New Andalucia,* 268.
12. *Luna Papers,* I, xxxi-xxxii, 49-53.
13. *Luna Papers,* II, 155.
14. Ibid.; Hoffman, *A New Andalucia,* 144.

BOOK REVIEWS

Florida: A Short History. By Michael Gannon. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993. xiii, 170 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, photographs, index. $24.95.)

As Michael Gannon notes in the introduction to *Florida: A Short History*, he has heeded the advice of an editor of a university press who once said of compact works such as this: "The idea here is to persuade a scholar who would write a thousand pages to write the same thing, more or less, in a hundred pages. We have a responsibility to other scholars, but we also have a responsibility to those who simply want to know."

Gannon, who is distinguished service professor of history at the University of Florida, has succeeded admirably in this quest with a superb overview of the rich, variegated history of one of the nation's premier states. Gannon's achievement takes on added importance when one notes that the sunshine state has suffered from a dearth of general histories and from the attendant ignorance over its importance in the historical development of the United States. *Florida: A Short History* represents a significant step in addressing these problems since this historical survey of the state will capture a large audience.

A Florida native, Gannon is a lifelong student of the history of his state, an acclaimed teacher, masterful and tireless raconteur, and superb stylist. *Florida: A Short History* showcases each of these strengths and talents and contains the latest archaeological and historical scholarship. For example, the author notes that Juan Ponce de Leon's landfall for his voyage of "discovery" in 1513 is now believed to have been south of Cape Canaveral at or near Melbourne.

Gannon has also included an impressive amount of social history, especially in lengthy captions accompanying a liberal number of photographs. The author employs a photograph of "bathing beauties" strutting their stuff on Miami Beach in 1923 to make the point that the employment of "cheesecake" in "the age well before *Sports Illustrated*" received wide play in the country's newspaper and "helped in attracting thousands to Miami Beach."

Humorous quotes and insights provide refreshing levity and effectively underline key points. Professor Gannon exhibits his impatience with the popular view that England was the initial colonizer of an area that later comprised the United States, noting that "by the time the Pilgrims came ashore at Plymouth, St. Augustine was up for urban renewal." Of fraudulent real estate sales in boom-time Florida (1920s), Gannon borrows a line from Groucho Marx: "You can get stucco. Oh, how you can get stucco!"

The book not only traces the story of Florida's development from the era when native populations dominated the peninsular state, but it also devotes brief sections to racism and violence in the early twentieth century, industry and agriculture before and after that period, politics in post-World War II Florida, and the cultural scene in the same period. Gannon offers a select list of fifty books on Florida history in the bibliographic section in the back of this work.

Florida: A Short History is especially insightful regarding Florida's new economic directions following the Civil War. In this period Florida lessened its dependency on cotton and turned its attention and efforts increasingly toward lumbering, cattle raising, the cultivation of citrus crops and winter vegetables, and tourism. Not surprisingly, Gannon's treatment of the era of World War II is also impressive, since his previous book, the widely acclaimed, best-selling *Operation Drumbeat,* told in elaborate detail the story of Nazi U-Boat attacks along the Atlantic coast of the United States.

Highly informative and sparkling in its presentation, Michael Gannon's *Florida: A Short History* will serve as standard fare for those interested in the history of the state for years to come.

Miami Dade Community College PAUL S. GEORGE
Wolfson Campus

Atlas of Florida Edited by Edward A. Fernald and Elizabeth Purdum. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992. 280 pp. Atlas staff, contributors, acknowledgments, preface, introduction, origin of place names, statistics, photo credits, sources, index. $39.95.)

If your only contact with an atlas consists of the AAA Road Atlas or a World Atlas by Rand-McNally, you may be happily surprised to find that this atlas of Florida is really a comprehensive reference work. Geographers have learned that some information about places is best conveyed by words, some by pictures, some by tables, some by graphs, and some by maps. This atlas utilizes all of these symbol systems to provide an encyclopedic picture of Florida past, present, and future. Indeed, fully one-fourth of the page space is occupied by text. Only a few pages are full-page maps, yet nearly every map is suitably large and easily read.

This atlas is designed to assist those who need specialized information about Florida for business or for planning or to satisfy a deep curiosity about Florida's geology, climate, hydrology, biology, agricultural production, and infrastructure. However, the atlas is also constructed so that the more casual reader can spend happy hours getting to know the state. Because the state has many new residents, this may be the best use of this book.

In an atlas such as this, the coordinated efforts of editors, authors, and cartographers are needed to shape the message. The scholars who produced this work are mostly associated with the Florida State University geography department, although specialists from other disciplines have also been contributors. Many of us are particularly aware of the long and distinguished attention to Florida provided by the senior editor, Edward A. Fernald, and also by one of the major contributors, Morton D. Winsberg. Although this atlas is a product of FSU geographers, it has broad connections outside Tallahassee; both Dr. Winsberg and the cartographer, James R. Anderson, Jr., have geography degrees from the University of Florida. The other contributors also have outstanding credentials for a work such as this.

This atlas is the most recent of a number of atlases, which began with the *Atlas of Florida* produced almost single-handedly at the University of Florida by Erwin Raisz in 1964. Although

having only about fifty pages, it set the pattern of combining words, pictures, maps, and graphs to portray Florida. This 1992 atlas is much larger and more encyclopedic and grew out of a similar atlas produced by Dr. Fernald in 1981. Yet this atlas is not a revision of the 1981 effort. Rather, it is new in almost every way. The 1992 artistic and cartographic decisions resulted in graphics which do a much better job of helping the reader know Florida. The organization– use of separate authors for each section, more authority and citations, tables, indexing, and choice of colors– contributes to a more pleasant, and therefore more readable, presentation of information. The atlas is even printed on better paper stock than the 1981 publication.

The atlas has six sections: Natural Environment, History and Culture, Population, Economy, Recreation and Tourism, Infrastructure and Planning. The section on history includes the 1847 Mitchell Map and several other even older maps. It shows pre-Contact, Contact, and colonial times. It maps the Seminole War, early settlements, the Civil War in Florida, and growth of population with maps for each decade beginning with the 1840 census. It displays the evolution of county lines, the history of Florida's economy, maps of presidential elections, pictures of the governors of the state, and so on.

In other words, here is the place where those interested in the history of Florida can find the expression of history in the landscape and the effect of the landscape on the state's history. It is a book for both the past and for the future, and, gentle reader, it is a work of art. You should have it in your library.

University of Florida JOHN R. DUNKLE

Hernando de Soto and the Indians of Florida By Jerald T. Milanich and Charles Hudson. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993. 292 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, maps, photographs, illustrations, afterword, notes, bibliography, index. $34.95.)

Jerald T. Milanich and Charles Hudson offer us in this book a superb reconstruction of the route Hernando de Soto followed through Florida and a detailed picture of the social geography of the Indians who inhabited the area during the sixteenth cen-

tury and beyond. Based on all available sources, such as the three known contemporary narratives of the expedition; numerous French and Spanish documents, cartographic, and geographic interpretations; and the archaeological investigations done to date, Milanich creates a hypothesized reconstruction of the route de Soto took from the landing site in Tampa Bay to Apalachee that "best fits" the information contained in those sources.

Using this reconstruction– detailed in chapters III, IV, VI, and VIII– as a central theme, Milanich pinpoints with greater accuracy than ever before the original geographical location of the Florida Indian towns and provinces mentioned in the narratives related to de Soto, including those recorded in Garcilaso de la Vega's secondhand account. Milanich goes one step further: in chapter V he identifies and locates all the native peoples of southern and central Florida, and in chapter VII, all those who inhabited northern Florida. In addition, the authors explore two subjects: the impact of de Soto's expedition on several of these native peoples and the further efforts the Spanish crown carried on during the following two centuries to establish permanent settlements and missions in Florida. Given the scope of this work, the reader should not expect to find much on the prehistory, religion, social organization, languages, external relations, or traditional culture of the Florida Indians even though the authors do touch on these subjects at times.

As have earlier scholars who studied de Soto's route, Milanich relies heavily on the evidence found in historical sources to create a hypothetical itinerary. Definitive proof, however, should perhaps rest on further incontrovertible archaeological findings rather than on historical documents. One such example is the recent identification in Tallahassee of de Soto's wintering camp in Apalachee. Nevertheless, in the absence of additional evidence, it is highly unlikely that anyone will ever develop a better hypothesis than the one Milanich has formulated in this book. Even if the narratives of the clerics Alvaro de la Torre and Fray Sebastián de Cañete are ever found, they are not likely to contribute the kind of data necessary to establish a definitive route, though they may provide additional information on the Florida Indians and details about the expedition in general.

No known sixteenth-century Spanish narrative was intended to allow the reader to retrace the steps of the narrator. Not even

Pedro de Castañeda's narrative of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado's expedition from the Río Grande to Quivira, which took place about the same time as de Soto's, did so, even though Castañeda had a unique advantage when it came to making his narrative more precise about its route. Coronado, interested in measuring the distance traveled, assigned to one of his companions the tedious task of counting the steps in each day's march. Yet, those who have studied Coronado's expedition, including Herbert E. Bolton, are still far from reconstructing the definitive route. Some of the information contained in early sixteenth-century Spanish historical documents regarding distances, for instance, are not of great help. While Bolton seemed to have equated the land league to about 2.5 miles (5,000 varas), Milanich set the equivalence at 3.46 miles. Both authors may be correct; at that time the league had varied lengths, and one of its popular definitions was the legua andar, which was the distance a person could usually walk in an hour. Milanich is so keenly aware of this drawback that, in spite of his efforts at precision, he uses both the land and the nautical league with reasoned flexibility.

Some archaeological evidence required to locate some of the places de Soto visited may have been lost forever. Milanich cautions the reader about the destruction of several sites, including those along the Little Manatee River, which flows into Tampa Bay just south of the probable location of the camp de Soto set up after landing. Still, Milanich has extracted from the available sources the pertinent information to produce a book that should not be missed by anyone interested in the colonial history of this state, its native inhabitants, or the archaeological investigations carried on in Florida to the present.

University of New Mexico IGNACIO AVELLANEDA

Missions to the Calusa. Edited and translated by John H. Hann. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1991, xix, 460 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, introduction, references, index. $49.95.)

By compiling in one volume numerous translated documents about the unsuccessful Spanish attempts to Christianize the

staunch Calusa Indians of south Florida, John Hann has produced another valuable research tool for students of Florida history. Spanning some 200 years, these documents vividly portray three brief abortive efforts to bring the Calusa under the sway of the Spanish Church. Though purported to have initiated their own conversion, the Calusa withstood zealous evangelical attempts by soldiers and Jesuit missionaries late in the sixteenth century, by Franciscans late in the seventeenth century, and again by Jesuits in the early eighteenth century. Missionary activities barely achieved fleeting Indian "lip-service" to Christianity, and that only when promoted by Spanish gifts. The padres paid a high price for their meager "gains"– humiliation, suffering, even martyrdom.

The Zubillaga bibliography and wealth of references enhance the value of the work. Also contributing to its worth is the fact that some of the documents are published here for the first time; many appear for the first time in English. This unique compilation makes the Calusa mission the best documented one in Florida. Eyewitness priests and laymen, soldiers, governors, bishops, bureaucrats, and the king illuminate the religious, political, economic, and strategic factors in Spain's response to the challenge posed by the enigmatic Calusa.

Hann's book confirms and augments the considerable knowledge of Calusan culture previously available and discloses their reaction to the missionary activity. Uniquely, the south Florida missions were based in Cuba where the Calusa preferred to maintain their Spanish contacts. Normally, people who had achieved such a complex, powerful society were agriculturalists who grew staple subsistence crops. The Calusa, however, despite their societal development, raised no crops.

The volume's use is facilitated and its interest enhanced by the Acknowledgments, discussing its conception and development, and by a general introduction by William H. Marquardt, Hann's "archaeological collaborator" on the project. Hann's lengthy introduction to Part I, covering the late seventeenth century, and his introductions to Parts II and III, dealing with the late sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries, add interest and comprehension and place the missions within the Spanish colonial system. His commentaries on the documents put them in context. Some redundancy results from liberally quoting extracts from the documents in his text.

Though Hann has pruned much of the repetition inherent in official correspondence passing through the Spanish bureaucracy, much remains. Possibly less-literal translations of some documents could have enhanced readability without sacrificing substance. Numerous tentative translations of very difficult passages do not detract from the utility of the book. The useful map begs for enlargement to include western Cuba, the rest of Florida, and more detail of the Keys to match the book's flow of events.

Hann's rationalization of the sixteenth-century Jesuit failure throughout Florida does not bear up when their sterile five-year effort is contrasted with the thirty-two-year perseverance of the Franciscans against the same odds. The Franciscans achieved a stable beachhead in north Florida.

Perceived errors in the text do not diminish its value: "Guale fell in 1702." Actually, Spain lost Guale to English-Indian raids in 1680-1686. "Until then [1704] those missions had been a barrier to incursions deep into Florida by natives allied with the English." As the English did not begin serious encroachment on Spanish Florida until late in the seventeenth century, no such prior threat existed on the frontier. When the English moved in the period 1680-1704, the missions provided little or no opposition.

To smooth the book's abrupt 1760 documental finale and to satisfy reader curiosity, the author should have disclosed the Spanish bureaucracy's 1760 reaction to the 1743 Jesuit recommendations to settle the Keys and to use force to establish the "true religion" there.

Seattle, Washington ROBERT A. MATTER

Culture and Environment in the Domain of the Calusa. Edited by William H. Marquardt. (Gainesville: Institute of Archaeology and Paleoenvironmental Studies, 1992. vii, 440 pp. Illustrations, maps, photographs, tables, figures, index. $25.00, paper.)

Anthropologists long have wrestled with the enigma of the Calusa Indians of Florida's southwest coast, whose complex chiefdom-level society, contrary to most chiefdoms worldwide, was founded not on agricultural surplus but on a highly successful maritime adaptation. When first encountered by Europeans

in the sixteenth century, the mound-building Calusa were organized into a stratified society governed by the absolute authority of a god-like paramount chief who controlled a network of tribute and exchange extending across much of south Florida. How did the interaction between culture and environment stimulate the evolution of the Calusa? How can the Calusa phenomenon be studied from an archaeological perspective? These questions are pursued by Marquardt and his colleagues in this excellent account of the archaeological investigations of the Southwest Florida Project in the Charlotte Harbor vicinity (the domain of the Calusa) between 1984 and 1988.

Marquardt identifies four archaeological needs around which the research was organized. These are the need for (1) a more refined chronology, (2) a detailed study and analysis of artifacts from the Calusa area, (3) an environmental and paleoenvironmental study, and (4) a basic understanding of archaeological sites in the area.

Marquardt addresses the archaeological sequence by presenting a generalized chronology for the area based on a battery of radiocarbon dates from shell middens, shell mounds, and burial sites. The ceramic studies of Ann Cordell are used also to divide the sequence into culture periods. The periods from Paleo-Indian (beginning ca. 11,500 B.C.) to Caloosahatchee V (from A.D. 1500-1750) are discussed with respect to the development of maritime adaptation. Evidence supports the idea that this adaptation was in place by 5,000 B.C. if not earlier.

Technology is again examined by Marquardt in his detailed inventory and synthesis of shell artifacts, by Karen Jo Walker in a similar study of bone tools, and by Cordell in her thorough study of pottery variability in the area. From these studies we learn that the prehistoric Calusa were accomplished net fishers whose material culture reflected their dependence on maritime resources.

The interaction between culture and nature in the Calusa domain is discussed in chapters by Karen Jo Walker (on zooarchaeology), C. Margaret Scarry and Lee A. Newsom (on archaeobotany), and Samuel Upchurch and associates (on geological processes). Walker, in a major piece of research, argues that the maritime adaptation rests on the exploitation of the mangrove fringe and inshore seagrass meadow habitats, among the most productive biological systems in the world. She points out

that Charlotte Harbor is not a uniform environment but varies according to a salinity gradient. Archaeological sites likewise are not uniform but vary in their content and function according to their location in the salinity gradient. Brief chapters by Dale Hutchinson and Michael Hansinger report conclusions about prehistoric diet and health based on the limited study of skeletal remains from the area.

Archaeological site formation and the nature of archaeological deposits in the vicinity are the topics of chapters by Quitmyer and Jones (on using clams as indicators of seasonal occupation) and Wing and Quitmyer (reporting on the results of an ingenious modern midden experiment).

This book is distinguished by its superb visual presentation, which includes ample stratigraphic profiles and plan views of archaeological sites, photographs of sites and work in progress, and clean maps showing site locations in the Charlotte Harbor area. The prose style is crisp and straightforward throughout. The text is data-rich but not numbing. Overall, the study appears to have resulted from a well-planned research design, although, particularly in the early years of the project, the actual fieldwork was sporadic and somewhat piecemeal. To Bill Marquardt and his associates in the Southwest Florida Project, well done!

Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research BRENT R. WEISMAN

Columbus Was Last: From 200,000 B.C. to 1492, A Heretical History of Who Was First. By Patrick Huyghe. (New York: Hyperion, 1992. ix, 262 pp. Prologue, acknowledgments, bibliography, index. $22.95.)

It is my opinion that scholars will not like this book while the general public will. The author is a free-lance writer who has published in mass media journals and done television productions. His expertise as a thorough historian is not apparent. There is no doubt that this book was published when debunking Columbus was fashionable. The sensationalism of the title and the advertising state that "the author presents the most substantial evidence to date that Columbus reached the New World perhaps as much as 200,000 years after his predecessors." Yes, it reads 200,000 years. Nowhere is there presented any "substan-

tial evidence" of any of the pre-Columbus, prehistoric arrivals. We all know that the first settlers came around 15,000 years ago or later.

The merit of the book is a clear presentation of the various credible and noncredible claims of human arrivals on the American continent before 1492. It is for the reader who has only an average knowledge of world and American history. The seventeen chapters have catchy titles like "American Graffiti," "The Great Regatta," and "Trinity Sunday."

While Huyghe underplays contacts that are now considered quite possible, he dwells on the more exotic claims. Such is the case of a Chinese expedition around A. D. 499 which called the discovered land Fu-Sang. While this legend certainly exists and makes fascinating reading, few believe that this was an actual event. Huyghe does not say the evidence is sufficient to assure a Chinese presence at that early time, but he gives it much prominence.

Frederick J. Pohl in 1961 gave us a much more serious book called *Atlantic Crossings before Columbus* (W. W. Norton & Co.). Pohl had previously written four books dealing with pre-1492 American continent contacts. He is more conservative in his examples.

Huyghe's book has a respectable bibliography for each chapter, all from secondary sources. While I would not recommend the book for university-level assignments, it makes good reading and shows the renewed interest in the mysteries of pre-columbian contacts with America.

University of South Florida CHARLES W. ARNADE

Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783. By Daniel H. Usner, Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992. xvii, 294 pp. Acknowledgments, abbreviations, introduction, illustrations, tables, conclusion, index. $32.50, cloth; $12.95, paper.)

Following his suppression of the 1768 Louisiana revolt against Spain, General Alejandro O'Reilly dispatched two emissaries on a tour of inspection up the Red River to the colony's

furthermost outpost, Natchitoches. The official report submitted by the pair noted that half the men on that frontier were "merchants" and that the mainstay of the economy was clearly illegal trade with the Indians. This trade and its importance is one of the major themes of Usner's work.

The author divides the study into two overviews– the first chronological, the second topical. His geographical limits are confined to Lower Louisiana (or the Lower Mississippi Valley), since Upper Louisiana (Missouri or the "Illinois Country") was economically tied more closely with the Great Lakes region. The author's thematic focus is the economic interaction of the people in this region and the extent to which this social and economic commerce lay the foundation of antebellum society in the area.

Usner presents a colonial economy far more complicated than the stereotypical fur trade between Europeans and Native Americans. He treats the importance of slaves in hunting and trade as well as in the production of foodstuffs. He illuminates the oft-neglected role of herding in colonial Louisiana, and he clarifies the manner in which the frontier exchange economy– developed because the colonial population was left to its own designs– was choked out by changing times. Governmental regulations, combined with a growing colonial population, the expansion of a plantation agriculture, and increasing commercialization of the trade with Indians, forced Louisianians of the late eighteenth century into an export, market-oriented economy. This conversion led to other conflicts, as previously designed social roles were changed. Slaves were confined more to plantation work, small-scale landowners suffered from competition with an emerging planter class, and Indians were shunted into service roles in order to survive. The frontier exchange economy did survive into the nineteenth century but only as a minor stratum beneath the whole.

The Gulf South is a diverse and intriguing subregion within a land that is arguably the most interesting region of the United States– the South. No period of the Gulf's history surpasses the colonial era in tweaking and holding the curiosity of those who peek into its past. Yet, as Usner shows, preconceived notions and mythical patterns must be discarded by the historian who attempts to understand "the Borderlands." Building upon his superb research and perceptive analysis, the author helps others comprehend the complexities of colonial Louisiana and makes

a significant contribution to the explanation of its history. But it is a shame that an otherwise well-presented work should lack a convenient bibliography and offer such an inadequate index.

University of Alabama GARY B. MILLS

To Foster the Spirit of Professionalism: Southern Scientists and State Academies of Science. By Nancy Smith Midgette. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991. viii, 238 pp. Acknowledgments, tables, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

Although readers of the *Quarterly* will find little about Florida in this volume, Midgette's study of state academies of science in the South does illustrate how necessary it is to include the developing role of science and its institutions in any study of culture, be it national or regional. In order to be regarded as "modern" in this country and elsewhere, it has inevitably been necessary that a region actively support and cultivate scientific research. But, apart from state academies of science, an aggressive and organized promotion of science was not part of the American southern heritage. One way of chronicling the modernization of the South, then, is to follow the historical development of southern science, especially through its institutions. That is the task Nancy Smith Midgette has set for herself.

Midgette does not treat the southern gentlemen scientists of the colonial or antebellum eras; her study commences only after the Civil War. One of her major concerns is to record the unique problems that confronted those who attempted to create institutions of science in the southern states. Southern universities did not have sufficient resources to support natural science to any substantial degree; consequently, scientists worked in relative isolation from each other and, just as importantly, from major centers of professional activity. In response to these circumstances it was natural for southern scientists to seek mutual support from each other.

One has the impression that the ultimate success of the southern states' academies of science has been due to the gradual recognition that one must not confuse regional or state institutions with nationally organized scientific societies. By learning not to compete in an arena where they would surely

lose, southern states' academies persisted and eventually prospered. They were able, for example, to realize that they would not provide a forum in which the best scientists would present their research results; rather, they have realized they serve a valuable function by making available a platform from which young scientists can begin the public presentation of their work. The author demonstrates persuasively that this has clearly been the secret of the continued growth of the academies in the period since World War II.

From the beginning there was a tension between those who wanted to bring scientists together for purely disciplinary reasons and those who wished to organize out of a more practical economic incentive. What is remarkable is that in the years since 1940 both motives produced successful, albeit mutually exclusive, organizations of scientifically trained people. This development marks in its own way the emergence of southern culture to technical competence. Midgette's study is thorough and well organized and should be consulted by anyone interested in American science and American higher education.

University of Florida FREDERICK GREGORY

The News from Brownsville: Helen Chapman's Letters from the Texas Military Frontier, 1848-1852. Edited by Caleb Coker. (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1992. xxvi, 410 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, illustrations, maps, appendices, bibliography, index. $39.95.)

William Chapman was a career army officer who participated in the Second Seminole War, serving briefly as post commander at Fort Foster in the spring of 1838. Chapman's Florida adventures were recounted in several letters he wrote to his fiancée, Helen Blair, which were published in the April 1990 issue of this journal.

The Florida letters are but a fragment of a collection of family papers inherited by Caleb Coker, an attorney who lives in Jacksonville. In the book under review Coker has published another portion of the collection, mainly letters written by his great-great-grandmother, Helen Blair Chapman, while she was

living in or near Brownsville in 1848-1852. Helen found herself in South Texas because her quartermaster husband had been given the responsibility of supplying Fort Brown, an American border post situated across the Rio Grande from Matamoros. Helen Chapman had a fine eye for social detail and the quirks of individual personalities, high and low. Her letters describe Zachary Taylor and border desperadoes, feckless preachers and trembling drunks. Nothing escaped her attention, and, as the wife of a quartermaster, she was in a good position to meet people and collect news and gossip. Of much that she learned she disapproved– Helen Chapman was nothing if not a Victorian– but there is also a streak of independence that makes her letters unusually interesting, perhaps unique among southwestern women correspondents of this era.

A major's wife living in a rapidly developing town in a fertile valley, Helen Chapman enjoyed rare advantages over most frontier women. She had servants, money, security, plenty of food, fresh vegetables, comfortable furniture, and time to read, write, and study the Spanish language. She endured her share of dangers, notably cholera, pregnancy, and bandits, but what set her apart was her leisure time to reflect upon events and to describe them in long, thoughtful letters, written mainly to her family in Massachusetts. A bilingual observer, she was also able to describe Mexican customs which she observed during stays in Matamoros in 1848 and Mexico City in 1851. Although prejudiced against Catholicism, Helen Chapman was sympathetic to the Mexican people, whom she regarded as backward but undeserving of the abuse heaped upon them by Texans.

Coker has done a first-rate job of editing. He has transposed or deleted some material to enhance the narrative flow and created topically unified chapters, making *The News from Brownsville* read more like a book than a collection of letters. Coker has also provided photographs, maps, footnotes, biographical sketches, and an appendix featuring contemporaneous newspaper accounts of the events described in the correspondence. One wishes that every collection of frontier letters were as carefully documented and as handsomely designed.

The Chapmans played no role in Florida history after William left the territory in 1838. Helen Chapman had much to say about slavery, race, and racism– topics of concern for southern

historians generally. The book's greatest value, however, will be for those who are interested in the Texas frontier or the history of nineteenth-century American women.

University of North Florida DAVID T. COURTWRIGHT

William Howard Russell's Civil War: Private Diary and Letters, 1861-1862. Edited by Martin Crawford. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992. xvi, 252 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, illustrations, index. $40.00.)

Historians of the Civil War are familiar with William Howard Russell's *My Diary North and South,* originally published in London in 1863. While not dismissing the value of that two-volume work (866 pages), Martin Crawford points out that it is not actually a diary but a narrative constructed upon the contents of the renowned war correspondent's notebooks and reports to the London *Times.* Crawford's volume, however, is based upon Russell's previously unpublished diary and selected private correspondence, the contents of which, the author claims, are less flattering but more accurately reflect Russell's observations of the United States in 1861 and 1862, thereby justifying this new volume.

With the establishment of the Confederacy by the seceded southern states in early February 1861, the management of the *Times* decided they needed a permanent correspondent in the United States to provide their readers with up-to-date reports on this transatlantic crisis. Russell, who had gained international fame as a war correspondent through his vivid dispatches to the *Times* during the Crimean War and the Sepoy Mutiny in the 1850s, was selected for this important assignment.

The forty-year-old Russell arrived in the United States in mid March 1861. After a stay of approximately a month in Washington, where he received a congenial reception and had easy access to the most prominent people, he began a tour of the South just as Fort Sumter fell. Russell also received a warm welcome by the upper strata of southern society. He returned to Washington on July 3, 1861.

During his two-and-a-half-month absence from Washington, relations between Great Britain and the United States had de-

teriorated, largely as the result of Britain's neutrality proclamation of May 13, 1861. Russell's unflattering description of the Union's defeat at the Battle of Bull Run on July 21, which appeared in the *Times* on August 6 and was widely reprinted in American newspapers, added to the existing anti-British hostility. Thereafter, Russell's access to information from well-placed government and military officials dried up, and his request to accompany military units in the field was denied by the secretary of war. Consequently, his position as a *Times* correspondent became increasingly untenable, if not unsafe. These circumstances, coupled with anxiety over his wife's health, prompted Russell's decision to return home in the spring of 1862.

Crawford's volume is practically a day-by-day account of Russell's observations of the social and political scene in both the North and South during the first year of the Civil War. Some entries are brief and difficult to comprehend despite the author's informative introduction, intentionally limited editing, and explanatory notes that follow nearly each entry.

As Crawford contends, some of Russell's observations of such important people as Mary Lincoln, William H. Seward, and Jefferson Davis are less flattering than appear in *My Diary North and South*, yet they do not justify this volume. The author's assiduous research in providing notes for the diary entries and tracking down Russell's letters on both sides of the Atlantic do. Crawford's publication of Russell's diary, interspersed with supplementary, contemporary letters, provides a worthy companion to the Russell volumes. It clearly demonstrates that the diary itself neither reflects Russell's perceptiveness of American society nor his mastery of descriptive journalism– both of which make *My Diary North and South* indispensable Civil War volumes.

There is little in Crawford's volume that relates directly to Florida. But readers of this journal will appreciate Russell's brief commentaries on his visit to both Union and Confederate military installations in Pensacola and the fact that one of Russell's letters was found in the Henry Shelton Sanford Library and Museum.

University of West Florida GEORGE F. PEARCE, emeritus

Blue-Eyed Child of Fortune: The Civil War Letters of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw. Edited by Russell Duncan. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992. xxiii, 421 pp. Foreword, preface, editorial method, abbreviations in notes, appendix, selected bibliography, index. $29.95.)

A collection of letters well annotated often recreates a life more fully than a biography. Russell Duncan's well-designed edition of Robert Gould Shaw's Union Army letters tells why that young man became an American legend, even in Hollywood. Duncan also has written a thorough biographical introduction, and he has documented these letters with sensitivity to their setting. His edition is now the major source to explain why that upper-class New England/New York white man assumed the task of training and commanding the first free black Union Army regiment. In his introduction and sequence of letters Duncan has shown the young colonel's growth from being antislavery but prejudiced against black people to grudging respect and pride in those black soldiers who fought and died with him. These martyred troops also prove, says the editor, that black men were willing to die for freedom, as if the suicidal assault on Battery Wagner off Charleston Harbor was needed as proof.

In addition to the letters on military affairs, Duncan has included Shaw's correspondence to the older generation of New England businessmen and to many of the young men who became this country's upper-class public leaders. A member of the Boston/New York merchant elite, Shaw's father retired from business at an early age to join his wife in many reform endeavors, including the antislavery movement. That older generation's children and their cousins, as well as their young neighbors, learned from its reform efforts and profited from its financial success. When young Shaw joined a number of his fellow aristocrats at Harvard in the late 1850s, the United States had created a new leadership class. Shaw and his peers, who inherited status and wealth, assumed the role of an establishment public service elite– a group that only recently has lost power in this country. Thus, these letters of Shaw to friends and family depict the lives of that upper class as it debated and discussed the merits of reform and service. The letters also reveal how that class perpetuated itself through marriage and business alliances. For example, Shaw's own marriage just be-

fore he died linked wealthy merchant families. Shaw's letters, then, should be studied carefully by all scholars who want to understand how his class gained influence and assumed responsibility in this country.

Shaw's letters also tell much about his military activities and those of his fellow Union officers. If his life at times appears overwhelmed by comparison with the Cabots, Holmeses, and Lowells, Shaw's choice to face his destiny shows through in the expert editing of Professor Duncan. Early on, a few letters are presented to demonstrate that Shaw had little talent for or interest in commerce and trade. He craved adventure, and he had excellent leadership qualities, which perhaps made him a natural soldier. For reasons of romance and nation he enlisted in the Union Army, where he found that he thoroughly enjoyed the tedium and the camaraderie of camp and thrived on the thrill of combat. His wartime letters also reveal the officers' class biases and the differences in military-camp living standards between them and the enlisted men. Shaw turned into a careful critic of his superiors' abilities and became a student of the many complexities of large-scale warfare. Comments about his fellow officers' views of Secretary of War Stanton, General McClellan, and other leaders provide additional insight into the conduct of the war. In addition, these letters assist the scholar in understanding the social and political connections that allowed the civilian elite to rise into positions of military command. But most of all it is Shaw's own life of service and commitment, as he came under the influence of upper-class antislavery sentiments, that shines through brilliantly in Duncan's edition of these letters. Those values led him to assume command of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts and thus to claim his place as an authentic American hero.

Catholic University of America JON L. WAKELYN

Stonewall: A Biography of General Thomas J. Jackson. By Byron Farwell. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1992. xiii, 560 pp. Foreword, epilogue, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

This is the first major biography of Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson to appear in over thirty years. It is an interesting book

that makes some valuable contributions. But it will not be seen as a classic reevaluation of Jackson for at least two reasons. First, even though the bibliography lists recent works on strategy and the nature of modern war, the text is not truly illuminated by them. Farwell's ideas on the war sometimes appear outdated, even quaint. John Brown is depicted merely as an insane old man; there is no hint that he might have been a type of guerrilla leader. John Pope's 1862 regulations dealing with civilians caught aiding the enemy are denounced simply as morally outrageous. Thus Farwell is precluded from deeper analysis of men who advocated total war, including Jackson himself, who more than once proposed extermination of the opponent.

The second major flaw in the work, one which will concern all serious students of the war, is that the book has almost no reference notes. Most of those it does contain are on trivia, such as which family owned a particular house caught in a battle zone. This makes it difficult for the reader to trace in detail how Farwell differs from previous biographers. It also makes one reluctant to accept some of his assertions about Jackson, as the sources for claims about fact or opinion are not given.

Farwell's previous books have dealt with the British imperial experience, particularly the military. His 1981 volume, *Mr. Kipling's Army*, is considered a classic study of the characters who policed Britain's imperial domains. Farwell is at his best in dealing with personality, and that holds him in good stead here: he creates a convincing portrait of Jackson the man. Farwell's figure is a man of limited background and horizons, brought up by a litigious uncle. Jackson struggled to success in the profession of arms by single-minded devotion to success. He never allowed himself the luxury of broad intellectual pursuits, so he remained in many ways narrow and bigoted, lacking in developed powers of introspection. Jackson was vindictive and litigious. For example, when on duty in central Florida in the early 1850s, he hounded his commanding officer with charges stemming from imagined slights and petty peccadilloes.

As a military leader Jackson gets full marks for the genius of his 1862 Valley campaign, though Farwell points out that the general was unusually lucky in the poor quality of his opponents. As a commanding officer Jackson had some serious faults. He put subordinates under arrest for trivial offenses, hurting morale and the efficiency of the service. He was secre-

tive, refusing to share his orders or plans with subordinates. This hurt the army on more than one occasion, and Farwell is probably right in arguing that the trait cost the Confederacy an even greater victory than it obtained at Chancellorsville in May 1863. After Jackson was put out of action, nobody knew his precise intentions.

Perhaps the most original and persuasive contribution of the book is the argument that when Jackson performed poorly, as he did in much of the Seven Days' Campaign against George B. McClellan in June 1862, he was suffering from lack of sleep. Farwell argues convincingly that Jackson needed more rest than most people.

I also like the book's conclusion, though many will not. This is that Jackson was fortunate to die at the height of his fame and before he attained greater responsibility. For he did not have the personality to be successful at a higher command level and would almost certainly have failed.

Northern Kentucky University MICHAEL C. C. ADAMS

Confederate Mobile. By Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1991. xii, 271 pp. Introduction, maps, photographs, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. $29.50.)

In most standard texts on the Civil War, Mobile appears only in reference to the famous Battle of Mobile Bay. It is thus refreshing to find a work that illuminates the complete war years of this major southern city. After the fall of New Orleans in 1862 Mobile became the largest and most important Confederate port on the Gulf. Even after its outlet to the sea was sealed in 1864, Mobile remained independent until its surrender on April 12, 1865, three days after Lee's surrender at Appomattox.

The strategic importance of Mobile was not lost on Confederate authorities. As a port city it was second only to New Orleans, and its rail connections proved to be a vital link for the Confederacy as the war progressed. To defend the city Confederate officials implemented a standard coastal defense policy comprised of fortifications protected by land and naval forces. Through the duration of the war, military commanders worked

feverishly to prepare the port city for imminent Union attack. The forts at the mouth of the bay were reinforced, barriers and torpedoes were placed in the channel, and earthworks were constructed around the city proper as well as across the bay on the eastern shore.

Union priorities spared Mobile in the early course of the war. But by 1864 David G. Farragut's victory over Confederate forces at the mouth of Mobile Bay effectively sealed off the city as a port for blockade runners. And finally in the spring of 1865 General Edward R. S. Canby attacked Mobile by land, Mobile being his first objective in an anticipated drive up the Alabama River to Selma and Montgomery. But by the time the Confederates were defeated at Spanish Fort/Blakely– ensuring the surrender of Mobile– the war was virtually over.

Bergeron does an admirable job of exploring the Confederate command at Mobile and its preoccupation with an adequate defense. Despite bureaucratic inefficiency, constant changes in officials, serious supply shortages, and inadequate military forces, the defenses of Mobile were surprisingly substantial, though in the end would prove ineffective against the superior Federal forces. The author is best when describing the homefront and blockade running at Mobile. His analysis of Mobile within the overall strategy of the Union and Confederacy is also thorough, but Florida historians will be disappointed at the few discussions of the Federal presence at Pensacola. Federal forces in West Florida caused great concern for Mobile commanders, and Confederate pickets and cavalry forays within the Florida panhandle were not so much a defense of south Alabama as they were a means to pin down union forces from launching a land attack on Mobile.

The author's masterful command of the numerous primary sources makes this the most concise and accurate account of Mobile in the war. Unfortunately, the narrative is a bit wooden at times. The account of the Battle of Mobile Bay is quite thorough but lacks the vividness and verve of the numerous firsthand accounts (Farragut does not even "Damn the torpedoes!"). It is also disappointing that the publishers could not enhance this volume with a wider variety of photographs and illustrations, such as those found in Caldwell Delaney's 1971 pictorial book *Confederate Mobile.* (The press's lackluster dust jacket also detracts from the book's appearance.)

Nevertheless, Bergeron's *Confederate Mobile* is an indispensable and thoroughly researched volume on Mobile's role in the Confederacy. This work complements Harriet E. Amos's earlier study on antebellum Mobile and will prove an invaluable guide to anyone wishing to understand wartime Mobile and the military maneuvers involved in defending the important southern port.

Pensacola Community College BRIAN R. RUCKER

An African-American Exodus: The Segregation of the Southern Churches. By Katherine L. Dvorak. (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1991. xviii, 252 pp. Introduction, preface, foreword, notes, bibliography, index. $50.00.)

This volume is the most recent publication in a long list of works tracing the rise of black religion from what Albert J. Raboteau has so aptly termed the plantation's "invisible institution" to the unparalleled force it has become in the black community today. It is a worthy addition to this literature, especially the author's careful development of the thesis that the black "exodus" from white churches during and after the Civil War occurred spontaneously, swiftly, and dramatically. Though well researched and convincing in its argument, this book will probably stimulate the careful reader not for the number of issues it settles but rather for the number of issues it raises.

By extensively mining black and white church archival materials and interpreting the relevant secondary literature, Dvorak attacks the notion that black ecclesiastical segregation occurred as a "natural" process of post-Civil War Jim Crowism. The decisive factor in this exodus (as opposed to expulsion) rested on a number of factors indigenous to black concerns and culture, not the least of which proved to be their deep religious experience and the charismatic nature of black church leadership. By tracing the purported cause and nature of this exodus, the author deftly demonstrates that blacks in the 1860s almost instinctively fomented their own separatist interpretations and practices of Christianity. This is significant because it lends credence to the notion that blacks during and after the Civil War adopted new cultural and religious practices rooted deep in their own Afri-

can-American heritage– they were not simply passive objects caught up in the events of the era.

In general, the years covered in this book reflect an important chapter in black history; namely, how and why blacks withdrew from white ecclesiastical institutions in favor of all-black organizations during and directly after the Civil War. The exodus from the Methodist Episcopal Church South (MECS), used as Dvorak's case study, perhaps best reflected this phenomenon as the church experienced a prewar black membership decline from roughly 240,000 to 78,742 in 1866 and finally a drop to 19,686 in 1869. As blacks took the initiative in exiting the MECS and other ecclesiastical institutions, a predictable surge occurred in the membership of northern-based black churches. For instance, the African Methodist Episcopal Church acquired roughly 321,000 members from 1860 to 1871, and the American Methodist Episcopal Zion Church counted 122,000 new members between 1860 and 1868. As a result of this shift the black church became the soul of the black community North and South at a time when approximately 90 percent of all black Americans lived south of the Mason-Dixon Line.

Like many scholars of the history of religion, Dvorak is writing from the perspective of someone who has watched history unfold primarily along theological divisions. And while she does incorporate a modicum of sociological theory into her work, there remains the tendency to define the issues in a series of rigid theological dichotomies. For example, she insists that blacks undertook the exodus based primarily on their own religious initiatives. Thus, the reader concerned about the larger issues of black and southern history will almost certainly begin to ask such questions as what was the role of black nationalism in Dvorak's exodus. Moreover, did the theological truly preempt the sociopolitical determination of blacks to escape a deep history of white tyranny in *all* aspects of their lives during this era? Or did blacks simply determine to take advantage of the war and postwar confusion to sever all physical, psychological, and theological ties with the myriad oppressions of slavery and racism? These and related questions are almost certainly going to crop up in the reader's mind, especially those versed in the breadth and scope of the African-American experience. Even so, Dvorak's skillfully presented narrative will be appreciated by

a wide audience as an engaging picture of a religious experience that resulted in the separate character of today's black Christian Church.

Edison Community College IRVIN D. SOLOMON

Meadows of Memory: Images of Time and Tradition in American Art and Culture. By Michael Kammen. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992. xxv, 192 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, illustrations, index. $39.95.)

The title of the new work by Michael Kammen, Cornell University's Pulitzer Prize-winning cultural historian, probably won't strike any mystic chords of your memory. *Meadows of Memory* is the title of an undated, mysterious landscape by Arthur Bowen Davis (1862-1929). In this painting, a woman, who is perhaps in early middle age, moves rather briskly across a meadow while an older woman proceeds more deliberately in the middle distance. Kammen argues that Arthur Davis, like many American artists, uses space to symbolize the movement of American culture through time.

In two previous books, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* and *A Sense of Youth,* Kammen gave us an almost encyclopedic study of the American historical novel. In the present work his artifacts are paintings and sculptures dating from the Renaissance to Georgia O'Keeffe to Salvador Dali. But to Kammen, "aesthetic inferiority does not connotate or correlate with cultural inconsequence." He dismisses the ability to draw a line between high and popular art in America, which leads him to examine a wide range of art. In art history classes students are introduced to artists who influenced subsequent artists; with Kammen the reader spends as much time with Daniel Chester French as with Arthur Davis. Kammen believes that works of art are especially close to the hearts of their creators and were intended a statements about the "determinative significance of a meaningful or problematic past." Kammen draws many parallels between literary and artistic endeavors; the reader will find many references to American writers *and* artists.

This book is based on the Tandy Lectures given at the Amon Carter Museum in 1989. In the introduction Kammen gracefully explains that rather than give his audience a sample of his past research, he has chosen to present the incomplete results of his current efforts. Each essay presents one of the three objectives of his current analysis of American art: 1. to illuminate the issue of American exceptionalism. How unique is American civilization? Kammen traces the old-world images of Chronos and Clio as they were transported across the ocean and transformed in their new cultural context into Father Time and the Maiden; 2. to identify American iconography that is uniquely ours. Pertaining to themes of time and tradition, he calls "homes" and "elms" uniquely American subjects. He notes our artistic tradition of preserving history as a pattern of "timeless moments" achieved by symbols; 3. to broaden the customary connotation of historical art. Kammen argues that all sorts of paintings (in particular landscapes), not ordinarily designated as historical, were *meant* to offer messages about trends, events, time, and memory in the culture of the United States.

Michael Kammen is said to be the custodian of American self-consciousness. He is certainly not the first cultural historian to examine art as artifact and not for aesthetic value, but he is the first to argue for the intentional incorporation of historical content into art. No doubt another encyclopedic effort will follow this slim volume, a work which may give Kammen the space to completely argue his case.

This volume asks again what is American about America. He has given us two leads– the transformation of European symbols into American art and the "new" symbols of "home" and "elms" which will give us plenty to ponder until a more thorough examination arrives.

Florida Humanities Council ANN L. HENDERSON

American Indian Water Rights and the Limits of Law. By Lloyd Burton. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991. ix, 174 pp. Preface, tables, notes, index. $22.50.)

It is the premise of this work that the last two centuries can be characterized as a period during which state governments

and some federally elected officials generally did what they could to divest indigenous peoples of their natural resource heritage, while federal judges generally did what they could to preserve that heritage for the tribe's use and enjoyment. It is the story of a doctrine fashioned and enforced by the federal courts for the preservation of American Indian water resources, set against state water laws under which most of the waters of the West have already been allocated to non-Indian interests.

Although the policy fashioned by the judiciary– known as the reserved rights doctrine– has proved the salvation of the American Indian water resource heritage, we may be approaching the limits of what the law is able to do on the tribes' behalf in the pursuit of just and durable dispute resolution. The author proposes a uniform negotiation process to address the problems of fairness besetting negotiations between tribes and the states.

The legal struggle over water rights has been centered in the West where there is an insufficent water supply to satisfy the demands of all potential users, including Indian tribes. Western states developed, therefore, a policy of "prior appropriation" which established a hierarchy of rights based on chronological order in which users began to use water resources; this often denied tribes the use of waters running through their lands. The effort to address this inequity began in January 1908 when the U.S. Supreme Court issued its seminal decision in *Winters v. United States,* the first case in which the federal courts explicitly affirmed the water rights of Indian reservations. The so-called "Winters doctrine" reserved to Indian reservations an adequate water supply to carry out the purposes for which reservations were established.

Over the intervening eighty-five years there were numerous attempts to vitiate these rights. In recent decades, though, a number of comprehensive settlements have been negotiated in which tribes abandoned their claims to substantial amounts of water in return for governmentally funded and guaranteed delivery of a smaller quantity of water to reservations. One case examined by Burton is the landmark Water Compact between the Seminole Tribe and the state of Florida which received congressional ratification in 1988. This was unique because it was the only negotiated settlement involving the riparian rights of an Indian tribe. The Seminoles relinquished some land-title claims and entered into a cooperative agreement for local man-

agement of riparian water rights in return for money compensation and a limited recognition of its water-rights claims.

This well-written but narrowly focused work is intended primarily for specialists in resource management and Indian affairs. Although Florida is mentioned but briefly in a book largely devoted to western issues, it is noteworthy that the Seminole Water Rights Compact is recognized as one of the significant events in the history of negotiated settlements. It is predictable that other Florida cases will fill a similar niche in Indian law.

Florida Atlantic University HARRY A. KERSEY, JR.

Gender, Class, Race, and Reform in the Progressive Era. Edited by Noralee Frankel and Nancy S. Dye. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1991. vi, 202 pp. Preface, introduction, contributors, index. $24.00.)

Gender, Class, Race, and Reform in the Progressive Era edited by Noralee Frankel and Nancy S. Dye is an impressive collection of articles which illuminate how beliefs about gender, race, class, and ethnicity shaped women's reform activities during the progressive era and how black, immigrant, middle- and working-class women both contributed to the progressive movement and were affected by it. Thus the book moves beyond "contribution" history and challenges us to revise our interpretations of progressivism itself.

Early studies of the progressive movement largely ignored women's contributions and did not explore the connections between the suffrage movement and progressivism. The articles in this book present a sophisticated analysis of diverse groups of women reformers who shared beliefs about gender differences, but because of racial, class, and ethnic differences chose different paths to reform. In the introduction Nancy S. Dye states that the essays address the questions: "How did women reformers envision American society and women's roles within it? What beliefs about gender, race, class, and ethnicity informed women's political culture and their reform agenda? How did black, immigrant, and working-class women contribute to and experience progressive reform? What was the relationship be-

tween progressivism and feminism? What legacy did progressivism leave for succeeding generations of American women?"

Nancy S. Hewitt's article, "Politicizing Domesticity: Anglo, Black, and Latin Women in Tampa's Progressive Movement," is of the greatest interest for Florida history. In this superb article Hewitt presents a nuanced analysis of how gender, race, and class were interconnected in the reform activities of elite Anglos and Latins and working-class Latins and African American women. She demonstrates how Tampa's female progressives worked to infuse their domestic values into the public sphere. Since their class allegiances transcended any possible gender alliances, they used their political power to restrict participation by minority communities. Hewitt shows how working-class Latin and African American women founded unions, mutual aid societies, clubs, and social welfare institutions. Using woman-controlled and home-based resources, they were often involved in labor struggles in the city's cigar industry and came to define politics in more militant, socialist ways.

Three authors address African American women reformers' activities during the progressive era. Jacqueline Rouse explores the fight of African American women against segregation in Atlanta. Sharon Harley contributes to our understanding of gender-based exclusionary practices and policies of progressive era trade union organizations and women's ambivalent feelings about their status as wage earners. In her discussion of African American women's struggle against lynching, segregation, and disfranchisement, Rosalyn Terborg-Penn argues that black women's definition of civic improvement and social justice centered on racial consciousness.

Other authors analyze the experiences of working-class women during the progressive era. Ardis Cameron explores how immigrant women in Lawrence, Massachusetts, developed collaborative networks in order to withstand the harsh conditions of industrial life. Alice Kessler-Harris, author of the splendid book *Out to Work,* points out that women reformers' efforts to protect women through measures such as the minimum wage ultimately reinforced societal beliefs about gender differences and disadvantaged women workers. In a similar vein, Barbara Sicherman argues that the gender consciousness of progressive reformers empowered women to enter daring political battles, but it also marked out the limits beyond which they would not

go and the limits of women's authority. Similarly, Eileen Boris argues that women reformers relied on an alternative set of values derived from women's sphere to reconstruct public life in accord with their ideals of womanhood. Consequently, they reinforced women's dependent status in the economy and state by grounding their discourse in terms of nurturance, altruism, piety, and domesticity. Thus, Kessler-Harris, Sicherman, and Boris believe that their belief in intrinsic gender differences ultimately limited their access to economic and political power and reinforced beliefs about women's weaknesses and inferiority.

Molly Ladd-Taylor presents a fascinating portrait of the collaborative as well as adversarial relationship between women reformers, working-class and rural mothers, and the state. Ellen Carol DuBois also addresses class relations among women during the progressive era through a provocative discussion of Harriot Stanton Blatch. Susan Tank Lesser provides a valuable historiographical essay on the diverse literature in women's history generally and the progressive era specifically, with attention to African American, minority, working-class, and immigrant women.

Taken as a whole the book provides suggestive answers to the questions posed in the introduction and achieves unity through its focus on those values shared by women reformers across class, racial, and ethnic lines about gender differences. The articles, however, reflect the diverse paths that women reformers took depending on the primacy of race and class issues in their lives and the ways in which they experienced domesticity. As well as providing a new paradigm for analysis of the progressive era, the book is also an invitation to additional research to determine the interconnections of gender, race, and class in other periods. The book might have been strengthened by a different organization of the articles, grouped according to like subjects with an analytical introduction to each section, or by the inclusion of a more extensive introductory essay. This minor point aside, this book deserves a wide audience because of the quality of the writing and research and the originality of interpretation of a neglected area of scholarship.

Eckerd College CAROLYN JOHNSTON

Pretty Bubbles in the Air: America in 1919. By William D. Miller. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991. xv, 232 pp. Preface, introduction, prologue, index. $29.95.)

William D. Miller, in his *Pretty Bubbles in the Air: America in 1919,* again has demonstrated his command of recent U.S. history. As was the case with John Dos Passos's *1919,* this book is a sensitive analysis of a single, fascinating, yet tragic, year.

For Miller this book represented an important year of his life, for his earliest memories evolved around the U.S. and the end of World War I. He began to write a social history, but, impressed by the conflicts and paradoxes accompanying the mood of victory, he moved to narrative history based on what some chose to term the interpretive principle of intellectual history. Miller views 1919 as providing a national emotional high following an emotional victory but at the same time indicating oncoming problems.

In the prologue Miller sets the stage for 1919 with a brief but jam-packed summary of the U.S. at war, 1917-1919. The role of President Woodrow Wilson in leading the nation to war and in verbalizing goals for peace is crucial to the prologue and the narrative. Wilson's belief that total Allied victory could be the only outcome came to dominate his thinking and his politics. He never denounced the bigotry and hysteria that the patriotic war machine demanded. The programing of a nation to hate merely fueled the march to a God-sanctioned victory.

Miller covers the 1918-1919 peace negotiations well, fitting the actions of Congress and the president against a backdrop of economic crisis and national chauvinism. The partial paralysis of the president helped wreck his dream of a powerful League of Nations. Miller believes Wilson's failure on the League was due more to the ineptitude of the ethnocentric U.S. Senate led by little people than to his leadership.

America in 1919 for Miller provides a bridge year between an old era, much of which was dying, and a new era just beginning to provide a glimpse of a world aborning. The book title comes from a song in *The Passing Show of 1918,* one that remained popular for several years. Miller writes that the song spoke "of a world of blue-laundered, perfumed innocence, one from which in the end all of the passion, turmoil and grand designs of men would pass." While that tune glorified an imaginary

world, perhaps the future was characterized by one of the popular tunes of 1919, "The World is Waiting For the Sunrise."

The range of topics covered in this brief volume is immense– the return of troops, nationalistic hysteria, rise of the automotive industry, flappers, popular music, political and economic reaction to Wilsonian domestic policies. The list could be continued. Miller's mastery of events of that year and of that period is readily evident. He has carefully studied and researched the twentieth century. His vignettes of people, often accompanied by forward and backward interpetive remarks, serve to illuminate 1919 for any interested person. The brevity of the volume does not indicate the completeness of its contents.

Miller deserves much praise for including so much fact and interpretation in so little space. Writing this volume must have been real fun for Miller. The style is crisp, and the chapters, while covering separate topics, are well hinged. Miller skillfully works into the text references to most of his sources. This makes most of the bibliography, while suggestive, general in nature. There can be no question that Miller is a keen researcher and a masterful organizer. Few histories known to this reviewer are so well written. The book should command a wide audience.

This is a fine job of bookmaking and a credit to the University of Illinois Press. The illustrations were well chosen, add much to the text, and the index is accurate. These qualities add to the ease of reading *Pretty Bubbles.*

University of Georgia BENNETT H. WALL, retired

Anxious Decades: America in Prosperity and Depression, 1920-1941. By Michael E. Parrish (New York: W. W. Norton Company, 1992. xiv, 529 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, photographs, illustrations, epilogue, suggestions for additional reading, notes on sources, credits, index. $29.95.)

Time unfolds (or unravels, as some may prefer), and Louis Hacker's and Benjamin Kendrick's old *The United States Since 1865,* which had no social or intellectual history and which finished its story with the Great Depression, has long since seen its day. For that matter, so have a number of other United States history texts that have been published since World War II. So

ongoing time spews its trail of facts, and it is the task of historians to assess which ones are important and then put them into some form or order– presumably toward the end of making life more human. Periodically then, a historian, in conjunction with a publishing house, will address the problem of "keeping current" by releasing a new text. *Anxious Decades* works at being current.

Generally, in the field of political history there are few significant revisionist positions that might alter or enrich the standard reading of national political history between 1920 and 1940. The old John D. Hicks texts did well with the facts of politics, and, as far as I can tell, so does Mr. Parrish.

The distinguishing character of the Parrish work, however, is its inclusion of a significant amount of what is termed social and intellectual history, and it is here that the book warrants comment.

The social history deals with the traditional themes of the twenties and thirties: heroes, demagogues, religious fundamentalists, cult leaders, and, of course, the heroes of sports. The intellectual history is mostly a digest of the critics, thinkers, and novelists of these decades, much of which is standard fare, From my standpoint, the author's failure to mention Thomas Wolfe, the gargantuan literary lyricist of the period through whose works throb the spirit of the twenties and early thirties, is a regrettable omission.

In keeping with contemporary concerns, *Anxious Decades* gives more than the usual attention to the subjects of women and blacks in the way of detailing their contributions to life and thought as well as the social and economic inequities and in justices to which they were subject. The "sexual revolution" is, of course, addressed– principally by citing survey reports on the decline of virginity among college coeds and by pointing out the democratization of sex "experimentation" as it "spread from the bohemia of intellectuals . . . to the middle class and beyond." To sum up the new disposition, there is virtually one entire page (418) given over to Mae West. To provide the "objective" note to the West segment, the author includes several of her heavy-breathing quips– like when she asks her leading man, "Is that a gun in your pocket big boy, or are you just glad to see me?"

So goes the flow, even in textbooks, and ever has it been that the watchword of a sound academic performance requires that one work at "keeping up." But the question is, even for a textbook, keeping up with what? Dorothy Day is one of the great social revolutionaries of the late twentieth century, yet the four lines she gets have nothing to do with her personalist ideas but with her helping to feed striking seamen in 1937. For more on Day, suggests Parrish, read Robert Coles.

Writing *Anxious Decades* was a task of much labor, but the material it uses to give it the substance of modernity is at particular points superficial and uneven. Generally, the book gives the impression of having been written with an eye that was more on sales appeal than on depth.

Lloyd, Florida WILLIAM D. MILLER

Simple Decency & Common Sense: The Southern Conference Movement, 1938-1963. By Linda Reed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991. xxvii, 257 pp. Chronology, preface, acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, conclusion, bibliographical essay, appendix, notes; index. $29.95.)

One of the strongest manifestations of southern liberalism in the twentieth century grew out of the New Deal. Coinciding with the National Emergency Council's 1938 *Report on Economic Conditions in the South,* a small group of Southerners organized the Southern Conference on Human Welfare (SCHW). Its ranks included a virtual who's who of southern liberals: Frank Porter Graham, Clark Foreman, James A. Dombrowski, Lucy Randolph Mason, Virginia Durr, Myles Horton, Lillian Smith, and H. L. Mitchell. In the decade between 1938 and 1948 it pursued a broad agenda that included economic development, improved public schools, penal reform, better housing, public health, and expanded suffrage. But what set it apart from other southern liberal organizations of that time was its commitment to civil rights for African Americans. From the outset blacks and whites participated in the Southern Conference, which worked to end discrimination and promote racial integration. World War II boosted this cause by presenting the opportunity to compare oppression abroad with the plight of African Americans at

home. Through its publication, the *Southern Patriot,* and radio programs that it sponsored across the region, the Southern Conference worked to convert the mass of southern whites. In campaigns to eliminate the poll tax and the white primary, it cooperated closely with the NAACP.

Just as its commitment to civil rights set the Southern Conference apart from other regional organizations, that stand also made it difficult for some white liberals to stay on board. Those who could not subscribe to the goal of a fully integrated society eventually dropped out. Those who remained had to contend with charges that equated racial integration with communism. White supremacist spokesmen, like Mississippi senators Theodore G. Bilbo and James O. Eastland, singled out the Southern Conference for attacks. With the emergence of the Cold War in the late 1940s red-baiting became more intense and contributed to the organization's demise.

In 1946 the SCHW formed the Southern Conference Education Fund, which concentrated on the goal of racial equality, while the parent organization became more politically active. After the SCHW disbanded in 1948 the SCEF continued working for a racially integrated South. During the 1950s and 1960s it became an important ally of the predominantly black civil rights organizations and provided a link between the New Deal and the Civil Rights Movement. Although the Southern Conference Movement had helped to perpetuate liberalism in the South for a quarter century, it failed to achieve it goals of persuading white Southerners to end segregation and to accept black suffrage. When these changes came in the 1960s, they resulted largely from the activist campaigns conducted by organizations like SCLC and SNCC.

Linda Reed has produced the most thorough study to date of the Southern Conference Movement– her work surpassing Thomas Krueger's 1967 book that focused solely on the SCHW. Extensive research in a variety of rich primary sources represents one of the book's strongest features. In addition to using SCHW and SCEF records, the author examined the papers of many people involved in the movement. She organized her book topically, devoting chapters to the poll tax campaign, red-baiting, and other relevant subjects. Unfortunately, this format contributed to the book's major weakness. In presenting the material topically, the author covered much of the same ground re-

peatedly, resulting in repetition and occasional confusion. A chronological organization taking the movement from its origins in 1938 to the 1960s could have conveyed more effectively a sense of the broad Southern Conference Movement. This criticism does not offset the fact that Reed has made an important contribution to southern history by advancing an understanding of the region's major liberal organization of the twentieth century.

University of Georgia WILLIAM F. HOLMES

Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World. By Sharon Zukin. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991. xii, 326 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, photographs, tables, conclusion, notes, index. $24.95.)

This substantial sociological study attempts to analyze and explain the momentous structural and cultural changes that have occurred in the United States during the past several decades. These changes include an economy that has shifted from manufacturing to service, from central cities to the suburbs and the Sunbelt, from industrial production to "cultural production," and from mass production to mass consumption. Deindustrialization, regional and global economic transformations, massive job losses, and consequent community decline have confronted many older industrial communities tied to mass production industries. At the same time, newer suburban or sunbelt communities have benefited from the vast, postwar shift to a service and consumption economy. Meanwhile, big cities formerly reliant on production have sought to recreate themselves with new skyscraper architecture, inner-city gentrification, and festival marketplaces and other new landscapes of cultural consumption.

The heart of the book consists of five case studies– "five twentieth-century landscapes"– that explore "the spectrum of change between deindustrialization and the shift to a postindustrial or service economy." Two detailed chapters focus on the declining steel industry in Weirton, West Virginia, and Detroit. In each case, various strategies were developed to prevent steel plant closings and to salvage industrial jobs, but at the cost of

local autonomy, as new financial interests came to control these older industrial landscapes. A third chapter on Westchester County, New York, documents the process by which a sleepy and exclusive suburban landscape near New York City became a postindustrial "edge city" in the new service/consumption economy. A fourth chapter portrays gentrification in New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia as a result of the new consumption society, as cultural providers such as artists and writers appropriated inner-city space and as real estate developers profited from upgraded land values. The final case study offers Los Angeles, Miami, and Disney World as new fantasy landscapes, new cultural forms that reflect changing patterns of economic authority. Each of these case studies emphasizes the shaping influence of the postwar shift from a mass production economy to a mass consumption economy. These are, the author contends, new American landscapes of economic power at the end of the twentieth century.

Readers of this journal may find the chapter on Miami and Disney World of special interest but hardly persuasive in its presentation. The "bicoastal extremities of the Sunbelt"– Miami and Los Angeles– according to Zukin, offer a new kind of "postmodern urbanity." These cities, or at least the widely held images of them, have been "socially constructed" and "self-consciously produced"; they have been "built on the power of dreamscape, collective fantasy, and facade." These baldly stated assertions are based on only a few examples, such as the visually stunning Miami architecture shown on the television series *Miami Vice.* That popular but relatively short-lived show, Zukin writes, "was distinctive because it mapped quintessentially visual motifs on a society organized by global economic power." Disney World, although hundreds of miles distant from Miami gets linked in the analysis in a few pages of "dreamscape" writing as well. Historians of twentieth-century Florida may find themselves increasingly uncomfortable with this sort of postmodernist, cultural sociobabble as they venture into this chapter of the book. Miami has had its image makers over the years, to be sure, but Zukin has skimmed quickly over the real Miami in her analysis, rather than provided a sustained treatment of Miami in all its diversity and ordinariness. South Florida dreamed up and abstracted from reality in this way is not a south Florida that Floridians will recognize. It is not a convincing part of the book.

Landscapes of Power is stimulating and imaginative in parts, but it is also difficult, often abstract, occasionally confusing, and ultimately unsatisfying. The hard data on deindustrialization, economic relocation, and urban change is only weakly related to the more speculative, interpretive themes about cultural, mental, moral, or symbolic landscapes,– themes that are easily asserted but hardly persuasive. The book is more of an exploration than an explanation of how the United States has changed in the past few decades.

Florida Atlantic University RAYMOND A. MOHL

BOOK NOTES

Cora Cheney and Ben Partridge, *Florida's Family Album, A History for All Ages,* provide a brief overview of Florida history that is principally directed at younger audiences. Generously illustrated, the book is a blend of anecdotes, vignettes, and factual narrative. The volume introduces the major themes of the state's past, touching upon colonial settlement, the introduction of slavery, the Civil War, and more contemporary problems of growth and resource management, among many others. The volume costs $14.95 and can be ordered by phoning toll free (800) 444-2524 or writing BookWorld Services, Inc., 1933 Whitfield Park Loop, Sarasota, FL 34243.

As the title suggests, *Florida at War,* edited by Lewis N. Wynne, explores the impact of World War II on the development of modern Florida. Composed of eight essays and an introduction by the editor, the volume ranges broadly across various topics. Tracy Revels examines tourism during the war, and Dawn Truax engages the fascinating subject of "victory girls" (prostitutes) in Tampa. James Schnur investigates the history of the war experiences of blacks in the state, and Robert Billinger provides a interesting glimpse into the fate of German POWs held at Camp Blanding. Nautical themes are covered in essays on shipbuilding in Tampa by co-authors Lewis Wynne and Carolyn Barnes and on submarines and sailors in Pensacola by Paul S. George. Finally, the experiences of Pensacola and Jacksonville during the war are explored in chapters by James R. McGovern and William D. Miller respectively. The volume can be ordered from St. Leo College Press, P. O. Box 2304, Saint Leo, FL 33574 for $15.95.

In 1940 the W.P.A. Florida Writers' Project compiled an account of *The Spanish Missions of Florida.* The resulting volume presented a comprehensive outline of existing knowledge about the Florida mission system, beginning with Ponce de Leon's second voyage in 1521 when "Monks and priests accompanied him for divine service and mission work." This important early account is now available in a reprint edition and can be ordered from Luthers, 1009 North Dixie Freeway, New Smyrna Beach, FL 32168-6221 for $8.95.

From Confederacy to Federation: A History of the Sarasota-Manatee Jewish Community by Florence S. Sinclair presents the rich story of Jewish life in Sarasota and Manatee counties. There are a few references to the arrival of Jewish settlers in the late nineteenth century, but the bulk of the volume deals with events since the 1930s. The book can be ordered from the Sarasota-Manatee Jewish Federation, Klingenstein Jewish Center, 580 South McIntosh Road, Sarasota, FL 34232-1959. It is available in both a hardback ($25.00) and paperback ($10.00) edition.

Charles Edgar Foster has presented the colorful life of Captain Peter Nelson, founder of the community of Alva, Florida, and one of the first Lee County commissioners, in his *The Benevolent Dane: Captain Peter Nelson.* Pieced together from scattered records, the story contains many interesting vignettes about both the central character and the community in which he resided. Perhaps the most intriguing of these stories concerns the suspension of Nelson from the Lee County Commission in October 1890 by Governor Francis Fleming for "the use of intoxicating liquors." Based on his research Foster is convinced that Nelson was wronged in these accusations. He approached Governor Lawton Chiles to have the commissioner reinstated 103 years after his dismissal. In May 1993 the current Lee County commissioners officially recognized Nelson's reinstatement, and Governor Chiles put into the record a letter stating that Nelson should have been allowed to return to his seat in 1890 since the state senate never ratified his dismissal. The volume can be obtained from the Southwest Florida Historical Society, P. O. Box 1381, Fort Myers, FL 33902 for $6.60.

A translation of the primary surviving record of Columbus's first voyage to America has been published in paperback by the University of Oklahoma Press. *The Diario of Christopher Columbus's First Voyage to America, 1492-1493,* transcribed and translated by Oliver Dunn and James E. Kelley, Jr., is taken from an abstract of the original journal which constitutes the principal source of information about this historic voyage. Columbus kept a running journal of his voyage, and he presented the document to Ferdinand and Isabella on his return to Spain. A copy was made of the original, but both this version and the original eventually disappeared. The manuscript journal that survives is a partly quoted and partly summarized version of Columbus's copy made

by Bartolomé de las Casas in the 1530s. The Dunn-Kelly transcription of this journal presents accurate and extensive notes as well as current research and debates on unanswered questions concerning the voyage. It can be ordered from the University of Oklahoma Press, 1005 Asp Avenue, Norman, OK 73019 for $24.95.

A paperback edition of the classic treatise, *In Defense of the Indians,* by Bartolomé de las Casas is also available. Translated from Latin by Rev. Stafford Poole, this important work championed the rights of the Indians of Mexico and Central America, disputing a widely held belief that Indians were "beasts" to be enslaved or brutally forced into accepting the Christian faith. Las Casas eloquently argued that the native inhabitants should be viewed as fellow human beings. The volume in question was written toward the end of his life when he already had earned a reputation as "protector of the Indians." To order, write Northern Illinois University Press, DeKalb, IL 60115-2854. The cost is $18.00.

Robert Coles, *Flannery O'Connor's South,* offers a forceful analysis, both literary and philosophical, of Flannery O'Conner's life and literature. First published in 1980, this study is now available in a paperback edition. The work draws upon Robert Coles's personal experiences in the South during the civil rights movement of the late 1950s and early 1960s, his brief acquaintance with Flannery O'Connor, and his careful reading of her works. It is available from the University of Georgia Press, 330 Research Drive, Athens, GA 30602-4901 at a cost of $12.95.

The American History Series of Harlan Davidson publishers has recently added two new titles to its list. Sally G. McMillen, *Southern Women: Black and White in the Old South,* and Howard N. Rabinowitz, *The First New South, 1865-1920,* cover significant aspects of the southern past. As with all volumes in this series, these books are synthetic treatments of broad subjects based on the most current secondary historical literature. Both are available at a cost of $9.95 from Harlan Davidson, Inc., 3110 North Arlington Heights Road, Arlington Heights, IL 60004-1592.

A new paperback edition of Paul D. Escott, *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism,* has been published by Louisiana State University Press. It can be ordered from the press at P. O. Box 25053, Baton Rouge, LA 70894-5053 for $10.95. Clement Eaton reviewed the work in the *Quarterly* 58 (July 1978), 103-05.

Tom Knotts of North Miami has privately published *Names Significant and Insignificant of Florida Seminole Indians and Negroes, 1750-1860.* The book is an Indian dictionary of Seminole names, with English translations and frequent biographical descriptions. of important chiefs. It is easily the most comprehensive listing of its kind, and it can be obtained directly from the author at 13499 Biscayne Boulevard #1609, North Miami, FL 33181 for $15.00.

Susan A. MacManus's *Reapportionment and Representation in Florida: A Historical Collection* is an anthology of thirty-four scholarly essays on the important public policy issues of reapportionment and representation. It is intended to provide scholars, public administrators, elected officials, and ordinary citizens with an understanding of the complex problems generated by the constitutional mandate to reapportion legislative districts every ten years. Most of the articles are historical in nature. The volume can be ordered from the USF Research Foundation, Office of Research FAO 126, 4202 West Fowler Avenue, University of South Florida, Tampa, FL 33620-7900 for $35.00.

The Genealogical Society of Okaloosa County announces that *Cemeteries of Okaloosa County, Florida,* volume 1, is now available. The book lists twenty-four cemeteries east of the Yellow River and north of the Shoal River. There are over 5,000 graves noted in the publication. The softcover volume sells for $12.00, plus $2.50 postage, and can be obtained by writing to the Society at P. O. Box 1175, Fort Walton Beach, FL 32549.

David J. Garrow has edited a collection of essays entitled *St. Augustine, Florida, 1963-1964: Mass Protest and Racial Violence.* David R. Colburn supplies an insightful introduction to the volume and a fully developed essay on the St. Augustine business community. Edward Kallal, Jr., examines the Ku Klux Klan's

role in St. Augustine's racial crisis, and Robert W. Hartley provides an overview of the disorders of 1964. The volume also includes the "Racial and Civil Disorders in St. Augustine," the report of the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee. The book can be obtained from Carlson Publishing, Inc., P. O. Box 023350, Brooklyn, NY 11202-0067. The cost is $25.00.

A new edition of David Zinman, *The Day Huey Long Was Shot*, has appeared. Demagogue, populist, governor, United States senator, Huey P. Long still continues to generate controversy. David Zinman has persisted in his investigations of the case since the book's first publication in 1963. He has interviewed Senator Long's bodyguards and members of the assassin's family to learn new information. Fresh evidence from forensic investigations are also added. The book is available from the University Press of Mississippi, 3825 Ridgewood Road, Jackson, MS 39211 for $35.00 (cloth) and $14.95 (paper).

HISTORY NEWS

News

Bok Tower Gardens was named a National Historic Landmark on April 19, 1993, when U.S. Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt signed the documents in Washington. One of central Florida's oldest attractions, Bok Tower Gardens was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1972. Only approximately 4 percent of historic places become designated as National Landmarks. Ben Levy, manager of the National Historic Landmarks Survey in Washington, DC, indicated that Bok Tower Gardens was so designated because of its "virtually perfect integrity– the tower is today what it has always been."

During the 1970s the Genealogical Society of New Orleans published a series of indices to the first six volumes of *New Orleans Genesis.* The project ceased after the sixth volume, but now the Louisiana Room of the Dupre Library, University of Southwestern Louisiana, has continued indexing and announces publication of the *Index to Volume VII: Issues No. 25, 26, 27, and 28,* compiled by Jean Schmidt Kiesel. The volume costs $15.00 and can be obtained from The Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette, LA 70504.

Back issues of the *Gulf Coast Historical Review* are now available for half price ($4.00), extending from volume 1 (Spring 1986) to volume 8 (Spring 1993). Contact the journal at History Department, Humanities 344, University of South Alabama, Mobile, AL 36688.

The Arkansas Historical Association announces completion of a video, *Arkansas Leaders in History,* available through the Association's offices, 416 Old Main, Department of History, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR 72701. The cost of the video is $15.00 for members and educators; $25.00 for non-members (plus $3.00 for shipping).

The Florida Museum of Natural History in Gainesville announces a new traveling exhibit, "Fort Mose: Colonial America's Black Fortress of Freedom." The story of Fort Mose, Florida, America's first legally sanctioned free black community, is brought to life in this presentation. Based on five years of historical and archaeological research at Mose and in Spain, the exhibit features Fort Mose and its archaeological discovery as a centerpiece. The scope of the exhibit, however, also explores the African American colonial experience in the Spanish colonies, from the arrival of Columbus to the American Revolution. The exhibit will be visiting the Historical Museum of Southern Florida, 101 West Flagler Street, Miami, from August 20-December 1, 1993.

Sandra Thurlow of 18 Banyan Road, Stuart, FL 34996 announces the reprinting of Alford G. Bradbury and E. Story Hallock's *A Chronology of Florida Post Offices.* The book is a compilation of the establishment and discontinuance of every Florida post office between 1832 and 1962. First published by the Florida Federation of Stamp Clubs, the volume has become extremely rare. Copies can be obtained from Florida Classic Library, P. O. Box 1657, Salerno, FL 34492-1657 for $10.00.

Meetings

The 37th Annual Missouri Valley History Conference will be held in Omaha, Nebraska, March 10-12, 1994. Proposals for papers and sessions in all areas of history are welcome. Such proposals, accompanied by a one-page abstract and vitae, should be sent by October 15, 1993. Contact Dale Gaeddert, Chair MVHC, University of Nebraska at Omaha, Omaha, NE 68182.

The Genealogical Society of Okaloosa County holds its meetings on the first Saturday of each month. The November meeting will be at the Bob Sikes Library, Crestview; the December meeting will take place at the community library, Valparaiso; and the January meeting will be held at the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Fort Walton Beach.

The Arkansas Historical Association announces a call for papers for its 1994 annual meeting to be held in Helena, Arkansas, April 28-30. The theme of this year's meeting will be "A Diversity of Cultures: Ethnic and Racial Groups in Arkansas

History." Papers exploring the roles of African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos, and ethnic minorities in the history of the state are welcomed. Persons wishing information should write to the program chairs, Constance E. Sarto and Jeannie M. Whayne, Arkansas Historical Association, 416 Old Main, Department of History, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR 72701.

Trips

A passage through the old South and the quiet marshlands of the natural southern landscape in the company of scholars, journalists, and others interested in the region tops the itinerary for travelers on this fall's Southern Waterways Voyage. The seven-night cruise aboard the ninety-passenger *Nantucket Clipper* will combine tours of southern colonial and antebellum preservation districts with on-board presentations and pristine views along the Intracoastal Waterway. Departing Jacksonville, Florida, on October 30, the ship will dock daily on the journey to Charleston, South Carolina, arriving November 6 for an on-shore overnight stay. Excursions along the way include stops at some of the South's oldest cultural landmarks: St. Augustine, the Okefenokee Swamp, the Golden Isles of Georgia, and Savannah, among many others. For more information contact the Center for the Study of Southern Culture, University of Mississippi, University, MS 38677 or phone (601) 232-5993.

The Hagley Museum and Library will sponsor the Cape May Christmas Tour on December 9, 1993. The trip to the Victorian town of Cape May, New Jersey, will include a visit to Physick Estate and several other mansions decorated for the holidays, a trolley tour, and lunch at the historic Washington Inn. The cost is $71 for Hagley Associates and $74 for non-members. The price includes all admissions, a guided tour of three mansions, the trolley tour, a full course lunch at the Washington Inn, and bus transportation. Reservations must be received by November 22, 1993. Write to the Hagley Museum, P. O. Box 3630, Wilmington, DE 19807.

Awards

The Virginia Historical Society, funded by a matching grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and gifts from private

individuals, has created a resident fellows program offering short-term financial assistance to selected scholars. Awards will be given on the basis of the applicant's scholarly qualifications, merits of his/her proposal, and appropriateness of the topic to the Society's collections. The grant program solicits proposals that promote the interpretation of Virginia history and access to the Society's holdings. Recipients are expected to work on a regular basis in the Society's reading room during the period of the award. Applicants should send three copies of a resume, two letters of recommendation, a description of the research project (not to exceed two double-spaced pages and stating the expected length of residency in the library), and a cover letter. These materials must be received by the Mellon Research Fellowship Committee by January 15, 1994. The awards will be announced by March 15. For more information contact Nelson D. Lankford, Chairman, Research Fellowship Committee, Virginia Historical Society, P. O. Box 7311, Richmond, VA 23221-0311.

The American Association for State and Local History (AASLH) conferred a special Award of Merit upon Samuel Proctor for "achievement in the preservation and interpretation of local, state, and regional history" at its annual meeting held in Columbus, Ohio, on September 9th. At the same meeting, the AASLH presented a certificate of commendation to the Florida Historical Society for its new magazine, *Journeys for the Junior Historian.*

The National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution has awarded the Stephen Toybi Award for 1993 to Charles Bennett and Don Lennon, *A Quest for Glory,* published by the University of North Carolina Press (1992). The award recognizes the best book on a Revolutionary War theme. The volume is a biography of patriot general Robert Howe.

The McLemore Prize for the best book of 1992 on a Mississippi history topic was awarded by the Mississippi Historical Society to James C. Cobb of the University of Tennessee at Knoxville for *The Most Southern Place on Earth: The Mississippi Delta and the Roots of Regional Identity,* published by Oxford University Press.

ANNUAL MEETING

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NINETY-FIRST MEETING OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION WORKSHOP 1993

The Pensacola Grand Hotel
Pensacola, Florida

PROGRAM

Thursday, May 20

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION

Session 1: *Historic Preservation Opportunities For Local Historical Societies*

Chair: Emily Perry Dieterich, Associate Director Florida Historical Society

Session 2: *The Role of Video in Documenting Local History*

Chair: Karen Milano, Independent Film Maker

Session 3: *Preservation Possibilities: A Bleak Future?*

Chair: Frederick Gaske, Florida Bureau of Historic Preservation

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY SESSIONS

Session 1: *Pensacola in War and Peace*

Chair: J. Earle Bowden, Pensacola *News Journal*
Panel: David P. Ogden, Gulf Islands National Seashore, "Front Line on the Home Front: The 13th Coast Artillery at Pensacola, 1930-1947"; and Charles L. Lufkin, Civil War Soldiers Museum of Pensacola, "Council of War: Fort Pickens."

Friday, May 21

Session 2: *Women and Florida*

Chair: Milly St. Julien, Independent Consultant

Panel: Heather McClenahan, University of South Florida, "A Diarists's Tale: Roby McFarlan's Tampa, 1887-1888"; Juliette B. Woodruff, Florida State University, "The United Daughters of the Confederacy: The Last of the Southern Belles"; and Robert Baker, University of South Florida-St. Petersburg, "Marjorie Stoneman Douglas: The Grand Dame of the Swamp."

Session 3: *War and Colonial Florida*

Chair: Richard Matthews, Hillsborough Community College

Panel: James P. Herson, United States Military Academy, "St. Augustine in 1740: A Joint Operation"; Ethan Grant, Auburn University, "A Reconsideration of the Natchez Revolt of 1781"; and Brian R. Rucker, Pensacola Junior College, "In the Shadow of Jackson: Major Uriah Blue's Military Expedition into Spanish West Florida."

Session 4: *Vanishing Florida*

Chair: Jack Davis, Brandeis University

Panel: Edward Mueller, Jacksonville, "Steamboating on the Apalachicola"; Steve Glassman, Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University, "Re-examining William Bartram: What Did Billy Know And When Did He Know It?"; and Barry Reese, University of South Florida– St. Petersburg, "The Murder of Guy M. Bradley: The Audubon Society and the Protection of Florida Plume Birds."

Session 5: *The Struggle for Racial Justice in 20th Century Florida*

Chair: Raymond O. Arsenault, University of South Florida– St. Petersburg

Panel: Caroline Poore, Florida State University, "Harry T. Moore"; James Schnur, University of South Florida– St. Petersburg, "Persevering on the Home Front: Blacks in Florida during World War II"; and James Eaton, Florida A & M University Black Archives, "Florida's African-American Resources."

Session 6: *Arsenal and Playground: Images of Florida, 1940-1946*

Chair: Leland Hawes, *Tampa Tribune*
Panel: Robert E. Snyder, University of South Florida, "Hollywood Comes to Florida: War Movies and the Sunshine State"; Tracy J. Revels, Wofford College, "Blitzkrieg of Joy: Florida Tourism during World War II"; and Hampton Dunn, Immediate Past President, Florida Historical Society, "Florida: Picture Postcard Land in World War II."

Session 7: *The Sunshine State as Citadel: World War II*

Chair: Susan R. Parker, University of Florida
Panel: David J. Coles, Florida State Archives, "Camp Gordon Johnston and World War II"; Theodore Ramsey, N. B. Young School, Tampa, "Camp Blanding and 'Boom' Forty"; and Robert D. Billinger, Jr., Wingate College, "The Other Side Now: What Repatriated German POWs from Camp Blanding Told the Wehrmacht."

Session 8: *War, the Everglades, and the Gold Coast*

Chair: William S. Coker, University of West Florida
Panel: Eliot Kleinberg, *Palm Beach Post*, "South Florida and the U-Boat War"; Paul S. George, Miami-Dade Community College, "Fort Lauderdale and World War II"; and Patsy West, Fort Lauderdale, "Seminole Warriors in the 20th Century."

Session 9: *Law and Order in Florida*

Chair: Jerrell Shofner, University of Central Florida
Panel: J. Michael Denham, Florida Southern College,

"Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Florida"; Canter Brown, Jr., Florida State University, "The Regulator Movement in Florida"; and Jeffrey A. Drobney, West Virginia University, "Where Palm and Pine Are Blowing: Peonage in the North Florida Turpentine Industry, 1900-1948."

Session 10: *The Struggle for Equal Rights in Florida*

Chair: William W. Rogers, Florida State University
Panel: Stuart Landers, University of Florida, "The Gainesville Women for Equal Rights"; Rod Waters, Florida State University, "Gwen Cherry: An African-American Feminist Fighting for the Passage, 1972-1979"; and Keith I. Halderman, University of South Florida, "Blanche K. Armwood and the Strategy of Interracial Cooperation in Hillsborough County, 1914-1932."

Session 11: *Race, Class, and Biography in Florida*

Chair: Elaine Smith, Alabama State University
Panel: Gordon Patterson, Florida Institute of Technology, "Zora Neale Hurston as Teacher"; Michelle Brown, Florida State University, "Black Property Holders in Florida"; and David McCally, University of Florida, "Riding Out the Storm: Floridians, Poverty, and the Great Depression."

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY BANQUET

Presiding: Dr. David R. Colburn, president

Presentation of Awards

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History
presented to Donald W. Curl, Florida Atlantic University

Rembert W. Patrick Book Award
presented to Edward A. Fernald and Elizabeth Purdum,
Institute of Science and Public Affairs

Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award
presented to Robert E. Snyder and Jack B. Moore,
University of South Florida

LeRoy Collins Prize
presented to Patrick Riordan, Florida State University

Caroline Mays Brevard Prize
presented to Heath Nailos, University of South Florida

Frederick Cubberly Award
presented to Mia Bich and Jean McNary, Zephyrhills High School

Golden Quill Awards
presented to Patricia Kemp, WUSF Radio, Tampa
Florida Living Magazine, Gainesville

Saturday, May 22

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

Session 12: *Florida's Embattled Home Front: Women and World War II*

Chair: George E. Pozzetta, University of Florida
Panel: Mary Jo LePoer, Florida State University, "World War II: The Impact on Women in Leon County"; Susan Culp, University of South Florida, "Behind The Lines: Women and the Tampa Bay Area during World War II"; and Ellen Babb, Heritage Park, Largo, "African-American Women in St. Petersburg during World War II."

Session 13: *The Cross, Sword, and Ballot Box: Religion, Politics, and War in Florida*

Chair: Jane Dysart, University of West Florida
Panel: Wayne Flynt, Auburn University, "Religion at the Polls: A Case Study in 20th Century Politics and Religion"; Michael J. McNally, St. Vincent de Paul Regional Seminary, "War and its Impact Upon Florida Catholicism"; and John Partin, MacDill Air Force Base, "The Roosevelt Administration, Floridians, and Mobilizing for World War II."

Session 14: *Entrepreneurial Florida in the Age of Enterprise*

Chair: William W. Rogers, Florida State University
Panel: Joe Knetsch, Florida Department of Natural Resources, "W. W. Dewhurst, Land Questions, and the Growth of the Flagler System"; Edward Keuchel, Florida State University, "John W. Miller: Florida Entrepreneur"; and Raymond Vickers, Tallahassee, "Ernest Amos: Cracker Regulator."

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MINUTES OF THE BOARD MEETING
May 20, 1993

The semiannual meeting of the officers and board of directors of the Florida Historical Society was convened at 2:05 P.M. in the Grand Hotel, Pensacola, on May 20, 1993. Dr. David R. Colburn presided. Those attending included Kathleen H. Arsenault, Patricia Bartlett, Canter Brown, Jr., William S. Coker, Hampton Dunn, Marinus H. Latour, Stuart B. McIver, Thomas Muir, Gordon Patterson, Samuel Proctor, Niles F. Schuh, Rebecca A. Smith, Patsy West, and Lindsey Williams. Also in attendance were Executive Director Lewis N. Wynne; Associate Director Emily Adams Perry; Susan R. Parker, editor of *Journeys;* Karen Milano, chair of the Confederation; and George E. Pozzetta, incoming editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly.*

President Colburn thanked members of the local arrangements and program committees for their efforts in making the 1993 annual meeting a memorable one.

The minutes of the May 1992 meeting, as printed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly,* were approved.

In the absence of the finance committee chairperson, Larry Durrence, Dr. Wynne summarized the financial report. In April the finance committee met with Hayes Kennedy, the Society's broker, to consider means of increasing the return on the endowed accounts, which are presently in money market accounts. In addition, the committee reviewed possible new avenues of investment for the current accounts and the forthcoming Rossetter family gift,

The finance committee also suggested deaccessioning some Society holdings that are peripheral to the Society's collection.

Objects include some of the commercial lithographs, with an appraised value of approximately $20,000-$30,000, and the J. Bard painting of the steamboat *J. Sylvester*, which has a New England provenance and is estimated at $60,000-$80,000. The committee also suggested that (1) the Society establish a more focused collection policy; (2) deaccession objects that do not fit within that policy; (3) place part of the proceeds of any monies received through deaccessioning in the endowment; and (4) use the remaining proceeds to purchase Floridiana, particularly primary documents.

Those present discussed the finance committee's recommendations. A motion was made and seconded to deaccession a small portion of the commercial lithographic collection that does not relate to Florida and to invest the money in an interest-bearing account until it is expended for the care of the collection.

The board discussed the proposed sale. Dr. Wynne reported that conversations had been held with several attorneys who stated that the deaccessioning and sale of the material was appropriate but should rigorously follow IRS guidelines. Dr. Proctor reminded board members that the original donation had been accepted with the understanding that a portion of it would be sold. Thomas Muir urged caution and reminded board members that guidelines established by the American Association of Museums stipulate that all proceeds from deaccessions go to acquisitions or curation of collections. Dr. Wynne informed the board that the monies from the proposed sale would be divided between the purchase of archival supplies and the cost of inventorying and cataloging the collection.

The motion was approved. On behalf of the board, Dr. Colburn authorized Dr. Wynne to limit the sale of lithographic items to $30,000. Dr. Wynne responded that he would contact the appropriate persons and make the arrangements.

Members of the board also discussed the possible deaccessioning of the Bard painting. If exhibited in the Roesch House, the painting would be secure. Dr. Wynne questioned this avenue as an appropriate one for the painting. The painting is not within the scope of Brevard County museum collections. Board members agreed that a final decision on the fate of the painting should await development of more-comprehensive collections policies, establishment of collection priorities, and clearly stated deaccessioning procedures. The board also agreed that any decision on this property should await the final results of the col-

lections survey, which will be completed by November 1993. Dr. Colburn tabled further discussion of the matter until the survey is completed and the board has a chance to determine a more definitive collections policy.

Dr. Wynne stressed the need for a focused collections policy. He suggested that the Society orient its policy toward the collection, care, and use of primary documents. Marinus Latour suggested that a policy development committee be created and that the committee review the survey results in order to develop recommendations for the board at its January meeting. Dr. Colburn asked Associate Director Emily Perry to check with the Brevard Art Museum about the possible loan of Society paintings. He also asked Marinus Latour to chair a committee to develop a collections policy. Patricia Bartlett, Tom Muir, and Rebecca Smith were appointed to the committee. A motion to approve selection of the committee was made and seconded. The board approved the motion.

Marinus Latour presented the publications committee report. The Society has reprinted 500 copies of the *Quarterly* index to volumes 1-35. Five hundred copies of a new index to volumes 54-66 have been printed and are available to individuals and organizations. The incoming *Quarterly* editor, George Pozzetta, and Latour have developed procedures to facilitate the production of a new index at ten-year intervals. In addition, computerized copies will be available on demand. Dr. Pozzetta asked for suggestions for making the indexing process more effective. The next volume will probably be printed in 1995.

Dr. Pozzetta commented that the *Quarterly* office is routinely placing articles on disks. He plans to produce an annual index for each volume and to make these interim indices available as a hard copy print-out or on disks. President Colburn thanked the publications committee for their efforts.

In the absence of Chairman Milton Jones, Dr. Wynne reported for the nominations committee. Committee members Jones, Eugene Lyon, John Partin, and Larry Rivers recommended the following slate of new directors to the board: District 1, Daniel L. Schafer; District 2, Raymond O. Arsenault; District 3, Cynthia Putnam Trefelner; At-large director, Jane Dysart, Pensacola; At-large director, Joe Knetsch, Tallahassee. A motion was made, seconded, and approved to accept the committee's recommendations.

President Colburn suggested that the Society expand the board to twenty members and add the editor of *Journeys for the Junior Historian* as an ex-officio member. He expressed a wish to make the Society more inclusive and to involve more members at the executive level. Those present discussed the proposal and the composition of the board. Canter Brown, Jr., noted that the board should better represent the population of Florida, particularly with regard to blacks and Hispanics. Past efforts to recruit and retain minorities were noted. Difficulties meeting that goal were discussed: (I) the requirement. that a person be a member of the Society before being nominated to the board; and (2) mandatory attendance at meetings. Marinus Latour reminded the board that in 1985 the board structure was changed to a smaller number. He suggested that if additions were made, the number of districts be increased as well. Tom Muir reported that the National Trust for Historic Preservation created a few scholarships to bring minorities to the annual meeting, and he suggested the Society consider that route. Dr. Nick Wynne suggested that gift memberships be used by board members to recruit minority members.

A motion was made and seconded to present a motion at the business meeting to expand the board of directors by five members. The motion also included a directive for a committee made up of David Colburn, Marinus Latour, and Nick Wynne to present a proposal at the January board meeting for an allocation for new district or at-large members. An amendment was accepted to add the editor of *Journeys for the Junior Historian* to the proposed expanded board. The amended motion was approved.

Marinus Latour presented the Roesch House committee report. The committee, consisting of Lester May, Gordon Patterson, David Colburn, Emily Adams Perry, and Nick Wynne, was appointed in mid-April 1993. The committee will select an architect, oversee plans and activities pertaining to renovation of the Roesch House, and report regularly to the board and general membership. The Society has two grants-in-aid from the Bureau of Historic Preservation. One is for $25,000, and one is for $8,500. These grants will be matched by monies given by the Rossetter family of Eau Gallie. The total renovation cost is around $68,000. The committee plans to meet in Eau Gallie to select an architect. Nick Wynne pointed out that landscaping is excluded from the grants. Emily A. Perry added that the Roesch House

contents have been removed. Lindsey Williams suggested that the Society hold annual auctions as fund raisers in the future.

Dr. Proctor presented the *Quarterly* report. Fifty-six manuscripts were submitted during the past year, as well as a large number of publications for review. Dr. Proctor is retiring, and Dr. George E. Pozzetta will assume the editorship in July 1993. Dr. Proctor asked the board to give the new editor the same generous support he has received over the years.

The board acknowledged Dr. Proctor's years of service as editor with a warm round of applause and extended its applause as a welcome to Dr. Pozzetta and Ms. Susan Parker. A motion was made and approved to prepare a resolution of appreciation for the thirty years of service Dr. Proctor has given the Society.

George Pozzetta expressed his appreciation for the continued support of the University of Florida. He noted that the office of the *Quarterly* will be moving to the Department of History at the university. He also outlined his plans to follow Sam Proctor's program of continuously improving the quality of the *Quarterly.* Dr. Colburn responded to Dr. Pozzetta's remarks by noting that the University of Florida has invested about $160,000 in the *Quarterly.*

Dr. Colburn reported on the status of the Florida sesquicentennial plans. What the State of Florida intends to do is uncertain. The Florida Humanities Council is developing a program, "Making Florida Home." The University Press of Florida will publish a history of Florida (to replace Dr. Tebeau's *History of Florida)* and a volume on the African-American heritage of Florida. The Society plans to commemorate the sesquicentennial by (1) holding the 1995 annual meeting in Tallahassee; (2) publishing a special issue of the *Quarterly;* and (3) publishing a special issue of *Journeys.* Dr. Colburn will meet with Senator Bob Graham to work toward getting the Library of Congress to commemorate the event. He will also suggest that the state archives produce a traveling exhibit.

Dr. Wynne reported that the Society received two grants to produce its own traveling exhibit. The Society for Colonial Wars in America in Florida has given the Society $600, and the Boeing Corporation has promised an additional $500. The proposed exhibit will feature reproductions of historic documents from the Society's collection. The possibility of a commemorative

stamp was also briefly discussed. It was noted that the official sesquicentennial date is March 3, 1995.

Susan Parker presented the report on the children's magazine, *Journeys for the Junior Historian.* She is receiving support from the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board in the form of release time and in-kind expenses. She has submitted a proposal for an AASLH award of merit. Ms. Parker asked for submissions and offered her help in assisting those who are novices at writing for children. She also noted that *Journeys* applies the same quality standards as the *Quarterly.*

Nick Wynne presented the executive director's report on the status of the Society and outlined some of the problems facing the organization, as well as many of its achievements during the past year. He brought a number of items before the board for action. (1) Reduction of Annual Meeting Registration Fees for Students: A motion was made and approved to reduce the annual meeting registration for students who wish to attend. The board approved a 50 percent reduction in such fees.

(2) Golden Quill Awards: Dr. Wynne reminded the board that at the January 1993 meeting it decided to reduce the number of Golden Quill awards to a single award in the print media and electronic media categories. He reported that the Golden Quill awards committee encountered difficulties selecting winners under this system because it was too broad in scope. Dr. Wynne suggested that the number of awards be increased to two in the print category and two in the electronic category. A motion was made, seconded, and approved to increase the number of Golden Quill awards to four, with the proviso that the issue be revisited at the May 1994 board meeting. The motion passed with one dissenting vote.

(3) Florida Historical Confederation: Nick Wynne reviewed concerns expressed to him about whether or not the Florida Historical Confederation has outlived its purpose and whether or not it should be disbanded. He recommended that Karen Milano be appointed to the vacant Confederation chair and instructed to prepare an assessment of the organization and plans for the future before the board takes any action. Ms. Milano, who was present, conducted a lively discussion on the current status of the Confederation, its mission, and general areas of future operations that might prove useful to the public history community in Florida. A motion was made and seconded to

extend the continuing evaluation of the Confederation for another calendar year. An amendment to the motion proposed changing the Confederation's name to the Florida Public History Confederation. The proposed amendment was defeated, but the original motion was approved. A committee was established to work with Ms. Milano during the next year. Dorothy Roberts, Susan Gillis, and Patsy West were named to the committee, and Susan Parker and Lindsey Williams volunteered to help. They were added to the committee.

(4) Lowry Book Project: Dr. Wynne described the Willie Lowry project for the board. The project is a research project, headed by Associate Director Emily Adams Perry, into the life and times (1860-1940) of Tampa socialite and civic leader Mrs. Willie Lowry. The project will result in a biography of Mrs. Lowry written by Ms. Perry. Dr. Wynne assured board members that all such projects undertaken by the Society will be subjected to the highest academic standards of the historical profession and will be reviewed by the Society's publication committee and the board as a whole. Dr. Wynne concluded his report with an update on the status of the Rossetter-Roesch project in Melbourne.

President Colburn announced his appointment of Rodney Dillon as chairperson of the 1993-1994 membership committee. He also asked that board members submit the names of potential members to Mr. Dillon.

Dr. Colburn thanked the board members present for their attendance and participation. Upon receipt of a motion and a second, the meeting adjourned at 4:50 P.M.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING
May 22, 1993

The meeting was called to order at the Pensacola Grand Hotel by Dr. David R. Colburn, president of the Florida Historical Society.

Dr. Colburn presented the nominations for the board of directors as recommended by the nominations committee at the Thursday meeting of the board of directors. Additional nominations were solicited from the floor, but none were made. A motion was made, seconded, and approved to elect the slate of nominees recommended by the nominations committee.

President Colburn reported that members of the board discussed and recommended to the membership an amendment to the bylaws. This amendment would permit the Society to add five additional members to the board of directors in order to expand participation and to diversify the board, particularly to increase the representation of women, non-historians, and minorities. A motion was made and seconded to amend the bylaws to increase the board of directors by five new positions.

Those attending discussed the proposed amendment at length. Dr. Colburn suggested that initially the additional members be at-large in order to facilitate diversification. Dr. Larry Durrence noted that, while he supported the proposal, a more effective procedure would be to (1) notify the board and membership of the proposed change in advance; (2) evaluate the existing board structure; (3) discuss proposed changes at the next meeting of the board of directors; and (4) vote on the proposed amendment at the next business meeting in one year. Other concerns stated in the discussion included: (1) the need for participating, rather than passive, board members; (2) the wisdom of deferring a vote on the issue until the membership has been notified; (3) the need for diverse representation; (4) significant past efforts to recruit minorities; (5) the relative advantages of smaller versus larger boards; and (6) representation by population versus representation by geographic area.

An amendment to the motion was made and seconded to refer the proposed amendment to the executive committee for consideration, for their recommendations to be presented at the January 1994 meeting of the board, and for the proposed amendment to be voted upon by the membership at the 1994 annual meeting in Fort Myers. After further discussion, the amendment to the motion was defeated, 13-16.

The original proposal to add five at-large members to the board was discussed and clarified. If approved, five new board members will be elected to the board at the May 1994 meeting. The executive committee will recommend whether those members will be at-large or from districts. The recommendation will be presented to the January 1994 board meeting, and a decision will be made at that time. The motion was approved, with two negative votes and one abstention.

Executive Director Nick Wynne reported that the third volume of the index to the *Florida Historical Quarterly* is available.

Volume I has been reprinted. All three volumes of the index may be purchased for $25, or separate volumes at $10 each.

Dr. Wynne brought the membership up to date on the progress of renovations to the Society's future headquarters in Melbourne. In addition, he explained what is happening with the Rossetter family gift. It is anticipated that the Roesch House headquarters building will be fully renovated by the spring or early summer 1994.

In keeping with the decision of the board of directors at its Thursday afternoon meeting, a motion was made, seconded, and approved to reduce the annual meeting registration fee for students by 50 percent.

President Colburn noted that the University of Florida is supporting the transition between *Quarterly* editors by providing space and equipment. He introduced George E. Pozzetta, incoming editor, to the membership. Dr. Pozzetta updated members on the status of the *Quarterly,* including the move of offices to the Department of History at the University of Florida on July 1. He also asked the membership for donations of back issues of the *Quarterly,* particularly volumes 1-13, in order to have a complete reference set for *Quarterly* staff members.

President Colburn noted the need to expand the Society's membership and announced his appointment of Mr. Rodney Dillon as chair of the 1993-1994 membership committee. He asked members to assist Mr. Dillon in finding new members.

President Colburn reminded the membership that the State of Florida will celebrate its 150th anniversary in 1995. He reviewed some of the proposed activities of the Society to ensure that the celebration is a success, and he encouraged journalists present in the audience to write articles and features about the anniversary. He also invited suggestions from members.

Patti Bartlett invited members to come to Fort Myers for the 1994 annual meeting. The dates for the meeting are May 19-21.

Dr. Paul George suggested that the 1996 annual meeting take place in Miami, which will be celebrating its centennial year. Dr. Wynne noted that a formal, written invitation from a sponsoring group is needed and that the board of directors makes the final decision.

Dr. Colburn thanked the people of Pensacola and the local arrangements committee for producing a highly successful annual meeting.

Dr. Joe Knetsch submitted the following resolution for approval by the membership: Whereas, Charlton Tebeau has inspired three generations of Floridians with an interest and concern for the history of Florida, and, Whereas, the Florida Historical Society feels that Charlton Tebeau is a person of special significance to our organization and state, Therefore, be it resolved that the Florida Historical Society expresses its best wishes to Dr. Tebeau and his family who are not able to attend our annual meeting at this time, and it is our hope that we will see them in future years. A motion was made, seconded, and approved to accept the resolution as read.

Dr. Knetsch read a resolution of sympathy for the families of deceased members of the Society: Whereas, the Florida Historical Society is made up of individuals who are interested in the promotion and preservation of the historical heritage of the State of Florida, and, Whereas, the membership of the Florida Historical Society is like a family of concerned citizens, and Whereas, the loss of a single member through death is a blow to the membership body of the Florida Historical Society and is deeply felt by the aggregate and individual membership, Now, therefore, be it resolved that the membership of the Florida Historical Society notes the loss of the following members for the year 1992-1993: Richard C. Ogden of Thonotosassa, Ella F. Rossetter of Eau Gallie, and L. W. Clements of Bartow. Be it further resolved that the membership of the Florida Historical Society extends its sympathy to the families of these individuals and directs that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the surviving members.

Dr. Joe Knetsch submitted the following resolution for adoption by the membership at the request of Dr. John Mahon: Whereas, Atsena Otie Key, one of the Cedar Keys, has been recognized by the Florida Historical Society on previous occasions as having great historical significance for its prehistoric Indian site, its key role in the Second Seminole War, and as a major center for the cedar lumber industry, and, Whereas, Atsena Otie Key was home to nearly fifty pioneer families, at least one saw mill, churches, schools, and stores and is recognized as the final resting place of these same pioneers and, possibly, some Seminole War soldiers, and, Whereas, in recent years this valuable historic resource has been threatened with possible destruction by heavy development, and, Whereas, the Florida His-

torical Society has twice previously informed the citizens and leaders of Florida about Atsena Otie Key's great significance and has always supported the effort to have the State of Florida purchase said key, Therefore, be it resolved that the Florida Historical Society again fully supports the purchase of Atsena Otie Key by the Conservation and Recreational Lands Program as soon as possible. A motion was made, seconded, and approved to adopt the resolution.

Dr. Wynne reminded those present to consult the errata sheet in their program for an additional session in the morning. Tom Muir gave directions to the picnic site. A motion for adjournment was made, seconded, and the meeting adjourned at 10:00 A.M.

TREASURER'S REPORT

January 1, 1992-December 31, 1992

Current Assets:	
University State Bank (FHS checking)	$ 1,295.00
University State Bank (FHC checking)	154.00
University State Bank (grant funds)	8,698.00
Dean Witter Reynolds Money Market	10,134.00
Dean Witter Reynolds Securities Fund	39,173.00
Entergy Corporation (6 shares)	180.00
Inventory	9,622.00
Total Current Assets	69,256.00
Fixed Assets:	
Office equipment	9,543.00
Furniture and fixtures	3,446.00
Accumulated depreciation	(10,267.00)
Total fixed assets	2,722.00
TOTAL ASSETS	71.978.00
Receipts:	
Memberships:	
Annual	18,367.50
Youth *(Junior Historian)*	1,702.00
Family	6,455.00
Contributing	1,850.00
Library	13,815.00
Historical Societies	1,647.50
Student	885.00
Corporate	700.00
Miscellaneous	560.00
Contributions:	
General	1,825.00
Publications	10,000.00
Other Receipts:	
Quarterly Sales	520.00
Student Services	16,250.00
Collection Preservation	9,251.19
Picnic	547.50
Photographs– Florida Portrait	648.3 1
Miscellaneous Income	556.45
Annual Appeal	5,090.00
Registrations	6,697.00
Banquet	3,042.00
Confederation Luncheon	487.50
Interest and Dividends Income:	
Dean Witter Reynolds	1,470.17
TOTAL RECEIPTS	102,637.12
Disbursements:	
Florida Historical Quarterly	
Printing and Mailing	15,302.04

Miscellaneous	510.66
Editor's Expense	3,432.79
Microfilm Expense	1,026.40
Annual Meeting:	
Expenses	9,593.89
Awards Expenses:	
Thompson	229.00
Patrick	229.00
Tebeau	258.00
Brevard	529.00
Cubberly	558.00
Roesch Preservation Grant	1,500.00
Collins	529.00
Golden Quill	415.15
Jerome	82.70
Junior Historian:	
Printing	2,832.00
Postage	171.89
Miscellaneous	53.23
Other Expenses:	
Society Newsletter	3,907.44
Depreciation	1,054.00
Telephone	2,877.83
Duplicating, Printing, and Labels	1,199.06
Payment on Accounts	283.07
Travel	728.80
Accounting/Professional Fees	2,483.00
Collection Preservation	2,311.38
Melbourne Endowment	1,962.67
Insurance	139.00
History Fair	500.00
Corporate Annual Report	61.25
Annual Appeal	325.16
Repairs and Maintenance	1,226.87
President's Expense	105.57
Office Expense	5,836.38
Medical Insurance-Executive Director	1,789.18
Training Conference	805.00
Executive Director-Melbourne	2,179.93
Retirement Executive Director	2,000.00
Bank Charges	286.02
Executive Director's Salary	32,999.98
Payroll Taxes	2,822.30
Miscellaneous Expense	1,234.66
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS	106,371.30
Net Income	(3,734.18)

GREAT EXPECTATIONS . . .

1993		
Nov. 4-7	Oral History Association	Birmingham, AL
Nov. 4-7	American Studies Association	Boston, MA
Nov. 5-7	Southern Jewish Historical Society	Atlanta, GA
Nov. 10-13	Southern Historical Association	Orlando, FL
1994		
Jan. 6-9	American Historical Association	San Francisco, CA
March 24-25	Society of Florida Archivists	Lakeland, FL
May 19	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	Fort Myers, FL
May 19-21	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY 92ND MEETING	Fort Myers, FL
June 2-5	Southern Association for Women Historians	Houston, TX
Sept. 28-Oct. 1	American Association for State and Local History	Omaha, NE

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

All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Dr. Lewis N. Wynne, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Post Office Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687-0197. Telephone: 813-974-3815 or 974-5204; FAX: 813-974-3815. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Wynne.