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Alachua Settlers and the Second Seminole War

by C. S. Monaco

The forest must be subdued before the enemy can be finally conquered. Every inch of ground taken from him must be firmly held by permanent settlers who will cultivate the soil and make the wilderness their home. Under this system the savage would gradually retire before the approach of civilized man.

R. K. Call, "Governor's Message," January 11, 18391

he role of Florida's interior settlements and relatively modest settler population has never been assigned much historical significance vis-à-vis the Second Seminole War (1835-1842). With few exceptions, the historiography has focused on the military aspects of this protracted conflict, with certain key battles, military commanders, Native American leaders, and the destruction of the east coast sugar plantations garnering the most interest.² The

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R. K. Call, "Governor's Message," Floridian and Advocate (Tallahassee), January 12, 1839.

^{2.} The foremost scholarly treatment remains John K. Mahon, History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1836, rev. ed. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1985). More recent studies, geared for general readers, include John and Mary Lou Missall, The Seminole Wars: America's Longest Conflict (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004); Joe Knetsch, Florida's Seminole Wars, 1817-1858 (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Press, 2003). For the role of African-Americans, see Kenneth W. Porter, The Black Seminoles: History of a Freedom Seeking People, eds. Alcione M. Amos and Thomas P. Senter (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996); Larry Eugene Rivers, Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 148-49, 185, 191-94, 203-8.

ramifications of President Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Act (1830) which celebrated the prospect of placing "a civilized population on large tracts of country now occupied by a few savage hunters"3 are well-known, along with the treaties of Moultrie Creek (1823), Payne's Landing (1832) and Fort Gibson (1833), accords that further set the conflict on a direct course. African-Americansfree and enslaved—have also been acknowledged, albeit belatedly, as central players. In contrast, Anglo-American settlers have arguably been the least recognized faction, and indeed have generally been mentioned only in their ancillary (and often maligned) role as frontier militia. Yet the Second Seminole War, despite its longevity and cost, was not dissimilar to America's earliest settler clashes with indigenous peoples.4 To be sure, the problem of runaway slaves and possible insurrection was at issue, but the central motivation, as suggested by Andrew Jackson himself, was far broader in scope: complete settler domination and control of the land.⁵ Once this status was achieved, "supremacy over the red and black races," according to the settler point of view, would follow.6 An enforced inequality and supremacy over indigenes was in fact the operative condition of settler societies throughout the world and, "American exceptionalism" notwithstanding, this state of affairs was much in

 President Jackson's Message to Congress "On Indian Removal," December 6, 1830, Records of the United States Senate, 1789-1990, Record Group 46, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

^{4.} The use of indigenous—while rare among Florida historians—has several advantages. This term can be applied transnationally and thus links the Native people of different countries as a First People. Indigenous has become the word of choice in the comparatively new field of settler colonialism, a body of scholarship that has strongly influenced this article. This term (along with its variant, indigene) readily identifies Native people as the original possessors of the land and is relatively free of negative connotations. "Indian," by contrast, carries significant cultural baggage, so to speak—much of it derogatory and/or stereotyped. Nevertheless, I will intersperse more conventional wording throughout this essay whenever appropriate. For an example of scholarship that utilizes a similar framework in relation to Seminoles, see Susan A. Miller, Coacooche's Bones: A Seminole Saga (Lawrence:University Press of Kansas, 2003).

For the importance of placing the American experience into a settler framework, see Aziz Rana, The Two Faces of American Freedom (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010). See also, Lorenzo Veracini, Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

George Gillett Keen, "The Survival of the Fittest," January 12, 1900, in Cracker Times and Pioneer Lives: The Florida Reminiscences of George Gillett Keen and Sarah Pamela Williams, eds. James M. Denham and Canter Brown, Jr. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000), 44.



The forts and towns of the East Florida interior (circa 1836). Abandoned settlements not shown include: Hogtown, in the vicinity of present-day Gainesville; Spring Grove, in the western Paynes Prairie region; and Wacahoota, directly west of Ft. Defiance. Micanopy, the first territorial village, was rebuilt after the war and is the only one of the original Alachua settlements still in existence. Map by author.

evidence in the United States.⁷ In the case of Florida, the peninsular interior—the region between the Suwannee and St. Johns rivers, once the exclusive domain of the Seminoles—became a focus of Anglo settlement from 1812 onward. It was this locale, most especially the productive farming and cattle grazing land of north-central Florida known as the "Alachua country" (*Tierras de la Chua*), which became the principal, contested ground.⁸ Within this prized region few places held as much resonance for both settlers and Native Americans than Paynes Prairie (near present-day Gainesville), a 20,000 acre expanse of grassy plane and fresh water marsh, encompassed by an even larger area of lakes and dense hardwood hammocks.

For a concise examination of this subject, see Dolores Janiewski, "Gendering, Racializing and Classifying: Settler Colonization in the United States, 1590-1990," in *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class*, eds. Daiya Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Dayis (London: Sage, 1995), 132-60.

^{8.} Chris Monaco, "Fort Mitchell and the Settlement of the Alachua Country," Florida Historical Quarterly 79, no. 1 (Summer 2000): 1-25. "Alachua" will be used here in the original sense: the land between present Lake City in the north and Orange Lake to the south. During the 1830s, the actual Alachua County encompassed a far larger area and stretched from present Columbia County to Charlotte County.

Whether the Seminole wars actually qualify as "Florida's Iliad and Odyssey," as historian Gary Mormino once characterized them, is open to debate. 9 Unlike Homer's epic, Florida settlers came to stay and build. Frontiersmen did not arrive to realize their quest, only to return to their original homes. The Florida experience was in fact much closer to Virgil's Aeneid: a contentious settler migration toward a new land. 10 Be that as it may, there is little doubt that the humble frontier settlements in the Paynes Prairie-Alachua district were never integral to most renditions of this epic tale. Even so, modest towns and hamlets such as Micanopy, Wacahoota, Hogtown, Spring Grove, Newnansville (the Alachua County seat), and myriad other settler enclaves, some of which consisted of little more than a single extended family, comprised the nexus of interior settlement.11 The opening salvo of the Second Seminole War, the Battle of Black Point, took place along the southern rim of the prairie and was contemporaneous with the mass exodus of terrorized settlers from their homesteads during the war's initial phase. About 2,000 men, women and children desperately sought protection within various log fortifications that were hastily erected for their defense, a dramatic episode that drew intense national interest at the time but remains virtually unacknowledged today.12 Moreover, while the army's conduct during two battles in the fortified village of Micanopy once evoked considerable national pride during an otherwise dismal period for the military, these engagements are perhaps the least known of the war.18 By addressing these and

 For more on Homer and Virgil, seen within a settler context, see Veracini, Settler Colonialism, 97-98.

Gary Mormino, "A River of Peace? The South Florida Frontier in the Nineteenth Century," Florida Historical Quarterly 70, no. 1 (July 1991): 58.

^{11.} Of these, only the village of Micanopy still remains. The arrival of the Florida Railroad just before the Civil War spurred the growth of new towns along the route between Fernandina and Cedar Key, but also meant economic ruin for many towns and hamlets that were bypassed; see, George W. Pettengill, Jr., The Story of the Florida Railroads, 1834-1903 (1952; reprint, Jacksonville, FL: Southeast Chapter of Railway & Locomotive Historical Society, 1998), 21-24, 28-36.

For the number who sought shelter in the interior forts, see "Extract of a letter to the editor of the Savannah Georgian," September 4, 1836, in Army and Navy Chronicle, September 22, 1836.

^{13.} In an effort to address this dearth of research, Gulf Archaeology Research Institute (Crystal River, Florida) is currently undertaking an extensive archaeological investigation of the Battle of Micanopy and the Battle of Welika Pond (both 1836) as well as the remnants of the two forts centered in the present town of Micanopy. The National Park Service's Battlefield Protection Program has funded this study.

other gaps in the historiography, I hope to demonstrate the ultimate significance of the neglected settler paradigm, both in terms of the peninsular interior and in regard to the Second Seminole War as a whole. The romanticized image of the frontiersman has certainly been a major component of the American mythos, one that has, for a variety of reasons, been fairly muted in Florida territorial history. On the other hand, the view of settler colonialism as a largely hegemonic force that aimed, through a variety of means, to deprive indigenous people of their lands and basic rights and strove to maintain supremacy at all cost, has been a relatively recent scholarly focus.14 The fact that this oppressive rationale stood alongside exalted notions of personal liberty and equality is a virtual signature of settler communities. My intention, however, is not to seek villains or heroes but to utilize the settler perspective as a valuable interpretive tool. While the main emphasis will necessarily center on the Florida interior, I do not intend to negate the import of St. Augustine or other communities east of the St. Johns, all of which played their own part in the war and also exhibited a settler mentalité. Nor do I wish to minimize the substantial settler population of Middle Florida (between the Apalachicola and Suwannee rivers). Instead, this article will largely confine itself to the so-called "seat of war": the peninsular interior. After all, it was this region's "cracker" contingent who, according to John T. Spraguethe premier contemporary chronicler of the war—were most culpable in instigating hostilities. 15 Space does not allow for a full review of the war years and so I will necessarily restrict most discussion to the origins of the war and proceed until the first year of conflict.

The Patriot War and Beyond

Perhaps the clearest articulation of the settler mindset in Florida arose as a result of Anglo-American incursions into Spanish East Florida beginning in 1812. Dubbed the Patriot

^{14.} In addition to the sources cited herein, see Udo Krautwurst, "What is Settler Colonialism? An Anthropological Meditation on Frantz Fanon's 'Concerning Violence,' "History and Anthropology 14 (2003): 55-72; Donald Denoon, "Understanding Settler Societies," Historical Studies 17 (July 1979): 511-27; Graeme Wynn, "Settler Societies in Geographical Focus," Historical Studies 20 (April 1983): 353-66; Patrick Wolfe, Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology (London:Cassell, 1999). For a concise review of the literature on settler colonialism, see Veracini, Settler Colonialism, 6-11.

John T. Sprague, journal entry, May 6, 1839, in "Macomb's Mission to the Seminoles: John T. Sprague's Journal, Kept During April and May 1839," ed. Frank F. White, Jr., Florida Historical Quarterly 35, no 2 (October 1956): 166.

War (1812-1814), this invasion created havoc throughout the sparsely inhabited and ill-defended colony and endured, in one form or another, for several years. The patriot venture into the Alachua country, initially led by Daniel Newnan, a Georgia militia colonel, was not only a punitive expedition-aiming a blow at the stronghold of the Seminoles, the Georgians' long-time foes. It was also intended to evaluate prospects for settlement. As it happened, Newnan's advance narrowly averted complete annihilation. 16 In response, a much larger U.S. military force entered the southern Paynes Prairie area and decimated such prosperous Seminole villages as Paynes Town and Bowlegs Town, actions that resulted in the dispersal of these Native people from their land.¹⁷ After efforts to capture St. Augustine failed, a core group of Georgian settlers, along with their families, arrived once again in Alachuathis time with colonization exclusively in mind. 18 It was here that these determined individuals attempted to establish a formal state structure that they proclaimed as the independent (and short-lived) Republic of East Florida (1814). In promulgating this scheme, patriot leaders sent a formal appeal to Washington, D.C. that requested annexation by the United States. Integral to their declarations was a plainly articulated settler rationale that not only relied on the rampant nationalist and expansionist sentiments that surfaced during the War of 1812, but invoked biblical precepts to justify their land claims in Spanish Florida. As "proper" cultivators of the soil, unlike the "Savage Race" they usurped, Anglo settlers were acting according to God's commandments, as they were now in the process of subduing and replenishing the earth. This was an essential duty, it was argued, that the Spanish had utterly neglected-much to their discredit-during Spain's lengthy colonial tenure.19 Such notions were widely accepted at the time

James G. Cusick, The Other War of 1812: The Patriot War and the American Invasion of Spanish East Florida (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 240-43; Rembert Patrick, Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border, 1810-1815 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1954), 195-210.

A separate "Negro Town" was also destroyed. See Colonel Smith to General Flournoy (Camp New Hope, East Florida), February 24, 1813, in T. Frederick Davis, "United States Troops in Spanish East Florida," Florida Historical Quarterly 9, no. 4 (April 1931): 271-72.

^{18.} Monaco, "Fort Mitchell," 1-17.

 [&]quot;Petition for Admission into the Union" and "Resolution by the Legislative Council of the Elotchaway District," January 25, 1814, Patriot War Documents, Miscellaneous Documents, Tebeau-Field Library of Florida History, Cocoa, FL.

and were also in accord with influential Lockean concepts of land ownership that originated during the previous century. This philosophy emphasized "improvement" to heretofore pristine and "neglected" land as an economic and moral necessity. It should be noted that settler colonies throughout the British Empire (Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada, for example) also made full use of this particular reasoning in justifying their dominion over indigenous lands. The patriot construction of a "Republic" also reveals a presumption of self-government and political independence that was intrinsic to the settler collective. Such beliefs harken back to Puritan John Winthrop's claim of a direct covenant with God which sanctioned the right "to drawe our own articles." This same supposition also inspired Texans to establish a separate republic in 1836.

Even though Secretary of State James Monroe rejected the patriot proposal, the cultural imperatives of settler supremacy and privilege in peninsular Florida can be traced from this period onward. Indeed, the initial patriot incursion became a foundational moment in settler consciousness. Despite the fact that most fled the interior during the spring of 1814—following the assassination of their leader, General Buckner Harris, by Seminoles-many of the same Georgian protagonists returned with their families after Florida was transferred to United States jurisdiction in 1821. From then on the most "respectable" element assumed leadership roles in the territory.23 Former patriots, ranging from diligent landowners to the more marginal and less prosperous "cracker" faction, were indeed a conspicuous presence in the interior before and during the Second Seminole War. Their influence was centered in the county seat of Newnansville (named after the impetuous patriot hero, Daniel Newnan).24 Pioneers

 [&]quot;Of Property," in John Locke, The Works of John Locke, Esq., vol. 2 (London: n.p., 1714), 165-172; see also, Barbara Arneil, John Locke and America: The Defence of English Colonialism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

See, for example, Julie Evans, Patricia Grimshaw, David Philips, and Shurlee Swain, Equal Subjects, Unequal Rights: Indigenous Peoples in British Settler Colonies, 1830-1910 (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2003), 1-11.

^{22.} Quoted in Veracini, Settler Colonialism, 61.

^{23.} Monaco, "Fort Mitchell," 18-22.

^{24.} For example, Alachua County's first judge, Francis R. Sanchez (based in Newnansville), was a leader of the original group that petitioned for admittance into the Union in 1814. For additional background on Sanchez and other leaders, see Monaco, "Fort Mitchell."

who were part of this return migration, such as the Dell, Lanier, Knight, Cone, Daniels, Stanley, Osteen, Summerlin and Hogan families, joined others who originated from the same "wiregrass" region of southern Georgia and South Carolina and established homesteads.25 This cohort was quite homogeneous and many were linked by marriage. On the other hand, the elite patriot faction was best represented by John H. McIntosh, Jr., the son and namesake of the former "Director" of the Republic of East Florida. McIntosh settled at Oaklands, a 2,500 acre sugar plantation that was adjacent to the estate of his brother-in-law (and fellow Georgian), Colonel Duncan L. Clinch.²⁶ Both plantations were located some distance from Newnansville, in Alachua's southern district. Despite deep economic disparities, a distinct cultural continuity was in evidence throughout the interior settlements. This demographic feature was most pronounced during the 1820s, a period before many arrivals from other parts of the South, as well as some enterprising northerners, appeared on the scene. Despite a distinct uniformity, however, isolated settlements were often rife with intra-communal conflict. Charges of trespassing as well as more serious crimes of assault and battery were often brought before the superior court in Newnansville. 27 Local officials also enforced a rigid, albeit selective, moral code and zealously pursued cases of adultery and fornication, for example. Most defendants were poor whites and all indiscretions had to meet the standard of a "public scandal."28 Many simply evaded prosecution through marriages of convenience.29 Clearly then, even though pioneers may have resided in one of the most secluded regions of the South, life was not devoid of social mores or conformity. On the other hand, the frontier, just as in the American West, often

For a list of the original Alachua patriots, see "Petition to Congress for Admission into the Union," January 25, 1814, in T. Frederick Davis, "Elotchaway, East Florida, 1814," Florida Historical Quarterly 8, no. 3 (January 1930): 153.

Indenture between John H. McIntosh, Jr. and Joseph and Charles Lawton (Charleston, South Carolina), June 19, 1832, Deed Book B, Ancient Records, Alachua County Court House, Gainesville, Florida. [hereafter ACCH].

For a sample of such cases, see Territory v Cason, November 20, 1835; Territory v Kelly, Territory v Sparkman, and Wanton v Summerlin, November 23, 1835, Superior Court Minutes 1, 216-23, Ancient Records, ACCH.

Wm. L. Clark and Wm. L. Marshall, A Treatise on the Law of Crimes, 2nd ed. (St. Paul, MN: Keef-Davidson Co., 1905), 708; A Digest of the Laws of the State of Florida, From the Years One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty-Two to the Eleventh Day of March, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eighty-One, Inclusive (Tallahassee, FL:n.p. 1881), 424.

served as a safe haven for outlaw gangs, many of whom robbed stagecoaches, preyed on travelers and who—when caught—were subject to vigilante-style retribution.³⁰ The settler community, as historian James M. Denham posits, bore an independent streak and "usually acted on their own authority, often showing little respect for governmental or judicial authority."³¹

Immigration did not fulfill expectations in the decades following Florida's cession to the United States. The inexorable "wave of white population" that was thought to have descended upon the Alachua region by some members of Congress, for example, did not match reality. The rigors of the frontier combined with the region's proximity to Native settlements discouraged masses of outsiders from venturing into the interior. Despite major obstacles, however, Alachua claimed 2,200 inhabitants by 1830 (a number that included slaves)—a population that nearly equaled the total for St. Johns County (St. Augustine). Such parity between the former provincial capital and the interior would have been unimaginable under the Spanish when few dared enter Indian lands. Thus, even a relatively modest settler presence represented a notable population shift.

Following the Patriot War and subsequent to Andrew Jackson's controversial military incursion west of the Suwannee (First Seminole War, 1817-18), the Native population was significantly weakened, both economically and, according to most contemporary observers, in spirit as well.³⁴ By the time of the change of flags in St. Augustine (1821), only a few scattered villages remained in the Paynes Prairie area and the once prosperous cattle-based

^{29.} James M. Denham, "A Rogue's Paradise": Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1861 (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997), 105. For examples of such cases brought forth during a single court session in Newnansville, see Territory v Jenkins, Territory v Reddaught, Territory v Ivy, Territory v Sparkman, Territory v Crews, April 12, 1828, as well as other cases in Superior Court Minutes 1, 5-7, Ancient Records, ACCH.

^{30.} Denham, "A Rogue's Paradise," 185-88.

^{31.} Ibid., 10.

 [&]quot;Florida Indians: Communicated to the House of Representatives, February 21, 1823," in American State Papers: Indian Affairs 2 (Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1834)): 408.

William Darby and Theodore Dwight, Jr., A New Gazetteer of the United States of America (Hartford, CT, Edward Hopkins, 1833), 165.

John K. Mahon, "The Treaty of Moultrie Creek, 1823," Florida Historical Quarterly 40, no. 4 (April 1962): 350.

indigenous culture no longer predominated.³⁵ Micanopy, the new hereditary head of the Alachua band who had succeeded his uncles King Payne and Bowlegs, had resettled with his kinsmen and advisors, including Jumper (Ote Emathla) and the black leader, Abraham, in less abundant circumstances to the south (Okahumpky and Peliklakaha). Micanopy became the principle Seminole leader during the onset of the Second Seminole War.

While serving briefly as Florida governor, Jackson did not stray from his settler roots. His view of the Native tribes was analogous to a vanquished and humiliated foreign enemy: as such, these persons were not allowed autonomy. Jackson therefore refused any attempt at negotiation, a stance that he maintained despite pressure to initiate some form of treaty. Formal accords would only endow Indians with an undeserved sense of sovereignty, according to the governor, and would create rights where none should exist.36 Following Jackson's tenure, however, a congressional committee determined that the U.S. was bound by the terms of the prior Spanish cession (Adams-Onís Treaty, 1819) whereby former colonial "inhabitants," which included indigenes, were to be accorded citizenship.37 Territorial political appointees had no other choice but to proceed with a formal and far-ranging treaty (Moultrie Creek) that would not only put an official end to hostilities but would be obligated, albeit reluctantly, to recognize Native land rights.

During treaty proceedings held between government agents (who mostly consisted of Jackson loyalists) and tribal leaders, Native

 Andrew Jackson to John C. Calhoun (Pensacola), September 17, 1821, in The Territorial Papers of the United States, 28 vols., ed. Clarence Edwin Carter (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1934-1975), 22: 207.

^{35.} For more on the Native American cattle industry, see Joe Knetsch, "Expansion of the Southern Cattle Industry and its Impact on the Seminoles," in Fear and Anxiety on the Florida Frontier: Articles on the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842, ed. Joe Knetsch (Dade City, FL, Seminole Wars Foundation Press, 2008), 1-11; see also, J. Leitch Wright, Jr. Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 67. The Alachua region had a centuries-old tradition of cattle production; see, Amy Bushnell, "The Menendez Marquez Cattle Barony at La Chua and the Determinants of Economic Expansion in Seventeenth-Century Florida," Florida Historical Quarterly 56, no. 4 (April 1978): 408-432; David J. Weber, The Spanish Frontier in North America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 310.

^{37. &}quot;Florida Indians: Communicated to the House of Representatives, February 21, 1823," in American State Papers: Indian Affairs 2: 408-10. The benevolent tone of this document is quite remarkable for its time. Ultimately, however, Native rights were placed within the purview of appointed Indian agents and were subject to the discretion of the president.

people were at an enormous disadvantage. In fact, federal officials, following Jackson's advice, believed that only an atmosphere of total domination-reinforced by a strong military presencewould, in the opinion of principal negotiator James Gadsden, "render them [Native Americans] perfectly Subservient to the views of the Government."38 Nothing less than forfeiture of tribal lands, in exchange for inferior reservation holdings, a monetary stipend, as well as other token benefits, were deemed acceptable.³⁹ This one-sided scenario assured, at least in theory, that the emerging settlements in the peninsular interior and the panhandle would hold exclusive title and be free from Indian interference. Treaties such as this were vital to the construction of "abject Otherness," as one scholar has phrased it. 40 Aside from dispossessing Indians from their land and villages (transforming them into refugees), treaties isolated the population from the dominant settler society, restricted mobility and established a framework for continued subjugation.⁴¹ In the case of Moultrie Creek, most reservation land, located well to the south of Paynes Prairie (the northern boundary was near present-day Ocala), was nutrient poor, possessed sparse game, and was unsuitable for the indigenous agro-pastoralist way of life-a situation that did not bode well for the future. Regardless, a settlerbased land scheme predominated, one that directly served the interests of yeoman farmers and herdsmen as well as the small but influential group of wealthy planters. 42 Firm lines of demarcation had been drawn in what amounted to a massive land grab. Most whites would have preferred that all Indians be removed entirely, a scenario that would have additionally secured Anglo-American property rights (including slave ownership). Territory west of the Mississippi had not yet opened for Indian resettlement; hence,

^{38.} J[ames] Gadsden to Secretary of War, June 11, 1823, Territorial Papers, 22: 696.

The details of this treaty are well-known; see Mahon, "Treaty of Moultrie Creek," 350-72.

^{40.} Veracini, Settler Colonialism, 28.

^{41.} Ibid.

^{42.} The Alachua planter elite included the aforementioned Clinch and McIntosh as well as Moses E. Levy, a former West Indies merchant (who owned 100,000 acres in East Florida) and the father of future congressional delegate and U.S. senator, David L. Yulee. The average number of slaves per plantation amounted to twenty-six. See "Sugar Planting," Niles' Register, June 15, 1833; C. S. Monaco, Moses Levy of Florida: Jewish Utopian and Antebellum Reformer (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005), 108.

the more typical settler "logic of elimination" ⁴³ could not be fully enforced. Yet the treaty still afforded settlers some hope that, in their view, an inferior "species" of people would be confined to their own "nation" so as not "to retard the prosperity of [their] Territory." ⁴⁴ The most bountiful lands were, at least on paper, under settler sovereignty.

Land of Promise?

The contested Alachua country long held mythic allure. However, any conception of a settler "promised land" in the interior has been a missing element in standard histories—not unlike the import of the settlers themselves—and so requires some elaboration. Aside from naturalist William Bartram's idyllic descriptions of Paynes Prairie during the eighteenth-century, 45 among the earliest accounts of this little known region were those written during the Patriot War. Like Bartram, these Anglo-Americans were clearly elated by their bountiful surroundings. Orange trees and vegetables appeared to grow "spontaneously" and the few remaining herds of Seminole cattle were amazingly robust, the equal of the finest beef. 46 The Alachua country, as far as these individuals were concerned, was surely the "most Fertile and . . . most desirable part of North America." 47 A degree of hyperbole was certainly in evidence. The patriot advance into East Florida had developed into a heated national controversy and so these men were intent on portraying themselves, as well as the remote country they possessed, in a flattering light. Nevertheless, the Georgians' first-hand reports confirmed that the area's Edenic reputation had at least some basis in fact. The self-conscious idealization of "virgin" land as the site of future settlement, one that supplanted indigenous sovereignty, also adhered to a distinct settler outlook that was the equivalent of the seventeenth-century "city upon a hill" claim of Massachusetts Puritans.

Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," Journal of Genocide Research 8, no. 4 (December 2006): 387-88.

Petition to the President of the United States (Alachua County, Territory of Florida), January 1834, American State Papers: Military Affairs 6: 465-66.

William Bartram, Travels of William Bartram, ed. Mark Van Doren, (1791; reprint, New York: Dover, 1955), 169-70.

 [&]quot;Extract from a Letter by a Patriot Officer," January 27, 1814, quoted in Savannah Republican, March 1, 1814.

 [&]quot;Resolution by the Legislative Council of the Elotchaway District," January 25, 1814, Patriot War Documents.



Jacob Summerlin (1820-1893), so-called "King of the Crackers," strikes an iconic pose with cattle-whip in this undated photo. The son of a patriot settler from Georgia who lived with his family in Newnanville during the Second Seminole War, Summerlin eventually moved south of Alachua and accrued a fortune in the early Florida cattle industry. *Courtesy Florida State Archives*.

If dominion over the land was the primary impetus at work in the years before and during the Seminole war, then it is vital to come to terms with this landscape. Unlike the scenes of other Indian conflicts in America, such as the western plains or the desert southwest, Florida has presented a more challenging task. Currently, the region formerly designated as the Tierras de la Chua (the area south of present Lake City in Columbia County to Orange Lake in northern Marion County) is largely devoid of the ancient woodlands that were once a major distinguishing feature during previous centuries. The canopies of the former lowland hammocks, as was often reported, were so profuse that even the mid-day sun failed to penetrate. Hammocks also contained thick underbrush, composed of "scrubs, shrubs, vines, and parasites of all kinds," which resulted in a "matted mass, impervious to the eye"—a natural refuge for Indians and their black allies throughout the war.48 These ecosystems differed substantially, however, from the more open and dryer pine-barrens that also pervaded the region. Like much of the eastern United States, the Florida interior has undergone massive ecological transformation.49 While ancient woodlands have mostly disappeared, Paynes Prairie still remains; its current manifestation as a wildlife preserve, however, has been dramatically altered over time. Massive flocks of exotic birds no longer blot the horizon and of course certain predators, like the once-ubiquitous black wolf, are extinct. Urban growth, years of timber harvesting as well as modern farming techniques have inalterably transfigured this area.⁵⁰ In short, the land the original settlers yearned to "subdue" has born the ultimate fruit, so to speak, of this very impulse. As a result, effort must be made to envision the

 [&]quot;The Florida Train," Floridian and Advocate (Tallahassee), July 17, 1841. For further description of these hammocks, see John T. Sprague, April 28, 1839, in "Macomb's Mission to the Seminoles," 161.

^{49.} Similar ecological change occurred in such settler habitats as New Zealand, where—in the course of 100 years—the ecology shifted from predominant rainforest to mostly grassland. See Michele D. Dominy, "Hearing Grass, Thinking Grass: Postcolonialism and Ecology in Aotearoa-New Zealand," in Disputed Territories: Land, Culture and Identity in Settler Societies, eds. David Trigger and Gareth Griffiths (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2003), 54.

Tropical old-growth stands can only be seen in select areas of south Florida;
 see James T. Tanner and Paul B. Hamel, "A Long-Term View of Old-Growth Deciduous Forests," in *Bottomland Hardwoods of the Mississippi Alluvial Valley*,
 eds. Paul B. Hamel and Thomas L. Foti (Fayettville, AK: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1995), 106-08.

contested terrain or the real context will be missed. The *mise-en-scène*, in other words, has to be *imagined* for the territorial years.

In contrast to the reverence that the Alachua settlers exhibited toward the land, remarks by the U.S. Army during the Second Seminole War are notable for their denigration of the entire wilderness region. Following the collapse of the Spanish mission system, colonial administrators left the interior as an autonomous Native American zone; a concept also formalized during British rule. The U.S. Army saw little reason to reject this precedent. Major General Thomas Jesup, one of a series of military commanders during the war, adjudged this territory as fit only for Indians: "Even if the wilderness we are traversing could be inhabited by the white man (which is not the fact) . . . would the [war] be worth the cost?"51 His informed judgment was that it was not. Subtropical forests and wetlands were considered to be unlike any other place in the South. Hammocks were so impenetrable, another ranking officer complained, "that an Indian who gets perhaps ten feet in them is not to be seen afterwards, and cannot be overtaken."52 Accurate, detailed maps were an unknown commodity, few roads existed, and local guides were required for even short journeys. The region in fact presented such a mystery that comparisons to equally unfathomable terrains of Africa and China were common. Special note was given to the fact that General Jackson halted at the Suwannee River during the First Seminole War; supposedly an acknowledgment of the futility of venturing into the dreaded region.⁵³ Faced with "unmitigated suffering and privation, without the least possible expectation of fame or glory," General Winfield Scott suggested that a bounty of 160 acres be offered to each man who enlisted, but stipulated that this should not be Florida land: "that would be a fraud."54 Officers who were compelled to officially defend the conduct of the war, failed to mention the verdant Paynes

Jesup quoted by Theophilus F. Rodenbough, From Everglade to Canyon with the Second United States Cavalry (1875; reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 33.

Testimony of Colonel William Lindsay, December 7, 1836, American State Papers: Military Affairs 7: 137. For mention of the unparalleled "verdure and altitude" of these "primeval groves of nature," specifically in the Micanopy area, see Simmons, Notices of East Florida, 48.

 [&]quot;Major General Scott's Address or Summary of Evidence Taken in his Case," January 19, 1836, American State Papers: Military Affairs 7: 198.

Winfield Scott to Lewis Cass, June 14, 1836, American State Papers: Military Affairs 7: 279.

Prairie; the year round growing season; the steadily increasing stocks of cattle, horses and hogs in Alachua; or techniques such as "girdling" whereby settlers were starting to transform hammocks into farm land and where crops grew with apparently little effort.⁵⁵ The army's negative assessment of the interior (as well as their blatant omissions) can therefore be seen as central to a simple defensive rationale: if the land was not only insurmountable but truly valueless as well then the war itself was entirely misplaced—and thus all failures could be absolved.⁵⁶

It should come as no surprise that the army's denigration of the interior was matched by an equally dismissive attitude toward the settler community as well. The abilities and courage of local militia volunteers were frequently maligned. And, as John Sprague paraphrased General Zachary Taylor, Floridians had become corrupted by "the great amount of money" that circulated as a result of the war. Thus, according to this view, any effort to end hostilities was expected to be subverted by these "dependents and plunderers upon the government."57 Furthermore, army personnel could not fathom why anyone would choose to live in such an isolated and unforgiving backwoods environment and, as is usually the case, the poorer and more uneducated the settler, the more liable they were to mockery. On the other hand, the prevalent settler perspective viewed the army, especially foreign recruits who heralded from a host of European countries, as the exogenous "other." The motivations of outsiders, unlike the presumed righteousness of the settler collective, were thus highly suspect.⁵⁸ These "good for nothing . . . scourings of other countries," as one Newnansville resident complained, were nothing more than "brandy-drinking" sluggards.⁵⁹ Indeed, drunken raids by U.S. soldiers on local homesteads resulted in major losses of property and intensified mutual antipathy. Settler marginalization

^{55.} The method of girdling or stripping off the bark at the base of trees escalated during the citrus and vegetable boom of the 1880s, a cheap method of clearing hammock land. See Carl Webber, Eden of the South (New York: Leve & Alden, 1883), 26. For an earlier account of the advantages of agricultural production in the interior, with reference to the 1830s, see "Florida: Its Soil and Products," Western Journal 6 (June 1851): 178-83.

The region's farming potential only came into its own after the arrival of the railroad in the latter part of the nineteenth-century.

^{57.} Sprague, May 6, 1839, in "Macomb's Mission to the Seminoles," 166.

^{58.} Veracinci, Settler Colonialism, 18-20.

Quoted in James M. Denham, "Some Prefer the Seminoles': Violence and Disorder among Soldiers and Settlers in the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842," Florida Historical Quarterly 70, no. 1 (July 1991): 40.

continued into the twentieth-century and also managed to infiltrate Florida historiography. This tendency was the converse of the hyperromanticizing of settlers that typically marked other regions of the North American Spanish borderlands, especially Texas. 60 For Texans at least, settlers were not the banditti who were so despised by Spanish colonial officials but heroes in a great moral quest.⁶¹ By comparison, Florida historians were far more favorably disposed toward Spanish colonists, especially in the context of St. Augustine, and less inclined toward Anglo settlers.62 Rembert Patrick's use of "white trash" in reference to an entire group of Georgian settlers in Florida Fiasco, one of the acknowledged classics in state history, exemplifies this bent.63 There has also been a reluctance to engage with the territorial or Anglo-settler period and unwillingness to come to terms with the era's most significant episode, the Second Seminole War. Prior to John Mahon's seminal history of this conflict, as the author himself acknowledged, there was virtually nothing written on the subject since the nineteenth-century.⁶⁴ This lacuna produced a sense of historical fragmentation that has only been addressed relatively recently.65

Gathering Storm

The Florida tribes did not promptly withdraw onto reservation territory after the Treaty of Moultrie Creek. Micanopy and a few other chiefs had already established villages within the reservation boundaries; these locales were among the very few places that could sustain settlement. 66 Despite significant obstacles most Seminoles

^{60.} Weber, The Spanish Frontier in North America, 245-47.

^{61.} Ibid

^{62.} Particularly instructive in this regard is George R. Fairbanks, The History and Antiquities of the City of St. Augustine, Founded A.D. 1565 (New York: C. B. Norton, 1858). The author reconstructed history in the fanciful image of Spanish conquistadors. He posited that Florida's greatness did not exist in the present or in future prospects but resided in its past, specifically a noble Spanish past.

^{63.} Patrick, Florida Fiasco, 53.

^{64.} Mahon, Second Seminole War, ix.

^{65.} The work of James M. Denham, Canter Brown and others has done much to rectify past neglect. Yet there is, I believe, still much to overcome if we are to continue to rise above pure caricature or, more frequently, simple omission.

^{66.} Former Anglo-Spanish Indian trader Horatio Dexter was hired by Florida Governor Duval to prepare a series of first-hand reports concerning this region. Dexter inexplicably portrayed this general area in glowing terms and undoubtedly influenced the decision to locate the reservation to the south. See Horatio Dexter to William P. Duval, August 20, 1823, in Mark F. Boyd, "Horatio S. Dexter and Events Leading to the Treaty of Moultry Creek," Florida Anthropologist 11, no. 3 (September 1958): 88-95.

managed to emigrate by 1826. Soon after arrival, however, many experienced severe malnutrition or death by starvation.⁶⁷ In response to dire conditions, roving bands headed north to Paynes Prairie where cattle and other livestock were pilfered for food. Settlers had in fact dramatically increased cattle herds to roughly the same number that the Alachua Seminoles formerly managed at their peak prosperity under King Payne: upwards of 10,000 head grazed on the prairie alone. 68 Such super-abundance, combined with livestock in other Alachua districts, became a natural lure for any starving and distressed population, especially those who revered the region both as their rightful homeland and as "consecrated ground" (land that was believed to harbor ancestral spirits). 69 For his part, Micanopy-unintimidated by a visit to the White House in May 1826-still regarded this land as his birthright and was not averse to informing high ranking officials that, "I think I ought to have it [back]." Hence the Alachua country, treaties notwithstanding, was the epitome of a hybrid space: it was claimed by both sides but belonged to neither.71

Periodic violence and bloodshed between settlers and indigenes became routine throughout the 1820s and 30s. A stream of settler petitions were directed to Florida Governor William Duval and to officials in Washington, D.C., alerting authorities of continuing "depredations" and requesting that military fortifications be established for their defense. Slaves belonging to settlers as well as the Native tribes also became a heated issue. Both factions accused the other of slave stealing and settlers believed that runaways were being harbored within the reservation—intransigent and often duplicitous claims by prominent whites led to further strife.

68. "Florida: Its Soil and Products," Western Journal 6 (June 1851): 181.

70. "Talk to the Indians by Col. White," New York Spectator, August 10, 1827.

72. Mahon, Second Seminole War, 61.

Mahon, Second Seminole War, 58; Canter Brown, Jr., "The Florida Crisis of 1826-1827 and the Second Seminole War," Florida Historical Quarterly 73, no. 4 (April 1995); 423.

^{69.} John T. Sprague, journal entry, April 27, 1839, in Frank F. White, Jr., ed., "Macomb's Mission to the Seminoles: John T. Sprague's Journal, Kept During April and May 1839" Florida Historical Quarterly 35, no. 3 (October 1956): 160; William H. Simmons, Notices of East Florida (1822; reprint, Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1973), 46.

Hybridity has become a key concept in the social sciences and has greatly influenced historians as well. Homi K. Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), while highly theoretical, remains a seminal text.

Major Ethan Hitchcock believed that former Indian agent Gad Humphreys was one of "the Principal causes of the War" by virtue of his "fraudulent claims

An illicit trade in liquor, carried on by "numerous petty dealers in Whisky"⁷⁴ (whites who operated out of derelict log shanties near the reservation), as well as an assortment of traders and "swindlers" who, in the opinion of the U.S. Indian agent, exerted disproportionate influence "over the poor deluded Indian," also added to an already fractious environment.⁷⁵

By the early 1830s, Fort King was in operation just north of the reservation and in close proximity to the Indian agency. Initially intended as a buffer between Native people and the Alachua settlements, this lone interior post was subsequently viewed as a key component in the emigration of the Florida tribes to the West. The government now pointed to the treaties of Payne's Landing and Fort Gibson as justification for removal, despite the dubious circumstances that surrounded these accords. Major Ethan A. Hitchcock, former commandant of cadets at West Point who was closely associated with the War Department, privately admitted that not only was the Treaty of Payne's Landing an outright fraudthe Indians "have never in fact agreed to Emigrate"—but went so far as to state that the Native tribes were "in the right to defend themselves in the country to the best of their ability."⁷⁶ Regardless of the merits of Hitchcock's claim, Fort King was certainly an inadequate presence on the frontier (at war's onset the small post only claimed 200 troops⁷⁷)—a situation that underscored the poor planning, corruption and inadequate funding of the removal program. By 1834, "this wretched and misguided people," according to settler leaders, showed no inclination to emigrate and, even worse, were steadily transforming into a state of rebellion and anarchy. Never truly restrained by reservation boundaries, indigenes, especially the Miccosukee bands, boldly encamped within range of Anglo settlements and butchered stolen livestock in plain sight. "Their insolence and recklessness of feeling," the settlers wrote to President Jackson, had reached a distressing level.

upon Indian negros [sic]—Claims purchased by him in all variety of ways not honest"; Ethan A. Hitchcock, January 25, 1841, Hitchcock Diary #17, 94, Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

^{74.} Quoted in Joe Knetsch, Fear and Anxiety on the Florida Frontier, 15.

Wiley Thompson to William P. Duval, January 1, 1834, American State Papers: Military Affairs 6: 454.

^{76.} Ethan A. Hitchcock, November 4, 1840, Hitchcock Diary #16, 32.

Gov. John H. Eaton [Florida] to Gov. William Schley [Georgia], January 21, 1836, folder 18, box 3, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

Indians no longer disguised "their contempt for the government and its laws" and threatened "bloodshed should any measure be adopted to restrain and control them."⁷⁸

Numerous details of the pre-war months have been addressed in the historiography. Much has been made, for example, of the imprisonment of Osceola (Asin Yahola) by Indian agent, General Wiley Thompson—an individual who remained in a peculiar state of denial throughout the escalating discontent. Osceola's ill-treatment by the agent was surely a factor in rising tensions, as Thompson's later assassination by Osceola suggests. Little attention, however, has been paid to the deteriorating circumstances in the Alachua settlements. An episode that occurred in June 1835 epitomizes this situation. A violent incident erupted on Paynes Prairie which involved an irate settler faction and a group of Indians who were caught in the act of cattle rustling. Two Indians were brutally whipped and another was shot dead after coming to the aid of his companions. There were wounded on both sides. News of this event spread quickly and many feared that this expression of frontier vigilantism could trigger all-out war.⁷⁹ The prairie episode thus embodied the core contest between settler and indigene. In this instance, the use of deadly force can be seen as a precursor to war. 80 Between 1812 and 1835, despite steady encroachment by Anglo settlers, a succession of treaties and the presence of the U.S. military, whites were still unable to assert sovereignty. The reasons for this predicament were fairly obvious: settlers failed to hold a clear numerical advantage; the federal government was reluctant to provide adequate funds either for frontier defense or for Indian deportation; and a highly diffuse settlement pattern and an illtrained, poorly armed local militia further weakened the settler position. Within any frontier zone, as historian David Weber has

 Petition to the President of the United States (Alachua County, Territory of Florida), January 1834, American State Papers: Military Affairs 6: 465-66.

Mark F. Boyd, "The Seminole War: Its Background and Onset," Florida Historical Quarterly 30, no. 1 (July 1951): 55; Keen, "Times of Long Ago," October 13, 1899, in Cracker Times and Pioneer Lives, 27. This particular incident occurred near the Hogtown settlement; see M. M. Cohen, Notices of Florida and the Campaigns (New York: B.B. Hussey, 1836), 65-66.

^{80.} According to Duncan Clinch, the subsequent murder and scalping of an army private while on an errand to deliver mail August 1835—an unprecedented and highly provocative act—was intended as direct payback for the incident at Paynes Prairie; see Boyd, "The Seminole War," 56. For a more detailed account of the mail carrier attack, see Cohen, Notices of Florida, 66.

observed, a transformational process takes place and "new orders arise out of a maelstrom of contention." In the context of the interior, this axiom was just as valid for the Second Seminole War as it was for the previous Patriot War.

Duncan L. Clinch, now the commanding general of the regular army in the territory and, as previously mentioned, a leading Alachua planter, was among the few who recognized that—given the absence of a major military presence—certain tribal factions would resist deportation. Clinch's pessimism rested on a solid appreciation of power: the dispossession of any people from their lands was dependent on brute force, or the threat thereof, as well as the backing of a state infrastructure. 82 As Florida was sorely wanting in both respects, trouble surely lay ahead. As early as January 1835, Clinch warned the Adjutant General that a future rebellion, aided by "Indian Negroes and Negroes on the plantations," could easily devastate the Alachua settlements, an uprising that would undoubtedly take advantage of small-scale, guerilla type warfare.83 He was only mistaken in regard to the latter. The initial phase of the war actually witnessed indigenous leaders conducting impressive operations against the combined forces of the U.S. Army. Ultimately, the general's warnings, based on familiarity with the region and its people, could not counter the misguided optimism that permeated the judgment of Andrew Jackson, the War Department and Indian agent Thompson, all of whom believed that Indian removal was not only exceedingly benign in character but would proceed unhindered.84 Such miscalculation was reflective of a pervasive outlook whereby Native "others" existed so far outside the cultural mainstream that they assumed a phantom-like quality.85 "They stand alone among the great family of man," claimed Boston's influential North American Review, "to be surveyed and observed, rather than be described and explained."86 Because Indians were typically conceived as

^{81.} Weber, The Spanish Frontier in North America, 12-13.

For more on the use of power, see Cole Harris, "How Did Colonialism Dispossess? Comments from the Edge of Empire," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 94, no. 1 (March, 2004): 165.

Clinch to Adjutant General, January 22, 1835, quoted in Rembert W. Patrick, Aristocrat in Uniform: General Duncan L. Clinch (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1963), 71-73.

^{84.} Ibid.

^{85.} Veracini, Settler Colonialism, 86.

^{86. &}quot;Removal of the Indians," North American Review 30 (January 1830): 70.

uncivilized children who could not think for themselves and lacked any substantial or worthwhile identity of their own, then they certainly could be readily disposed of. Given the preponderance of such attitudes throughout American society and the high regard that was placed in General Jackson's past exploits and supposed understanding of the Native tribes, it could be posited that the war itself was the result of a distinctive delusionary rationale—not the least of which was the self-proclaimed liberality and munificence of the Indian Removal Act.

Perhaps the most peculiar aspect of the Second Seminole War was that it did not take place earlier. True to Clinch's expectations, the first engagements surfaced within the greater Paynes Prairie region. By December 1835-faced with continued government maltreatment, ineptitude and apparent duplicity; the upcoming sale of their remaining livestock at a fraction of their real value; as well as the prospect of leaving ancestral land for a humiliating residence in the West that would be under the sway of their traditional Creek adversaries-the anti-removal bloc gained control and were now committed to war. The events surrounding Dade's Massacre and the killing of agent Thompson have overshadowed the fact that the first concerted efforts by Seminole forces resulted in the destruction of settler homesteads in the interior as well as the meticulous appropriation of all livestock. At least 15,000 head of cattle were hijacked in the Alachua region alone, in addition to considerable stocks of horses and hogs.87 Hostilities advanced rapidly and encompassed both large-scale sugar plantations and smaller homesteads east of the St. Johns River where further cattle theft (4,000 to 5,000 head) augmented the indigenous reserves.

Alachua Forts and Battles

In the face of increased hostilities during the closing months of 1835, settlers began to erect defensive perimeters of log pickets (i.e., pine logs set vertically with tops sharpened, about eighteen feet tall) to protect life and property.⁸⁸ Because the militia was undermanned and lacked adequate arms and ammunition, Clinch

^{87. &}quot;Florida," Richmond Enquirer, July 19, 1836.

Brief mention of these towns, as well as a description of the pickets, can be found in Woodburne Potter, The War in Florida: Being an Exposition of its Causes and an Accurate History of the Campaigns (Baltimore: Lewis and Coleman, 1836), 92.



Presidential "peace medals" were presented to Seminole leaders during treaty signings prior to the Second Seminole War. While seldom noted, the reverse side of these medals, such as the 1831 Andrew Jackson medal (left), offers insight regarding government intentions and insecurities. Clasped hands portrayed the military and indigenes as equal partners—an idealized and highly misleading image. By 1850, clasped hands were replaced by scenes of settlers and Indians. Only after national Indian removal became a virtual fait accompli in the West, however, did an increasingly asymmetric, and hence more realistic, iconography predominate. In the 1887 Grover Cleveland medal (right), a virtuous settler is awarded almost mythic center-stage while a tribal leader and his forest homeland are placed on the periphery. Image courtesy Collection of the New York Historical Society (Accession number 1966.101[Jackson] and 1163 [Cleveland]).

urged Floridians to take charge of their own defense. Settlers began "forting-in," as it was termed.⁸⁹ This aspect of the early war years may easily be overlooked, as fortifications of any type are usually attributed to the military alone. To be sure, these frontier outposts were utilized by the militia and often commandeered by the U.S. Army as forts, but their origins are of at least equal significance. The frontier stockades therefore resembled structures dating back to the earliest American settlements.

On December 18, 1835, ten days before the Indian agent's assassination, an indigenous band headed by Osceola launched a surprise attack on a Florida militia unit that was accompanying

^{89.} This term was ubiquitous on the southern frontier; see Fifty Years in Camp and Field: Diary of Major General Ethan Allen Hitchcock, ed. W.A. Croffut (New York/London: G. P. Putnam, 1909), 106; for the ill-prepared militia, see Patrick, Aristocrat in Uniform, 89; for residents taking charge of their own defense, see Petition of James Edwards, April 11, 1848, Senate Report 118, 30th Congress, 1st Sess. (1848) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office).

a baggage train at the southern rim of Paynes Prairie, six miles from the village of Micanopy. With eight militiamen dead and six wounded, the Battle of Black Point, as it was called, was the first battle of the Second Seminole War. Seminole and Miccosukee warriors, along with their black Seminole cohorts, indiscriminately torched farms and plantations, including fields and pasture land. A number of settlers were either killed or wounded. The Alachua district abruptly faced annihilation and survivors fled in panic to the nearest fortification. Some 200 refugees assembled at Fort Crum, a settler stockade hastily built around a solitary dwelling on Paynes Prairie.90 Fort Clarke, also in the vicinity, was merely an enclosed settlement consisting of "20 men & their families." The more substantial villages of Newnansville and Micanopy drew the largest number of refugees: the former shielded 490 and the latter about 300 men, women and children. 92 Living conditions deteriorated dramatically. In Micanopy, for instance, a correspondent noted the dismal fate of fugitive families who subsisted in crude, makeshift shelters: "Within these close pickets, they huddled together, many of them in a state almost of starvation."93 As in Newnansville, Whitesville, Garey's Ferry, Hogtown and elsewhere, family accommodations in Micanopy-now named Fort Defiancemeant a ten foot square lean-to or shack; a potent source of misery as well as disease.94 Altogether, thousands faced bleak prospects in the interior and exhibited "a scene of starving and squalid wretchedness scarcely to be imagined."95

In comparison to the settler forts, the defensive perimeters erected at the most prosperous Alachua sugar plantations, such as McIntosh's "Oaklands" (Fort Oakland) and particularly Clinch's "Lang Syne" (renamed Fort Drane), are far more familiar to historians. ⁹⁶ These structures were quickly converted to army

^{90. &}quot;Indian Hostilities," Jacksonville Courier, December 24, 1835.

Henry Prince, May 22, 1838, in Amidst a Storm of Bullets: The Diary of Lt. Henry Prince, 1836-1842 ed. Frank Laumer (Tampa, FL: Seminole Wars Historic Foundation, 1998), 118.

^{92. &}quot;Florida," New York Spectator, June 30, 1836.

James W. Simmons, "Recollections of the Late Campaign in East Florida," Atkinson's Saturday Evening Post, August 13, 1836.

^{94.} Mahon, Second Seminole War, 175.

 [&]quot;Extract of a letter to the editor of the Savannah Georgian," September 4, 1836, in Army and Navy Chronicle, September 22, 1836.

For reference to Fort Oakland see Testimony of Dr. Henry D. Holland, June 18, 1841, in Claim of John H. McIntosh, H. Rpt. 470, 27th Congress, 2nd Sess. (1842) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office).

posts without much alteration. "Fort Drane was neither more nor less than General Clinch's sugar plantation," as one observer succinctly phrased it.97 Situated in what is now northern Marion County, both posts were in closer proximity to the interior settlements and settler forts than Fort King. 98 By November 1835 Clinch anticipated the worst case scenario, but the small number of available troops was not likely to be much of a deterrent.99 Despite this situation, the new forts at least afforded an element of hope for settlers. Fort Drane, now Clinch's headquarters, was stocked with food stuffs from his plantation and was reasonably situated for any future movements that might be initiated after the arrival of reinforcements. 100 Fort Defiance (Micanopy) was appropriated by the army during the spring of 1836. With the further addition of Fort Gilliland (Newnansville), a militia stronghold; Fort Dabney, a plantation stockade on the Suwannee; Fort Lancaster, at Alligator Settlement, near present Lake City; and Garey's Ferry, located on the banks of a western tributary of the St. Johns River, the military seemed to be gaining some ground. Nevertheless, indigenous forces were reportedly "highly elated with their successes."101 The speed with which they overwhelmed and devastated much of East Florida forced Jackson and the War Department to reassess their assumptions. Although Washington awarded high priority to reasserting control of the interior and in safeguarding survivors, 102 the new commanding general, Winfield Scott, declined to aggressively pursue the war during the summer months, erroneously concluding that "the Alachua settlements may easily be defended" until cooler weather arrived. 103

In addition to the disappointment surrounding the two battles fought at the Withlacoochee River—where outnumbered

^{97.} Simmons, "Recollections of the Late Campaign."

^{98.} Motives of self-interest surely entered the equation as well; the newly garrisoned Fort Drane would help assure that Clinch's substantial investment would not suffer the same fate as other plantations in the region. Fort Oakland, owned by Clinch's brother-in-law, was also liable to similar criticism.

Only 535 troops were scattered throughout the Florida territory at the time; Knetsch, Fear and Anxiety, 87.

^{100.} For more on Fort Drane, see Knetsch, Fear and Anxiety, 85-104.

Col. Lane to T. T. Webb, September 30, 1836, in Army and Navy Chronicle, November 24, 1836.

R. Jones [Adjutant General] to Major General Scott, May 5, 1836, American State Papers: Military Affairs: 7, 280.

Winfield Scott to General Clinch, May 7, 1836, American State Papers: Military Affairs: 7, 286.

Seminoles repulsed the combined forces of the U.S. military, an outcome which prompted critics to conclude that the army had been "out-generaled" by the likes of Osceola 104—the first year of war brought heightened national attention to the deteriorating state of the interior forts. Malnutrition, foul drinking water, swarms of disease laden mosquitoes and cramped, unhygienic living conditions combined with the paltry state of early nineteenthcentury medicine: the result was rampant illness. 105 Newly arrived federal troops and volunteers from southern states were prone to dysentery, yellow fever, typhoid fever, malaria-even epidemics of chickenpox. Mortality from disease far surpassed deaths from combat. And, while the army was reluctant to admit it, instances of suicide among officers affected an already declining morale. 106 "Fine athletic fellows," a medical orderly lamented at Fort Drane, were now "in the lowest state of misery." 107 Instead of functioning as secure bastions, these forts were perceived as isolated death traps, especially during the late spring and summer heat. 108 Because many officers originated from New England, newspapers as far as Maine, drawing upon letters from the field, grew intimately familiar with these distant Florida garrisons, referring to the most interior posts of Drane and Defiance as "grave yards" during summer 1836. 109

Seminoles pursued a relentless strategy during this period. Beginning in May 1836 at Fort King, the army began to withdraw, necessitated by illness and the questionable significance of a post so removed from interior settlements. This "retrograde

^{104.} Augustus Crawford to [Governor] William Schley, June 20, 1836, folder 9, box 50, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.

Mary C. Gillett, The Army Medical Department, 1818-1865 (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, U.S. Army, 1987), 56-72; John Bemrose, Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War, ed. John K. Mahon (Tampa: University of Tampa Press, 2001).

^{106.} The horrific case of Lt. Col. John Lane at Fort Drane is worth note: "Lane, in a paroxysm of insanity produced by a fever of the brain . . . committed suicide by introducing the point of his sword above the right eye, and forcing almost through his head." [Gov.] Call to Jones, October 22, 1836, quoted in Knetsch, Fear and Anxiety, 103. The army attributed Lane, still in his twenties, as the inventor of the pontoon bridge; "Ponton Equipage," Army and Navy Chronicle, October 27, 1836.

^{107.} Bemrose, Reminiscences, 96.

Horses and mules died as well, presumably from heat exhaustion; D. L. Clinch to General Scott, April 27, 1836, American State Papers: Military Affairs 7: 282.

Christian Intelligencer and Eastern Chronicle (Gardiner, Maine.), September 16, 1836.

movement" gave Native forces the initiative. After occupying the abandoned Fort King, Osceola and other war leaders launched an unsuccessful assault at Fort Drane. Afterwards their attention shifted further north to Fort Defiance. The fort and village of Micanopy were situated on high ground overlooking the massive Tuskawilla Hammock, Micanopy was founded in 1821 and so had the distinction of being the first territorial town in Florida. 110 The site was contiguous to Cuscowilla, the former eighteenth-century village of Cowkeeper (Wakapuchasee), an early indigenous leader and Oconee chief who was revered as the founder of the Seminole Nation and whose matrilineal descendants, such as Micanopy, continued to lead the tribe. 111 This locale thus held deep significance for indigenes. 112 Enclosed within the settler village stockade was an assortment of homes and businesses, the largest being a two-story cotton house and gin. 113 Additional buildings included a post office, general store, blacksmith shop, barns, storage houses, a distillery, assorted dwelling houses, kitchens, etc.—a tableau of settler life and industry.114 Unlike Newnansville, a boom-town that consisted of an irregular sprawl of crude log cabin structures,115 the more conventional wood-plank buildings in Micanopy were neatly organized within village lots. 116 The "principal building," described as an "excellent dwelling house"

^{110.} For more on Micanopy's founding, see Monaco, Moses Levy of Florida, 95-114.

^{111.} Miller, Coacoochee's Bones, xi, 8-9.

^{112.} Some authors, including Susan Miller, have termed Cowkeeper's band at Cuscowilla "proto-Seminole"; see, for example, Paul E. Hoffman, Florida's Frontiers (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 204. "Tuskawilla" was a corruption of the original village name.

^{113.} Petition of George Center, February 10, 1846, H. Rept. 204, 29th Congress, 1st

^{114.} Descriptions of the private property in the village are contained in the various "petitions" to Congress that are cited herein. Property owners, such as Messrs Wanton, Ledwith, Center, Waldron, Edwards, Brush, Hagan, and Humphreys—as well as their descendants—attempted to recover substantial losses that were the result of the intentional burning of Micanopy by the U.S. Army in 1836. Despite these efforts, most individuals failed to receive compensation.

^{115.} Denham, "A Rogue's Paradise, '50.

^{116.} Early Micanopy was something of an anomaly as the town was originally under the auspices of a land development corporation known as the Florida Association of New York. Houses were required to be "50 feet apart" and town lots were "100 feet deep." See, Peter Mitchel, Moses E. Levy and Jasper Ward to Edward Wanton, February 18, 1822, in James David Glunt, "Plantation and Frontier Records of East and Middle Florida, 1789-1868," (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1930), 119.

and valued at \$800 (an extraordinary sum for the frontier) was chosen as the officers' quarters during the army occupation. The hamlet's most renowned resident was Colonel Gad Humphreys, former territorial Indian agent and a prosperous planter and slave owner. Most inhabitants had a history of business dealings with Indians, as Micanopy was the nearest town to the northern reservation boundary (about twenty-five miles).

On May 20 a band of Seminoles launched a nighttime musket and rifle salvo at Fort Defiance. After a half hour the post commander dispersed the enemy with several well-placed "rounds of musketry."119 The fort and village, it should be recalled, still harbored settler families from six months earlier, all of whom were unable to evacuate to the comparative safety of more eastern settlements, such as Garey's Ferry. 120 A few weeks later a far more serious confrontation ensued. On June 9 about 250 warriorsagain under Osceola-gathered at a moderate distance from the Micanopy palisades in an effort to draw out the troops in a full-fledged engagement. Known as the Battle of Micanopy, this daytime encounter involved "gallant" charges by U.S. cavalry, a surprise attack on the enemy's rear flank, and artillery rounds that resulted in Native forces retreating into Tuskawilla Hammock after an hour of intense fighting. This triumph, along with another local engagement called the Battle of Welika Pond (July 19), provided the national press with examples of brayery and tactical success in an otherwise gloomy period of sickness and retreat and consequently captured the country's attention to a degree that exceeded their actual military value.121 "The repulse and defeat of

119. New Hampshire Sentinel, June 30, 1836.

120. In contrast, most of the small, temporary forts in Alachua were deserted by this time and most settlers managed to escape to Garey's Ferry; Macon Weekly Telegraph, June 16, 1836; Jacksonville Courier, June 2, 1836.

121. A brief national sampling, centering only on the Battle of Micanopy, includes: Daily National Intelligencer, June 28, 1836; Richmond Enquirer, July 1, 1836; New York Commercial Advertiser, June 28, 1836; New York Spectator, August 18, 1836; Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser, June 27, 1836; Boston Courier, August 11, 1836; The Age (Augusta, Maine), July 6, 1836; New Hampshire Gazette (Portsmouth), August 16, 1836. The battle was also briefly mentioned in the Times (London), July 13, 1836.

^{117.} Depositions of Lieut. G. H. Talcott, January 30, 1846 and Captain M. M. Clarke, January 7, 1848, in "Report of the Committee of Claims," January 25, 1848, Senate Report 45, 30th Congress, 1st Sess.

^{118.} Humphreys's residence and outbuildings were left unprotected, as they were located about 300 yards from the stockade perimeter; Petition of Gad Humphreys, February 10, 1846, H. Rpt. 203, 29th Congress, 1st Sess. (1846).

the Indians at Micanopy," wrote an anonymous contributor to the *Army and Navy Chronicle*, "has partially dispelled the gloom that was pressing upon our arms in the south, and furnish Andrew Jackson with an opportunity . . . of disposing the meed of praise upon the gallant and the brave." ¹²²

Twice that summer, outnumbered and sickly troops not only survived attack but succeeded in at least temporarily driving the enemy back. But the worsening situation of both soldiers and civilians at Micanopy reached epidemic proportions. The "pestilence" at Fort Drane had already necessitated its abandonment in August. 123 Conditions at Fort Defiance deteriorated even more with the arrival of evacuated troops. The order to relinquish and burn the post and village of Micanopy—the last remaining army fortification south of Newnansville—was perhaps inevitable given the circumstances. 124 On the morning of August 24, after proceeding a few hundred yards east from the village, the wagons paused while soldiers went about torching the town in order to deprive the enemy of any material advantage. 125 In what was surely the lowest ebb of the war, at least from the settler perspective, most of the Alachua country—indeed the interior as a whole—had been deserted by the army and reclaimed by Indians.

Conclusion

In 1837 a newly built Fort Micanopy stood at the same spot that had been occupied by the former village and post. ¹²⁶ The 250 feet square fort was one of the largest in East Florida and served as the command and supply center for garrisons in the southern Paynes Prairie-Alachua district (forts Crane, Tarver, Drane, Walker, Waccahoota, Mizzell, and Wheelock). ¹²⁷ Throughout the course of the war the army devoted

^{122. &}quot;Lt. Colonel Heileman," Army and Navy Chronicle, August 11, 1836.

^{123.} Letter to the Editor, "A Citizen of Middle Florida," Daily National Intelligencer (Washington, D.C.), August 27, 1836.

^{124.} The assignment was carried out by the newly arrived Major Benjamin F. Pierce (brother of future United States president Franklin Pierce) along with a fresh supply of troops and wagons.

^{125.} Memorial of James Edwards, April 6, 1846, H. Rpt. 536, 29th Congress, 1th Sess, As most structures were constructed using timber hewn from old-growth pine (rich in flammable resin), the resultant conflagration was reported to be exceptionally intense.

^{126.} C. S. Monaco, "Fort Defiance & Fort Micanopy: Second Seminole War Sites in the Town of Micanopy," 2008, paper available at the Micanopy Historical Society Archives, Micanopy, Florida.

 [&]quot;Topographical Survey of Military Section No. 7 by George C. Thomas," 1835-1843, L 247 Portfolio, RG 77, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

considerable resources to the establishment of an extensive network of wooden forts. Following a strategy devised by Zachary Taylor, much of the East Florida interior was divided into twenty-mile square military districts (twenty-one in total) with a centrally located fort within each square. 128 This military region extended from the Georgia border down to the Withlacoochee River. Each post was connected by a maze of roads and bridle trails that facilitated transportation and allowed for the distribution of supplies that originated from the main depot in Palatka. 129 Immense supply trains, consisting of ninety or more covered wagons with teams totaling 400 mules and horses, stretched a mile or two in length whenever teamsters delivered food, munitions and other vital supplies to the interior posts. 130 By 1840, with many of Florida's Native people removed to the West, numerous garrisons like Fort Micanopy attracted small communities of settlers who catered to the needs of military personnel and once again featured the ubiquitous grog shop.¹³¹ During lulls in the conflict, settlers returned to their fields and tended to crops. Newnansville also benefited during the war. While the town's population swelled with settler-refugees, there was a parallel boom in adventurous and often unscrupulous merchants who were drawn to the area by a steady stream of federal dollars. 132 Following the war, some obscure post communities, such as the rebuilt Fort King (present-day Ocala), evolved into permanent towns and so further spurred development.¹³³ Hence the contest between settler sovereignty and indigene ultimately resulted in a far more substantial infrastructure. The passage of the Armed Occupation Act (1842) provided 160 acres of free land-located in the nonsurveyed portions of the Florida Territory south of Newnansville—to enterprising individuals who were willing to build homesteads, farm

 Mahan, Second Seminole War, 249-51. Taylor later amended these square sizes to 18 square miles.

^{129.} Ernest F. Dibble, "Giveaway Forts: Territorial Forts and the Settlement of Florida," Florida Historical Quarterly 78, no. 3 (Fall 1998): 207, 210-12. For the significance of the Palatka depot, see "The Florida Train," Floridian and Advocate, July 17, 1841; M. L. Brown, "Notes on U. S. Arsenals, Depots, and Martial Firearms of the Second Seminole War," Florida Historical Quarterly 61, no. 4 (April 1983): 446, n.6.

^{130. &}quot;The Florida Train," Floridian and Advocate (Tallahassee), July 17, 1841.

^{131.} John C. McManus, American Courage, American Carnage: 7th Infantry Chronicles: The 7th Infantry Regiment's Combat Experience, 1812 through World War II (New York: Forge, 2009), 56-57.

Ellen Brown to Mannevillete Brown, June 9, 1838, in Echoes from a Distant Frontier, 86-7.

^{133.} Dibble, "Giveaway Forts," 207.

and defend their property. In addition to farming, yeoman pioneers were expected to act as a paramilitary force to keep the remaining Indians in check. Despite high expectations, the program attracted, at most, a modest 2,500 settlers. 134 The conclusion of the war brought about economic decline for many isolated communities and, free land notwithstanding, the prospect of grappling with hostile Seminoles was not a position that many relished. By the time Florida entered the Civil War the state was the least populated region of the Confederacy. It was only during the post-bellum era that the Alachua country truly came into its own. The reconstruction of the Florida Railroad after the Civil War allowed for the efficient transportation of citrus and winter vegetables to major northeastern cities-a lucrative market that spurred the growth of new inland towns, such as Gainesville, and attracted a far different settler component. Seminoles, of course, had long ceased being a threat. Newcomers included northerners who were captivated by reports of quick riches and, once having caught "orange fever" sought their fortunes in a vastly more domesticated "midland" Florida, especially during the 1880s and 90s. 135

Given the superior resources of the United States, the outcome of the Second Seminole War was never really in doubt. But while historical narratives have emphasized armaments and tactics as well as biographical details of the leading (non-settler) personalities, contextual understanding has suffered. Despite the recent efforts of a few historians to provide a belated and much needed settler "voice" within the historiography, 136 the war has never been envisioned as

^{134.} Knetsch, Fear and Anxiety, 241. This number—based on a study by Joe Knetsch and Paul S. George—is considerably less than earlier estimates. According to Knetsch, only 200,000 acres were actually open to new settlers. For additional insight regarding the Armed Occupation Act, see Laura Jensen, Patriots, Settlers and the Origins of American Social Policy (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 181-84.

^{135.} Webber, Midland Florida: The Eden of the South, 11-12. By 1890, Alachua County, much reduced in size from the 1820s and 30s, had an expanding population of 23,000; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Population by Counties and Minor Civil Divisions, 1910, 1900, 1890 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912), 63. Subsequent hard freezes put an end to large-scale orange production, but winter vegetables continued to be an important crop well into the early twentieth-century.

^{136.} See, for example, James M. Denham, "The Florida Cracker before the Civil War as Seen through Travellers Accounts," Florida Historical Quarterly 72, no. 4 (April 1994): 453-68; Denham and Brown, Jr., Cracker Times and Pioneer Lives, Echoes from a Distant Frontier: The Brown Sisters' Correspondence from Antebellum Florida, eds. James M. Denham and Keith L. Huneycutt (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004); Canter Brown, Jr., Ossian Bingley Hart: Florida's Loyalist Reconstruction Governor (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997); Canter Brown, Jr., Fort Meade, 1849-1900 (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995).

the final stage in a prolonged struggle for economic and cultural dominance of the frontier. The clichéd images of settler gold-lust in the Black Hills, or the westward expansion toward the vast farming and grazing lands in the West has certainly been etched upon popular consciousness. The peninsular interior, in contrast, has lacked an equivalent narrative. Histories of the war generally take place against a vague background of uninhabited pine-barrens, prairies or swampland, with the occasional "cracker" component standing on the margins. As we have seen, however, the Florida interior was far more than a nebulous backwoods setting but stood on its own as a unique social, cultural, and ecologic matrix. Settlers were centralnot peripheral—players and their often brutal quest for land and dominion, at the expense of Indians, was a guiding principle. As territorial expansion was conflated with ideas of republican freedom, settlers assumed a privileged position in their relations with leading state and federal authorities. Indeed, this frame of mind permeated American society and was a durable influence on government policy.¹³⁷ This neglected framework therefore becomes vital to fully understanding the final interplay between Florida settlers and indigenous people and should continue to inform historians in any further study of the territorial period and beyond.

^{137.} Rana, Two Faces of American Freedom, 13-14.

A Liberated Journalist and Yankee Women on the Florida Frontier

by John T. Foster, Jr., Sarah Whitmer Foster, and Roscoe A. Turnquest

ournalist Ellen Augusta Hill wrote an unusual newspaper column for two years in the 1880s—one that contains both her own extraordinary ideas and many of those of her rural readers. By tracing the journalist's effort and the response it helped to generate, a picture emerges of women who have received little attention in Florida history. Neither Hill nor her followers were native-born Floridians, or even Southerners. They were Yankee women who came from New York and, perhaps surprisingly, from both Ohio and Illinois. The topics covered by Hill and the dialogue engendered departed from earlier journalistic activities in Florida. They also vary from women of the period associated with social and political organizations such as the Southern Farmer's Alliance. Differences also appear when the content is matched to the lives of many rural women. What emerges is an early commitment to women's liberation.

In the late nineteenth century, it would not have been unusual for a woman to write a regular newspaper column for homemakers. The problem for many women journalists was in addressing topics beyond four narrow subjects: fashions, food, family, and furnishings. Ellen Augusta Hill, or Mrs. E. A. Hill as she signed her columns in the 1880s, did not have this problem. When she started

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organizing the woman's page for the *Florida Dispatch*, she served notice that it was more than a section for homemaking and the exchange of recipes. Hill promised that her column would publish the grievances of women.¹

In the 1880s, there were exceptions to women being limited to topics related to the household. Many of these were associated with the Populist Party and farmers' organizations that supported economic and political reforms. While Ellen Hill shared commonalities with rural women elsewhere, she also differed in her concerns, offering no vocal support for any particular organization. The contents of Hill's column also differed from the articles written by women about Florida decades earlier.

Perhaps the first woman to write about Florida in newspapers was Harriet Beecher Stowe's first cousin, Harriet Foote Hawley. Hawley was the daughter of Stowe's mother's youngest brother and came to Florida in the Civil War. Her husband, Joseph R. Hawley, was on garrison duty in Fernandina in 1863 and his wife joined him there. Together the Hawleys owned a newspaper in Hartford, Connecticut, and Harriet wrote eight articles about her experiences in the South. The first in the series was a moving description of reading the Emancipation Proclamation to black federal troops in the Sea Islands:²

The President's Proclamation was read by Dr. Brisbane, a man who, as Col. Higginson said, in his early manhood had given freedom to his own slaves, it seemed fitting he should now in his maturer years, be permitted to read the tidings of freedom to others. A beautiful stand of colors was then presented to the regiment by Rev. Mr. French and as Col. Higginson received the unfurled banner in his hand, and turned to reply, a single quavering voice, evidently that of an aged Negro, burst out into song "America," "My Country' tis of thee, Sweet land of Liberty," &c. Instantly other voices among them joined in—the audience on the platform, much moved, would have joined also, but, waving his hand and saying, "Leave them to themselves," Col. Higginson silenced us, and the song went on, swelling

1. Florida Dispatch, August 9, 1886.

See Sarah Whitmer Foster and John T. Foster, Jr., "Harriet Ward Foote Hawley: Civil War Journalist," Florida Historical Quarterly 83, no. 4 (April 2005): 448-467.

louder and fuller till the whole regiment had joined and all the great crowd also. Tears filled many eyes around me—for myself, I could hardly check the sobs, as I thought—for the first time—now—they have a Country—it is to them now a "land of Liberty."³

While Harriet Hawley went on to write about a diversity of subjects—Civil War Fernandina and the beauty of the waterfront at St. Augustine, she never touched upon women's rights in print in Florida.

Within a few years Harriet Beecher Stowe joined her relative. Starting in 1867 and ending in the early 1880s, the famous novelist wrote fifty-two articles about Florida or about travel to the state. A third of Stowe's efforts were collected together to form her book *Palmetto-Leaves*. To encourage tourism, she vividly described travel to St. Augustine, boating on streams and rivers, wildlife and birds, and the wonder of her orange groves. Stowe also added comments on African-American workers and value of the Freedmen's Savings Bank. As the novelist put it, the bank's deposits show that black "... Southern laborers are a thrifty, industrious, advancing set...." In her literature about Florida, Stowe wrote disparaging comments about male tourists who wantonly shot birds and wildlife from the decks of steamboats; however, she never commented upon male behavior in other spheres.⁴

While neither Hawley nor Stowe provided a place for the exchange of ideas, such places did emerge. In the period when Hill wrote her column, the end of the 1880s, rural women were writing letters to newspapers affiliated with the Southern Farmer's Alliance, an organization that came to be associated with the Populist Party. The Alliance began in Texas in 1877 and spread elsewhere in the Upper and Lower South. Farmers in the last three decades of the nineteenth century faced a combination of difficult economic problems: the period saw a continued reliance on cotton and its price declined, monopolies became more common in both railroads and in industrial production, and the nation's economic policies resulted in a long period of deflation. Indebtedness grew among farmers as they became ensnared in the crop-lien system in which funds were borrowed against future cotton crops. While

3. Ibid., 454-456; Hartford Evening Press, January 14, 1863.

Harriet Beecher Stowe, Palmetto-Leaves (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1873).

state legislatures enacted low interest rates, Marion Barthelme states "actual rates charged... [were] well in excess of 100 percent annually." The results for tens of thousands of farmers were disastrous, creating a form of "peonage." In Tennessee, Connie Lester noted that the size of the average farm dropped from 166 acres in 1870 to 91 in 1900. Correspondingly, in the same period the value of the average farm declined from \$2,387 to \$1,519.5

The Alliance offered a series of proposals to improve the lives of rural farmers. Beyond seeking legislation to control monopolies and to reform fundamental currency, the organization also sought "better public schools for rural children, state agricultural colleges, colleges for women, laws controlling the railroads, better prices for farm products." To achieve these goals the Alliance appealed to both men and women. In doing this, it rejected the nineteenth century model of the "southern lady, submissive and virtuous, 'the most fascinating being in creation, the delight and charm of every [social] circle she moves in." Historian Julie Roy Jeffrey suggests that the status of women began changing after the Civil War. As a consequence of the deaths of soldiers—husbands, fathers, sons-women had to "run farms, boarding houses, to become seamstresses, postmistresses, and teachers." By the 1880s a different model for women appeared, making it possible for the Alliance to urge "women to adopt a new self-image, one that included education, economic self-sufficiency, one that made a mockery of all false ideas of gentility."6

As the Alliance grew, women wrote letters to newspapers. This was especially true of *The Weekly Toiler* in Tennessee, the *Progressive Farmer* in North Carolina, and the *Southern Mercury* in Texas, all of which had statewide audiences. Within these letters are a series of recurring topics. Connie Lester found women elaborating on their contributions to farm life, ranging from poultry production and the marketing of eggs to offering advice on crops. Women worried about debts and mortgages on farms as well as other economic

Marion K. Barthelme, Women in the Texas Populist Movement (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1997), 9; Connie L. Lester, "'Let Us Be Up and Doing': Women in the Tennessee Movements for Agrarian Reform, 1870-1892," Tennessee Historical Quarterly 44, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 84.

Barthelme, Women in the Texas Populist Movement, 25; Anne Firor Scott, The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 4-5; Julie Roy Jeffrey, "Women in the Southern Farmers' Alliance: A Reconsideration of the Role and Status of Women in the Late Nineteenth-Century South," Feminist Studies 3 (Fall 1975), 73.

problems. With few labor-saving devices the "burdens of poverty and subsistence agriculture fell disproportionately on women." Women also commented upon the dynamics of local units of the Alliance—ones that excluded or minimized the participation of women—and criticized the behavior of conservative men who balked at the Alliance's reforms.⁷

While women in Texas echoed many of the concerns of their contemporaries in Tennessee, they also differed. The rural economy of the West was less diverse and more subject to croplien exploitation. In her book, Marion Barthelme found that while women pulled "their own weight on farms" also they showed reticence to write letters or to speak in public. As time passed, the women became less self-effacing. The letters from Texas, at times, went beyond the economic problems of the era to stress the beauty of the country: places "where vegetation puts forth all its magnificence and the merry songs of birds inspire...admiration."

Ellen A. Hill addressed some of these topics in her columns on Florida. When Hill joined the *Florida Dispatch* in 1886 the weekly newspaper had been in publication for sixteen years— first in Live Oak and then Jacksonville. The relocation and changes in ownership did not affect the primary focus of the publication. The *Dispatch* printed articles about orange groves and a wide variety of tree and fruit crops, including both peaches and pecans. It also endorsed truck farming and the planting of winter vegetables. One of the few issues surviving from the 1870s talked about four crates of peas bringing more than fifteen dollars and that tomatoes would bring "ten dollars per bushel through the entire month of April." The development of new crops appealed to Yankee newcomers rather than to either Florida Crackers or to local cotton planters. By 1887, the publication claimed the largest circulation of any newspaper in the state.⁹

The Dispatch encouraged agricultural change that was occurring in Florida. The newspaper reported that while the state harvested "eighty million oranges" in 1885, most of this production came from new groves. As the newspaper explained, "Fully two-thirds of the orange orchards in the state are under ten years of age..." The groves in the eastern and central parts of Florida stood in marked

^{7.} Lester, "Let Us Be Up and Doing," 88-90.

^{8.} Barthelme, Women in the Texas Populist Movement, 13, 20.

^{9.} Florida Dispatch, May 8, 1876 and January 3, 1887.

contrast with the cotton producing counties around Tallahassee that remained agriculturally and economically stagnant.¹⁰

Typically the *Dispatch* issues addressed agricultural news and the steps necessary to grow novel crops. More importantly for Ellen Hill, it printed the correspondence of its readers. As years passed, the newspaper placed a "Household" page just in front of a section allotted to advertisements. Before Hill's leadership, this part of the newspaper seems to have had no one charged with organizing it. The topics addressed in a December 1884 issue were a disorderly mixture: "Rye Bread," "To Crystallize Fruit," "Pickling Beef," "Mutton—Why not Eat?" "Sulphur Bleaching Dried Fruit," and a preparation to clean and preserve wood shingled roofs. Obviously, improvements could be made, and a new editor, A. H. Manville, selected Ellen Hill to lead the renamed "Household Interests" section. Probably realizing the nature of the *Dispatch*'s readership, the city-based newspaper selected a journalist who lived in Orange City, southwest of Daytona Beach.

After stating her promise to offer a place for women's grievances in August 1886, Ellen Hill took months to implement it. In March 1887, she began by outlining a couple's experiences in Florida. Having arrived on a farm near New Smyrna, the husband became "wholly absorbed in ...the orange culture, a victim to the orange craze, nothing else was thought of, nothing else was spoken of morning, noon or night, but oranges." This single-minded preoccupation eventually undermined the relationship between the husband and wife. Hill explained that the husband was wrong and should have followed a very different course of action: "...if you wish a permanent and happy home in Florida, commence by giving your wife extra attention; always ask her opinion whether guided by it or not; try and get her enthused with whatever interests you; let her help you plan your business and tell her all the particulars regarding it." Take her to meetings of the agricultural societies, Hill advised, and give her kisses and kisses to make up for those of her family far away. Love, Hill noted, "makes it possible to endure deprivations of a frontier." Hill closed her column by stating that the farm near New Smyrna failed and that the embittered couple left Florida.11

^{10.} Florida Dispatch, March 29, 1886.

^{11.} Ibid., March 14, 1887.

Two weeks later, on March 28, 1887, Hill printed a frank response from Duval County: "Dear Mrs. Hill. You have struck the keynote at last. It is not Florida but the men who come here that are to blame for all the unhappiness the women complain of. I have watched for many weeks for your pen to swerve into the right groove; now keep harping on that string until you bring about a reform. You only touch them with a feather; they need a battle axe." 12

This writer was not alone, and in a subsequent edition Hill published a letter from a woman near Lake Helen: "Oh, the stupidity of men! Is it enough to make one groan being burdened? How little they know of a true woman's heart." The writer went on to agree with Hill's original position that wives needed affection. If they had it, women could put up with "suffering" on the frontier.¹³

Within a few months, Hill turned to what would become another reoccurring theme: women should not be limited to the traditional roles of housekeeping and parenting. She began the topic by proclaiming, "The popular prejudice so long prevalent in regard to woman's entering the business world has gradually given way, and of late years we find record of many who have not only tried, but, what is more to the point, have met with success." She proceeded to state that women in Florida were already involved with orange groves, gardens, and vineyards. Therefore, Hill claimed, women could do well in raising all kinds of fruit and she already knew of an example. Besides, she added, in a marriage "necessity often compels" a woman to do different things. Women can already be found in "the office, store or shop." So, "why not in the orchard?" 14

In the very next column the journalist recommended a fair division of the family's resources. "An even-handed justice should prevail in all the economies of life; for instance, the wife must not be expected to turn her gowns wrong side out, and up side down, while the husbands and sons spend on every hand to suit their tastes and wishes..." Hill proposed that funds be allocated to the wife to run the household. If by chance, she could save part of these resources for "herself, well and good." At a later time, Hill returned to the use of family money by observing that men and boys purchased tobacco and other "worthless things." Then

^{12.} Florida Dispatch, March 28, 1887.

^{13.} Ibid., May 23, 1887.

^{14.} Ibid., July 11, 1887.

she addressed basic equality: "...exact justice demands that a sum equal to any and all thus expended [by males] be placed in the wife's hands for her personal use and benefit, be it for finery or the 'missionaries' but never expend it on 'clothes for the baby." 15

When Hill first raised the topic of family finances, she also printed a letter tracing the development of an orange grove. It was under the management of a young woman, a "sister-in-law of a Capt, R. in Pasco County," The young woman supplied all of the leadership, giving instructions to male laborers. The entire project was hers. "While on a visit to her sister, she conceived the idea of starting an orange grove on her own account. In an incredibly short space of time five acres were cleared, plowed and grubbed, until it was clean as a garden." Then she went to a nursery and personally chose "two hundred budded [orange trees] of largest size and choicest variety." Then the woman purchased a ton or more of fertilizer and had it properly distributed. But this was not the end of her project; she also purchased fifty peach trees and a long list of other fruit trees and planted them among the orange trees. All of this was accomplished with knowledge and insight. Or as the writer put it, "Advanced young men who fondly hugged the delusion to their bosoms that they knew all about horticulture or floriculture, on talking with her on the subjects, quickly found out that she had forgotten enough information on the subjects at issue to liberally endow a chair in any one of our ... Agricultural colleges." As time passed, the woman's grove prospered, becoming "one of the best looking." Interestingly, the writer went on to note that the young woman was not a Yankee and her knowledge of the fine arts rivaled a Renaissance man: "The music of Beethoven and Chopin fairly drips from her finger tips, and for a pastime she paints plaques." The author of the letter was Nellie Bly, a journalist who became famous at the end of the nineteenth century.16

Unlike the woman in the Bly example, Hill's correspondence in the *Dispatch* came from Yankee women. They were from a variety of states—Maine, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, New York, and Kansas—with more coming from Illinois than any other place. For most families the move to Florida was health related. The illnesses of one or more family members were severe enough that they had little or no choice but to relocate. Each of the women responding

^{15.} Florida Dispatch, July 18, 1887 and April 30, 1888.

^{16.} Ibid., July 18, 1887.

reported that health had improved rapidly, especially among their children.¹⁷

In the wake of the Bly letter, Hill wrote a column that sparked one of the liveliest and longest interchanges among her readers. It began when Hill offered a hypothesis that men liked Florida much better than women. Then she threw open much of her newspaper page for the readers' responses. As Hill put it, "we ...invite all settlers to send in their opinion of Florida as a home." The journalist went on to say that she wanted to hear both the positive and negative. "We wish to have the testimony full and complete; with the dark side brought to the front." 18

Perhaps to her surprise, women were not unhappy. Rather than listing grievances many of the women along Florida's frontier described the simple pleasures of life. One enjoyed the countless pines around her home:

I have dwelt among them so long that I love them everyone, from the stately tree straight as an arrow that reaches its head high toward heaven, to the one that stands like some gray sentinel only waiting for some friendly ax to lay it low, its work ended; and to you who dwell among the pines of Florida I would ask. Did you ever listen to the moaning of the wind and pine tree tops? Did you ever sit at dusk and listen to them, how they begin to whisper and talk among themselves, how the whisper seems to start from afar off and gain in volume as it advances, and sob and moan like someone in mortal agony, and finally die away in the distance only to begin again, ... did you ever watch them on a pleasant sunshiny day how they nod and whisper to one another like children at play, and almost sing you a lullaby as you lazily swing to and fro in a hammock [?] 19

Still another woman enjoyed basic everyday life:

I find so much to occupy my time from my little chicks to my little babe. I began this season with seven hens, and have so far raised sixty chickens (not-withstanding [my] baby gets among them sometimes with a stick and plays havoc.) They are now repaying me for all my troubles by

^{17.} Florida Dispatch, August 29, 1887.

^{18.} Ibid., August 29, 1887.

^{19.} Ibid., August 1, 1887.

coming to my table in the most approved style. Then I have a garden that requires my early mornings and late afternoons. I can assure you I spend much time among my vegetables, and it is a feast to the eye to see each of my plants become a king's diadem, all glittering in the early sun rays with nature's own jewels. What delicious dinners I can assure you, not only prepared but provided by own hands.

Near by is my nursery of young trees, the majority planted by myself. I have oranges of all varieties, persimmons, pears, figs, bananas, peaches and grapes. When I have nothing else to do I don bonnet and gloves, take my garden hoe, and give my tree's good working, and they seem to like to have me visit them...Of all the duties, mother duty is the sweetest, and at night when I feel little clinging arms around my neck and list to baby's 'good nigh,t' I feel I am the happiest woman in the world."²⁰

When the women turned to common problems in Florida—snakes, mosquitoes, gnats, flies, roaches, and the heat—they had seen worse elsewhere. No one claimed that mosquitoes were a major concern. Five families specifically mentioned screens on doors and windows while others lived in pine barrens away from lakes and ponds. Part of the latter group had mosquito nets for beds that often went unused. The heat was mitigated by the sea breezes that reached twenty or more miles into the interior of the state. If one wanted to suffer from the heat in the summer, a reader suggested that Cincinnati was the place.²¹

Even the roaches were not an insurmountable problem for these Yankee settlers. One person offered a formula for effective poisonous bait, suggesting a mixture of one part boric acid, one part water and two parts sugar brought to a boil. The mixture should then be applied to small pieces of cardboard and placed in the bugs' "haunts." The writer's observation that roaches "eat the mixture and [it] kills them" is, without doubt, correct. One

20. Florida Dispatch, September 24, 1888.

Ibid., September 12, 1887. Malaria existed in Florida, but only family actually
mentioned it. They claimed to be well-stocked with quinine and were
prepared to use it at the first notice of anything resembling the disease. As for
hurricanes, none were mentioned.

commercial company still uses a variation of this formula to create an inexpensive insecticide that Floridians have used for decades.²²

While the advice shared among these Yankees was insightful, it also had the potential of keeping them healthy. The worst problem was unclean water. As a writer put it, "Physicians have told us that the water we drink is the cause of more sickness in the South than almost all other causes. We are afraid of the water in shallow wells. as it was usually the drainage from the land, and unfit for drinking purposes." The letter went on to give this advice: "It will do nicely for washing and cleaning, as the water is soft; and, perhaps after boiling will answer for cooking." Having clearly stated the problem, the writer turned to an effective answer: "we prefer to use rain water to drink. We have a small brick cistern, but barrels ... will do." The writer's plan also included, "A small bag of charcoal dropped into the barrel [to] keep the water pure; also, take a thin muslin or cheese cloth to cover the barrel to prevent dust, leaves and debris from getting into the water. The cloth can be washed when needed." This had to have been a significant improvement over shallow wells and water drawn from ponds and streams where there was a risk of contamination by livestock.23

While the Yankee readers of the Dispatch shared solutions to problems, one even offered insight into the lives of Cracker women. In 1887, a tourist walked some miles from a railroad in south Florida and came upon a farm where he was greeted with genuine hospitality. The meal consisting of bacon, collards, corn bread, sweet potatoes, and black coffee proved to be wonderful and given his hunger, he was very appreciative. As he put it, "so much good will was bestowed upon a stranger, and a Yankee, I could not suppress a 'Thank God.'" Later, sitting on the porch visiting with the "Old Man," the tourist learned in an extended visit that the woman of the house was "wearing out." Much of this was attributed to milking not "less than thirty cows." But the Yankee stranger began to add up how the farm was organized-the only water source was a pond a quarter of a mile from the house, the kitchen was a hundred feet from the main house, the pen for the cows was a quarter of a mile from the dwelling and the garden was a half mile away in yet a different direction. All of this formed

Florida Dispatch, May 28, 1888. The "Harris Famous Roach Tablets" made by P.F. Harris Mtg. Co. are 40% boric acid and 60% inert ingredients.
 Ibid., March 14, 1887.

a pattern: "no convenience did I perceive [was ever offered] to lessen labor or the wear and tear on the body" of the wife. As the tourist passed still other Cracker farms, the same pattern repeated: "I discovered the same disregard for appliances which save the body from extreme exertion and toil and lessen the exhaustion of the wife and mother...." The observer then exclaimed, "Oh, when will farmers learn to take care of their wives and daughters?" ²⁴

While the source of Hill's views on women's rights may have come from numerous pamphlets and books, she actually attributes it to everyday life on the frontier. Citing an article from the *Pacific Rural Press*, the journalist observed that women ran thousands of farms from Minnesota to the Dakotas and south into Kansas—some 2,377 to be exact. Part of this resulted when husbands died, and the wives continued to manage the farms on their own. Still others were run by "large numbers of unmarried women." Necessity required women to plow fields, harvest grain, and cut cords of wood. Generations earlier, when the frontier was in the Shenandoah Valley, one family let its eldest daughter translate all of its business transactions with German customers. Once free from traditional roles, she spent the next seventy years as a businesswoman. It is not a chance phenomenon that the first states in this country to approve that franchise for women were all west of the Mississippi River.²⁵

Ellen Hill claimed the status of a "pioneer" for herself. Born in upstate New York in 1836 as Ellen Augusta Morgan, she was carried as an infant from New York to Illinois in a wagon. As an educator in poor health she moved to the South in 1869, spending the next nineteen years in the region, part of it in the wilds of Florida. Like many correspondents of the *Dispatch*, Ellen overcame her medical problems. In 1882, she married a widower physician, Philip W. Hill, in Orange City, Florida. Her travels and experiences as a child in Illinois left Ellen believing that she was a real pioneer—not unlike the remote ancestors of other nineteenth century women. This explains the title for a series of articles Hill wrote in the summer of 1888 and her display of daring on a hundred and fifty mile journey across Florida. ²⁶

24. Florida Dispatch, June 13, 1887.

Ibid.; John T. Foster Jr. and Sarah Whitmer Foster, Contentment and the Pursuit of Ambition: The Grattans and Their Remarkable Women (Tallahassee: Rose Printing Co., 2011).

^{26.} Florida Dispatch, December 5, 1887, July 30 and August 6, 13, 20 and 27, 1888.

The goal of Hill's "Pioneer Trip" was to go to the beach in her carriage, something that was actually much more complicated than it sounds. While the coast was not far away from Orange City, the mainland is separated from the Atlantic by barrier islands. To solve this problem, Hill knew that the North River could be forded some dozen or so miles above St. Augustine. Hence, the entire journey consisted of traveling northeast for five days. Accompanying her were two women and a guide with limited knowledge.²⁷

The trip began early on July 9 in Orange City and ended with Hill's return almost two weeks later. The travelers went first to Deland and to the cattle ranch of a Mr. Marsh. Passing through an enormous hammock and very large abandoned fields, Hill and her friends rode into "almost trackless 'flat-woods' country; as yet unchanged by the progress of civilization, and, no doubt, essentially the same as it was fifty years ago." The goal for the first day was to reach a few houses near Haw Creek-a place southwest of Bunnell. However, Florida in 1888 was a land of few bridges and even fewer road signs, conditions that would prove problematic. As the party approached the area of Haw Creek, they ran into the first of these reoccurring problems, a stream with no bridge. To ascertain its depth, one of the party waded in front of the carriage. The water was found to be only a "little over the hub," permitting the passengers in the carriage to cross without getting wet. A second problem came from the mosquitoes that plagued the pioneers on two occasions. They came on the first night "by battalions; a whole army in fact. Buzz! buzz! buzz! and the gallinippers [sp] were at our ears, our eyes, and every available space not trebly protected."28

While the travelers had hoped to reach a community at Haw Creek the first evening, they found it on the second morning. This required the guide leaving the women and searching for the place to make sure they were on the right road. By night three, the pioneers were near Matanzas Inlet, below St. Augustine's old city. On the fourth day, Hill's party rode into the city; "After crossing the bridge we come to the old town proper and here note the changes made in a few years. The grand hotel Ponce de Leon, occupying so much room, has altered the appearance of that part of town very materially. But the old plaza had all its accustomed fascination for

^{27.} Florida Dispatch, July 30, 1888.

^{28.} Ibid., July 30, 1888. The American gall nipper is the world's largest mosquito.

us as we paused before the ancient monument in commemoration of the brave soldiers, "who died far from home in a strange land, loved by their comrades and honored by their country."²⁹

After Ellen and her friends again got lost north of St. Augustine, they eventually found the Atlantic Ocean:

The sun was low in the west as we drove into and through the most beautiful hammock land it has been our pleasure to witness in Florida. Magnificent giants of the forest, encircled vines, which in themselves seemed trees, it seemed to us that we could spend an entire season in contemplation of such beauties of nature when we reached the last sand hill which obstructed our view, and lo! "The sea, the sea, the deep blue sea." and, as to former generations, so to us, in all its grandeur it seemed to say: "Men may come and men may go; But I flow on forever." 30

Ellen Augusta Hill was willing to act on her pioneering spirit—to get into a carriage and ride across one hundred and fifty miles of Florida—a remarkable undertaking in 1888. Women by circumstance or choice did things on the frontier that their sisters in cities could not.

Early in 1888, more than a year after beginning her column, Hill wrote a series of articles about home furnishings that led her to a revolutionary conclusion. While many of the topics were mundane: home attractions (pictures, books, music, flowers, good cooking) and how to organize bedrooms, dining rooms, kitchens and parlors, Hill did offer timeless suggestions. Having followed the journalist through these topics, one reader turned to the design of homes, sending Hill a floor plan for a house she had built. The woman started with a dwelling similar to ones she knew in the North. It began like countless nineteenth century houses—two rooms on each side of central hall with a kitchen built on the backside of the structure. The home owner discovered to her chagrin the kitchen was cut off from the "breeze from the south and off from the lake and much of the circulation of air from all points." To solve the problem she had the kitchen moved back from the house and to a position parallel to the original front but west of it. Then the space between the kitchen and the back of the house was filled by relocating a room.

^{29.} Florida Dispatch, August 20, 1888.

^{30.} Ibid., September 3, 1888.

All the rooms were connected by a porch that was extended from the central hall. As a result a square house became an L, with the kitchen attached at the top left of the L. One of the special features of the dwelling came from the extensive porch. It was "...not only pleasant to live on but broke the direct rays of the sun from the house, making it cooler." Besides, the kitchen that had once been stifling became the coolest room in the entire dwelling.³¹

The idea that "Northern" house plans were ill suited to Florida did not upset Ellen Hill who was herself, a Yankee. Hill's response, however, went much further than an affirmation. She used the opportunity to print excerpts of an article proposing that women become architects. Women had more knowledge than men in several areas, the article stated. First, they had more experience in making "a house more convenient and pleasant." Secondly, women normally cleaned dwellings, giving them additional insights. "Only those who have experimental knowledge of housework are fit to plan the department where it is to be carried on." Given this background, it was recommended that men design large public buildings while the planning of dwellings should be "turned over to women." To become an architect would not be easy, requiring several years of hard work in an architect's office or an equal length of time in a college or university. The author concluded that women could do as well in architecture as in law or medicine.32

However, it would be many years after Hill publicly championed the idea of women becoming architects that it became historical fact. Perhaps the first woman to achieve prominence in architecture in Florida was Marion Manley. On September 6, 1918, Manley received the second license in architecture issued to a woman by the State of Florida. She began her own practice in Miami in the 1920s, designing small Spanish style residences. The proposition that women should become architects in 1888 actually precedes the birth of Marion Manley by five years. It also predates the entry of women into the legal profession. Louise Rebecca Pinnell was not admitted to the Florida Bar Association until 1898. According to the Florida Bar Journal, "Ms. Pinnell, Florida's first woman lawyer, practiced in Jacksonville for over forty-five years." 33

^{31.} Florida Dispatch, July 16, 1888.

^{32.} Ibid., September 10, 1888.

Catherine Lynn and Carie Penabad, Marion Manley: Miami's First Woman Architect (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 2-6; "Women Lawyers in Florida: The First Hundred Years," The Florida Bar Journal (November 1984): 579.

While Ellen Hill lived until February 1920, she had rejected any arbitrary limits on the talents of women decades earlier. In June 1888, she wrote:

The world is moving, and moving in the right direction along the line of women's activities, very slowing but surely the degraded condition that adhered to women of the past ages is giving way, and as each advancement is attended with manifest blessings to themselves and to the world, we wait in confidence the opening of the day when woman's sphere will be limited *only by her capabilities*. As women, we owe duty and allegiance to our sex, [to attain] the highest place possible....³⁴

It is clear that the writings of Hill and those of women in Florida differ from those affiliated with the Farmers' Alliance. By relying on citrus and a mixture of fruit and vegetables, Yankee women lived in a rural environment without the dreadful effects of a traditional monoculture in the South. None of them mentioned cotton or the other economic excesses of the era–ruthless monopolies, bank foreclosures, and dishonest retailers. Hill and her readers were also less reserved than the women in Texas or Tennessee. They forthrightly claimed a place of equality in orange groves, orchards, or in any profession. When she sought details of women's grievances in Florida, Hill got back statements that women were pleased with their lives. Rural life brought health and joy to many Yankee women in Florida and, unlike countless contemporaries in Texas or Tennessee, they were free to enjoy it.

^{34.} Florida Dispatch, June 4, 1888.

The Politics of Performance: Rollins College and the Annie Russell Theatre

by Joan M. Jensen

Today, Florida boasts important venues for the performing arts. Orlando is ringed by dozens of theme parks that furnish entertainment for masses of people seeking to sample "popular" culture. These popular forms of entertainment are a backdrop for the somewhat smaller stage of "elite" or "serious" performing arts: Ringling's Asolo Center for the Performing Arts in Sarasota and the Fringe Theater Festival in Miami, which attract thousands of people each year, are examples. These are two faces of the same human need for performance before an audience, and for spaces to gather the audiences.

This article focuses on an earlier era of Florida theatre, at Rollins College, in Winter Park and its surroundings during the 1930s. It looks at a cluster of performances which illustrate the complex face of what are now called the performing arts. Many aspects of the performing arts can be understood by examining small venues, using interdisciplinary methods that reveal details

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on how nourishing contexts for performance arts were created, flourished, and then disintegrated or changed under the pressure of cultural politics, both national and local, expressed through influential individuals.

Florida is an especially rich location to study American performance. Each state and region has a different history and no one region in itself tells us about American culture as a whole or how it is created. Historians of culture search for places and spaces where they can see the interplay of individuals, institutions, and events which together create those cultures, what scholars now call "expressive culture." Rollins College and the building of the Annie Russell Theatre provide an important window into the unfolding of expressive culture as people jostled to present, in various forms of drama, their experiences of life and why they were important. Through this window we can also get some sense of how cultures evolve, how individuals express their experiences in these cultures, which ideas gain acceptance among a broader public, and which experiences are allowed as legitimate expressions of the larger culture. These decisions are made, not by some master cultural broker, but through complicated negotiations which take place in many places and times and which together give some sense of the complexity of a large country with a diverse population, divided and joined by race, gender, and class. The anatomy of events, small in compass, time, and place, with a limited number of main characters, can thus tell us not just about that small incident, but also the mechanisms by which these decisions are made, in other words, the politics of performance.

Performance at Rollins College during the 1930s offers one such venue. Collections of letters, photographs, and memoirs indicate that Rollins College during the 1920s and 1930s provided a rare and exciting example of how these elements came together to promote a flourishing of the performing arts. This essay describes the events that made this moment possible and the dynamics which then scattered the players toward separate destinies in a drama so small that we can examine it in detail and yet so significant in its contours that it can serve to reveal the complexity of creating and studying expressive culture.

To study these performances, I have used methods drawn not only from history, but also from anthropology, literature, sociology, gender studies, and performance studies. Each brings a different way of looking at this material. The history of theatre, its advocates for professional performances, the Little Theatre Movement that involved a much broader audience, and the introduction of folk theatre in the 1920s and 1930s, are all a part of this story. So too are segregation of performance by race, ethnicity, and class, as well as the partially visible tensions among individuals and across genders. Historians, of necessity, still depend upon written texts that tell only a small part of the performance. Much of the story plays out behind the written texts. Fortunately, ample texts remain to get a sense of the politics of performance at Rollins. They form a shadow stage reflecting the images of the actors and their movements.

Four women are the principal players on this stage. Annie Russell, whose name the theatre at Rollins enshrines, is best known for her early career in theatre. In this story she plays the part of an aging actor hoping to preserve the best of the professional classical theatre traditions as she saw them. Her close friend, Mary Louise Curtis Bok, who tried to erase herself from any public memory, emerges as an important agent in forming the theatre and its direction. Dorothea Thomas Lynch, in her interests and actions, embodied the important Little Theatre Movement of the early twentieth century which emphasized the personal and everyday life of ordinary people. Russell insisted the Little Theatre Movement was waning during the 1930s. Zora Neale Hurston, today the best known of this cast of players—for her fiction rather than her choreography and playwriting—arrived in the midst of a story already unfolding. Four professors and the president of the College form the supporting cast, who sometimes try to steal the scenes. Behind the stage and the actors who perform upon it, are the audiences, essential for the theatre, whether professional, amateur, or folk. For all, the play was "the thing" at Rollins in the 1930s.

Theatre in the Progressive Era

Two main streams of theater existed side by side in the early twentieth century, a popular theater that aimed to entertain the public and a professional theater devoted to presenting plays that were thought to enlighten the public and stimulate its understanding of human emotions and actions. Many local popular performances—circus, vaudeville, burlesque—had been consolidated or eliminated under the control of a few producers who sponsored large touring companies. This consolidation was being challenged by the newer moving pictures which had the

potential to replace these touring companies. This new medium adopted much of the content of the older popular culture and absorbed many of the performers as well.¹

Locally created popular and regional theatre was threatened as well as the older professional troupes dedicated to presenting professional actors in classical drama—usually European plays, such as Shakespeare. In the late nineteenth century there had existed a smaller, but significant audience which was either familiar with these time-tested dramas or wanted to sample them. As the larger troupes formed, these professionals felt left behind by what they considered a commercialized and debased form of theatre. In the early twentieth century, groups of professional actors tried reassembling financial support and audiences to maintain theaters devoted to what they believed was an essential core of "serious" drama, both comedy and tragedy. They saw the goal of this drama not primarily as entertainment, but as a way of engaging the audience in presentations of emotions which they considered to be universal, most often embedded in noble and heroic European characters or their adopted classical ancestors. Many efforts to provide permanent financial support through subsidies by private patrons or audience ticket fees failed in the early twentieth century.2

This ferment gave rise to an ambitious search for new plays and new ways to present them. During the next three decades, the 1910s to the 1930s, the period historians call the Progressive Era, successive groups tried to reform American theatre. New York boasted a series of thriving small theater cultures that brought together playwrights, actors, directors, patrons, and audiences. African-American theater was exploding with new experimental plays and musicals. Immigrants had their own ethnic theatres, and

Dorothy Chansky, Composing Ourselves: The Little Theatre Movement and the American Audience (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004) is the best general study. Karen Blair, The Torchbearers: Women and Their Amateur Arts Association in America, 1890-1930 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), especially Chapter 6, "The Little Theater Movement," places the history of the Pasadena Playhouse in the larger movement and the involvement of women in the movement.

Joseph Bromfield and Jennifer Jones Cavenaugh, "A Historiography of Informed Imagination: A (Hi)Story Drawn from the Correspondence of Annie Russell and Faith Baldwin," *Theatre History Studies* 29 (2009): 52-80; and Annie Russell, "As the Player Sees the Playgoer," *Ladies Home Journal* (November 1912): 16.

workers their own working class theatres. Live theatre offered a place, not just for serious drama, but for experimental musicals, for folk drama, for dance.³

Across the country, in thousands of communities, theatre had its own vibrant life. A folk drama movement emerged which drew on local cultures as a source for themes, while larger theaters hosted professional troupes which still went on the road with interpretations of accepted classics and new plays. It was an extraordinary time. Despite the inroads of movies and the decline of the traditional touring vaudeville and road shows, traveling tent shows persisted and live theater flourished. Performance art existed throughout the country—in rural towns, in regional centers, in newly established high school and college drama programs.⁴

The Little Theatre Movement

This theatre flourishing away from Broadway came to be known as The Little Theatre Movement. Born in the turn-of-the-century Progressive era experiments with popular education, the Little Theatre Movement was buoyed up by private financing during the 1920s, and continued into the 1930s supported by the New Deal government program which put unemployed actors to work showcasing plays about American life.⁵

The Little Theatre Movement had no center, but flourished wherever clusters of people joined to reform what they considered to be an overly centralized, commercialized theatre oriented to profits and vaudeville type entertainment. Most flourished near universities and drew on their faculty, but included community organizers, actors, and audiences. Groups formed around the women's colleges in New England, and elsewhere around both public and private colleges, in places such as Galesburg, Illinois, Grand Forks, North Dakota, or Durham, North Carolina.⁶

See Robert Rusie, "Talkin' Broadway Presents Broadway 101: The History of the Great White Way," for an introduction to New York theater in the 1910s to 1930s. http://www.talkinbroadway.com/byway101/4th.html (accessed January 11, 2012).

^{4.} Chansky, Composing Ourselves, 8-12.

Lorraine Brown, "Federal Theatre: Melodrama, Social Protest, and Genius," http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/fedp/ftbrwn00.html (accessed April 6, 2008), is a good overview of New Deal programs.

There is no study of college little theatre. Chansky, Composing Ourselves, 8, 19, mentions that the University of Wisconsin, Madison was home to the Wisconsin Dramatic Society in 1911 and other college activities.

Audiences were typically small, fewer than fifty people, and venues were similarly small, often clubhouses, church basements, and community halls. Although the movement has been described by some historians as mostly white, middle-class, and female, ethnic communities developed their own theaters often based in working class neighborhoods, using union halls and plays that appealed to them in their native languages, and sometimes oriented to communal and socialist themes. Where African-American communities took form in the North during these years, there was a similar interest in creating plays that depicted their lives in new ways. Most studied are the movements based in the Northeast, but we know that programs existed throughout the West and in certain areas of the South. The program at the University of North Carolina, near Durham, is the best known.⁷

From these scattered university and community centers, little theatre directors and players came together for state and then national conferences. A national conference in 1925 called "Drama in American Universities" brought together hundreds of enthusiastic participants. Women were prominent in the movement, often heading up newly formed theatre departments in colleges and developing contacts with local women's clubs which provided support and ready audiences, as well as some very talented amateur actors.

One act plays became the most common medium and women playwrights such as Zona Gale and Susan Glaspell created womencentered plays for female actors and audiences. They often presented, and resolved, dilemmas of American women set in rural and small town scenes. But the state conferences might also include plays about African Americans and Hispanic people. In 1925, Rollins College in Winter Park, Florida, just north of Orlando, hired Dorothea Thomas to create and direct a little theatre.⁸

^{7.} Frederick Henry Koch, after studying with George Pierce Baker at Harvard University, founded and headed the North Dakota Playmakers at the University of North Dakota and then established the Carolina Playmakers at the University of North Carolina. Unable to get support for a playwriting degree at Harvard, Pierce moved to Yale University in 1925 and founded the Yale School of Drama. Rollins professor William R. Wunsch studied with Koch. Mary Emma Harris, The Arts at Black Mountain College (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1987), 36-38 traces the Pierce-Koch-Wunsch connection.

Both Gale and Glaspell came out of the Midwest and dealt with the dilemmas
of white middle-class women in many of their popular plays. See Barbara
Ozieblo Rajkowska and Barbara Ozieblo, Susan Glaspell: A Critical Biography

Thus, one did not have to be in New York, Cleveland, Chicago, Minneapolis, or even Durham to participate in the Little Theater Movement during the 1920s and 1930s. One could be in Winter Park, Florida, at Rollins College. Rollins was a microcosm of this great coming together of play writers, directors, actors, patrons, and audiences.

In the 1930s, Rollins was in its most exuberant period of growth under the dynamic new president Hamilton Holt, who served as chief administrator from 1925 to 1949. A minor miracle was that Rollins could be such a creative center during the Depression in a small southern town, albeit one that had a hefty influx of wealthy northerners every winter. Rollins had a student enrollment of about 500 when Holt, a former magazine editor, accepted the challenge to reform this college which had been founded by northerners in the 1880s. He changed the curriculum, hired new faculty, reached out to the community, and embarked on an ambitious building campaign. During the years of his presidency, Holt raised funds for 32 new buildings. In the early 1930s, he gathered an eclectic teaching faculty and encouraged them to tear down traditional academic walls. He envisioned the campus as a laboratory where faculty and students could explore new teaching techniques that emphasized student participation in the curriculum and included new subjects such as drama. Eager students and faculty spilled out into Winter Park and beyond. They tested the limits of President Holt's ability to keep the campus open to experiment, but still a place where wealthy patrons could comfortably put their money and their children. For a few years Rollins became a place where the play was the thing.9

Dorothea Thomas Lynch and the Little Theatre Movement

Holt immediately saw the potential for making drama a centerpiece for the arts at Rollins. The Little Theatre Movement

⁽Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000) and Julia Ehrardt, Writers of Conviction: The Personal Politics of Zona Gale, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Rose Wilder Lane, and Josephine Herbst (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004). Regional Hispanic and African American theatre is still not well studied although it flourished in Florida as well as other southern states.

Leigh Brown Perkins, "The Annie Russell Theatre & Knowles Memorial Chapel," Rollins Alumni Record (Summer 2008): 16-22. Holt's theories of education seem close to those of Helen Parkhurst who called for students and teachers to work together toward individualized goals. See her Education on the Dalton Plan (New York: Dutton, 1922).

arrived in 1925 with his hiring of Dorothea Thomas, a graduate of Smith College in Massachusetts. The Little Theatre Movement was just being embedded in college and university programs in the 1920s, and the first theatre degree programs developed at this time. Thomas, who became involved in the Little Theater Movement while at Smith, apprenticed with a company touring one act plays, and then joined the new repertory theatre in Cleveland, Ohio. In 1925, Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh, the first university in the United States to offer a degree in theatre, sponsored a "Conference on Drama in American Universities and Little Theatres" which brought together hundreds of enthusiastic participants. Thomas certainly knew about it. According to some estimates, as many as 5,000 Little Theatres existed in the country. They seemed to be everywhere, performing in small venues, close to the groups they served, in store fronts, churches, studios, settlement houses, and school auditoriums. The Little Theatre Movement, from its inception, was particularly attractive to women as participants, instructors, and patrons. Women had been experimenting with college classes in "expression" for years.

Thomas brought her enthusiasm for the Little Theatre Movement south with her. She found a colleague who was already interested in the new classes for women students at Rollins. Orpha Pope Gray had developed a series of classes in expression and agreed the department should be enlarged to include courses in acting and play production.¹⁰

Thomas assisted in teaching drama and organized an amateur Little Theatre Workshop like the others that were spreading through colleges across the country. The group was to be composed primarily of Rollins students, but also open to the community. As Thomas recalled later, "The one act play was at its peak of popularity in those days. The form was ideal for building up a student theatre repertoire....There was no money. But there were talented students....The student body was brimming with enthusiasm for 'what comes next?' It was an auspicious time for raising the curtain on a student theatre." The group debuted at

Chansky, Composing Ourselves, 5-14, 19. Dorothea Thomas Lynch to Jane Fletcher, November 17, 1976, Dorothea Thomas Lynch to President Jack B. Critchfield, March 28, 1976, Biographical Files for Dorothea Thomas Lynch, Rollins College, Olin Library, Special Collections, Winter Park, Florida. Hereafter cited as RCOL.

the Episcopal Church, where her father was rector, progressed to productions at the local Women's Club, and then to the Recreation Hall at Rollins. The first students enrolled in these classes were all women, according to Thomas. The women then convinced men to join them on stage. By 1928, students and community members were touring around Florida as the Rollins Players. 11

During the 1930-31 academic year, the Little Theatre Workshop at Rollins performed six plays for audiences from the college and the surrounding community. Thomas directed and staged George Bernard Shaw's *Candida*, Leonid Andreyev's *He Who Gets Slapped*, (a modern symbolic drama), Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, and Zona Gale's *The Neighbors*. Thomas, meanwhile, had married Winter Park newspaper editor Laurence Lynch and took the name Thomas Lynch. Her community ties seemed firm. And she was delighted when in 1930, the famous actor Annie Russell decided to settle permanently in Winter Park. ¹²

Annie Russell

Just when Annie Russell first visited Winter Park is not clear. According to one account she first arrived in 1923, perhaps to visit her sister Marion Carty who had moved there from New York. Russell had retired from a long successful career as an actor on the New York, London, and international stages. She was now in ill health and living a peripatetic life, moving from place to place seeking a more healthful climate in winter. By summer 1923 she was in Rockport, Maine, where she now spent most of her summers, living near her old friend Mary Louise Curtis Bok, after whom she also visited at the Bok mansion in Merion, Pennsylvania, just outside of Philadelphia. Mary Louise and Edward Bok had spent some seasons in Winter Park, and in 1930 Annie Russell moved permanently to Winter Park where her sister was still living. It would have been natural for Russell, once she was permanently settled in Winter Park, to check out the plays at Rollins Collage where Thomas Lynch was directing the Rollins Players. 13

Dorothea Thomas Lynch, "The Rollins Little Theatre Workshop: The Rollins Payers, An Informal History," Dorothea Thomas Lynch Papers, RCOL.

^{12.} Ibid.

Typescript biographies in the Annie Russell Papers, RCOL, mention her various travels. See also H.L, Kleinfield, "Annie Russell," in Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary, ed. Edward T. James, Volume III (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 209-211.

By 1930, Russell had been retired from acting for ten years, but she had never lost her love of the stage. Daughter of an English mother and an Irish father who died shortly after immigrating to Canada in 1869, Annie, her mother, and three siblings were left to make their own way. By age eight Annie was acting on stage in Montreal. Chorus singing in Gilbert and Sullivan's musicals soon followed, including touring in Latin America. At sixteen, Russell won a leading part at Madison Square Garden in a play that featured her as a country lass in Paris. Two hundred and fifty performances in New York and another seven hundred on the road made her one of the best known and best-paid actors in the country. She went on to play similar parts, including a role as Sue in a play adapted from a Bret Harte story. By 1905 she was starring in George Bernard Shaw's Major Barbara in London and in 1906 A Midsummer Night's Dream in New York. As one of the most popular actors in the country, it was not surprising that editor Edward Bok would seek her out to write articles about acting for his Ladies Home Journal. He introduced Annie to his wife Mary Louise and they became good friends. "Our friendship just grew more and more perfect," Russell later said. She had experimented with two unsatisfactory marriages. Neither brought her as much support or satisfaction as her relationship with Mary Louise Bok.14

Russell was at one with the complaints of the Little Theatre reformers that American theatre had been commercialized and was mediocre. But hers was a vision of a professional and national theatre, not amateur and local. She had tried to establish her own ideal theater in New York in 1912 as the "Old English Comedy Company." It failed after two years. In a series of articles and talks during these decades, Russell had sketched out her concept of the role of actors, producers, and audiences. She was interested in teaching young people to perfect their acting skills, and the audience in how to look at these performers.

Russell saw acting as a profession and an art. Aspiring performers, she advised, must prepare for an acting career by training in all the arts. She advised they study color and costume, as well as music and voice, and to practice acting relentlessly until they could excel at it. Voice, memory, control— all were necessary to perfect the art of expression and acting. It would take a "lifetime

Quote from Rockland Courier-Gazette, June 26, 1934, clipping in Annie Russell Papers, ROCL.

of analysis of emotion," to perform the "finest, highest type" of drama. They must become "students of humanity." It was not just a pastime for amateurs. It was a lifetime of commitment to performance as an art, one that would "ripen" over the course of a professional life dedicated to the art of performance.¹⁵

With these ideals, it was not surprising that Russell found the theater as it existed in the United States wanting. She saw several causes. "A scornful press," was one, which resorted to "ridicule and absolutely brutal criticism" as well as personal attacks on the actors. Meanwhile, managers pandered to the public and did not seek out well written, well-acted, and interesting dramatic plays. The main problem, Russell thought, was the audience. 16

The audience, Russell wrote in a series of articles published in the *Cosmopolitan* at the behest of editor Edward Bok, was often "indifferent or abusive." It responded not to actors as artists, but to a star system that fostered "good looks, good figure, high-kicking, and low thinking." It encouraged "notoriety rather than notability in actors." Audiences had a predilection for "immorality in plays," were inferior "in matters of taste, artistic perception, and she concluded, "morals." ¹⁷

Why was the audience not playing its proper role? The cause of this audience condition, explained Russell, was the influence of the "tired business man," who she called the TBM, and who usually determined which plays would be attended by the whole family. These TBMs were like "big boys" who were "mentally lazy," with a disinclination for "mental effort." They sought sensational plays, female caricatures, and old traditional types. They went for "glitter and glare and noise and foolishness." ¹⁸

There were some "good businessmen," she admitted. These men were willing to see the "sentimental side of existence, beautiful things, the fairy tales of life." They were interested in seeing plays

 [&]quot;An Address by Miss Annie Russell to the Students of the American Academy of Dramatic Arts, March 2, 1902, Empire Theatre, New York" Pamphlet RCOL; and "What it Really Means to be an Actress," *Ladies Home Journal* (January 1909): 49.

Annie Russell, "What it Really Means to be an Actress," 11 and "As the Player Sees the Playgoer," *Ladies' Home Journal* (January 1909): 11; "As the Player Sees the Playgoer," (November 1912): 16.

^{17.} Ibid.

Annie Russell, "The Tired Businessman at the Theatre," Ladies' Home Journal (March 1914): 56.

that exhibited "tenderness and loyalty and love." But there were not nearly enough of these "good businessmen." Any reform of the theater, to make it a place of "enlightenment and healthy amusement," would have to come from women, presumably the wives and daughters of the TBMs. The most important role that women could play was as enlightened audiences. They could perform "missionary" work by seriously studying the theater and its conditions, the best plays, and "the art of acting." She offered an active role for women as an audience that would not just watch the plays, but also read and study drama. They should appreciate the theatre as an art, not for "personality and notoriety," understand the "qualities of fine acting," especially the serious side of acting, and offer thoughtful and intelligent appreciation of the performance.¹⁹

Russell also wanted to educate this new audience on the lives of actors. She urged play-goers to abandon older attitudes that actors were somehow disreputable and depraved, which grew out of centuries when performers had been considered marginal to European and American social life, participants in the seedy lives of a glittery and trashy demimonde. Russell had come out of this tradition as a child, had gone on to hone her skills for the professional stage, and then attained success on both the New York and the international stage. She believed that actors, and their theatres, should appeal to the moral, ethical, and emotional lives of audiences rather than pander to their attraction to excitement and violence.²⁰

Through her experience as an actor, Russell understood the difficulty encountered by actors who had prepared for a high level of professional performance in the classics of the theatre as they were faced by the commercially oriented popular theatre of the time. Rather than appeal to emotions, morals, and ethics of audiences the commercially oriented managers assembled audiences by catering to their desire for entertainment. They pandered to the desires and needs of the TBMs, who, after working all day, wanted to be entertained, not enlightened. She wanted "serious" drama, not comedy, except for classic English and European comedic works. She hated the current fare which did not demand much

19. Russell, "What it Really Means to be an Actress," 11.

For some of the same problems for local circuses, see Joan M. Jensen, "A Small-Town Circus: The Life, Death, and Transformation of the Skerbeck Circus," Voyageur Magazine 24, no. 2 (Winter/Spring 2008): 10-17.

of actors or audience. And she hated having to disguise even what she considered "great" plays with circus-like advertising in order to attract an audience. She recognized, as did others in the theatre, that there existed through the 1930s, an established audience for circus and vaudeville type entertainment in which actors played short skits, usually comic and seldom serious. She wanted to create a new audience which would demand something different.

When Russell moved to Winter Park in 1930, it was natural that she would want to attend the plays produced by Thomas Lynch and acted by the Rollins Players. Russell wanted to reform the professional theatre, not participate in the amateur little theatre movement. Still, what she saw impressed her. Thomas Lynch was using the university as a base to sponsor plays and create an audience of women who were being educated to enjoy and demand serious plays. Russell must have also yearned to pass on her life-time of experience in the theatre to the young players she saw performing on stage. She congratulated the energetic young director on the productions and Thomas Lynch, in turn, asked her to join the Rollins Players by directing Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* which she had scheduled for the spring of 1931. That invitation and its acceptance by Russell also involved Russell's good friend Mary Louise Curtis Bok.²¹

The success of the Little Theatre Workshop sparked the idea of building a new theatre for performances. The work done by Thomas Lynch was increasingly popular despite the lack of a suitable place to stage plays. None of the church and community spaces she originally used were adequate for presenting plays. Nor was the Recreation Hall at Rollins, where campus plays were performed. The Hall was only available during the early part of the day. Then it was occupied by students involved in various physical activities. There were no storage areas for props and costumes. Thomas Lynch had, no doubt, complained regularly to her father, the Reverend James Bishop Thomas, rector of the local Episcopalian Church, who had opened his church community space for her first presentations. He decided that he might be able to solve his daughter's problem of having no suitable place

Dorothea Thomas Lynch to Miss Russell, February 13 [1931], Annie Russell Papers, MssCol 2646, b 2, f 4, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden, New York, New York. Hereafter cited as Russell Papers, NYPL.

to present plays by locating a wealthy patron to finance the building of a theater. Annie Russell had probably attended his church and Russell's praise for his daughter's plays inspired him to action. The Reverend did not suggest that a particular person direct the theater, only that a Little Theatre performance venue be created. He chose Annie Russell's friend Mary Louise Curtis Bok as the person who might endow such a building. Early in 1931, he opened a correspondence with Mary Louise Bok about endowing a theater building at Rollins College. He might have heard that Bok had supported several theater projects in New York City as well as funding the Curtis School of Music. The Reverend thought that her friendship with Russell might be the key to obtaining a suitable new performance venue for the Rollins Players.²²

Mary Louise Curtis Bok

One skill Mary Louise Curtis Bok had honed by the 1930s was the ability to maintain a private life. She once noted that she enjoyed "my condition of personal and utter obscurity." With her mother Louisa Knapp Curtis as editor of the Ladies Home Journal and her father Cyrus Curtis as publisher, with friends and guests immersed in writing and editing, Mary Louise grew up determined to live a private life and stay off the front page despite the popularity of the journal and the wealth its success brought to the family. Her marriage to Edward Bok, who replaced Louisa Curtis as editor of the Journal, meant that as long as this marriage lasted, Mary could not escape being tied to the family fortunes in publishing. Edward Bok had come into that life; she never left it. Still, her commitment to privacy was so strong that it survived her life. Nothing bore her name. Mary Louise Curtis Bok is barely remembered for establishing the Curtis Institute for Music in Philadelphia, one of the finest music schools in the world, which she endowed in honor of her mother Louisa Knapp Curtis. The theatre at Rollins College, which she eventually endowed, bears the name of Annie Russell. The Bok Gardens in Florida carries on that tradition as well. There is hardly a word about Mary Louise in any of the interpretive displays, even though it was she who kept the gardens and Edward's memory alive after he died in 1930. Nor did Mary Louise allow Edward to include more than a brief mention of her existence in

Dorothea Thomas Lynch, "The Rollins Little Theatre Workshop," RCOL, mentions Russell's interest and attendance.

the two books he wrote in the 1920s, one his own autobiography, the other a biography of her father.²³

By the early 1930s Mary Louise Bok and Russell had formed a deep and loving bond. In the 1920s, Russell was extremely ill. Doctors could never quite diagnose her illness nor provide a cure. Russell had recovered somewhat by 1925 but was not well enough to resume her acting career. Russell wrote in her diary during those difficult years, "How empty my life would be without her." There were periods of estrangement, but Mary too had family disappointments, and their friendship survived. Both seemed wounded by their personal relationships with men and sought the comfort of female friendship. Neither Russell nor Mary Louise Bok seem to have raised the question of a theatre at Rollins.²⁴

Early in 1931, Dorothea's father, the Reverend James B. Thomas, approached Bok with the suggestion of endowing Rollins College with an "Annie Russell Little Theatre." He described the problems his daughter was still struggling with, staging plays in the inadequate Recreation Hall. Reverend Thomas envisioned the theatre as something for his daughter, not for Russell, and he envisioned it as dedicated to Little Theatre, but he suggested that Mary Louise Bok might like to honor her old friend Russell by endowing a building in Russell's name. Bok responded that she was interested in the project.²⁵

At this point, Thomas probably should have bowed out because, as Bok's correspondence indicates, she was irritated by his pestering about the project. But he continued to keep a foot in the plans

^{23.} Quote about obscurity is from J.L. Krabberdam, "The Model Man: A Life of Edward W. Bok, 1863-1930" (Leiden: Ph.D. diss., Rijksuniversiteit, 1964), 119, n. 2. Edward William Bok, *The Americanization of Edward Bok* (Bradenton, FL: Osprey Classics, 2003 reprint of 1920 edition), barely mentions Mary Louise but does credit "Mrs. Bok" with bringing music into his life, 246. Edward William Bok, *A Man from Maine* (Bradenton, FL: Osprey Classics, 2004 edition of 1923, New York, Scribners edition), 41,50, for Louisa and 129 for Edward. Her relationship to Annie Russell is discussed briefly in Eliza Ann Viles, "Mary Louise Curtis Bok Zimbalist: Founder of the Curtis Institute of Music and Patron of American Arts," (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1983), 119.

^{24.} Quote is in the typewritten notes from Russell's diary May 1920 as are other comments about their relationship. See folder on Health Problems of Annie Russell, 1920-1924, in the Annie Russell Papers, RCOL. The originals are in the New York Public Library. See also Bromfield and Cavanaugh, "A Historiography of Informed Imagination," 52-80.

The Bok-Reverend James B. Thomas correspondence is in the Annie Russell Papers, NYPL. See especially February 2, 1931, February 6, 1931, b 3, f 4.



Annie Russell at the laying of the cornerstone of her theater at Rollins College, January 11, 1932. *Image courtesy of Department of College Archives and Special Collections, Olin Library, Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida.*

until, in March of 1931, Bok complained to President Holt that Thomas was irritating her with his letters, and that she would like Russell to direct the theatre. Holt, who hoped to keep everyone happy, and get another building for Rollins, replied to Bok that the Little Theatre Workshop was important, but that the Russell Theatre would be able to attract professional troupes beyond the scope of

the Little Theatre Workshop. Thus the theatre began to take form as one dedicated to Annie Russell and to "professional theatre." Annie Russell explained her objection to calling the theatre a Little Theatre. "It isn't a part of the waning little theatre movement," she complained to Holt, insisting that her friend wanted it to be called "The Annie Russell Theatre." Holt quickly affirmed that he would refer to it only as the Annie Russell Theatre.²⁶

At first, Dorothea Thomas Lynch seemed delighted with the interest by Russell rather than threatened by it. The Little Theatre Movement was still extremely popular in the early 1930s, but it was changing. A few groups had gone professional. The Provincetown Players were the best known for their retreat to New York. Some had survived, such as the Pasadena Playhouse, which continued to have a cadre of wealthy women supporters. Others had already folded. Although women remained important patrons of the performing arts, men moved into many managing positions once women had established the theatres. If the new theatre was to have nothing to do with Little Theatre programs, all this work had done nothing to provide a better venue for them. In the winter of 1930-31, her program flourishing, Thomas Lynch saw the possible collaboration of Russell as a great asset. When Russell praised the production she saw in early January 1931 and agreed to direct Twelfth Night, already scheduled for April, Thomas Lynch dashed off a note thanking Russell for the encouragement, "the sort of thing we need so much in a strenuous life of trying to do artistic things." A bit theatrically, she continued, "I wonder if a struggling young director with her precious charges ever had such a wonderful thing happen to her? In my fairest dreams of a Little Theatre-I did not ever conceive anything half so perfect. I hope the whole project will be a joy to you-and won't it be for us." She invited Russell to see an upcoming presentation of He Who Gets Slapped, a serious modern Russian play scheduled for late February. And Thomas Lynch was excited by the success of the collaborative Twelfth Night. She wrote on a photograph of the actors on stage: "This production, starting a new era for the Rollins Players."27

Bok Secretary Mary Reed to Reverend James B. Thomas, February 10,1931, Annie Russell Papers, NYPL.

^{27.} Thomas Lynch to Miss Russell, February 13, referring to upcoming February 21, 1931 play and one dated only "Friday" referring to April production of "The Rivals," Annie Russell Papers, NYPL. See also Rollins Players photo album and note, presumably by Thomas Lynch, RCOL.

At the end of the spring 1931 semester, Dorothea Thomas Lynch sent a report to President Holt summarizing the activities of the Rollins Players during their sixth year. She still headed the report, "The Little Theatre Workshop of Rollins College," but she did admit that the interest in the one-act play, after "a period of popularity throughout the country," seemed to be "waning." She felt that scheduling three longer plays in spring was a definite improvement in the program. But she saw no basic change in the fall program of short plays and special performances for children in neighboring schools. That year they had given fifteen one act plays, some in the community, some on campus. They had taken the players to the Tampa Little Theatre and to the Winter Park Women's Club. They had participated in the statewide Little Theatre Tournament in Orlando and taken second place. They did radio readings, and held contests for student actors. 28

Thomas Lynch sent a copy of her report to Russell, who was already at her summer retreat in Maine with the Boks. Then she sketched equally ambitious plans for the coming year. Winter Park was quickly emptying out, she wrote, and she and husband Larry planned to leave soon for Daytona Beach where they had rented a "garage apartment" for a month. She mentioned that the theatre, where the building was now rising on the cleared ground, would be a thrill for Russell to see and be a "shrine for your art." Choose any play you like, she concluded.²⁹

That summer did not bring much of a vacation for Thomas Lynch. The first two weeks she was ill, probably from exhaustion. The last two she spent mapping out her classes. After the Daytona interlude, the couple also left for for Woodstock in the Northeast where the Holts were spending their summer, then for ten days in New York City to see plays. Back at Winter Park Thomas Lynch waited for word from Russell. When no response had come by mid-September, she wrote that they were "parched" for news and asked: "When are you coming home to see your theatre and us?" 30

Thomas Lynch was not worried about their collaboration. She wrote to Holt of her delight and joy in working with Russell. In

 [&]quot;The Little Theatre Workshop of Rollins College, Sixth Annual Report—To President Hamilton Holt, 1930-31." Thomas Lynch sent a copy to Russell along with her June 18, 1931 letter headed "Darling Miss Russell" and signed "Lovingly Dorothea," Annie Russell Papers, NYPL.

^{29.} Ibid.

Dorothea Thomas Lynch to "Darling Miss Russell," August 3 and 7 [1931], Annie Russell Papers, NYPL.

her art and her person, Thomas Lynch wrote, Russell stood for "the things I was brought up to believe were true, beautiful, and lasting, in the theatre." That September, Thomas Lynch was more concerned with fending off an attempt by the Public Speaking teacher to consolidate the curriculum with drama in one "Dramatic Arts Department." She admitted they needed to hire a "competent young man to teach the technique of Play Production," but to merge drama with public speaking as taught by this person, a "showman," would take drama toward the popular or "Babbitt mind," rather than to the highest standards she shared with Russell. 31

Meanwhile, plans for the new theatre went forward. Money from Bok for the theatre was now coming in and Bok had promised the money in four installments of \$25,000 each. Construction for the 377 seat Romanesque Revival theatre designed by the well-known Miami architectural firm of Kiehnel and Elliott began in the summer of 1931. It took nine months, and eventually \$122,000 to construct. Bok made a final \$17,000 contribution in March of 1932. The stock market crash had much reduced her funds and she refused to commit more money for the landscaping. 32

The use of the theater remained a question. The Reverend Thomas was now out of the picture, but Dorothea's husband, Larry Lynch, editor of the Winter Park Sun Herald and not a person to be ignored in the small community, offered his support for using the new theatre for his wife's plays. One letter from Holt to Larry Lynch in March 1932 discussed the question of the use of the theatre. Holt admitted that the condition of the Recreation Hall was "anything but ideal." As long as Russell remained as director, however, Holt felt she must be in complete charge of apportioning the use of the theater among departments. Holt started the letter with a rhetorical question about the uses of the theater, whether it was to be free and flexible, serving other departments and uses as well, and answered that question with his conclusion that Russell would decide and that plans were being made by other departments. A

Dorothea Thomas Lynch to "Darling Miss Russell," September 14, 1931, and enclosed copy of her letter to Hamilton Holt, September 13, 1931, Annie Russell Papers, NYPL.

Leigh Brown Perkins, "The Annie Russell Theatre & the Knowles Memorial Chapel: 75 Years Together," Rollins Alumni Record (Summer 2008): 17-21. For funding see Annie Russell to Hamilton Holt, July 4, 1931, and July 2, 1931 memorandum to Holt, Annie Russell Papers, RCOL.

letter in May from Russell to Holt gave an indication that she was still miffed about calling her theater a Little Theatre.³³

Russell returned in mid-October and they worked out what Russell wanted for the theatre opening the following spring. Russell had planned much of it while in the East, including a performance by the Curtis Quartet and three performances of Robert Browning's play *In a Balcony* under her own direction. Bok, who did not come for the January laying of the cornerstone, came for the March 29 opening. There was not a whiff of "Little Theatre" or of community involvement, except as an audience. The theatre was to be used primarily for romantic comedies, musicals, and dramas.³⁴

The pressure of the opening and Bok's visit left Russell exhausted. It left Thomas Lynch with the realization that she now had two jobs and a new boss who was likely to be sick part of the year and absent for a third of it. Russell went off again in June 1932 for another summer at the cool Maine shore while Thomas Lynch worked on through the humid heat in Winter Park. She planned for the next year and proposed various plays to Russell. In a letter to Russell late in July, she both consulted with and let her know the complexity of managing the next year's theatre. She proposed a combination of serious and long plays, including Susan Glaspell's "Allison's House," Shakespeare's "Romeo and Juliet," Philip Berry's "Death Takes a Holiday," and one musical, "The Beggar's Opera." There were also hints in that letter of a widening gap between Russell's vision of a "professional" theatre and Thomas Lynch's vision of community involvement in the acting. And now President Holt also seemed to take a greater interest in the program, with the wish that students might occupy all the main roles. Thomas Lynch let Russell know that the Little Theatre Workshop was financing the program. The college was paying only her salary. The rest came from ticket sales and a "heavy dramatic season," thus depended on continuing the workshop program.35

Thomas Lynch was now managing the theatre as well as most of the productions. She not only coordinated with the Art Department on music and costumes, and with the Music Department for the production of the scheduled musical, but also with Holt and

Hamilton Holt to Larry S. Lynch, March 5, 1932, Annie Russell Papers, RCOL.
 Program "A Tribute to Annie Russell," January 15, 1956, quotes from Annie Russell on high standards. Discussion of opening is in Annie Russell Papers, RCOL.

Russell. Husband Larry was helping her sort out taxes. She was concerned with props, fabrics for costumes, as well as royalties. Decisions had to be based on obtaining rights to present the play at prices they could afford, and on ticket prices that would bring in the community and the faculty. There were also scheduling issues. The local community preferred to attend on evenings during the week rather than on Saturday evenings which in the professional theatre would have attracted the largest audiences. When Russell returned in October she was quite ill. By January 1933, Thomas Lynch was begging her to attend rehearsals. At the same time, she was still asking Russell for permission to use the theatre for rehearsals as well as the dates for performances. By fall 1932, however, there was another person involved in theatre at Rollins College, Robert Wunsch. 36

Holt and Thomas Lynch had agreed that the flourishing and expanding drama program needed another teacher. Holt hired Wunsch, a young graduate from the University of North Carolina, to also teach drama classes. Wunsch had been active in the Little Theatre Movement in North Carolina. He had roomed with the writer Thomas Wolfe in North Carolina, shared his interest in theatre, and was anxious to encourage student involvement at Rollins. Wunsch wanted to know where his students could present their plays and was ready to invite other community people to become involved. Thomas Lynch wanted to present six plays, Wunsch four, while Russell had only two plays planned for the year. With no endowment for the plays themselves, the program had to pay for itself. Thomas Lynch already had assembled an audience and was contributing a percentage of the income from these plays to the new theatre. Russell was furnishing scenery, furniture and some of the costumes. Professional plays could bring in a goodly sum, but with only two plays a year, that was not enough to finance the entire program. It was clear that a new building was not going to solve the problem of competing needs. Community theatre was still popular, attracted a large audience, and brought in funds to the College as well. Holt had a faculty that was assembled piecemeal, one that was creative, not necessarily compatible as a group

Dorothea Thomas Lynch to "Darling Miss Russell," July 27, 1932, Annie Russell Papers, NYPL.

Dorothea Thomas Lynch to "My dear Miss Russell," January 24, 1933, Annie Russell Papers, NYPL.

or willing to curb their needs to those of Holt who was on an expansive growth quest. Just as Holt and the faculty were digesting this wonderful new performance venue, a new type of drama called "folk drama" arrived in the person of Zora Neale Hurston.³⁷

The Return of Zora

The Annie Russell Theatre, or ART as it came to be known, had just opened that spring of 1932 when Zora Neale Hurston returned from New York to her home at Eatonville, north of Winter Park. Hurston, today the most celebrated and famous of all Florida artists, then unknown and struggling to get by, returned broke and discouraged. Her first volume of folklore was being typed, but she had no money to pay for it, no publisher, no patron, and few prospects. In the spring of 1932, Hurston had just ended two years of intense involvement in the Harlem Renaissance black theater movement where she had put on a successful musical created from folk songs gathered during trips to Eatonville and other parts of Florida.³⁸

Hurston's experience in New York exposed her to deep divides on just how Black theater should be positioned in relation to content and audience. Theater was still segregated in the North as well as in the South, but those racial divides were being tested by whites and blacks. White playwrights were creating plays in which blacks were being portrayed as exotic others. Black playwrights were not sure how to show their culture, what part of it, and for what audiences. Debate over how to portray black culture were often heated. Should they create plays depicting blacks with their own modern urban culture, separate but equal to the white? Or, should playwrights reach back into the folk culture of African Americans, their deep cultural roots to Africa, the Caribbean, and the rural South? These were profound debates over how to present black culture to both black and white audiences. In the North a white audience for black culture was taking form, and what would be presented to a mixed audience was an issue. Black theater in the South was also emerging

Annie Russell to Hamilton Holt, September 2, 1932, Annie Russell Papers, RCOL.

Valerie Boyd, Wrapped in Rainbows: The Life of Zora Neale Hurston (New York: Scribner's, 2003), 218-240, discusses her New York plays. The best source for Hurston at Rollins is Maurice O'Sullivan, Jr. and Jack C. Lane, "Zora Neale Hurston at Rollins College," In Zora in Florida, ed Steve Glassman and Kathryn Lee Seidel (Orlando: University of Central Florida Press, 1991), 130-145.

from vaudeville to become intensely popular road shows that combined some of the elements of the older vaudeville and circus performance with newer performers who were attracting white as well as black audiences. Black entrepreneurs, such as Eph Williams, were packing in audiences to listen to black performers.³⁹

Hurston came down on the folk side of the black culture divide. Her anthropological studies had been among rural blacks and their continued traditions that linked them to Africa and the Caribbean, and she used this material in creating her folk plays. Her New York folk musical depicted black workers in Florida work camps. It ended with a spectacular series of Bahaman dances, one of which, "The Crow Dance," Hurston led herself. The folk musical was meant for a popular audience, but it was different from the glossy urban musical reviews that were being performed for whites in New York with which it competed. Hurston took the show on the road to some success, but directing and traveling were exhausting. There were seldom enough profits to pay the performers, much less to pay herself. While impresarios were already booking productions that would lead to immensely popular white folk musicals, such as "Rodeo" and "Oklahoma," black folk musicals were seldom able to attract the backing of major booking agents. There just was not enough money to be made and then, too, there was the question of how to deal with audiences which were still segregated in most of the country. Outside of New York and Chicago, black theater audiences were small. Segregation was so pervasive even in the North, that black audiences were often not admitted to see black theater performances. Churches became the places where blacks could perform for black audiences. In the South, in cities such as Orlando, black performers were confined to one or two-usually older-venues. Black theatre troupes, even in musicals meant to entertain and not to question social arrangements, encountered such discrimination in traveling and performing that it is a wonder they tried at all.40

Jayna Brown, Babylon Girls: Black Women Performers and the Shaping of the Modern (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 194-196, 229-230.

^{40.} The same type of culture/political divide emerged in the 1970s between the cultural emphasis of Ron Karenga and the more political approach of others. For the difficulty of professional or family touring, see Susan Rugh, Are We There Yet? The Golden Age of American Family Vacations (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008), who used the NAACP archives to track segregated accommodation policies and the protests of black travelers.

In addition to writing plays, directing, and acting in them, Hurston had written about black aesthetics. Her 1932 essay "Characteristics of Negro Expression," sketched out the elements of what she believed to be the vernacular structure of rural black culture. She identified black expressive culture as rich in metaphor and simile, as embedded in daily life, a rich dramatic tradition that had its own aesthetic of angularity, asymmetry, dynamic dance, and dialect. She was bringing back home concepts of black aesthetics and drama for which there existed no educated white audience, and which some urban African American writers were challenging as demeaning. It was rural and multicultural in its own right, a meld of African, Caribbean, and Southern contributions, and Hurston was eager to translate her folklore study into a performance style that could reach black and white audiences. Hurston knew what she wanted to do, just not how to do it. For several years a wealthy white patron, Osgood Mason, had given her a monthly stipend to provide for living expenses while she conducted research. Now, Mason told her that she could no longer have the stipend. Hurston's work in New York had given her experience and ideas, but not an income. She decided to go home to Eatonville in Florida.41

Eatonville was an all-black town, often described as rural and seemingly isolated. But it was far from isolated. Six miles southeast was Orlando, a growing urban center. Just five miles north was Fern Park, a small town with a mixed black and white population. Even closer, one mile northeast, was Maitland. Founded by Civil War Union veterans who had commanded Black troops, they helped African Americans obtain the land for Eatonville which allowed it to grow into an independent town at a time when most white Americans would not sell land to African Americans. Maitland and nearby towns provided opportunities for service jobs. The orange groves provided seasonal work picking and packing. Eatonville had churches. Hurston's father was pastor of one. It had a school and a city council. Eatonville seemed to be surviving the Depression fairly well. Hurston found Eatonville's main street had even been paved while she was in New York.

Zora Neale Hurston, "Characteristics of Negro Expression," in Signifyin(g), Sanctifyin', & Slam Dunking: A Reader in African American Expressive Culture, ed Gena Dagel Caponi (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 293-308. Originally published in Nancy Cunard, Negro: An Anthology, 1931-1933 (London: Wishart, 1934).

An old friend, Lulu Mosley, offered Hurston a place to live. In the yard was a garden with black-eye peas, watermelons, pole beans, lima beans, okra, and tomatoes, Hurston reported to Mason in May. She was, Hurston wrote, "renewed like the eagle...I am so glad to be here. I awake with the sun and go to bed early." She immediately began writing.⁴²

Hurston had a place to live and food to eat, but she had little cash left from her last stipend. Her best possibility for finding financial support seemed to be at Winter Park, half way between Eatonville and Orlando, where Rollins College was expanding. Winter Park, Hurston wrote, was a place where twenty-seven millionaires lived. No one seemed to be counting, but huge mansions had gone up along with the Rollins buildings during the 1920s and early 1930s. Hurston had arrived in Eatonville with fifty dollars, now almost gone. Her carefully thought-out concepts of drama which she hoped to put into practice were only that. Before she could do anything, even get her stories typed up, she needed to raise money. Since white patrons had financed her collecting of folklore, Hurston set out to find some new white contacts in Winter Park.⁴³

Hurston would have dressed up that day she visited Winter Park. In the 1930s, Winter Park was a divided town, as were most in the South. Whites lived on the East side of the railway tracks; blacks on the West. Blacks crossed over to the East side to work in the homes of the wealthy white population. At 6:00 pm they all had to be back on the West side or they were forcibly removed. Hurston was on white territory. She knew the rules. She also knew that she needed the help of whites to publish her books and stage her plays. Hurston would have had her guard up when she entered "The Bookery," a Winter Park book store and lending library owned by Myrtle and Henry Thompson. The Thompsons, however, had heard of Hurston and offered to introduce her to faculty at Rollins who might give her advice. They suggested she contact several professors. Edwin Grover, a literature professor at Rollins, seemed the best prospect. 44

When Hurston contacted Grover, she brought two new elements into the emerging theatre scene at Rollins. The first

Zora Neale Hurston to "Darling My Godmother," (Charlotte Osgood Mason), May 8, 1932, in Carla Kaplan, ed., Zora Neale Hurston, 256-257.

Zora Neale Hurston to Charlotte Osgood Mason, May 8, 1932, May 17, 1932, and May 26, 1932, in Kaplan, Zora Neale Hurston, 256-257.

Zora Neale Hurston to Charlotte Osgood Mason, July 20,1932, in Kaplan, Zora Neale Hurston, 254-266.

was her concept of folk drama, one grounded in anthropological research rather than an Anglo-American literary tradition. The second was the issue of race, who would shape this new performance depicting African American cultures and how its audience would be formed. To the uneasy collision between the Little Theatre Movement represented by Thomas Lynch and the professional theatre represented by Annie Russell, the folk play brought both great energy and excitement to the participants, and new avenues for misunderstanding and conflict.

Grover was among a small pool of Progressive educators sheltered at Rollins and the booksellers must have known Hurston would find a sympathetic ear. Hurston wrote to Grover in mid-June explaining her desire to present a folklore concert, "of untampered-with Negro folk material," most of it gathered right there in Orange County. She asked if he would not "like to assist in putting the world right on negro expression." Grover, who was interested, replied positively and she wrote a week later describing her hope to build a playhouse in Eatonville, but she added Orlando would be the best place. She also asked him to read some of her writing and advise her on publishing. Through Grover, Hurston met Robert Wunsch. 45

Although newly arrived from North Carolina, Wunsch had publishing contacts in New York. He offered to send a short story Hurston had in hand to a friend at *Story* magazine, and asked if she could talk to his students about this new Negro theater she envisioned. Hurston was already rehearsing a folk play at Eatonville which she hoped to take on the road, one similar to the New York performance that had received supportive reviews the year before. Hurston made a quick trip to New York, in part to get support for her Florida production, and wrote to Mason for another advance with an optimistic note that she still hoped "to chisel out a figure in art." Then she returned to Florida.⁴⁶

Hurston scoured Eatonville and Orlando for performers. While in New York, she had been able to draw on a pool of aspiring black performers; she now had to assemble a local cast. The results, as the program for the first performance showed, were impressive. She choreographed the entire performance,

 Zora Neale Hurston to Charlotte Osgood Mason, September 28, 1932, in Kaplan, Zora Neale Hurston, 273-275.

Zora Neale Hurston to Edwin Grover, June 8, 1932, and June 15, 1932, in Kaplan, Zora Neale Hurston, 258-261.

assembled the performers, and rehearsed them for this complex musical drama. She cast herself as actor and dancer and her father as "The Preacher," but she had thirteen others join them as singers. Florence Moseley played a piano solo; David Calhoun a guitar solo; Lawrence Williams and James Tubbs led work songs and songs from the quarters. She had six children acting in the play. This was a complex combination of acting, singing, and dancing. No wonder Wunsch was impressed with what she was doing in Eatonville.⁴⁷

One other supporting actor, Royal France, played a bit part in this emerging Rollins drama. France arrived at Rollins in 1928. He later wrote he had left his legal practice and sought to teach at Rollins because of Holt, who was a liberal pacifist. When France condemned the state's handling of a lynching in Mariana, Florida, the governor of Florida asked that Holt fire France. Holt refused. Living in Winter Park, France recalled, was not "all honey and roses." Local southerners questioned his social views and wintering northerners condemned his liberal views on economics. In one case, France and his wife invited Hurston to visit and then stay for dinner. A faculty member dropped by while Hurston and the Frances were comfortably seated at the same table and was shocked. France also attended a Christmas Eve party at an Eatonville school and publicly championed the rights of blacks in Winter Park and segregated Orlando. Word traveled fast in the small-town atmosphere of Winter Park. Moving from support for Socialist Norman Thomas in 1932 to championing Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt did little to restore the Frances to social favor. Holt defended France and he stayed on for twenty-four years, later writing about his experiences there. He liked the sunny skies, the orange trees in blossom, the spectacular sunsets, year-round golf, and the usual calm and quiet at Rollins. His support for Hurston was also crucial for her performance there.48

In late October, Wunsch wrote to Holt asking if he could sponsor Hurston's folk play. Holt replied cautiously. Yes, but there should be little advertisement and no Negroes in the audience. Hurston had hoped there would be a place for blacks in a separate section, but acceded to Holt's demand that the audience be entirely white. With Holt's approval, Wunsch went

^{47.} These names are from the program, Zora Neale Hurston Collection, RCOL.

His experiences at Rollins are discussed in Royal France, My Native Ground (New York: Cameron Associates, 1957), 71-81.

ahead with plans to present Hurston's play at Rollins. His letter to Holt indicated he expected his students to perform in the Annie Russell Theatre, but Holt insisted Hurston's play be performed in the old Recreation Hall.⁴⁹

As Hurston's play took form in Eatonville, Wunsch organized his students into a theater workshop group to explore this type of folk drama. In mid-November, he took them to hear Hurston discuss folk theater. Students, faculty, and community people had obtained a place to put on experimental plays at what they called "The Museum," just north of Winter Park at Fern Lake. After Hurston told them about her attempts to assemble a group of local people to perform her play, the group invited her to their "Museum" to work on her folk musical, helped her with sets and costumes, and provided a small audience. They organized a premier of "From Sun to Sun" at The Museum with a performance on campus to follow. Hurston's folk drama was scheduled to be performed in the old Recreation Hall on January 27, 1933.⁵⁰

A week before the scheduled performance, on January 20, students traveled north for the preview performance of the play at the Museum at Fern Park. The program announced that Hurston hoped to form a Negro theatre, write plays, direct Negro casts in Negro dramas, and present them to Negro audiences with occasional white friends in the audience. A week later the troupe performed the play at Rollins for an all-white audience, with little advance advertisement, but an enthusiastic review in the student newspaper The Sandspur. Hurston held her cast together and performed in Orlando at the Municipal Auditorium. Then in March of 1933, she brought part of the cast back to Rollins to put on a half-hour performance for college visitor Ruth St. Denis, the modern dancer famous for her experimental ethnic dance. The audience was limited to a few invited students, museum directors, and townspeople. Meanwhile, Hurston's short story "The Gilded Six-bits," had been accepted and scheduled for publication in August 1933. Its publication in Story magazine was to be a turning point for her. Impressed by the story, the editor at Lippincott asked her for a novel. In six weeks she produced Jonah's Gourd Vine, which

Robert Wunsch to Hamilton Holt, October 29, 1932, Zora Neale Hurston Collection, RCOL.

^{50.} Program notes, Zora Neale Hurston Collection, RCOL.

she dedicated to Wunsch. She ended that brief dedication with the urging "Go gator, muddy the waters." ⁵¹

Waters Muddy and the Diaspora Begins

The waters at Rollins were already muddied. Thomas Lynch and Wunsch were at odds. Wunsch had expected to use the Annie Russell Theatre to present folk plays. After making peace with Russell, Thomas Lynch had obtained permission to present Little Theatre plays, but now she was quarreling with Wunsch. Exactly how the lines of tension formed is not clear from the written record. While the Little Theatre Movement had produced experimental and feminist plays, as well as plays about ethnic and black culture, its audiences were predominantly white middle class women, many of them organized into segregated women's clubs. Thomas Lynch was well aware of their interests, not too racy or sensual, and not too exotic.⁵²

Thomas Lynch wrote to Holt to complain about Wunsch. The result was that Holt considered Thomas Lynch to be the one that was muddying the waters. He accused her of causing the three way split over drama at Rollins. Although Thomas Lynch was never explicit in her letters, she claimed that Wunsch had violated "professional ethnics [sic]" in his relationship with Russell. Whatever existed in the minds of the concerned participants, it was certainly true that Wunsch had arrived with a particular view of theater that he aggressively pursued that first year. Holt felt that Thomas Lynch was to blame for fighting that agenda with unfounded rumors. In March of 1933, Holt notified Thomas Lynch that after seven years at the college, her contract would not be renewed in the fall. Holt followed university policies in the firing and while Thomas Lynch protested her innocence in disturbing the peace, she did not challenge Holt's decision. Instead, she made plans to return to Cleveland, Ohio and to enroll at Western Reserve University to work on a Master's Degree in Fine Arts. She had first worked at the Cleveland Playhouse after it was established in 1915 as one of the first permanent theatre companies. In the fall of 1933, it was

51. Story published her work in August 1932.

Florida audiences were very diverse and always a concern as explained by Robert Francis Mardis, "Federal Theatre in Florida," (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1972), 115-118. See also Blair, The Torchbearers, 144-145 for female audiences.

launching the nation's first education program in connection with the university's MA program, and she was eager to rejoin it.⁵³

Holt then turned his attention to Professor John Andres Rice, his new classics professor. When the Thompsons at the Bookery in Winter Park introduced Hurston to Rice, he was equally enthusiastic about her theatre plans. The Thompsons had warned Hurston not to expect much of Rice, but he became a major supporter of the Fern Park Museum and experimental folk theatre. Holt had hired Rice on the basis of recommendations which described him as an outstanding scholar. Restless and acerbic, his actions (he wore, for example, unusually skimpy swim attire) and ideas shocked both the local community and some faculty. During that crazy spring of 1933, Rice seemed to be a lightning rod for dissent. He was highly visible and verbal as he attacked fellow faculty and the local community for their unquestioning conformity in religion, sexual mores, and even restrictive dress codes. He was, as the British might have put it "a person of unusual talent and excessive behavior." Or, as historian Jack C. Lane explained more precisely, unconventional in a conventional institution located in the conservative village of Winter Park.54

Rice also challenged the increasingly authoritarian actions of Holt as he tried to balance wealthy patrons, free-wheeling faculty, and a potentially hostile community. Holt had been hired to rescue this failing provincial institution. He had managed to bring in more students and raise the quality of the teaching program. He had managed to get money for the new Annie Russell theatre and several other buildings that fall, and had even obtained additional funds for landscaping and other necessities. So far, he had also nourished the invisible college, the intellectual climate of the students and faculty as well as the visible college of buildings and

54. Jack C. Lane, "Rollins College: A Centennial History, 2009," 154.

^{53.} A series of letters from Dorothea to Holt are in the Dorothea Thomas Lynch Papers, see undated letters indicating that she was deferring to Russell's judgment and that some of the plays Wunsch wanted performed were not appropriate for the Annie Russell Theatre. See especially Dorothea's Little Theatre Report to Holt, June 20, 1932. One of the plays had just won the Florida State Little Theatre Tournament in Orlando. Holt had written to Dorothea on February 6, 1932 not to refer to "a Little Theatre," but to call it the "Rollins Theatre Workshop" or some other name. For the final rift see Dorothea Lynch to Hamilton Holt, March 1, 1933, Hamilton Holt to Dorothea Lynch, March 7, 1933, and sworn affidavit by Hamilton Holt, March 8, 1933, saying she was non-cooperative and would not fit into the future plans for the College which would have professional leaders who must be harmonious. Dorothea Thomas Lynch Papers, RCOL.

plant. But he was stressed by the pressures of his own expansion plans and the deepening Depression was taking a toll on the fortunes of his wealthy patrons.⁵⁵

As the Depression reduced Holt's income, he tightened control over his quarreling faculty and reduced their salaries by a third. Part of the faculty now redirected their attention to Holt's policies, demanding more authority within the college structure than he offered. In these conflicts, Rice emerged as the most visible challenger to Holt's authority. The faculty first split into factions over the question of whether or not there should be social reforms on campus, such as abolishing fraternities because they seemed undemocratic.⁵⁶

Unlike Thomas Lynch, Rice did not take his firing quietly. He asked the American Association of University Professors to formally investigate his firing. Wunsch was not fired, but he decided not to stay on at Rollins and arranged to return to North Carolina to teach English in a high school at Greensboro, North Carolina, about fifty miles west of Chapel Hill, where he would be close to Paul Green and the University of North Carolina theater program. Rice, who was looking for a place where he might launch an experimental college which would embody his own ideas of a free environment for the arts, huddled with Wunsch about possibilities. Wunsch suggested he explore the possibility of leasing a YWCA summer camp near Ashville, about 175 miles west of Greensboro near the Great Smoky Mountains. There Rice gathered together disgruntled students and dismissed faculty from Rollins and opened his experimental college called Black Mountain in fall of 1933. Wunch, joined the Black Mountain faculty in 1935.57

What role gender politics played in the firing of Rice and Thomas Lynch is not clear from the remaining letters and accounts, which seemed to simmer around the politics of performance, but never become explicit. Thomas Lynch had made her theatre very woman-centered. Most of her closest colleagues were women,

^{55.} Ibid., 170-188.

^{56.} Ibid., 240-168.

^{57.} For Rice and Wunsch at Black Mountain College see Martin Duberman, Black Mountain: An Exploration in Community (New York: Dutton, 1972), 1-16; and Mary Emma Harris, The Arts at Black Mountain College (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1987), 36-38. Holt also fired faculty who supported Rice. Wunsch did not develop a professional theatre at Black Mountain, or a community little theatre, but concentrated on student productions.

as were her assistants, the majority of student actors, and her audiences. She had warmly embraced the collaboration with Russell. On the other hand, her family relations involved strong men, her preacher father and new journalist husband, both of whom became entangled in the building of the Annie Russell theatre. In letters to Russell, Thomas Lynch often mentioned her husband Larry, and in a last letter to Russell before she left for Ohio, asked if they could both visit to say farewell.⁵⁸

Annie Russell also had strong female attachments and close friends, but the theater she promoted was not female-centered. She distrusted men in her personal life, and believed women audiences could reform the theater, but that theatre was not particularly female oriented, in plays, or in content. That may have, ultimately, divided the two women.

Rice, on the other hand, was known to be concerned that the theatre was becoming "feminized." He would have seen Hurston's dance concerts as not only exotic and interesting, but featuring powerful male roles. The railroad workers, the preacher, the male members of Jook dance hall, and the Bahaman dancers, all featured male performers in roles representing a kind of male energy and power.

Hurston, of course, created these roles. The men were not alone, as there were important places for women and even children in her concert folklore. She had, however, excised one of the most important powerful images of women at the request of her patron Mason. That was of an African/Bahaman woman religious leader. Hurston herself sometimes danced the Bahaman "Crow Dance," which was a part of the last scene that emphasized what could be interpreted as a female force. She solved the issue in her written work by having powerful female narrators who "testified" to the events they retold. She was dependent upon both male and female patrons, found friends and supporters among both, and quarreled with both.

Hurston was in and out of Orlando during 1934. In January she presented her second folk theatre at Rollins, then went off to teach drama at Bethune-Cookman College at Daytona Beach. She wrote of establishing a school of dramatic arts there based on Negro expression, a drama that was not white but "gorgeously

Thomas Lynch to "Darling Miss Russell," June 3, 1933, Annie Russell Papers, NYPL.

Negro." By February, she and Bethune were already quarreling. In April, chaffing under Bethune's tight control at the college, Hurston quit.⁵⁹

That summer Hurston returned to the Orlando area to assemble a group of singers to present folk songs at the St. Louis Folk Festival and then performed her folk drama at the University of Chicago in fall. On the way north, she stopped at Fisk University and had an encouraging interview with the president about a permanent position there. Her Chicago presentation was so successful that she was offered a Rosenwald Fund fellowship to finish her Ph.D. in anthropology at Columbia College, with the prospect for an endowed chair teaching drama at Fisk. After one year of classes, however, she was restless and lost her "zest" for academic study and an academic teaching job. That fall she dropped out of Columbia and joined the Federal Theatre project in New York. That led to a Guggenheim scholarship which enabled her to write, and then she joined the Florida WPA in April 1938. She reassembled a group of singers which, with the sponsorship of the "Rollins College Folk Lore Group," performed at the Winter Park Woman's Club, then went on to perform at the 1938 National Folk Festival in Washington, DC.60

Russell officially directed the Annie Russell Theatre through the turbulent period. Thomas Lynch did most of the directing during fall of 1932 and spring of 1933. Russell still spent summers in Rockland, Maine, near Mary Louise Bok, where she lingered until October of 1932. She had been ill while there and had to rest for a month after returning to Winter Park. She was also intermittently ill during spring and fall of 1934. She died in January 1935. Bok, who had offered her support for the theatre and her friend, also endowed an artist series while Russell was director and even agreed to help with landscaping. Yet she showed little interest in the Annie Russell Theatre after Russell died. ⁶¹

By 1936, Dorothea Thomas Lynch was back in Florida. She directed the Federal Theatre Project of the WPA from 1936-39, and

Hurston discussed the conflicts in Zora Neale Hurston to Carl Van Vechten, January 22 and February 6, 1934 in Kaplan, Zora Neale Hurston, 287-289.

Graciela Hernandez, "Multiple Subjectivities and Strategic Positionality: Zora Neale Hurston's Experimental Ethnographies," in Women Writing Culture, ed. Ruth Behar and Deborah A. Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 153-154.

Bok did donate \$300,000 to establish the Maitland Art Center just north of Winter Park. It was still thriving when I took a class there in 1998.

again organized theatre performances. Perhaps not surprisingly, she did not work with President Holt at Rollins College, although he had earlier inquired of the national director whether prospective students at Rollins might not be employed in the theatre project. Thomas Lynch did little to promote theatre in Orlando as a whole. Instead she concentrated her efforts in Miami, Jacksonville, and Tampa where there was a thriving Spanish language theater with enthusiastic audiences. Thomas Lynch's Federal Theatre Project did not include black theatre. Thus when Hurston returned to Florida in April 1938 to present folk plays, it was under the auspices of a segregated black division of the Federal Writers' Project. 62

In fall of 1939, Hurston tried teaching drama again at North Carolina College in Durham, meanwhile taking a theatre workshop with Paul Green at the University of North Carolina. Neither teaching drama nor presenting it had yielded a permanent place for her in the theatre. With continued encouragement from Grover and the success of Hurston's written stories, she reluctantly gave up her attempts to present folk theatre. Support from professors at Rollins had helped her to succeed at writing. Grants and fellowships had allowed her the time to write, but teaching had not given her the support she wanted to put on folk theatre for large audiences. ⁶³

After the exodus of 1933-1934, Rollins settled back into relative calm. Folk drama and little theatre were not revived at Rollins, but the story remained behind the façade of the Annie Russell Theatre, a part of the storied past of structures. That history included women's role in endowing private and public buildings which often bore the name of someone else. Mary Curtis Bok excised her role in preserving and maintaining the Bok Towers dedicated to her husband, the Curtis School of Music dedicated to her mother, and the Annie Russell Theatre, none of which bear her name. Nor does the Annie Russell Theatre bear the names of Hurston or Thomas Lynch, but the building carries their stories as well.

63. This difficult attempt to find a place in the theater is traced by Boyd, Wrapped in Rainbows, 250-273. For her WPA work, see Pamela Bordelon, ed., Go Gator and Muddy Water: Writings by Zora Neale Hurston from the Federal Writers' Project

(New York: Norton, 1999), 152-153.

^{62.} Mardis, "Federal Theatre in Florida," 85, for Holt letter of September 9, 1935. Except for Tampa with its enthusiastic Cuban theatre audience, Lynch found most urban audiences difficult to assemble. Her biggest demand was in rural Florida and among Northern winter tourists in Miami. For Tampa see 140, 142, and 150. She did work with Orlando schools to educate students about the theater and promote drama, 391.



Postcard from Annie Russell to Dr. Hamilton Holt, dated August 20, 1932. The note from Russell says: "There was a grand Prexy named Holt, who when finances started to mount, just passed around the hat, and when full said that's that. So, depression from Rollins did bolt. – Congratulations on town having so successfully reached and past the Age of Depression. Affectionately and loyally Annie Russell, Aug. 20th, 1932." Image courtesy of Department of College Archives and Special Collections, Olin Library, Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida.

Despite federal support and the popularity of federal theatre in the 1930s, by 1940 it was drawing more vocal criticism from conservatives who labeled many of the arts radical and communistic. In the controversies over the "politics" of government support for the arts, support for all types of theatre—professional, community, and folk theatre—dwindled. Like Hurston, many creative artists retreated from public performance to the more private written word. 64

The Rollins faculty kept the memory of the presence of Zora Neale Hurston and Annie Russell alive. In 1993, the Fourth Annual Zora Neale Hurston Festival took place and Rollins College cosponsored a 60th anniversary performance of "From Sun to Sun" at the Annie Russell Theatre. In 2008, Jennifer Cavenaugh, Chair of the Theatre Arts & Dance program at Rollins, wrote "Stage Fright," a play about Russell and her friend novelist Faith Baldwin.⁶⁵

^{64.} See Brown, "Federal Theatre: Melodrama, Social Protest, and Genius,"

 [&]quot;Lifelong Correspondents," in Leigh Brown Perkins, "The Annie Russell Theatre & the Knowles Memorial Chapel," *Rollins Alumni Record* (Summer 2008): 22.

The histories of Mary Louise Bok and Dorothea Thomas Lynch remained more elusive. But they also belonged to the quartet of women who had so much to do with shaping the performing arts at Rollins in the 1920s and 1930s and have a place of remembrance through the stories behind the façade of the Annie Russell Theatre.

Conclusion

Behind the façade and the stories lay this small piece in the larger mosaic of the history of performance art and of expressive culture. We might think of it as the play within which the plays were produced at Rollins. The young and energetic Thomas Lynch introduced to a small southern liberal arts college a version of a larger national but locally based movement already in existence, flourishing mainly in colleges in the North and Midwest. The national movement had been the result of a desire of mainly middle-class women for meaningful drama that reflected their needs. Given a salary and a base from which to operate, Thomas Lynch created a program based on local interests and needs, one small and agile enough to adapt to the environment over the six years that it existed. Annie Russell brought the goals of small groups of actors and playwrights involved in the New York-centered professional theatre who were also looking for ways to increase their audiences and who had connections to wealthy patrons, such as Mary Bok, willing to sponsor theatre projects. Meanwhile, another group of people were struggling to create a folk theatre, one based in the culture of minorities and attempting to reflect their daily lives. Hurston represented this trend at Rollins College. Gender, race, and class all played a role in making it difficult for these three movements to merge permanently at Rollins. Still, for a few years, the three types of drama were performed on the stages at Rollins.

As the support and freedom to create shrank, the main actors turned to other sources for support. Russell died and her patron, after building the architecture for drama, offered no support to maintain or manage the theatre at a professional level. Thomas Lynch, who had created the Little Theater Workshop and the Rollins Players, fled back to Cleveland to continue her theatre studies. When she returned to head the Florida Federal Theatre Project, she concentrated on Miami. Hurston abandoned the theatre for writing and publishing. The male faculty created a new experimental college where they would have the freedom

to explore new ideas, although there they excelled in the literary rather than the dramatic arts. Drama remained a part of the Rollins curriculum, as it did elsewhere after the Little Theatre Movement waned, but it ceased to provide an exciting and creative venue as it had earlier. The politics of performance also dogged the federal government sponsorship of community theatres during the New Deal. It disintegrated amid a barrage of criticism in 1940.

Rollins theatre history reminds us how dramatic performance reflects the cultures it represents and how it acts as a lightning rod for cultural differences. These quarrels over how cultures represent themselves are also evidence of the vitality of expressive cultures and the needs they struggle to represent. In the details of such quarrels we can study the way in which personal and community politics affect performance art and, thus, how it takes form.

Controlling Venereal Disease in Orlando during World War II

by Claire Strom

eryl Oates* was nineteen years old when Deputy Sheriff James Allen Black arrested her just after 10:00 am on a Saturday morning in February 1944 on suspicion of having a venereal disease. She was detained until she could be seen by Doctor and Captain Solomon Kolack who worked for the US Public Health Service as the disease control officer for Orange County, Florida. When he saw her, Kolack would have tested Beryl for syphilis and, if she tested positive, she would have probably been confined in the rapid treatment center in Ocala for a lengthy and painful course of arsenic injections. Under the provisions of a new state health law, she could be held for three to five days by the police without habeas corpus and then, if infected, "sent to the State Hospital at Ocala for treatment until cured." Without the money to hire her own doctor, and because she was a black woman living under the caste system of Jim Crow, she would have had little recourse to prevent this high-handed treatment.1

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All the information on the arrests of women (and some men) in Orange County on suspicion of harboring venereal disease comes from the Sheriff

Beryl Oates's family had always worked hard. Before she was born, her father, Forrest, worked in the orange groves of Orange County with other African Americans. He was successful enough or lucky enough or thrifty enough to own his own house and for his wife Annie to stay home. This put him economically ahead of many of his black neighbors, and the self-described mulatto Forrest did not have to take in boarders to make ends meet. He did, however, hold a mortgage on the home, not being wealthy enough to own it outright.²

Fifteen years later, in 1935, the family had moved to Parramore, the main African-American neighborhood of segregated Orlando, located just west of the central business district. Forrest and Annie had bought a home on Beggs Street; and most of their immediate neighbors were also homeowners. Forrest was employed as a cook, while the African Americans around him worked as bakers, teachers, firemen, and city workers, along with the more menial laborers and laundresses. Annie still stayed home, where she kept house and cared for the couple's ten-year-old daughter and only child, Beryl, who attended second grade.³

The Oates's fortunes altered drastically over the next ten years, probably as a result of Forrest's death in 1942. By 1945 Annie and Beryl had moved five blocks away, to N. Hughey, although whether they owned this home is not specified in the Florida census. Annie had gone to work and was employed as a laundress. Beryl at twenty was working as a maid—the profession of 40 percent of employed black women in the United States at that time. The two women also took in two male boarders, who worked as laborers, and, a third man

Dockets for the relevant years. In the dockets, the arrest records are arranged chronologically. They detail who was arrested; their age, race, and sex; where, when, and by whom they were arrested, the charge; and where they lived. These dockets can be found in the archives of the Orange County History Center, Orlando, Florida. *All the names of people arrested have been changed. All changed names will be followed by an asterisk. Deputy Black served as Orange County Sheriff from 1946 to 1949. For Kolack's job description, see, "Disease Campaign Now Under Way," *Orange County (Apopka) Chief, January 11, 1944, 1; "Law May Be Solution to Victory Girl Factor in Drive Against VD," Orlando Sentinel, January 22, 1944; "Orange County has Largest Clinic in Florida for Venereal Diseases," <i>Orlando Sentinel, August, 4, 1942.*

The information on Forrest and his family comes from the 1920 Federal Census, the 1935 Florida Census, and the 1945 Florida Census. Ancestry.com was accessed throughout 2011 to complete this article.

For more on the Parramore district, see, Benjamin D. Brotemarkle, Crossing Division Street: An Oral History of the African-American Community in Orlando (Cocoa: Florida Historical Society Press, 2005).

the same age as Beryl, who worked for the navy. Beryl disappeared from the historical record after the 1945 Florida Census, the year after her arrest. We do not know if she had venereal disease, if she was shipped off to Ocala, or how she was treated by the deputies who arrested and detained her. What she offers us is a human face and story to put with the 337 other people arrested by the Orange County Sheriff's office during the Second World War on suspicion of having a venereal disease.⁴

These arrests reflect a confluence of science, social attitudes, and military necessities. Venereal disease, especially syphilis, became a growing problem in nineteenth-century America, Syphilis has three phases: an initial inflammation, a dormant phase, and then a tertiary phase where the disease migrates throughout the body causing a variety of symptoms from paralysis to insanity, and, inevitably, death. The connection between the first and the final phases was only established in 1837; before that, the tertiary and the final manifestations of the disease were usually seen as two entirely different ailments. By the early twentieth century, the various manifestations of syphilis had been traced and documented, from muscular degeneration to insanity. Gonorrhea, a seemingly minor inflammatory disease, proved even harder to identify. However, it too, scientists found, caused serious illness, from meningitis to arthritis to peritonitis. Delineating the diseases made them real in the minds of the general public at a time when increased urbanization and changing sexual behaviors were increasing the rate of infection.5

As scientific research created a tangible, traceable disease, so society in turn-of-the-century America identified victims and villains. The victims were easy: the idealized, asexual Victorian wives and their innocent babes who unwittingly contracted these deadly diseases. Villainy was perhaps less obvious. The men who infected their wives were blamed, but their culpability was muted by contemporary understandings of male sexuality. Men were expected to lack sexual self-control and so, extramarital experiences were tolerated, if not lauded. To preserve the chastity

Forrest's death record can be accessed at Ancestry.com, where the 1945 Florida Census outlined Annie's and Beryl's living conditions. Maureen Honey, ed., Bitter Fruit: African American Women in World War II (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 8.

Allan Brandt, No Magic Bullet: A Social History of Venereal Disease in the United States Since 1880 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 9, 10.

of women they admired, men found recourse with prostitutes. For this, society castigated, but did not penalize, them.⁶

Society had less tolerance for the prostitutes. While many reformers saw them as "soiled doves"—to be pitied—their soil was irreversible. Women were expected to be sexually ignorant and chaste and engaging in sex for money represented the antithesis of the ideal. The high incidence of venereal disease among such women was generally viewed as the physical manifestation of the spiritual corruption. These women could not redeem their womanhood, but they could be prevented from infecting men. Throughout the nineteenth century, campaigns against prostitution inextricably linked the act of selling sex with disease. However, immorality could not be cured with medicine, and consequently attempts to regulate prostitution as a public health measure always failed.⁷

Mainstream society identified another wellspring of contamination in the African-American community. By the early twentieth century, the white medical community had identified blacks as a public health menace, a reservoir of typhoid, pneumonia, and tuberculosis and, of course, syphilis. African Americans had long been seen as inherently lustful. From the perspective of many whites, this characteristic led to high levels of venereal disease, which, in turn, led to insanity and crime. Certainly, rates of venereal disease in black communities throughout the nation were far higher than those among whites. Throughout the nation, Jim Crow limited African Americans' access to money, medical care, education, and sanitation. However, experts ignored these socioeconomic factors in explaining the disease's prevalence, perceiving infection as an innate quality of race.⁸

At the time of Beryl Oates's arrest in Orlando, common understandings, medical and moral, about venereal disease

John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freeman, Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America, 2nd Ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 141, 178-83.

^{7.} Ibid., Intimate Matters, 148-49.

^{8.} Vanessa Northington Gamble, Making a Place for Ourselves: The Black Hospital Movement, 1920-1945 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 7, 109; Allan M. Brandt, "Racism and Research: The Case of the Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment," in Tuskegee's Truths: Rethinking the Tuskegee Syphilis Study, ed. Susan M. Reverby (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 16-17; Keith Wailoo, Dying in the City of the Blues: Sickle Cell Anemia and the Politics of Race and Health in the South (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 56; David McBride, From TB to AIDS: Epidemics among Urban Blacks Since 1900 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 21.

intersected with the military's need to mobilize as many men as possible and lose as few as possible to sickness. Consequently, infected men received treatment, and their behavior was seen as indicative of the nascent virility necessary to engage in combat. Infected women, on the other hand, were criminalized and confined. Authorities, both military and civilian, went to extraordinary lengths to reduce rates of infection, publicly targeting young women as the unpatriotic source of disease. Parents, too, received their share of blame for allowing their girls to fraternize with enlisted personnel.⁹

Importantly, how authorities and society in general viewed and addressed the problem of venereal disease and the nation's youth was different from the perspective of the young men and women involved in spreading disease. From the 1920s on, American young people fundamentally altered their attitudes toward sexual behavior. Growing autonomy, in the cities or at college; easy access to birth control; increased leisure time and commercialized entertainment resulted in a sexual revolution, with more dating, petting, experimentation, and intercourse outside of marriage. Middle-class young men and women embraced their sexuality and

The story of the national fight against venereal disease has been well told by a number of historians. Brandt, No Magic Bullet and Marilyn Hegarty, Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes: The Regulation of Female Sexuality During World War II (New York: New York University Press, 2008) offer the most comprehensive narratives, but both of them work exclusively from federal and national records rather than local or state records. The same is true for John Parascandola's article detailing the rapid treatment centers established during the war, "Quarantining Women: Venereal Disease Rapid Treatment Centers in World War II America," Bulletin of the History of Medicine 83 (2009): 431-59. Janet Hudson addresses the implementation of venereal disease control in South Carolina and does consider state sources in "The Federal Government's Battle Against Venereal Disease During World War II; Implementation in South Carolina," The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association (January 1994): 104-111. Hudson still focuses exclusively on the narrative provided by governmental and authoritarian sources. A discussion of World War II, prostitution, race, and venereal disease that addresses the attitudes of the women and men involved is Beth Bailey and David Farber, "Hotel Street: Prostitution and the Politics of War," Radical History Review 52 (1992): 54-77. Finally, Meghan Winchell discusses a concerted effort of the military and civilian governments to avoid the exposure of enlisted men to prostitutes by offering them alternate female companionship in Good Girls, Good Food, Good Fun: The Story of USO Hostesses During World War II (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008). Winchell uses considerable individual information from both men and women who participated in the USOs during the conflict. For lack of parental control, see, for example, Brandt, No Magic Bullet, 168.



World War II Disease Prevention Poster. Image courtesy of State Archives of Florida.

grew to expect an active and pleasant social life that involved some level of sexual activity. This less chaste behavior had previously been associated with minorities and the working classes and was met by the mainstream middle class with horror. Various solutions were proposed and implemented to control such "hypersexuality," focusing mainly on adolescent working-class women, from sterilization to confinement to vocational training. None of these solutions were successful; and the arrests in Orlando must be seen in this context of an ongoing youthful sexual rebellion that caused great anxiety in society at large. ¹⁰

World War II affected this sexual revolution by moving people, mostly young men, around the country in unprecedented numbers and, in places where these men were stationed, life changed for local residents in many ways. Many military bases were located in areas that had been mainly rural, with sizeable minority and working-class populations. The influx of the military into an area created jobs, which included providing recreation for the soldiers, sailors, and airmen. The arrival of a base in a town spawned bars, dance halls, and other centers of entertainment. For many young women living in and around a base town the war was a time of great excitement. This was especially true for working-class women-who in Florida were often African American—who had little or no money for recreation. Having spent most of their lives enduring the hardships of the Great Depression, these women doubtless enjoyed the arrival of enlisted men, the lure of nights on the town, and the possibility of some extra money or a few luxuries. For them, contracting venereal disease was probably a distant theoretical risk, especially when weighed against the fun and transient thrill of their wartime lives.

Of course, World War II was not the first American conflict where venereal disease had played a role. During the Civil War an estimated 20 percent of soldiers were infected, but the American military had no official policy. In the early twentieth century this changed as troop presence in the Caribbean and the Philippines increased the incidence of disease, while the development of the Wassermann test enabled definitive identification of syphilis. The military introduced regular testing, which revealed much higher rates of infection than previously estimated. It also tried to limit the

D'Emilio and Freedman, Intimate Matters, 256-65. Susan K. Cahn has written
an excellent study of young women's sexual behavior in the American South
from 1920 to 1960 and societal attempts to control it. See Sexual Reckonings:
Southern Girls in a Troubling Age (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).

disease by educating soldiers, providing alternate entertainment, and supplying prophylactics. Attitudes toward women, who potentially carried the disease, varied. By the mid-1910s, social hygienists and anti-vice reformers sought to eliminate prostitution as a way to control venereal diseases. Some military leaders, however, most notably General John Pershing during his Mexican campaigns of 1916-1917, thought that establishing regulated brothels for military use was the best way to limit exposure. ¹¹

World War I brought the problems of armies and venereal disease into sharp focus around the world. Every nation involved in the war tried to address infection in some way. The French established official brothels; the British made it illegal for infected women to have sex with soldiers, with the penalty being imprisonment and fines; the Germans issued prophylactics to their military and examined prostitutes for infection. In the United States, Secretary of War Newton Baker created the Commission on Training Camp Activities (CTCA), which provided alternate entertainment and preventative education to the troops, while working to suppress prostitution around camps. The CTCA investigated conditions around the bases and then cooperated with local officials to close brothels, dance halls, and bars near camps. If the officials refused to comply, the armed services threatened to move the camp or prohibit troops from entering the city. When these measures did not reduce the infection rate, the CTCA moved to a national campaign to address venereal disease, which included encouraging state legislatures to pass laws allowing the arrest of women suspected of harboring disease. Thirtytwo states passed such laws, and some refused to allow the women out on bail pending testing and required hospitalization if infection was detected. This policy led to practical problems of where to put the large numbers of women arrested, a problem that was not fully solved by war's end. The policy also received criticism: from feminists for its focus on women and from courts for its abridgement of civil liberties. Despite these setbacks, between 1918 and 1920 more than 18,000 women were arrested and detained in federal facilities. Detention time varied from ten weeks to a year, during which time the women could receive no visitors. To deter escapes, the facilities had barbed wire and guards. 12

11. Brandt, No Magic Bullet, 37, 40, 97, 98.

Susan R. Grayzel, Women and the First World War (London: Pearson Education, 2002), 71-73; Brandt, No Magic Bullet, 52-95.

While civil authorities focused on infected women, the military penalized men infected with venereal diseases. Starting in 1912, men who had failed to use prophylactics and became infected risked court martial. And infected men were not paid for the time they lost from work. The military rescinded these measures during World War II, presumably more concerned about maintaining the maximum fighting force than fully controlling venereal disease. ¹³

The experiences of World War I made the armed forces much more attuned to the problems caused by venereal disease and the need to control its spread as the nation mobilized for World War II. Efforts during this war were eased by the passage of the National Venereal Control Act of 1938, which allocated money to states to develop disease control measures. The military tested all draftees for venereal disease, as it had during the previous war, but unlike during World War I, men who tested positive were rejected from service. This policy was reversed, however, by the Army in 1942, a decision that became less objectionable toward the end of the war with the advent of penicillin as a cure. ¹⁴

As with World War I, the issue of controlling women who might infect servicemen became paramount. A combination of state, federal, and military authorities drew up an Eight Point Agreement in 1939 that mandated venereal disease diagnosis, treatment, and education. It also allowed for the reporting of infected persons, their isolation, and the repression of prostitution. This agreement proved ineffective in regions of the country that lacked laws against prostitution. In Florida, for example, prostitution was not illegal at the outset of the war, and indeed, probably provided an important component of the state's tourism industry. Some Florida ports, like Pensacola, had a long history of red light districts to control potential bad behavior of visiting sailors and used them to generate city income. ¹⁵

To rectify this potential problem of prostitution, Congress passed the May Act in 1941. Under the provisions of this act,

 Brandt, No Magic Bullet, 77-78, 143-44, 169-70; State Board of Health, Florida Health Notes 33 (February 1941): 21-22.

Official Statutes of Florida, 1983 (Tallahassee: State of Florida, 1983), Chpt.
 796; Florida Health Notes 35 (September 1943): 156-60; James R. McGovern,
 "Sporting Life on the Line': Prostitution in Progressive Era Pensacola," Florida Historical Quarterly 54, no.2 (January 1975): 132, 133.

Edward F. Witsell to Inspector General and commanding generals of armed forces, June 12, 1946, Box 141.28072/141.281-2, AFRHA.

prostitution around a military base was considered a federal crime, and the federal government could close down brothels and arrest women suspected of selling sexual services. Over the course of the war, the May Act was rarely invoked. In 1942 it was used once around Camp Forrest in Tennessee and once around Fort Bragg in North Carolina. In each case the FBI investigated the situation and arrested numerous women on charges of prostitution. These two well-publicized cases generated questions as to the legality of the May Act in terms of states' rights, as the federal intervention clearly seemed to violate local power. Possibly to avoid a discussion about its legality, the May Act was most commonly used as a threat, with communities around bases being encouraged to clean up their red light districts to avoid provoking federal intervention. So, in April 1942 the navy threatened to place the city of Miami under "military police supervision" if "civilian authorities failed to correct existing lewd conditions." Generally, as in the case with Miami, the threat was sufficient to ensure more diligent local policing of prostitutes, brothels, dance halls, and bars. 16

Irrespective of problems of public health, the war was an economic boom time for much of the United States. In Florida, the long coastline proved invaluable to the navy, which established bases to protect allied shipping in the Caribbean, Gulf, and Atlantic. World War II also saw the dramatic expansion of the Army Air Forces. Florida provided a perfect location for air bases, with clear skies, lots of flat land, and warm weather. Consequently, by 1943, the state was home to approximately one hundred seventy military installations. The population also grew. Over one million military personnel moved to Florida during the war, and a similar growth occurred in the civilian population as people sought jobs in wartime factories and support services. ¹⁷

The major bases were on the coast. Tampa, Miami, Key West, Pensacola, and Jacksonville all had large installations, but

Hegarty, Victory Girls, 14, 32-34, 37-39, 92-96; "Miami Threatened with MP Control Due to Prostitutes," Orlando Sentinel, April 25, 1942.

^{17.} David J. Coles, "Keeping the Home Fires Burning: Florida's World War II Experience," in Florida Department of Veteran Affairs, "Florida's World War II Memorial," http://www.floridavets.org/wwii/history.asp (accessed October 4, 2010); Kevin M. McCarthy, Aviation in Florida (Sarasota, FL: Pineapple Press, 2003), 27; Lewis N. Wynne et al., Florida at War (Saint Leo, FL.: Saint Leo College Press, 1993), 4-6; Joseph and Anne Freitus, Florida: The War Years, 1938-1945 (Niceville, FL.: Wind Canyon Publishing, 1998), 2-4.

smaller bases were established throughout the state. In Orlando the Army Air Force operated one main base encompassing the municipal airport, with three paved runways, as well as five satellite bases. The city base incorporated the airport and the area immediately west of it. Over the course of the war, it expanded in size. It included a hospital, a munitions dump, warehouses, and ordinance areas, along with a separate camp for African-American military personnel. Some pilot training also went on further to the north at Rollins College in Winter Park. White officers and their families lived in the Winter Park Pines area, while in 1943 the city leased fifteen acres that had been the Carter Street waste dump to the army for housing African-American personnel. Racial segregation was as much a part of military life as it was of southern life, and black servicemen in Orlando occupied separate, and lesser, accommodations from their white counterparts and did not take part in combat or receive training as fliers (the Army Air Force reluctantly trained some black pilots who flew in segregated squadrons, but none were based in Orlando). 18

In 1940, Orange County and the city of Orlando were still largely rural. The previous two decades had seen the county transition from a traditional southern landscape of piney woods, dotted with lumber mills, naval store operations, and small farms. While some lumber mills still existed (in 1935 the county listed eleven lumbermen and four naval store operators), the forests had increasingly given way to agribusiness operations. Despite an infestation of the Mediterranean fruit fly in 1929, Orange County

^{18.} William C. Lazarus, Wings in the Sun: The Annals of Aviation in Florida (Orlando: Tyn Cobb, 1951), 238-39; Sentinel Star Company, Orlando, A Century PLUS (Orlando: Sentinel Star Company, 1976), 106; Freitus, Florida: The War Years, 24; "Baldwin Park/NTC Main Base-A Brief History," in "City of Orlando. net," http://www.cityoforlando.net/planning/ntc/ntcclos/htm (accessed July 6, 2010); E. H. Gore, From Florida Sand to "The City Beautiful": A Historical Record of Orlando, Florida 2nd ed. (Winter Park, FL.: Orange Press, 1951), 154; photograph of base from Airforce Archives, Maxwell Air Force Base, Montgomery, Alabama; Jerrell Shofner, Orlando: The City Beautiful (Tulsa: Continental Heritage Press, 1984), 114; personal communication with Linda Barresi, June 27, 2010, notes in possession of author; Eve Bacon, Orlando: A Centennial History, Vol. II (Chuluota, FL: Mickler House, 1977), 123; Wynne and Moorhead, Florida in World War II, 85-86; "Historical Data, 902nd AAF Base Unit (Orlando Army Air Base), AAF Center, Orlando, Florida," April 1, 1945-May 1, 1945, Box 287.17-18/287.17-20, AFRHA; Alan M. Osure, Separate and Unequal: Race Relations in the AAF During World War II (np: Air Force History and Museums Program, 2001); William O'Neil, A Democracy at War: America's Fight at Home and Abroad in World War II (New York: Free Press, 1993), 236-38.

was full of citrus groves that ran right up to the Orlando city limits. Citrus groves also dotted the northern part of the county, together with fern farms. The southern and eastern sections of the county had been partially cleared for cattle, with ranches as big as 65,000 acres. The county also had considerable acreage in vegetables for transportation around the nation. In 1939, Orange County's income from crops (which excluded cattle) was nearly \$3.8 million, the third highest in the state. Only Palm Beach County with a crop income of around \$6.5 million, mostly in vegetables, and Polk County with a crop income of \$11.3 million, largely from citrus, earned more from agriculture. In Orange County, \$3.3 million was generated from citrus, with just over \$200,000 coming from truck crops and just under \$200,000 coming from horticultural crops. ¹⁹

The industry and labor in the county reflected this agrarian economy. Orlando was a rural hub. Its railroads shipped products around the country and its industries packed and prepared farm products, from meat-packing plants to crating companies to fertilizer and insecticide operations. Likewise, nearby Apopka was dominated by horticultural growers and citrus associations. All of these agricultural industries utilized the local black labor. World War II was a boon to the agricultural enterprises of the county, as in 1941 Orlando was chosen as one of three national headquarters for purchasing all the fruits and vegetables for US army posts, which amounted to more than \$100,000 of produce purchased daily. At the same time, the war threatened the indigenous work force and established caste system, as local African-American laborers left the fields for better work in the war industries. In 1943 438 black laborers were recruited to work at the Campbell Soup Company in New Jersey. Local officials complained so vociferously to the War Manpower Commission in Washington, DC, that it made a promise that no more recruitment would take place in the county. Despite this promise, blacks did leave, and labor needs were filled by Caribbean workers brought in by the federal government, POWs, vagrants, and even black school children provided courtesy of local

Jerrell H. Shofner, History of Apopka and Northwest Orange County, Florida (Apopka, FL: Apopka Historical Society, 1982), 217-34; Sixth Census of the State of Florida, 1935 (Tallahassee: Florida Department of Agriculture, nd), 128; Bacon, Orlando, 39-40, 114. Information on county income from Historical Census Browser, University of Virginia Library, http://mapserver.lib.virginia. edu/php/county.php (accessed May 24, 2011).



Orlando Airbase. The base was outside the city limits and on the edge of development, as seen by the heavily wooded areas to the west and north. *Courtesy of Air Force Historical Research Agency*.

school boards. Such a dismantling of their traditional labor system would necessarily have made white Floridians uneasy about other changes in society, such as increased sexual activity around military installations.²⁰

When the airbase was established in Orlando in 1940 the city had a population of 36,736. The base, although starting small, grew rapidly, and by 1943 probably was occupied at capacity with numbers ranging from around 30,000 to just over 36,000 personnel. Doubling the inhabitants of the city stretched its resources. Housing became limited, as military families moved in and others flocked to the area for jobs in service and support industries. Like many other towns that benefited from the war,

Shofner, History of Apopka, 217-34; Bacon, Orlando, 109, 121-22; Eliot Kleinberg, War in Paradise: Stories of World War II in Florida (Melbourne: Florida Historical Society Press, 1999), 53; Wynne and Moorhead, Florida in World War II, 53-54; Gary R. Mormino, "World War II," in The New History of Florida, ed. Michael Gannon (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1996), 330.

Orlando became a beacon of economic opportunity for citizens tired out after a decade of depression. Equally important, for young people used to the drudgery of rural farm life, it promised cosmopolitan excitement.²¹

The influx of this huge number of young men into the state posed a particular problem as Florida already had the highest rate of deaths from venereal disease in the nation. This statistic was confirmed after the start of World War II, when mandatory testing of enlisted men demonstrated that the state had the highest infection rate. The state did not create a division of Venereal Disease Control until 1938, with the provision of federal funds. This division was responsible for coordinating local efforts, distributing information and drugs, and collecting data. It had a segregated organizational structure to work with both the white and black citizens of the state. During the war, the division decided to focus its work on areas around military bases. Thus, its priority was protecting military personnel stationed in the state from infection from Floridians, rather than helping the state's population at large address the problems of syphilis and gonorrhea.²²

Orange County and the city of Orlando had a limited capacity to address the issue of venereal disease. Orange County established a health department in September 1937, with seven full-time employees and five part-time workers. The county had been assigned Captain Sol Kolack from the US Public Health Service to work on communicable diseases, but, at the start of the war, the key problem was space. The county was severely limited in space to house VD patients during their treatment, or, given that most previous criminals were male, to house female arrestees.²³

Gore, From Florida Sand, 154; Table, 1, "Historical Data: Unit History, Station Hospital, Station Medical Detachment, AAF Tactical Center, Orlando, Florida," Box 287.17-1/287.17-6, Air Force Historical Research Agency, Maxwell AFB, Montgomery, Alabama (hereafter AFHRA). For examples of city services and housing being stretched, see, Bacon, Orlando, 101, 102, 105.

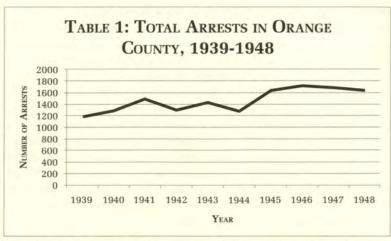
^{22.} Florida State Board of Health, Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Florida State Board of Health for the Year Ending December 31, 1938 (Jacksonville: Florida State Board of Health, 1940), 8-9; Florida State Board of Health, Forty-First Annual Report of the Florida State Board of Health for the Year Ending December 31, 1940 (Jacksonville: Florida State Board of Health, 1941), 15-17; "Florida Syphilis Control Program Sets Remarkable Record During Past Year," Florida Health Notes 31 (February 1939): 21.

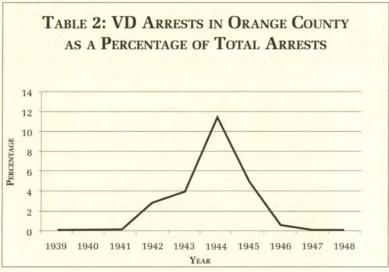
Florida State Board of Health, Thirty-Eighth Annual Report for the Year Ending December 31, 1937 (Jacksonville: Florida State Board of Health, 1938), 71; "Florida Has Highest Rate for Syphilis," Florida Health Notes 33 (July 1941): 91; "Venereal Disease in Florida, 1942," Florida Health Notes 35 (February 1943): 22-24.

The only source of detailed data on VD arrests in the Orlando area that survives is the sheriff's dockets housed at the Orange County History Center. These books list the names of the arrestee and the arresting officers, the place of arrest and the home address, age, sex, and race of the arrestee, the charge, and the date and time of the arrest. The dockets offer detailed information about arrests in Orlando in general and about the importance of VD to the county, city, and military in specific. Deputy sheriffs and bailiffs arrested people who had been reported as carriers by military personnel, presumably as a result of a rather unpleasant conversation with a military doctor. These reports were filed on official contact sheets. Consequently, many of the detainees were people who might have syphilis and who might have had sex with military men, rather than a wider sampling of Orlando's or, indeed, Florida's population. The bailiffs could also arrest women more randomly for testing on suspicion. County authorities arrested only few people for lewd behavior and none for prostitution, even after the state made the profession illegal in 1943. This suggests that their role was to work closely with the military in apprehending identified subjects. The city police in Orlando and Winter Park cast a wider net, stationing policemen in the central entertainment district to arrest women for lewd conduct and raiding boarding houses suspected of harboring girls having sex with army personnel.24

In the ten years from 1939 to 1948 the total number of arrests for any reason in Orange County varied from a low of 1,179 in 1939 to a high of 1,720 in 1946. The general tendency over the decade was one of increase. Arrests on suspicion of harboring a venereal disease represent a small number of the overall arrests, but the profile is telling. Venereal disease arrests started slowly in 1942, peaked in 1944 with 146 VD arrests constituting more than ten percent of the total number or arrests, and declined swiftly with only one VD arrest in 1948 (see Tables 1 and 2). The total number of people arrested on this charge was 338.

For an example of reporting form, see, "Historical Data: Unit History." For city policing efforts, see, for example, "Historical Data: 902nd AAF Base Unit, Squadron M, AAF Tactical Center, Orlando, Florida," November 1944, Box 287.17-13/287.17-17, AFHRA; "Negro Rate Highest," Orlando Morning Sentinel, September 6, 1944, 2.





While Orange County deputies started arresting people on suspicion of having VD in 1942, the clear increase was in 1944. This reflected the reality of police work. While the federal government and the armed forces were anxious to have women infected with disease identified and removed from the streets, sheriffs and police had to find somewhere to house arrestees while they were treated: a medical process that took an average of seventy weeks. In 1939, the standard recommended treatment for syphilis patients was thirty weekly shots

of arsenic into the arm, followed by forty weekly shots of a bismuth compound into the hip. For at least one year of the treatment, patients were to refrain from sexual intercourse for fear of infecting their partners. Unfortunately, symptoms of the disease could disappear in a few weeks of treatment, and officials did not trust most carriers to either continue the medical regime or abstain from sex. Thus, housing arrestees for treatment required a combination hospital/detention center. This remained true even as more efficient treatment methods were devised, as most of these were more dangerous to the patient and so had to be more closely monitored. During the war, doctors usually treated syphilis with either an intravenous administration of arsenic and bismuth for eight days or a series of injections over twenty-five days. In both cases, the toxicity of the arsenic could be a problem, and the treatment needed close supervision.²⁵

Consequently, the Orange County sheriff's office only arrested thirty-eight people in 1942 and forty-four in 1943, probably people specifically identified in contact sheets. In 1942 the state of Florida applied for funds to the Federal Work Agency to renovate CCC camps at Ocala and Wakulla and then operate them as Rapid Treatment Centers for women diagnosed with venereal disease. Other centers were established in Jacksonville and, in 1944, in Pensacola. The first centers opened in March 1943. These centers were for arrestees who could not afford, or could not be trusted, to obtain the lengthy treatment for syphilis. They used intensive treatment methods, and the patients were required to remain for at least ten weeks. With the establishment of a Rapid Treatment Center in Ocala, the sheriff of Orange County could arrest more women, knowing that there was somewhere to house them. This resulted in a dramatic increase in arrests, which reached a high in 1944 with 146.²⁶

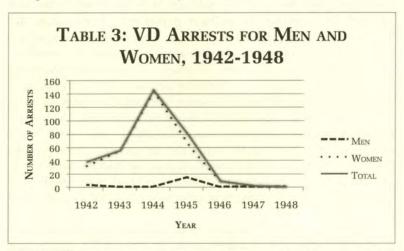
Ironically, 1943 was also the year that the effectiveness of penicillin in treating syphilis was discovered, reducing the need for the treatment centers and even for VD arrests. Penicillin provided an easy, cheap cure for military men infected with syphilis, negating

 [&]quot;Syphilis Can be Cured," Florida Health Notes 31 (February 1939): 29; "Rapid Treatment Centers," Florida Health Notes 36 (February 1944): 41. For more information on the treatments used for venereal disease, see, Parascandola, "Quarantining Women," 441-44.

Florida State Board of Health, Forty-Fourth Annual Report of the Florida State Board of Health for the Year Ending December 31, 1943 (Jacksonville: Florida State Board of Health, 1945), 193, 199; Florida State Board of Health, Forty-Fifth Annual Report, 75, 79; Florida State Board of Health, Life and Death in Florida, 1940-1949 (Jacksonville: Florida State Board of Health, 1950), 41.

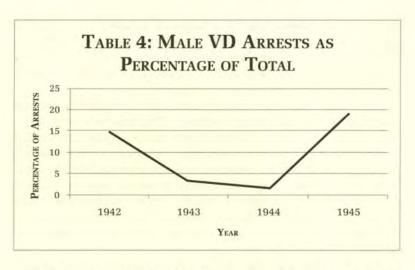
the need to discover and treat potential female carriers of the disease. Unfortunately, penicillin remained hard to obtain until nearly the end of the war, but as access to it improved, the number of people arrested on suspicion of infection fell in 1945 to eighty-three and then quickly became negligible. ²⁷

The large majority of people arrested in Orange County on suspicion of having VD were women. This dovetails with other studies of arrests in the United States during the war years that demonstrate an increase in the number of women arrested overall, due largely to the criminalization of women's sexuality. However, in Orange County, during most years of the war, some men were arrested as well, for a total of twenty-five arrests (although one male arrestee was named Eliza Stokes). Annual numbers of male arrests were always below five, except in 1945, when sixteen men were arrested. Interestingly, this high number coincided with a decline in overall arrests after the advent of penicillin, resulting in men representing nearly 20 percent of the total arrests that year (see Tables 3 and 4). Only three of the men arrested were white and all, except one from Lake County, were local.²⁸



Florida State Board of Health, Forty-Fifth Annual Report of the State Board of Health for the Year Ending December 31, 1944 (Jacksonville: Florida State Board of Health, 1946), 75-76; Parascandola, "Quarantining Women," 441-42.

For information on national arrests and the sex differential, see, Darrell J. Steffenmeier, Alvin S. Rosenthal, and Constance Shehan, "World War II and its Effect on the Sex Differential in Arrests: An Empirical Test of the Sex-Role Equality and Crime Proposition," Sociological Quarterly 21, no.3 (Summer 1980): 403-416.



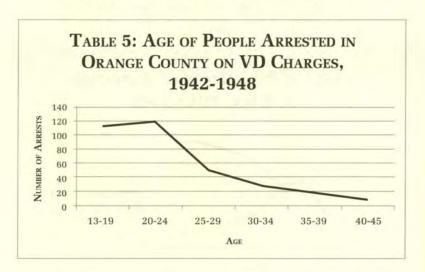
The general dearth of male arrests reflected the national preoccupation with protecting the armed forces. Despite the lip service paid to concerns regarding syphilis within the civilian population, the force of law focused only on people who had infected, or could infect, military personnel. Presumably, the men arrested had engaged in, or were suspected of engaging in, homosexual acts of some kind with airmen or other base workers. The generally low numbers of such arrests could represent unwillingness on the part of military personnel to admit to such liaisons or on the part of the doctors in charge to report them to the sheriff. Equally significant, it may have been a result of a more mundane reality: most rapid treatment centers only offered beds to women, with Jacksonville being the exception. Consequently, it would be harder for the county to pass on males infected with VD to some other jurisdiction. Thus, if infected, they would have further stretched the capacity of county or city jails/hospitals until fully cured.29

The small number of men detained also demonstrated the gendered reality of most sexual policing. The sheriff, police, and military all failed, either from a lack of manpower, a lack of funds, or a lack of imagination, to ask the girls who had infected them and then arrest those men. They also did not arrest or punish the infected airmen, despite the fact that this had been military policy

^{29.} Florida State Board of Health, Forty-Fourth Annual Report, 199.

before the war (and was reinstated after the conflict). Instead they just treated their infections and presumably tried to stop them having more sex until they were cured. Ultimately, therefore, men's sexual forays were accepted and, if they were military personnel, treated so they could continue the fight against Hitler and Hirohito. Women's sexuality was criminalized; their social and sexual behavior was viewed deviant and worthy of punishment.³⁰

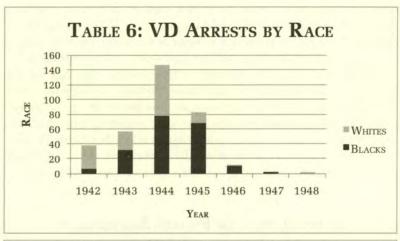
Along with sex, the sheriff's office tracked the age of the arrestees. People of every age from thirteen to forty-five were detained with the average age being around twenty-three. Although a considerable number of teenagers were arrested, most arrestees came from the twenty to twenty-four age bracket (See Table 5). This relates nicely to the concept of youthful rebellion, of young people amusing themselves in ways that other generations condemned.

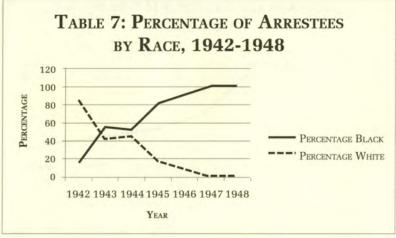


During the six years that the Orange County sheriff's office arrested people on suspicion of harboring venereal disease, both blacks and whites were detained. The numbers of such arrests, however, especially in relationship to each other and to other information, prove interesting. The first year of the program, the arrestees were overwhelmingly white, and the last two years they were completely black. In between, more blacks were arrested that

^{30.} Edward F. Witsell to Inspector General.

whites, but the numbers were fairly close in 1943 and 1944 (See Tables 6 and 7).





Making sense of these numbers is difficult. In 1942 six black people were arrested along with thirty-two whites. Blacks, therefore, represented 15.8% of the total arrests. This accurately mirrors the racial distribution in the county, where 15.7% of the population was African American. Three years later, in 1945, there were sixty-eight black arrests (82%) and fifteen white arrests (18%). This approximates the rate of venereal disease in the county, where 14% of carriers were white, and 86% black. Ultimately, these figures

reflect how the campaign against venereal disease changed on an annual basis. In 1942, the sheriff had nowhere to put women he arrested if they tested positive. Consequently, his office detained only thirty-eight women, most of whom were probably identified as possible carriers by infected military personnel. The next year, with the opening of the Rapid Treatment Centers, arrest numbers rose, as law enforcement was more able to randomly target women in boarding houses and jook joints.

1944 saw 146 arrests. In this year, the American military machine was operating at full capacity and controlling venereal disease became increasingly a priority. More action was taken on bases to stem disease, and more cooperation was expected of local authorities. In 1944 a Special Venereal Disease Committee was established in Orlando composed of civilian and military personnel specifically to combat syphilis within the civilian population. Under the direction of this committee, more women identified on military contact forms were tracked down, known houses of prostitution and problematic bars were placed "off-limits," prophylactics were distributed at stations throughout the city, boarding houses were raided, and the "City Police and Military police . . . patrol[ed] the streets and taverns for promiscuous women." Although many of these more random arrests seem to have been made by the police rather than the sheriff's office, the high numbers detained by the bailiffs clearly resulted from this collaborative drive. 31

The increase in black arrests probably reflected the high rate of infection among African-American troops—ranging in 1944 from nine to fifteen times higher—and thus concern among the committee members to address this problem specifically. Additionally, the structure of Jim Crow combined with general assumptions that African Americans were naturally diseased, made it psychologically and legally easier to target black women. In the reports, for example, the only boarding houses raided were listed as "colored." Perhaps more surprising is that the number of white arrests remains relatively high in 1944 at sixty-eight. The military reports also note that the rates of venereal disease among white troops increased at times during the year. More white

 [&]quot;Historical Data: 902nd AAF Base Unit, Squadron M"; "Historical Data: AAF Regional Station Hospital, 902nd Base Unit (BC), Section D * Medical Section, AAF Tactical Center, Orlando, Florida," April-May 1944; "Historical Data: Squadron M-902nd AAF Base Unit, AAF Tactical Center, Orlando, Florida," Iune-December 1944, Box 287.17-7/287.17-9, AFRHA.

troops contracting venereal disease would have resulted in more white women being names on contact sheets, and thus more white arrests. The military blamed this increased incidence of disease on "an increase in the number of prostitutes in Orlando who have arrived from Tampa, Florida, where a strenuous drive against prostitution is in progress." The arrests of these women and other "girls without visible means of support in the town" would have boosted the white arrests for the year. 32

In 1945, the year before penicillin and peace mitigated national concerns about venereal disease, many more blacks were arrested than whites. With the logistical problems solved, officials focused more on the group with the highest rate of infection and lowest social standing. Throughout the war, Orange County officials tried to address the higher level of disease in the African-American community. By late summer 1942, the county had the largest clinic in Florida for venereal disease treatment. Kolack headed operations, which offered centralized control, treating 3,500 cases a month. In general, these patients were those, white or black, who officials trusted to report for treatment for months and who, therefore, did not need to be incarcerated. The clinic moved around the county, from the Orange County jail on Monday morning-when those arrested on suspicion of harboring disease would be tested-to Winter Garden on Tuesday night, and Apopka on Wednesday afternoon. For the majority of each week, however, the clinic worked at the "colored clinic at Parramore and South St." The focus of these medical officials on black infection clearly reflects the profile of the disease.33

The racialized nature of disease prevention in Florida was also apparent in the officers conducting the arrests. In 1942, the sheriff's office sent a female bailiff/deputy sheriff, Mrs. Leonard, to conduct arrests of suspected women. Soon, other women appear in the docket, arresting women on the VD charge: Mrs. Dean in 1943, Mrs. Thrasher in 1944, and Mrs. Lane in 1945. Until 1944, however, when the number of cases soared, these women only

 "Orange County has Largest Clinic in Florida for Venereal Diseases," Orlando Sentinel, August 4, 1942.

^{32. &}quot;Historical Data: 902nd AAF Base Unit, Squadron M"; "Historical Data: AAF Regional Station Hospital, 902nd Base Unit (BC), Section D * Medical Section, AAF Tactical Center, Orlando, Florida," April-May 1944; "Historical Data: Squadron M-902nd AAF Base Unit, AAF Tactical Center, Orlando, Florida," June-December 1944, Box 287.17-7/287.17-9, AFRHA.

arrested whites, presumably reflecting a heightened sensitivity when discussing private matters with white women, as opposed to black. In 1944 and 1945, the years of the most arrests, women bailiffs arrested people of both colors, but after that these female officers generally focused on arresting runaways, usually underage white girls.

Some Floridian authorities tried to blame the high incidence of venereal disease in the state on the presence of the armed forces and the consequent "influx of commercialized prostitutes who are known to be the primary spreaders of venereal disease." Certainly prostitutes gravitated toward boom towns. The Tampa police chief noted an influx of prostitutes in 1942 and, as we have seen, Orlando officials believed that many of these women moved to Orange County in 1944 when Tampa cracked down on the problem. However, sex for sale did not cause the venereal disease problem in the state during the war. Florida had the highest venereal disease death rates in the nation before the war, indicating that the root cause was local and not because of peripatetic prostitutes. Equally, evidence from the sheriff's dockets demonstrate that most people arrested were local—from in and around the Orlando area. ³⁴

Other authorities recognized that the problem of venereal disease was complicated by "good-time girl[s]." These young women, often in their teens or early twenties, became promiscuous due to "misguided patriotism." Some authorities understood that "the nervous tension of war has promoted the clandestine meetings of juveniles in juke joints, concession stands, movies, bowling alleys, dance halls, and taverns" and that these meetings often led to sexual relations. The problem, as some saw it, lay with the parents who should be monitoring the girls' behavior rather than allowing them to "roam ... the streets at all hours of the night." 35

This analysis, minus the heavy dose of censure, more accurately reflects the situation in Florida and in Orange County. An analysis of girls released from the Rapid Treatment Centers showed that 74.4 percent claimed their place of residence to be Florida, while 70.8 percent were born in Florida, Alabama, or Georgia. In the

 [&]quot;Venereal Disease Control in Florida, 1942," 29; "Florida Syphilis Control Program Sets Remarkable Record During Past Year," 21; Dawn Truax, "Victory Girls and Social Protection in World War II Tampa," in Florida at War, ed. Lewis N. Wynne (Saint Leo, FL: Saint Leo Press, 1993), 31.

R. F. Sondag, "Parents Blamed for Delinquency in Girls," Florida Health Notes 35 (September 1943): 147-48; Truax, "Victory Girls," 33-35.

sheriff dockets, three hundred twenty of the resident addresses for the arrestees are somewhat legible. Of these, 73 percent are in Orlando, 86.9 percent are in Orange County, and 92.8 percent are in Florida. All of the out-of-state arrestees, with the exception of the one from Savannah, were white, which at 95.6 percent is higher than the percentage of whites in Orange County more generally, which was 84.3 percent. 36

Many of the out-of-state women were arrested in pairs or in larger groups. Some, like Peony* and Elizabeth Drayson* of Malden, Massachusetts, arrested in November 1942, were clearly traveling together. For a few of these women, it is possible to posit the reasons that they were far from home. Amy Swenson* of Peoria, Illinois, was thirty-two years old when she was arrested in October 1942, along with Daphne Jorgensen* from Superior, Wisconsin, who was thirty-five. Amy came from a working-class family. Her father was a caretaker in a cemetery, while her brother earned his living as a machine painter. In 1930, Amy was living at home and working as a filing clerk at a dry cleaners. Her friend, Daphne, came from a large fairly wealthy family, with both parents from Norway. In 1910, when Daphne was three, she lived with her father, a carpenter, her mother, and her six older siblings, one of whom, her older sister Lena, taught public school. Ten years later, her mother was no longer living with the family, and two of the children had also left or died. In her mother's place, the father had hired an English housekeeper named Jane Leitch. By 1930, Daphne had moved to Chicago where she was training to be a nurse. It is thus possible that she and Amy were both nurses, working with the military in Florida, who had developed relationships with airmen through the course of their work. Rosa Blane*, arrested in December 1942 and hailing from Columbia, South Carolina, was also a nurse, which indicates that at least some of the women whose behavior was criminalized during the war were also directly involved in allied victory.37

Another couple of out-of-state women seem to have a different story. Dottie Humphries* was born in Poinsett County, in rural Arkansas to a large farm laboring family. Her first move may well have been to the county seat of Harrisburg, where she may have

^{36. &}quot;Rapid Treatment Centers," Florida Health Notes 36 (February 1944): 38.

Information on Amy Swanson and Daphne Christensen from federal census records accessed through ancestry.com.

met Edith McCurry*. Edith was also from a laboring family, just north of the state line in Missouri. Her father worked on a road crew. Somehow the girls made their way to Orlando where they were arrested in August 1942; they were eighteen and twenty-one, respectively. Edith and Dottie fit the stereotype of "good-time girls," using the employment opportunities of the war to move from home to the exciting proximity of a military base. Whether or not one of them was dating an enlisted man and followed him to the state, or whether they both made their living from prostitution, or whether their lives involved a degree of casual prostitution combined with low-wage labor, is impossible to say.³⁸

Only nineteen of the arrestees came from Florida, but not from Orange County. Most of them originated from towns around Orlando, with five white arrestees residing in Kissimmee, a cattleranching and citrus-packing town just a few miles south of the city.

The vast majority of arrestees came from within Orange County, mostly from Orlando, but with sizeable numbers from Winter Park, Winter Gardens, and Apopka. Some of these gave their home address as a hotel, which may indicate that they were only transient residents of Florida, however, or that the hotels acted as boarding houses for low-paid workers. The main concentration of arrestees' homes was in Parramore, the city's historically black neighborhood. Black arrestees predominated here, with the tightest cluster along Division Street, the historic racial dividing line. What is interesting, however, is that a number of white arrestees also called the Parramore district home, which may reflect the housing shortage in the city with the advent of war. Another noticeable grouping to the north and east of downtown represents women who lived in the black neighborhood of Winter Park, Hannibal Square. Few arrestees, and even fewer blacks, lived on the eastern side of the city, in the more middle-class neighborhoods of town.

Of the women who can be identified who lived in Orange County, several commonalities emerge. At least one, Elise Bray*, a white woman who lived on West Pine Street in Parramore, was a nurse, like the out-of-town women. She was thirty-seven when arrested in 1944 and was married with a husband and adult son. Her age and marital status does not preclude her from casual sex with military personnel,

Information on Edith McCurry and Dottie Humphries from federal census records accessed through ancestry.com. Many women did follow their husbands or sweethearts to Florida, see, Mormino, "World War II," 339.

but it does suggest alternate stories, from an airman giving her name to a doctor in desperation to her partaking in an after-work outing with male coworkers from the base.³⁹

A sizeable number of the arrestees were clearly poor, which is not surprising considering that many more blacks were arrested than whites. Abigail Washington*, a black woman from the Hannibal Square neighborhood lived with her father Leroy, who was a laborer, and her mother, Amanda, who stayed home with as many as eleven children. In 1930, they paid a rent of twelve dollars per month for their home. Bertha Wood* from Apopka also lived at home with her family. Her father worked as a laborer in a sawmill and paid three dollars a month in rent. When the women's employment appears in the historical record, it also suggests relatively low economic status. Lydia Stokes*, arrested in 1943 at age twenty-four, still lived in a boarding house in Parramore two years later and listed her occupation as a cook. Clara Chambliss* was thirty-six when she was arrested in 1944. In the Florida census of the following year, she is listed at the same address that she gave the sheriff's office-201 Garden. Her occupation was a laundress and she lived with two other women who earned their living as maids. 40

Of the seventy-four arrestees that can be identified with some reasonable assurance, sixty-four, or 86.5 percent, seem to have come from poor or working-class backgrounds. These people, or their parents or spouses, were employed as laborers, maids, packers, and the like, and generally rented their homes. The few that owned homes, assigned them a relatively low value, such as two or three hundred dollars. The records of 10 percent of the arrestees offer no clues as to their class, occupations, or living situation. The remaining 3.5 percent of arrestees, or three women, appear to have come from the middle class. All three of these women were white: one's father was a lawyer, another's was a conservation agent, and the third's father was the manager of a lumber mill. Class clearly seems to define the women willing to consort and have sex with enlisted men. Poor women (and men) would have less access to entertainment on their own, and thus, perhaps, be more interested in soldiers who could pay for a night on the town. 41

Information on Elise Bray from Florida census records accessed through ancestry.com.

Information on women from federal and Florida census records accessed through ancestry.com.

Clearly, many of the Orange County arrestees fell into this category. Indeed, a number of women were arrested more than once, like Gloria Peterson* of Winter Park. Seventeen-year-old Gloria was detained three times in the space of ten months demonstrating both that she did not have venereal disease and that she continued to associate with airmen despite her arrest experience. When she was arrested a fourth time in May 1945, she was living in downtown Orlando, having moved out of the family home. This behavior had caused hand-wringing on the part of reform-minded members of the middle class for decades, but, when it endangered the government's ability to prosecute World War II, it was criminalized. Additionally, the overwhelming majority of the working class in the South were African Americans, racializing the story once again. 42

While class was clearly the main determining factor in the arrests, a smaller, but still significant number of arrestees seem, like Beryl Oates, to have experienced some family instability. Sarah Maddox*, a black woman arrested in 1943, came from more well-off circumstances than others. In 1930 she was living with her aunt and uncle in Alachua County, Florida. Her uncle was a laborer, but did own his own home. Rosie Cooper*, arrested in 1944, had been living in Duval County, nine years earlier, with her widowed mother who earned a living as a laundress. Susie Christenson* was a thirteen-year-old black girl when she was arrested in 1944. The census of the next year found her at the same address in Parramore, living with her mother who was a maid. Susie made her living as a laundress. ⁴³

Overall, then, the majority of people arrested in Orlando on suspicion of having a venereal disease were female, black, in their late teens and early twenties, and working class, perhaps also suffering from some personal or familial dislocation. This profile matches that of another analysis done in 1944 of inmates in a Rapid Treatment Center in Washington, DC. Evelyn Sarris completed the study of 146 inmates as part of her degree in social work. She found that 81.5 percent of the patients were women, 71.9 percent were African American, 68.5 percent were between seventeen and twenty-six, 63 percent had only received formal education through ninth grade, 53.4 percent had identifiable occupations that placed

^{41.} Ibid.

^{42.} Ibid.

^{43.} Ibid.

them in the working class (28.7 percent were unemployed or their employment was unknown), and 50 percent reported familial problems. This suggests that the evidence of Orlando's sheriff's dockets could be representative of arrests and inmates in Rapid Treatment Centers nationwide.⁴⁴

The most obvious attempt by authorities to reduce the incidence of venereal disease involved the arrests of potentially infected women. However, military officials also did their part to lower VD rates at the base. Organized control only began in 1943, when the rates were considered "high" among white troops and "extremely high" among African Americans. Major Leon Martin was put in charge of VD control. Officials instituted regular films and lectures on the base; made prophylactics easily available, on base and in town; closed down suspect hotels and bars; started keeping regular information on all potential infectious contacts; worked more closely with the civilian authorities; and, for nine months, instituted an 11.30 pm curfew for military personnel. The military also tried to control infection by offering alternate recreation for the troops. Orlando, like other towns with military bases, had both a white and black United Service Organization (USO), where middle-class women of all ages offered entertainment and "respectable" female companionship to military men. White men could attend events at the black USO, but the reverse was prohibited. Various sports were available at the base, from bowling to baseball, boxing to softball. Parties and dances were held, often with WACs or Ladies Auxiliary members brought in for dancing, and outings were organized to Daytona and Smyrna beaches. Cadets from the base were in demand throughout the city, as in August 1942 when they served as judges for the Florida Sweater Girl contest in Winter Haven. 45

 Evelyn Sarris, "A Study of 146 Patients admitted to a Rapid Treatment Center" (Diploma in Social Work, National Catholic School of Social Service, 1944).

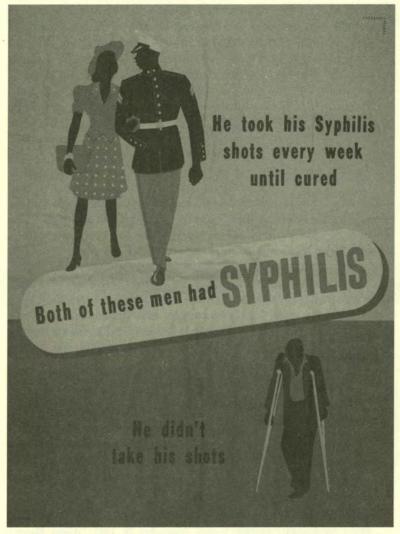
^{45. &}quot;Historical Data: Unit History, Station Hospital," 21; "Annual Report of Medical Department Activities, AAF Tactical Center, Orlando, Florida," attached to "Historical Data: Unit History, Station Hospital," 4. For information on social activities at the base, see, for example, "Historical Data: 902nd AAF Base Unit, Squadron A—Base Complement, AAF Tactical Center, Orlando, Florida," nd; "Historical Data: 902nd AAF Base Unit, Section A—Services Section, AAF Tactical Center, Orlando, Florida," April 1944; "Historical Data: 902nd AAF Base Unit (Base Complement), Section B—Student Section, AAF Tactical Center, Orlando, Florida," March 10-June 10, 1944, Box 287.17-7/287.17-9; "Historical Data: 902nd AAF Base Unit (Orlando Army Air Base), AAF Center,

The African-American unit at the base, designated Squadron C, had the highest rates of venereal disease. The squadron was divided into four platoons that dealt with transportation, internal guarding, billeting and mess hall duties, and labor detail. To help address the disease problem, military officials offered a party each month for the platoon with the lowest rate of infection. Additionally, the black squadron was very engaged in sports. Its baseball team, the South Camp Trojans, traveled around the state to play other African-American teams. Boxing was also important, with pugilists traveling to other camps for competition. At the start of the war in the segregated South, USOs were white-only. This caused a potential problem for black enlistees trying to find wholesome entertainment, as the lack of a sizeable black middle class generally reduced their options to juke joints and bars. The NAACP pressured the USO to open clubs for black personnel. By late 1942, the organization had opened forty-one clubs for blacks around the nation, and, by 1944, there was one in Orlando. Additionally, in April 1945 the base established a social venue for its African Americans. South Camp Esplanade opened with a gathering for three hundred couples who danced to the South Camp Syncopators. Plans were made to have similar events weekly, but by then the war was almost over and penicillin was curing syphilis quickly and easily.46

Officials, both military and civilian, tried to control the spread of venereal disease during World War II in Orlando in a systematic and thorough way. They treated infected military personnel, made prophylactics widely available to military men, and encouraged civilians to be tested and treated. They also arrested women who airmen reported were carriers, along with women who seemed likely to be carriers (on the basis of race, location, and activity). Detained

Orlando, Florida," April 1 to May 1945, AFRHA; "Enlisted Men to Dance in Open Air Tonight," *Orlando Sentinel*, September 26, 1941; "Winter Haven," *Orlando Sentinel*, August 4, 1942. For evidence of USOs in Orlando, see, *Polk's Orlando City Directory* (Jacksonville: R. L. Polk & Co., 1944), 455; *Polk's Orlando City Directory* (Jacksonville: R. L. Polk & Co., 1945), 600. For more on United Service Organizations, see, Wynne and Moorhead, *Florida in World War II*, 209. For a history of the USO, see, Winchell, *Good Girls*.

 [&]quot;Historical Data, 902nd AAF Base Unit—Squadron C, AAF Tactical Center, Orlando, Florida," July 1944, Box 287.17-9/287.17-12, AFRHA; Winchell, Good Girls, 93-94; "Historical Data, 902nd AAF Base Unit (Orlando Army Air Base), AAF Center, Orlando, Florida," April 1, 1945-May 1, 1945, Box 287.17-18/287.17-20, AFRHA.



World War II Disease Prevention Poster. Image courtesy of the State Archives of Florida.

women tended to be local, working-class, young, black girls. This reflected both the racial profile of the disease and the deeply held racial and gender assumptions of officials. From the women's perspective, however, arrest and venereal disease represented

two potential risks in their search for amusement to distract them from their hard lives of low-paid, long-hour employment. On the one hand, then, this story affirms longstanding efforts by those dominant in American society to control the sexuality of African Americans and women. On the other hand, it offers another glimpse into sexual change in the twentieth century, as women, white and black, sought power over their own bodies and lives, irrespective of potential medical and social consequences.

Book Reviews

Daniel Murphree, Book Review Editor

The Migration of Peoples from the Caribbean to the Bahamas. By Keith L. Tinker. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010. Acknowledgements, illustrations, bibliography, index Pp. x, 168. \$69.95 cloth.)

In the introduction to this book, Keith Tinker states, in an attempt to establish the novelty of his approach and focus: Generally, scholarship has neglected the role of West Indian migration to the Bahamas. In fact, few scholars have deemed it important to include the Bahamas in their research of West Indian history (1). Tinker observes, One result of the limited scholarship is that today few people are aware that the Bahamas has a history of migration.... In making this case for an examination of West Indian migration to the Bahamas, Tinker chooses to ignore a generation of scholarship since the 1980s on which his work so clearly depends.

Tinker's dependence on my own work, for example, is evident early in the book as he seeks to explain the earlier scholarly neglect of the Bahamas by historians of the Caribbean. His references to the comments by William Wylly and Sir Alan Burns on the perceived uniqueness of the Bahamian experience closely echo my own observations in the introduction to *The Bahamas in Slavery and Freedom*, published in 1991. That book includes five chapters dealing with aspects of migration, including two which examine specifically West Indian migration to the Bahamas. My introduction also explicitly states an intention to integrate the Bahamian experience into the broader British Caribbean historical narrative. Without direct references to earlier (and often) extensive work on the topic of his study in a literature review, among

them Dawn Marshall's pioneering work on Haitian migration, Tinker misrepresents the state of scholarship on the Bahamas.

Although Tinker cannot claim to be exploring unknown territory, he makes a significant contribution to Bahamian historiography on migration by extending the discussion on patterns of West Indian migration to the Bahamas. This clearly-written study is based on careful research into official records, especially those of the Colonial Secretary's Office, which generally provide greater detail on local conditions than the governors' despatches, and on extensive oral histories. The effect of this reliance on oral histories is to amplify our knowledge of those areas of immigrant experience that are rarely covered by official records and, through family histories, to give a face to those often anonymous people who migrated.

The book is organized thematically into eight chapters, six of which deal specifically with the movement of West Indians to the Bahamas. The first two chapters give an overview of the postemancipation migration between the colonies, to the Americas in general, and to the metropolitan centers, as well as to the Bahamas. In chapter two, which examines migration to the Bahamas from the pre-Columbian era to 1888, one senses a reluctance to refer to the research findings on all of the phases discussed since the 1980s. Thus, Tinker discusses the Loyalists without direct reference to Gail Saunders's work and the Liberated Africans without citing Rosanne Adderley's 2006 monograph. As a result, he produces a perfunctory discussion without the insights those scholars provide.

Beginning with chapter three, Tinker shifts his focus to three of the main groups of West Indian migrants to the Bahamas—the Barbadians, the Jamaicans, and the Haitians—analyzing their impact on the politics and economy of the host society. By dividing chapters on the British Caribbean into separate discussions of Barbadians and Jamaicans, Tinker obscures the participation of migrants from other colonies in the Eastern Caribbean. There is also a measure of overlap between the two chapters since the migration of both groups was prompted by similar conditions and members of both groups found employment in the same sector of the Bahamian economy. Despite the importance of this early period of unrestricted migration, Tinker does not provide firm figures or even estimates for the numbers who entered the colony.

The main (and considerable) strength of Tinker's discussion of Barbadian and Jamaican migrants is his balanced and skillful charting of their entry into Bahamian society at different periods and the changing responses of the receiving society to them. He emphasizes, for example, the positive contributions of both groups to the Bahamian polity. According to Tinker, Barbadians made their mark, *inter alia*, in politics, medicine, and secondary education, whereas Jamaicans contributed to the ultimate reshaping of politics and society in the Bahamas (58). The responses of Bahamians to both groups, he argues, also differed. The Barbadian experience in the Bahamas, he notes, exemplified an unassuming modesty (58). Bahamians came, however, to dislike the assertiveness of the typical Jamaican they encounter (169). Although Tinker explains this antipathy to Jamaicans by Bahamian ignorance of the Jamaican psyche and history, it is perhaps best understood by a practiced deference shared by Barbadians and Bahamians in societies.

The remaining chapters examine the two constants of West Indian migration to the Bahamas. The first of these is Haitian migration, which Tinker traces from the refugees of the Haitian Revolution to 1977. This detailed discussion allows him to trace the changes in Bahamian responses over time, demonstrating how language and ethnic and socio-economic differences consigned them, more recently, to underclass status. The chapter on the migrants from the Turks and Caicos Islands, by contrast, shows the ease of integration into Bahamian society of a group with long-established social, economic, and administrative ties. The final chapter discusses the institutionalization of a policy of Bahamas for the Bahamians which, since Independence in 1973, has remained the nation's entrenched policy toward West Indian migrants.

It is my hope that Tinker's valuable study will serve as a corrective to the lingering mythic narratives which reflect a popular understanding of Bahamian history. These myths include a belief in the homogeneity of the Afro-Bahamian population and the idea that they were never migrants themselves.

Howard Johnson

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William Bartram and the Ghost Plantations of British East Florida. By Daniel L. Schafer. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010. Acknowledgements, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. ix, 144. \$24.95 cloth.)

The British Period in Florida has long been overshadowed by the state's Spanish Colonial past. The significance and impact of the two British decades in Florida's history (1763-1783) rarely serve as the focus of scholarly work. Without question, Daniel Schafer has made the greatest contribution to this chapter in Florida history as a result of frequent expeditions into the archives of British East Florida. In William Bartram and the Ghost Plantations of British East Florida, Schafer frames his examination of British land grant policies through the observations, both published and unpublished, of William Bartram to build a more complete picture of settlement along the St. Johns River.

Laid out in the introduction is the image of Bartram, an iconic environmentalist celebrated by romantic writers (Wordsworth, Emerson, Thoreau), juxtaposed against the documented reality of life along the St. Johns and his role in it. Schafer promises the reader that the discrepancy between what Bartram publishes in *Travels* (1791) and evidence from other primary and secondary documents of the time is puzzling and revealing (56). The body of the work takes the reader on three separate trips up and down the St. Johns River. The first trip provides the itinerary and inventory of what was observed during the 1764 expedition when William Bartram accompanied his father John Bartram, the royal botanist appointed by King George III. The second trip summarizes William Bartram's solo voyage in 1774, observations published almost twenty years later in Travels. On the critical third trip up and down the St. Johns River, Schafer fills in the gaps of William Bartram's Travels by providing a summary of his research based on British Period land grants, Bartram's own letters and Report to Dr. Fothergill (1774-75), and extrapolates a more authentic view of the St. Johns in 1774. Schafer posits that many of the descriptions in Travels contain observations made in the earlier 1764 expedition with his father, a period of Spanish evacuation and British inhabitation. As a case in point, Schafer tallies five settlements and three trading outposts documented by father and son. The expedition recounted in Travels takes place a decade later and ignores dozens of new settlements established along the river in conjunction with Grant's promotional efforts.

Throughout the unraveling of the discrepancy between published narrative and authentic observations, Schafer easily convinces the reader of Bartram's misleading presentation and touches on theories of motive. Here the matter becomes complex as Bartram's role as developer is antithetical to his celebrated reputation as a naturalist. Schafer draws from Thomas Slaughter's assertions in *The Natures of John and William Bartram* (1997) that William may be acting

to absolve his past failures and impact on the land, in essence an act to reverse his father's legacy of leaving blueprints for exploiting the [eighteenth-century] wilderness (77). Additionally, Schafer brings to light Bartram's own enterprise as a plantation owner in 1766 and considers the impact his failure rendered on his writings.

The significance of the ghost plantations exists beyond the contradictions of Bartram. In his conclusion Schafer returns to his primary research goal, an analysis of larger settlement patterns within British East Florida. During the two decades of British rule, the land grant system often led to absentee landowners and large tracts of undeveloped land. While the story of Bartram frames this story perfectly as it spans the British Period, the organization of Schafer's land grant thesis is less straightforward. As the book follows John and William Bartram chronologically up and down the river, so many stories surrounding the grants are summarized and topics abstracted. What is missing is a synthesis of the plantation culture up and down the St. Johns, which leads me to wonder if Schafer's work may have benefited from a more thematic approach.

To an anthropologist's delight, Schafer does a brilliant job of peopling the landscape with settlers, slaves, and servants. As an aside, the presence of Seminoles and other Native Americans along the St. Johns was beyond the scope of this work, but mentioned when appropriate and would make another interesting volume for readers fascinated with the St. Johns River. Of particular interest to archaeologists would be Bartram's observations on the condition of Mt. Royal in 1766 as compared to his second visit in 1774. It turns out credit is due to Governor Grant for the preservation of the significant site.

Schafer takes advantage of the focus on a time and place that Bartram provides to highlight the British Period's impact on Florida history. Avid readers of Bartram can add this to their shelf next to Bill Bellville's *River of Lakes* (2000) as a companion piece to *Travels*, whether they study the river from armchair or canoe. Scholars will find this work a welcome addition to their library not only as a significant inventory of place and family names during the British Period, but also a treatise on the failed land policies of the British leading up to the industrial transition from indigo to naval stores in the eighteenth century.

The Mississippi Territory and the Southwest Frontier, 1795-1817. By Robert V. Haynes. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2010. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, index. Pp. viii, 440. \$50.00 cloth.)

In *The American West* (2000), noted western historians Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher wrote that all of America was once a frontier and "every region was once a West" (11). Clearly, this claim refers to a particular point of view—that of European-descended colonizers who marched steadily westward into the American interior. But it also reminds us that long before pioneers, settlers, speculators, and prospectors burst into the trans-Mississippi West seeking their destinies, other parts of the continent had already experienced foundational episodes of contest and collaboration. In *The Mississippi Territory and the Southwest Frontier*, 1795-1817, Robert V. Haynes lays bare this truth by detailing the creation and development of the Mississippi Territory in the Old Southwest, a region as marked by the phenomena of "westering" as any other in North America, and yet peculiarly ignored by many historians interested in American frontiers.

In this new study of the southwest frontier, Haynes details the development of the Mississippi Territory from its creation following Pinckney's Treaty (1795) with Spain to Mississippi's admission into the union in 1817. As Haynes makes clear, the new territory and its inhabitants faced numerous challenges, including the continuing involvement of France, Spain, and Britain in the region, the determination of Native peoples to resist U.S. expansion, and intense political factionalism of every stripe. Land was the source of much of the conflict that characterized life in the Territory, but questions of legal jurisdiction, political allegiance, and personal honor also provoked violence and produced opportunities for the region's inhabitants.

The first six chapters largely address diplomatic and administrative history, presenting in painstaking detail the messy transition from Spanish province to U.S. Territory. The focus in this section is on imperial intrigues and local political battles (increasingly along Federalist/Republican lines) as Haynes introduces the reader to a complex cast of characters. He asserts that many of the battles between administrators, elected officials, and citizens pivoted on bonds of kinship, noting, "Political alignments were more likely to be based on familial relationships than political ideologies or economic interests" (80). The next five chapters cover the Louisiana Purchase (1803) and its aftermath,

the Burr affair (1806), the trials and tribulations of Governor Robert Williams (1805-1809), and the splintering of Republican interests in the region. While the entire volume is written in a clear and engaging style, Haynes's treatment of these years is particularly elegant.

In Chapters Twelve through Fifteen, Havnes addresses conflict between the Indian nations of the Old Southwest and the more recent settlers, the West Florida imbroglio, and the acquisition of Mobile, before discussing the Creek War (1813-1814). The importance of Indian affairs in the development of this region can hardly be overstated and Haynes has adroitly included considerable material on these issues. His emphasis is on the major incidents of conflict and he does not offer new understandings of the experiences of Native peoples on the southwestern frontier. Instead, he primarily synthesizes established scholarship, occasionally and unfortunately resorting to biased and out-dated characterizations of Indians as "hostile" and "unfriendly." On the other hand, the treatment of the filibusters in West Florida, including the Kemper brothers whom Haynes calls "essential border ruffians," is vibrant and compelling (245). This section provides a window on to the affair by detailing the diverse interests invested in the area that would become part of southern Louisiana and the Mississippi Territory. The final two chapters chart the coming of statehood and emphasize the increasingly hostile relationship between the eastern and western districts.

The primary objective of this book is to present a broad and comprehensive look at the Mississippi Territory that conveys the messy and provisional nature of its establishment and development. In this Haynes joins other Old Southwest historians like Thomas D. Clark and John D.W. Guice who took a similar approach in *The Old Southwest*, 1795-1830: Frontiers in Conflict (1996). The research on which *The Mississippi Territory* rests is extensive, drawing heavily on the letters, journals, and papers of territorial officials, federal agents, and local politicians and a variety of regional and national newspapers, as well as established scholarship on the period.

For all its length and detail, however, the book would have presented a fuller picture of the Mississippi Territory had the author paid more attention to the perspectives of blacks, women, and Indians. Although Haynes describes the importance of slavery to the commercial success of the region and discusses the demographic changes that accompanied increased immigration, he fails to address the lives of slaves (or free blacks) in any meaningful way. This is a missed opportunity. For example, sections on early Natchez might have been enriched by a discussion of the vibrant and influential black society that flourished there for a time. Similarly, despite his useful analysis of the role of kinship and familial connections in territorial politics, Haynes makes little effort to address the history of women in the region except as links in a political network of fathers and spouses. Finally, despite important sections on treaties and uprisings, Native people are frequently presented not as active participants in the transformation of the territory, but primarily as being acted upon. Thus, when Haynes refers to "the inhabitants" of the Mississippi Territory, he is typically referring only to white, male inhabitants and often those of elite standing. Although the book never claims to present a cultural history of the Territory, overlooking or minimizing these perspectives unfortunately presents a rather narrow vision of the region.

Despite these shortcomings, this volume is an important and welcome addition to the limited literature on the region in this era. As Haynes makes clear, there is still much to be uncovered and understood about the Mississippi Territory and southwest frontier and students of the place and time would be well served by consulting this book. Although too long for undergraduate classroom use, the study will find a ready audience among southern history specialists, particularly those interested in the administrative and political history of the South's important West.

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The Second Creek War: Interethnic Conflict and Collusion on a Collapsing Frontier. By John T. Ellisor. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010. Maps, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. vi, 512. \$50 cloth.)

John T. Ellisor's compelling new book, *The Second Creek War*, invites a reconsideration of the traditional interpretations of the frontier South. In the wake of the War of 1812 and the Creek War of 1813-1814, resistance of all types plagued Andrew Jackson's Indian policies in the southeastern United States. As Ellisor argues, the tensions of implementing Indian removal—fueled by greedy land speculators and defiant natives—necessitated unusual military practices that produced unanticipated and, sometimes, violent results. The geographical and historical consequences were far-

reaching. Truly, the multifarious contests that Ellisor examines have traditionally served historians as examples of southeastern Indians' long history of failed resistance. This book not only offers readers a reinterpretation of the organized Native American opposition during the mid-1830s, but presses its audience to see native-white interaction as an important testing ground for white southerners as they rehearsed their own defensive states' rights arguments long before the 1850s secession movement. In ten chapters, Ellisor deftly explores the complicated web of relations engulfing the South's red, white, and black inhabitants. To do so, he connects Indian removal with the evolution of American racism and the full-scale exploitation of natives' land, labor, and diversity. His is an exploration of the tortured nature of the South's (and America's) past.

Years of in-depth research at state and national archives provided Ellisor a firm foundation on which to construct his careful and detailed investigation. With his findings, he describes the intricacies of race and economy from the vantage points of white settlers and Native American accommodationists as well as resisters. The collision of divergent native and white worldviews greatly affected their political and cultural interactions in the American South of the 1830s and 1840s. Generally, Ellisor seeks to rescue the Creek resistance in New Alabama (the east-central portion of the state) by delving into the complex worlds of Indian alliances and their resultant inter-native rivalries. Here, Ellisor makes his case by tracing the oppositional upper and lower Creek polities, including those of Opothle Yahola and Neah Micco. In observing how circumstance and contingency dictated natives' cooperation with Andrew Jackson's administration. Ellisor highlights Native Americans' historical agency while compelling readers to note the art of native diplomacy and the significance of individuals within history.

Much more than a simple ethnohistory of Creek dynamism in the face of defeat, Ellisor's work also points to the miscellany of Anglo-American views on Indian removal. As his research exemplifies, tension among white politicos was never far beneath the surface of the politics of removal. President Jackson's federal appointees (military men, land office supervisors, and Indian agents) frequently clashed with states' rights advocates and elected officials. Additionally, Alabama and Georgia citizens—from settlers to governors—competed to set the terms of jurisdiction over Indian

affairs. Indeed, this aspect of Ellisor's multi-layered analysis is one of the most insightful of his book (see Chapter 8).

Further, Ellisor's notion of a collapsing frontier is one that will intrigue historians of American borderlands. Although he echoes a traditional interpretation of the frontier as a geographical place or zone existing between natives and imperial interlopers, Ellisor's research has broader implications than he suggests. While the physical space between southeastern Indians and Anglo-American settlers disappeared, geography alone cannot explain the intimate connections the frontier permitted. The experiences at Columbus, Georgia reflect such vibrancy. Often, Ellisor's analysis frames the frontier as a static, geographic space, one that seems to naturally vanish as mustered troops pursued natives from Alabama to Georgia to Florida in the hopes of eventually removing them to the West. But what of the mythic qualities of the frontier that no doubt motivated white Americans to participate in the politics of removal at national, state, and local levels? As Ellisor's epilogue demonstrates, he has contemplated Indian removal's impact on white southerners' consciousness and racial configurings (i.e. countless white southerners with full-blooded, Indian great-grandmothers), but more attention to the frontier as a concept that continues to influence Americans' collective identity would only enrich this ground-breaking study. Still, Ellisor's work is impressive in its weaving together of southern, American, and World history by connecting the Second Creek War with larger patterns of colonialism and the global spread of capitalism. It will undoubtedly be useful for Early American historians of all stripes and researchers seeking to understand the complexities of race, politics, and power within an evolving, antebellum South.

With lucid prose and convincing arguments, Ellisor recovers the difficulties that troubled both Creeks and White Americans only twenty years prior to the American Civil War. This powerful book presents a revision of the politics of Indian removal and asks readers to re- envision the South as a place of deeply-rooted conflict and complex political interactions. *The Second Creek War's* substantive contribution to the evolving field of southern Native American history joins those of Claudio Saunt, Robbie Ethridge, Andrew Frank, and Cynthia Cumfer, among others. Like theirs, Ellisor's work deserves high praise.

Freeing Charles: The Struggle to Free a Slave on the Eve of the Civil War. By Scott Christianson. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010. Acknowledgements, appendix, illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xii, 240, \$24.95 paper.)

Charles Nalle was no Frederick Douglass. He could not leave for posterity a written account of his escape from slavery because he was a life-long illiterate. A mix of motives—author Scott Chistianson suggests everything from survivor's guilt to the trauma of his capture and subsequent rescue—prevented him from even passing on to his children what he had endured. In piecing together Nalle's story from a wide range of primary sources, Christianson has finally allowed Charles Nalle to speak.

Nalle was born around 1821, the son of a slave-owner and a slave. He grew up on his father's farm in Culpeper County, Virginia, before being inherited by his white half-brother, Blucher Hansbrough. Despite the tie of blood, Charles Nalle was never allowed to forget that he was property. In 1847, a cash-strapped Blucher put him on the auction block. As luck would have it, Charles's reserve price was not met, but he feared it would only be a matter of time before he and his wife, Kitty, a slave on a neighboring plantation, were forced to bid farewell to one another, most likely forever.

Ironically, what separated Charles and Kitty was not his sale but her emancipation. In his will, Kitty's master liberated her and her sister, Jenny, along with their children. However, Virginia law required all newly-freed slaves to leave the state under penalty of re-enslavement. Kitty and Jenny complied, but they moved only as far as the District of Columbia. Charles and Jim Banks, Jenny's spouse and, like Charles, a Hansbrough slave, devised a plan, possibly with help from a local white abolitionist. It was reported back to the Hansbroughs that Kitty was deathly ill, and Charles and Jim got leave from Blucher Hansbrough to travel to Washington for a few weeks. Relatives of the Hansbroughs in the capital were supposed to watch over the two men, but somehow Charles and Jim managed to slip away and head north.

William Still, the indefatigable agent of the local Vigilance Committee, interviewed Charles Nalle and Jim Banks when they turned up in Philadelphia and asked for help. Always on the lookout for spies and imposters, Still asked some pretty searching questions (and Christianson delves into what Nalle's answers revealed about his enslavement), but once Still satisfied himself that the two were indeed runaways. he sent them to a place of refuge in Albany. From there Charles went to Sand Lake, New York, where he boarded with a white family, the Crosbys. Minot Crosby was an old acquaintance, and Christianson hints, an ally. He had taught school in Culpeper County before reports of his antislavery sympathies forced him out. Meanwhile, back in Washington, Kitty had been thrown in jail, where she languished until a white friend intervened, after which she and the children moved to Pennsylvania to wait while the hunt for Charles died down.

In Sand Lake, Charles Nalle's status as a fugitive became known to a less-than-successful attorney, who sensed a chance to make money and wrote to Blucher Hansbrough. Before Hansbrough could act, Nalle relocated to Troy, where he landed a job as a coachman with a prominent white family who were well aware of his situation and obviously sympathized.

On April 27, 1860, Charles Nalle was on the box of his employer's coach when the slave-catchers struck. As luck would have it, Harriet Tubman was in Troy that day, and she quickly gathered a crowd to wrest Nalle from his captors. What ensued was a confused crowd action, with anti-slavery forces, led by Tubman, trying to drag Nalle to safety, while the slave-catchers rallied more than a few townspeople to help them enforce the law. Nalle was rescued and then retaken. Only when the slave-catchers feared for their own lives did they surrender their captive, literally pitching him, bruised and bloodied, into the midst of their opponents. Under Tubman's direction, Nalle was spirited away and hidden until his friends could raise the cash to buy him from Hasbrough.

With her husband now a free man, Kitty moved to Troy with their children. The Nalles remained in the city through the Civil War. In 1865 they settled in Washington, D.C. and a decade later Charles Nalle died, all but forgotten outside his immediate circle.

Fascinating though Freeing Charles is there are points in the narrative when we lose sight of Charles Nalle. One can make an argument for the need to supply historical context, but occasionally Christianson's contextualizing leads to Nalle's complete disappearance. There is also a tendency towards repetition. For example, Christianson tells his reader multiple times who Harriet Tubman was instead of letting one discussion of her remarkable career suffice. One of the puzzles Christianson does not try to unravel is why Kitty Nalle did not open up to her freeborn son, John, who only discovered his father's story decades later, or why his older siblings kept silent. Minor quibbles aside, though, Freeing Charles is

a poignant reminder that the enslaved were <u>not</u> free the moment they crossed the Mason-Dixon Line, and that those who considered them property could be relentless in their pursuit.

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The Fourth Ghost: White Southern Writers and European Fascism, 1930-1950. By Robert Brinkmeyer, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009. Acknowledgements, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xv, 456. \$49.95 cloth.)

Writing in *Killers of the Dream* (1949), Lillian Smith claims that the American South is haunted by three racial ghosts: black women who have had relationships with white men, children of mixed race, and the mammy who reared white children. Robert A. Brinkmeyer, Jr. adds a fourth ghost, the undercurrent of European fascism in southern fiction in the 1930s and 1940s. Fascism, with its totalitarianism and violence, he maintains, resonated with southern writers. The idea that writers in the American South reacted to global conditions contradicts the standard notion of the South as isolationist and insular. In his latest book, Brinkmeyer makes the case for a global South which reacted to Europe and its wars.

Brinkmeyer's scope is ambitious; he discusses twelve southern writers of the period, including the Agrarians, Wilbur J. Cash, William Alexander Percy, Lillian Smith, Thomas Wolfe, William Faulkner, Katherine Anne Porter, Carson McCullers, Robert Penn Warren, and Lillian Hellman. Brinkmeyer uses the lives and letters of these authors, as well as their fiction, to explore their views on fascism. He charts the many connections among these writers with Germany and Italy. Almost all of the writers he discusses, other than Faulkner and McCullers, had traveled in European countries prior to World War II. These writers were quick to recognize that the racist elements of fascism were parallel to southern racism. They were repelled by the mob violence of Nazi Germany. They, as much as any Americans, nonetheless had mixed reactions to Fascism. For the United States to take the moral high ground over Nazism, for example, was difficult when its own region shared beliefs and actions, such as discrimination and lynching.

Some of these writers attempted to refute allegations of the similarities between the South and Nazi German. Brinkmeyer ana-

lyzes the work of the Agrarians and William Alexander Percy in this context. Others such as Wilbur J. Cash and Lillian Smith used fascism to provide severe criticisms of the South. Those writers who had traveled to Germany in the 1930s were influenced by these travels, not only philosophically, but also in creating characters and situations in their fiction. He discusses, for example, McCuller's creation of several German characters in her fiction. Brinkmeyer's analysis of the work of these writers in a global context is important since often these writers have been read as reacting to the concerns of the South alone. In doing so, he opens up new avenues of inquiry regarding these classic authors. For example, his discussion of William Faulkner's fiction, which features the American hero and the American Dream in the context of war, is insightful. Brinkmeyer reads widely and comprehensively to situate these authors in a global discourse regarding totalitarianism, the dawning of World War II, and human rights.

Some of the best sections of the book occur when Brinkmeyer discusses briefly some writers other than these twelve. He analyzes works by Richard Wright, Zora Neale Hurston, and William Styron; these writers clearly were writing about the South with reference to Europe. Styron, of course, in *Sophie's Choice* (1979), took on the parallels with Nazi Germany directly. Brinkmeyer would have benefited by including these writers fully.

Brinkmeyer's thesis, overall, is somewhat narrowly constructed. To be sure, several of these writers observed European Fascism and were thus able to perceive the American South in a new way. That said, however, Brinkmeyer may be putting the cart before the horse. Racism, discrimination, and violence in the American South predated the rise of Nazism by many decades, indeed, centuries. This group of writers may have been interested in fascism because as Southerners they had lived in a society with similar principles, and they recognized the distortion of such beliefs. Moreover, the fact that a southern writer might feature violence or social control in their works does not mean that they recognized these ideas because of European fascism. Ideas can be parallel, not causal. At times, Brinkmeyer constricts some of these writers into the vise of this thesis. He could have easily broadened it to state that these authors reacted not only to fascism but to World War II in its many complex causes and consequences. Since in reality his book is larger than his thesis, scholars and readers of war literature, as well as southern literature, will find it interesting.

Brinkmeyer writes lucidly with an eye to the history of the period. He makes the case well that this group of writers did have ties to Europe, did react to fascism and to war, and did use this material in their fiction. This is an important topic, one which is long overdue for a thoughtful analysis.

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Red Pepper and Gorgeous George: Claude Pepper's Epic Defeat in the 1950 Democratic Primary. By James C. Clark. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xvi, 208. \$29.95 cloth).

Coming on the heels of World War II and, more importantly, the outbreak of the Cold War, the 1950 Democratic Primary, which served as a de facto election to fill one of Florida's seats in the United States Senate, was a watershed moment, not only in Florida politics, but also in the history of the nation. This election threatened to change the political landscape in the state and succeeded in helping to transform the nature of political elections in the nation. Claude Pepper, two term United States Senator, fervent supporter of the New Deal, and staunch opponent of President Harry S. Truman and his aggressive anti-Soviet foreign policy, was summarily denigrated and defeated by George Smathers in a campaign and election that focused largely on personal attacks and the fear of the Red Menace, communism, intruding into the daily lives of Americans. Author James C. Clark deftly crafts the story of the 1950 election in his latest work, Red Pepper and Gorgeous George: Claude Pepper's Epic Defeat in the 1950 Democratic Primary. His book shows how Smathers, with the backing of the White House, was able to paint Pepper, a popular Senator, as an enemy of the people of Florida, as well as a possible threat to the United States during the Cold War.

Tackling a project of this magnitude, which deals with issues that still garner strong emotions today, is not an easy task. Clark, though, is up to challenge. He is able to paint a perfect picture of the campaign and primary by adding just enough back-story on each candidate, without falling into the trap of including too much superfluous information. In this regard, Clark's work does not feel like biographies of Smathers and Pepper. As mentioned,

he has biographical information, and does delve into the past, but he does so to help him craft his story and make his point, as well as to reconstruct the complex personalities, ambitions, and goals of the two candidates.

Because this is a complicated story, Clark had to be careful in order to provide a balanced and impartial look at the campaign and election, while still being critical of the mistakes and accomplishments of both candidates. In spite of Smathers' sometimes questionable tactics, Clark is able to describe how the University of Florida alum succeeded in recognizing that the playing field had changed by 1950, and that the political landscape in Florida, and the nation, was profoundly different with the onset of the Cold War.

In his work, Clark notes that Smathers' campaign was much more sophisticated than Pepper's, another example of how Smathers was able to adapt to changes and eventually win the primary. Pepper, who Clark shows had adapted in some of his earlier political ventures, was slow to recognize the changes around him in 1950. Pepper, according to Clark, did not fully understand the public opinion in 1950, and, thus, Smathers was able to use Pepper's seemingly soft stance on communism and towards the Soviet Union against him. Clark also points out that once he got the ball rolling, Smathers kept on the offensive, not only labeling his opponent, Red Pepper, but also falsely claiming that he favored integration. Pepper never adequately refuted these charges, and eventually lost the primary. What makes Clark's work stand out from other works on this subject is the fact that he is able to tear down and refute myths that have surrounded this story for decades, such as Smathers taking his cue from Senator Joe McCarthy, or his cleverly worded denouncement of Pepper's sister, where he supposedly referred to her as a thespian. Here, in Red Pepper and Gorgeous George, we finally get a well-researched and complete history of one of the most famous campaigns and elections in Florida's history.

Clark exhausted numerous wide-ranging sources to help compile this work on Florida's 1950 Democratic Primary. The sources ranged from manuscripts, papers and published accounts to national and state records and documents as well as interviews of key players, including those of George Smathers from the 1980s and 1990s.

Overall, Clark's work was successful in providing both the casual reader and political scholar with a valuable tool which helps to shed light on a pivotal campaign in both the history of the state and nation. Clark's work is important because it illustrates the similarities between political campaigns at the beginning of the Cold War as well as those in the present day, by showing how fear interjected into a campaign can prove to be a divisive and decisive issue.

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Treasures of the Panhandle: A Journey through West Florida. By Brian R. Rucker. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Acknowledgements, appendices, bibliography, index. Pp. vii, 215. \$29.95 cloth.)

In their Foreword to Brian Rucker's *Treasures of the Panhandle:* A Journey Through West Florida, editors Raymond Arsenault and Gary Mormino refer to that part of Florida as both often overlooked and under-appreciated. In this, they are absolutely correct, but how one looks at the Panhandle often depends upon one's background.

It is true that to most of the rest of Florida, that long, relatively narrow piece that stretches along the northern Gulf of Mexico hardly qualifies as a part of the same state as Miami Beach or the Keys. Conversely, to some tourists from much of the rest of the South—particularly Alabama, Tennessee and Georgia—the Panhandle is the only part of Florida they know. When someone from Birmingham or Atlanta said they were going to Florida, that invariably meant Panama City Beach or one of the other summer resorts along the Gulf. Such locales as Silver Springs or Cypress Gardens could never have existed, for all the experience these folks had with them.

So, indeed, Rucker has ventured into territory where few other historians have gone—and that can be taken literally, as well as figuratively. He defines the Panhandle as the twelve counties that lie west of the Apalachicola River, from Escambia on the far western edge to Liberty and Franklin on the east. This proves to be a most convenient way to divide the topic into chapters, with each of the counties receiving its own separate discussion. As one might expect, these chapters vary greatly in length. When covering an area of major importance in history or pop culture, such as the counties of Santa Rosa, Okaloosa or Bay, there is much more to be said than for some of the smaller, more rural counties where time seems to have stopped several decades ago. However, despite the challenges,

Rucker plows his way through the sand dunes and the palmetto swamps to dig out the most significant, and often forgotten, details about each.

For example, any seasoned Florida tourist worth his or her salt water taffy knows about Fort Walton Beach's Gulfarium or Panama City Beach's Goofy Golf. Rucker gives these classic 1950s attractions their due, but since they have been covered in great detail in other books, he delights in introducing the reader to more obscure details. Did you ever think that Possum Day, with its festive Possum Parade and crowning of the Possum King and Queen, was something invented by the writers on *The Beverly Hillbillies?* Well, okay, maybe it was...but the town of Wausau, in Washington County, took the idea to heart in the early 1980s and made it into an annual celebration. That is the sort of thing you will not likely find among the brochures at the welcome centers.

Tourists may also be likely to miss such treasures as the many state parks scattered throughout the Panhandle, often the remaining pieces of what were once huge antebellum plantations. Eden Gardens, Ponce de Leon Springs, Falling Waters and their brethren present a side of Florida quite distinct from the tourism department's image of orange trees and athletic, young, beach beauties. Those who are familiar with such imagery have probably never uttered the words Florida and caves in the same sentence, but Florida Caverns State Park near Marianna has been burying tourists underground, and then bringing them out alive, since the late 1930s.

Who knew there was any part of Florida, on or off the beaten path, that in any way resembles that other tourist hot spot, the Great Smoky Mountains? Rucker conducts us all on a tour of Torreya State Park, where mountain hiking is a major attraction. We also pay a visit to Apalachicola, that oyster capital that was one of the Panhandle's first resorts. Not neglecting some of the kookier hidden treasures, we are also presented with the Carrabelle telephone booth that gained fame as the World's Smallest Police Station, and the Veterans Memorial Park in Bristol, which treats a miniature train that once served at a defunct St. Augustine amusement park—unfortunately not identified by name—as the valuable relic of the past it truly is.

Each of these chapters is accompanied by a selection of black and white photos that illustrate the most important topics covered in each. There is also a 32-page section of stunning color images, reproduced one per page for maximum clarity. It is certain that Rucker probably stayed up nights trying to determine just which photographs at his disposal warranted being singled out for this distinction, but his insomnia paid off, as few could argue with the final selections. The front cover image of part of the remaining section of brick road that once connected Pensacola with Tallahassee is compelling enough by itself to make one want to strike out on a

journey along its overgrown path.

Whether one has ever lived in the Panhandle, or only visited as a tourist, Rucker's book is proof that there is always more to see than the colorful brochures would indicate. The places he describes are not stops for those whose only thought is to get to I-75 and into Orlando as quickly as possible to chum around with princesses and talking mice. This is a book for those who have plenty of time to meander Florida's less developed areas and are willing to be surprised.

Tim Hollis

Birmingham, Alabama

Swamplife: Peoples, Gators, and Mangroves Entangled in the Everglades. By Laura A. Ogden. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xiv, 200. \$22.50 paper.)

Numerous books have been written about the politics, economy, and environmental alteration of the Everglades. Adding to this inventory, Patsy West and Harry Kersey have spoken eloquently about post-statehood Indian life in the region, and a handful of autobiographical sketches of colorful Glades dwellers, including alligator hunter Glen Simmons's Gladesmen (1998), have appeared in print. Laura A. Ogden collaborated with Simmons on his memoir, and now she offers an original study of the white Glades-dwelling population, specifically alligator hunters. Charlton Tebeau touched on the backwoods dwellers in his 1968 Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in the Everglades National Park. But Ogden's Swamplife is more focused and more intimate than Tebeau's sweeping narrative, which tries to capture every culture that ever interacted with the famous wetland. Although Tebeau had an enduring relationship with the Everglades and relied to some degree on friendships with locals, his pen could have been guided by a stony-eyed outsider. Ogden, an anthropologist and folklorist, approaches her subject from the inside

out, at times sinking her feet into muck and swatting mosquitoes alongside former gator hunters.

What interests Ogden is the relationships hunters forged with the landscape and how invading external forces changed those relationships. The landscape was engaged in its own temporal rhythms (32). Its creatures crawled, flew, swam, and slithered. Its waterways and water bodies shifted, disappeared, overwhelmed. Into this mix, or entanglement, as Ogden calls it (a term Darwin used in similar fashion), came the white hunter. She concentrates not so much on the human-to-human dynamic as on the nature-to-human dynamic, less so on the human impact on nature than on nature's impact on human life. "In this book," she writes, "I pay close attention to the ways the nonhuman world exerts its power over the hunter's landscape" (33).

Ogden describes in detail the techniques of alligator hunting, the most reliable means of income for Everglades dwellers during much of the twentieth century. She does so by exploring the refrains of earth, fire, and alligator flesh. Hunters had to become experts at traversing the multifaceted terrain-never a "static text"-establish their own hunting territories distinct from others in the community, and take dominion over that which belonged to the alligator (88). Hunters constantly used fire to clear brush to ease travel and to mark their territory. They used torches to hunt at night, to mesmerize and spot their prey (fire torches were eventually replaced by electric ones). The flesh, or hide, was the product hunters sought for the market. To acquire it, they had to learn the alligator's habits and instincts and how it behaved when it became prey, a role into which only humans forced it. Getting around in the Everglades was a challenge in itself, and alligators did not surrender easily to the lasso, rod, axe, or bullet. The latter, for example, ricocheted off the armored hide of the alligator if not placed in exactly the right spot.

Upon the encroachment of protective laws and protected places, the "hunter's landscape" evolved into a "landscape of subversion." These developments criminalized what she calls a "time-honored economic strategy" (35). Many of the early naturalists who hired Glades hunters as guides ultimately dismissed their residential knowledge of nature as simplistic and their way of life as gratuitously destructive. With the creation of Royal Palm State Park in 1916, and its offspring Everglades National Park in 1947, the gentrified landscape no longer allowed room for alligator hunt-

ers (passim). Not only naturalists, but club women, bureaucrats, and conservationists disdained their presence. The ambitions of the upper classes, buttressed by law and law enforcers, disrupted the politically powerless hunter's way of life.

Ogden's sympathy for the alligator hunter, for good or bad, is her own refrain. She comes very close to arguing that the economic strategy of Everglades hunters was sustainable, very different from the economic and ecological imprint of post-World War II development. But hunters did not utilize their commodity in an efficient manner, and they raided nests for eggs, crippling the ecosystem in its reproductive capacity (which Ogden does not discuss). For several decades, they seconded as plume hunters and reduced the wading-bird population to dangerously low levels. Ogden mentions the decimation of birds but does not identify the responsible parties (who also routed otter and mink populations). She maintains that "Very few alligator lives were saved by the criminalization of alligator hunting," though some readers will find the evidence she cites to be, at best, inconclusive (126). She shifts the blame to hunting restrictions, drainage, and shrinking wilderness when she notes that criminalization induced hunters to new levels of violence, putting wildlife wardens in peril not known since the days of plume hunting. Ogden's voice at times bears the nostalgic, libertarian longing of the subjects she interviewed, yearning for better days, when hunters freely took 100,000 alligators or more a year from the ecosystem for the small part of the hide that was converted into purses, belts, and shoes that indulged the vanity of affluent consumers.

Ogden can write a pithy sentence and reconstruct an event with superb story-telling skill, as she does in devoting separate chapters to the exploits of the infamous Ashley gang. The latter is an inspired method for highlighting the main points of her study. Some readers, therefore, may recoil from the academic jargon that at times weighs down this slim book. She also weakens her valuable insider position when she imposes social-scientific constructs, such as rhizome and refrain, on her subject community. That said, the reader has much to learn from Ogden. She expertly combines oral histories with traditional sources, primary and secondary, to bring a fresh perspective and a new understanding to the well-trod Everglades landscape.

Salvaging the Real Florida: Lost and Found in the State of Dreams. By Bill Belleville. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations, index. Pp. 240. \$24.95 cloth.)

Florida has a rich history of authors who write about the natural environment of the Sunshine State, From William Bartram in the 18th century, through Sidney Lanier and John Muir in the 19th, to Marjorie Stoneman Douglas and Archie Carr in the 20th, much of the great literature of Florida has revolved around the state itself. To that august list, one can make a 21st century addition—Bill Belleville. In Salvaging the Real Florida, Belleville provides a series of short snapshots of natural Florida, highlighting his personal and visceral attachment to the land and water of the state. For Belleville, natural Florida is not just the setting for human interaction, it is a real character in his story of the state's thread of life. And it is a character that is under attack throughout the book. When writing about the St. Johns River, Belleville asks the reader to "think of all the damage that has been done to this entire river over time, think of those who would simply manipulate it for their own gain without any concern for the 'shared commons'" (130). Though the book is filled with many such examples of Belleville's righteous anger at those who despoil Florida's beauty, what sets it apart is his continuing love for those special places that still remain. Belleville concludes by giving "a silent and grateful thanks that wild-almost mythic- places like this still exist in Florida at all" (130). Bill Belleville is a glass half full kind of guy.

This is not a traditional history book about Florida. There are no footnotes or endnotes, there are no historiographical digressions, there is no overriding historical thesis, there is not even an index. It is also not a guidebook to the wonderful natural places of Florida. It provides no directions to trails, no hours of operation for kayak rentals, no top ten lists of the "Best of Florida's Natural Attractions." Instead, Belleville takes the reader on a meandering journey through a wide ranging series of short visits to places special to him in Florida. They range from the Keys to the Ocklawaha River, from the Big Scrub of the Ocala National Forest to his farmhouse outside Sanford. All these vignettes have two things in common—they pay scrupulous attention to the details of the natural world and they are written with obvious affection for the landscape and those individuals who have worked to preserve and protect it. "I watched a small black racer snake move out of

the weeds and wild morning glories," he writes, "and slip into the pond, hunting ... Watching the racer, I noticed for the first time the way the sun illuminated the crosshatch of its scales. It reminded me of the pottery the Native Americans who lived along the St. Johns once made" (170). Creating these prose poems, Belleville has crafted a wonderful book about the fragile and exquisite beauty of his adopted state.

Belleville holds a special place for those writers whose work inspired his literary journeys throughout Florida. His chapter on scuba diving to the wreck of the steam tug Commodore, a ship sunk off the coast of Volusia County in early 1897 while running guns to Cuban revolutionaries, focuses on the writing of Stephen Crane. Crane's famous short story "The Open Boat" (1897) was based on his experiences aboard the Commodore. You can feel the bond between the two authors in their descriptions of Florida marine life. Here's Crane (as quoted by Belleville)—"There was a long, loud swishing astern of the boat, and a gleaming trail of phosphorescence, like blue flame, was furrowed on the black waters" (236). And here's Belleville—"A school of Atlantic spadefish—which look like angelfish on steroids- undulate at the top of the boiler, riding the metronomic current swells back and forth in the water column" (234). In a similar vein, he visits the Cross Creek house of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, whose writings reflected a love of both the Florida landscape and the hardy rural folks who lived there. In The Yearling (1938), Rawlings wrote of the beauty and wonder of Florida's springs. "A spring as clear as well water bubbled up from nowhere in the sand. It was as though the banks cupped green leafy hands to hold it" (quoted on 250). Belleville explains why Rawlings' work remains important to him and to all Floridians—"I think with great nostalgia of the stories Rawlings told, and of the life I have known as a man growing up in Florida, traipsing about in nature. And I have a great longing for it all, both for my own past as well as the one Marj saw and imagined...." (251).

Salvaging the Real Florida is an important book for students of Florida history, but more significantly, for Floridians in general. Belleville decries that "we've compromised the river's watershed with hard surfaces, and by doing so have kept rainfall from soaking into the ground- or from being absorbed by natural wetlands" (162). He warns us that the Florida we know and love is under attack by the relentless assault of suburban sprawl aided and abetted by unscrupulous and greedy public figures. Calling Florida "besieged"

(80) by "bush league" politicians in league with "growth-crazy cronies" (225), Belleville tells the reader they need to "live with nature without having to exploit or destroy it" (224). And he also tells them they have the chance to save Florida's future by turning to the state's past. In his most personal chapter, "My Favorite Florida Books" (222-225), Belleville lists and describes fourteen books that extoll the virtues of Florida's unique and extraordinary ecosystems. These are books that belong on the bookshelf of not just every Florida historian, but every Floridian. The highest praise I can give this work of Bill Belleville is that it belongs on that shelf as well.

Steven Noll

University of Florida

End Notes

FLORIDA FRONTIERS: THE WEEKLY RADIO MAGAZINE OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society is a weekly, half-hour radio program currently airing on public radio stations around the state. The program is a combination of interview segments and produced features covering history-based events, exhibitions, activities, places, and people in Florida. The program explores the relevance of Florida history to contemporary society and promotes awareness of heritage and culture tourism options in the state. Florida Frontiers joins the Florida Historical Quarterly and the publications of the Florida Historical Society Press as another powerful tool to fulfill the Society's mission of collecting and disseminating information about the history of Florida.

Recent broadcasts of *Florida Frontiers* have included visits to Fort Christmas Historic Park and the Harry T. and Harriette V. Moore Cultural Complex. Discussions about the St. Augustine Foot Soldiers Memorial and the life of Stetson Kennedy have been featured. We've talked with authors including Martin Dyckman, James Clark, Harvey Oyer III, and Rachel Wentz. We've previewed plans to recognize the 500th anniversary of the naming of Florida and the 450th anniversary of the establishment of St. Augustine. Upcoming programs will cover the 125th anniversary of the founding of Eatonville, the first incorporated African American town in the United States; and the 75th anniversary of the Zora Neale Hurston novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God*.

Florida Historical Society Executive Director Ben Brotemarkle is producer and host of *Florida Frontiers*, with weekly contributions from assistant producers Janie Gould and Bill Dudley. From 1992-2000, Brotemarkle was creator, producer, and host of the hour-long weekly radio magazine *The Arts Connection* on 90.7 WMFE in Orlan-

do. In 2005, Gould became Oral History Specialist at 88.9 WQCS in Ft. Pierce. Since 1993, Dudley has been producing an ongoing series of radio reports for the Florida Humanities Council.

The program is currently broadcast on 90.7 WMFE Orlando, Thursdays at 6:30 p.m and Sundays at 4:00 pm.; 88.1 WUWF Pensacola, Thursdays at 5:30 p.m.; 89.9 WJCT Jacksonville, Mondays at 6:30 pm; 89.5 WFIT Melbourne, Sundays at 7:00 a.m.; 88.9 WQCS (HD2) Ft. Pierce, Wednesdays at 9:00 a.m.; 89.1 WUFT Gainesville, Sundays at 7:30 a.m.; and 90.1 WJUF Inverness, Sundays at 7:30 a.m. 90.1 WGCU Ft. Myers airs the program as hour-long "specials" for several months of the year. Check your local NPR listings for additional airings. More public radio stations are expected to add *Florida Frontiers* to their schedule in the coming year. The program is archived on the Florida Historical Society web site and accessible any time at www.myfloridahistory.org.

Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society is made possible in part by the Florida Humanities Council; the Jessie Ball duPont Fund; the Kislak Family Fund, supporter of education, arts, humanities, and Florida history; and by Florida's Space Coast Office of Tourism, representing destinations from Titusville to Cocoa Beach to Melbourne Beach.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY PODCASTS

The Florida Historical Quarterly has entered a new era of media. Dr. Robert Cassanello, Assistant Professor of History at the University of Central Florida and a member of the FHQ editorial board, has accepted a new role as the coordinator for podcast productions. In conjunction with the Public History programs at UCF, Dr. Cassanello will produce a podcast for each issue of the Quarterly. Each podcast will consist of an interview with one of the authors from the most recent issue of the Quarterly. The podcasts are uploaded to iTunes University and are available to the public at http://publichistorypodcast.blogspot.com/.

Dr. Jack E. Davis on his article "Sharp Prose for Green: John D. MacDonald and the First Ecological Novel," which appeared in Volume 87, no. 4 (Spring 2009).

Dr. Michael D. Bowen on his article "The Strange Tale of Wesley and Florence Garrison: Racial Crosscurrents of the Postwar Florida Republican Party" appeared in Volume 88, no. 1 (Summer 2009).

Dr. Nancy J. Levine discussed the research project undertaken by her students on the Hastings Branch Library that appeared in Volume 88, no. 2 (Fall 2009).

Dr. Daniel Feller, 2009 Catherine Prescott Lecturer, on "The Seminole Controversy Revisited: A New Look at Andrew Jackson's 1819 Florida Campaign," Volume 88, no. 3 (Winter 2010).

Dr. Derrick E. White, on his article "From Desegregation to Integration: Race, Football, and 'Dixie' at the University of Florida," Volume 88, no. 4 (Spring 2010).

Dr. Gilbert Din was interviewed to discuss his article "William Augustus Bowles on the Gulf Coast, 1787-1803: Unraveling a Labyrinthine Conundrum," which appeared in Volume 89, no. 1 (Summer 2010).

Deborah L. Bauer, Nicole C. Cox, and Peter Ferdinando on graduate education in Florida and their individual articles in Volume 89, no. 2 (Fall 2010).

Jessica Clawson, "Administrative Recalcitrance and Government Intervention: Desegregation at the University of Florida, 1962-1972," which appeared in Volume 89, no. 3 (Winter 2011).

Dr. Rebecca Sharpless, "The Servants and Mrs. Rawlings: Martha Mickens and African American Life at Cross Creek," which appeared in Volume 89, no. 4 (Spring 2011).

Dr. James M. Denham, "Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Pensacola," which appeared in Volume 90, no. 1 (Summer 2011).

Dr. Samuel C. Hyde Jr., Dr. James G. Cusick, Dr. William S. Belko, and Cody Scallions in a roundtable discussion on the West Florida Rebellion of 1810, the subject of the special issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 90, no. 2 (Fall 2011).

Dr. Julian Chambliss and Dr. Denise K. Cummings, guest editors for "Florida: The Mediated State," special issue, *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 90, no. 3 (Winter 2012).

Dr. David H. Jackson, Jr., on his article "Industrious, Thrifty and Ambitious": Jacksonville's African American Businesspeople during the Jim Crow Era," in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 90, no. 4 (Spring 2012) and Dr. Tina Bucuvalas, 2012 Jillian Prescott Memorial Lecturer and winner of the Stetson Kennedy Award for *The Florida Folklife Reader*.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY AVAILABLE ON JSTOR

The Florida Historical Quarterly is now available to scholars and researchers through JSTOR, a digital service for libraries, archives, and individual subscribers. JSTOR editors spent more than a year digitizing FHQ volumes 3-83; it became available to academic libraries and individual subscribers in August 2009. The FHQ has reduced the 5-year window to a 3-year window for greater access. More recent issues of the Quarterly are available only in print copy form. JSTOR has emerged as a leader in the field of journal digitization and the FHQ joins a number of prestigious journals in all disciplines. The Florida Historical Quarterly will continue to be available through PALMM, with a 5-year window.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY NOW ON FACEBOOK

Join the *Florida Historical Quarterly* on Facebook. The *FHQ* Facebook page provides an image of each issue, the table of contents of each issue, an abstract of each article (beginning with volume 90, no. 1). There will be a link to the *Quarterly* podcasts and the Florida Historical Society.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY EDITORIAL BOARD

The editors of the Florida Historical Quarterly depend on the members of the Editorial Board to provide scholarly advice in assessing manuscripts that are submitted for publication and in determining the winners of the annual Arthur W. Thompson Award for the best article published in the FHQ in a given calendar year. The FHQ announces the retirement from the Board of Dr. Frederick Davis of Florida State University, Dr. Robert Cassanello of the University of Central Florida, Dr. Lu Ann Jones of the National Park Service, and Dr. Gregory O'Brien of the University of North Carolina Greensboro. These scholars have served the FHQ and Florida History for several years and we thank them for their service. We also welcome three new members of the Board: Dr. Steven Noll of the University of Florida, Dr. Brian Rucker of Pensacola State College, and Dr. Brent Weisman of the University of South Florida. The term of service for the three new members will be 2012-2016.



Annual Meeting and Symposium of the Florida Historical Society

May 23-26, 2013

On Board the Carnival Cruise Ship Sensation

THEME: 500 Years of La Florida: Sailing in the Path of Discovery

Please note that The Florida Historical Society has established an Early Deadline for submission of papers to its 2013 Annual Meeting & Symposium. To commemorate Florida's quincentennial and mark Juan Ponce de León's 1513 voyage, the Society will hold its conference on board the cruise ship Sensation, sailing round trip from Port Canaveral to the Bahamas. The conference program includes six keynote speakers, already selected, and additional panels by submission. Session space is limited. Please submit proposals by OCTOBER 31, 2012. Decisions about inclusion on the program will be made in early November. Cost for the cruise conference is just \$500 per person, all expenses included, if payment is made by December 31, 2012. See the Society's website for more information about the cruise, keynote speakers, and reservations: http:// myfloridahistory.org/cruise. Take advantage of this unique chance to spend four days of travel with friends and colleagues who share your love of Florida history!

Submission Guidelines for Conference: Proposals on all topics in Florida history are welcome. The Society especially encourages proposals for round table panels or discussions that adhere to the conference theme and invite audience participation. Proposals to present individual papers also will be considered. As in the past, there will be facilities for multimedia presentations, including PowerPoint. Because of tight deadlines, no late submissions can be

considered. To submit a proposal or for information about submissions, contact James Cusick at jgcusick@ufl.edu (please put "FHS Paper" in your email heading) or call him at (352) 273-2778.

Submission Guidelines for Awards: The Society also will sponsor its usual awards for 2013. Submissions should be made by December 7, 2012 to ensure they are included in the judging. For types of awards and information about how to submit an entry, please see http://myfloridahistory.org/society/awards. Questions about submissions should be made to The Florida Historical Society, 435 Brevard Ave., Cocoa FL 32922, (321) 690-1971.

Florida Lecture Series, 2012-2013 Lawton M. Chiles, Jr. Center for Florida History Florida Southern College

In its 17th year, the Florida Lecture Series at Florida Southern College is a forum that brings speakers to the FSC campus who explore Florida life and culture from a wide range of disciplines, including history, public affairs, law, sociology, criminology, anthropology, literature, and art. The overall objective of the series is to bring members of the community, the faculty, and the student body together to interact with and learn from leading scholars in their fields.

All programs are held at 7 p.m. on the Florida Southern campus in Lakeland and are free and open to the public.

September 13	William McKeen, "Mile Marker Zero: The Moveable Feast of Key West"
October 4	Andrew T. Huse, "Florida Foodways"
November 15	Jonathon Sheppard, "Florida Soldiers in the Civil War"
January 10	Cynthia Marnett, "Mirage: Florida and the Vanishing Water of the Eastern United States"
February 7	Tom Corcoran, "The Trials and Tribulations of Alex Rutledge"
March 14	Bill Bellville, "Preserving a Sense of Place in Florida: How Nature Shapes Culture"

GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSIONS TO THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

The Florida Historical Quarterly is a peer-refereed journal and accepts for consideration manuscripts on the history of Florida, its people, and its historical relationships to the United States, the Atlantic World, the Caribbean, or Latin America. All submissions are expected to reflect substantial research, a dedication to writing, and the scholarly rigor demanded of professionally produced historical work. Work submitted for consideration should not have been previously published, soon to be published, or under consideration by another journal or press.

Authors should submit an electronic copy in MS Word to the Florida Historical Quarterly, at Connie.Lester@ucf.edu.

Manuscripts should be typed and double-spaced (excluding footnotes, block quotes, or tabular matter).

The first page should be headed by the title without the author's name. Author identification should be avoided throughout the manuscript. On a separate sheet of paper, please provide the author's name, institutional title or connection, or place of residence, and acknowledgements. Citations should be single-spaced footnotes, numbered consecutively, and in accordance with the *Chicago Manual of Style*.

Tables and illustrations should be created on separate pages, with positions in the manuscript indicated.

In a cover letter, the author should provide contact information that includes phone numbers, fax number, email address, and mailing address. The author should provide a statement of the substance and significance of the work and identify anyone who has already critiqued the manuscript.

Images or illustrations to be considered for publication with the article may be submitted in EPS or PDF electronic format at 300 dpi or higher. Xeroxed images cannot be accepted. All illustrations should include full citations and credit lines. Authors should retain letters of permission from institutions or individuals owning the originals.

Questions regarding submissions should be directed to Connie L. Lester, editor, addressed to Department of History, 4000 Central Florida Blvd, University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL 32816-1350, or by email to Connie.Lester@ucf.edu, or by phone at 407-823-0261.



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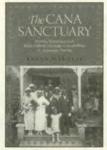


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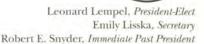


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Created in St. Augustine in 1856, The Florida Historical Society is the oldest existing cultural organization in the state, and Florida's only state-wide historical society. The Society is dedicated to preserving Florida's past through the collection and archival maintenance of historical documents and photographs, the publication of scholarly research on Florida history, and educating the public about Florida history through a variety of public history and historic preservation projects. We publish scholarly research in the Florida Historical Quarterly and through the Florida Historical Society Press. Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society is broadcast on public radio stations throughout the state and is archived on our web site. The Florida Historical Society headquarters are located at the Library of Florida History in historic Cocoa Village. The Florida Historical Society manages the Historic Rossetter House Museum and the Florida Books & Gifts.

Florida Historical Society: (www.myfloridahistory.org.)

Rossetter House Museum: (www.rossetterhousemuseum.org.)

Florida Historical Quarterly Podcasts: (http://floridahistoricalquarterly.blogspot.com/)

Florida Public Archaelogy Network (FPAN) East Central Region

(www.flpublicarchaeology.org)

