THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

PUBLISHED BY THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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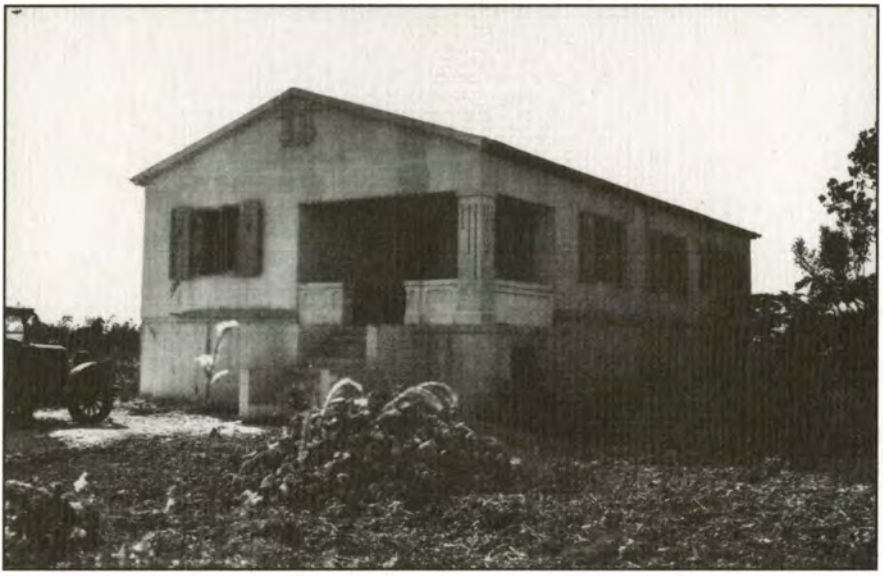

VOLUME 91 FALL 2012 NUMBER 2

The Florida Historical Quarterly

Published by the Florida Historical Society

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The *Florida Historical Quarterly* (ISSN 0015-4113) is published quarterly by the Florida Historical Society, 435 Brevard Avenue, Cocoa, FL 32922 in cooperation with the Department of History, University of Central Florida, Orlando. Printed by The Sheridan Press, Hanover, PA. Periodicals postage paid at Cocoa, FL and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Florida Historical Society, 435 Brevard Ave., Cocoa, FL 32922.

Subscription accompanies membership in the Society. Annual membership is $50; student membership (with proof of status) is $30; family membership is $75; library and institution membership is $75; a contributing membership is $200 and higher; and a corporate membership is $500 and higher. Correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions, as well as orders for back copies of the *Quarterly*, should be addressed to Dr. Ben D. Brotemarkle, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, 435 Brevard Ave., Cocoa, FL 32922; (321) 690-1971; email: ⟨Ben.Brotemarkle@myfloridahistory.org.⟩

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Fall 2012
Vol. 91, No. 2

Cover Illustration: View of a five-room Red Cross Hurricane House on Upper Matacumbe Key. Image courtesy of the *Florida State Archives*, Tallahassee.

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Book Reviews

The Peacock Inn: South Florida's First Hotel

by Susannah Worth

Nestled along the shore of Biscayne Bay five miles south of Miami is the community of Coconut Grove. Founded in the 1870s, it sits atop a limestone ridge and still has a sizeable hardwood hammock (tropical forest). The location, the shade, and the availability of fresh water were certainly a lure to early settlers. One early settler it attracted was John Thomas "Jolly Jack" Peacock, who lived in the bight[1] which was named after him as "Jack's Bight."

The 1870 census of Dade County (today's Miami-Dade, Broward, Martin, and Palm Beach counties) listed only 85 inhabitants. There could not have been many more when Charles and Isabella Peacock arrived in Miami on July 12, 1875.[2] At the urging of his brother, "Jolly Jack," they left their home in London, England, with their children for what they thought was a tropical paradise. According to Ralph Munroe, a founder of Cocoanut

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1. A bight is a bend in a coast forming an open bay or a bay formed by such a bend. The name was changed to Cocoanut Grove in 1884, and to Coconut Grove in 1919 when the town was incorporated.
2. Charles Peacock (1842-1905) and Isabella Sanders (1842-1917) were married in 1864. Their exact arrival date is in Ralph Munroe's hand in the manuscript for *The Commodore's Story*. The original manuscript consists of both handwritten and typed pages, not all of which are numbered, and many pages seem to be missing. Ralph M. Munroe Family Papers, Special Collections, University of Miami Libraries, Box 7, Folder 58, 38.

Grove, and probably the most famous resident, they

> found temporary shelter in Jack's lonely cottage at the south end of the bight—the same one which I found too isolated for comfort six years later—and were so overwhelmed by the wildness and roughness of the country that they were ready to jump into the sea the next day. However, they soon made arrangements of mutual benefit with Mr. Ewan at Fort Dallas, learned to love the country, and became chief actors in the development of Cocoanut Grove.[3]

Munroe recalled meeting Isabella in 1877 on his first trip to Miami at Ewan's trading store. "I was agreeably surprised to be waited upon by a boxum, rosy cheeked lady with her sleeves rolled up who proved to be Isabella Peacock. My first introduction to a family with which I have had much to do up [to] the present time."[4]

Throughout his autobiography, and in his manuscript for the book, Munroe provides glimpses of the inn's history, sometimes in detail, but often with vague information regarding dates. Few other sources documenting the inn during this period are now available. Some evidence can be obtained from local newspapers however. The earliest available newspapers are *The Tropical Sun* (published 1891-1926) and *The Miami Metropolis* (published 1896-1923), the latter financed by Henry Flagler. Fortunately, the newspapers reported on both settlers and "winter visitors."

Tourism, as Tracy J. Revels[5] demonstrated, has come to define Florida and was a process well underway by the time the Peacock Inn opened in 1882. Winter resorts developed in the post-Civil War era but were not necessarily independent and self-contained resorts prior to 1890, according to Ronald Zboray.[6] The Peacock

3. Ralph Middleton Munroe and Vincent Gilpin, *The Commodore' Story* (Miami: Historical Association of Southern Florida, 1990), 97.
4. Ralph M. Munroe Family Papers, Special Collections, University of Miami Libraries, Box 7, Folder 6, 235.
5. Tracy J. Revels, *Sunshine Paradise: A History of Florida Tourism* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011).
6. Ronald Zboray, "Lifestyle enclaves: Winter resorts in the South Atlantic States, 1870-1930" (PhD diss., Georgia State University, 2001). In south Florida these resorts were open for the winter "season" usually from about December 1 to April although some seem to have remained open until the hurricane season which began in June. They offered a variety of amenities, especially sports, and their social and sporting life (often) was dependent upon the local community. In the 1890s these resorts started becoming purpose-built and more self-contained, that is to say, they did not, like the Peacock Inn, rely on the local community for social and sporting activities.

Inn was built as a hotel which catered to winter visitors: it offered rooms, meals, and other amenities provided to the guests by the Peacocks, as well as the near-by yacht club (after 1887), and the local community. Americans at the end of the 19th century were interested not only in sports but in "rustic retreats and encounters with nature as antidotes to what were perceived as the unhealthy, stultifying, and corrupting aspects of modernization."[7]

The Peacock Inn satisfied the desire for a more rustic life in touch with nature and ample sporting opportunities. The Florida climate, the exotic flora and fauna, the opportunities for sailing, fishing, and other recreational activities all drew winter visitors to hotels and resorts in the state. The location of a specific hotel or resort (or knowledge of it) was often all that distinguished one hotel or resort from the others. However, the specific amenities and personal recommendations must have made a contribution to the visitor's decision as to where to stay in Florida.

The Peacock Inn and Cocoanut Grove were picturesque tourist destinations heralded in Caroline Washburn Rockwood's novel *In Biscayne Bay* (1891),[8] Hugh Laussat Willoughby's[9] account of his experiences in Cocoanut Grove, the photographs of Munroe and Thomas Hine,[10] and the lectures of Isaac Holden.[11] Some of the visitors at the Peacock Inn were known to have been recruited

7. Myra B. Young Armstead, "Revisiting Hotels and other Lodging: American Tourist spaces through the Lens of Black Pleasure-Travelers, 1880-1950" *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 25 (Spring 2005): 147.
8. "A Note Writer," *The Miami Metropolis*, October 23, 1896. She stayed at the inn in 1890 or 1891, and again in 1896. See footnotes #10 and #96 below.
9. Lt. Hugh Laussat Willoughby was the author of *Across the Everglades: A Canoe Journey of Exploration* (1898). He left Philadelphia on December 10, 1897 for Miami and found the sloop *Cupid* in Cocoanut Grove. He sailed *Cupid* to the southwest coast of Florida, then crossed the Everglades by canoe heading eastward. He stayed at the Peacock Inn while *Cupid* was made ready for use. While there he made many friends at the inn and among members of the Biscayne Bay Yacht Club.
10. In 1880 Munroe met architect Thomas Hine at Cullen's, a New York City photographic supply house, where Munroe had an exhibit of his South Florida photographs. Tom was an amateur photographer whose photos were used to illustrate Rockwood's *In Biscayne Bay*. Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story*, 138-139.
11. Holden was interested in botany and a member of many scientific societies. He was a friend of Munroe and one of several Northern lecturers who used lantern slides made by Hine or Munroe. These lectures were, according to Munroe, "the first real publicity effort." Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story*, 165; "Biography of William Albert Setchell" The University Herbarium, www.ucjeps.berkeley.edu/history/biog/setchell.html (accessed October 20, 2012).

by Munroe who had a wide circle of friends in New York and Massachusetts where he had family, as well as many contacts in the yachting world.[12]

The Peacock Inn was the only choice for those who wished to stay in the southeastern part of the state. For many years it was the only hotel between the village of Palm Beach and the town of Key West which were separated by a sparsely settled 177 miles of wilderness. It served as a hotel, restaurant, hospital, and social center for this small but significant frontier community in its early years. Even after 1896, when the railroad came to Miami, bringing in its wake a plethora of accommodations, the inn continued to thrive for several years. The Peacock Inn was one of many small local hotels throughout the state which were built prior to the coming of the railroads and the building of grand hotels which flourished in Florida from the 1890s onward.

EARLY HISTORY

The 1880 census is the only glimpse we have of the Peacocks between 1877 and 1882.[13] At that time Charles was probably working in John Ewan's store at Fort Dallas as the Peacocks had lived with Ewan in 1880. Charles would eventually serve as Chairman of the Dade County Board of Commissioners, Justice of the Peace, Collector of Revenue, Tax Assessor, Road Commissioner, and Postmaster for Cocoanut Grove. Isabella[14] was later so active in the founding of the village that she is known as "the Mother of Cocoanut Grove."[15] Robert Alfred Sanders Peacock, known as "Alf," was his parents' main assistant in running the inn.

The Peacocks left nothing in writing to posterity so we know little about them, their friends or the relationship between them

12. Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story*, 164.
13. According to the 1880 census, the household consisted of Charles, 37, clerk in a store, Isabella, 38, keeping house, Henry J. (aka Harry) 18, starchmaker, and sons Robert A.S. 18, and Charles J., 18, both listed as "at home." In addition Hannah E. Ewan, 55, the mother of John W. Ewan, the "Duke of Dade," boarded with the Peacock family. This census is one of the few extant records of the area from the 1880s, other sources of information on this part of Florida are rare. The first newspaper published in this region would not appear for several years.
14. Did she work part-time in the store? Or had she stopped working outside the home by 1880? When Munroe met her in 1877 she was working in Ewan's trading store, see footnote #4.
15. Mary Barr Munroe, "Pioneer Women of Dade County," *Tequesta* 1, no. 3 (1943), 54.

and Ralph Munroe. Munroe, in his autobiography, is gracious and flattering in his descriptions of almost everyone, including the Peacocks, but his relationship (both business and personal) with them is not clearly explained.

In the 1880s most winter visitors to Florida were invalids or sportsmen, and both groups needed some sort of lodgings.[16] Although some yachtsmen might live aboard ship, not all sportsmen/visitors had access to such accommodations. The Hewitt sisters (Munroe's wife was the former Eva Hewitt) were among the invalids, and Ralph Munroe was one of these yachtsmen, however, for reasons not explained by Munroe, they chose not to live aboard a yacht.[17]

Fortunately for the Peacocks, in the fall of 1881 Ralph Munroe returned to Miami with Eva, his bride of two years, her sister, and their brother Mott Hewitt. Both women had tuberculosis and the climate was thought to be beneficial. They had been offered a house, but they soon decided to camp instead. According to Munroe, "palmetto thatches were made over the tents, and with the hospitable Peacock family near us in Fort Dallas and the Brickells just across the river, we felt quite homelike."[18] Eva died that winter and is buried in Coconut Grove.

Living in a tent, albeit in a winter paradise, may have convinced Munroe of the need for a hotel in the area. As a man who already had a profession (yacht designer)[19] and no family, at a time when small hotels were nearly always run by families, he may have decided he was not suited to the task of running a hotel. However, the presence of a hotel would provide family and friends accommodation if they wished to join him for the winters in Florida

16. Zboray, ibid. and Paul S. George, "Passage to the New Eden: Tourism in Florida" *Myths and Dreams: Exploring the Cultural Legacies of Florida and the Caribbean*, exhibition guide, Phyllis Shapiro, editor (Miami: Jay I. Kislak Foundation, Inc., 2000), 36.
17. Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story, 109-110.*
18. Ibid., 109-110.
19. Ralph Munroe designed a total of 56 yachts in his lifetime, mostly in the 1880s and 1890s, however, he only built a few of them. He was also a wrecker (marine salvage), photographer, and entrepreneur whose primary source of income seems to be have been yacht designing and wrecking. Ironically, when the Peacock Inn closed he went into the hotel business by opening a winter resort, Camp Biscayne, for exactly the same reason—to provide winter accommodation in the Grove. Many of his clients met him through one of these two hotels or went to Cocoanut Grove because of the sailing and then ordered a yacht from him. See Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story.*

where he enjoyed sailing. While there is no evidence of this from the 1880s, the presence of the inn was an asset to his business when he moved to Florida in 1887.[20]

Florida historians generally have the mistaken contention that Munroe's main contribution to the creation of the Peacock Inn was the idea itself.[21] His autobiography describes his role as one of advisor, publicist, and provider of some *ad hoc* assistance in the physical construction of the Peacock Inn. However, the original draft of his autobiography provides quite a different picture. It was not only Munroe's idea, but Munroe's money which created the Peacock Inn. In the manuscript he writes:

> Apparently the first need was a place of entertainment for the stranger landing on the beach. This he (Ralph Munroe) arranged for within the first year by furnishing the capital and selecting some most competent folks to run it and also by agreeing to find patrons from the outside world. His venture at Cocoanut Grove was called the Bay View Villa, but later renamed the Peacock Inn and on the whole was a great success. Five years before the railroad reached Miami it has been twice enlarged and a general store added. [22]

Here, in his own words, we have the entire story summed up. No record could be found of the financial agreement between Munroe and the Peacocks; however, by about 1886 the Peacocks

20. Ibid., 170-193.

21. Munroe's autobiography is the source of this contention which is highlighted in Arva Moore Parks, *The Forgotten Frontier* (Miami, FL: Centennial Press, 2004), 58.

22. Ralph M. Munroe Family Papers, Special Collections, University of Miami Libraries, Box 7, Folder 59, 2. In the autobiography Munroe refers to the inn as the Bay View Villa. Munroe was at times as vague with names as he was with dates. The original name of the inn was Bay View House and occasionally other sources have referred to it as the Bay View Hotel. Possibly because it was built with Munroe's money it was not given the Peacock's name until much later. However, it was generally called "Peacock's" or "the Peacock Inn." The name change reflects common usage.

    It should not be confused with the contemporaneous Cocoanut Grove House (aka Dimick's), in Lake Worth. As late as 1891 there seems to have been only four hotels in Dade County; the two mentioned plus the Palm Beach Inn (later the Breakers) in Palm Beach, and Carlin House in Jupiter. See Oby J. Bonawit, *Miami Florida: Early Families & Records* (Miami, FL: Bonawit, 1980), 137.

"in recognition of my help in starting the Inn business and other things, had given me [Munroe] a piece of land north of the Inn."[23]

Munroe realized that the inn needed to be on the waterfront in a location suitable for sailing. According to his account, the Peacocks selected a site in what is now Lemon City, but he was opposed to it, and his letter urging them to find a waterfront location south of Miami was received before the building began. The site chosen belonged to the Frow family in what is now Coconut Grove.[24]

Until the building was completed the Peacocks lived in the previously unoccupied "House of the Three Sisters," a simple cottage constructed from a wrecked ship of the same name. The Bay View House, the original name, was built in the winter of 1882-83 and stood until 1925.[25] The Peacocks built the Inn as both their home and business. It faced the waterfront as did most early buildings throughout Florida in the frontier era. Biscayne Bay was the main thoroughfare of the community as roads were poor, few, and probably more dangerous than the water as wild animals still roamed the area as late as the mid-1890s.

As in almost every enterprise in the early years of the Grove, Ralph Munroe was on hand to help in whatever way possible. While the hardware and some other components were purchased, the Peacocks also relied on salvaging wood from wrecks along the beach. "They were short of help and lumber so Mott (Hewitt, Munroe's brother-in-law) and I turned to and supplied both, the latter by combing the beaches for wrecked stuff. A . . . mast of white pine giving us material for all the shingles."[26] Sometime in 1885 or 1886, the "House of the Three Sisters" was renovated and a porch and rough stone fireplace added to it so the overflow crowd from the inn could be accommodated.[27]

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23. The inn was located on what is now McFarlane Street. Regarding that "piece of land," Monroe cleared and planted it and gave parts of it to the Congregational Church, the Housekeeper's Club and the Cocoanut Grove Library. Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story*, 149-150.
24. Ibid., 113.
25. Ralph M. Munroe Family Papers, Special Collections, University of Miami Libraries, Box 7, Folder 59, 35.
26. Ibid, Box 7, folder 6, 240.
27. Arva M. Parks, "The Wreck of the Three Sisters," *Tequesta* 31 (1971), 27. A photograph of the interior is in Deborah A. Coulombe and Herbert L. Hiller, *Season of Innocence* (Miami, FL: The Pickering Press, 1988), 32.

When the Peacocks moved to Cocoanut Grove in 1882 along with the inn they simultaneously set up a coontie mill.[28] Their entrepreneurial skills served them, and the community, well. Cocoanut Grove was a wilderness when they arrived. By the time the Peacock Inn's doors were closed, the town had an international reputation among the sailing set. Most of the other early Grove residents appear to have been farmers who also did a little carpentry or other work as needed in the community.[29]

Around 1887 the Peacocks opened their Casino,[30] and later they also owned a store.[31] An isolated community with few amenities in the 1880s, Cocoanut Grove was dependent upon what could be grown, caught, or shot for food with the rest coming by water from Key West. The community had to be as self-sufficient as possible. Isabella Peacock and Ralph Munroe did most of the doctoring, having between them a few tools, a few medical books, and some knowledge of traditional remedies. Occasionally this proved insufficient, for example when a stranger appeared "at Ralph Munroe's boat landing one day with a dislocated jaw. The man was taken to the Peacock Inn, given a day for rest and nourishment before he was treated, and then sent to Key West ... to the Marine Hospital."[32]

Initially mail came in "the mail packet," a bag of mail thrown off the side of a boat headed to Key West. It sailed past once a week. This meant sailing out alongside the packet ship to collect the mail. Opening a new post office could be difficult, but re-opening an old one meant far less red tape. About 1884, Munroe discovered that there had once been a post office called "Cocoanut Grove" in the area of Jack's Bight—so Cocoanut Grove it was. Charles Peacock became the first postmaster, opening a small porch room on the

28. Mrs. Henry J. Burkhardt, "Starch Making: A Pioneer Florida Industry," *Tequesta* 1, no. 12 (1952): 47-53. Coontie is a native plant from which a starch, a type of arrowroot called coontie, is derived. It cannot be cultivated (unlike most cash crops) so for the pioneers it was a matter of collecting, processing, and shipping it. Coontie is used in cooking.

29. However, Cocoanut Grove soon began to attract an educated elite, many interested in sailing, once the Biscayne Bay Yacht Club was established. Yachting became a fashionable sport in the second half of the century and Cocoanut Grove was an ideal location for a yacht club.

30. The Casino was a venue for entertainments and community meetings, different from today's common understanding of the term. It was torn down in 1899 and rebuilt into a barn on the hill behind the inn, according to *The Miami Metropolis*, July 21, 1899.

31. *The Tropical Sun*, October 14, 1891.

32. Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story*, 209.

north side of the Bay View House as the post office on August 25, 1884. There were not many people to send or receive mail, but it saved someone the effort of going out to meet the mail boat and the possibility of the mail getting wet or worse.[33]

To celebrate Washington's Birthday in February 1887, a regatta was held with Charles Peacock as one of the two timekeepers. After the race the 50 or so participants had a post-race dinner at the Peacock Inn,[34] the first of many. At a meeting held in the Peacock Inn a few months later a group of local residents and visitors founded the Biscayne Bay Yacht Club. They elected Munroe as Commodore and his distant cousin, writer Kirk Munroe, as Secretary. Cocoanut Grove and the Peacock Inn both benefited by the presence of a yacht club and an annual regatta, amenities which were attractive to the sailing set.

Both Munroe men had many acquaintances in the Northeast. Thanks to them, but particularly Ralph, who was well known in yachting circles, new sailing enthusiasts arrived every year. Many were distinguished men from the north who returned every year to stay at the inn, sail, and possibly buy a yacht or commission one designed by Ralph Munroe. This lifestyle was not unique to Cocoanut Grove. Francis Stebbins chronicled fishing and hunting by winter visitors in Florida's Indian River,[35] while the same activities were popular at this time at Webb's Winter Resort[36] in Osprey, a village on the West Coast of Florida. By the mid-1890s some of the winter visitors were building winter, or even year-round, homes in the Grove and elsewhere in Florida.[37]

Guests at the inn prior to 1891 are mostly known from Ralph Munroe's autobiography. When *The Tropical Sun* began publication that year the names of the guests were frequently, but not always, published. Those guests who have been identified are listed in the

33. Ibid., 115.
34. Ibid., 166.
35. Carolyn Francis Baker Lewis, ed., *The Winter Sailor: Francis R. Stebbins on Florida's Indian River, 1878-1888* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004).
36. Jeff LaHurd, *Sarasota: A History* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2006); G.O. Shields, *Ruslings in the Rockies: Hunting and Fishing by Mountain and Stream* (Chicago: Belford, Clarke & Co., 1883), 190-200.
37. Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story*, 213, 238. Among those were Miss Flora McFarlane and the Hines Brothers. *The Tropical Sun* newspaper, based in Juno and later in West Palm Beach, makes frequent references throughout the 1890s to winter visitors who had decided to build a permanent winter home in the area.

Appendix. Over time *The Tropical Sun* and *The Miami Metropolis* changed their formats, sometimes reporting the names of guests weekly, at times naming guests only erratically, or not at all. It is usually impossible to determine guests' exact arrival or departure and if they came for an overnight stay, or a single meal.

Munroe's public relations efforts in the north must have been invaluable as he seems to have had a wide network of friends, relatives, and clients in New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. One early guest at the inn, a friend of Ralph Munroe named Isaac Holden of Connecticut, used photographs by Munroe or Hine for lantern slide lectures which he gave in the north. These lectures were, according to Munroe, "the first real publicity effort." [38] To what degree this sort of publicity helped is unknown, but it certainly did provide some business for the inn. Regardless, it is certain that Ralph Munroe's friends, relatives, and business associates figure among the early guests at the inn.[39]

The guests were a mixture of Floridians and tourists, mostly from the northeast. Guests came from as far away as Berlin, Germany, with a few guests from England and Cuba. American guests came from as far away as Colorado. Some came every winter, some only once, and others came to homestead, and lived at the inn until they found or built a place of their own. This was as true in the 1880s as it was the year the inn closed.[40]

The winter of 1884-85 was the first successful "season"[41] for the inn. The inn soon became the center of a small but growing community, and the founding of the Biscayne Bay Yacht Club in the spring of 1887 could only have added to the charm for those interested in sailing. Isabella Peacock was a true helpmate and

38. Ibid., 165.

39. The guests Ralph brought to the inn in the 1880s when the inn was still not well known included Thomas Dawley, Tom and Ned Hine, Kirk and Mary Munroe, Alfred Munroe, Ellen Middle Munroe, Miss Flora McFarlane, Isaac Holden, Rev. and E.P. Brown, and their daughter Theodosia Brown. Guests who owned a yacht designed by Ralph Munroe included the Hines (who owned 3 over the years), Kirk Munroe, Waters Davis, Arthur S. Haigh, and Count Jean d'Hedouville.

40. Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story*, 168. Further evidence of this may be found by comparing the Appendix of this work with the censuses of 1900 and 1910. Among those who stayed at the inn before purchasing property in the Cocoanut Grove were A.A. Boggs, Kirk and Mary Munroe, the Hine brothers, and Count Jean d'Hedouville.

41. The "season" in south Florida, then as now, begins approximately the first week of December and closes around the end of March.

partner in the whole enterprise as well as in the development of the Grove. Thanks to Mrs. Peacock, church services were held with Charles Stowe as the first seasonal preacher. Isabella Peacock organized the first Sunday school class and persuaded guests at the inn to contribute to the construction in 1887 of a one-room Sunday school building. Two years later the building had become the public school during the week and served as a chapel on Sunday when they brought over the organ from the inn for services.[42]

"The Peacock Inn was the great gathering place for all occasions—political meetings, church services, Christmas trees, wedding, and club meetings, for not only the Housekeepers' Club met there, the Biscayne Bay Yacht Club held its first regatta from the Peacock wharf, and gave its first entertainment, a dinner, at the Peacock Inn."[43] The Peacocks, the Peacock Inn, and Ralph Munroe were central to the founding and development of Cocoanut Grove. It is hard to imagine a more ideal location for a winter resort as Cocoanut Grove offered a mild climate, a yacht club, opportunities for other sporting activities such as swimming, fishing, and hunting, and the typical social activities of a small town. It had the perfect combination of people, location, and timing. The Peacocks were also ideal for their role. They had lived in Florida for several years before the inn was built which gave them ample time to learn the necessary skills for living on the Florida frontier, skills such as sailing, obtaining and cooking certain foods, dealing with hurricanes, and other issues which were often alien even to those who lived in more developed communities farther north in Florida. Although it was hard going at first, in the 1880s Florida was beginning to attract more attention as a spot for travelers, sportsmen, and invalids.

Heyday of the Inn

The years 1891-1896 were the heyday of the Peacock Inn. By 1891, in addition to the inn, the Peacocks owned a casino and a grocery/general store, "Peacock & Son." Sons Alfred and Charles ran the store at various times. When, or why, Isabella's nephew, Arthur Sanders, left England to join them in Florida is not known, but as a bookkeeper he no doubt had plenty to do.[44]

42. Coulombe and Hiller, *Season of Innocence*, 40.
43. Mary Barr Munroe, "Pioneer Women of Dade County," *Tequesta* 1, no. 3 (1943): 54-55.
44. *The Miami News*, August 27, 1897, 5.

Over the years the Peacocks continued to make improvements to the amenities of the inn.[45] By 1892 there were approximately 30 rooms in the inn and its annex.[46] The Peacock family ran the hotel with the help of some local people, including Israel Lafayette Jones, well-known on the Bay as "Pahson Jones," " homesteader, fish-guide, and philosopher of Caesar's Creek. He was described as "[b]lack, strong, and cheery," and local stories indicated that "his ambition had brought him from the Carolinas to this land of opportunity when there were practically no colored men in Dade County. . . after a period as a handy man at the Peacock Inn, he married Moselle, an equally ambitious girl from Nassau.... "[47] Mariah Brown,[48] also from the Bahamas, came to Florida in 1880 and built a house at 3298 Charles Avenue in the Grove[49] while she was employed at the Peacock Inn. The records also show an employee named Boniface, but nothing more is known about him.[50] Their length of service is unknown, and there were probably other employees over the years. For at least some employees labor at the inn was seasonal, as the number of guests fluctuated throughout the year.

The Peacock Inn encompassed the full circle of life. Three babies are known to have been born there, and there may have been others. On Easter Sunday, April 6, 1890, Lawrence Peacock, son of Charles J. Peacock, and grandson of Charles, Sr. and Isabella, was born there.[51] On April 3, 1895, Alfred Peacock's wife gave birth to daughter Eunice Isabella Peacock at her grandparents' inn.[52] Isabella (Sanders) Peacock's nephew, Arthur Sanders, became a father on May 14, 1898, when baby Gertrude May Sanders arrived at the Peacock Inn.[53]

Weddings held at the Peacock Inn included those of Arthur Wilson Sanders and Jane Elizabeth Kemp of Cocoanut Grove on

45. *The Tropical Sun*, June 3, 1891. Amenities included "a bath house on the water front... for his guests," probably one or more changing rooms.
46. See Watt P. Marchman "The Ingraham Everglades Exploring Expedition, 1892," *Tequesta* 7 (1947): 31.
47. Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story*, 241-242.
48. She did laundry at the inn. "At Cocoanut Grove," *The Miami Metropolis*, September 6, 1901.
49. "Mariah Brown House," http://historicpreservationmiami.com/brown.html (accessed October 19, 2012).
50. Ralph M. Munroe Family Papers, Special Collections, University of Miami Libraries, Box 7, Folder 59, 51.
51. Mrs. John R. Gilpin, "To Miami, 1890 Style," *Tequesta* 1 (1941): 92.
52. She married George Merrick, founder of Coral Gables.
53. Bonawit, *Miami Florida*, 111.

June 22, 1897. The celebration of Queen Victoria's 60th year on the throne took place the same day and both were celebrated at the Peacock Inn.[54] When Jackson Peacock Jr. (son of "Jolly Jack") married Mamie Rink at the Peacock Inn later that year, Charles Peacock gave the bride away—she had lived in his household for two years according to one source.[55] Another wedding, not of a family member, is known to have been held at the inn.[56] It seems reasonable to assume there were other births and weddings there but no records could be found.

Some deaths occurred at the inn as well, and a few of them were recorded. Both a Mr. Peck[57] and a Mr. Brine[58] died there; although nothing more is known about either man. In November of 1890, Ellen Middleton Munroe, Ralph Munroe's mother, who had returned to Cocoanut Grove on the advice of her doctor, passed away at the inn.[59]

Dining at the Peacock Inn

The Peacock Inn became famous for the quality of the hospitality, a reputation built in part by the quality of the kitchen. It maintained this reputation for many years after Miami began to grow. Both everyday meals and special events were served there, the most famous being the post-race dinner held after the annual Washington's Birthday regatta sponsored by the Biscayne Bay Yacht Club.

The Peacocks relied on locally grown products to serve their guests. Charles and Alfred Peacock had a vegetable garden between the shore and the hotel.[60] Vegetables grown locally included

54. It should be remembered that the Peacock family and Arthur Sanders were British born. *The Miami Metropolis,* June 25, 1897.
55. *The Miami Metropolis,* November 19, 1897.
56. Nina (Antonica) Keiger of Key West and William Fuzzard, from Chelsea, Massachusetts were married at the inn. Their first son, Ralph Munroe Fuzzard, was born November 19, 1892. Ralph M. Munroe Family Papers, Special Collections, University of Miami Libraries, Box #7, Folders, #58, Page 40. As there was probably not a doctor available it is quite possible that he was born at the Peacock Inn where his mother would have the assistance and care of Isabella Peacock—although this is pure speculation.
57. Karen Davis, *Public Faces, Private Lives* (Miami, FL: Pickering Press, 1990), 28-29. All that is known about Mr. Peck is his death at the Peacock Inn.
58. Letter by Flora McFarlane from the Munroe boathouse, May 6, 1890, Cocoanut Grove Women's Club Papers, Special Collections, University of Miami Libraries, Box 13, file 2.
59. Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story,* 211.
60. *The Tropical Sun,* May 23, 1895; *The Miami Metropolis,* August 27, 1897.

eggplant, green beans, peppers, radishes, sweet potatoes, and tomatoes. Fruit trees on the grounds of the inn included coconut, lime, canistelles[61] (teas, or tie-es), Jamaica apple, mango, orange, pawpaw, pomelo, pomegranate, sapodilla, and sugar-apple. Other locally grown fruits were avocado pears (avocado), bananas, guavas, grapefruits, lemons, papayas, and pineapples. Not only did the Peacocks raise fruits and vegetables, they canned them for future use as they came into season.[62]

Charles Peacock made ice cream for an 1894 Housekeeper's Club event[63] so it is almost certain that the Peacocks served it at the Peacock Inn. Fish and assorted seafood could be had from local fishermen or perhaps they caught it themselves.

Turtle soup[64] was the most famous dish served at the inn. According to Ralph Munroe, "when we boarded at the Bay View House, we had to stipulate that Peacock should not give us turtle more than twice a week; delicious as his soups were, too much of a good thing might pall."[65] The Peacocks still served it as late as 1895 at the Peacock Inn when one guest said, "shall we ever forget that delicious green-turtle soup?"[66]

The End of an Era

The coming of the railroad in 1896, and with it Flagler's Royal Palm Hotel, as well as the building of other large hotels, gave the Peacock Inn its first real competition. It also brought an end to one era and the opening of another, one of rapid expansion, the growth of Miami into a city, and modernization. Everything about this small community changed rapidly from 1896 onward.

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61. In reference to *Pouteria campechiana*, also known as egg fruit, "there is very little of this fruit grown in this section as yet. Mr. Peacock has a number of thrifty trees. The fruit is egg shaped and of a rich yellow color. In taste it resembles the yolk of a hard- boiled egg and leaves a taste in the mouth after eating resembling a fine Hubbard squash of northern growth. The fruit has two seeds ordinarily which are about the shape and size of small pecan nut. There is no rind on the fruit. It is very nutritious." *The Miami Metropolis*, November 6, 1896, 1.
62. *The Miami Metropolis*, June 22, 1900.
63. *The Tropical Sun*, March 8, 1894.
64. The Peacocks were probably familiar with green turtle before they arrived in Florida. In 1766 a London tavern constructed tanks for keeping live turtle, others followed suit. By the end of the 19th century turtle soup was so popular in Britain it could be bought in tins. Kate Colquhoun, *Taste, the Story of Britain Through its Cooking* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2007), 213.
65. Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story*, 158.
66. F. Page Wilson, "We Chose the Sub-Tropics," *Tequesta* 12 (1952): 24.

In 1897 one newspaper gave a brief listing[67] of the "wants of the Grove" along with a notice to (Florida) state papers to copy this information. Wants included a resident physician, a drug store, a bakery, and a laundry. Two weeks later the paper announced that the Grove would soon have a drugstore and "first-class soda stand."[68] Published in 1902, Miami's first telephone directory listed three telephones in Cocoanut Grove, one being the telephone for Peacock & Son (Pay Station), quite close to the inn.[69] While it is not known when or if the Grove got that bakery and laundry, Ralph Munroe's Camp Biscayne would, twenty years later, have a laundry for the guests.

What the Grove offered in abundance, to residents and guests, has never changed—a social life and plenty of out-of-doors activities. Not mentioned in *The Miami Metropolis*' 1901 list of amenities[70] of the community were the Housekeeper's Club (later the Coconut Grove Women's Club), or the plethora of activities organized by, or on behalf of, the women's organization, the library, or one of the churches.

The Peacocks were constantly improving the property, for which they received high praise[71] from the newspapers as they provided hammocks on the piazza (patio, or veranda), lawn tennis, croquet, bathing (swimming), fishing, and gopher hunts as well as fine food. In 1898, bicyclists approached the Peacocks about building a bicycle race track in the Grove, if one report[72] is to be believed, but for whatever reason the project was not undertaken. The Peacocks also had planted several flower beds and seven good sized cocoanut trees on the lawn of the inn.[73] In 1900 Isabella started a rose bed at the inn, according to one writer.[74] Another report shows the care given to the guests' comfort.

67. *The Miami Metropolis*, July 2, 1897.
68. Ibid., July 16, 1897.
69. Miami Telephone Directory, 1902. A copy may be found in the Florida Room of the Main Library of the Miami-Dade Public Library System.
70. A rock quarry; two saw mills, a guava factory; several starch mills; three hotels; three general stores, a yacht club; a library; quite a fleet of yachts, freighters, and fish smacks; two post offices, four schools, and the following religious sects had services: Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregational and Christian Scientists." *The Miami Metropolis*, August 30, 1901.
71. *The Tropical Sun*, June 3, 1891.
72. *The Miami Metropolis*, December 2, 1898.
73. Ibid., July 30, 1897, August 6, 1897.
74. Ibid., May 11, 1900.

> The sanitary arrangements have been wonderfully improved, a huge tank and wind mill having been erected on top of the ridge back of the house, furnishing an unlimited supply of water to the (water) closets (a.k.a. toilets). Everything has been done according to the latest improvements of sanitary science and convenience. The grounds are in splendid condition and a look through bedrooms showed everything to be sweet, clean, and inviting. No wonder the house is so popular.[75]

As Charles and Isabella Peacock were getting older they turned over responsibility to their assistant, son Alfred. However, when Alfred's health began to fail the family decided to sell the inn. Charles and Isabella built themselves a new house in Cocoanut Grove, with their son Charles as contractor. The new house had "eight extra large rooms" according to the local paper.[76] In December of 1902 the Peacocks sold the inn to Gustaf F. Schneider of Philadelphia.[77] He intended to run it with the assistance of his wife and son.

On December 15, 1902 the inn opened under the management of Schneider. Staying there at the time were Charles and Isabella Peacock, Alfred S. Peacock, Lillian J. Peacock, Eunice I. Peacock and J. Wm. Ewan, Cocoanut Grove; Henry Guy Carleton, J. Hunter, New York: Mrs. M. Cariber, Mrs. M.L. Cushman and son, Boston; Flora MacFarlane, Rocky Hill, N.J.[78]

It is clear from newspaper accounts that the Schneiders either had big plans, or claimed to have big plans for the inn. They kept the inn open year round, although Mrs. Schneider and Mr. Schneider, Jr. spent the summer of 1903 in Atlantic City, New Jersey, according to one report.[79] In September of that year, the newspaper quoted Mr. Schneider on his plans for extensive improvements like a Japanese garden, swans and a string band.[80] By January of 1904 the inn owned "an elegant new bus" which was used to take guests and others between the train station in Miami and Cocoanut Grove.[81]

In December of 1904 it was reported that Mrs. Schneider had returned from a trip through New England where she visited many

75. Ibid., November 22, 1901.
76. Ibid., January 30, 1903
77. Ibid., December 19, 1902.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid., May 29, 1903.
80. Ibid., September 18, 1903.
81. Ibid., January 1, 1904

hotels, booking guests for the winter at the inn.[82] Furthermore, the Peacock Inn had engaged a professional chef. It is worth quoting this article at length:

> The arrival of James Allen and his crew of cooks at The Peacock Inn at Cocoanut Grove, assures for that hostelry for this season a cuisine unexcelled by any house in Florida. Allen was for many years chef to John Wannamaker, the Philadelphia merchant prince and his banquets and dinners at that time won for him a reputation which placed him near the head of the French Cooks' Association of America. For the last four years Allen has been chef at The Berkshire Inn, one of Atlantic City's most exclusive and fashionable hotels. . . . On being asked why he engaged the services of such an expensive chef for such a comparatively small house as the Peacock Inn, Mr. Schneider, the proprietor, said: "Most of our rooms are booked for the entire season by a very select and refined class of people, who know and appreciate the best in cuisine service. In order that the Inn may continue to enjoy this enviable patronage we are willing to spare no expense." Several private dinners are also ready booked to take place at The Inn this season. . . . Allen's second cook is the proud possessor of a gold medal awarded him in Paris 1900, as the fastest egg cook in France.[83]

First, Japanese gardens and swans, then expensive chefs and fine cuisine. The very sort of thing one could find at the grand hotels. The down to earth, simple life around the inn had attracted a wealthy clientele when the Peacocks owned it. The ambiance of the simple life, along with sailing and a community of knowledgeable sailors like Ralph and Kirk Munroe, seem to have been a major attraction. But the kind of hospitality the Peacock Inn offered may have been out of sync with the times. Times change, and businesses must change with the times. The nature of the inn, the size, and amenities may have been better suited for an era fast becoming history. No longer so isolated, Cocoanut Grove had competition for winter visitors, who now were filling the upscale new hotels of Miami.

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82. Ibid., December 9, 1904.
83. Ibid.

Vincent Gilpin[84] makes it clear that Schneider was not liked as a hotel manager. Ralph Munroe's daughter Patty confirms this point. Born in 1900, she could have learned about the last years of the Peacock Inn from talk at home and in the community. Patty was seventeen years old when Isabella Peacock died, so it is possible that she told Patty about the inn and the last owners. Patty claimed Schneider was disliked in Cocoanut Grove for his dishonesty.[85]

Why did the Peacock Inn close?[86] Was it the questionable character of Mr. Schneider? Was it necessary to attempt to compete with the big hotels, and did the expense of such efforts cause a financial over-extension? Was it even possible to compete with them? Whatever the cause or causes, after the Schneiders bought the Peacock Inn it was no longer successful.

In 1904, the property was bought from the Schnieders by John M. Hopkins, who wished to use it for his own migratory school. Hopkins, a former teacher at the Adirondack/Florida school, at first called his school the Lake Placid School (now the Northwood School and no longer in Florida). He sold the property to a developer in the 1925, but the 1926 hurricane put an end to development and, along with the Great Depression of the 1930s ended the prospect of development.[87] When the county acquired the property it was decided to create Peacock Park on the site.

Cocoanut Grove was perfectly located at Biscayne Bay on the tip of mainland Florida for tourists and travelers. Nature had, since the mid-nineteenth century, been elevated to an almost sacred status, and the tropical climate of South Florida provided a mild winter and exotic flora and fauna. Simultaneously, the rising popularity of sailing, the presence of the yacht club, and the small but lively community they found there meant that the needs of a wide variety of visitors could be served. Together, these factors created an idyllic setting for the recreational and leisure activities of late 19th and early 20th century "winter visitors" at the Peacock Inn.

84. Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story*, 306.
85. Coulombe and Hiller, *Season of Innocence*, 40. Interviews with Patty Munroe Catlow are central to this book.
86. Nearly all issues of the 1904 *The Miami Metropolis* newspaper are online, however for 1905 only the September-December issues are available. The inn closed between mid-December 1904 and September 1905.
87. Coulombe and Hiller, *Season of Innocence*, 40.

APPENDIX

GUESTS at the PEACOCK INN

The hotel register/s of the Bay View Hotel/Peacock Inn (Ralph Munroe refers to it as the Bay View Villa) seems to have disappeared with the passage of time. The following list is derived from various sources, primarily Ralph Munroe's autobiography *The Commodore's Story* and newspaper accounts. This list is not comprehensive, but it is probably a good reflection of the overall visitors list.

1882(?)—Thomas Dawley[88]

1884—Thomas Avery and Edward (Ned) Avery Hine[89]

1886, March—Kirk and Mary Munroe, Mr. Peck[90]

1886-87, Winter—Ralph Munroe, Alfred Munroe, Ellen Middleton Munroe, Flora McFarlane, Rev. and Mrs. E.P. Brown and daughter Theodosia, Mrs. Abby Goodell Sheppard, Rev. Charles E. Stowe, Isaac Holden, Count James L. Nugent of France, and Count Jean d'Hedouville of Belgium[91]

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88. Thomas Robinson Dawley, Jr., "an eccentric chap, knew nothing of sailing... he seemed so irresponsible that I consulted his father, who assured me that he was "harmless." On arrival at Biscayne Bay he stayed a little while at Peacock's and then drifted on to Key West. ...capability as a newspaper correspondent, before and during the Spanish War, and had many adventures. At one time he was stood against the wall to be shot, at the Morro at Havana." He later became the editor of the first English newspaper published in Cuba and wrote several books. Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story*, 126.

89. The Barnacle Historic State Park Archives (Typescript page 4). Munroe encouraged the Hine brothers to come to Cocoanut Grove where they stayed at the Peacock Inn. They also bought yachts designed by Munroe. Ned Hine later built a winter home between the Peacock Inn and Munroe's home, the Barnacle. This typescript seems to have been part of the manuscript for *The Commodore's Story*. Most of the manuscript is now in the University of Miami archives.

90. Davis, *Public Faces, Private Lives*, 28-29. All that is known about Mr. Peck is his death at the Peacock Inn on March 12, 1886. Kirk Munroe was the leading celebrity of Cocoanut Grove in the 1890s. He wrote adventure stories for boys, was a prominent sportsman, and owned the yacht *Allapattaha*, designed by Ralph Munroe. Kirk and his wife Mary lived near the Peacock Inn and the Barnacle, home of Ralph Munroe, a distant relative. They often had meals at the inn, and she stayed there when he was away.

91. Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story*, 164. Ellen Middleton Munroe and Alfred Munroe (Ralph Munroe's mother and uncle) were both from Massachusetts. Miss Flora McFarlane, an old family friend, came as Ellen M. Munroe's companion and remained in the Grove for several years. Mrs. Brown was a cousin. Reverend Stowe was the son of Harriet Beecher Stowe. Nugent and d'Hedouville had been friends in Europe, both owned yachts designed by Ralph Munroe, and both settled in Cocoanut Grove for a time, but later moved to other communities in Dade County. A photograph of ten of these individuals (probably taken that winter, or possibly the next winter) appears in Parks, *The Forgotten Frontier*, 95.

1888-89, Winter—Alfred Munroe, Ellen Middleton Munroe, Flora McFarlane.[92] Mr. and Mrs. Lewis W. Pierce, her mother and their daughter Dellie.[93]

1890—Mr. Brine in May[94]

1890—Ellen Middleton Munroe[95]

1890 or 1891—Mrs. (Caroline) Rockwood[96]

1891—James B. Hammond,[97] Count James Nugent, Count d'Hedouville

1892—Mr. and Mrs. Dewey spent six weeks at the Inn in the spring[98]

1895 (Probable year)—Henry Flagler[99] and his associates had dinner (the mid-day meal) at the Peacock Inn

Pre-1896—Man with broken jaw who was treated, then sent to Key West for professional help.

1891 The Tropical Sun

April 15—Mr. and Mrs. Osborne, Middleton, New Jersey (stayed several weeks)

June 3—Mrs. E.L. White, of Lemon City (for past few weeks), Mrs. Ben Curry and her daughters[100]

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92. Alfred Munroe stayed at the inn, Ellen M. Munroe and Flora McFarlane lived on the second floor of Munroe's boathouse, and all three took their meals at the inn. Ralph Munroe and Dick Carney lived aboard Munroe's yacht in the bay that winter so they may have taken their meals at the inn as well. Ralph M. Munroe Family Papers, Special Collections, University of Miami Libraries, Box 7, Folder 6, 255.
93. Thelma Peters, *Lemon City: Pioneering on Biscayne Bay 1850-1925* (Miami, FL: Banyan Books, c. 1976), 62. Lewis W. Pierce was Lemon City's most zealous real estate promoter. He lost his store in Key West in 1886, and the family moved to Cocoanut Grove. The family boarded at the Peacock Inn until their new house was finished.
94. Coconut Grove Women's Club Papers, Special Collections, University of Miami Libraries, Box 13, File 2 Letter written by Flora McFarlane at the Munroe boathouse, May 6, 1890.
95. Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story*, 211. Ellen Munroe arrived in November 1890 on the advice of her physician but died a few weeks later at the Peacock Inn.
96. "A Note Writer," *The Miami Metropolis*, October 23, 1896. See footnotes #8 and #10 above.
97. Inventor James B. Hammond (died 1913) first marketed his typewriter in 1881. He seems to have spent several winters in the bay on his yacht *Lounger*.
98. *The Weekly Lake Worth News*, March 21, 1901.
99. Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story*, 254. This is apparently the trip Flagler took to determine if and where to build the railway to Miami.
100. Mrs. Ben Curry of Lemon City and her five daughters were attending a school closing exercise and staying at the Bay View Hotel (Peacock Inn) in Cocoanut Grove.

1892 The Tropical Sun
April 8—Members of the Ingrahm Expedition[101]
June 16—A writer from *The Tropical Sun*

1893 The Tropical Sun
February 9—A writer for *The Tropical Sun* had lunch there
March 9—Some eight or ten northern tourists

1893 Ransom Everglades Archives
February 22—(the Washington's Birthday annual regatta) Paul Ransom and Frederick de P. Townsend for dinner.[102]

1895 The Miami Herald (of March 3, 1923)
December—Paul C. Ransom

1895 The Tropical Sun
April 25—Mr. (Count) James and Mrs. Nugent
April 25—Mr. and Mrs. J.E. Stockbin of Chicago; Mr. and Mrs. Geo. P. Griffith of Erie, Pa.

1895 *Tequesta*
February—Mr. & Mrs. F. Page Wilson had lunch at the inn[103]

1896 Miami Diary[104]
January 20—Mr. W.M. Brown and Mr. Frank Budge of Titusville, Mr. L.C. Oliver of West Palm Beach[105]
April 14—Dr. and Mrs. Skaggs lived at the Peacock Inn[106]

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101. Watt P. Marchman "The Ingraham Everglades Exploring Expedition, 1892," *Tequesta* 7 (1947): 31. This well-publicized expedition had 21 members. Wallace R. Moses, the Secretary of the Expedition, mentions staying at the Peacock Inn on Friday April 8, 1892.
102. Alice Ruth Ransom, "The Story of the School," *Decennial Re-Union: 1903- 1913* Adirondack-Florida School, c. 1913.
103. F. Page Wilson, "We Chose the Sub-Tropics," *Tequesta* 12 (1952): 24.
104. Ann Spach Chesney, et al. *Miami Diary, 1896: a day by day account of events that occurred the year Miami became a city* (Miami, FL: s.n., 1996).
105. Ibid. Brown was the cashier of the Indian River State Bank of Titusville, Budge opened a hardware store in Miami in 1896, and Oliver had a lumber yard in Titusville.
106. Ibid., They "moved to Cocoanut Grove after the preponderance of turtle steak and turtle soup on the menu at the Miami Hotel became too monotonous for endurance. They lived at the Peacock Inn where a little imagination was used in the kitchen."

May 10—Kirk Munroe had lunch at the hotel
August 9—Colonel R.W. Davis, Hon. Wilkinson Call,[107] L.C. Massey, E.J. Triay and W.A. McWilliams of the State Executive Committee along with Joseph A. McDonald, Hon. F.S. Morse[108] and W.W. Graham had dinner (mid-day meal) at the inn
September 14—Mrs. John D. Thompson and daughter Grace of Key West
December 4—"there have been thirty-five registrations at the Peacock Inn for the week ending Tuesday night."[109]

1896 The Miami Metropolis
July 3—"There are very few boarders at the Peacock Inn." "Houston May, is laid up at the Peacocks Inn, with a "palmar" abcess [sic] on his right hand ... ."
July 19—Miss Hattie Bowlers, Miami
September 18—Hon. J.W. Ewan, the Duke of Dade,[110] Mrs. John D. Thompson and her daughter Grace, Key West,[111] Scott Brice[112]
October 16—Mrs. Caroline Rockwood and Miss Rockwood, New York City
November 6—"from the Peacock Inn register of the 1st" J.W. Ewan,[113] U.D. Henrickson, Lake Worth; Mrs. Addie R. Bowles, Jos. Jennings, George F. Burrell, Mrs. S.E. Burke and W.S. Graham. E.B. Beardsley and family of New York, and Mr. and Mrs. Harry Munson,[114] of Munson, Long Island, N.Y. There was also a "large and jolly party of Key West people chaperoned by George Curry, Esq." who came to the Peacock Inn from Miami.

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107. Wilkinson Call (1834-1910) was a U.S. Senator from Florida from 1879 to 1897.
108. Wilson, "We Chose the Sub-Tropics," 20. The Honorable Frederick S. Morse was the agent for the Florida East Coast Canal Company.
109. Coconut Grove Women's Club Papers, Special Collections, University of Miami Libraries, Newspaper article "Cocoanut Grove," Box 2, Folder 2, 47.
110. John W. Ewan replaced "King Gleason," a major power broker in the Florida Legislature, hence Ewan was referred to as the "Duke" of Dade.
111. She had with her "beautiful specimens of hair ornaments of genuine tortoise shell. They are manufactured by her husband and are very pretty and durable." Was this a sales trip?
112. The son of Senator Calvin S. Brice (1845-1898) who was accompanied by Henry A. Howe of Albion, N.Y.
113. J.W. Ewan, the "Duke of Dade," seems to have been a year-round boarder from at least 1896 until 1900 or later.
114. Munson was head of the largest theatrical advertising concern in the country. He had a country residence at Munson Post Office on Long Island. *The Miami Metropolis*, April 1, 1898.

November 20—Mr. and Mrs. Primrose, Denver, Col.; Mr. and Mrs. Morris, Philadelphia. The Morris' friends Mr. and Mrs. Biddle, Philadelphia "will also arrive shortly." Mr. and Mrs. Tappan, Washington, D.C. "are expected daily; also" Walter (sic) S. Davis and family, Galveston, Texas[115]

December 4—Mr. and Mrs. Primrose, Philadelphia,[116] and Mr. and Mrs. Morris, Philadelphia.

December 11—Thirty-five registrations including Gen. and Mrs. Waters S. Davis, and their daughter of Key Biscayne. Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Brown, Jr., Chicago.

December 18—Mr. and Mrs. Sam Brown, and Jamot Brown of Chicago and three friends of Jamot Brown from Yale; Mr. and Mrs. W.N. Rickford, Ocala, Florida, Mr. and Mrs. L.P. Deese and son, Denver, Col., Col. W.F. Prince, Tampa

1897 The Miami Metropolis

January 22—The approximately twenty-five tourist guests included Mrs. M. Frothingham,[117] of Troy, N.Y. and Miss Flora McFarlane, of Rock Hill, N.J. formerly of Cocoanut Grove

January 29—The approximately twenty-five guests included: Mrs. M. Frothingham, Troy, N.Y., Mr. and Mrs. A.E. Douglas, New York; Victor Allarge, Jacksonville; Lieutenant Hugh L. Willoughby, Newport, L.I.; J.B. Garland, yacht *Alva*; C.H. Howard,[118] Mr. and Mrs. J.L. Stockton,[119] Chicago; Mr. and Mrs. H.S. Capran, Providence, R.I.; Mr. and Mrs. Geo. Reed, Jacksonville; Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Clark and son, Buffalo; Sam Filer and Geo. Babcock, Key West. Eighteen members of the Florida Press Association dined at the Inn on Monday.

February 12—Harry Munson, of Munson, L.I.; Howard Painter, of (Darby) Philadelphia

February 26—Mr. and Mrs. Crandon, Mr. and Mrs. William Deering,[120] the two Misses Deering, Chicago; Mr. W.W. (William

115. Walter S. Davis owned the 173 acre island, Key Biscayne, which had been in his family since the early 19th century.
116. They were listed as being from Denver on November 20th.
117. For a photograph of Mrs. Frothingham by Ralph Middleton Munroe see Parks, *The Forgotten Frontier*, 146.
118. This may be General Charles H. Howard (1838-1908) who served in the Civil War.
119. John L. Stockton (1837-1897) was a prominent Chicago businessman who died in November 1897.
120. William Deering (1826-1913) was a Chicago businessman and philanthropist who made his fortune with the Deering Harvester Company.

Wirt) Culbertson, [121]Ashland Ky., F.F. Russell and party; Mr. Theo Heibbron, New York; Nelson E Cowles, Lake Worth; Mr. Stephen Clarke, A Burgess, Buffalo; Mr. and Mrs. Peter T. Knight and three children, Key West; Mr. D L. Gaulden,[122] Titusville; Mr.Jeo Denentery New (sic), Mr. and Mrs. MacArthurs,[123] Troy, NY

March 5—"A large party of nineteen young men and another of two ladies, a gentlemen, and a little girl, all on bicycles went from Miami to Cocoanut Grove last Sunday afternoon and enjoyed the hospitality of the Peacock Inn."

March 12—M. Barnes, Brooklyn, N.Y.; A.L. Lang, Cocoanut Grove; W.H. Hendicks, Pittsburg, PA; R.Fickle, Buena Vista; Wm. B. Harney, Biscayne; J.T. Little, Bath, Maine; Gilbert Taylor, Baltimore, MD; Mr. and Mrs. James Laugham, Pittsburg, Pa.; Geo. E.T. Kinsley, Boston, Mass.; M. Peel, Brooklyn, N.Y.; H. Cook,[124] Brooklyn, N.Y.; Mrs. Samuel Brown, Chicago; Mr. Jamot Brown, Chicago

March 19—T.T. Todd, Chicago; J.S. Lefries, Jacksonville; F. N. Gulliford, Cocoanut Grove; E.O. Tate, Morristown, Tenn.; G.O. Bates, Savannah, Ga; Mrs. A.R. Dutton, Cleveland; Mr. and Mrs. O.B. Parker, Miami; Mrs. B.P. Baker and daughter, Key West.

March 26—Hon. J.W. Ewan, the Duke of Dade, Col. Ledwith, New York; Howard Painter, Philadelphia

April 2—Rev. H. Keigwin[125] and daughter Lillian registered at the Inn last Sunday. Thomas P. Gaddis,[126] Dayton, Ohio (spent previous two weeks there); Mrs. Brown left for Chicago

April 30—Colonel Ledwith . . . of Orange, N.J.; the Duke of Dade;[127] M. Bichard (Birchard? Richard?) of Cocoanut Grove (unclear if they guests?)

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121. Culbertson, age 61, was born September 23, 1835. Pioneering was not just a young man's game, and age 61 was fairly old in the 1890s. W.W. Culbertson purchased property in the Grove and was referred to as an "enterprising merchant." *The Miami News*, August 27, 1897, 5.
122. D.L. Gaulden was a lawyer and prominent citizen of Titusville. *The Florida Star*, January 12, 1900.
123. They were a well-known family in Troy. He was the proprietor and editor of the *Troy Budget*, a large, local paper.
124. This may be A.H. Cook, a member of the Brooklyn Yacht Club, who sailed the centerboard yacht, *Kangaroo*.
125. Reverend H. Keigwin, pastor of the local Presbyterian church. He came to the Grove in January 1896 and left in June 1897.
126. Gaddis was Vice President and General Manager of The Dayton Malleable Iron Co.
127. J.W. Ewan.

April 9—Mr. and Mrs. Belknap, St. Augustine; Mr. E.H. Walker, Orlando; Mr. W.M. Curry, Mr. Chas Lester, Dr. and Mrs. J.Y. Porter,[128] J.Y.Porter, Jr., Thomas Ryan, Wm. Collins, I Brinkerhoff, T.J. Banlif(?), Key West; John H. Newton, New York, S.I.

May 28—Queen Victoria's 78th birthday was celebrated at the Inn (on May 24th). Guests included Mr. and Mrs. W.W. Pickford, Rev. and Mrs. James Bolton, Mrs. James Bolton's brother F. Hilburn, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Sanders, Miss Grace Frow, Miss Mamie Rink, and J.W. Ewan the "Duke of Dade"

May 28—Mr. and Mrs. Joseph McDonald, Mr. Crosby[129] of Jacksonville; Mr. and Mrs. Fuller all of Miami, Mr. and Mrs. Kirk Munroe[130]

June 4—Among the twenty-two guests were Mrs. Wm. Curry, Mr. and Mrs. Geo. H. Curry and child, Mr. and Mrs. M.L. Ellings and child, Mrs. Wm. McKillup all of Key West; C. Garvin Gilmaine,[131] Boston, Mass.; Warren Fitch, Jacksonville, Fla.; W.R. Barnard, St. Louis; W.H. Monk, Havana, Cuba; E.C.Harrington, Key West

June 11—Twelve guests registered at the Peacock Inn this week including Garvin Gilmaine, Boston

August 13—Prof. W.E. Boggs, D.D., LL.D., G.C., his son A.A. Boggs of Cocoanut Grove, and G.C. Mathams,[132] Lake Worth

August 27—Rev. J.A. Howland, of Biscayne Bay at large; Franklin C. Bush and William D. Kelley, of Chicago; Hon. Frederick S. Morse, Miami; Miss G.N. Hallett, Mr. and Mrs. S.H. Richmond, Cutler; Rev. Gilbert Higgs, Key West; Walter S. Graham, Miami; Adam A. Boggs, formerly of Athens, Ga., now of Cocoanut Grove

September 10—Mr. and Mrs. A.A. Boggs, infant daughter Marjorie Boggs, Miss Eva Convese, sister of Mrs. Boggs, and Miss Grise a relative of Mr. Boggs

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128. Dr. Porter was a state public health officer and responsible for eliminating yellow fever in Florida. His wife was the daughter of William Curry of Key West, Florida's first millionaire. The J. Y. Porter House still stands in Key West.
129. Henry Crosby was the "proprietor and operator of large farming and naval store industries," *Florida Times-Union*, July 29, 1897.
130. They had stopped at the inn for refreshments and a visit with Mr. and Mrs. Kirk Munroe and others the previous Wednesday afternoon. It is not clear if the Kirk Munroes were staying there or just visiting as well.
131. Gilmaine was a traveling actor who entertained at the inn with imitations of Booth, Irving, and Salvina. He then appeared in Miami. He travelled throughout Florida in 1897. *The Miami Metropolis*, May 21, 1897
132. Prof. Boggs was President of the University of Georgia, his son, Adam A Boggs farmed in the area. G.C. Mathamus was one of the largest pineapple growers on Lake Worth. A thorough account of Alec (surely Adam A.) Boggs is given in Munroe and Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story*, 238-39.

September 24—Mr. and Mrs. Winglad, the editor of *The Miami Metropolis*; L.A. Morrison of Orange City; C.T. McCrimmon, Tom Townley, Mr. and Mrs. Boggs, Miss Converse and Miss Gracie (Boggs) took their meals at the inn, and Walter S. Graham (editor of *The Miami Metropolis*, from Saturday to Monday). L.A.Morrison, Orange City, Florida, Sunday only)
October 15—A party of men from Georgia who were working on the plantation of J. Jennings (Dade County) spent the night at the inn
November 5—Mr. and Mrs. A.A. Boggs and her sister Miss Converse were still taking their meals at the Inn. Mr. and Mrs. W.W. Pickford, London, England dined with them last Saturday evening
December 10—"Samuel Brown, Jr. and family, Chicago are expected this week for the season."
December 31—"Forty-eight guests have registered since last week. Among them Mr. and Mrs. Hugh L. Willoughby, Newport, L.I.; Dr. and Mrs. A.F. Dean, New York City; W.E. Boggs, Athens, Ga.; Jamot Brown, Chicago; W.F. Whitehouse, New York; Fred L. Gardner, Hamilton Ont.; Hal C. Wyman and family, Detroit, Mich.; H.D. Sterling, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Mr. and Mrs. W.W. Pickford, London, England, took Christmas dinner at the Inn."

1898 The Miami Metropolis
January 14—Alfred Munroe, Concord, Massachusetts.
January 28—Mr. and Mrs. Evans, Chicago, Illinois
February 4—Thirty-six guests
February 11—Dr. and Mrs. Skaggs, Nashville, Tenn.; Dr. Walter S. Graham, Miami and F.E. Heath, New York spent the Sabbath at the Inn; Mr. Howard Thatcher, Mr. and Mrs. Thatcher, Howard Painter, Darby, Pa.; Mr. and Mrs. Sam Brown, Jr., Chicago; Mr. and Mrs. Harry Munson, New York City; Mrs. Reed[133] and son, England; Lieutenant and Mrs. Willoughby
March 4—Over 30 arrivals at the Inn this week. Mr. and Mrs. George N. Schofield and daughter, Philadelphia (for a week); Mrs. Henry Deane and Miss Dr. Carrie Wolfsbruck,[134] New York City
March 18—There have been 78 new arrivals since March 1st. including Waters Davis and his daughter Emma, and Mrs. Kopperly, Galveston, Texas

133. Mrs. Reed was the aunt of Arthur S. Haigh (her nephew was at the inn on December 13, 1900).
134. She was a dentist and evidently quite a good fisherman.

April 1—Harry Munson, New York City left for home.
April 22—Walter (sic) S. Davis and family, Galveston, Texas
July 31—Dr. and Mrs. J.N. Fogarty (for one week)
September 2—Mr. Cornell,[135] Ormand, Florida; Dr. W.G. Graham (2 nights), Mrs. Annie Del Pino, of Key West (spent six weeks at the Inn)
September 23—A Senatorial party including Senators Mallory and Pasco, Rep. Davis[136] and Miss Davis, Messrs. Morse and others were entertained at the Inn by the Peacocks and Mr. Ewan.
September 30—Captain A.R. Simmons, Mr. E.P. Branch of Melbourne, Fla.[137]
December 9—Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Brown, Chicago

1898 The Miami News
January 14—"Mrs. F.N. Dutton, Thos. Jefferson Cooledge, Mrs. F. Sears and daughter of Boston, Mr. and Mrs. Newbold and daughter of New York; Alfred Munroe, Concord, Mass.; James McIntyre[138] and wife Eau Claire, Wis.; Dr. and Mrs. James E. Baker, Lancaster, Pa, and Howard Painter, Philadelphia.. . . Dr. H.T. Dean[139] and wife left . . . for New York City, after three weeks at the Inn."
February 18—Mr. and Mrs. Strong, Cambridge Massachusetts

1899 The Miami Metropolis
January 20—Mr. and Mrs. Davis and two daughters, Galveston, Texas
January 28—Mr. and Mrs. Evans, Chicago
March 3—Howard Thatcher, Brandywine, Pa left after several weeks.
April 21—W.S. Davis and family will leave soon for the North
April 28—Mr. Gilpin[140]

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135. He manufactured guava jelly and stayed at the inn while doing his annual work in the area.
136. U.S. Senator Stephen R. Mallory of Pensacola, U.S. Senator Samuel Pasco of Monticello, and Rep. Robert Wyche Davis of Palatka all represented Florida in the 55th Congress.
137. E.P.Branch was an early settler who ran a general story, organized Melbourne's first bank, and in 1892 was instrumental in convincing Henry Flagler to extend the railway through Melbourne.
138. He was a partner in the control of the Dells Dam which sold electric power to the power company in Eau Claire, Wisconsin.
139. Dean collected two boxes of tropical plants, ferns, sea curios, and orchards for his home conservatory.
140. This is either John R. Gilpin, a commodities broker, or his son Vincent (co-author of *The Commodore's Story*). The Gilpin Family Papers are in the HistoryMiami (formerly the Historic Museum of Southern Florida) archives.

June 16—Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Benton,[141] of Cocoanut Grove and New Haven, Conn.
December 22—Mrs. Julia A. Carson, Misses Victoria Jackson and Florence Graham, Bowling Green, Ky.; Mrs. George Villar, Master George Villar and Miss America Villar, New York; W.H. Goethe, Lieut. E. Vosten, F.V.Steilpaugel, Berlin, Germany; Charles Dobson, Philadelphia; J.H. Bradfield, Concord, Mass; Mr. and Mrs. A.A. Boggs and J. Jennings, Cocoanut Grove

1900 The Miami Metropolis
January 4—Mr. and Mrs. Villers, Cuba
January 19—Mr. and Mrs. Marshall and two children.
February 1—"There are about fifty guests at the Peacock Inn."
March 23—"Mr. and Mrs. Howard Painter[142] of Philadelphia for a few weeks."
May 11—"The Inn is to close its doors for the summer on the 15th of May."
May 25—Mr. Guy Metcalf of *The Tropical Sun*, Hon. J.C.Ewan[143]
July 6—Mr. (Count) and Mrs. James Nugent
October 5—Mrs. Judge Heyser, Miami; Mrs. McFarlane,[144] Lake Worth, Florida.
October 26—Peacock Inn to open on or about November 1st.
December 2—Mr. and Mrs. C.D. (C.O.?) Hughes, Mr. and Mrs. (Kirk) Munroe, Rev. Mr. and Mrs. S.G. Merrick, J.T. Size, O.M.Ellworth, F.S. M?, W.J.Cathcart
December 14—C.B. Crocket, Jr., N. Gorham, E.B. Rogers, U.S.N. Wm. Fuzzard, Miss Fuzzard, Mrs. Cannon, Mrs. H.L. ?, Mrs. J.S. Moore, Miss M.F. Fuller

141. Mrs. Benton (Susie) was the sister of Ralph Munroe's wife, Jessie Wirth Munroe. The Bentons owned the yacht *Susie B.*
142. The couple presumably met in the winter of 1897-98 when Eva Converse stayed with her sister, Mrs. Adam A. Boggs, in Cocoanut Grove. The Boggs took their meals at the inn. An invitation from Mrs. James Wheaton Converse, Jr. for the wedding of her daughter Eva to Mr. Howard Painter for July 12, 1898 in Asheville, North Carolina, is in the History Miami archives. (Mrs. Alfred Peacock Collection).
143. The journalist, named Metcalfe, notes in the article that he had previously been at the inn two years before. Ewan is referred to as "the star boarder of the Inn."
144. These ladies came from Miami "on their wheels" or bicycles. They probably came for lunch.

1901 The Miami Metropolis
February 8—"Every room at the Peacock Inn is taken." Guests included Mr. and Mrs. Howard Painter, Dr. and Mrs. Chapman of Springfield, Conn., Mrs. Sovony(?, Mrs. Chapman's mother), Dr. Moore of the Fish Commission, Mr. and Mrs. Francis Rodman,[145] Concord, Mass.
February 15—Dr. and Mrs. Chapman, Springfield, Conn.
February 22—Mr. Davis of Cape Florida (also of Galveston, Texas) and his family, Miss Hermine Schwed, Chicago
March 15—Mrs. E.B. Beardsley and daughter, Mrs. H.W. Eaton, New York City.
June 28—"Mrs. Bolton spent Monday at the Inn.". . . the star boarder, who I noticed in a faultless white flannel suit. The inn is closed."[146]
October 25—"Peacock's Inn expects to open about Nov. 1st."
November 22—"Mr. and Mrs. Crockett will be guests during the winter."
December 6—"a dozen or more guests have already arrived"
December 13—Mr. Arthur S. Haigh,[147] Cat Cay

1901 The Weekly Lake Worth News
March 21—Mr. and Mrs. Dewey for lunch only

1902 The Miami Metropolis
August 22—Miss Alice Ellis (still there on September 7)
October 10—Mrs. John Ellis, Miss McFarland (was this Flora MacFarlane?)
December 19—Charles Peacock and wife, Alfred S. Peacock, Mrs. Lillian I. Peacock, Miss Eunice Peacock, J. Wm. Ewan, Cocoanut Grove; Henry Guy Carleton,[148] J. Hunter, New York;

145. Rodman was 74 and his wife age 70 at the time. Their reason for coming to Florida is unknown.
146. This is the second reference to the "star boarder" wearing "a faultless white flannel suit."
147. Arthur Samuel Haigh, of Huddersfield, England, owned Cat Cay (in the Bahamas). He was a frequent visitor to the Peacock Inn. Ralph Munroe designed and built the 50' *Carib* for him. It was one of the few actually built by Munroe himself and was built at his boathouse, at the Barnacle in Cocoanut Grove. *The Miami Metropolis,* December 13, 1901; February 7, 1902. (Haigh's aunt, Mrs. Reed, and her son had been at the inn on February 11, 1898).
148. Carleton was a noted humorist, journalist, and playwright. By 1905, he owned property in Cocoanut Grove, *Miami Metropolis* Sept. 1, 190.

Mrs. Cariber (Carabar?); Mrs. M.L. Cushman and son, Boston; Miss Flora MacFarlane, Rocky Hill, N.J.; Dr. H.F. Moore, U.S. Fish Commissioner

1903 The Miami Metropolis
July 31—Dr. & Mrs. Jeremiah N. Fogarty,[149] Key West
December 4—Capt. Harry Munson, Munson, Long Island (will be arriving soon).

1904 The Miami Metropolis
January 8—Mr.G.W. Nimmons and Mr.Beatley,[150] Chicago
December 2—Miss Gifford[151]

149. Was he a doctor? Was the newspaper wrong? Or was there more than one Jeremiah Fogarty in Key West? At various times there was a Jeremiah Fogarty who was a merchant, U.S. customs official, banker, and general manager of William Curry and Sons. The Bartlum-Fogarty House is located at 718 Eaton Street, Key West.
150. Mr. Beatty shot an alligator, had it mounted (evidence that there was a taxidermist in Miami), and then sent to his Chicago home.
151. May Gifford of Princeton, New Jersey, was scheduled to begin teaching at a school connected to the inn the following fall; however the inn was closed by then.

Florida's Constitutional Property Exemptions: Changed Intent in Unchanged Text

by Eric H. Miller

Recent events have placed the issue of bankruptcy and property exemptions in the spotlight as families negotiate the legal maze of retaining possession of their homes and property in the wake of the financial disruptions since 2007. Attorneys and clients alike are often surprised by the lack of change in the Florida constitutional provisions that limit the options for those seeking relief from the demands of creditors. Indeed, the personal property exemption seems written for an earlier time. The unchanged constitutional text shields a debtor's home but only protects personal property up to a total value of one thousand dollars, the amount first established in 1868.

The basic protection for homestead and the personal property exemption first appeared in the Constitution of 1868, with the same quantities and values as stated in the current Florida Constitution. During the intervening one hundred forty-four years Florida twice adopted new constitutions, in 1885 and 1968, and frequently amended the existing texts yet never changed the aggregate value of property exempted from the reach of creditors. The unchanged limits of the constitutional property exemptions show the change in Florida public policy from protecting the goods and tools necessary for families to support themselves to reliance on the

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increasing value of homestead property as the main protection for self-sufficiency.

The historiography of homestead and exemption laws, particularly in Florida, is at once written and unwritten, studied and anecdotal, national and parochial. Citizens speak through constitutional provisions written and preserved over one hundred forty years, the enactment of implementing statutes, and unwritten presumptions of social and economic policy evident only through other texts. Scholars initially spoke through treatises seeking to systemize general principles for the exercise of homestead and exemption laws until attempts to standardize an ever-changing body of law drawn from an increasing number of states and inherently local in policy proved unwieldy. Studies of theory gradually moved to local judicial decision-making while scholarship broadened its attention to fundamental principles for interpreting state constitutions. Through three versions of bankruptcy law the nation addressed these issues, resulting in a current, renewed dialog between Florida lawmakers and the federal courts.

In 1868 Florida adopted a constitution which for the first time expressly protected certain property of debtors from forced sale[1] to satisfy the claims of creditors. These included an allowed homestead[2] in land on which the debtor and debtor's family resided as well as any non-real property items ("personal property") with a total value of one thousand dollars.[3] As increasing numbers of

1. A "forced sale" is one done under a court judgment or other legal process compelling the property to be sold to satisfy a debt. Henry Campbell Black, *Black's Law Dictionary*, Fifth Edition (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Company, 1979), 580. [hereafter *Black's Law Dictionary*].
2. "Homestead" normally refers to land, or real property, on which an individual resides together with her or his family, and which is protected from the claims of creditors. See *Black's Law Dictionary*, 5th ed., 660. "Personal property" means anything other than land, such as clothing, kitchen utensils, furniture, arms, or livestock. See *Black's Law Dictionary*, 5th ed., 1096.
3. "A homestead to the extent of one hundred and sixty acres of land, or the half of one acre within the limits of any incorporated city or town, owned by the head of a family residing in this State, together with one thousand dollars worth of personal property, and the improvements on the real estate, shall be exempted from forced sale under any process of law, and the real estate shall not be alienable without the joint consent of husband and wife, when that relation exists. But no property shall be exempt from sale for taxes, or for the payment of obligations constructed for the purchase of said premises, or for the erection of improvements thereon, or for house, field, or other labor performed on the same. The exemption herein provided for in a city or town shall not extend to more improvements or buildings than the residence and business house of the owner." See Florida Constitution (1868), art. IX.

southern debtors turned to the new federal Bankruptcy Act of 1867 for relief from their financial burdens,[4] Floridians were entitled to assert these new constitutional protections, called "exemptions," in their own bankruptcy actions to protect the same kind and amounts of property as they emerged from the economic devastation of the Civil War.[5]

By 2009, Florida had replaced its constitution twice and had considered further changes in the Constitution Review Commissions of 1977 and 1997 and the Taxation and Budget Reform Commissions of 1990 and 2007. Floridians continued to enjoy constitutional protection for real property comprising a homestead and of personal property with a separate total value of one thousand dollars.[6] With no allowance for changing values over the past 144 years, the Florida Constitution today protects the same amount of land and total value of items as in 1868. Lacking express declaration from the various constitutional conventions or revision commissions other than their rejection of alternatives

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4. Elizabeth Lee Thompson, *The Reconstruction of Southern Debtors: Bankruptcy After the Civil War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 4-5. This work is notable both for its research methodology and for delving into the economic and political impact of the Bankruptcy Act of 1867.

5. "An Act to establish a uniform System of Bankruptcy through the United States," §14, 14 Statutes at Large 522-523 (39th Congress, Session II, March 2, 1867). Initially the Act only permitted the exemptions which were in effect in the particular state as of 1864. This was later amended in 1872 to allow exemptions existing as of 1871. See "An Act to amend an Act entitled 'An Act to establish a Uniform System of Bankruptcy through the United States,'" 17 Statutes at Large 334 (42nd Congress, Session II, June 8, 1872).

6. "Homestead; exemptions.—
(a) There shall be exempt from forced sale under process of any court, and no judgment, decree or execution shall be a lien thereon, except for the payment of taxes and assessments thereon, obligations contracted for the purchase, improvement or repair thereof, or obligations contracted for house, field or other labor performed on the realty, the following property owned by a natural person:
(1) a homestead, if located outside a municipality, to the extent of one hundred sixty acres of contiguous land and improvements thereon, which shall not be reduced without the owner's consent by reason of subsequent inclusion in a municipality; or if located within a municipality, to the extent of one-half acre of contiguous land, upon which the exemption shall be limited to the residence of the owner or the owner's family;
(2) personal property to the value of one thousand dollars."
Florida Constitution (1968), art. X, §4(a). Other provisions in the Constitution intended to protect the homestead include a partial exemption from real estate taxes and limitations on an owner's ability to transfer, or "alienate," the homestead if currently married or if the owner has minor children. Florida Constitution (1968), art. VII, §3, art. X, §4(c).

in the written final products, the reasons for this continuity may be discerned from the convention debates, commission reports, proposed constitutional amendments, legislation adopted to implement the constitutional protections, and judicial decisions made over time.

At times, such as the debates during the 1885 Constitutional Convention, Florida policymakers wrestled extensively with the very concept of these exemptions as well as their extent. Other occasions for considering the constitutional protections exhibit little discussion of their propriety or extent, as in the revisions leading to the 1968 Constitution and subsequent study commissions. The unchanged constitutional language shows that Florida public policy from 1868 to 2009 relied primarily on the value of homestead real estate to provide assets sufficient to give debtors a "fresh start" after financial reversals or bankruptcy.

Development of Property Protections for Debtors Before 1868

The concept of protecting some of a debtor's property from the reach of creditors arose in different jurisdictions and predated the development of exemption laws in Florida. For example, early laws applicable in Spanish dominions stayed seizure of a farm laborer's tools and livestock for all but specified types of debt (ca. 1476) or the seizure of implements used by some artisans such as looms or spinning wheels (ca. 1683).[7] Exemptions for items of personal property also appeared in colonial America.[8]

Limited protection from creditors was extended to real property in colonial Texas as an incentive to encourage immigration and settlement.[9] Passed by Mexico in 1829, this act prohibited the collection of preexisting debts through seizure of Texas lands granted to settlers by the government for twelve years from the grant and subsequently only by payment in money or goods and in

7. Lena London, "The Initial Homestead Exemption in Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 57, no. 4 (April 1954), 441.

8. Alison D. Morantz, "There's No Place Like Home: Homestead Exemption and Judicial Constructions of Family in Nineteenth-Century America," *Law and History Review*, 24, no. 2 (Summer 2006), 252.

9. "Decree No. 70, enacted by the Congress of the State of Coahuila Y Texas on January 13, 1829," 1 H.P.N. Gammel, *The Laws of Texas 1822-1897*, (Austin, Gammel Book Co., 1898), 220, http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth5872/m1/228/?q=decree%2070%201829 (accessed August 8, 2012); "State Homestead Exemption Laws," *The Yale Law Journal*, 46, no. 6 (Spring 1937), 1025.

a manner which did not impair the debtor's ability to provide for the family.[10] Subsequent to winning its independence from Mexico, Texas adopted what is generally accepted as the first legislative enactment exempting from execution a debtor's residential real property and specific personal property up to a certain value, particularly items necessary for the trade or profession of the debtor and identified household goods.[11]

Homestead and exemption laws in the states arose partly in reaction to the developing market economy in the United States during the nineteenth century, with its cycles of expansion and recession. The South and West moved rapidly to enact property exemption laws during the 1830s and 1840s as a result of economic downturns and bank failures. In contrast, the North and Midwest adopted these principles during better economic times in the 1850s because of the evolution of political parties, such as the Free-Soil Party, which advocated the protection of families through shielding their homes.[12] The movement for homestead and exemption laws had conflicting purposes from the beginning in attempting to reduce risks for individuals by making the market "moral" and thus protecting families, while at the same time seeking broader access to credit necessary for economic development.[13]

Early Steps Protecting Debtors' Property in Florida

While Florida was still a territory, public demand arose for individual relief from legal actions due to the collapse of the Union Bank. One of the principal disputes between planters, with extensive land holdings and numbers of enslaved people, and smaller farmers with few, if any, enslaved people, was the Bank's creation and operation. The Bank was formed to provide credit and funding to benefit plantation owners but the resulting obligations were treated as a debt for which the entire territorial population was responsible. By 1840, the Bank's debts exceeded its ability to secure new capital and many individual debts became delinquent. As the economic hardship spread, residents sought passage of

10. London, 440; "State Homestead Exemption Laws," 1025.
11. "An act to exempt certain property therein named from execution," 2 Gammel, 2: 125-126 (Texas Third Congress), (accessed November 9, 2012).
12. Paul Goodman, "The Emergence of Homestead Exemption in the United States: Accommodation and Resistance to the Market Revolution, 1840-1880," *Journal of American History*, 80, no. 2 (September 1993): 470-498.
13. Ibid., 497.

stay laws: temporary measures adopted during a financial crisis to prevent creditors from seizing all assets of a debtor and leaving them with no means to earn a living or provide for a family.[14]

The first Florida legislation on exemption laws appeared in 1843,[15] exempting specified personal property from execution[16] by creditors.[17] Debtors could declare additional property exempt at the time of execution for judgment, other than for criminal penalties; particular exemptions were provided for debtors to retain basic implements necessary for an identified profession or trade, such as a horse and its tack by a clergy member or the boat and gun[18] of a fisherman. The third section provided a procedure to value the property claimed as exempt. In 1845 the Territorial Legislative Council enacted a statute exempting a homestead of forty acres, provided at least ten acres were cultivated and the total value of the land and improvements did not exceed two hundred dollars. The act excluded certain obligations from the exemption, including debts for criminal fines and for taxes due the county or Territory.[19]

Florida was admitted to the Union in 1845 under the constitution adopted by the Territorial Convention begun in December 1838. The 1838 Constitution was silent on the issue of homestead and exemptions but did provide for all acts of the Territorial Legislative Council consistent with the Constitution to continue in full force and effect.[20] This included the prohibition

14. Edward E. Baptist, *Creating an Old South: Middle Florida's Plantation Frontier Before the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 174-175.
15. "No. 65, An Act exempting certain property from Execution, Attachment and Distress," *The Acts and Resolutions of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, Twenty-First Session*, 55 (March 15, 1843), http://books.google.com/books?id=OrMwAQAAMAAJ&q=LXV#v=onepage&q=LXV&f=false (accessed September 3, 2012).
16. "Execution" in this context is the legal process of enforcing a judgment by seizing and selling a debtor's assets. See *Black's Law Dictionary*, 5th ed., 510.
17. For example, an individual's apparel and bedding as well as the necessary kitchen furniture, apparel, and bedding required for a family.
18. The law itself is silent on the reason for the specific protection of a fisherman's gun but one could surmise that one working in the waterways of the Florida frontier relied heavily on a firearm both for hunting and protection, thus the need for express shielding from creditors.
19. "No. VIII, An Act to exempt Homesteads from Execution, Attachment and Distress," *The Acts and Resolutions of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, Twenty-Third Session*, 23 (March 11, 1845), http://books.google.com/books?id=ZbMwAQAAMAAJ&q=VIII#v=snippet&q=VIII&f=false (accessed September 3, 2012).
20. Florida Constitution (1838), art. XVIII, §1.

against laws impairing existing contract rights.[21] The 1843 exemption and 1845 homestead acts thus continued as laws of the new state.

In 1861, Florida adopted a constitution which promulgated the Ordinance of Secession and incorporated the structure and text of the Constitution of 1838, amended to reflect Florida's participation in the Confederacy.[22] With the end of the Civil War and the military occupation of the state, the Ordinance of Secession was repealed and the Constitution of 1865 was proposed to acknowledge the emancipation of those formerly held in slavery.[23] Neither of these versions of the Florida Constitution provided for protection of debtors' property and exemptions from levy remained a matter of statute.

Origin of the Florida Constitutional Property Exemptions: The 1868 Constitution

Florida's present constitutional protection from execution for homesteads and certain personal property originated in the 1868 Constitution, adopted during Reconstruction. For the first time the organic law of the state protected from forced sale a homestead of up to 160 acres outside of a municipality or one-half an acre within an incorporated municipality, together with personal property worth up to an aggregate of one thousand dollars.[24] The head of a family could exempt from execution additional personal property up to an aggregate one thousand dollars, but only for debts incurred prior to May 10, 1865.[25]

In 1867 the U.S. Congress withdrew recognition of many state governments in the former Confederacy and created military occupation districts, placing Florida in the Third Military District. Florida was required to form a state government acceptable to the Congress.[26] During November 14, 15, and 16, 1867, votes were cast

21. Florida Constitution (1838), art. I, §19.
22. Florida Constitution (1861), *Ordinance of Secession.*
23. Florida Constitution (1865), art. XVI, §1. See Charlton W. Tebeau and William Marina, *A History of Florida*, 3rd ed. (Miami, FL: University of Miami Press, 1999), 225-227.
24. Florida Constitution, (1868), art . IX, §1.
25. Florida Constitution, (1868), art. IX, §2.
26. "An Act to provide for the more efficient Government of the Rebel States," 14 Statutes at Large 428 (39th Congress, Session II, March 2, 1867); Tebeau and Marina, *A History of Florida*, 230-231; Jerrell H. Shofner, "The Constitution of 1868," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 41, no. 4 (April 1963), 356.

for delegates to a state constitutional convention, which opened on January 20, 1868.[27]

The convention was notably fractious with conservative interests contending for control with more aggressive elements (several of whom arrived in Florida after 1866) who advocated a more aggressive program of civil rights for those who were newly-emancipated.[28] Beginning with the twelfth day of the Convention, February 4, 1868, through February 17, 1868, the Journal of the Convention shows a period where no quorum was present (February 4 – 8) or, if present, the Convention only met that day to open and adjourn.[29] This was due to the famous flight to Monticello, Florida; to deny the Convention a quorum and thus the ability to adopt any further provisions, delegates opposed to the Radicals left Tallahassee and remained in Monticello, Florida, some 26 miles to the east. They subsequently and surreptitiously returned at night to occupy the meeting hall, roust two more delegates from bed to form a quorum, and seize control of the convention.[30] These conservatives were responsible for the final draft of the new constitution.[31]

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27. Tebeau and Marina, *A History of Florida*, 232.
28. Shofner, "The Constitution of 1868," 360-363. The Constitutional Convention of 1868 has been described as a struggle of factional power politics between non-Floridian "carpetbaggers" and moderate elements of the Republican Party, each seeking the support, and votes, of recently emancipated African-Americans. See John Wallace, *Carpet-Bag Rule in Florida* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964). *Carpet-Bag Rule* does not describe the adoption of the homestead and exemption provision, nor how the convention determined the values applicable to personal property, but the political context of the convention at a time of Southern economic distress supports the use of these exemptions by the Republican Party to garner favor with Florida voters. Whether Wallace was the actual author or whether the book was written to serve interests opposing the Republican Party at the time of publication remains unclear, and the book is not treated as a completely accurate history of the period. See, James C. Clark, "John Wallace and the Writing of Reconstruction History," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 67, no. 4 (April 1989): 409-427.
29. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Florida, Begun and Held at the Capitol, at Tallahassee, on Monday, January 20th, 1868* (Printed in Tallahassee by E.M. Cheney, 1868), 30-33, http://books.google.com/books?id=QRktAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbsge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false (accessed September 3, 2012).
30. Shofner, "The Constitution of 1868," 363-366.
31. Ibid., 366. Shofner contends the final document was not based on a form or template imposed by the federal government or other source external to Florida but represents a "home-grown" solution actually developed with influence from former supporters of the Confederacy such as former federal judge McQueen McIntosh.

The official Journal of the Constitutional Convention provides little detail about the derivation of the amounts and location of protected real property and the protected value of personal property. These exemptions were included in the article entitled "Homestead," introduced on the twenty-sixth day of the convention by the Committee on Homestead.[32] The journal entry for the next day shows the article was taken up, the procedural rules of the convention waived, and the Convention voted to adopt the article as part of the final proposed Constitution after the requisite second and third readings.[33] No comment, debate, opposition, or even vote tally is recorded. The new Article provided:

> A homestead to the extent of one hundred and sixty acres of land, or the half of one acre within the limits of any incorporated city or town, owned by the head of a family residing in this State, together with one thousand dollars worth of personal property, and the improvements on the real estate, shall be exempted from forced sale under any process of law, and the real estate shall not be alienable without the joint consent of husband and wife, when that relation exists. But no property shall be exempt from sale for taxes, or for the payment of obligations constructed for the purchase of said premises, or for the erection of improvements thereon, or for house, field, or other labor performed on the same. The exemption herein provided for in a city or town shall not extend to more improvements or buildings than the residence and business house of the owner.

The provision became Article IX of the Constitution approved by Florida voters in 1868.[34]

The wording of Article IX in the 1868 Florida Constitution may indicate some influence from the 1866 Texas Constitution[35] rather

32. *Journal of the Proceedings* (1868), 90-91.
33. Ibid., 102.
34. Florida Constitution (1868), art. IX.
35. Joseph Walker (State Printer), *The Constitution, as Amended and Ordinances of the Convention of 1866, Together with the Proclamation of the Governor Declaring the Ratification of the Amendments to the Constitution, and the General Laws of the Regular Session of the Eleventh Legislature of the State of Texas* (Austin: Gazette Office, 1866), 31, http://tarlton.law.utexas.edu/constitutions/text/image/F31.html (accessed August 14, 2012).

than from other states.[36] Florida followed a pattern similar to that in Texas by distinguishing between the rural homestead, of sizeable acreage, and the urban homestead, of necessary smaller extent but likely greater value. In both state constitutions the protections of homestead and personal property were limited to the head of a family or to the family in general. Both states prevented one spouse from disposing of the homestead without the other's consent.

The origins of the homestead article are not expressly stated but the acceptance of the concept transcended the contemporary political spectrum. Daniel Richards, a delegate to the convention and its first president until his ouster and disqualification,[37] was one of the Radical Republicans.[38] In a letter of February 11, 1868, describing the Radicals' competing version of the proposed constitution,[39] he noted with approval its inclusion of a homestead law.[40] After the conservatives wrested control of the Convention from the Radicals, the committees of the Convention were reorganized and included a Committee on Homestead.[41] The committee was composed of four delegates identified with more conservative political elements in the state.[42] Thus, regardless of

36. One early authority, Justice James D. Westcott, Jr., in 1870 stated that substantial parts of the 1868 Constitution were derived from the Nevada Constitution adopted in 1864. See *In the Matter of the Executive Communication of the 2d Day of June, A.D. 1870, Relating to County Officers, Their Compensation, &C.*, 13 Fla. 687, 695, 1870 WL 1892 (1870). The 1864 Nevada Constitution authorized the adoption of laws exempting certain property from levy and execution but incorporated no mandatory protections. See Nevada Constitution (1864), art. I, §14.
37. Richard L. Hume, "Membership of the Florida Constitutional Convention of 1868: A Case Study of Republican Factionalism in the Reconstruction South," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 51, no. 1 (July 1972), 77.
38. Tebeau and Marina, *A History of Florida*, 231 -233.
39. After seizing control of the Convention and deposing Richards as both President and a delegate, the Conservatives adopted the document which became the 1868 Constitution. On February 17, 1868, both versions were presented to General George Gordon Meade, commander of the Third Military District, who selected the version which became the 1868 Constitution ostensibly because it was signed by a majority of the Convention delegates. Shofner, "The Convention of 1868," 366.
40. George C. Osborne, "Letters of a Carpetbagger in Florida, 1866-1869," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 36, no. 3 (January 1958), 268.
41. *Journal of the Proceedings* (1868), 91-92.
42. These were William K. Cessna, Clairborne R. Mobley, S. J. Pearce, and Roland T. Rombauer. See *Journal of the Proceedings* (1868), 91. Professor Hume identifies Mobley and Pearce as having lived in the South prior to 1860, while Cessna and Rombauer entered the region after that year, but found all displayed a Conservative voting pattern. Hume, "Membership," 3, 19-21.

their opposition on key issues such as voting rights for African-Americans, both the Radicals and the Conservative delegates concurred on the concept of including protection for debtors' homesteads and property in the constitution. By 1868, protecting assets of distressed debtors through homestead and personal property exemptions was part of Florida law.

An 1871 inventory of the taxable property owned by Dr. F.A. Byrd of Leon County, Florida, showed seventy-six acres of (apparently) residential real property, a separate parcel worth four hundred dollars, and personal property worth a total of $2,219.00.[43] While these records do not disclose any bankruptcy filing by Dr. Byrd or any other legal action against him, the homestead and exemptions article of the 1868 Constitution would have protected his entire ownership in the seventy-six acre parcel on which he apparently resided. The additional exemption for personal property would only have protected one thousand dollars of his other assets, leaving approximately twelve hundred dollars from which his creditors could have been paid part of their claims. (See Table 2 below).

In 1869, Florida enacted new statutes refining the procedures for securing homestead protection. These included the manner and method for property owners to declare what property comprised their homestead, a procedure allowing creditors to have the property surveyed to ensure compliance with the constitutional requirements, protection of a homestead structure placed on land leased from another, and a debtor's right to select which articles would be included in an inventory of protected personal property.[44] Later enactments included clarification of circuit court jurisdiction to determine issues pertaining to homesteads and

43. F.A. Byrd Inventory of Taxable Property (handwritten manuscript), 1871, Folder 2, Dr. F.A. Byrd Papers 1819 – 1892, 01/MSS 0-42, Special Collections, Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.

44. Chapter 1715, Laws of Florida (1869), §§1-5, 8, now respectively codified as follows: §222.01, "Designation of homestead by owner before levy;" §222.02, "Designation of homestead after levy;" §222.03, "Survey at instance of dissatisfied creditor;" §222.04, "Sale after survey;" §222.05, "Setting apart leasehold;" §222.07, "Defendant's rights of selection." State of Florida, *Florida Statutes* (2011). See historical note at the end of each statute at http://www.leg.state.fl.us/Statutes/index.cfm?App_mode=Display_Statute&URL=0200-0299/0222/0222ContentsIndex.html&StatuteYear=2012&Title=-%3E2012-%3EChapter%20222 (accessed September 11, 2012). As all references herein to sections of Chapter 222, Florida Statutes, may be accessed through this weblink, the link will be referenced as *Florida Statutes* (2011).

exemptions and to fashion appropriate remedies,[45] exemption of a portion of a debtor's wages from garnishment,[46] and protection of the beneficiary of a life insurance policy.[47]

Legal decisions enunciated the policies underlying the constitutional protections. The primary purpose for the homestead and property exemptions was to protect the families of Florida debtors by providing basic resources for their support. As one opinion found: "the enjoyment of a homestead consists in the use and occupation of it with his family."[48] Applying the constitutional exemption for personal property, Chief Justice Edwin M. Randall wrote: "(e)xemption laws are to be liberally construed in favor of their beneficent purposes."[49] In 1874, the Florida Supreme Court ruled the debtor was not entitled to apply the more liberal homestead exemptions provided in the 1868 Constitution to a judgment obtained before the adoption of the constitution.[50] Applying such a legal change retrospectively would deprive the creditor of the legal rights previously obtained under the contract, violating the prohibition in the U.S. Constitution against the states adopting laws impairing the rights of contract.[51]

In several cases the Supreme Court stressed adherence to the express language in the constitution, ruling the land actually owned and resided upon constituted the debtor's homestead; discontinuous parcels, even if used in the family farming enterprise, were not included in the exempt property.[52] Applying

45. Chapter 3246, Laws of Florida (1881), §§1-3, now codified as §222.08, "Jurisdiction to set apart homestead and exemption;" §222.09, "Injunction to prevent sale;" 222.10, "Jurisdiction to subject property claimed to be exempt;" and §222.12, "Proceedings for exemption." *Florida Statutes* (2011). See historical note at the end of each statute.
46. Chapter 2065, Laws of Florida (1875), §1, now codified as §222.11, "Exemption of wages from garnishment." *Florida Statutes* (2011). See historical note at the end of statute. "Garnishment" is a process under which a court issues an order for a portion of a debtor's wages to be paid directly to the petitioning creditor. *Black's Law Dictionary* (6th ed.), 680.
47. Chapter 1864, Laws of Florida (1872), §1, now codified as §222.013, "Life insurance policies; disposition of proceeds." *Florida Statutes* (2011). See historical note at the end of statute.
48. *Baker v. State*, 17 Fla. 406, 409 (1879).
49. *Carter's Administrators v. Carter, et al.*, 20 Fla. 562 (1885).
50. *Alexander v. Kilpatrick*, 14 Fla. 450 (1874).
51. *Alexander*, supra at 460-461.
52. *Baker v. State*, supra; *Solary v. Hewlett*, 18 Fla. 756 (1882); *Oliver v. Snowden*, 18 Fla. 823 (1882); *Drucker v. Rosenstein*, 19 Fla. 191, 195 (1882); *McDougall v. Meginnis*, 21 Fla. 362, 369 (1885).

this principle led the Florida Supreme Court to disapprove the reasoning in an earlier federal bankruptcy case; a tacit assertion of the state's primacy in the interpretation of its own constitution. In a bankruptcy decision reported in 1875, the debtor claimed a Florida homestead in a single piece of land of some forty acres outside of a municipality, including his residence and a saw mill operated as a commercial enterprise. The federal court, applying Florida law, found that the homestead protected the residence and also the saw mill because that was the means by which the debtor provided for the family. However, the federal judge concluded homestead did not protect the balance of the single piece of property, although well within the one hundred sixty acre limit, because the remaining land was not used for the residence or the essential enterprise of the saw mill.[53] In a later case, the Florida Supreme Court ruled the plain text of the constitution protected all land up to the stated maximum which included the debtor's residence and disapproved the federal decision as an impermissible judicial addition to the language of the 1868 Constitution.[54]

The 1885 Constitution

Dissatisfaction with the strength of the executive branch, among other Reconstruction aspects in the 1868 Constitution, led to the proposal of a new constitution by the convention called in 1885.[55] The 1885 Constitution, adopted in 1886, revised and retained the basic exemptions for homestead and unspecified personal property with an aggregate value of one thousand dollars.[56] Where the Journal of the 1868 Convention reports little discussion about the policy of protecting debtors' assets from creditors or the amounts of such protections, the 1885 Convention

53. Seymour D. Thompson, ed., "Greeley, Assignee of Joseph W. Scott v. Scott," *Central Law Journal*, 2, no. 2 (1875), 361–362. http://books.google.com/books?id=OmwtAAAAIAAJ&printsec=titlepage&source=gbs_v2_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false (accessed September 3, 2012).
54. *McDougall*, supra at 21 Fla. 372.
55. Florida Constitutional Convention (1885), *Journal of the Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Florida*, 9 (1885), http://books.google.com/books?id=6XIFAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA199&dq=constitution+homestead+Florida&lr=#v=onepage&q=constitution%20homestead%20Florida&f=false (accessed September 9, 2012) [herein: *Journal of 1885*]. See also, "Florida's Constitution: The Proposed New Instrument Approved as an Improvement," *New York Times*, August 18, 1885.
56. Florida Constitution, (1885), art. X, §1.

was a decidedly different affair. The 1885 Convention centered on reducing the power of state government by restructuring the executive branch, expanding local government through greater home rule, and improving public education,[57] but the sections in the Constitution concerning homestead and personal property exemptions were modified and retained with the 1868 amounts only after vigorous debate.

The convention began on June 9, 1885.[58] After initial organization, the delegates approved a proposal by the Committee on Standing Committees and authorized seventeen standing committees, including the Committee on Homesteads and Exemptions and Property of Married Women.[59] A total of eight resolutions, three ordinances, and one article concerning homestead, exemptions, and the property rights of married women were proposed by different delegates and referred to this Standing Committee.[60] On June 26, 1885, Committee Chair W.T. Orman of Franklin County reported the committee's draft of Article VI, proposing to restructure the article on exemptions into seven sections, providing for continued effect of the exemptions in the 1868 Constitution as to debts incurred between the adoption of the earlier instrument and its replacement by the new Constitution, and providing additional protection for the widow of a property owner if there were minor children.[61] The next day Article VI was read for the first time and passed over until the following Monday for second reading.[62]

Occupied with extensive debate on other articles, the convention did not return to Article VI until Tuesday, June 30, 1885. During this day's debate, thirty different substitutions and amendments were offered to the Article. Ten separate proposals would have limited the homestead exemption to a maximum value for the real property and improvements; suggested maximum values ranged from one thousand to five thousand dollars. Five proposals would have reduced the total acreage of land protected as homestead outside the limits of a municipal corporation to forty or eighty acres; most retained the one-half acre allowed within a

57. Edward C. Williamson, "The Constitutional Convention of 1885," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 41, no. 2 (October 1962): 116-126 .
58. Ibid., 120.
59. *Journal of 1885*, 30-31, 45.
60. Ibid., 60-80.
61. Ibid., 143-144.
62. Ibid., 159.

municipality but one suggested a reduction to one-quarter acre. Several proposals also addressed the use of property protected as homestead, all concurring the debtor should reside on the land but some preferring to limit further the use of non-municipal homestead to agricultural purposes and excluding any municipal homestead where the debtor also conducted business. Five countervailing proposals, including one by Chair Orman, argued to retain the amounts of land as provided in the 1868 Constitution: one hundred sixty acres for homesteads outside of a municipality and one-half acre for those within municipal limits.[63]

The delegates also debated proposals to revise the existing personal property exemption of one thousand dollars. Two separate amendments proposed doing away with separate exemptions for land and personal property, limiting debtors to a maximum value for all property; one suggested a maximum of one thousand five hundred dollars, the other four thousand dollars.[64] Seven other amendments offered to reduce the maximum value allowed for personal property either to five hundred or seven hundred dollars.[65] One proposal would permit a debtor to waive all homestead protection except as to wearing apparel, kitchen and household articles with a maximum value of four hundred dollars. The convention deferred further consideration until the following day.[66]

On July 1, 1885, delegate Edwin M. Randall from Duval County, who had recently resigned as Chief Justice of the Florida Supreme Court,[67] proposed the convention expedite the analysis and discussion of the homestead and exemption article by separately voting on a series of eight questions and referring the results to the Standing Committee as the "sense," or general preference and intent, of the Convention. The Standing Committee would then incorporate these results into Article VI and report back to the Convention. This procedure was approved unanimously.[68] Justice Randall then propounded the following questions:

63. Ibid., 193-201.
64. Ibid., 194-195.
65. Ibid., 194-201.
66. Ibid., 202.
67. Williamson, "The Constitutional Convention of 1885," 120. Randall resigned from the Court on January 7, 1885. Mary Agnes Thursby, revised by Jo Dowling & Office of Public Information, "Succession of Justices of Supreme Court of Florida" (2009), http://www.floridasupremecourt.org/pub_info/documents/appointed.pdf (accessed September 3, 2012).
68. *Journal of 1885*, 211.

1. Shall there be an exemption from forced sale for debts, of real property? Of personal property?
2. Shall there be a limitation as to extent or quantity? Shall there be a limitation as to value?
3. Shall the value relate to value of land? Or to improvements? Or to both? What value?
4. What shall be the value of personal property exempted?
5. What shall be the limitation as to value and quantity of land? In a town or city? Outside of town or city?
6. Shall the exemption be in favor of the head of a family? Or in favor or of any unmarried male or female?
7. Shall the exempted homestead be subject to sale by owner and wife? Or to lien by their mortgage?
8. Shall any general judgment or money decree be a lien on the homestead, so that at the alienation[69] by the owner, or at his death, or the death of his wife and children, the property may be liable to be sold for debts?[70]

The Convention then affirmed there should be exemptions both for real and personal property. Before proceeding with the remaining questions, the delegates adjourned for the day. This began a twenty-six day process of debate and revision for the exemption article.

On July 2, 1885, the Convention only took up part of Justice Randall's question two, as to whether the homestead property should be subject to a value limitation, and rejected that concept by a vote of sixty to thirty-five.[71] Delegate A.E. Maxwell from Escambia County then proposed a complete substitute which substantially rewrote Article VI as proposed by the Standing Committee, limiting the homestead to a value of five thousand dollars except for up to forty acres of land in an unincorporated area (used for agricultural or farming purposes) or the one-half acre within a municipality if the only use of such property was residential. Rather than further debate on the new proposal, Chair Orman requested consideration be held over until after the Fourth of July holiday; the Convention agreed.[72]

69. "Alienation" means the legal transfer of title to property, whether land or personal property. *Black's Law Dictionary*, 5th ed., 66.
70. *Journal of 1885*, 211.
71. Ibid., 225.
72. Ibid., 231.

Article VI was taken up after 5:00 p.m. on July 7, 1885. On Justice Randall's fourth question the Convention agreed the personal property exemption should be limited in value and accepted the motion of delegate Thomas E. Clark from Jackson County to set that limit again at one thousand dollars.[73] Justice Randall moved to limit the value of the improvements[74] to the exempt homestead but was defeated by a vote of sixty-four to thirty-two. The Convention then debated Justice Randall's fifth question: whether the amount of land protected as homestead outside of the corporate limits of a municipality should be less than one hundred sixty acres. Voting down motions to reduce the amount of land to forty acres, then eighty acres, the Convention retained the amount of one hundred sixty acres as provided in the 1868 Constitution. The delegates also rejected proposals to decrease the size of the allowed homestead within a municipality to one-quarter acre or to increase the amount of such land to one acre, retaining the existing amount of one-half acre.[75] The Convention addressed Justice Randall's sixth question and determined the homestead exemption should inure to the benefit of a head of a family.[76] On the seventh question the Convention agreed a married couple could mortgage and sell the homestead.[77] Resuming debate on July 8, 1885, the Convention addressed Justice Randall's last question and rejected the concept of any judgment lien attaching to exempt homestead. Article VI was then referred back to the Standing Committee for revision according to the guidance from the Convention.[78] The Standing Committee wasted no time and reported back on July 10, 1885, with a revised Article VI, now comprised of five sections. The revised Article was incorporated into the Journal[79] and had its first reading on July 13, 1885.[80]

Busy with other issues, the delegates did not return to the issue of homestead and exemptions until July 24, 1885. On second reading the delegates passed without amendment section one, providing

73. Ibid., 254.
74. "Improvements" to real property are additions or structures which enhance the use and value of the land, such as a house, garage, outbuildings, fencing, etc. *Black's Law Dictionary*, 5th ed., 682.
75. *Journal of 1885*, 255.
76. Ibid., 256.
77. Ibid., 256.
78. Ibid., 262.
79. Ibid., 290-291.
80. Ibid., 308.

for an exempt homestead not limited in value and not exceeding one hundred sixty acres outside a municipal corporation or one-half acre within a municipality; section two, allowing an exemption in personal property with a maximum aggregate value of one thousand dollars; and section three, preserving the exemptions previously applied to property under the 1868 Constitution. Section four, allowing owners of homestead (joined with their spouses, if any) to mortgage or transfer the property, was passed after being amended to permit an owner without children to dispose of the homestead by will. The delegates then accepted a new section five offered to prevent the reduction of an existing homestead if the area subsequently was incorporated into a municipality. A further amendment was added as section six, creating a right for the property owner to recover homestead which was subject to forced sale (such as the foreclosure of a mortgage) for up to two years after the sale. Section seven, authorizing the Legislature to adopt laws necessary to enforce the Article, was also approved.[81]

On July 27, 1885, the Convention took up the article on Homesteads and Exemptions for the third and final time. A motion was made to strike section six, creating the right to redeem a homestead previously sold at forced sale, and the convention voted sixty-nine to twenty-five to delete this section. The delegates then adopted the entire revised Article VI for inclusion in the new constitution, sixty-eight to twenty-four.[82] The provision became Article X in the new Florida Constitution, which was ratified by the voters in November 1886.

Article X of the 1885 Constitution served as Florida's organic law on homestead and exemptions until the ratification of a new constitution in 1968. Judicial interpretation of Article X generally followed the doctrines developed under the 1868 Constitution. Once again, the Supreme Court found the purpose of the revised homestead exemption was to benefit debtors and their families by protecting the family home from forced sale.[83] Incorporating prior decisions under the 1868 Constitution, the Court ruled the exemption required the debtor to occupy the property as the family residence; property not connected to the land comprising

81. Ibid., 443-445.
82. Ibid., 477-478.
83. *Brandeis v. Perry*, 18 So. 717, 39 Fla. 172, 176 (1897).

the homestead could not be included in the protection.[84] The exemptions were to be liberally construed to achieve their purpose, but not to the point of fraud.[85]

As the state economy grew in the twentieth century, the Legislature kept pace with new statutes protecting debtors' interests in more sophisticated assets. The emergence of workers' compensation benefits resulted in the adoption of a statute protecting a debtor's interest in such payments.[86] The developing complexity in life insurance policies led to the adoption of a statutory exemption for policy cash surrender values in 1925.[87] The year 1941 saw the protection of disability income payments[88] and the creation of a procedure for people to prove their domicile in Florida (thus being able to take advantage of the property exemptions.)[89]

Article X of the 1885 Constitution itself was amended during this period without affecting the amount of land or value of personal property subject to exemption. An amendment to Article X, Section 2, proposed by Joint Resolution 2 passed by the Legislature, would have specified the availability of the homestead exemption to certain heirs of the property owner but was rejected by the voters.[90] In the election of November 6, 1934, Article X,

84. *Brandeis*, supra at 39 Fla. 175; *Milton v. Milton*, 58 So. 718, 63 Fla. 533, 535 (1912).
85. *Milton*, supra at 63 Fla. 536.
86. Chapter 7366, Laws of Florida (1917), §§1 & 2, now codified respectively at §222.15, "Wages or reemployment assistance or unemployment compensation payments due deceased employee may be paid spouse or certain relatives," and §222.16, "Wages or reemployment assistance or unemployment compensation payments so paid not subject to administration." *Florida Statutes* (2011). See historical note at the end of each statute.
87. Chapter 10154, Laws of Florida (1925), §1, now codified at §222.14, "Exemption of cash surrender value of life insurance policies and annuity contracts from legal process." *Florida Statutes* (2011). See historical note at the end of statute.
88. Chapter 20741, Laws of Florida (1941), §1, now codified at §222.18, "Exempting disability income benefits from legal processes." *Florida Statutes* (2011). See historical note at the end of statute.
89. Chapter 20412, Laws of Florida (1941), now revised and codified at §222.17, "Manifesting and evidencing domicile in Florida." *Florida Statutes* (2011). See historical note at the end of statute.
90. "A JOINT RESOLUTION Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the State of Florida," 1891 Joint Resolution 2 (Article X, Section 2), defeated on October 14, 1892, http://www.law.fsu.edu/crc/conhist/1892amen.html (accessed November 11, 2012).

Section 7 was amended to provide an exemption from property taxes for the first five thousand dollars in value of a homestead.[91] Section 7 was again amended in the election of November 8, 1938, as the voters approved a liberalization of the homestead exemption to more broadly define a debtor's legal right to occupy the land and claim it as homestead, including property which was the debtor's permanent residence but was legally owned by a dependent of the debtor.[92] This section was amended yet a third time in the election of November 3, 1964 to revise the tax-exempt structure for the initial value of the homestead but applicable only to taxes for school purposes in Sarasota County.[93]

The Modern Era

The election of November 3, 1964, was notable for the addition of Section 4 to Article XVII of the 1885 Constitution, authorizing the Legislature by joint resolution to propose revisions to any article or to the entire Constitution for consideration by the voters.[94] In the following session the Legislature enacted Senate Bill 977, creating a study commission to consider and recommend revisions to the Constitution by the start of the 1967 regular session.[95]

The change to the procedure for amending the constitution

91. "A JOINT RESOLUTION proposing an Amendment to Article X of the Constitution of the State of Florida by adding thereto an additional section to be known as Section 7 relating to Homestead and Exemptions," 1933 House Joint Resolution 20 (Article X, Section 7), http://www.law.fsu.edu/crc/conhist/contents.html (accessed 11/9/2012). The proposed amendment was the subject of prior legal challenges but the Supreme Court ruled it would remain on the ballot. *Gray v. Moss*, 156 So. 262, 115 Fla. 701 (1934); *Gray v. Winthrop*, 156 So. 270, 115 Fla. 721 (1934).
92. "A JOINT RESOLUTION Proposing the Amendment of Section 7 of Article X of the Constitution, Relating to the Exemption of Homesteads From Taxation," 1937 Senate Joint Resolution 21 (Article X, Section 7), http://www.law.fsu.edu/crc/conhist/1938amen.html (accessed November 9, 2012).
93. "A JOINT RESOLUTION proposing an amendment to Article X, Section 7 of the State Constitution relating to homestead exemption," 1963 House Joint Resolution 1030 (Article X, Section 7), at http://www.law.fsu.edu/crc/conhist/1964amen.html (accessed November 9, 2012). This peculiar provision made the first $2,000 of value taxable only for school purposes and then exempted the next $5,000 in value only from school taxes.
94. "A JOINT RESOLUTION proposing amendment to Article XVII of the Constitution of the state of Florida providing an additional method of revising or amending the Constitution," 1963 HJR 368 (Article XVII, Section 4) http://www.law.fsu.edu/crc/conhist/1964amen.html (accessed November 9, 2012).
95. Chapter 65-561, Laws of Florida (1965).

resulted from an earlier failed attempt to comprehensively revise and modernize the 1885 Constitution. Seventeen amendments were proposed in 1957, representing significant revisions, including changes to the article on homesteads and exemptions, only to be removed from the ballot by the Florida Supreme Court.[96] This 1957 proposal would have restructured the article without altering the area of land or value of personal property exempted.

Throughout 1966 the Florida Constitution Revision Commission conducted hearings and debated extensive revisions to the 1885 Constitution, but unlike the 1885 Convention the commission spent only limited time discussing the provision on homestead.[97] One commissioner pointed out the purpose of homestead was to preserve the family dwelling for the wife and children while the father still lived.[98] There was no discernable debate on the value for exempt personal property.

As part of the review process, the Institute of Governmental Research at Florida State University was asked to study areas for potential change. Presented as a series of questions, the report touched on two issues pertaining to the existing exemptions of homestead from certain amounts of *ad valorem* taxation and from forced levy. The researchers questioned whether the constitution should continue to exempt *quantitative factors,* such as specific amounts of real property or specific values of personal property, from a court-controlled *process* for resolving debts.[99] These concepts were not incorporated into proposed language for the new constitution.

A comprehensive revision of the constitution was proposed by

96. "A JOINT RESOLUTION proposing revision of Article X of the Constitution of the State of Florida," 1957 CS/HJR 16-X,http://www.law.fsu.edu/crc/conhist/1958amen.html (accessed November 9, 2012). Prior to the election of November 5, 1958, the Florida Supreme Court struck 14 of the proposed amendments from the ballot, including CS/HJR 16-X. *Rivera-Cruz v. Gray*, 104 So. 2d 501 (Fla. 1958).

97. Florida Constitution Revision Commission (1966), *Debate of the Florida Constitution Revision Commission* (edited transcript, 1966), Vol. 68, 136 [Located at the Florida Legislative Library, The Capitol, Tallahassee, FL: State Library of FL, book number 3 1246 00377749 9.]

98. *Debate of the Florida Constitution Revision Commission*, 68: 162-165.

99. David F. Dickson, James B. Craig, Jr., and Albert L. Sturm, *Issues for State Constitutional Revision Florida Constitution of 1885* (Tallahassee: Institute of Governmental Research, Florida State University, 1966), 21.

100. "A JOINT RESOLUTION proposing a revision of portions of the Constitution of the State of Florida, excepting therefrom revision of Articles V, VI, and VIII," 1968 HJR 1-2X (Constitutional Revision), http://www.law.fsu.edu/crc/conhist/1968amen-nov.html (accessed November 9, 2012).

the Legislature and ratified by the voters on November 5, 1968.[100] The final text of the homestead and exemption provision was restructured and renumbered as Section 4 of revised Article X. The revised provision in the 1968 Constitution retained the same amounts of land for the homestead exemption and the one thousand dollar aggregate exemption for a debtor's personal property.[101]

The constitutional provision for homesteads and exemptions was thrice amended since the 1968 revision, none of which altered the amount of land or value of property exempted. A 1972 addition enabled a married owner of the homestead to leave the property to the spouse if there were no minor children.[102] An amendment in 1984 removed the limitation of allowing the constitutional exemptions only to the head of a family by changing "head of a

101. Section 4. Homestead; exemptions.—
(a) There shall be exempt from forced sale under process of any court, and no judgment, decree or execution shall be a lien thereon, except for the payment of taxes and assessments thereon, obligations contracted for the purchase, improvement or repair thereof, or obligations contracted for house, field or other labor performed on the realty, the following property owned by the head of a family:
(1) a homestead, if located outside a municipality, to the extent of one hundred sixty acres of contiguous land and improvements thereon, which shall not be reduced without the owner's consent by reason of subsequent inclusion in a municipality; or if located within a municipality, to the extent of one-half acre of contiguous land, upon which the exemption shall be limited to the residence of the owner or his family;
(2) personal property to the value of one thousand dollars.
(b) These exemptions shall inure to the surviving spouse or heirs of the owner.
(c) The homestead shall not be subject to devise if the owner is survived by spouse or minor child. The owner of homestead real estate, joined by the spouse if married, may alienate the homestead by mortgage, sale or gift and, if married, may by deed transfer the title to an estate by the entirety with the spouse. If the owner or spouse is incompetent, the method of alienation or encumbrance shall be as provided by law.
Florida Constitution, (1968), art. X, §4, http://www.law.fsu.edu/crc/conhist/1968amen-nov.html (accessed November 9, 2012).

102. "A JOINT RESOLUTION proposing an amendment to Section 4 of Article X of the State Constitution; providing for devise of the homestead if there is no minor child," 1972 HJR 4324, http://www.law.fsu.edu/crc/conhist/1972amen-nov.html (accessed November 9, 2012).

103. "A joint resolution proposing an amendment to Section 4 of Article X of the State Constitution relating to the exemption of homesteads from forced sale and certain liens," 1983 HJR 40, http://www.law.fsu.edu/crc/conhist/1984amen.html (accessed November 10, 2012). "Natural person" is used to indicate an actual human being, as the legal definition of "person" also would include entities such as corporations. The Florida Constitution section on basic rights refers to "natural persons." Florida Constitution, (1968), art . I, §2. See also §1.02(3), *Florida Statutes* (2011), which provides the broad definition of "person."

family" to "natural person."[103] The most recent revision in 1998 made the language gender neutral by changing "his family" to "the owner's family" in Section 4(a)(1).[104]

The 1968 Constitution provided several methods for amendment including the requirement for a periodic constitutional revision commission. The first such commission was required to be established ten years after the adoption of the Constitution and then every twenty years thereafter.[105] An amendment ratified in 1988 added the Taxation and Budget Reform Commission;[106] originally required to meet in 1990 and then every ten years. The meeting of the tax reform commission was later revised to 2007 and then every twenty years.[107]

The 1977 Constitutional Revision Commission proposed limiting the exempt homestead to one hundred sixty acres contiguous to the owner's residence if used for agricultural purposes, otherwise no more than an acre with the residence, and increasing the personal property exemption to three thousand dollars.[108] This was rejected by the voters on November 7, 1978.

The 1997 Revision Commission received a number of proposals from the public to revise the exemption language, including retaining the present language which did not limit the value of the homestead, revising the language to both limit the value of the homestead property and reduce the size of the homestead which could be protected in bankruptcy proceedings, or eliminating certain liens allowed against the homestead.[109] Delegate proposals included language clarifying that the homestead exemption did not protect

104. Florida 1997 Constitutional Revision Commission, "Miscellaneous Matters & Technical Revisions," http://www.law.fsu.edu/crc/conhist/1998amen.html (accessed November 10, 2012).

105. Florida Constitution, (1968), art. XI, §2.

106. "A joint resolution proposing amendments to Section 5 of Article II and Sections 2 and 5 of Article XI and the creation of Section 6 of Article XI of the State Constitution relating to establishment of a Taxation and Budget Reform Commission," 1988 HJR 1616, http://www.law.fsu.edu/crc/conhist/1988amen.html (accessed November 10, 2012).

107. Florida Constitution, (1968), art. XI, §6.

108. 1977 Constitution Revision Commission, "Proposed Revision of the Florida Constitution, Revision No. 1," http://www.law.fsu.edu/crc/conhist/1978amen.html (accessed November 10, 2012).

109. *Journal of the Constitution Revision Commission 1997-1998,* 55 (September 25, 1997), http://www.law.fsu.edu/crc/journal/index.html (accessed September 4, 2012).

land acquired or improvements made with proceeds from criminal activity,[110] language limiting the value of a protected homestead, and terms authorizing the Legislature to change the amount of the debtor's equity that could be protected by homestead.[111] But as noted previously, the only amendment to the homestead and exemption language proposed by the 1997 Commission was a technical language change having nothing to do with the amount or value of protected property. Neither of the Taxation and Budget Reform Commissions of 1990[112] nor of 2007[113] proposed amendments to the exemption language in Article X, Section 4.

After 1968, the Florida courts continued their traditional adherence to the express text of the constitutional exemptions. The courts interpreted Article X, Section 4 as intended to protect families even when the exemption was challenged by creditors alleging claims based on fraud or other sympathetic factors.[114] One commentator summarized the two longstanding goals served by this interpretive approach: "First, homestead protection promotes the stability and welfare of the state and relieves it from the burden of supporting destitute families. Second, homestead exemption protects the homeowner and family from creditors' demands and financial misfortune."[115]

Statutory development after 1968 saw the introduction of additional exemptions by the Legislature. With the passage of the new federal Bankruptcy Code[116] in 1978, the Legislature

110. Proposal 23 by Delegate Rundle, *Journal of the Constitution Revision Commission 1997-1998*, 59 (October 20, 1997), http://www.law.fsu.edu/crc/journal/index.html (accessed September 4, 2012).

111. Proposal 70 by Delegate Mills, *Journal of the Constitution Revision Commission 1997-1998*, 93 (November 12, 1997), http://www.law.fsu.edu/crc/journal/index.html (accessed September 4, 2012). "Equity" is the difference between the actual value of the property and the aggregate amount of all debts secured by the property. *Black's Law Dictionary*, 5th ed., 484.

112. 1992 Florida Taxation and Budget Reform Commission, "Proposed Revisions to the Constitution of the State of Florida," http://www.law.fsu.edu/crc/conhist/1992amen.html (accessed November 10, 2012).

113. 2007 Florida Taxation and Budget Reform Commission, "2007-2008 TBRC Final Report," http://www.law.fsu.edu/library/databases/ftbrc/reports08.html (accessed November 10, 2012).

114. *Havoco of America v. Hill*, 790 So. 2d 1018 (Fla. 2001); *Davis v. Davis*, 864 So. 2d 458 (Fla. 1st DCA 2003).

115. Harry M. Hipler, "Florida's Homestead Realty: Is it Exempt from Imposition of an Equitable Lien for Nonpayment of Alimony and Child Support?" *The Florida Bar Journal*, 82, no. 7, (July-August 2008), 34.

116. Title 11, "Bankruptcy," 11 U.S.C. §101, et seq., http://uscode.house.gov/download/title_11.shtml (accessed November 10, 2012).

reauthorized the ability of Florida residents to use exemptions under the 1968 Constitution and state statutes when filing bankruptcy rather than the less generous provisions of federal law.[117] Exemptions were added to protect pension and retirement funds,[118] prepaid tuition and medical savings accounts,[119] a debtor's interest in a motor vehicle up to a value of one thousand dollars,[120] and health aids.[121]

These statutory changes provided greater protection for specific assets but their language was not linked expressly to the constitutional protection for personal property. With the consideration of homestead and exemption language by the various commissions since 1965 being significantly less vigorous than the debate within the 1885 Convention, coupled with the emphasis on developing exemptions by statute (which are always subject to amendment by the Legislature), the precise amount stated in the Constitution appeared to recede in importance to the state's policymakers. Given this decline in emphasis, one modern treatise stated little more than the plain text of the exemption provision, saving interpretation and theory for other areas apparently more subject to dispute.[122]

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117. Chapter 79-363, Laws of Florida (1979), §1, now codified as §222.20, "Nonavailability of federal bankruptcy exemptions." *Florida Statutes* (2011). The later enactment of Chapter 87-375, Laws of Florida (1987), §2, expanded the protections for Florida debtors by allowing the use of exemptions in the federal Bankruptcy Code to protect a debtor's right to receive certain benefit payments, such as social security, veteran's, disability, public assistance, alimony and child support, or investment payments necessary for the debtor's support. The provision is now codified as §222.201, "Availability of federal bankruptcy exemptions." See also 11 U.S.C. §522(d)(10).
118. Chapter 87-375, Laws of Florida (1987), §1, subsequently amended and now codified as §222.21, "Exemption of pension money and certain tax-exempt funds or accounts from legal processes." *Florida Statutes* (2011).
119. Chapter 88-313, Laws of Florida (1988), §2, subsequently amended and now codified as §222.22, "Exemption of assets in qualified tuition programs, medical savings accounts, Coverdell education savings accounts, and hurricane savings accounts from legal process." *Florida Statutes* (2011).
120. Chapter 93-256, Laws of Florida (1993), §3, now codified as §222.25(1), "Other individual property of natural persons exempt from legal process." *Florida Statutes* (2011). This amount is in addition to the $1,000 protection in the Constitution and applies to the debtor's equity above any liens on the vehicle.
121. Chapter 2001-129, Laws of Florida (2001), §1, now codified as §222.25(2). *Florida Statutes* (2011).
122. Talbot D. D'Alemberte, *The Florida State Constitution: A Reference Guide* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press 1991), 138.

The importance of the constitutional personal property exemption, and the total amount it protected, re-emerged after 2005 due to statutory changes by the U.S. Congress and the Florida Legislature. In 2005 Congress extensively amended the exemption sections of the Bankruptcy Code; for the first time, the Code imposed a value limit on the homestead protections regardless of prior existing state law.[123] Due to this change, Florida residents no longer had the benefit of the full homestead exemption existing at the time the debt was incurred; in bankruptcy proceedings, homesteads now are subject both to the traditional limit on the amount of protected land and to a value limitation unknown under the Florida Constitution.

Shortly after these revisions to the Bankruptcy Code, in 2007 Florida expanded the statutory allowances by allowing an exemption of an additional four thousand dollars in personal property if the debtor neither claims nor benefits from the constitutional homestead exemption.[124] Originating as Senate Bill 2118, this change was made in the context of revising the process for state court insolvency proceedings.[125] The staff analysis for the Senate Commerce Committee recognized the additional exemption would benefit only debtors without a protected homestead while relegating the personal property protected for those benefiting from the homestead exemption to the constitutional amount of one thousand dollars.[126]

123. Public Law 109-8, "Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention and Consumer Protection Act of 2005," §322, http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PLAW-109publ8/pdf/PLAW-109publ8.pdf (accessed November 10, 2012). Section 322, "Limitations on Homestead Exemption," was codified at 11 U.S.C. §522 (p), (q).

124. Chapter 2007-185, Laws of Florida (2007), §1, created §222.25(4): "A debtor's interest in personal property, not to exceed $4,000, if the debtor does not claim or receive the benefits of a homestead exemption under s. 4, Art. X of the State Constitution. This exemption does not apply to a debt owed for child support or spousal support." *Florida Statutes* (2011).

125. As stated in the Senate staff analysis for Senate Bill 2118, the bill was prompted by recommendations from the Business Law Section of The Florida Bar to revise portions of Chapter 727, Florida Statutes, "Assignments for the Benefit of Creditors." Florida Senate Commerce Committee, "Professional Staff Analysis and Economic Impact Statement: CS/SB 2118" (2007 Regular Session) (April 19, 2007), http://archive.flsenate.gov/data/session/2007/Senate/bills/analysis/pdf/2007s2118.cm.pdf (accessed November 10, 2012). An "assignment" under Chapter 727 is an alternative to federal bankruptcy proceedings but with the similar purpose to liquidate the debtor's assets and liabilities in an orderly manner and pay the creditors.

126. Florida Senate Staff Analysis for CS/SB 2118 (April 19, 2007), 3. The staff analysis noted the Legislative Office of Economic and Demographic Research

Although the context of the final bill did not expressly reference the recent changes to the Bankruptcy Code, the new statute had a direct and immediate impact on the protections available to debtors in Florida bankruptcy proceedings. Florida bankruptcy courts, confronted with a number of cases in which Florida homeowners asserted the new statutory exemption because they had no equity to protect in their homes, were divided on how to interpret the law. The Florida Supreme Court only recently resolved this controversy by ruling a Florida debtor in bankruptcy may assert the additional property protections in the new statute only if the debtor forgoes the constitutional homestead exemption in the bankruptcy case and the existence of the homestead protection[127] does not otherwise hinder the trustee's administration of the estate.[128]

Whether the Florida Legislature intended the additional statutory personal property exemption to act as a counterweight to the changes in the Bankruptcy Code is not clear. The effect is to acknowledge the potential loss to debtors by the federal restriction on the value of a homestead and the erosion in value of the constitutional personal property exemption; no longer may Florida debtors find complete repose in the rising value of their homesteads. As one court observed: "(t)he purpose of these extra

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calculated that $1,000 in 1868 was worth approximately $15,000 in 2007. Staff Analysis of CS/SB 2118, 3, n. 2. A word of caution when reviewing staff analyses prepared for the Florida Legislature: unlike the U.S. Congress, Florida legislative committees do not vote to adopt any analysis as a committee report and only vote on whether to approve a particular bill for further consideration by the legislative body. While valuable as a historical record, a staff analysis for the Florida Legislature only represents the research and observations of staff and cannot be relied upon as a statement of legislative intent for any law.

127. For example, if a married couple owns a Florida homestead and only one files bankruptcy, the other spouse is entitled to the full homestead protection even if the bankrupt spouse does not claim the exemption, thus preventing the bankruptcy trustee from administering the property as an asset of the bankruptcy estate.

128. *Osborne v. Dumoulin*, 55 So. 3d 577, 590 (Fla. 2011). The case arose before the federal courts, which denied the bankruptcy trustee's opposition to the debtor's use of the statutory exemption by not asserting her homestead exemption. On appeal, the federal Eleventh Circuit Court of Appeals requested the Florida Supreme Court to interpret the statute as there was no controlling state decision. The opinion of the Florida Supreme Court provides an excellent overview of the various bankruptcy cases and analysis of the constitutional exemption. Relying upon this analysis, the federal court subsequently affirmed the decisions of the lower courts. *Osborne v. Dumoulin (In re Dumoulin)*, 2011 U.S. App. LEXIS 9702 (11th Cir. May 10, 2011).

exemptions is to give a person who lacks a homestead a minimal amount of property from which to restart their lives."[129]

Change in Property Values Over Time Shows Dependence on Real Property Values

Florida considered and adopted a new constitution in 1885 to correct actual or perceived problems with the 1868 wording. As noted, part of the debate considered proposals to reduce the size of exempt homesteads or the total value of the personal property exemption.[130] This may have acknowledged a decline in value of goods since the exemption amounts were set in 1868 (see Table 1, below). The 1885 Constitution retained the protections for homestead and personal property exemptions in a modified form but the amount of land comprising an exempt homestead remained the same, as did the exemption for personal property with an aggregate value of one thousand dollars.[131] Florida entered the twentieth century with constitutional exemptions for homestead and personal property first fixed in 1868. Subsequent revisions of the constitution would entertain proposed changes to the exemptions but none reached the same level of debate as in the 1885 Convention.

Bearing in mind Mark Twain's adjuration,[132] Tables 1 and 2 illustrate the relative change in value of one thousand dollars from 1868 to 2011. Table 1 generally extrapolates the value of $1,000 in 1868, when the homestead and personal property exemptions were first included in the Florida Constitution, to 1885, 1968, and 2011. As can be seen in each table, there was a slight increase in relative buying power from 1868 to 1885; the "basket of goods and services" costing $1,000 in 1868 actually cost less in 1885. This decline was temporary; values then increased steadily across the calculation period.[133]

129. *In re Rogers*, 396 B.R. 100, 102 (M. D. Fla. 2008).
130. *Journal of 1885*, 193–199.
131. Florida Constitution, (1885), art . X, §1.
132. "There are three kinds of lies: lies, damned lies, and statistics." Mark Twain, *Autobiography of Mark Twain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 228. Twain attributed this remark to the British statesman, Benjamin Disraeli.
133. The values shown are a direct calculation using a single general methodology. Some results, such as the values for specific real property, may not accurately reflect real life economic experience for a particular asset, but do demonstrate the basic point that asset values in Florida increased steadily throughout the twentieth century, diluting the value of the personal property exemption while enhancing the value of the protection for homestead property.

Table 1: Relative Value of $1,000 Since 1868
Calculation Methodology: Consumer Price Index[134]

Base Amount: $1,000 (Beginning Year)	Value as of 1868	Value as of 1885	Value as of 1968	Value as of 2011
1868	$1,000.00	$ 676.00	$2,530.00	$ 14,800.00
1885	—	$1,000.00	$3,730.00	$ 22,500.00
1968	—	—	$1,000.00	$ 5,150.00

Table 2 displays the inventory of taxable property belonging to Dr. F.A. Byrd in 1871, and extrapolates those values to 1885 and 1968, the years relevant to the adoption of each subsequent State Constitution, and then to 2011.

Table 2: Dr. F.A. Byrd Taxable Property—1871
Calculation Methodology: Consumer Price Index[135]

Item	Value in 1871	Value in 1885	Value in 1968	Value in 2011
76 Acres & Improvements in Eastern Leon County, Florida	$1,140.00	$897.00	$3,350.00	$21,700.00
Tract of land, unspecified dimensions, no timber	$400.00	$315.00	$1,180.00	$7,600.00
2 Horses	$300.00	$236.00	$882.00	$5,700.00
12 Head of Cattle	$60.00	$47.20	$176.00	$1,140.00
Household Furniture	$200.00	$157.00	$588.00	$3,800.00
Notes & Other Evidence of Debt Owing to Owner	$1,000.00	$787.00	$2,940.00	$19,000.00
1 Gold Watch	$125.00	$98.40	$367.00	$2,370.00
Practicing Physician/ Druggist Stock in Trade	$1,200.00	$945.00	$3,530.00	$22,800.00
17 Head of Hogs	$34.00	$26.80	$99.90	$646.00
Total (excluding 76 acres)	**$3,319.00**	**$2,612.40**	**$9,762.90**	**$63,056.00**

134. Samuel H. Williamson, "Seven Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a U.S. Dollar Amount, 1774 to Present" (2012), http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/ (accessed September4, 2012). The CPI calculation methodology is explained at the same location.
135. Ibid.

Each table shows relative values steadily increasing over the next century, eroding the buying power of the one thousand dollar personal property exemption in the Florida Constitution. In short, after 1885 the amount of personal property a debtor could exempt under the constitutional provision declined precipitously.[136]

The expansion of specified personal property exemptions by statute while limiting the constitutional protection for personal property to a total value of one thousand dollars since 1868 shows the presumption of Florida public policy after 1885 allowing impecunious debtors to rely on increasing real property values to protect the financial interests of their families. As shown in Tables 1 and 2, the relative buying power of a thousand dollars in 1868 actually increased marginally by 1885 (less money was required to purchase the same amount of goods) but steadily decreased throughout the twentieth century. By 2011, far more was required to purchase the same amount of goods as in 1868. In contrast, with the available unlimited protection of a homestead's value, debtors retained all increases in value of the property aside from mortgages or other liens permitted by the constitution.

Conclusion

Since 1885, Florida relied on increasing real property values to provide debtors with assets sufficient to support themselves after completion of creditor's collection or of bankruptcy proceedings. This policy evolved throughout the twentieth century, best shown by the retention of one thousand dollars as the maximum amount of the debtor's personal property exemption through one hundred forty-four years and the adoption of two new constitutions. The Florida courts hewed repeatedly to the express terms of the text and the public policy intended to protect families and the liberty interests of debtors.[137]

The unchanged text of the one thousand dollar personal property exemption stated in the Florida Constitution from 1868 to the present demonstrates change in economic and public policy over that time. If adjusted for inflation, the protections first adopted in 1868 would exempt the value of almost all basic items in today's average household (with the exception of some electronic

136. See also note 126, above, for reference to a separate calculation generally supporting the conclusions in the tables.

137. *Havoco of America v. Hill*, 790 So. 2d 1018 (Fla. 2001).

luxuries), as well as the separate homestead exemption for real property, leaving few assets remaining for recovery of unpaid debts by creditors in the event of financial downturn. The unwritten change in Florida policy shows a continuing preference to make available more readily-sellable articles for use in debt resolution while protecting the single largest purchase of most families: the family home. Florida thus relied on increasing real property values to provide assets sufficient for debtors to continue supporting themselves.

The policy change balanced two competing interests. Maintaining an exemption for homesteads without limiting value reflected one original purpose for these exemptions: to protect the family. The change over time was an accommodation to lenders and other creditors. Without the ability to recover and sell most articles of personal property, lenders may well have been unwilling to extend credit in the amounts needed for modern commerce. This balancing of interests demonstrates that public policy in Florida evolved from the "risk reduction" concerns prevalent during the nineteenth century to the facilitation of modern commerce by limiting the readily-disposable property available to debtors.

Policy decisions have consequences. Where the Florida constitutional homestead protection is concerned, relying on property values to provide the resources needed to support a family in the face of economic disaster generally works when those values increase; when that principle is undermined by *decreasing* property values, such as recently experienced in this state, debtors are left with fewer resources and greater risk of turning to public assistance. Given present economic circumstances and the fact that a constitutional revision commission will next convene in 2017,[138] the history of the homestead and exemption provision should be considered in order to make the most informed policy decision on a matter crucial to the average Floridian.

138. Florida Constitution, (1968), art. XI, §2(a).

The Florida Keys Hurricane House: Post-Disaster New Deal Housing

by Matthew G. Hyland

Hurricanes make history in Florida, and scholars often pursue Florida's violent weather to trace the state's development in relation to storms and, afterward, recovery. Since the colonial period, hurricanes have demonstrated their power to damage the region's economy by destroying property, lives, settlements, and cities. One storm in particular, the 1935 Labor Day Hurricane, proved to be a furious and destructive event. Its death toll was high—its destruction merciless. It stands as a landmark in the history of the Florida Keys, but focusing on the storm's strength and tragic drama obscures other relevant consequences. It also made architectural history. This article, then, is a reflection on homes built and rebuilt in 1935-1936 as the Upper Florida Keys recovered from the hurricane—showing how the storm extended the reach of New Deal programs to unprecedented levels in an effort to save a traumatized community.

In the hurricane's immediate aftermath, when feelings of anguish and desperation ran high, the federal government, with initial assistance from the American Red Cross, repaired and built private homes in Tavernier and Islamorada, Monroe County. These modest homes, quite different in character from better-known, large-scale housing projects of the New Deal, challenged traditional

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assumptions regarding capitalistic economic relations in the construction industry and private home ownership, a hallmark of the American dream, and brought the federal government further into the housing market. As a consequence of the storm and the Great Depression, the Hurricane Houses of the Upper Keys mark an enduring New Deal legacy.

Shifting attention to private houses built in Islamorada and Tavernier during the recovery broadens the significance of the storm and shows a wider scope of New Deal economic and social intervention into realms of entrenched American values. Typically, inquiries into housing policy and construction projects of the New Deal focus on community planning, municipal infrastructure, low-income housing projects, and rural resettlement initiatives. Farm cooperatives, slum clearance, and affordable rental units take center stage in historical analyses of New Deal housing.[1]

Previous investigations of the 1935 Labor Day Hurricane have focused on human drama and nature's destructive capacity. In events and decisions leading up to the storm's arrival at Islamorada, these works look for someone to blame for over four hundred deaths and find federal officials in charge of the work camps underestimating the breadth and power of Florida hurricanes. They focus on the limits of early twentieth-century weather forecasting and note imprecise wording in the warnings. They lament that, in order to determine the location and strength of the storm, weather forecasters in 1935 relied on reports from ship captains, who were navigating away from the storm, and far flung monitoring stations. Historians criticize the inadequacies of the weather bureau in addition to the delays and

1. For relevant New Deal historiography, see Sidney Johnston, *Florida's New Deal Resources, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2004); Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1983); John A. Stuart and John F. Stack, Jr., eds. *The New Deal in South Florida: Design, Policy, and Community Building, 1933-1940* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008); Joseph L. Arnold, *The New Deal in the Suburbs: A History of the Greenbelt Town Program, 1935-1954* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1971); Anthony J. Badger, *The New Deal: The Depression Years, 1933-1940* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1989); Paul K. Conkin, *Tomorrow a New World: The New Deal Community Program* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1959); Michael W. Straus and Talbot Wegg, *Housing Comes of Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938); C.W. Short and R. Stanley-Brown, *Public Buildings: A Survey of Architecture of Projects Constructed by Federal and other Governmental Bodies Between the Years 1933 and 1939 with the Assistance of the Public Works Administration* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939).

inexperience of camp administrators who neglected to evacuate veterans well in advance of the hurricane. They target the last minute call for the railroad rescue train that arrived in Islamorada too late. Most histories of the storm end with the closing of official investigations in 1936. The houses built during the recovery garner brief mention only, with no mention made of federal funds devoted to private housing.[2]

By examining this instance of federally funded and designed private home building following the hurricane in the Upper Florida Keys, two important developments become evident: the emergence of a distinctive type of Florida architecture (the Hurricane House) that influenced later designs for homes and storm shelters on the Keys and, consequently, an enlarged federal role in Monroe County during the Depression. After the hurricane, the federal government and the Red Cross combined their revitalization efforts in the keys. As a response to the emergency, they introduced examples of vernacular architecture that have much to tell about rebuilding community and modern construction techniques adapted to the imperatives of building and living in a hurricane environment.

Compared to prominent New Deal work projects in Florida that ranged from numerous schools, courthouses, community centers, the low-income public housing units known as Durkeeville in Jacksonville and Liberty Square in Miami, and the resettlement community at Cherry Lake Farms to Miami's Municipal Stadium (the "Orange Bowl"), the National Guard Armory in Tallahassee, bridges, highways, harbor improvements at Miami, the state hospital in Chattahoochee, and the hospital building of the state prison in Raiford, these Hurricane Houses appear as modest achievements.[3] However, the federal government's direct involvement in building

2. Willie Drye, *Storm of the Century: The Labor Day Hurricane of 1935* (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 2002); Thomas Neil Knowles, *Category 5: The 1935 Labor Day Hurricane* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009), 301, 305; Phil Scott, *Hemingway's Hurricane: The Great Florida Keys Storm of 1935* (Camden, ME: International Marine/McGraw-Hill, 2006); Jay Barnes, *Florida's Hurricane History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

3. Paul K. Conkin, *Tomorrow a New World*, 137, 140, 192; Michael W. Straus and Talbot Wegg, *Housing Comes of Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938), 207, 211-212; C.W. Short and R. Stanley-Brown, *Public Buildings*, 94, 169, 218-219, 330, 377, 378-379, 422, 558-560, 665.

private houses, not just funding such schemes as mortgage insurance, slum clearance in cities, or renovation of dilapidated houses in Key West, widens the Hurricane Houses' significance in studies of the New Deal in Florida and distinguishes the homes from other federal efforts in rebuilding community. As owner-occupied, single-family dwellings, Hurricane Houses have been overlooked as examples of New Deal projects in South Florida, overshadowed by the Overseas Highway, Liberty Square, and other municipal improvement projects.

Red Cross's initial command of the project has introduced a historical elision regarding the federal government's strong presence in the middle and final stages of rebuilding Islamorada. Unlike Miami's Liberty Square project, the Hurricane Houses emerged without opposition or controversy. The storm naturalized the need for them. Liberty Square, which provoked protests from Miami's white community, created segregated African-American public housing rental units built by white architects and contractors supervising black laborers.[4] Islamorada's Hurricane Houses, which received no complaints from community members or critical editorials in the press during construction, were built mainly by African-American laborers for white landowners with public money. The lack of protest in Islamorada should not come as a surprise. The Red Cross, it seemed, was running the project. Federal agencies, for the moment, stepped back to let the Red Cross serve as the lead agency. Newspaper accounts put the Red Cross on the scene first, placing the disaster response in their hands from the beginning. Additionally, the Red Cross recently had responded to the Lake Okeechobee hurricane in a similar manner by building and repairing homes in Belle Glade. Furthermore, Gwendolyn Wright has shown that during the New Deal, the building and construction industry expressed perfunctory disapproval over federal governmental regulation of industry practices, quality of materials, and lending rates. Yet, the industry was pleased to have

4. John A. Stuart, "Liberty Square: Florida's First Public Housing Project," in John A. Stuart and John F. Stack, Jr., eds. *The New Deal in South Florida: Design, Policy, and Community Building, 1933-1940* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008), 186-222.

the federal government, through mortgage guarantees, take the risk out of "investments in conventional residential construction."[5]

Hurricane Houses offer new realizations of depression-era governmental action and a seminal moment in the growth and development of South Florida. They highlight developments in local construction methods and portray a determination to establish permanent community following an event, which, according to some reports, completely obliterated Islamorada. Indeed, the storm reduced the community to shambles. The federal government and the Red Cross built the houses to provide a foundation for that community's revitalization and identity.

Hurricane Houses, many of them still standing today, appeared on the landscape during a time of local crisis and controversial New Deal housing initiatives. The Federal Emergency Relief Agency (FERA), established in 1933, and the American Red Cross built the houses between late 1935 and 1936. The project's start date placed the buildings after the 1934 creation of the Federal Housing Administration, which insured private lending agencies dealing mainly with middle-class families and mortgages, and before the 1937 Wagner-Steagall Housing Act, which initiated federally funded slum-clearance for state and municipal housing agencies. This was a time when attitudes about federal public housing initiatives lacked wide support. In this case, however, painful memories of the storm and sympathy for survivors drove the demand for immediate action. These houses, designed by a FERA engineer, emerged as an anomaly among other New Deal housing examples. They are not the product of long-term planning from a federal agency. They are not related to a federal mortgage insurance agency. They have no connection to slum clearance or low-income housing. They are not public housing. They are a hybrid of emergency humanitarian relief, social concerns, work relief, and modern economic stimulus. As such, the houses stand as an example of expedient housing programs that emerged from

5. For the remainder of the article, Red Cross/Hurricane Houses will be termed Hurricane Houses. In Islamorada, the houses go by various names: Works Progress Administration (WPA) houses, hurricane houses, and Red Cross houses. Using Hurricane House here emphasizes the origins of the house type in the storm and through the federal recovery program, in addition to its primary purpose of withstanding storms. Oddly, Hurricane Houses are not discussed in Stuart and Stack, *The New Deal in South Florida* or Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 240.

the Roosevelt administration during that experimental phase of the New Deal focusing on programs devoted to economic recovery after the banking crisis had been settled.

The project occurred during the Second New Deal. At this time, the Roosevelt administration shifted its economic recovery policy leftward, relying on deficit spending to fund work programs that would boost consumer purchasing power. By the end of 1935, the administration had phased out direct relief initiatives that supported the first steps of Islamorada and Tavernier toward recovery from the storm and reorganized federal agency relief policies to provide work for employable people to revive the economy. The federal restoration of Islamorada's built environment proceeded through this transitional period. The American Red Cross, a charity organization, began construction of the houses as a humanitarian effort, only to have the federal government intervene with direct relief funding after the immensity of the project became apparent. After program restructuring, the federal government completed the buildings as a work relief job. Red Cross projects like Islamorada's Hurricane Houses no longer received consideration after 1937 and federal officials, instead, allocated funds to public work projects only.[6]

The State of Florida played no role in building the Hurricane Houses. The state's relationship with the federal government at this time lacked the effective cooperation maintained by the Red Cross and FERA throughout the building project. While Governor David Sholtz initially responded to the Labor Day Hurricane sympathetically, the state's welfare officials lacked the funding and mandate to assist in Islamorada's long-term recovery, let alone support construction of the Hurricane Houses. Known as Florida's New Deal governor, Sholtz, a Democrat, portrayed himself as a political friend of President Roosevelt and a supporter of the New Deal. He adopted the happy, can-do persona Roosevelt projected to convey hope and confidence that the nation would survive the depression. In practice, his administration did very little to rebuild Islamorada. Indeed, Florida National Guardsmen participated in the clean up of debris and bodies and distributed supplies, but that

6. Edward Ainsworth Williams, *Federal Aid for Relief* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 229, 240-241; Anthony J. Badger, *The New Deal*, 95-96, 109; Stuart and Stack, *The New Deal in South Florida*, 57; Short and Stanley-Brown, *Public Buildings*, vi.

was the limit of their involvement. As an example of Florida's lack of commitment in aiding Islamorada's storm victims, the state sent the Red Cross a $3,115.15 bill for the use of state-owned equipment and supplies during the clean-up after the Labor Day Hurricane.[7] Furthermore, Governor Sholtz presided over an administration that lacked qualified employees who could distribute and manage federally funded direct relief, particularly when FERA created new rules that required qualified professionals to run the state's relief programs.[8]

Instead of adopting professional qualifications for social workers state-wide, Florida officials battled federal social workers for control over directing the state's welfare operation throughout the Great Depression. Distribution of relief as patronage, increasing executive power, and the qualifications of social workers provided sources of conflict between the governor, board members, and professional social workers from out of state who had been hired to administer federally funded programs. State officials sought to control federally funded relief from Tallahassee by hiring native Floridians loyal to the gubernatorial administration. Federal officials, noting Florida's inadequate social welfare bureaucracy, complained that Florida was out of compliance with professional social work standards. When Fred Cone succeeded Sholtz in office, he also directed his administration on a course to regain control of state welfare distribution from federal officials instead of raising the qualifications of social workers in Florida. In general, according to its critics, Florida state government did not pay its fair share of relief to those on the welfare rolls and paid little attention to the hardship in Islamorada. As a result, the federal presence in the keys overwhelmed that of the state.[9]

In their architectural design, the standardized forms of the Hurricane Houses illustrate residual Progressive social concerns for decent, sanitary, and safe housing but little concern for

7. William B. Lovejoy, Red Cross Accountant, to Howard J. Simons, Director of Disaster Relief, December 30, 1935, Records of the American National Red Cross, 1935-1936, DR 655 Florida Hurricanes, Sept. 2-28, 1935, Weekly Reports, Box 1235, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.
8. Merlin G. Cox, "David Sholtz: New Deal Governor of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (October 1964): 142-152.
9. David Nelson, "A New Deal for Welfare: Governor Fred Cone and the Florida State Welfare Board," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 84, no. 2 (Fall 2005): 185-204.

contemporary aesthetics. As was intended, materials of the masonry examples (concrete and steel reinforcement bars) left the houses with an industrial look. From a current architectural point of view, they appear as humble examples of emerging modernist architecture, as a result of their massing, roof profile, and fenestration. Their façades feature a half-width front porch that shares an affinity with the prominent front porches of the bungalow style, so popular at the time. For cultural historians, the buildings reveal patterns of federal intervention intended to satisfy reform objectives of the New Deal. They are an engineer's standardized modern answer to a moment of social upheaval. They stand as a counterpoint to the homes of "ill-housed" Americans. They echo certain sentiments in President Franklin D. Roosevelt's first inaugural address, in which he argued "the measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit."[10] As historical artifacts, they prompt a memory not just of the disaster but also a moment in time when American society adopted the characteristics of the guarantor state.

The federal presence in the disaster's whole story, from prelude to conclusion, is extensive and worth recounting. The storm gave the project urgency and set it on a quick pace to completion. An understanding of events leading up to and immediately following the storm informs the decision by the federal government to take the extraordinary step of investing in private home construction and initiating a bureaucratic infringement on such entrenched community values as private property and private enterprise. Well before the storm came ashore, the federal government and veterans' advocacy groups had moved the remaining out-of-work and disgruntled Bonus Army Marchers, fresh from occupying the Capitol grounds and Anacostia Flats, to the Keys. There they could find work through a New Deal work relief program. They had marched on Washington, D.C., during the Bonus protests, but the U.S. Army, under the command of General Douglas MacArthur, violently evicted them. After the hurricane, the federal government investigated the disaster. The investigating committee found that no one was to blame. Then, the federal government commemorated it

10. B.D. Zevin, ed., *Nothing to Fear: The Selected Addresses of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 1932-1945* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1946), 14; Williams, *Federal Aid for Relief*, 87.

by funding a public sculpture installation, in addition to rebuilding and restoring the local community infrastructure.

Considered in this light, post-disaster housing in Islamorada goes hand in hand with that impressive example of New Deal engineering running the entire length of the keys—the Overseas Highway, which federal officials described at the time as "one of the most spectacular highways in existence."[11] Before and after the 1935 Labor Day Hurricane, Monroe County was awash with federal spending. Federally funded county finances, a highway project, a new sewer system project in Key West, numerous other public works projects in Key West (for example, a sewing room and a courthouse records survey), a veteran relief project, a public art installation, a new library, and a new home construction project transformed Monroe County into a New Deal community. According to a FERA official in Key West in October 1935, "Monroe County and Key West have a population of approximately 13,000 persons, of which approximately 9,000 or 70 percent are now dependent upon our organization for relief."[12] The storm and the federal government, to an extent greater than Henry Flagler's railroad and the state government of Florida, reshaped Islamorada into a modern community.

During the Great Depression, Monroe County, and Key West in particular, suffered along with the rest of Florida. Prior to the stock market crash and the bust of the Florida land boom, Key West had entered a period of decline. The decline became noticeable following World War I, when the U.S. Navy reduced its presence there. Additionally, cigar manufacturing had abandoned the city for Tampa, and the bulk of the sponge fishing industry had moved to Tarpon Springs. Construction of the Florida East Coast Railway's Key West Extension facilitated the importation of cheap Cuban produce, particularly pineapples, that cut into the profits of Monroe County growers and shippers, including those at Islamorada. During Prohibition, tourists bypassed Key West in favor of Cuba, further isolating Islamorada. The port of Miami drew shipping away from Key West. Consequently, immense municipal debt resulted in

11. Short and Stanley-Brown, *Public Buildings*, 558.
12. Memorandum from Malcolm J. Miller to Harry Hopkins, October 29, 1935, Records of the Works Progress Administration, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Central Files, 1933-1936, "New General Subject" Series, February 1935-1936, 006 Florida Hurricane, Entry 9, Box 7, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

the FERA takeover of Key West's and Monroe County's finances in July 1934. According to FERA director Harry Hopkins, the Keys were "a broken market" and local officials appealed to the state "for moral and financial aid." Then, Governor Sholtz requested that FERA act immediately to rehabilitate the keys "from both a moral and economic viewpoint." Federal administrators intended to stimulate the local economy through tourism promotion.[13]

Elsewhere in Florida, the Florida East Coast Railway Company (FEC) and the Seaboard Air Line Railway Company entered bankruptcy and began abandoning sections of right-of-way. The hurricane only exacerbated the railroads' financial distress. To reduce high unemployment numbers and revitalize the region, the federal government funded a road-and-ferry improvements project along State Route 4A, which Florida had constructed from Miami to Key West in 1926. The project also sought to boost tourism. New bridges would replace slow ferry service to shorten travel time between Miami and Key West. These ferry crossings and approach roads were located at No Name Key and between Grassy Key and Lower Matecumbe Key. The federal government also saw an opportunity in this project to provide work for unemployed and unruly veterans.[14]

In the Keys, veterans got jobs building the first bridge at an existing ferry crossing between Jewfish Key and Lower Matecumbe Key. FERA established work camps on Lower Matecumbe Key and on Windley Key, also the site of a quarry. Each of the camps contained approximately 60 cabins. The lightly framed, 20 foot

13. Harry L. Hopkins, Administrator, to Hon. J.R. McCarl, November 13, 1935, Records of the WPA, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, "State" Series, March 1933-1936, Florida 400 Entry 10, Box 56; Durward Long, "Workers on Relief, 1934-1938, in Key West," *Tequesta* (1968): 54; Alice Hopkins, "The Development of the Overseas Highway," *Tequesta* (1986), 50; Garry Boulard, "'State of Emergency': Key West in the Great Depression," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 67, no. 2 (October 1988): 168-183; Knowles, *Category 5*, 29-30.

14. Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Miami: University of Miami Press, 1971), 385-387; Jennifer T. Keene, *Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 7, 186-197; Sidney Johnston, *Florida's New Deal Resources*, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2004), E2, E10, and E34; Barnes, *Florida's Hurricane History* , 145; Jerry Wilkinson, "History of Plantation Key," "History of Windley Key," "History of Upper Matecumbe Key," "History of Lower Matecumbe Key," *Keys Historeum*, Historical Preservation Society of the Upper Keys website, http://www.keyshistory.org (accessed June 22, 2012).

by 20 foot, camp buildings were described as temporary structures and held four men each. The cabins' foundations were either piers of wood driven into the coral rock or concrete blocks to which the frames were bolted, or "spiked." The exterior of the cabins featured wood sheathing halfway up from the foundation. The exterior wood boards stopped mid-height and the elevation was left open and screened around the entire building with wire mesh for ventilation and insect control. Exterior boards surmounted sashless windows in the cornice area and operable shutters protected the apertures during rainstorms. Other buildings, such as the mess hall, infirmary, barbershop, and office, featured similar construction materials and larger dimensions. FERA also leased a hotel on Windley Key for worker housing and an infirmary. FERA administrative officers rented rooms in a hotel on Upper Matecumbe Key. When road construction began in earnest in mid-1935, there were 684 men enrolled. The large work force was not on the job for long before the hurricane struck. The temporary shelters constructed for their convenience did not withstand the hurricane's winds and high water surge.[15]

At the height of hurricane season, a tropical depression developed north of the Turks Islands. The Weather Bureau, a federal agency with offices throughout Florida, posted advisory bulletins beginning on August 30, 1935, when the storm strengthened over the Bahamas. Although the storm appeared to be trending south of the Keys it quickly intensified and changed direction northward. Observers noted the small diameter of its vortex and the "phenomenal violence" of its winds. Estimates of wind speed ranged from 150 to 200 miles per hour, with gusts exceeding 200 miles per hour by the time it reached Islamorada.[16]

On September 2, as it became evident that the storm might threaten the Upper Keys, FERA began to mobilize a rescue train

15. United States, "*Florida Hurricane Disaster*," *Hearings Before the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation, House of Representatives, Seventy-Fourth Congress, Second Session, on H.R. 9486, a Bill for the Relief of Widows, Children and Dependent Parents of World War Veterans Who Died As the Result of the Florida Hurricane at Windley Island and Matecumbe Keys, September 2, 1935* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1936), 173-174, 580; Barnes, *Florida's Hurricane History*, 145; Federal Writers' Project, *Florida: A Guide to the Southern-most State*, American Guide Series (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), 330-331.

16. Knowles, *Category 5*, 22-23; W.F. McDonald, "The Hurricane of August 31 to September 6, 1935," *Monthly Weather Review* 63, no. 10: 269-271; Barnes, *Florida's Hurricane History*, 146-149; Drye, *Storm of the Century*, 311.

from the mainland. A FERA official in Jacksonville and a FEC official in Miami began discussing the time needed for an evacuation train to travel to Islamorada. A Monday morning report placed the storm's location within 200 miles of the Keys. In congressional testimony, Ray W. Sheldon, a FERA work camp supervisor, said his barometer reading at that time dropped dramatically: "It showed a drop of .06 from 11:30, or approximately 11:30, until shortly after 1. That was alarming." Drop in barometric pressure indicated the storm was closing in on the keys. He sensed that the time to request the train had arrived. Sheldon's FEC contact told him the train would arrive approximately at 5:30 p.m. At 7 p.m., however, the train had not arrived, and the station at Islamorada "was starting to blow down," according to Sheldon.[17]

The train did not leave immediately. Loading the train in the yards, a stopover at Homestead to re-arrange the position of the engine and take on passengers, and then wind-blown debris on the tracks further delayed its arrival in Islamorada. At about 8:30 p.m., rescue train and storm collided in Islamorada. Massive waves of water inundated the Upper Keys, from Tavernier at the southern tip of Key Largo, south to Plantation Key, Windley Key, Lower Matecumbe Key, Upper Matecumbe Key, and Long Key—scouring the low islands of soil and vegetation and washing buildings off their foundations. As they emerged from their places of refuge, survivors noticed that the storm had demolished the rescue train. The railroad bridge and roadway over Snake Creek between Windley Key and Plantation Key and much of the fill that supported the railroad grade on Windley Key had been washed away. Upper Matecumbe Key and Windley Key had been divided by a new channel of water. In the Upper Keys, total mortality was estimated at 409, with 244 known dead and 165 missing, plus a $6 million damage estimate. About 150 homes were completely destroyed, according to the Red Cross, and about 250 homes suffered structural damage.[18]

17. "*Florida Hurricane Disaster*," *Hearings Before the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation*, 131-156, 160, 172.

18. Barnes, *Florida's Hurricane History*, 147-149, 156, 159; Drye, *Storm of the Century*, 172, 178, 214; Knowles, *Category 5*, 168, 289-291; McDonald, "The Hurricane of August 31 to September 6, 1935," 269-270; Red Cross Final Report Florida Hurricane of 1935, on file in the Florida Collection, Helen Wadley Branch Library, Islamorada, Florida; DeWitt Smith to James L. Fieser, September 15, 1935 Memorandum, "Nature and Extent of Disaster," Records of the American National Red Cross, 1935-1936, DR 655 Florida Hurricanes, Sept. 2-28, 1935, Box 1235, National Archives and Record Administration, College Park, Maryland.

Search and rescue efforts began immediately. The Red Cross, Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) workers, Florida National Guardsmen, and the Coast Guard looked for survivors and gathered up the dead. Accounts of bodies found in trees, in the mangroves, under piles of driftwood, in the bay, and in other places along the shoreline provided graphic evidence of the effect that the wind and flying debris had on the victims. Bloated, decapitated, dismembered, sand-blasted, weathered bodies made identification difficult.[19] Sheldon described a scene of desolation at the Islamorada depot. "The locomotive was the only thing which stood upright. It just looked as if a giant broom had swept across there. The cars, some were on this side, some were half way over," he said.[20] For public health reasons, officials cremated many of the recovered bodies (approximately 250) on the bayside shoreline.[21] A FERA field representative in Islamorada reported to Hopkins that "the devastation of approximately fifty miles of the Florida Keys is complete. Practically every building within that area was destroyed. About forty miles of railroad was [sic] completely wrecked, and the highway is seriously damaged, and the ferry service was destroyed, resulting in cutting Key West off completely from the mainland."[22]

Public outcry was immediate. Within days of the storm, Ernest Hemingway, living at the time in Key West, wrote a passionate essay meant to mourn and memorialize the storm victims and bring additional national attention to the disaster. In Hemingway's mind, inept federal government officials and thoughtless camp supervisors, not the violent weather, killed the veterans. He vividly described a gruesome scene in the Islamorada ferry slip:

> The biggest bunch of the dead were [sic] in the tangled, always green but now brown, mangroves behind the tank

19. "Hurricane's Dead Dug out of Debris," *New York Times*, September 6, 1935, 1; "Injured Recount Camp Gale Horror," *New York Times*, September 5, 1935, 3; Barnes, *Florida's Hurricane History*, 148-149; Federal Writers' Project, *Florida: A Guide to the Southern-most State*, 330; Jerrell H. Shofner, "Roosevelt's 'Tree Army': The Civilian Conservation Corps in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 65, no. 4 (April 1987), 443; Red Cross Final Report Florida Hurricane of 1935, on file in the Florida Collection, Helen Wadley Branch Library, Islamorada, Florida; Drye, *Storm of the Century*, 186.
20. "Florida Hurricane Disaster," *Hearings Before the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation*, 251.
21. Drye, *Storm of the Century*, 295.
22. Memorandum from Malcolm J. Miller to Harry Hopkins, October 29, 1935, Records of the WPA, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Central Files, 1933-1936, "New General Subject" Series, Entry 9, Box 7.

> cars and the water towers. They hung on there, in shelter, until the wind and the rising water carried them away. They didn't all let go at once but only when they could hold on no longer. Then further on you found them high in the trees where the water swept them. You found them everywhere and in the sun all of them were beginning to be too big for their blue jeans and jackets that they could never fill when they were on the bum and hungry.

Hemingway directed his anger at the federal government and bureaucrats for not taking proper care of men at the veterans' camps. He wrote, "Who sent nearly a thousand war veterans, many of them husky, hard-working and simply out of luck, but many of them close to the border of pathological cases, to live in frame shacks on the Florida Keys in hurricane months?" Hemingway's characterization of the workers' housing as shacks dramatized their inadequacy and may have motivated the Red Cross and FERA to build more substantial concrete homes for survivors.[23]

The high death toll shocked the nation, leading to outrage, controversy, and numerous investigations. The *New York Times* printed articles under such headlines as: "Veterans' Camp Wrecked by Storm, Witnesses Tell of Terror as Florida Keys Hurricane Swept Victims Away, Family Dumped in Bay, Two Children Still Missing at Tavernier, Boy Clings all Night to Railroad Track" and "Storm Inquiry to Centre on Delay of Relief Train."[24] Governor Sholtz and President Franklin D. Roosevelt were among the first to call for in-depth investigations of the disaster. "Gross carelessness somewhere was responsible for the tragedy," said Governor Sholtz to a *New York Times* reporter. Aubrey W. Williams, an assistant administrator of FERA, conducted an investigation that found no negligence on the part of the agency. Florida's governor assigned the state's attorney, G.A. Worley, to complete an independent investigation. Initial results pointed at faulty weather reports and railroad delays to

23. Ernest Hemingway, "Who Murdered the Vets? A First Hand Report on the Florida Hurricane," in *Hemingway and the Mechanism of Fame: Statements, Public Letters, Introductions, Forewords, Prefaces, Blurbs, Reviews, and Endorsements* ed. Matthew Joseph Bruccoli and Judith S. Baughman (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 46-48.

24. "Veterans' Camp Wrecked by Storm," *New York Times*, September 4, 1935, 1; "Storm Inquiry to Centre on Delay of Relief Train," *New York Times*, September 6, 1935, 11.

account for the high death toll. Later, the Florida governor backed away from his earlier statement about "gross carelessness" to say, "I am sure no one could be blamed."[25]

Veterans' advocacy groups joined the chorus for assigning blame and punishment. Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion conducted separate investigations that faulted camp administrators for poor decision-making as the storm approached. The Veterans Bureau blamed the large loss of life on camp administrators who delayed the call for the rescue train, abandoned the men, and misinterpreted severe weather advisories. These reports challenged official statements that characterized the disaster as a catastrophic act of nature.[26] Despite official proclamations, continual criticism in the press prompted Congress to hold hearings.

By March 1936, the House of Representatives commenced an investigation. Worried that the investigation would create political pitfalls for the reigning Democrats during an election year, Democratic committee members endeavored to complete a probe that would not embarrass FERA officials and the Roosevelt administration. The committee chairman, John E. Rankin from Mississippi, claimed, "What we want is to get the facts and find out if anybody is to blame." One of his Republican antagonists, Edith Nourse Rogers asked, "You do not want to punish anybody?" "No," he replied, "I am not trying to punish, nor am I trying to protect anybody, but we are trying to get the facts which are pretty hard to get when it comes to a storm, either before or after the storm."[27] Democrats emphasized natural causes as the reason for

25. "Hurricane's Dead Dug Out of Debris," *New York Times*, September 6, 1935, 1; "Roosevelt Orders Disaster Inquiry," *New York Times*, September 6, 1935, 8; "3 Inquiries Start in Florida Deaths," *New York Times*, September 7, 1935,3; "Deaths Put at 300 in Veteran Camps," *New York Times*, September 7, 1935, 3; "Cremations begun in Key Gale Area," *New York Times*, September 8, 1935, 3.

26. "V.F.W. Office Asks Inquiry," *New York Times*, September 6, 1935, 9; "Deaths Put at 300 in Veteran Camps," *New York Times*, September 7, 1935, 3; "3 Inquiries Start in Florida Deaths," *New York Times*, September 7, 1935, 3; "Link Bonus Issue to Florida Deaths," *New York Times*, September 15, 1935, N6; "V.F.W. Plans to Act on Hurricane Deaths," *New York Times*, September 16, 1935, 14; "Hurricane Inquiry Asked by V.F.W.," *New York Times*, September 20, 1935, 11; "300 Storm Deaths Called Needless," *New York Times*, October 13, 1935,N3; "Men in Key Camps Called Deserted," *New York Times*, October 15, 1935, 26; Drye, *Storm of the Century*, 216, 219-220, 225, 235-48, 252-257, 275: Knowles, *Category 5*, 168, 296-298.

27. "New Bills Flood House on the Opening Day," *New York Times*, January 4, 1936, 9; "House for Inquiry into Keys Disaster," *New York Times*, March 26, 1936, 8; *"Florida Hurricane Disaster," Hearings Before the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation*, 181.

the disaster. Republican committee members, however, attempted to marshal evidence and draw out testimony in a way that would hurt Democrats in the upcoming fall election. They hoped to uncover negligence, or at least callousness similar to the heavy-handed eviction of Bonus Army marchers from Anacostia Flats, which turned public opinion against the Hoover administration, hobbled the President's popularity, and lowered his 1936 re-election chances. Sniping between Rogers and Rankin continued throughout the course of the hearings. One exchange with a witness referenced treatment of the Bonus Army marchers:

> Mrs. ROGERS. No; I said strain or stress. I am speaking of such things as storms. Of course, they do have storms in Florida. For instance, if you go to a travel agency, if you intend to take a trip, during those hurricane months they advise you to take your trip in some other month. So we know that that situation exists.
>
> [Rankin] The CHAIRMAN. Those men would have preferred that to being driven out of Washington at the point of the bayonet and having their tents burned down, would they not, Mr. Williams.
>
> Mr. WILLIAMS. If these mean anything to the record, we had many more requests. . .
>
> [Rankin] The CHAIRMAN. You understand this, Mr. Williams. I know that your administration did not have anything to do with that, but I do know that a former administration drove these same men out of Washington at the point of a bayonet, when they were looking for work. If you want the facts in the record, those are facts.[28]

Although they claimed to be conducting a fair and impartial probe, Democratic committee leaders overlooked evidence of poor administration at the camps (insufficient sanitation, chronic drunkenness, and labor strikes plagued the program from its start) and attributed the disaster to uncontrollable and unforeseen forces of nature—an act of God. At the close of the investigation, the committee exonerated FERA officials, found no one negligent,

28. "Florida Hurricane Disaster," *Hearings Before the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation*, 442.

and concluded that nature, the unpredictable hurricane itself, carried away those many lives at Islamorada. Lastly, it recommended approval of a bill to compensate widows and orphans of those who died in the hurricane. Rogers continued to voice her dissent from the official conclusion.[29]

Congress did not have the last word on the 1935 Labor Day Hurricane. Portrayed as a never-before-seen and immensely powerful storm in the press, the hurricane left a lasting perception of untrammeled destructiveness in the public mind. Thanks to Hemingway's visceral response, sensational news reports, and moving Congressional testimony, the event resonated in the national consciousness, leaving the tragedy as fertile ground for popular culture. When the film industry explored the hurricane in 1948, the silver screen affirmed the storm's landmark status. *Key Largo*, originally a stage play but completely rewritten into a screenplay, exploited the 1935 Labor Day Hurricane for plot development. Set in the years immediately following World War II, the film featured Humphrey Bogart and Lauren Bacall. Mid-way through the story, a powerful hurricane begins to rattle the nerves of a cold-blooded, murderous mobster named Rocco, played by Edward G. Robinson. Rocco and his gang, staying at a Key Largo hotel, fear the intensifying storm and ask the hotel's owner, Mr. Temple, how bad can storms get in the Keys? Before Mr. Temple begins his answer, Rocco and the gang members grow increasingly afraid of the foul weather, acting nervous and agitated due to the howling winds and slamming shutters. Mr. Temple, played by Lionel Barrymore, heightens their fears by telling the tragic story of the 1935 Labor Day Hurricane:

> Mr. Temple: "Well, the worst storm we ever had was back in 1935. Wind whipped up a big wave and sent it bustin' right over Matecumbe Key. Eight hundred people washed out to sea."
>
> Rocco: "How far away was that from here?"
>
> Mr. Temple: "Eh, two miles."
>
> Rocco yelling: "I don't believe it. Eight hundred guys getting washed out to sea. You're a liar. Nobody would live here after a thing like that happened. Would they Curly?"

29. Ibid., 31, 586-588; Drye, *Storm of the Century*, 258-288: Knowles, *Category 5*, 168, 301-302.

> Curly: "I remember reading about it in the papers at the time."
>
> Mr. Temple: "A relief train was dispatched from Miami. The barometer was down to about 26 inches when the train pulled into Homestead. The engineer backed his train of empty coaches into the danger zone, and the hurricane hit, knocked those coaches right off the track. Two hundred miles an hour that wind blew. A tidal wave twelve feet high went right across the key. Whole towns were wiped out. Miles and miles of track were ripped up and washed away. Nothin' was left. More than five hundred bodies were recovered after the storm, and for months afterwards corpses were found in the mangrove swamps."[30]

The gangsters panic and make rash decisions that lead to their demise. At the end of the movie, the characters played by Bogart, the hero and a veteran, and Bacall, daughter of the hotel owner, plan to start a new life together in Key Largo instead of leaving. Undaunted by the power of hurricanes or the threats of gangsters, they resolve to stay in the keys, echoing themes of recovery and community re-building created by the federal government and the Red Cross. More than a decade had passed between Labor Day 1935 and the release of *Key Largo*. In that time, the hurricane had entered the nation's consciousness, with the film marking the hurricane's prominence in public memory.

The film immortalized the hurricane, but the commemoration process began immediately after Labor Day 1935. Veterans demanded a memorial in late September 1935.[31] In March 1936, the federal government authorized funding for a monument dedicated to all of the storm's victims. Designed by sculptor Joan van Breeman, installation began in July 1937. Funding came from the Federal Arts Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA). The monument featured a crypt for cremated remains of the storm's victims, with room to accommodate additional bodies; some remains appeared years after the storm passed. As late as January 1937, workers found seven skeletons of storm victims in

30. *Key Largo*, directed by John Huston, Warner Brothers, [1948] 2005.
31. Lilburn R. Railey, Chairman Dade County Chapter, Red Cross, to Colonel George E. Ijams, Veterans' Bureau, September 27, 1935, Records of the American National Red Cross, DR 655.6 Veterans folder, Box 1235.

mangroves on Lower Matecumbe Key. The memorial dedication occurred on November 14, 1937, at the close of hurricane season. The WPA Symphony Orchestra performed at the ceremony. A newspaper article announcing the dedication repeated the impression of total catastrophe when it noted that the "dedication will be held at Matecumbe, where an entire population was destroyed." The monument reaffirmed the thorough federalization of Monroe County, from road-building, new sewers in Key West, and municipal financial assistance to house construction and public art installation.[32]

The hurricane also destroyed railroad service in the Florida Keys. Already experiencing financial distress during the Depression, FEC officials decided not to rebuild the Key West Extension due to massive repair costs. Instead, the FEC sold the right-of-way and bridges of the Key West Extension to the State of Florida in 1936. Two years later, the Monroe County Toll Bridge Commission, reliant on federal funding and labor, constructed a highway along the former railroad right-of-way. Project advocates claimed it would boost tourism, the only remaining industry in the keys at the time, and help the community regain economic vitality. Increasing tourism, the same rationale that brought veterans to work camps at Islamorada, had been advocated as the best way to stimulate business throughout Monroe County. The highway project was one of the most extensive undertakings of the Public Works Administration. Construction of the roadway totaled $3,527,329 in federal financing and resulted in the completion of the Seven-Mile Bridge: a roadway/bridge mounted on existing steel truss railroad trestles, which workers widened to accommodate the travel lanes.[33]

The storm left in its wake death, destruction, misery, investigations, controversy, a monument, a film, and a new highway between Key West and the mainland. It nearly wiped Islamorada

32. "House for Inquiry into Keys Disaster," *New York Times*, March 26, 1936, 8; "Keys Memorial to be Unveiled," *New York Times*, October 17, 1937, 195; "1935 Gale Victims Found," *New York Times*, January 24, 1937, 78; Federal Writers' Project, *Florida: A Guide to the Southern-most State*, 161; Johnston, *Florida's New Deal Resources*, E68-69; *A Program of the Ceremonies at the Dedication of the Florida Keys Memorial, Upper Matecumbe, Florida, November 14, 1937*, Records of the American National Red Cross, DR 655.6 Veterans Folder, Box 1235.

33. Johnston, *Florida's New Deal Resources*, E32, 34; Alice Hopkins, "The Development of the Overseas Highway," *Tequesta* (1986), 51-55; Short and Stanley-Brown, *Public Buildings*, 559; Federal Writers' Project, *Florida: A Guide to the Southern-most State*, 75.

as a community off the map. In the days following the disaster, Islamorada appeared as a wasteland. The railroad, a symbol of modernity and progress through heavy industry, had become a crumpled knot of twisted rails and ties. Arable land, mainly lime groves and gardens, had been washed into the sea. A Red Cross volunteer reported, "No property was left standing except two small houses, and two or three outbuildings. Destruction was complete. At every turn, one smelled death. On the lower end of Lower Matecumbe were dead lying scattered about."[34] In his report to President Roosevelt, Aubrey W. Williams wrote, "The village at Islamorada was completely demolished."[35] Putrefying corpses fouling the environment presented a public health hazard. As a sanitation measure, some suggested that a ten-mile stretch of Islamorada be put to the torch. For instance, Coast Guard Lieutenant J.E. Fairbanks stated, "I recommend that entire keys from Snake Creek to and including Lower Matecumbe be burned." An emotional depression prevailed over the community. John Russell, a descendent of the pioneers of the upper keys, contemplated never returning to his old home-place. When asked if he would rebuild his former home, Russell, postmaster of Islamorada, replied, "I don't think so. There isn't anything to resume life for now." Islamorada exemplified the desperate conditions of the Great Depression: financial shambles, lack of industry, obliterated farmland, and a shattered and demoralized community, that federal relief programs sought to alleviate. Building homes in Islamorada became emblematic. Hurricane Houses embodied wider efforts to relieve a great need and rebuild a permanent community.[36]

In the days immediately following the hurricane, the Red Cross prepared for such recovery efforts, but it was unsure how to coordinate with federal relief agents and veterans' groups.

34. John L. Teets, American Red Cross Field Representative, September 20, 1935, Special Field Report, submitted to Mr. Colin Herrle, Assistant Manager, Eastern Area, Preliminary Report of Relief Activities of the American National Red Cross, Florida Hurricane of September 2, 1935, DR-655.08, Weekly Reports File, Box 1235.

35. Aubrey W. Williams to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, September 8, 1935, 9, Records of the WPA, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Central Files, 1933-1936, "New General Subject" Series, February. 1935-1936, 006 Florida Hurricane, Entry 9, Box 7.

36. "Three Inquiries Start in Florida Deaths," *New York Times*, September 7, 1935, 3; "Only 11 of 79 in Florida Keys Family Alive, Patriarch of Clan Tells How Gale Killed Kin," *New York Times*, September 7, 1935, 3; Knowles, *Category 5*, 303.

The politics of decision-making initially hampered the disaster recovery. The veterans advocacy groups pledged to take care of veterans only. The federal agencies suggested a liberal financial response. The Red Cross offered its support to all, particularly civilians. According to a *New York Times* article, the South Florida Red Cross Safety Committee announced that it was "ready to meet any emergencies created by the storm."[37] Initially, federal officials in Florida made broad proclamations, promising that all agencies would lend aid and labor would be provided for all storm recovery construction work. The *New York Times* reported that Hopkins authorized Aubrey W. Williams "to spend money without stint to aid the injured and shocked."[38] Within a week, however, federal officials backed away from the over-promise of complete funding for home repair and construction. They told Red Cross officials that FERA and the Veterans' Administration would be responsible for relieving only veterans and their families who were working on highway/ferry projects in the keys. As for rebuilding Islamorada, FERA would not provide labor for private buildings. Those earlier publicized promises had been made in haste, on dubious authority, and without confirming the availability of funding, they explained. The only FERA support the Red Cross and Islamorada could expect, they said, would be FERA-funded labor for replanting lime groves destroyed in the storm, an activity well established in the agency through rural rehabilitation efforts in the drought stricken American heartland. Once this reversal became clear, George E. Myer, director of the Red Cross relief effort, announced the disheartening news to his staff, "It will not be possible to secure FERA labor on reconstruction of private homes."[39]

Even without federal commitments, the Red Cross proceeded with substantial rebuilding plans. In a preliminary report on its September relief activities, the charity announced it was "planning, as a means of lessening this danger, to assist them [the people of Islamorada] in the construction of better wind-resisting homes. In this way, it is hoped that greater security can be enjoyed by the

37. "Red Cross Plans Relief," *New York Times*, September 4, 1935, 4.
38. "Defends Failure to Move Veterans," *New York Times*, September 6, 1935, 9.
39. George E. Myer to Red Cross Representatives, September 11, 1935, in Papers Relating to the Construction of Red Cross Houses, on file in the Florida Collection, Monroe County Public Library, Helen Wadley Branch, Islamorada, Florida.

residents of the islands and many lives may be saved in the event of a recurrence of such an over-whelming disaster."[40] Hurricane Houses, or some type of housing reinforced against the effects of hurricanes appeared early in their minds as a solution to this and future disasters. They began consulting with local builders and architects. "What we have in mind," wrote DeWitt Smith, "is that the houses, even though small and inexpensive, could be made more wind resistant if kept: (1) relatively low in type; (2) firmly anchored to the ground; (3) more structural framing spiked or bound together as a unit; (4) frame soundly designed from an engineering standpoint, using probably diagonal wood or iron strengthening features." The homes they built followed this initial conception.[41]

Within days, the federal government reversed its policy again. Federal relief funds would be available for fishermen in the Keys. On September 15, Aubrey Williams wrote a Florida Congressman to assure him that $338,000 was available in Florida for recovery work, and he had "authorized [Conrad] Van Hyning to rehabilitate fishermen and others to the extent permitted by Act of Congress."[42] According to internal correspondence, FERA's original cost estimates made in early September reached $550,000 and included rehabilitating approximately 200 families by building storm proof buildings. Van Hyning told Williams that coordination with the Red Cross would be the means "to carry out our program providing for labor for their rehabilitation of civilians."[43] Federal aid, they realized, could be shifted to Islamorada by couching it in terms of relief for fishermen. Furthermore, the Red Cross could mediate federal involvement. Additionally, Public Works Administration

40. Preliminary Report of Relief Activities of the American National Red Cross, Florida Hurricane of September 2, 1935, DR-655.08, Weekly Reports File, Box 1235.
41. DeWitt Smith to James L. Fieser, September 15, 1935 Memorandum, "Nature and Extent of Disaster," Records of the American National Red Cross, DR-655.08 Weekly Reports, Box 1235.
42. Aubrey Williams to R.A. Green, Member of Congress, State of Florida, September 15, 1935, Letter, Records of the WPA, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Central Files, 1933-1936, "New General Subject" Series, Feb. 1935-1936, 006 Florida Hurricane, Entry 9, Box 7.
43. Conrad Van Hyning to Aubrey Williams, September 20, 1935 Memorandum, Records of the WPA, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Central Files, 1933-1936, "New General Subject" Series, February 1935-1936, 006 Florida Hurricane, Entry 9, Box 7.

officials advanced plans for rebuilding and improving the Overseas Highway since Key West had lost its modern connection to the mainland, the FEC railroad.[44]

In a letter dated September 19 and addressed to Red Cross representatives, Myer stated that agreements had been reached with Van Hyning, "whereby they will provide skilled labor at prevailing rates throughout the state, for any reconstruction work undertaken by the Red Cross."[45] In a verbal agreement between Myer and Van Hyning, FERA agreed "to supply labor to the extent available from relief rolls to the amount of $75,000." Van Hyning stated that $75,000 would be "the maximum amount required to complete the entire rehabilitation program which is to be undertaken by the Red Cross." Furthermore, he reminded Myer, "the Red Cross would supply all materials, equipment, supervision, and any labor necessary which could not be secured from relief rolls."[46] This spending arrangement remained in place throughout the project. By the end of 1935, FERA, soon to be merged into the newly created WPA, obtained responsibility for the entire project as a work relief undertaking.

The contrast between FERA's response to the Labor Day Hurricane and their response to a hurricane that hit Miami two months later makes the construction of Islamorada's Hurricane Houses that much more remarkable. On November 4, 1935, a hurricane tore through Miami, causing considerable damage to property and killing approximately five people.[47] As with the Labor Day Hurricane, Van Hyning received public pressure to throw federal relief funds into Miami's recovery effort. In the days after the storm, FERA removed debris from streets, provided temporary coverings for houses without roofs, and offered general "relief in

44. "Federal Agencies are Mobilizing Aid," *New York Times*, September 5, 1935, 3; "Deaths Put at 300 in Veteran Camps," *New York Times*, September 7,1935, 3; Conrad Van Hyning to Aubrey Williams, September 20, 1935 , Records of the WPA, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Central Files, 1933-1936, "New General Subject" Series, February. 1935-1936, 006 Florida Hurricane, Entry 9, Box 7.
45. George E. Myer to Red Cross Representatives, September 19, 1935, and George E. Myer to Red Cross Representatives, September 30, 1935, in Papers Relating to the Construction of Red Cross Houses, on file in the Florida Collection, Monroe County Public Library, Helen Wadley Branch, Islamorada, Florida.
46. Conrad Van Hyning to George E. Myer, September 26, 1935, Records of the American National Red Cross, 1935-1936, DR 655 Florida Hurricanes, September 2-28, 1935, Cooperating Organizations Folder, Box 1234.
47. Barnes, *Florida's Hurricane History*, 159-160.

the form of food and temporary shelter" alongside the Red Cross. However, Van Hyning made a clear statement two weeks after the storm that FERA would not undertake what it was doing in Islamorada. He wrote, "The WPA cannot continue any further work in the storm area as Government money cannot be used on private property. The FERA can continue with funds already on hand to give relief to those who still need it, following their losses in the hurricane. The responsibility for rehabilitation in the storm area for individuals who lost their homes has been assumed by the Red Cross. The FERA will take no responsibility in this matter."[48] Such principles did not apply to Islamorada.

The Red Cross also ignored the contradiction between policies in Islamorada and Miami. Dutifully, Red Cross officials in Washington, D.C., affirmed the fact that FERA could not spend funds on private homes in Miami but overlooked the fact that they were spending such money in Islamorada. The Red Cross director of disaster relief wrote to Williams to acknowledge their understanding for Miami's recovery: "As work relief labor is available only for public projects, it is understood that such work relief labor cannot be assigned for reconstruction of homes. No Federal funds are available for reconstruction of homes, purchase of furniture, or the other items required in the rehabilitation of families affected by the hurricane."[49] FERA's expiration and the November storm's comparatively mild treatment of Miami contributed to this incongruous arrangement. Second thoughts about their partnership in rebuilding Islamorada also stinted their plans for Miami.

Costs threatened to overwhelm the Red Cross, even with federal assistance included. From the start in Islamorada, federal assistance was less than reassuring. Red Cross officials expressed reservations about teaming with the federal agencies knowing that federal financial assistance would create a perception that the charity did not need funds from private citizens in the recovery effort. FERA's involvement might constrain the charity's fund-raising efforts.

48. Conrad Van Hyning, November 13, 1935, Notice, Records of the WPA, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Central Files, 1933-1936, "New General Subject" Series, February 1935-1936, Entry 9, Box 7.
49. Robert E. Bondy, Director, Red Cross Disaster Relief, to Aubrey Williams, November 13, 1935, Records of the WPA, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Central Files, 1933-1936, "New General Subject" Series, February 1935-1936, Entry 9, Box 7.

They also considered the possibility of losing federal assistance again as the project proceeded. The chance that they would be responsible for the entire cost raised budgetary concerns. DeWitt Smith, Red Cross assistant director from national headquarters, cautioned Myer, "We must, of course, safeguard ourselves against the possibility of a change in the government's plans." The storm in Miami in November 1935, for some in the Red Cross, pointed to a changing FERA/WPA attitude. Furthermore, disasters elsewhere had depleted their resources. Smith notified Myer that "heavy expenditures by the National Organization on other disasters this early during the present fiscal year resulted in the necessity of our requesting an additional appropriation of $500,000 at the Central Committee meeting last week." Smith reminded Myer that Islamorada's hurricane relief effort must stay under their $185,000 original cost estimate.[50]

Motivated by the storm's devastation, a sense of emergency, and national attention, the Red Cross and FERA stuck to their ambitious recovery project for Islamorada. They intended to repair salvageable houses and build new houses impervious to hurricanes. Repairs and two types of new construction, frame or masonry, drove up the project's costs, as they determined to upgrade Islamorada's housing stock. Departing from previous recovery efforts, the Red Cross offered beneficiaries in Islamorada the option of building anew in either frame or masonry. The vulnerability of human life on the keys induced them to provide a modern improvement to local housing: steel reinforced concrete buildings. Housing in Islamorada would be better than before the storm, which went beyond standard Red Cross practice. DeWitt Smith admitted such a deviation. "Although we do not attempt in our rehabilitation work following a disaster materially to improve the standard of living of those who suffered in the disaster," wrote Smith, "we are in this case undertaking to bring about an improvement in the type of construction designed to make the homes, even though small, more wind resistant than those which were destroyed." He justified this approach by minimizing the required effort and cost. Smith reported to the Red Cross chairman that "Simple features whereby

50. DeWitt Smith to George E. Myer, September 24, 1935, William B. Lovejoy to Howard J. Simons, November 11, 1935, and William B. Lovejoy to Howard J. Simons, November 18, 1935, in Papers Relating to the Construction of Red Cross Houses, on file in the Florida Collection, Monroe County Public Library, Helen Wadley Branch, Islamorada, Florida.

A Red Cross Hurricane House completed on Upper Matecumbe. Image courtesy of the *Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.*

the houses will be securely anchored and the framing strengthened can be incorporated, it is felt, without a large additional expenditure of funds. In some instances poured concrete construction may be used." Smith also reminded the chairman that FERA would provide labor. Red Cross executives approved the project.[51]

The Red Cross relied on a FERA construction engineer to design the concrete Hurricane Houses. Mr. Pringle, a registered Florida engineer working for FERA, drew up plans and cost estimates for buildings of various dimensions and room configurations in late September 1935. The Red Cross brought him into the project after residents of Islamorada organized a petition drive demanding construction of concrete homes. Myer reported that twenty people signed the petition.[52] In early October, Pringle submitted

51. DeWitt Smith to George E. Myer, September 24, 1935, in Papers Relating to the Construction of Red Cross Houses, on file in the Florida Collection, Helen Wadley Branch Library, Islamorada, Florida; George Myer, "Report for the Period Ending September 21, 1935," and DeWitt Smith, Assistant Director Domestic Operations, to Admiral Cary T. Grayson, chairman of the Red Cross, September 21, 1935, Records of the American National Red Cross, 1935-1936, DR 655 Florida Hurricanes, September 2-28, 1935, Cooperating Organizations Folder, Box 1235.
52. George E. Myer, "Florida Hurricane Relief Operation, Report for the Period Ending October 5, 1935," Records of the American National Red Cross, 1935-1936, DR 655 Florida Hurricanes, September 2-28, 1935, Box 1235.

a proposal that showed masonry buildings within the same price range as frame buildings. "It appears," wrote Myer, "that it shall be possible to carry out our original plans of concrete and frame construction, and still stay well within our budget." The Red Cross happily accepted his proposals and approved a next step: a site visit. Mr. Pringle visited the potential home sites in Islamorada to determine the location of the buildings and then began drafting blueprints.[53]

Within two months of the Labor Day Hurricane, new home construction and existing house repairs were underway. Groundbreaking began in the last week of October 1935. Reports by Red Cross officials noted the rapid pace of rebuilding, but they encountered the chronic problem of escalating costs. The first phase of the rebuilding project included setting damaged houses back on their original foundations and straightening them. A month after the storm, four homes had been repaired, and they anticipated building 42 new homes, 26 with masonry and 16 of wood frame.[54] In the new construction, the floor plan of each residence matched the preference of the beneficiary and the size of their family. The Red Cross also supplied household furnishings. Materials for the new homes arrived in bulk by barge at Islamorada and by railroad, which terminated at Tavernier.[55] While the floor plans were adjustable, each masonry buildings' massing and materials reflected a standardized aesthetic resulting from the industrialized and mechanized construction process. (See Photographs 1 and 2)

In the second phase of the project, masonry house construction proceeded quickly and included design features related to surviving future storms. The houses featured interior cisterns at ground level. The reinforced concrete cisterns stored potable water and provided, through their reinforced concrete structure, additional

53. George E. Myer, "Florida Hurricane Relief Operation, Report for the Period Ending October 12, 1935," Records of the American National Red Cross, 1935-1936, DR 655 Florida Hurricanes, September 2-28, 1935, Box 1235.

54. George E. Myer, "Florida Hurricane Relief Operation, Report for the Period Ending October 26, 1935," in Papers Relating to the Construction of Red Cross Houses, on file in the Florida Collection, Helen Wadley Branch Library, Islamorada, Florida, and Records of the American National Red Cross, 1935-1936, DR 655 Florida Hurricanes, September 2-28, 1935, Box 1235.

55. William B. Lovejoy to Howard J. Simons, November 11, 1935, and William B. Lovejoy to Howard J. Simons, November 18, 1935, in Papers Relating to the Construction of Red Cross Houses, on file in the Florida Collection, Helen Wadley Branch Library, Islamorada, Florida.

foundation strength. In some cases, foundation trenches extended three to five feet into the coral rock. Builders used concrete reinforced with steel bars throughout the homes: 12-inch-thick reinforced concrete exterior walls, 10-inch-thick, reinforced concrete interior partitions, and six-inch-thick, reinforced concrete gable roofs. The fenestration consisted of operable shutters and metal sash windows with wire safety glass in the windowpanes. The first floor stood about five feet above ground level, not seven feet above ground level as first proposed and requested by residents. The number of interior rooms varied according to the size of the owner's family. In the spring of 1936, after federal officials fully intervened in the project, Red Cross officials estimated that the recovery, which included building 29 masonry hurricane houses, would be completed by June 1936. As an example of improved housing, they claimed that the buildings were "as near wind and water proof as could be constructed."[56]

Building with reinforced concrete, defying tropical conditions, and excavating deep foundation trenches into the coral rock indicated the intention to construct permanent community in Islamorada, but the extra labor resulting from an unanticipated level of effort to excavate suitable foundations drove up costs. The director of the Red Cross headquarters in Miami stated, "As we get more into the picture of concrete construction, we find costs are apparently out of relation with frame construction due to the need for waterproof plaster inside."[57] Plumbing supplies and the cost of cement consumed more of the budget than anticipated. Even the price of steel rebar caught the Red Cross off guard. They expected steel rebar to cost them between $5,000 and $6,000. The accountants in Miami, however, reported "that the cost of this item will be $9,953.88, thus necessitating an additional increase in the

56. "Storm-Proof Concrete Homes Bring Security to Florida Keys," *Concrete* (October 1936), 8; George E. Myer, "Florida Hurricane Relief Operation, Report for the Period Ending November 16, 1935"; William B. Lovejoy to Howard J. Simons, November 18, 1935; George E. Myer, "Florida Hurricane Relief Operation, Report for the Period Ending November 30, 1935", Records of the American National Red Cross, 1935-1936, DR-655.08 Weekly Reports, Box 1235; Roy Wingate to Mr. Bondy, March 9, 1936, in Papers Relating to the Construction of Red Cross Houses, on file in the Florida Collection, Helen Wadley Branch Library, Islamorada, Florida.

57. George E. Myer to DeWitt Smith, September 30, 1935, in Papers Relating to the Construction of Red Cross Houses, on file in the Florida Collection, Helen Wadley Branch Library, Islamorada, Florida.

budget as requested in Mr. Myers's letter of today's date."[58] The coral rock proved difficult to excavate, "necessitating the use of electric drills," according to Myer. The Red Cross also expressed concern that building masonry houses designed to withstand hurricane force winds, high water, and loss of local water supply was setting "an embarrassing precedent that could not be followed in other parts of the affected territory in Florida."[59] The Red Cross regretted that they were over-building, that their response was out of proportion to beneficiary need and their budget. Additionally, Red Cross national headquarters warned Myer that "we cannot undertake generally to improve the standards of families suffering in disaster."[60] William B. Lovejoy, a Red Cross accountant, noted "Mr. Myer has made commitments for a considerable amount of the building material needed in the construction of concrete houses on the Florida Keys." Consequently, Red Cross administrators advocated frame construction to beneficiaries as "more satisfactory" over the masonry option.[61] Nevertheless, some Islamorada landowners would not rescind their request for masonry homes, further embarrassing the Red Cross. They had demonstrated their desire for concrete homes in the petition drive, and they held the Red Cross to its promise.

The Red Cross had dealt with high expectations of community recovery following the September1928 hurricane that devastated the Lake Okeechobee and West Palm Beach area. That storm left 1,836 dead. Particularly hard hit were African-American farm laborers in Clewiston, South Bay, Belle Glade, and Pelican Bay. After providing immediate relief through feeding centers, the Red Cross assisted in rebuilding homes and providing farmers with seed, fertilizer, and fuel for farm equipment.[62]

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58. William B. Lovejoy, Accountant, to Howard J. Simons, Director of Accounting, December 30, 1935, and Lovejoy to Simons, January 6, 1936, Papers of the American National Red Cross, DR-655.08 Weekly Reports, Box 1235.
59. George E. Myer, "Florida Hurricane Relief Operation, Report for the Period Ending November 30, 1935," and DeWitt Smith to George E. Myer, September 24, 1935, in Papers Relating to the Construction of Red Cross Houses, on file in the Florida Collection, Helen Wadley Branch Library, Islamorada, Florida.
60. DeWitt Smith to George E. Myer, September 24, 1935, in Papers Relating to the Construction of Red Cross Houses, on file in the Florida Collection, Helen Wadley Branch Library, Islamorada, Florida.
61. George E. Myer to DeWitt Smith, September 30, 1935, and William B. Lovejoy to Howard J. Simons, November 11, 1935, in Papers Relating to the Construction of Red Cross Houses, on file in the Florida Collection, Helen Wadley Branch Library, Islamorada, Florida.
62. Barnes, *Florida's Hurricane History*, 138-139.

The Great Depression had changed the circumstances of this disaster recovery. The decision to build concrete hurricane-proof houses emerged from a combination of one likely local example, local advocacy, and a modern belief in concrete's permanence. Islamorada's families needed such security and permanence that modern techniques and materials promised. Reinforced concrete provided bunker-like solidity against a hurricane's winds and flooding, as well as a material improvement over frame construction. A concrete industry trade journal noted that "This type of [masonry] construction makes walls, floors, partitions, and roof one integral unit, rather than separate parts put together." As frame buildings floated away from their foundations in Tavernier, for example, survivors found shelter during the storm in a concrete movie theatre recently completed by H.S. "Mac" McKenzie. McKenzie's theatre served as a relief center after the hurricane.[63] By the start of the Great Depression, reinforced concrete construction had gained a popular reputation as scientific, industrial, and progressive. It had appeared in industrial worker housing complexes and encouraged stability in local workforces. Known for its fireproof qualities, concrete installation had improved in quality and cost effectiveness through competition, supplanting brick as the preferred choice in masonry construction by 1924. It worked well within industrial production constraints, especially when social upheaval called for a fast and efficient response. Reinforced concrete homes, then, lent an air of progress and innovation to a devastated community. Liberty Square, a Public Works Administration Housing Division rental housing project "for Negroes" in Miami, shared material and design attributes with the Hurricane Houses. Liberty Square was completed in 1937, after the Islamorada project drew to a close. Both utilized poured concrete reinforced with steel rebar in their structural engineering. Both featured metal sash and casement windows. The floor plans of each project varied according to the number of rooms to be built. Both examples also featured half-width front porches sheltering the main entry. Both examples supported gable roofs. While the Hurricane Houses included concrete roofing, the Liberty Square units did not. To save costs, they had wood rafters

63. "Storm-Proof Concrete Homes Bring Security to Florida Keys," *Concrete* (October 1936), 8; Matthew G. Hyland and Megan L. Otten, *Discovering Tavernier: History and Architecture in Tavernier's Historic District* (Orlando, FL: GAI Consultants, Inc., 2008), 47; "Florida Hurricane Disaster," *Hearings Before the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation*, 475.

and asbestos roofing shingles. Therefore, they were not an integral concrete unit. Yet, they shared in the cause of providing improved housing through concrete construction.[64]

The Hurricane House emerged as a comprehensive environmental and social response to tropical storm conditions and future disasters. They were built for the ages despite the Red Cross's reservations. In Islamorada, a recent survey identified 24 examples of surviving hurricane houses. Two examples were identified in a separate survey of Tavernier.[65] Geographically, the Hurricane Houses of the Florida Keys are located in discrete clusters on Plantation Key, Upper Matecumbe Key, and in Tavernier. This distribution indicates settlement patterns at the time of the hurricane and the efforts of local families to rebuild their community with federal funds in a mode of permanent architecture right after the storm. In only a few locations do they occur in clusters that clearly reveal the industrial rhythm of standardization in their massing.

The Red Cross's lead in their partnership with the federal government lasted only two months. Escalating construction costs drove the Red Cross out of the project, but the community rebuilding effort continued. By mid-November 1935, FERA assumed all control of the relief operation after the Red Cross had purchased most of the required materials. Myer reported, "The FERA has taken over, in entirety, the reconstruction and repair work on this operation. They are providing equipment in addition to labor for the construction work."[66] With the Red Cross providing a public face for it, this New Deal housing intervention moved FERA farther across the threshold into the private construction business, transforming federal government from unemployed work relief provider and mortgage

64. Amy E. Slaton, *Reinforced Concrete and the Modernization of American Building, 1900-1930* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 9, 17-18; Short and Stanley-Brown, *Public Buildings*, 665; Straus and Wegg, *Housing Comes of Age*, 160, 212; John A. Stuart, "Liberty Square: Florida's First Public Housing Project," 207.

65. Matthew G. Hyland, Megan L. Otten, and Paula R. Miller, *Islamorada Historical and Archaeological Survey, Islamorada, Village of Islands, Florida* (Orlando, FL: GAI Consultants, Inc., 2009), 21-34; Matthew G. Hyland and Megan L. Otten, *Discovering Tavernier*, 25, 38-39.

66. George E. Myer, "Florida Hurricane Relief Operation, Report for the Period Ending November 23, 1935," and "Red Cross Final Report Florida Hurricane of 1935," in Papers Relating to the Construction of Red Cross Houses, on file in the Florida Collection, Helen Wadley Branch Library, Islamorada, Florida, and Records of the American National Red Cross, 1935-1936, DR 655 Florida Hurricanes, September 2-28, 1935, Box 1235.

guarantor to homebuilder. Active federal participation in private building enterprises had become a reality in Islamorada.

The Red Cross expressed relief when FERA assigned William Green to the Islamorada building project. A Red Cross official acknowledged that completing their ambitious building program on their own with "ordinary labor, plus the necessary cost of equipment, would have made the cost of the project prohibitive."[67] Although the Red Cross withdrew from the project, it continued to monitor the progress of construction, and the appellation "Red Cross House" has stuck with the buildings. By the completion of the project, FERA had been subsumed into the WPA, which Congress created through the Emergency Relief Act in May 1935 to end direct relief and provide aid only for "employables" through public works projects. Hurricane House construction, which began as an emergency relief project, met the WPA's objectives to provide employment, rather than the dole, for skilled workers without jobs. Rarely though, are they called WPA or FERA houses. Red Cross House connotes charity and sympathy, underscoring the social action and communal response to the disaster.

The workers building the Hurricane Houses received wages less than the rates paid by private contractors at the time. The Red Cross's Myer reported that the workmen, mainly African-American males, were paid "lower than ordinary labor rates, due to the fact that individuals employed by the FERA are not drawing prevailing labor wages, but are being paid a higher rate than individuals engaged on WPA projects." Work on Hurricane Houses paid less than the private sector but more than the WPA. However, FERA provided housing for some of the men. They established a work camp, which was supervised by William Green and Stanley Wilson, Assistant Director of FERA's Special Projects. The Red Cross also called on this work force, stationed at Snake Creek, to restore lime groves by planting 238 lime trees.[68]

67. George E. Myer, "Florida Hurricane Relief Operation, Report for the Period Ending November 30, 1935," and Roy Wingate to Mr. Bondy, March 9, 1936, in Papers Relating to the Construction of Red Cross Houses, on file in the Florida Collection, Helen Wadley Branch Library, Islamorada, Florida.

68. George Myer, "Florida Hurricane Relief Operation, Report for the Period Ending November 30, 1935"; William B. Lovejoy to Howard J. Simons, December 23, 1935; Lovejoy to Simons, December 30, 1935, Records of the American National Red Cross, 1935-1936, DR-655.08 Weekly Reports, Box 1235, and Myer to Stanley Wilson, November 19, 1935, DR 655.6 Relief other than Health folder, Box 1235.

African-American workers tying steel reinforcement bars in preparation for a load of poured concrete. *Image courtesy of the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.*

In addition to the attention Hurricane Houses received in a trade journal, the Red Cross publicized their efforts in the Keys. Red Cross involvement blunted criticism of federal activism in this realm of private enterprise and private property. As a government agency, FERA and later the WPA, were reluctant to illustrate and proclaim the Hurricane Houses, which could have aided administration critics prowling during an election year for evidence that the federal government had overstepped a boundary by providing outlays for direct relief to homeowners. In fact, federal relief officials sought out the Red Cross to cloak their clean-up work on private property in Miami after a November 1935 hurricane. Talking to his supervisor in Washington, Van Hyning said that his office could "work with the Red Cross on labor" and "do it without any publicity."[69] FERA followed this strategy in the Islamorada project, letting the Red Cross celebrate the houses. The Red Cross did so in *Hurricanes 1935*, a small pamphlet containing an essay

69. Telephone conversation, Conrad Van Hyning in Jacksonville to Aubrey Williams, November 13, 1935, Records of the WPA, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Central Files, 1933-1936. "New General Subject" Series, February 1935-1936, 006 Florida Hurricane, Entry 9, Box 7.

titled "Storm-Proofing the Keys." Here, the Red Cross trumpeted a victory of technology over nature: "concrete was the solution," they claimed. The masonry buildings projected permanence and prosperity through the techniques of industrialization.[70]

Although they did not win acclaim in federal publications or a notice in a Hollywood film script or a mention in a Hemingway essay, Hurricane Houses, both frame and masonry types, are a monument in their own right. They preserved the community of Islamorada. For their owners, they represented architecture of reassurance: restoration of communal stability that the storm at first seemed to have taken away. Contrary to John Russell's despair after the storm, natives of the Keys, the Red Cross argued, remained dedicated to living in their unique environment. "They would not," stated a Red Cross writer, "entertain the idea of leaving fertile fishing waters and their lime groves for more uncertain and competitive vocations on the mainland." The Red Cross crafted a nostalgic, back-to-the-land aura for the project. Islamorada, a place where the nation thought that the entire population had been destroyed, had recovered through a comprehensive federal building program. Aside from agriculture, tourism and recreation, most notably sport fishing, provided a livelihood for many residents. In these new houses, Conchs [natives of the Keys], according to the Red Cross, would be anchored to their familiar shores in homes "reinforced with rods of steel and the best type of wind-resistance materials so that residents might have some feeling of security." Likewise, the journal *Concrete* declared that "these houses are as rigid as though hewn from solid rock," adding that the homes would provide "staunch protection against the worst that nature can do." The Red Cross acknowledged that there would be more hurricanes in the future, but they had provided greater security: "Some of the teeth, at least, have been taken out of the hurricanes."[71]

After their completion, the houses and the hurricane in particular, remained worthy of attention for Roosevelt's

70. The American Red Cross, *Hurricanes 1935*, Report of Relief Operations, "Storm-Proofing the Keys," October 1936, Records of the American National Red Cross, 1935-1936, DR-655.08 Weekly Reports, Box 1235, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland, and in Papers Relating to the Construction of Red Cross Houses, on file in the Florida Collection, Helen Wadley Branch Library, Islamorada, Florida.

71. "Storm-Proof Concrete Homes Bring Security to Florida Keys," *Concrete* (October 1936), 8; The American Red Cross, "Storm-Proofing the Keys," in *Hurricanes 1935*.

speechwriters and on the President's mind. The President's second inaugural address, which reviewed the New Deal's first four years, employed a hurricane metaphor to note the New Deal's success, thereby alluding to Islamorada's tragedy and relying on its prominence in American memory for rhetorical impact. During the hard economic times, individuals, Roosevelt insisted, needed government assistance when facing contemporary economic problems compounded by natural disaster. Though not directly mentioned, the recovery of Islamorada exemplified New Deal objectives achieved. "We refused to leave the problems of our common welfare to be solved by the winds of chance and the hurricanes of disaster," he said.[72]

Today, examples of Hurricane Houses still stand in the Upper Florida Keys landscape. Although frame Hurricane Houses were part of the project, fewer examples have survived compared to the masonry versions. Nevertheless, a considerable number of these federally funded houses have survived the insults of subsequent hurricanes, in particular Hurricane Donna, to tell how community, humanitarian organization, and government responded to a housing crisis created by an act of nature. The federal government forestalled disenchantment with life and fostered community identity in Islamorada. Over time, housing in the Florida keys designed to withstand storms and high winds evolved, developing elevated pier foundations rather than the continuous poured concrete foundation, as cisterns became obsolete. Mains connected to the mainland guaranteed a continuous water supply.[73] Adequate supplies of potable water were crucial after the storms moved out of the region. Later, evacuation to the mainland became the preferred alternative for surviving hurricanes.

True, Hurricane Houses show the federal government in the Great Depression infringing on private business enterprises at an unprecedented level. Islamorada, southern Florida, and by extension the nation at large, however, sanctioned such federal home-building as necessary social action for the benefit of the community. The storm, the deaths, and the economic hard times across the nation justified the concerted action that built these houses. Their architectural story expresses the federal government's

72. B.D. Zevin, ed., *Nothing to Fear: The Selected Addresses of Franklin Delano Roosevelt*, 88.

73. Tebeau, *A History of Florida*, 404, 134.

intention to bolster national pride and domestic security in the midst of economic hardship. In the Upper Florida Keys, the federal government built permanent, well-constructed private homes for storm victims on their property, thus demonstrating remarkable federal efforts to restore a community devastated by a hurricane and crippled by economic depression. Although Hurricane Houses may be less visible on the Islamorada landscape than the Hurricane Memorial adjacent to the Overseas Highway, they are, nonetheless, historical markers exemplifying the reach, broader than previously thought, and legacy of the New Deal.

Florida's Carpenter Gothic Churches: Artistic Gems from a Victorian Past

by Jack C. Lane

"When we build, let us think we build forever."
John Ruskin, 1849

'The beliefs and manners of all people are embodied in the edifices they build."
Augustus Pugin, 1850

"A church is the most expressive of man's creation."
Henry Adams, 1904

In 1930 a relatively little known regional artist named Grant Wood entered a competition at the Art Institute of Chicago where he won first place with a painting entitled "American Gothic." News sources across the country published the story of this event along with a photograph of the winning painting, which created a sensation previously unknown in the history of American art. "American Gothic," an iconic symbol of American rural life, became one of the world's best-known images. In the painting, two rural figures with stern sober appearances stand before a small Carpenter Gothic house. The figures dominate the painting but the little Gothic cottage, which suggests the title, gives the painting context and is thus an essential component of its composition. What the man and woman in such a formal pose means has been hotly debated (is it a satire on or a celebration of the American

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heartland or both?). The simple beauty of the Carpenter Gothic house and its centrality to the painting, however, is undeniable. Not only does the house identify the painting, it also deepens the solemnity and meaning of the two figures standing before it.[1]

What is more important for our purposes is the pointed arch window and the board-and-batten siding. They immediately identified the Carpenter Gothic style and imprinted it on American memory; or rather, we may say that style was rediscovered because that form of architecture was well-known and admired a generation earlier. In the late nineteenth century, Protestant congregations built scores of small Carpenter Gothic churches throughout the Midwest, Northeast and parts of the South. In rural areas of this country it was almost invariably the preferred ecclesiastical architectural style.

Nowhere were more of these churches constructed than in the small towns and villages being built in Florida in the period between 1870 and 1900. Many of these structures have been demolished but a large number remains. Most have been restored and continue to be used for religious worship. They are worthy of our attention because, in a state known for its itinerant population and dynamic development, historic buildings have a short shelf life. Over two decades ago, Beth Dunlop, an architectural critic, traveled the state studying what was left of its historical architecture. She found that much of Florida's architectural heritage had fallen victim to the headlong rush toward growth and development. In a book entitled *Florida's Vanishing Architecture*, she chronicled the disappearance of "fragile coastal villages" and "small sweet towns." They were falling prey, she lamented, "to demolition, neglect and exploitation."[2] The wooden Gothic rural churches that stand today are some of the few visual landmarks of Florida's historical past. They represent forgotten, or at best, disregarded, artistic architectural gems dotting the Florida landscape and, as the house in Grant Wood's painting suggests, these edifices are beautifully picturesque architectural structures that deserve universal recognition. This essay is intended to reveal the simple aesthetic qualities of these artistic gems and to explore their meaning for Florida's Victorian past.

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1. To trace the response to "American Gothic" over time see, Thomas Hoving, *American Gothic: The Biography of Grant Wood's American Masterpiece* (New York: Chamberlin Bros., 2005).
2. Beth Dunlop, *Florida's Vanishing Architecture* (Sarasota, FL: Pineapple Press, 1987).

In the second half of the nineteenth century, thousands of Northerners began discovering the beauty and attraction of the nation's only subtropical state. They came pouring into mostly eastern and central Florida by the thousands. The extent and nature of this "immigration" was the theme of one of Florida's first chroniclers, George Barbour, who published a descriptive account of the state in 1881 entitled *Florida For Tourists, Invalids and Settlers.*[3] Traveling throughout the state gathering material for the book, Barbour identified the composition of this immigration and also indicated (approvingly) its ultimate outcome, namely the Northern colonization of the nation's only subtropical state. This vision of Northern colonization began immediately after the Civil War when a small group of New England reformers, led by the famous and indomitable Harriet Beecher Stowe, helped launch the Reconstruction of Florida's antebellum Southern culture. These reformers soon concluded that Northern colonization was essential to this reformation. "Let a northern colony come down," wrote one, [and] "a virtuous and prosperous and intelligent population would soon control this 'Italy of America'" Stowe was a leading advocate. She wrote to her brother, Calvin Stowe, that transforming Florida "depended on founding a [northern] colony." For this purpose, she was "anxious for New England men to come among us," and would hail "every newcomer from the North."[4] Stowe published several articles and a book repeatedly proclaiming this very theme. A decade later, George Barbour discovered that Stowe's promotional efforts were coming to fruition. Florida, he

3. George Barbour, *Florida For Invalids, Tourists, and Settlers* (New York: D. Appleton and Co, 1884).The term "colonization" is a contentions one. I am using it in a specific (and I hope less controversial) way: that is, both the intentional and unintentional goal of Northerners to create a modern economy in post-Civil War Florida. To assure this development, the new immigrants (again intentionally and unintentionally) thought they would need to impose a Northern culture on a discredited Southern one. One of the first steps in colonization is to devalue the native population. Barbour does not disappoint us. He identified the natives as forming three groups: "Crackers, Old Aristocratic Southerners and Negroes." The former he characterized as "poor, ignorant, shiftless, conceited, lazy and worthless." The "Old White Southerners", he wrote, are "proud, worthy, kind-hearted" but "cannot learn the New England spirit of progression and it is useless to expect if of them." Barbour dismissed the Black population as good only as laborers and not likely "to play a prominent part in Florida." (231-237).

4. Quoted in John F. Foster and Sarah W. Foster, *Beechers, Stowes, and Yankee Strangers: The Transformation of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999), 48-49.

wrote, "is rapidly becoming a Northern colony." Throughout the Eastern seaboard, he continued, "these immigrants are clearing land, building homes, churches and even towns." The churches, he noted in particular, were as "attractive as any in the country." Barbour concluded by echoing a previous American colonization slogan: northeastern immigrants were creating a "new manifest destiny for the state" of Florida.[5]

The "invalids" in Barbour's title were early arrivals who were convinced that Florida'subtropical salubrious climate and landscape provided cures for respiratory illnesses. They filled the small hotels and inns that spouted like mushrooms to meet their needs. The "tourist" saw Florida, with its mild winter climate and lush tropical landscape, as a place of respite from the cold northern winters, or as an unspoiled wilderness for untapped hunting and fishing. These mostly wealthy Northerners sought rest and relaxation, even restoration. They spawned the building of large resort hotels along the Eastern seaboard such as the grand Flagler hotels. All these early groups were itinerant travelers who stayed in Florida only during the winter months. In time, many migrants settled permanently in the northeastern and central parts of the state and began colonizing Florida by building new lives in this largely frontier world. As Stowe had hoped and as Barbour observed, these "settlers, mostly from New England, brought with them, New England energy, brains, and solid capital that are developing the state." Nearly all the railroads, steamboats, mills, factories and the like are products of New England or New York capital...." They were "infusing the state with the New England spirit of progression."[6] These "settlers" designed and built new towns where they constructed retail stores, built homes and erected churches, transforming both the natural and built landscape from Jacksonville south into the peninsula. Almost all the towns in the area from Jacksonville to Melbourne and fifty miles inland were started by these Northern, and occasionally, foreign settlers. By the turn of the century, they created a Victorian architectural landscape that remains one of Florida's important historical treasures.

Churches were always important structures in these new towns. They indicated religious dedication, and symbolized the solidity

5. Barbour, *Florida*, 235; Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Palmetto Leaves* (Boston: James Osgood Co., 1873). This is a collection mostly of Stowe's articles on Florida.
6. Barbour, *Florida*, 225-230.

and the seriousness of the community's endeavors. The spires, usually rising above other buildings, contributed to that solidity and seriousness. The process of building a church in these new towns was usually the same. Small groups would gather for Union services in homes or a recently constructed store. If the village gained population, each denomination would separate to form its own congregation and, if large enough, build a church. Significantly, these churches were often the most aesthetically pleasing buildings in the little towns. Protestant congregations built many styles of churches during this era but few matched the beauty, grace and simple dignity of the many small Gothic Revival churches. The prevalence of this style reflected the influence of the Gothic Revival movement in America, but the roots of that revival reached deep into English ecclesiastical history.

On the surface, the Medieval Gothic style, originally created to reflect Roman Catholic beliefs and liturgy, seemed completely at odds with American Protestant sensibilities and beliefs. It smacked of popery and threatened guilt by association. The Gothic church architectural style arrived in North America, however, not from continental cathedrals but from English Gothic parish churches built during the Medieval period. The Ecclesiology movement favoring Gothic architecture began with a revolt against the perceived rationalism and secularism of the 18th century Greek Revival movement. The "Georgian" style, as it was sometimes known, had emphasized a strong classical motif with its Greek embellishments such as massive columns, classical capitols and stolid appearance. The ecclesiology supporting this style stressed rational and unemotional religious worship. Many churches had constricted the sacramental approach to liturgy and had even replaced the altar with the pulpit. A group of Anglican clerics at both Cambridge and Oxford revolted against what they saw as the over-secularization of worship that these structures represented. These Ecclesiologists, (those who studied the relationship between architecture and religious worship) argued that the Georgian church style had arisen from a pagan world, while the Gothic had true Christian roots. Influenced by the late eighteenth century Romantic Movement, the Oxford and Cambridge clerics led an effort to restore traditional rituals, symbolism and emotionalism to the liturgical practices of the Church of England. They seized upon the Gothic architectural style, featured in English Medieval parish churches, as the appropriate architecture for inspiring more

pious behavior in religious worship. The Gothic, they argued, not the Greek or Roman style, was the original Christian creation and therefore the true expression of Christianity.[7] The Gothic Revival movement pervaded most of the nineteenth century and not only reshaped English Anglican worship but also resulted in the construction of Gothic Revival churches throughout the island.

By the 1830s and 1840s the movement had crossed the Atlantic to the United States and peaked in its influence in the period between 1870 and 1900, often called the High Gothic Revival period. American Episcopalian ministers, who were most closely in contact with the Ecclesiology movement in England, were largely responsible for introducing the church architectural revival in America. In addition, several major American architects, through their work and writings, gave the form respectability and popularity. Foremost among the architects was Richard Upjohn. A native of Shaftesbury, England, Upjohn immigrated to the United States in 1829 and ultimately settled in New York where he began working on his first design, the Trinity Church in New York City. Finished in 1846, this structure firmly established his reputation as a major architect in the Gothic style. Thereafter, one church followed another until by mid-century he could rightly claim the title of the "father of American Gothic Revival." The majority of his churches were Episcopal because he believed (and expounded that belief) that the Gothic style was more compatible with revivalist Episcopal liturgy and rituals. Still, he was not rigid in his belief, arguing that other denominations could and should adapt the Gothic style to their own particular religious practices.[8] Upjohn himself freely modified and manipulated the traditional English Gothic Revival style, using different approaches to meet specific American material and religious requirements. Other architects followed Upjohn's lead. Consequently, these churches displayed a new and innovative American version of traditional Gothic which was called American Gothic.

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7. The literature on the Gothic Revival is voluminous. For my purposes, I have relied for background and for the movement's influence in America on Phoebe Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840-1852* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968), chapters 1 and 2. Stanton's footnotes cite the most important literature on the European and early American Revival.
8. Upjohn could draw a line. He refused a Unitarian request for a design, stating that Unitarians were not sufficiently Christian.

However significant Upjohn's large cathedral-like churches were, perhaps his most original legacy to church architecture was his contribution to the construction and spread of the Gothic style into America's rural countryside. As one scholar has noted, his rural church designs were amazingly "innovative and original." He introduced two novel ideas: he used wood instead of brick or stone and he assumed construction would be done by local carpenters. In designing these small rural churches, Upjohn was alert to the difficulty people in rural villages experienced in funding church construction. Brick was expensive and stone practically unavailable to rural congregations, but wood was in plentiful supply. Even though brick and stone were the traditional materials for Gothic churches, he perceived the possibilities of wood as a material in Gothic design. Upjohn was as "sensitive to the nature of his material [as he was] original in his translation of Gothic stone to wood."[9] He was also conscious of the fact that these churches would be built by local carpenters with direction from local congregations and that the prepared designs would undoubtedly be altered to fit local conditions and the varying skills of local artisans. He was not wrong in this conclusion. Every Carpenter Gothic church, while retaining core Gothic characteristics, has its own alterations and therefore its own individually. As Upjohn suspected, wooden material, which allowed for a variety of approaches to traditional Gothic design, opened the opportunity for the architect's imagination to soar and reaffirmed the artistic qualities of architecture.

After he had designed several small wooden Gothic churches in the 1850s, Upjohn began receiving so many requests from congregations in rural villages for his services that he published a book in 1852—entitled *Rural Architecture*—that provided the architectural needs for villages with limited budgets.[10] To make the construction of these structures by local carpenters more simple, Upjohn included 22 plates and amazing details. He specified the exact size, how many timbers were needed and how to lay joints, how to build a lectern, and how to construct doors. He even identified the color paint to be used. His plans, he wrote later, "would come within the means of the feeblest congregations, yet be in all its essentials a Church—plain, indeed, but becoming in its plainness...With fitness of arrangement and adoption to the

9. Stanton, *Gothic Revival*, 258-259.
10. Richard Upjohn, *Rural Architecture* (New York: Putnam, 1952).

end proposed, [even] the simplest and plainest edifice may claim praise [and create] an air of repose which will command and even involuntary respect."[11]

Along with the availability of such detailed designs, two additional factors made his plan popular in the rural areas of the country. One was the increased manufacture of cheap and reliable wire nails. The other (interconnected) architectural innovation that made Carpenter Gothic popular was the employment of a new building technique called "balloon framing," which was introduced to North America in the 1830s. Post-and-beam, the traditional framing technique, was formed from heavy vertical posts and massive horizontal beams, which produced stolid, massive buildings. Absent metal fasteners, these beams were held together by mortise and tenon chiseled out of the massive members. This construction required skilled carpenters and high labor costs. The balloon framing, which came into extensive use in the second half of the nineteenth century, was a skeleton framework consisting of a continuous series of slender 4x4 inch studs that rose from the foundation floor to the roof plate allowing architects to design high vaulted ceilings. The use of this inexpensive, lightweight building material was made possible by the introduction of steam-driven lumber mills and by the machine produced nails that held the joists together. Finally, balloon framing saved on labor costs because local carpenters using small milled 2x4 and 2x6 boards could work efficiently without a team of helpers and could thus finish the framing in a short period of time.[12] The employment of balloon framing, which allowed architects to design high, open-beam ceilings, gave the little churches their distinctive light and soaring qualities. They could be built faster than post-and-beam with less skilled labor and allowed for local innovation in style. These construction innovations fit perfectly the conditions and needs of rural America and made the little wooden Carpenter Gothic churches very desirable and widely popular. They also were extraordinary artistic achievements. As one scholar has noted, they "carried the potentialities of wood as an ecclesiastical building material beyond the Gothic inspiration and into a fresh manner

11. Stanton, *Gothic Revival*, 258-259.
12. Ibid. The origin of the name "balloon framing" is uncertain. The most popular explanation contends that skilled craftsmen thought its long thin members held together by nails only would blow away like a balloon in a high wind. For several reasons this construction has been replaced by platform framing.

which, though it is reminiscent of medieval building, is linear in ways in which stone could never be. The use of wood gave the structures lightness and slenderness of parts and acute roof angles that simply was not possible in stone."[13]

Town building was a key feature in the Northern colonization of Florida and churches were usually one of the first buildings these pious Late Victorians constructed, often building churches before they constructed stores. Unlike the construction of homes, retail stores and inns and hotels, the decision about church style was always a community endeavor, and required community participation. Thus, the first churches in the new town acquired not only meaning for the sectarian congregations but also gave cohesion and stature to the community. Not surprisingly, these first churches were invariably the most aesthetically pleasing edifices in the new towns and often their signature buildings, their spires soaring high above other buildings.[14]

Except for the Episcopal Churches, where the Bishop's preferences were key to choice of style, the reasons for the choice of Carpenter Gothic design remains uncertain. Extant church records rarely reveal a congregation's thought processes. Absent professional architects in their midst, congregations often turned to the churches' national organizations for architects, designs, or both. These organizations usually provided several different designs from which the congregations could choose. However, the prevalence of so many Carpenter Gothic designs clearly reveals the influence of the Gothic Revival on both the national organizations and the local congregations. One of the most widely read architectural writers of the period, A.J. Downing, a committed proponent of the Gothic style, alerted congregations to the significance of their choices of

13. Stanton, *Gothic Revival*, 258-259.

14. Although a beginning has been made by the Fosters, the colonization of Florida by Northern immigrants and their town-building efforts has yet to be fully explored. Nevertheless, such an account is essential to understanding Florida's history in the late nineteenth century, as well as revealing much about the state's present condition. Development meant not only clearing land, farming crops, and constructing buildings, but also implanting a Northern social and cultural system on an a formerly rural Southern society. As well as changing the natural and built landscape, the process transformed an entire way of life. The sources for these local histories are located in town documents, the archives of local historical societies, and in church archives. Enterprising local historians have written histories of some (though not all) of these towns and churches and some (though not all) have been posted on websites.

style. There is nothing man made, he wrote, that "confers so more dignity, poetry, and interest on a rural landscape as a beautiful country church—or sober, quiet color embossed in trees, and speaking volumes at a glance of religious feelings and the peaceful, refined habits of the inhabitants around it." Downing suggested that, because of "all the associations, all its history, belong so much more truly to the Christian faith, the design should be Gothic."[15]

The reasons and motivations for many of the Protestant church design choices may be obscure but their selections are visually obvious. Florida congregations in the late nineteenth century constructed perhaps as many as sixty Carpenter Gothic churches ranging geographically from Fort Myers on the West coast to Jacksonville on the Northeastern coast; from Jensen Beach on the Southeast coast to Monticello in the Panhandle. Over thirty still exist and are operational. In no other section of the nation were so many of these beautiful little wooden churches constructed, again, visual evidence of the influence of Northern migration to Florida in the late nineteenth century.

All these churches contain the core elements of Carpenter Gothic. They are constructed of wood, usually old growth pine, designed with steeply pitched roofs, pointed arched windows and doorways, stained glass windows, board-and-batten siding, steeples placed asymmetrically on the exterior, window tracery, open walls and scissored-trussed roof, and some with decorative bargeboards. Most were built with a surprisingly innovative combination of these characteristics. Some churches were built with towers and steeples, some with towers but no steeples, some with no towers or steeples. When towers and/or steeples were included, builders felt free to place them on any part of the structures: front, back, sides, on top. The most common siding was board and batten, but there was no consistency of vertical or horizontals, nor were all the churches board-and-batten. Episcopal churches inclined toward the vertical while the other denominations toward the horizontal. Why builders had these preferences remains a mystery. Clearly the vertical contributes to the linear perception of the building, but the horizontal siding has a distinctive quality of its own. Church interiors, as well as the exteriors, differed considerably. Most, though not all, Episcopal churches were constructed on a modified

15. A. J. Downing, "Domestic Notices: Design For Rural Churches," *The Horticulturalist* 2 (March 1848), 312.

"cruciform plan," that is with narthex, nave, and a chancel with raised altars, while non-Episcopal churches tended to retain the traditional meetinghouse configuration, eliminating the altar altogether. The Episcopal sanctuaries were often more uniform in their decorative, stained-glass windows, darkly stained wood and lavishly decorated altar than their sectarian relatives. Yet, a few Episcopal churches contain brilliantly white wall boards which lighten these sanctuaries beyond most Episcopal interiors, and one or two non-Episcopal churches are dimly lit.

The sheer number of Episcopal Carpenter Gothic churches in Florida would therefore place them in a separate category.[16] Additionally, they contain characteristics not found in churches of other denominations. The Gothic Revivalist influence among Episcopalians had come to Florida before the Civil War and (not without controversy) was firmly established by the 1870s. Revivalist Episcopalians wanted their worship spaces to arouse the senses, lift the worshiper from ordinary experiences of life and prepare the congregation for the mysteries of Christian rituals. In Episcopal liturgy, the visual senses are considered links to the divine and creation. Thus, the interiors of Episcopal churches are replete with visual representations, dark stained wood, subdued lighting, and a sober atmosphere suggesting a mysterious, even mystical, experience. Finally, Episcopal liturgy, emphasizing the sense of tasting and smelling and made the Eucharist the center of worship. In all of these Episcopal Carpenter Gothic churches the raised altar, where the ritual takes place, is given a place of prominence.

The efforts to establish Episcopal missions and to build Carpenter Gothic churches were made smoother by the Northern character of the population they found in these emerging communities. Most of these early migrants came with considerable wealth, and Episcopalism had traditionally been attractive to this class of Northerners. The Diocese had the aid of Harriet Beecher Stowe in establishing a church in Mandarin. In Green Cove Springs a congregation of wealthy Northerners taking the waters provided the resources. At Enterprise, Sanford, Titusville, and several other villages the Diocese had the support of Northern entrepreneurs

16. For my discussion of Episcopal church building in Florida in the late nineteenth century, I have drawn from Joseph D. Cushman, Jr., *A Goodly Heritage: The Episcopal Church in Florida, 1821-1892* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1965), the definitive account of Episcopal nineteenth century church building in Florida.

Interior of Ocoee Christian Church, Ocoee. Photograph courtesy of the author.

and land developers. In town after town, generous Northern philanthropists donated land and funds to build churches. In many ways, the history of funding of these Episcopal (and non-Episcopal) Carpenter Gothic churches is a revealing story of the Northern influence on Florida's dynamic development in the late nineteenth century.

The individual responsible for most of the Carpenter Gothic churches in Florida was the Florida Diocese's second bishop, John Freeman Young. He came to Florida in 1867 deeply committed to the tenets of the Ecclesiologists and therefore extremely sensitive to both the liturgical possibilities of the Carpenter Gothic style and its potential to satisfy the financial restrictions of a frontier society. While assistant rector of Trinity Church in New York he had become acquainted with its architect, Richard Upjohn, and later seemed determined to bring Upjohn's rural Gothic designs to Florida. In a frontier state almost completely devoid of architectural style, he found fertile ground for his interest in ecclesiastical architecture. He traveled throughout north and central Florida helping fledgling congregations not only select the Gothic architectural styles, but also choose appropriate building sites. Whenever an Episcopal

mission attained sufficient numbers and found a beneficiary willing to fund the building of church, Bishop Young was quick to give the congregation direction.

Young's first opportunity to build a church based on Upjohn's plans came in 1870 when General Henry Sanford set aside a lot for an Episcopal church in his new village of Sanford on the banks of Lake Monroe. When Sanford's spouse secured enough funds "from her northern friends" to build a church, Young provided the plans from Upjohn's book. He himself consecrated Holy Cross in 1873. Probably because the builders followed Upjohn's plans so closely, the Bishop thought Holy Cross Florida's "most beautiful church."[17] Unfortunately a tornado destroyed the building seven years later; the congregation subsequently built another church, but this time on a "modified Upjohn plan."

The construction of Orlando's St Luke's church in 1881 is another example of Young's hands-on participation. He had earlier told the congregation that he would help with funds for the edifice, but when he visited several months later he discovered they had already had the resources for construction. He then provided them with plans and directed them to "the finest site in town, it being upon a crown of a ridge, descending to a lake, containing over an acre." In Cocoa he secured an ax and helped the congregation clear the land for their church.

Young's emphasis on St. Luke's site was revealing. He considered the setting of these little churches essential to their spiritual and aesthetic qualities. A few of these structures, still situated on their original sites, indicate how successful he was in his choices. St. Margaret's in Hibernia and St. George's on St. George Island are located in remote, old-growth forest sites accessible solely by unpaved roads. Several are in crowded areas, but retain their bucolic ambience. St. Luke's in Curtenay is encircled by a high-end sub-division but seems isolated from its surroundings. All Saints at Enterprise and St. Luke's at Fruitland sit on busy highways but still seem secluded. St. Mary's in Green Cove Springs is located in the middle of town, but by turning one's back on the town, the viewer is presented with a picturesque setting and a stunning view of the St. Johns River. Still many of these churches' original sites, although well landscaped, have been enveloped by urban growth. These included Ocoee Christian in Ocoee, St. Gabriel's

17. Cushman, *A Goodly Heritage*, 115.

in Titusville, St. Mark's in Palatka, Grace Episcopal in Port Orange, Altamonte Chapel in Altamonte Springs, among others.

In the three decades following the building of Holy Cross, Young and his successor, Bishop Edwin Weed, were indefatigable in their church-building mission. Although a definite number is difficult to determine, it is possible that Florida Episcopal congregations constructed as many as eighty Carpenter Gothic churches between 1870 and 1910, most under the direction of Bishops Young and Weed. However, Young was the principal inspiration, as Bishop Weed acknowledged when he assumed leadership of the Florida Diocese in 1886: [Bishop Young's] "taste is to be seen everywhere. There is not a Diocese in the American [Episcopal] Church with as many temples of worship constructed with the same reference to the true principles of architecture. His foresight was markedly shown in the selection of places for the erection of churches."[18]

By 1900 Episcopal Carpenter Gothic churches could be found as far north as St. George Island and as far south as Fort Myers. Amazingly, although each structure retains the core Gothic elements of lancet windows, and doorways, board-and-batten siding, pointed stained-glass windows, and balloon framing, each was unique in its configuration. They range from buildings of simple elegance to those of lavish ornamentations, and much in between. All Saints in Enterprise is an example of the former. Jacob Brock, steamboat entrepreneur, was most responsible for building the town of Enterprise and attracting Northern visitors to his lavish hotel on Lake Monroe. One traveler, a wealthy Northern wine merchant named Frederick DeBary built a home and lodge west of the town. He and Brock provided most of funds for a new Episcopal church. Reverend Samuel Carpenter, rector of Sanford's Holy Cross, across the lake from Enterprise, supervised the construction but the choice of style lay with Bishop Young, who consecrated the edifice in 1873. All Saints was placed along the town's main street a short distance from Lake Monroe. Constructed of natural cypress and old growth long leaf and curly pine, the structure is a basic cruciform Carpenter Gothic design. Except for the double lance windows and board-and-batten vertical siding, All Saints is void of any adornment. The interior continues this simplicity. The walls and ceiling are uncovered, revealing the stained studded wall construction and the scissor-trussed ceiling. All but one of

18. Ibid., 177.

the stained glass windows contain simple geometric designs. In recent years a small sacristy and handicap access has been added; otherwise All Saints retains its original configuration. Although it sits on a busy highway, the setting remains bucolic and picturesque.

Holy Trinity in Fruitland Park provides an example of extensive ornamentation. A group of English settlers (one of many such groups who came to Florida in the late nineteenth century) were responsible for building Holy Trinity. In 1880 eighty of them, mostly bachelors, settled on a 106 acre orange grove around Lake Ella near Fruitland. Shortly after starting the little village of Chetwynd they received permission from Bishop Weed to establish an Episcopal mission and to build a church. Bishop Weed consecrated the edifice in 1888. The building probably owes its unusual exterior configuration and ornamentation to the settlers' tastes in English parish churches. The reason for the three porches and portals remains a mystery; according to legend they symbolized the congregation's openness to all "sides." The small sculptured columns, the decorated porch gables and bargeboards, the scalloped church gable, the tracery in the painted lancet windows—many characteristics indicative of an English parish church—give Holy Trinity a distinctiveness unlike any Florida Carpenter Gothic church. The interior, with its open walls and open scissor-trussed ceiling, resembles other Episcopal Carpenter Gothic churches; however, its collection of hanging flags and banners reminds the congregation of its English origins. Holy Trinity has the distinction of possessing one of the oldest lych gates in the nation.

If the Episcopal preference for Carpenter Gothic design was unsurprising, the choice by other Protestant denominations seems problematic. After all, the Gothic design was an integral part of Roman Catholic, not Protestant, history. In the late nineteenth century, most Protestant clergy and their parishioners still regarded anything Roman Catholic with disdain. Building and then worshiping in sanctuaries modeled on the Medieval Gothic Cathedrals could be seen as "popish." In addition, the Gothic style required a sanctuary that was more elaborate than the minimalist decorative traditions of most Protestant Churches. As with Episcopalians, other denominations built churches that fit their theology, but, unlike Episcopalians, they based their liturgy on the hearing senses. They rejected elaborate decorations and formal rituals, emphasizing instead the preaching of the Word. The pulpit replaced the altar, clear windows replaced stained glass windows,

and stark white walls replaced dimly lit interiors. Elaborate decorations distracted attention of the worshipers from the central point of the service: a sermon interpreting the Word. What then led these Protestant denominations to embrace the Carpenter Gothic style conceived with Episcopal liturgy in mind? Because we have so little evidence of the thoughts, motives and intentions of all congregations, any response is conjecture. Still, a partial answer lies with the influence of the national Gothic Revival that permeated the late Victorian American culture. If the Carpenter Gothic style had become a preeminent part of popular taste, then all Protestant leaders were forced to respond to it.

The General Congregational Convention did just that. Representing all Congregational Churches, the Convention published a long detailed response to the growing popularity of Upjohn-designed churches in rural America. In a book entitled *A Book of Plans For Churches and Parsonages*, the Convention urged Congregational congregations to select church styles with more considered taste. The writers urged that when congregations decided to build a church they choose "with good taste and be the means of cultivating it, surely attention to its quality in this respect is not out of place or unimportant." These "principles of architecture," they went on to say, apply "to the humblest and the simplest as well as the most imposing and elaborate. But the convention hurried to distinguish a Congregational sanctuary from an Episcopal one: "A Church is eminently a place where the word of God, the living Word, is expounded and enforced by the living voice.... The pulpit, in distinction from the altar, is the sign and prominent feature of a Christian Church as we view it. [This] requires the seeing as well as the hearing of one who occupies the pulpit."[19] Along with these general guidelines, the book included examples of Carpenter Gothic churches (including those designed by Upjohn). That several Florida Protestant denominations built Carpenter Gothic Churches during this period is testament to the powerful influence of the Gothic Revival and perhaps even the Congregational Convention's *Book of Plans*. The wooden Carpenter Gothic style proved so adaptable that diverse congregations could, with good conscience, build these churches to suit their own predilections. T h r e e

19. General Convention of Congregational Churches, *A Book of Plans For Churches and Parsonages. Published Under the Direction of the Central Committee of the General Congregational Convention* (New York: D. Burgess, 1853), Introduction.

Ocoee Christian Church. Photographed by author.

examples illustrate this point. Ocoee Christian Church was the creation of William Temple Withers, a wealthy Kentucky immigrant who, in 1883, bought an orange grove in the community of Ocoee. He immediately organized a Disciples of Christ congregation and in 1891 he and his family built the present church designed by an unnamed "famous Boston architect."

The church is built on a cruciform plan, and the church literature explaining this design reveals how the Gothic Revival glorified its Medieval Gothic heritage and ignored its Catholic origins. The literature proudly proclaims, the church design is "a smaller replica of the great Cathedrals of Europe." Externally and internally, the Ocoee Church edifice contains most Carpenter Gothic characteristics. It is built of old growth heart of pine; its siding is vertical board, and its steeple dominates the exterior view. Internally, the nave, the transept, the dark stained wood, the open, high-vaulted, scissor trussed ceiling, and the stained glass pointed windows (designed by Tiffany, according to church legend) would be recognizable to any Episcopal congregation. However, several aspects give the interior a non-Episcopal feel. In keeping with Disciple of Christ liturgy, the nave occupies most

of the sanctuary and, instead of a large altar space, a tiny chancel is filled with the pulpit and a communion table. Except for the brightly colored stained glass windows, the sanctuary is almost void of ornamentation. Still, the Ocoee church is very different from the spare meeting house style ordinarily found in a rural frontier.

A second example is the Lagrange Community Church in Titusville, perhaps the most basic of the Florida Carpenter Gothic churches. Located in the community of La Grange, the church was founded as a non-denominational, community congregation. It became a place not only for Sunday worship for the scattered population around Titusville, but also served as a community gathering place for the area. It contains only the most basic elements of the Carpenter Gothic style. Except for the colored pointed windows, the interior with its covered ceiling resembles a plain, unadorned meeting house. Still, it is exactly the colorful windows and the tower and steeple that set it apart from a meeting house and gives the edifice distinction and a simple elegance. The tower and steeple, centered in the front, provide exterior symmetry and the painted windows suffuse the interior with brilliant color, unthinkable in a Puritan meetinghouse.

Lagrange Community Church, Titusville. Photographed by author.

Finally, one of the most interesting Carpenter Gothic structures in Florida is the Hebrew United Synagogue in Ocala, constructed in 1888. It seems an unusual choice for this non-Christian group, but Jewish congregations often followed prevailing architectural trends. Jewish families moved to Ocala in the 1870s in large enough numbers to form a congregation, and met informally in homes until 1888 when they built a synagogue. It is the second oldest synagogue in Florida and certainly the only Jewish Gothic Carpenter building in the state. The structure has the characteristics of a Carpenter Gothic edifice with a single rectangular room, horizontal board and batten siding. Although much like the La Grange Church, without a tower and steeple, it shows the malleability of the design. Oval, Romanesque windows replace the Gothic pointed arches and a decorated verge board supplants the tower and steeple. The verge board above the front doorway, which suggests a Middle Eastern design, gives the synagogue its distinctiveness. The worship space is illuminated by brightly colored stained glass windows containing distinctive Hebraic symbols, possibly deriving from Eastern Orthodox traditions. In keeping with the Jewish tradition, the interior most likely contained a gallery for women, a platform with a reading table and Torah a shrine on a raised platform. In 1976 this historic Jewish congregation constructed a new building and changed its name from United Hebrew Synagogue to Temple B'Nai Darom (Children of the South). The building is now used and maintained (apparently with no sense of irony) by a Christian group called the Ocala Bible Society. The edifice is a "contributing property" to the Tuscawilla Historic District.

In my months of research I have located over 30 existing Carpenter Gothic churches. Most are located in the northeastern and east central portion of the state. Many also are in small towns. While some started in small towns, many are surrounded by sprawling suburbs of large cities. For historical and theological reasons, the Episcopalians preserved most of these churches. Their preservation record flows from their theological beliefs and their strong sense of historical continuity. God sanctified these edifices, so Episcopalians were compelled to preserve them. This tradition places the Episcopal Church, particularly in itinerant Florida, in a special preservation category. No other denomination has been so determined to preserve and to protect its historical heritage. Twenty-two of the 30 existing Carpenter Gothic churches are Episcopal, three are Presbyterian, two are Congregational, one

each for Christian and Methodist, and Hebrew. While it is true that the Episcopal Church built more of these churches than other denominations, it is also true that other denominations have not been as committed to preservation as Episcopalians.

The fates of two non-Episcopal Carpenter Gothic churches are revealing and instructive. From its founding in 1885, the Winter Park First Congregational Carpenter Gothic church had special historic significance. It was the first church built in Winter Park and its pastor, Edward Hooker, was the first president of the newly founded Rollins College. The college held its first classes in the little unfinished church. In 1923, the congregation built a much larger sanctuary and used the Gothic church for offices. Then in 1937, the congregation decided to build a fellowship hall on the little church's location. What should they do with this historic building? Aware of its significance to the history of Rollins College, its President offered to move the edifice a few blocks to the campus, but at the last moment engineers found that the church building could not be moved through Winter Park's narrow streets. First Congregational Church demolished the little building and sold the lumber for one hundred dollars. At a time when the nation was mired in a deep economic depression, we can perhaps empathize with the church's reluctance to use meager funds to move the building to another location. Still, a more fervent commitment from the community to historical preservation might have saved the structure for posterity. Had it been preserved it would today be the city's oldest edifice.[20]

Forty years later Dunedin did what Winter Park failed to do: preserve a little wooden church. In 1888 a group of Scottish Presbyterians, who had founded Dunedin, constructed a Carpenter Gothic Presbyterian church on the corner of Scotland Street and Highland Avenue. Constructed of Florida heart of pine, with two Gothic archways leading to the sanctuary, it was adorned with hand carved beams and pews. Andrews Memorial Church, named for one of its major donors, was scheduled for demolition in 1970 to make way for a larger Presbyterian sanctuary. The Dunedin Historical Society stepped in and saved it from destruction. The Society

20. In 1923, when members of the Winter Park Congregational Church decided to build a larger structure, they found a new national church architectural movement underway—the Colonial Revival Movement—and not surprisingly they responded with an imposing, stately Colonial Revival design.

moved the building to a location at the entrance to one of the city's parks, restored it in 1974, and placed it on the National Historical Register. This former Presbyterian Church is now a museum owned by Dunedin Historical Society. It is a prize landmark in historic Dunedin.[21]

Thus, given the prevailing pressures for change and development in twenty-first century Florida, perhaps there is a cautionary tale and a lesson here: these elegant artistic gems are worth saving because they stand as testimony to an important era in Florida's past. We may perceive in them an even larger reason for preservation. In Phoebe Stanton's words:

> The many small wooden churches inspired by or built by Upjohn designs are modest but important. They record the moment when American builders and architects, while improvising upon a foreign style and the ideas that came with it, displayed their capacity to comprehend aesthetic principles and repeat not correct detail but the essential constructive and spatial truths of the style in which they were working. [22]

To which we may respond, "Amen!" These wooden Carpenter Gothic Churches are not only Florida's artistic treasures but national monuments. Not surprisingly, many have been placed on the National Register of Historic Places.

21. Holy Apostles Episcopal Church in Satellite Beach has an even more dramatic preservation story to tell. In 1959, The Saint Andrew's Congregation in Fort Pierce donated their 1902 Carpenter Gothic church building to the Holy Apostles congregation in Satellite Beach. The building was loaded on a river barge, pulled up the Indian River by tug boat, and once on shore, pulled on telephone poles to its present site in Satellite Beach.
22. Stanton, *Gothic Revival*, 269.

APPENDIX

FLORIDA'S CARPENTER GOTHIC CHURCHES BY DATE OF CONSTRUCTION

There may be more existing and demolished nineteenth century Carpenter Gothic churches than have been listed here. The author would welcome from readers any suggestions of additional ones that still exist as well as those that were built but no longer exist. Readers may contact the author at jlane@rollins.edu. You may view photos of all the churches he has found on his Carpenter Gothic Blog: jaclane.blogspot.com

EXTANT CHURCHES

1854—PALATAKA. (ST MARK'S EPISCOPAL)

1869—TITUSVILLE (LA GRANGE COMMUNITY CHURCH, NON-DENOMINATIONAL)

1878—JASPER (FIRST UNITED METHODIST)
HIBERNIA (ST MARGARET'S EPISCOPAL)

1881—MADISON, (ST MARY'S EPISCOPAL)

1883—ENTERPRISE (ALL SAINTS EPISCOPAL)
MANDARIN (JACKSONVILLE) (CHURCH OF OUR SAVIOR EPISCOPAL)
ST GEORGE ISLAND (JACKSONVILLE) (ST GEORGE EPISCOPAL)

1884—LAKE CITY (ST JAMES' EPISCOPAL)

1885—MONTICELLO (CHRIST EPISCOPAL)
INTERLACHEN (FIRST CONGREGATIONAL)
ALTAMONTE SPRING (ALTAMONTE CHAPEL, CONGREGATIONAL)

1886—MELBOURNE (HOLY TRINITY EPISCOPAL)
GREEN COVE SPRINGS (ST MARY'S EPISCOPAL)
MELROSE (TRINITY EPISCOPAL)

1887—TITUSVILLE (ST GABRIEL'S EPISCOPAL)

1888—DUNEDIN (ANDREWS MEMORIAL PRESBYTERIAN)
DUNEDIN (CHURCH OF GOOD SHEPHERD EPISCOPAL)

FRUITLAND PARK (HOLY TRINITY EPISCOPAL)
COURTNEY (MERRITT ISLAND) (ST JAMES EPISCOPAL)
MILTON (ST MARY'S EPISCOPAL)
OCALA (UNITED HEBREW SYNAGOGUE)
(OCALA BIBLE SOCIETY)

1889—FORT MEADE (CHRIST EPISCOPAL) LEESBURG (ST JAMES EPISCOPAL)

1890—HAINES CITY (ST MARK'S EPISCOPAL) LADY LAKE (ST ALBAN'S EPISCOPAL)

1891—OCOEE (CHRISTIAN)

1892—QUINCY, (ST PAUL'S EPISCOPAL)

1893—PORT ORANGE (GRACE EPISCOPAL)

1895—HIGH SPRINGS (ST BART'S EPISCOPAL)

1896—DEFUNIAK SPRINGS (ST AGATHA'S EPISCOPAL)

1898—WAVELAND (JENSEN BEACH) (ALL SAINTS EPISCOPAL)

1902—SATELLITE BEACH (HOLY APOSTLES EPISCOPAL)

1907—MACINTOSH (PRESBYTERIAN)

1911——LYNN HAVEN (FIRST PRESBYTERIAN)

CHURCHES BUILT BUT DEMOLISHED

1873—SANFORD (HOLY CROSS EPISCOPAL)

1882—MANDARIN (CHURCH OF OUR SAVIOR)

1885—WINTER PARK (FIRST CONGREGATIONAL)
ST. PETERSBURG (FIRST CONGREGATIONAL)

Book Reviews

Daniel Murphree, Book Review Editor

Climate and Catastrophe in Cuba and the Atlantic World in the Age of Revolution. By Sherry Johnson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. Acknowledgements, appendices, maps, notes, illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 328. $39.95 cloth.)

Climate and Catastrophe by Sherry Johnson is truly an outstanding interdisciplinary work that combines the data and methodologies of the social sciences and hard sciences to analyze the "Age of the Revolution" (1748-1804) within a historical framework. From the beginning, the introduction is elegantly written, introducing clear objectives of the book: to explain how climate and catastrophe affected colonial Cuba. In her work, she establishes a "correlation among climate, environmental crises, and historical processes" to develop an alternate hypotheses for "change in the Atlantic basin" (20). The book weaves the data and information developed from historical climatology into our current understanding of the turbulent political and economic history of the Caribbean and Americas, in particular Cuba in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This is not a traditional environmental history that discusses how human behavior affected climate change. Instead, Johnson evaluates how climate and catastrophe, largely hurricanes and drought brought on by El Niño and La Niña cycles (the "evil twins," as she calls them), "affected humans' economic, political, social, and cultural behavior" (6).

Climate and Catastrophe is being released at a key moment in our history as climate deniers and climate scientists heatedly debate the consequences of rising temperatures and human behavior on the climate. Johnson's key contribution is to say "climate matters" in historical and current studies. Most historians have probably at one point noticed the volume of official

and personal letters, reports, and diaries that mention or discuss fluctuating climate conditions within a region. In the past, it might have been difficult to historically trace how climate mattered given the scant data. But since the 1980s, Johnson and others have benefited from the body of climate data that has been collected from core ice and ocean floor samples, and tree rings. The incorporation of these scientific findings within a humanities and historical context is remarkably well done in this book.

But Johnson is not alone in providing readers an understanding of how climate affects food security, economics, national policies, and social change. Beginning in the twenty-first century, Mike Davis in *Late Victorian Holocausts* (2002) examined how the El Niño/La Niña cycles affected the world's food security, particularly in Brazil, China and India; and how the concept of the "third world" was a creation manifested from the experience of mass famine and deprivation during the Victorian period. Historical studies of climate in Latin America are relatively new to the field. In 2010, Amílcar Challú, John Coatsworth, and Ricardo Salvatore (editors) in *Living Standards in Latin American History* (2010) highlighted how climate, especially the drought and hurricane cycles, affected food security, and in turn, heights of the people and the welfare of the poor, especially in rural areas. Similarly, Mark Carey in *In the Shadow of Melting Glaciers* (2010) examined the historical effects of climate and glaciers, and the catastrophic glacier disasters of the twentieth century that affected the rural people of the Andes. Like Challú and Carey, Johnson is pioneering the study of historical climatology in Latin America. All these works are highly valuable to Latin American studies and contribute to our understanding of how climate, disaster, food security, social status quos, and poverty are inter- related in the longer view of history.

Historians of Florida will be interested in reading how St. Augustine became a vital gateway between the United States and Cuba in the late eighteenth century. Despite a "deadly combination of disastrous weather and epidemic disease" from 1773 to 1776, foreigners were not permitted to trade directly with Cuba (122). But there was imperious need for the United States to provide foodstuffs and provisions to the Caribbean. Hence, the port in St. Augustine became a "conduit" by which North Americans could continuously provide needed provisions to Cuba. The commercial trunk lines were between Havana, East Florida, and the northern United States. The author's prose is graceful and accessible to a wide audience, including the general public, undergraduate and graduate students, and the scholarly community of historians, social and climate scientists. The work proceeds in a chronological order, placing together key historical events with major climate catastrophes. For a quick

view, the book's first appendix provides a chronology of the El Niño/ La Niña cycles paired alongside major historical events from 1749-1800. The book is a page-turner as the story is a fascinating drama of climate disaster, politics, economic change, rebellion, and revolution. Johnson's work and methods should be cited and tried by future historians who examine the topics of climate, food security, disaster, governmental policy, and markets in the Americas. Overall, *Climate and Catastrophe* is a valuable contribution to the field of history.

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Southern Prohibition: Race, Reform, and Public Life in Middle Florida, 1821-1920. By Lee L. Willis (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xi, 224. $24.95 paper.)

Lee Willis' *Southern Prohibition* is a wonderful new contribution to the growing study of the temperance and prohibition movement in the American South. Willis recognizes that though dismissed in the past as a puritanical and regressive movement, the impulse for prohibition legislation was in fact a unique reform impulse driven by a complex matrix of political, social, religious, gender, race, and class issues, and he does a nice job of sorting through the various undercurrents of the movement. Willis' study limits itself geographically to the counties comprising Middle Florida, but effectively uses the developments in this region as a window onto the larger path towards legal prohibition that the state as a whole traveled from the antebellum period until it achieved statewide prohibition in 1918, just ahead of the rest of the nation. Most of Middle Florida had alcohol use restrictions more than a decade prior to the statewide legislation, and Willis traces the story of how that area was transformed from wet to dry.

In the territorial period, early temperance advocates faced a significant challenge trying to change the prevailing culture of drinking among white men. Prohibitions against selling liquor to Native Americans and slaves, however, were successfully enacted. Evangelicalism came to Middle Florida somewhat late, but experienced a surge in 1842 when revivals fueled the push for temperance. The Washingtonians—an antebellum working-class temperance organization—took the early lead pushing for prohibition in the Middle Florida counties, followed by the Sons of Temperance by the end of the 1840s. The remainder of the antebellum period saw greater efforts on the part of "respectable" whites to tame social life

through stricter licensing laws and the gentrification of hotels and taverns. The late 1850s and the subsequent Civil War was a setback to prohibition in Florida, as it was elsewhere across the South, but the outcry against the saloon revived by the 1880s. Concerned about the perceived disorder of society, Middle Floridians began to call for legal prohibition. In 1904 Leon County went dry, and most of Middle Florida soon followed suit. The last holdout was Franklin County, where a large Roman Catholic population helped stave off local option until 1915. Willis teases out the various factors at work in Franklin County, including a growing African American population and concomitant white fears and racial tension, greater white devotion to the glorified memory of the Confederacy and the Lost Cause, and the increased number of black saloons in Apalachicola. When the county outlawed the sale of alcohol in 1915, the process of drying out Middle Florida (and most of the rest of the state) was accomplished.

Willis pays close attention to the role that African Americans played in the push for prohibition in the aftermath of Reconstruction. Many leading figures in the separate black churches that emerged after the Civil War looked to prohibition not as a form of social control, as many whites did, but as a form of social improvement for southern black men. Willis also reveals that in Middle Florida, unlike other parts of the South, women played a less significant role in the early push for prohibition. They were excluded from the meetings and rallies of both the Washingtonians and Sons of Temperance, and even through the end of the century continued to be marginalized in the campaign for alcohol reform. He finds, however, that women played a greater role in Apalachicola than they did in Tallahassee.

Willis intriguingly expands the scope of his inquiry beyond the prohibition of alcohol from time to time in the book, looking at the use of and attack upon other psychoactive substances such as caffeine, opiates, and tobacco. This aspect comes and goes throughout the narrative, providing just enough to whet the appetite of the reader for more information about how the use of these substances grew in Florida and how some, such as laudanum and morphine, were eventually outlawed by the state. Another tantalizing component of Willis' work is his use of archaeological evidence from saloons and stores, some of it going back to the territorial era, as well as his use of maps from fire insurance companies in Tallahassee and Apalachicola that reveal the distribution of saloons, dance halls, and other establishments at the turn of the century. Willis is to be commended for his use of such evidence in his study, though one might wish he had done even more with it, using archeological and other evidence to help paint a clearer picture of the nature of these drinking and entertainment establishments. Were they—as their critics at the time charged—"dark,

damnable dens of degradation," or were they simply innocent centers of conviviality? Prohibition advocates frequently used liquor bottles as evidence that saloons (especially those catering to African Americans) sold low-quality liquor packaged in bottles with suggestive labels that enraged the passions of those who consumed it and fueled drunken violence (particularly towards white women). Is there anything in the archeological evidence that might support or contradict that claim?

It is hoped that Willis will continue to mine these sources to see what they might teach us about drinking in the South and the campaign to end it. *Southern Prohibition* certainly does much to educate us about the course of prohibition reform in Middle Florida and, by extension, throughout the state and the South. Students and teachers of southern history, Florida history, and southern religion will greatly appreciate the book and be indebted to Willis for his contribution.

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The American Dreams of John B. Prentis, Slave Trader. By Kari J. Winter. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xiv, 180. $59.95 cloth; $22.95 paper.)

Kari J. Winter's *The American Dreams of John B. Prentis, Slave Trader* is an interesting yet imperfect book that examines the important Prentis family of Virginia during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Using the Prentis Family Papers at the College of William & Mary, Winter explores "the development and clash between the dream of equality and the dream of wealth as they shaped three generations of a prominent Virginia family"(1). The author focuses primarily on John P. Prentis (1788-1848), the second son of the highly regarded state jurist Joseph Prentis. Although raised in a refined and educated clan, the younger Prentis chose a path different from the rest of his family by becoming an artisan laborer who embraced a "working- class identity" as well as a slave trader who transported thousands of African Americans into the Deep South. The book is at its best when Winter narrates the family's eighteenth century rise to prominence and its trials and tribulations during the nineteenth century. But the author's conclusions—frequently derived through postmodern analysis—are often unconvincing and unsupported by the evidence presented. Thus, the true significance of the Prentis family upon Virginia and southern history remains unclear.

American Dreams begins with the family's Virginia founder, William Prentis (1699- 1765), who arrived in the colony in 1715 as an orphan and indentured servant. Purchased by the Williamsburg merchant and physician Archibald Blair, young William quickly learned the ins- and-outs of colonial trade. After serving his term, he worked diligently, accumulated property, and eventually bought a controlling-stake in Blair's store. Prentis became a highly-regarded, wealthy, and respected "gentleman" in the colonial capital, all of which allowed him to marry Mary Brooke, a member of a prominent gentry family. William and Mary's children continued the family's march up the colony's political and economic ladder. William Jr. (1740-1824) became publisher of the *Virginia Gazette & Petersburg Intelligencer* and served four terms as mayor of Petersburg. His youngest brother, Joseph, (1754-1809) read law at William & Mary, became a member of the House of Delegates, and served as a judge on the state's General Court. The first two generations of the Prentis family not only fully embraced the ideals of the Enlightenment, but they also accepted the realities and contradictions of their world. Although proponents of the liberal principles of the American Revolution, for example, they nevertheless supported and greatly profited from slavery throughout the eighteenth century.

Winter devotes the bulk of her attention to Judge Prentis's four children, particularly his second son, John. While his older brother and two sisters wholly accepted the fundamental assumptions and values of the tidewater gentry, John initially embarked upon a different path: a career as a skilled artisan. Indeed, John traveled to Philadelphia in 1805 to apprentice with a Quaker carpenter. The experience exposed the young Virginian to a dynamic urban culture as well as radical antislavery sentiments. As a result, he briefly flirted with abolitionism and wrote his father letters expressing a growing distaste for human bondage. After his apprenticeship, however, John returned to Virginia where he settled in Richmond and abandoned all notions of black freedom. Unfortunately, Winter does not explore in any detail Prentis's decision to return to the South and his rejection of abolition. In the Old Dominion's capital, he established a carpentry business, married a woman named Catherine Dabney, and became a slave trader. He entered the latter business on a large scale after the Panic of 1819 and continued trading slaves until his death in 1848. Winter concludes that John Prentis's life story "involved abandoning his innate sense of justice and equality in favor of a frenzied investment in violence, exploitation, and dehumanization" (2).

John's career choices—first, in a manual laboring profession, and, second, as a slave trader—caused tensions within the family, especially with his elder brother Joseph Jr. (1783- 1851), a lawyer in Suffolk, Virginia. Joseph

embodied the key attributes of Virginia's nineteenth century elite: he was refined, well-educated, a landowner, and a member of a highly-respected learned profession. Apparently embarrassed by their brother, Joseph and his sisters often avoided visiting him whenever in the state capital. John himself alternatively championed his "working-class" identity and yet felt his social inferiority in comparison with his older brother. Winter does an excellent job not only discussing these family dynamics, but also exploring the larger social prejudices John confronted as a slave trader in the antebellum South.

While Winter's narrative is strong, her conclusions about the Prentises are problematic. Because the author frequently examines their experiences through a postmodern lens, she makes a number of assertions without (in this writer's mind) adequate evidence to support them. Toward the book's end, for example, Winter asserts that John Prentis likely engaged in sexual relations with female slaves throughout his life. Yet there is almost no evidence of this. The author further concludes that John's "invocations of love" for his spouse Catherine in his last will and testament "worked to secure his wife's collaboration" in his sexual dalliances. His final words of affection supposedly "reminded her that a dignified, virtuous, and affectionate wife tolerates and accommodates her husband's weaknesses, sexual and otherwise. As a prudent wife, Catherine Prentis most likely turned a blind eye to John's fancies, refusing to know what she knew" (163). In short, Prentis's statement of love for his wife proved that he had sexually exploited his slaves and that his wife acquiesced to his actions! While all historians need to speculate when the written record is silent, Winter's suppositions reach conclusions that appear well beyond the evidentiary record.

In sum, *American Dreams* is a book historians of antebellum Virginia and the South will want to read in order to learn more about this prominent family as well as to gain insights into the life of an aggressive and unapologetic slave trader. But Winter's larger conclusions about the clan should be approached with caution.

Phillip Hamilton *Christopher Newport University*

The Quarters and the Fields: Slave Families in the Non-Cotton South. By Damian Alan Pargas. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010. Acknowledgements, table, notes bibliography, index. Pp. xi, 320. $69.95 cloth.)

In *The Quarters and the Fields: Slave Families in the Non-Cotton South*, Damian Alan Pargas offers readers a comparative examination of the ways in which ex-

ternal forces and slaves' own actions combined to shape slaves' family life in the antebellum South. Pargas contends that a comparative approach reveals that different factors, rooted primarily in the nature of agricultural production in a region, created a variety of family experiences among slave populations. He argues that "... this book will demonstrate that slave families in different agricultural regions were confronted with different boundaries and opportunities, and that family life was thus very much a plural phenomenon in the antebellum South" (11). Pargas maintains further that recognizing this plurality is crucial to finding the "middle ground" in the debate among historians over the degree to which slaves were able to exercise agency in their family lives. Synthesizing a number of studies done over the past several decades and offering original research as well, *The Quarters and the Fields* compares and contrasts three regions: Fairfax County, in northern Virginia; Georgetown District, in lowcountry South Carolina; and St. James Parish, in southern Louisiana. Each represents a different agricultural region (grains and other foodstuffs, rice, and sugar, respectively), and thus, different kinds of work and social landscapes.

Pargas's comparative approach is effective in illustrating the relationship between agricultural production and the dynamics of family life among slaves as it differed across regions. He demonstrates, for example, that the economic misfortunes of planters in Fairfax County, Virginia, compelled them to turn from tobacco to commercial production of wheat and corn. This change in crops resulted in a reduction of slave populations on plantations and farms, and the use of gang labor, or time-work labor that began at sun-up and continued until sundown. Economic pressures meant that planters were likely to sell their slaves or to hire them out on long-term contracts. These factors made it difficult for slave families to live co-residentially or to spend regular time together, and made long-term or permanent separations a consistent part of slave family life in the region. In contrast, booming rice production in Georgetown District, South Carolina, led to the creation of vast plantations, most with over one hundred slaves. Rice planters employed a piece-work system wherein slaves labored at a specific task or set of tasks until they were done; what time was left in the day was the slaves' own. In addition, because of the profitability and relative stability of the rice market, planters did not regularly sell or hire out their slaves. When they died, Georgetown planters tended not to divide up their estates, or if they did, the demand for labor was so high in the area that slaves were sold locally. Slaves in the Georgetown District thus experienced relatively more stability in their family lives than their counterparts in Fairfax County, Virginia. Georgetown slaves tended to marry and live co- residentially, family members spent time together in the hours of the day not spent working for the master, and the threat of separation existed but did not often become a

reality. Although not addressed here, in each area of family life examined, Pargas also offers a third case in St. James Parish, Louisiana.

The author's use of sources merits comment. Pargas notes that "Because slave marriages were not legally recognized, few nineteenth-century sources document family ties at all" (143). In the past decade, African Americans' Civil War pension records have been brought to light as an invaluable source for the study of slaves' family and community life from the perspective of slaves themselves. Because those who pursued pensions were often required to explain and affirm family relationships, Civil War pension records document family ties among slaves and shed light on the issues of marriage strategies and forced separations emphasized in this study. Many thousands of these records, produced in the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, can be found in the National Archives in Washington, D.C.

Although scholars in the field may not find much that is new here, the comparative approach and the synthesis of a number of important regional studies is very useful in emphasizing the value of examining the contexts within which slave families existed and operated. The effort to offer the middle ground in the debate over slave agency is less useful, primarily because the middle ground already seems to exist. The many regional studies that help to inform Pargas's research, such as those by Charles Joyner and Ann Patton Malone, among others, represent precisely the widespread understanding among historians that a diversity of factors—both internal and external—shaped different family experiences. Implicit in this is a sense that the relationship between agency and external factors cannot be definitively measured.

Those new to the field, particularly graduate and undergraduate students, will find the study helpful in seeing a broader picture of family life under slavery and, as Pargas puts it, the "boundaries and opportunities" that shaped diverse family experiences among antebellum slaves.

Elizabeth Regosin *St. Lawrence University*

Zora Neale Hurston's Final Decade. By Virginia Lynn Moylan. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Illustrations, photographs, acknowledgements, notes, select bibliography, index. Pp. 144. $24.95 cloth.)

Zora Neale Hurston's role as an anthropologist, author, promoter, and performer continues to generate interest among academic scholars and

members of the general public. Although Hurston remains a popular topic for academic books and articles in peer-reviewed journals, there are still aspects relevant to Hurston's research, writings, and activities in Florida which need further exploration. As Virginia Lynn Moylan, author *of Zora Neale Hurston's Final Decade*, points out, previous biographical books about Hurston such as *Zora Neale Hurston: A Literary Biography* (1977) by Robert Hemenway as well as Valerie Boyd's *Wrapped in Rainbows* (2003) provide accounts of her life. Nevertheless, information relevant to Hurston's last ten years was not the focus or emphasis of these two texts by Hemenway and Boyd. Therefore, Virginia Lynn Moylan's *Zora Neale Hurston's Final Decade* stands as a valuable addition to scholarship about the author. Moylan's book provides a more detailed account and analysis of the latter years of her life. Utilizing information from interviews, correspondence, and Hurston's texts, Moylan captures the complex life and activities of Zora Neale Hurston.

Moylan's book features an "Introduction," which locates the biography's significance in relationship to other texts about Hurston's life, a section called "Zora Neale Hurston: A Biographical Sketch, 1891-1948," seven chapters chronicling different time periods of Hurston's career, the "Conclusion," "Acknowledgements," "Notes," "Select Bibliography," and an "Index." There are also photographs. In "Zora Neale Hurston: A Biographical Sketch, 1891- 1948," Moylan provides a summary of Hurston's earlier life. She begins this section by commenting that "Given Zora Neale Hurston's inextricable ties to the state of Florida, it was only fitting that she would spend her final decade on its sandy shores" (7). This introductory section chronicles her birth in Alabama, her early life in Eatonville, Florida, and her experiences in Baltimore, Washington DC, and Harlem. The section also includes information about her role in the Harlem Renaissance and relationships with authors such as Langston Hughes and her patron Charlotte Osgood Mason. Moylan also addresses the publication of Hurston's books such as *Jonah's Gourd Vine* (1934), *Mules and Men* (1935), *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937), *Tell My Horse* (1937), *Moses, Man of the Mountain* (1939), *Dust Tracks on a Road* (1942), and *Seraph on the Suwanee* (1948). In addition, Moylan includes information about Hurston's failed romantic relationships and health. The section illustrates her dedication to traveling, writing, and engaging in research.

In the subsequent chapters, Moylan shows how the periods from 1948-1960 provided Hurston with continued challenges, setbacks, and obstacles which she constantly faced and encountered. Chapter 1 ("In Hell's Basement: Harlem, 1948-1949"), chronicles the devastating false molestation allegations against Hurston which harmed her status as a rising figure in American literature and culture in 1948. Chapter 2 ("Sun-

shine and Southern Politics: Miami, 1950") chronicles Hurston's time spent in Florida, where she earned income through employment doing household labor, contributed to the *Saturday Evening Post*, and engaged in political activism in support of George Smathers, a Florida politician who became a member of the United States Senate representing Florida. Chapter 3, which is called "Sarah Creech and Her Beautiful Doll: Belle Glade, 1950-51," documents Hurston's support of her friend Sarah Creech's efforts to offer consumers a doll whose appearance would be a more accurate and realistic depiction of African Americans at a time when many of the dolls reinforced stereotypes about African Americans. Additionally, Hurston worked during this period on an unpublished novel about Madame CJ Walker called *The Golden Bench of God*, and engaged in research at Creech's home for her book about Herod the Great.

In Chapter 4 ("Herod the Sun-Like Splendor: Eau Gallie, 1951-1956"), Moylan charts Hurston's unsuccessful effort to get "The Golden Bench of God" published, and in Chapter 5 ("Death on the Suwanee: Live Oak, 1952-1953") Moylan addresses Hurston's reporting about a famous Florida case involving a black female named Ruby McCollum who was accused of killing a white male doctor with whom she had been romantically involved. In Chapter 6 ("A Crisis in Dixie: Eau Gallie, 1954-1956"), Moylan also provides details on Hurston's stance on the race relation politics of the 1950s and Hurston's perspective on racial desegregation. Chapter 7 ("The Last Horizon: Fort Pierce, 1956-1960") comments on Hurston's employment in a Florida library, her role teaching for Lincoln Park Academy, her continued attempt to get her book about Herod the Great published, her declining health, and funeral. Moylan's "Conclusion" aptly points out the continued influence of Hurston and provides an overview of her contributions to American culture, history, and literature.

Moylan's book challenges the notion that Hurston's life was one of inactivity during the last ten years. By placing emphasis on the period of 1950-1960 (the year Hurston died), Moylan documents Hurston's research, writing, investigative skills, political activism, and perspectives on civil rights. Moylan's discussion of the time Hurston spent as a librarian and a teacher also illustrates the variety of roles Hurston played and her attempts to support herself financially. Virginia Moylan's biography is a needed contribution to Hurston scholarship due to the well- developed and researched account of Hurston's last ten years, a period which has received less critical attention than other earlier periods prior to the publication of this biography.

Sharon L. Jones *Wright State University*

Flashes of a Southern Spirit: Meanings of the Spirit in the U.S. South. By Charles Reagan Wilson. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xviii, $59.95 cloth, $24.95 paper.)

Few scholars are better positioned than historian Charles Reagan Wilson to reflect on the prospects for southern studies. His academic accomplishments include a landmark study of the Lost Cause, co-editorship with William Ferris of the monumental *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture* (1989), and countless wide-ranging essays on southern history. Wilson's latest collection of essays reflects his abiding interest in the broad terrain of southern religious culture.

Wilson centers his turn through southern studies on the theme of "spirit." More specifically, he desires "to point the attention of scholars of southern studies to the relationship between the workings of the spirit and southern identity" (217). The theme of spirit waxes and wanes throughout the book's twelve chapters, each of which has appeared elsewhere in published form. Still, spirit is a worthy nomination as a heuristic device for southern studies going forward. Scholars within this highly interdisciplinary field likely never again will find, or even seek, a full-fledged central theme. Yet, even as some southernists try to move beyond interpreting the South through a black-white racial lens, it is worth noting that a bona fide biracial approach to southern studies actually is very much a work in progress. Spirit offers a promising angle.

Wilson resists a precise definition of what he admits "can be an abstract concept," choosing instead to explore the subject through its numerous manifestations (2). Varieties of southern spirit are manifold: one might focus on gospel music, literary creativity, Holiness and Pentecostal worship—or even, to put a different riff on spirit, bourbon whiskey. Perhaps Wilson's strongest evidence for the existence of southern spirit is the fact that an intriguingly diverse array of southerners has voiced its existence. Wilson cites soul singer Al Green, southern liberal James McBride Dabbs, arch-conservative Richard Weaver, and many other believers in a distinctive southern spirituality. Being spirit-filled or spirit-haunted long has had something to do with being southern.

Essay topics include the post-Reconstruction "invention of southern tradition" and, in a subsequent essay, the ongoing tensions between that white-constructed tradition and efforts to celebrate viable biracial memory in the South. For Wilson, the modern "myth of the biracial South" is no less powerful than the older myth of the Lost Cause, which has experienced a popular rebirth (94). Eager to bridge both racial and class

barriers within southern studies, Wilson proposes that scholars shift from identifying a "Southern Literary Renaissance" to considering a broader "Southern Cultural Renaissance," which featured Muddy Waters as well as his fellow Mississippian William Faulkner (121). In another essay, Wilson implicitly makes a case for including the apocalyptic art of revivalist McKendree Robbins Long in that renaissance.

Essay collections almost inevitably struggle to hold their center. Yet even readers who might be unfamiliar with Wilson's reputation will recognize that they are in the hands of veteran guide to the South. Wilson is an exceptionally widely-read and careful scholar who can ably tackle subjects ranging from Thomas Nelson Page to James Agee and Elvis Presley. The latter icon is treated as "a revealing and perhaps even an emblematic figure in southern culture" (180). Even if the spirit does not shine in all of the book's essays, collectively they offer a useful primer on the state of southern studies. Wilson evinces an admirably irenic attitude toward younger scholars. While he is something of a methodological traditionalist, he is comfortable with the postmodern turn in southern studies.

Indeed, if there is a true believer in southern studies, it is Wilson, as a thoughtful autobiographical essay at the end of the volume makes clear. Scholars have rightly interrogated the essentialism that lies behind any regionalist approach. However, by focusing on southern spirit as "both constructed and performed," Wilson offers a path around debates over what is invented and real, reified and protean, about the South (ix). It is a path appropriate to a historian of religion. Scholars who "read 'southernness' as a construction," he argues, "often fail to grasp the moral meanings that individuals from many ideologies in the past invested in the term" (59). He wants southernists to keep this gravity in mind as they address topics such as globalization and the South's relationship to the Caribbean. The South is an idea, to be sure, but a meaningful one. The region has spirit precisely because so many self-identified Southerners have believed that it does. Add Wilson to that list.

Steven P. Miller *Webster University*

Reubin O'D. Askew and the Golden Age of Florida Politics. By Martin A. Dyckman. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, Pp. xiii, 320. $29.95 cloth.)

Don't read this book if you think that Florida governors just keep getting better. Don't read it if you believe that Democratic and Republican

legislators have always been deeply divided, unwilling to cross party lines in search of the greater good. And don't read it if you assume Florida never experienced a Golden Age of progressive governmental reform. Because this book will prove you wrong on all three counts.

Martin Dyckman does a masterful job of recounting the life and times of Reubin O'Donovan Askew, Florida's illustrious governor from 1970 to 1978. The author, a retired associate editor and award-winning columnist for the *St. Petersburg Times*, explains why Askew was a transformative figure in both Florida and Southern politics. While the book focuses on Askew, it also provides insightful portraits of other Florida politicians. Two of the most important are Richard Pettigrew, a liberal Democrat who served as Speaker of the House during Askew's reign, and his Republican counterpart, Don Reed, the House Republican leader. They had a friendship transcending party differences that contributed to the passage of dozens of bills on which they agreed even if their own party members did not. Other legislators followed their examples, forming cross-party friendships that are rare today.

Florida in the 1970s was distinguished by "progressive politics and a constructive two-party system," writes Dyckman (1). The crucial developments underlying this era of governmental reform were federal court decisions and policy enactments—namely, the federal decision to end segregation of public facilities, the federal outlawing of discrimination at the polling place, and not least, the federal court-mandated reapportionment of the state legislature, which ended the eight-decade reign of rural legislators in Florida. The latter prompted a political and cultural transformation; almost overnight the legislature went from having the political and cultural values of rural north Florida, to one that spoke to the needs and concerns of urban south Florida. The reapportionment decision gave rise to this transformation, but it would not have been possible "without the remarkable once-in-a-generation leadership of a man who had left the legislature to defy the seemingly impossible odds against his winning the governor's office," the author says of Askew (2).

Just what was accomplished? By the time Askew left office in January 1979, Florida had replaced its obsolete 1885 constitution; reorganized the judiciary and executive branches; made the Governor, rather than the Cabinet, responsible for the state budget; stopped cities from discharging raw sewage into the environment and created effective and enforceable pollution controls; established a pioneering system of water-management districts; enacted restrictions on development and requirements for land-use planning; begun the purchase of environmentally sensitive land; limited campaign contributions and required effective disclosure of campaign contributions; passed an open-meetings law and strengthened the public-

records statute; registered lobbyists; stopped the commercial dredging and filling of bays and estuaries; enacted a tax on corporate profits; made the judiciary nonpartisan; and provided for appointed, rather than an elected, appellate judicial branch; created an ethics commission and required public officials to disclose their financial assets and liabilities. The list goes on.

The failures from the standpoint of progressive reform during this period were few. The state refused to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment, dooming its prospects for becoming part of the U.S. Constitution. The 1977 legislature made Florida the only state that forbids gays and lesbians from adopting children. And the tax base remained heavily dependent on retail sales and residential construction, making state revenues acutely dependent on swings in the national economy. Askew as governor opposed the first two of these and sought to remedy the third.

Dyckman takes the reader from Askew's birth to a single mother in Muskogee, Oklahoma, to his mother's decision to relocate the family in Pensacola, where she worked as a hotel housekeeping supervisor, to his election first to the Florida House in 1958 and then to the Florida Senate in 1962, to his "improbable victory" against overwhelming odds as Florida governor in 1970, to his hard-fought reelection campaign in 1974 and his flirtation with running for president in 1976 and again in 1984.

Throughout we see Askew as a man of strong moral fiber, willing and able to fight the good fight for what he thought was right, which usually meant fighting against corporate interests for the sake of the proverbial little guy. Former House Speaker Fred Schultz described him as "very strong-minded and sometimes wrong, but never in doubt" (44). His fortitude arose in part from early childhood influences, including religion. Though raised in a strict Christian Scientist household, he became a Presbyterian while in law school yet remained loyal to Christian Science's teachings against alcohol and tobacco. The governor's mansion was famously dry during his tenure.

In chronicling Askew's career, Dyckman demonstrates the skills and sensibilities of a dedicated journalist. He's at his best when explaining the subtleties of who was pushing whom to do what in the governor's hard-fought victories and defeats. Only someone who was there, as Dyckman was, tracking events on a daily basis, could provide such a nuanced account. He is less adept, however, in explaining the meaning and implications of all he reports. The book draws upon no academic theories and poses no overarching questions, save for asking—and showing—how this era of governmental reform was made possible by Reubin Askew's courageous role as governor.

Richard E. Foglesong *Rollins College*

The Architecture of Alfred Browning Parker: Miami's Maverick Modernist. By Randolph C. Henning. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations, selected works, notes, index. Pp. xxiv, 400. $50 cloth).

The University Press of Florida has produced a handsomely designed and exquisitely illustrated record of the work of Miami modernist architect Alfred Browning Parker (1916- 2011). Born in Boston, Parker migrated to Florida at the age of 9, studied under Robert Weaver at the University of Florida's School of Architecture, and after sojourns in Sweden, Mexico, and Cuba, and a stint in the navy during World War II, returned to become Florida's most renowned designer. This impressive volume of his work is replete with close to 400 images, including elegant black and white photographs from the 1940s and 1950s by esteemed architectural photographer Ezra Stoller, delicately rendered hand-colored perspectives and crisply drawn plans by the architect, and more recent color images produced by one of his sons, Bo Parker. It provides a visually stunning portrait of a lifetime's achievement spanning the years 1942 to 2000.

The book is neatly organized into four sections—visually defined by color codes—clearly tracing the trajectory of Parker's design development, while simultaneously reinforcing his commitment to the formal, social, and environmental characteristics of modernism, despite the growing international trends towards postmodernism. In his desire to introduce Parker's work to a larger audience, author Randolph C. Henning has paid a touching personal tribute to a long- admired fellow Florida architect. He begins by leading the reader through a biographical sketch, followed by intimate portrayals of a wide swath of work consisting primarily of private homes, but also religious, institutional, and commercial buildings, and a proposal for the World Trade Center. These succinct narratives provide illuminating details about individual projects such as the client/architect relationship, site and material specifications, and construction costs and methods. In presenting this information, Henning allows us a view into the architect's *modus operandi*, revealing his close consideration of the Florida landscape, sensitive responses to natural terrain and vegetation, and a commitment to efficiency, economy and the nuances of everyday living in a hot and humid environment. Dramatic photographs illustrate designs that connect building and landscape through the sensitive use of local materials, linking a living room with an outdoor terrace through a continuous ceramic floor for example, and through devices such as louvered wood shutters, specifically "persiana doors" imported from Cuba, which replace walls with permeable screens

and, when juxtaposed with rows of smaller windows on an opposing wall, open up the building to breezes, while serving as barriers against hurricane winds.

This interest in creating buildings that work sensitively with the land was a characteristic that first attracted Henning to Parker, whose work he saw as expressing an ethos similar to that found in the work of Frank Lloyd Wright, whom he passionately admired. Parker himself acknowledged the influence of the Florida Southern College Campus, designed by Frank Lloyd Wright between 1938 and 1959, and comprising the largest collection of his buildings in the world. Wright's ability to adapt his designs to the local environment earned his early work the title "organic architecture" because these low, heavily rectangular buildings with cantilevered roofs, anchored to the earth by central chimneys, seemed to evolve out of his native Prairie landscape. Parker's work operates under similar principles, although within the Florida landscape they appear lighter and more tropical with their concern in spilling out into the lush vegetation and engaging with breathtaking views. Henning emphasizes Parker's indebtedness to Frank Lloyd Wright both in his commitment to "organic architecture," and also as the recipient of Wright's mentorship and public praise—an unusual gesture for an architect of Wright's standing. But perhaps Wright felt a certain empathy for Parker whose personal life, not unlike Wright's, was both full and somewhat complicated with four marriages and five children. Like Wright, Parker was a keen publicist, lecturing and publishing widely on his architectural ideas.

Henning also rightly recognizes the crucial role played by *House Beautiful* editor, Elizabeth Gordon, in cementing Parker's early success and even in expanding his reputation nationwide. Gordon was so convinced of the uniqueness and value of Parker's work that she dedicated a series of over fifty issues of the magazine, featuring what was called the Pace Setter Program and illustrating Parker's "Tropical Subsistence Homestead," which presented a number of formulaic designs for living in South Florida. This "Tropical Modernism" within which Henning locates Parker's work is a term developed in mid-twentieth century architectural publications and is used to define modern buildings in places as close as the Caribbean, and as distant as Australia and West Africa, where similar concerns with severe climate conditions warrant specific responses in architectural design. The prevalence of such an architectural typology across the globe should not detract from Parker's achievement however, but serves to clarify the significance of his concerns in a broader context.

During his lifetime, Alfred Browning Parker received many accolades, including the Association of Architects (AIA) Florida Chapter

Award of Honor in 1967, and the AIA South Florida Chapter Silver Medal Award in 1975 for twenty-five years of service in architecture. Through Henning's portrayal, Parker emerges as a sympathetic individual interested in architecture as a creative calling, expressed in attempts to conserve natural resources, while providing a service that often included constructing the building himself in order to save costs. As such, his small, efficient practice might be regarded as an early design/build firm, more commonly seen today, in which economics play a significant role in providing an individual, customized design service in a competitive speculative market. The architect's social conscience, his foresight in exploring environmentally conscious design in light of recent architectural trends towards increased sustainability and "green architecture," and his creative talent in engaging a critical regionalism are laudable characteristics the author emphatically champions.

With this easily accessible, beautifully produced book, Rudolph C. Henning has re- inscribed Browning into the register of modern architects alongside fellow mavericks of the San Francisco Bay Area School, the Los Angeles Case Study Houses, and the Sarasota Florida School, whose work deviates from the limited set of principles established by European masters. Thus, Henning makes an important contribution to the growing body of works illustrative of a more nuanced view of mid-twentieth century architectural design.

Jacqueline Taylor *University of Virginia*

Pay for Play: A History of Big-Time College Athletic Reform. By Ronald A. Smith. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011. Timeline, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 360. $80 cloth, $30 paper.)

The subject of intercollegiate athletics' corrupting influence within higher education, its crass commercialization, and its tendency to foster abuse has captivated academic scholars since we first directed serious intellectual inquiry to the subject. Indeed, it was Ronald Smith who provided some of the sharpest examinations more than twenty years ago with his seminal *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics* (1988). While Smith's earlier volume examined more than merely the struggle for oversight and reform of intercollegiate athletics, his *Pay for Play: A History of Big-Time College Athletic Reform* provides a sweeping and comprehensive examination of efforts since the mid-19th century to bring intercollegiate athletics to heel at the side of its (alleged) academic master.

Smith correctly notes that efforts to "reform" college athletics are as old as the games themselves, dating back to the days when students controlled college sports. As a result, he traces intercollegiate reform through the various phases of the dominant reformers, beginning with the students themselves. Smith notes that faculty (briefly and distractedly), institutions, the media, the NCAA (only half-heartedly), accrediting agencies, and non-profit academic think tanks have all taken a swipe at reforming intercollegiate athletics at one time or another in the last 160 years. No group has endeavored longer at it, however, than college and university presidents, and Smith spends much of his narrative looking at their efforts. To be sure, Smith is no friend of presidential reform, which he correctly eviscerates as ineffective, misguided, and self-interested. Far too often, according to Smith, university presidents are mere "cheerleaders" for their athletic teams, implying that their reformist efforts are, at best, only public relations efforts, and at worst, blatant efforts to protect their own school's athletic fortunes. As a result, high-profile reform efforts like the non-profit Knight Commission, the NCAA's Board of Presidents, and most notably, the outright seizure of NCAA control by the presidents, have really accomplished very little.

Smith argues that perhaps the only hope for reform lay in the one group that has involved itself the least in the reform process: faculty. Since abandoning the reform movement in the late 19th century of their own volition, faculty have been largely absent from the debate, held at bay by their own ambivalence or by anxious presidents or athletic directors wary of crusading pointy-headed intellectuals. He also notes that an initial substantive reform effort would be returning to the days of freshmen ineligibility, which would, at the very least, give freshmen a chance to get their academic footing before confronting the tremendous drain on their time represented by big- time commercialized athletics. And determining athletic eligibility by the students' freshman academic record rather than their high school transcript might also establish a more reputable baseline for predicting collegiate academic success.

The tremendous value of Smith's work lies in the depth of his archival research, specifically his mining of more than 50 academic repositories. This research allowed him to examine the records of countless college and university presidents, institutions like the NCAA, and records of athletic conferences. Quite frankly, if a memo or letter still exists, Ronald Smith has looked at it. The book also includes a monumental bibliography that runs to 41 pages, providing a definitive snapshot of the state of the field at the time of publication.

As sound as the book's foundations are, however, Smith's argument is not without problems. Smith is emphatic that presidents have not en-

joyed any substantive success in creating reform, while suggesting that faculty involvement may yet save the day. He notes the recent efforts of some faculty groups to involve themselves in the discussion, most notably the Drake Group and the Coalition on Intercollegiate Athletics (COIA), but he also notes their limited success so far. It is unclear how faculty will be more successful than presidents, having access to fewer resources and less power within the academic world. Secondly, Smith never defines reform. With good reason, Smith points out the hypocrisies, short-comings and self-serving actions involved in incremental reform over the 20th century, but in the process, dismisses them as worthless, or at least tainted. Similarly, in his discussion of the Knight Commission, he notes that what the commission did not address was far more significant than what it did cover, and then proceeds to note the comprehensive list of ills intercollegiate athletics visits upon higher education. The obvious conclusion is that "reform," in Smith's mind, is nothing short of a complete destruction of big-time intercollegiate athletics as we know it, leading not merely to the end of things like spring football practice, specialized admissions for athletes, and preferential facilities on campus, but also gate admission, commercial sponsors, and profligate television coverage. Though the last chapter devotes special attention to the possible benefits of eliminating freshman eligibility, at other times, it seems to impose an all-or-nothing definition of reform. Though such "reform" would be more than welcome by many of us in higher education, it inherently describes any less far-reaching efforts as illegitimate.

The other issue which Smith unsatisfactorily addresses is commercialization. No one denies that the commercialization of college sports has allowed big money into the discussion, making reform expensive, as well as difficult. However, while Smith does acknowledge in his text Derek Bok's influential essay on the commercialization of higher education in general, he seems to ignore the extent to which contemporary higher education is so thoroughly dependent upon commercial funding for its very existence. In my own state, for example, the legislature now provides only 30% of higher education costs, leaving campuses to make up the difference from students and outside sources. Quite simply, to suggest that intercollegiate athletics forgo commercial sponsorship is to ask more of them than we do right now from the academy in general. These points of contention, however, do not diminish the value of Smith's work. Indeed, they inevitably result from the provocative and analytical scholarship that Smith has most definitely succeeded in contributing.

Kurt Edward Kemper *Dakota State University*

Florida In The Popular Imagination: Essays on the Cultural Landscape of the Sunshine State. Edited by Steve Glassman. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2010. Pp. vii, 278. $35 paperback.)

Steve Glassman, a professor of humanities at Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University, asked colleagues from around the state for essays on *Florida in the Popular Imagination.* Since the popular imagination is not defined, what constitutes that cultural landscape is open-ended. Eighteen essays submitted by librarians, professors, and retired academics deal with art, architecture, cinema, theme parks, treasure hunting, recreation, and destinations. According to Glassman, "Readers should not think the essays are over their heads. Because we are writing about popular culture, I asked the contributors to avoid academic language and write in straightforward, informal American English" (2). This approach indicates that the battle over popular culture as a serious intellectual enterprise still has not been won, despite the groundbreaking work of Rusel Nye, Ray Browne, Allan Trachtenberg, Lawrence Levine, John Kasson, and others. Some contributors took full advantage of the ground rules with clever titles, like the essay on Key West by Margaret Mishol and Michael Perez, "Where Being Gay Isn't a Drag," and Steve Knapp and Sarah M. Maloone's "Snowbirds Seek Southern Solace." Other contributors went with old standbys, such as "Hollywood East."

A sampler of the more invigorating essays might include the following. In "Cuban Miami: Manufacturing Casablanca," Rafael Miguel Montes observes that for many Cuban exiles identity depends on a continuity with the past, a preservation of culture and tradition "that might be viewed by some as a case of cultural paralysis or dogged anti-assimilation" (172-173). The cafes, cuisine, language, Calle Ocho, and enclave contribute to a sense of homeland, even though a return to pre-revolutionary Cuba diminishes with each passing day. Those who create images and illusions, especially travel writers, Montes argues, have missed the complexity of the city in their pursuit of a singular tourist image—"it is not your hometown" (174). Montes critiques the writings of Joan Didion, Alexander Stuart, and David Rieff. In "The Highwaymen and other Black Icons," Edmonson Asgill revises several commonly held notions about a group of painters from Ft. Pierce. He argues that the African American artists studied less with Beanie Baccus than previously assumed, they were motivated by quick money and not a desire to create escapist art, and they did not inadvertently reshape reality and thus contribute to a "mass conspiracy"" of illusion. In the shortest essay in the anthology, "Spring Break," the authors attribute the origins and growth of this rite of pas-

sage to major league baseball officials seeing Florida as a spring training venue as early as 1888, a swim meet at Ft. Lauderdale's Casino Pool in 1936, military personnel stationed and schooled in the state, the interstate highway system, cinema, and contraception. There is, however, only passing mention of Black College Reunions, and no reference to Glendon Swarthout's novel, *Where The Boys Are* (1960). Alan Platt's case study, "Motorsports Rev up the Economy," will surprise people who associate Daytona's reputation with "the world's most famous beach" and automobile racing, by arguing that motorcycles, and the related Bike Week, "more than anything else, shaped the perception of Daytona, as a place without standards and without limits" (244). His evidence comes from billboards advertising biker bars, tattoo parlors, motorcycle dealerships, and law firms catering to bikers; the yellow pages listing more than one hundred motorcycle-related businesses; the Wyotech Motorcycle Institute capable of educating 700 technicians annually; residents relocating to Daytona for biker reasons; Volusia County having the highest ratio of motorcycles registered per capita [1:20] in the world; and Bike Week's $350 million impact. Talk about globalization; stickers for a biker bar, Boot Hill, reportedly have been found on the Eiffel tower and Great Wall of China. The movie *Monster* (2003), a drama about serial killer Eileen Wuornos, contributed its part by emphasizing Daytona's negative features: industrial blight, derelicts behind dumpsters, bankrupt social services, corrupt cops, and menacing bikers.

The book could have used a rigorous editing which would have eliminated self- serving statements, insisted on a definition of popular culture, eliminated redundant and digressive passages, and upgraded the research. There was no justification for Glassman taking a cheap shot to justify his effort: "what I found in that book written by a professor who was touted as the grand old man of Florida history was surprising: hardly anything of interest ever occurred in the Sunshine State. His was easily the most boring history I have ever read" (1). The historian he refers to was writing when white man's institutional history, history from the top down, prevailed, and did not have the benefit of the new social history, history from the bottom up, that came out of the ferment of the 1960s. Leroy Ashby's *Amusement for All* (2006), the most comprehensive survey of American popular culture to date, could have provided direction in collegiality and content. In spite of these drawbacks, *Florida in the Popular Imagination* is an entertaining and educational read.

Robert E. Snyder *University of South Florida, Tampa*

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.*

Dr. Claire Strom, Rapetti-Trunzo Professor of History at Rollins College, on her article, "Controlling Venereal Disease in Orlando during World War II ," *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 91, no. 1 (Summer 2012).

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.

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.

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"**

53rd Annual Meeting
Florida Conference of Historians
Hosted by New College of Florida
Sarasota, March 1-2, 2013
Call for Papers and Participation

Papers on all historical subjects and topics are welcome. Faculty, independent historians, and graduate and undergraduate students are encouraged to participate. Selected papers are published in the *Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians*, a refereed journal published by Florida Gulf Coast University. Traditionally, our organization has welcomed in-state, out-of-state, and international participants.

This year's meeting will be held at the Harry M. Sudakoff Conference Center on the New College of Florida campus. Accommodations will be at the Courtyard by Marriott Sarasota, conveniently located across from Sarasota/Bradenton International Airport, adjacent to the New College campus, and easily accessible from I-75 (Exit 213: University Blvd.). Rooms at special conference rate ($109/night, including full breakfast) are limited and reservations must be made by January 25, 2013. The hotel's main desk number is (941) 355-3337. Reservations can be made directly through this link

http://cwp.marriott.com/srqcy/ncffloridahistorianconf/

This year's keynote speaker will be Dr. Paul Kramer of Vanderbilt University. Dr. Kramer, an influential scholar of 20th century American history in a transnational/global context, is the author of the prize-winning study *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States and the Philippines* (University of North Carolina Press,

2006), and is currently at work on a book on the geopolitics of U. S. immigration policy across the 20th century.

Held in one of Florida's most popular tourist destinations, this year's conference will offer a welcome respite from winter's rigors as well as an opportunity to participate in one of the nation's most rewarding regional history conferences.

For additional information, contact Dr. David Allen Harvey, New College of Florida, at dharvey@ncf.edu, or call (941) 487-4380. Additional information also available at http://fch.ju.edu

SEMINOLE WARS FOUNDATION ANNOUNCES STUDENT RESEARCH AWARD

One of the missions of the Seminole Wars Foundation is the collection and dissemination of scholarship related to these long and desperate conflicts. To help achieve these goals, the Foundation is pleased to announce the institution of a Student Research Award. The award will be open to students of all ages and will consist of a monetary prize and possible publication by the Foundation. Submitted works must be a minimum of 3,000 words and contain original research. The amount awarded will be determined by the quality of the work, its originality, and its importance to Seminole Wars scholarship. For full details, go to www.seminolewars.us/projects.html.

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).

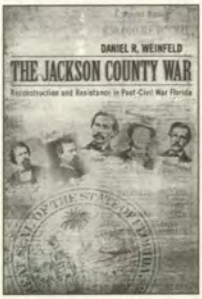
The first page should be headed by the title without the author's name. Author identification should be avoided throughout the manuscript. On a separate sheet of paper, please provide the author's name, institutional title or connection, or place of residence, and acknowledgements. Citations should be 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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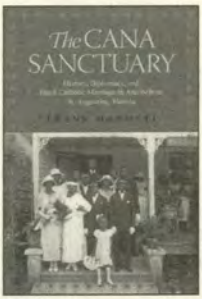

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The Florida Historical Society, successor, 1902
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Created in St. Augustine in 1856, The Florida Historical Society is the oldest existing cultural organization in the state, and Florida's only state-wide 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.

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