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COVER

The corner of South Andrews Avenue and South River Drive, Fort Lauderdale, Florida. Much of the Maxwell Arcade was destroyed in the hurricane of September 1926. *Photograph courtesy Fort Lauderdale Historical Society.*

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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FLORIDA'S FUDGED IDENTITY

by STEPHEN J. WHITFIELD

“No symbols where none intended,” the warning that Samuel Beckett issued near the end of his second novel, would drive American Studies professors out of business and push them into an occupation of greater social benefit.¹ For it is the point of this essay to find some inadvertent symbols and to discern iconographic significance in the history of a state. Florida should make an especially promising subject because of its mythic status, tapping into the nation’s definition of itself. Its saga appears to be more than a combination of geographic constraints and political boundaries and economic developments and demographic patterns. Its history also incorporates a mystique, which no state in the union needs but which a few states have nevertheless transmitted. Florida might well be such a rarity because it has claimed to be a kind of hologram of Paradise, a place where the most ancient, Edenic memories of the race are somehow re-invented in the form of contemporary fantasies.

Florida is therefore “a state of mind” as much as it is a “state of being.”² Here is what John Muir recorded in his journal, having arrived in Fernandina soon after the Civil War and shortly before finding Yosemite: “I am now in the hot gardens of the sun, where the palm meets the pine, longed and prayed for and often visited in dreams.” He felt “lonely to-night amid this multitude of . . . strange plants, strange winds blowing gently . . . and strange birds also, everything solid or spiritual

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1. Samuel Beckett, *Watt* (London, 1963; reprint ed., Paris, 1953), 255.
2. Mark Derr, *Some Kind of Paradise: A Chronicle of Man and the Land in Florida* (New York, 1989), 13; Maurice O’Sullivan, Jr., and Jack C. Lane, eds., *Introduction to The Florida Reader: Visions of Paradise from 1530 to the Present* (Sarasota, 1991), 11-13.

full of influences that I never felt, yet I thank the Lord with all my heart for his goodness in granting me admission to this magnificent realm." A few years later, in 1873, the journalist Edward King toured the former Confederacy for *Scribner's Monthly*. Spending his first night in Jacksonville, he found the ambience "slumbrous, voluptuous, round and graceful. Here beauty peeps from every door-yard. Mere existence is pleasure; exertion is a bore" – for some whites at least. "Through orange-groves and grand oaks thickly bordering the broad avenues gleams the wide current of the St. Johns river," King exulted. Yet his delight in such settings, one scholar observes, was always "coupled with a practical eye for their commercial development. . . . Repeatedly he notes the opportunity for economic progress," an early sign of a counter-myth in which a capitalist intrusion or an industrial machine in the garden disrupts so bucolic a scene.³

Already a century ago the myth of Florida was thus subjected to commercial challenge that would make the vision ambiguous. Consider the case of Harriet Beecher Stowe, who claimed that "no dreamland on earth can be more unearthly in its beauty and glory than the St. John's in April."⁴ Her awareness of the attraction of a natural order could thus be interpreted as an early sign of Florida hedonism, as release from the demands of her Puritan lineage. "Life itself is a pleasure when the sun shines warm," Mrs. Stowe wrote in 1872, "and I sit and dream and am happy and never want to go back north."⁵ Spending winters in Mandarin between 1868 and 1884, the family rented a cotton plantation as a site for their son Frederick to recuperate from his Civil War wounds. She also cherished the philanthropic hope to employ black laborers, a goal that produced only red ink. But living there spurred her to write *Palmetto Leaves*, among the first pieces of promotional literature for a state that she depicted as an

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3. John Muir, *A Thousand-Mile Walk to the Gulf*, ed. William F. Badè (Boston, 1916), 93; Edward King, *The Great South*, ed. W. Magruder Drake and Robert R. Jones (Baton Rouge, 1972), 380-81; King, "The Southern States of North America," in *The Florida Reader*, ed. O'Sullivan and Lane, 144-48; Anne Rowe, *The Enchanted Country: Northern Writers in the South, 1865-1910* (Baton Rouge, 1978), xi, xiii-xiv.
 4. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Palmetto-Leaves* (Boston, 1873; reprint ed., Gainesville, 1968), 155; Jerrell Shofner, *Florida Portrait: A Pictorial History of Florida* (Sarasota, 1990), 126.
 5. Quoted in Anne E. Rowe, *The Idea of Florida in the American Literary Imagination* (Baton Rouge, 1986), 5.

updated Eden. Although non-fiction, the book “resembles the popular local color fiction of the time in its elaborate attention to details of setting,” Professor Anne E. Rowe has observed. The author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* dropped the reformist appeal that made her famous (or notorious), though Florida was in fact considerably east of Eden; and at least some of the descendants of Adam and Eve had to toil with the sweat of their brow. But who? “The negro is the natural laborer of tropical regions. He is immensely strong; he thrives and flourishes physically under a temperature that exposes a white man to disease and death.” Such was the confident assertion of “the little lady” whom Lincoln claimed had “made this big war.” In its aftermath she opted for “a sense of complacency[, which] pervades the discussions of flowers and orange groves, picnics and river tours.”⁶ The moral blindness is hardly admirable; but it may be churlish to object to Stowe's contentment, putting her life in New England behind her, relaxing on her thirty acres of orange groves.

The myth was thus crystallized, and later observers would operate within the groove that was established after the Civil War. Making allowances for technological change, note the congruence of John Updike's wry and radiant exposition of the lure that northern Florida holds for a retired Toyota dealer who joins in the exodus south. Harry Angstrom “crosses the St. Marys River and a highway sign says WELCOME TO FLORIDA and the radio commercials are for Blue Cross, denture fixatives, pulmonary clinics. Jacksonville suddenly looms, an Oz of blue-green skyscrapers, a city of dreams at the end of the pine-tree tunnel, gleaming glass boxes heaped around the tallest, the Baptist Hospital. You rise up onto bridges over the St. Johns River far below, and Jacksonville shines from a number of angles like a jewel being turned in your hand.” Updike's Pulitzer Prize-winning prose completes the scene: “All around him, floating like misplaced boats, are big white campers and vans, Winnebagos and Starcrafts, Pathfinders and Dolphins, homes on wheels, the husband at the helm, his elbow out the window, the wife at home behind him, making the bed. From all . . . states these caravans come to Florida, wearing even Colorado's green mountain profile and Maine's gesturing red lobster. . . . Harry descends deeper into Florida, glad to be back among the palms

6. Rowe, *Enchanted Country*, 17-18; Stowe, *Palmetto-Leaves*, 283-84.

and white roofs and tropical thinness, the clouds blue on gray on white on blue, as if the great skymaker is working here with lighter materials."⁷ Both the natural environment and the social setting have thus conspired to provide "Florida's continuous advertisement for itself, the advertisement and the product being one."⁸

Yet it is central to the argument of this essay that this Edenic myth has been ersatz. The self-definition of Florida has been fudged, and has not been quite authentic enough to impose itself on the national imagination as effectively as has the other end of the Sunbelt. Kevin Starr's three-volume extension of the myth-and-symbol school to twentieth-century California, for example, has no counterpart for Florida, which is still so wide open a field that ambitious graduate students attracted to its cultural history could win the accolade of the show biz cynic who responded to the news of Elvis Presley's early death as follows: "good career move."⁹ Florida has not been fully able to tell its own story. Though the most ancient state in the Union in terms of European settlement, it is a latecomer in drawing attention to its idea of itself, more of a novelty item even than California, where certain trends are not so much finalized— the West as terminus— as become sneak previews of phenomena much noticed in Florida, which has become a kind of Golden State manqué. California is the original version; it is part of Florida's fate to be an imitation, making apt the choice of the mockingbird as the state bird in 1927. If California has been the state of the second chance, a third may be what Florida represents.

It was, for example, described in John Gunther's classic *Inside U. S. A.* as having "by far the longest seaboard of any American state" (now except for Alaska), giving Florida "a kind of ocean culture." With 1,150 miles of general shoreline, seawater is never more than sixty miles away from any spot in Florida.¹⁰ Its beaches may not have offered the surfing possibilities of the Pacific, but other opportunities that the state provided also

7. John Updike, *Rabbit at Rest* (New York, 1990), 457-58.

8. John Rothchild, *Up for Grabs: A Trip Through Time and Space in the Sunshine State* (New York, 1985), 70.

9. Quoted in Albert Goldman, *Elvis* (New York, 1981), 581.

10. John Gunther, *Inside U. S. A.* (New York, 1947), 727; Alex Shoumatoff, *Florida Ramble* (New York, 1974), 21; Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 4.

failed to resonate in popular music, which has been enriched instead by The Beach Boys, whose anthems of fun, fun, fun in the sun over endless summers are firmly rooted in the West Coast. Jan & Dean's portrait of a "little old lady from Pasadena" is more easily recognized than Freddie Cannon's praise of his "Tallahassee lassie." The California Sound became famous; a Florida Sound never emerged. Though Florida is below even the Deep South, its southern reverberations are less deep for black music as well. Gladys Knight and the Pips' "Midnight Train to Georgia" would sound less soulful were its conductor to announce stops below Waycross or Brunswick; and Otis Redding, though raised in Macon, Georgia, seems to be invoking San Francisco (rather than Tampa) when he is "two thousand miles from home," "Sittin' on the Dock of the Bay." The banks of the Suwannee River, which Stephen Foster spelled Swanee for the "Old Folks at Home," were immortalized in the nineteenth century by a Pennsylvanian, and in the twentieth century by both George Gershwin of New York and Al Jolson, born in Lithuania—none of them native sons who might have endowed these ballads with authenticity. Florida seems neither completely southern, nor chic enough, to set off the right echoes.

The diversity and contradictions of California do not rob residents with necessarily partial claims of being Californian of their legitimacy—claims that both a Ronald Reagan and a Jerry Brown might effectively advance. California is a variation of the West, but Florida seems much more than or quite *different* from the rest of the South. Tourism is a bigger industry in Florida than agriculture, and no southern state has a greater urban concentration—nor a lower percentage of blacks. To be sure one journalist who arrived in the state capital found it "slumbrous"—an impression reinforced by the parking attendant who advised him: "Just don't forget to set your watch back thirty years."¹¹ Nor are the languors limited to the Panhandle. "I used to think of Miami as primarily a Mafia bastion and a Jewish burial ground in Deep South resort trappings," another itinerant journalist realized in 1980, "but it is actually a modern border town where black people live in an impoverished Southern past as the future takes place around them."¹² Yet this four-

11. Shoumatoff, *Florida Ramble*, 144.

12. Stanley Crouch, "The Failure of Tantrum Politics," in *Notes of a Hanging*

hundred-mile peninsula stretches from “the redneck Riviera” of Fort Walton Beach to the Old World shtetl of Miami Beach, where its bubbes (grandmothers) manage to co-exist with “Bubba” down the road. The stereotypes of southern provenance get fudged where citrus groves and cattle ranches dot the landscape, lowering the expectation that, if you’re black, you should be out back picking cotton (or at least growing rice or tobacco).

Such diversity, which collides with the customary homogeneity of the populace that once chose to live and die in Dixie, has meant that “Florida is spiritually unclaimed. On this higher level, it does not seem to exist,” John Rothchild has argued; and in one sense he is right. He could find “no harmonic abstraction, no stereotype such as the cowboy,” though cattle has been a major industry, or “the Yankee trader, the trapper, the woodsman, the planter—no hero of history around which the population can rally. Perhaps it is the inevitable result of the invention of a past by the public relations departments. . . . Texas has its ugly differences of opinion, but Texas has Tex-Mex; Florida has yet to develop a Flo-Cube.”¹³ The state’s residents cannot savor either a common cuisine or a common past. An indistinct future can therefore be hypothesized, rendering dubious the claim of two knowledgeable historians that, despite the advent of the superhighways and shopping malls, “the state has managed to maintain its mystique as a land apart, differentiating itself from the general placelessness of the Sunbelt phenomenon.”¹⁴

Even the distinctive term for white Floridians, “cracker,” applies loosely to poor southern whites in general, and is something of an etymological enigma. What did it once mean? It seems to have originated in North Britain and was applied to

Judge: Essays and Reviews, 1979-1989 (New York, 1990), 59; David Colburn and Richard Scher, “Florida Politics in the Twentieth Century,” in *Florida’s Politics and Government*, ed. Manning J. Dauer, 2nd ed. (Gainesville, 1984), 35, 41, 42, 48; Manning J. Dauer, “Florida: The Different State,” in *The Changing Politics of the South*, ed. William C. Havarad (Baton Rouge, 1972), 92, 95, 102, 164.

13. Rothchild, *Up for Grabs*, 204-05.

14. Raymond Arsenault and Gary R. Mormino, “From Dixie to Dreamland: Demographic and Cultural Change in Florida, 1880-1980,” in *Shades of the Sunbelt: Essays on Ethnicity, Race, and the Urban South*, ed. Randall M. Miller and George E. Pozzetta (Boca Raton, 1989), 187.

the rural proletariat and then in the southern backcountry.¹⁵ Is the term positive or negative? "It depends on who says it and how it's used," according to Jim Bob Tinsley, a historian and folklorist. "I've heard people say they're proud to be Florida crackers. But when spoken in an insulting manner, I'd say it's a fighting word." A black laborer in Punta Gorda named Michael Hamm could have gotten two years in prison beyond the one year for which he was sentenced, because of ethnic harassment (under the state's Hate Crimes Act). In 1991 Hamm had warned a white policeman: "I'll shoot you white crackers." Had Hamm stopped before the final word (smile when you say that, Mister), he would have been charged with simple assault. Perhaps it was a case of mistaken identity, since the arresting officer was a Michigan native who had become a policeman in Punta Gorda only a year earlier. The charges were subsequently dropped.¹⁶

How can this fudged identity be explained? In the formulation of the imagery that might have shaped it, Florida has been hampered historically by a certain absence of writers who might have evoked its ambience as Jack London or Raymond Chandler or John Steinbeck managed to achieve for California. The case should not be overstated. Mrs. Stowe, the most formidable of all antebellum mythologizers, had intended to write a novel about Florida called *Orange Blossoms* but abandoned it.¹⁷ Ralph Waldo Emerson was wintering in St. Augustine as early as the 1830s without affecting the centrality of Concord, and of New England in general, in the formation of his literary reputation. For "The Open Boat," Stephen Crane drew upon his brief experience in Jacksonville, from which he had intended to book passage to cover the revolution in Cuba in 1898. By then Crane had established a liaison with Cora Taylor, a prominent Jacksonville madam. In *The American Scene* Henry James describes the upper east coast of Florida, even though he had spent less than six days there. After 1916 Ring Lardner and his wife regularly win-

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15. Grady McWhiney, *Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways in the Old South* (Tuscaloosa, 1988), xiv-xvi.
 16. Larry Rohter, "Without Smiling, to Call Floridian a 'Cracker' May Be a Crime," *New York Times*, August 25, 1991; Linda Greenhouse, "Defining the Freedom to Hate While Punching," *New York Times*, December 7, 1992.
 17. John R. Adams, ed., *Introduction to Harriet Beecher Stowe, Regional Sketches: New England and Florida* (New Haven, 1972); Mary B. Graff, *Mandarin on the St. Johns* (Gainesville, 1953), 44; Rowe, *Enchanted Country*, 20n.

tered near St. Petersburg, often with the famed sports writer Grantland Rice and his wife. But only a couple of Lardner's famous stories, "The Golden Honeymoon" and "Gullible's Travels," are set in Florida, a situation that cannot be held to blame for the neglect that this major writer has suffered. One problem with injecting Florida into myth and legend is that so few writers have spent much time there.¹⁸

Rediscovering the treasures of black and female literature has become so exigent that the Modern Language Association has considered splitting into three sections—British literature, American literature, and Zora Neale Hurston, who was born in Eatonville, Florida, in 1891, studied anthropology under Franz Boas at Columbia University, and actively participated in the Harlem Renaissance. Two decades after making *Who's Who in America* she was back in Florida working as a maid. The literary honors heaped upon her work have been mostly posthumous. Hurston died a pauper in Fort Pierce in 1960 and was buried in an unmarked grave. Other blacks, like the poet and novelist James Weldon Johnson of Jacksonville, had left the state long before. One of the canonic writers in another fashionable field, gay literature, lived in Key West from the height of his fame in 1949 until a year before his death in 1983. But none of Tennessee Williams's most haunting plays are set in Florida. "There are writers of consequence in Florida, but are they Florida writers?" Rothchild has wondered. The wildly imaginative Harry Crews, for instance, "is in Gainesville putting snakes in discarded Deep South washing machines," while Thomas McGuane, Jimmy Buffet's brother-in-law, "got onto drugs and fish and began to sound like a Florida writer, then went off" to Montana.¹⁹ Though a standard Penguin anthology like Ben Forkner and Patrick Samway's *Stories of the Modern South* (1982) includes twenty-five authors, none are Floridians.

The case for literary lacunae should not be exaggerated, however, since two Nobel laureates used Florida zip codes as their return addresses. The prose of both is punctuated with cosmopolitan locales. Ernest Hemingway lived in Key West for a dozen years, from 1928 until 1940, after returning from

18. William Randel, "Stephen Crane's Jacksonville," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 62 (Spring 1963), 268-74; Rowe, *Idea of Florida*, 5, 14, 46, 58, 82; Kevin McCarthy, ed., *Introduction to Florida Stories* (Gainesville, 1989), vii-viii.

19. Rothchild, *Up for Grabs*, 205.

Europe. Only one of his novels was set in America, *To Have and Have Not* (1937). Its protagonist was an ex-cop from Miami, a desperado who turns into a smuggler during the Great Depression; Harry Morgan personified the individualist, stoic heroism of the Hemingway code, though one critic delicately concedes that "*To Have and Have Not* falls short of being one of his best works." His most famous stories are set in Africa or Europe or "up in Michigan"; the late fiction, like *The Old Man and the Sea* or *Islands in the Stream*, takes place in the Caribbean. And though *A Farewell to Arms* was actually written in Key West, that setting occupies only a minor place in Hemingway's oeuvre.²⁰ Isaac Bashevis Singer and his wife first vacationed on Miami Beach in the winter of 1948 and moved there permanently after buying a condo in 1973. For him it was a case of double exposure, as he realized that "Jewishness had survived every atrocity of Hitler and his Nazis. . . . Here the sound of the Old World was as alive as ever. . . . And I could see that what I wrote in my stories about the *shtetlach* happened right here." While on Collins Avenue he heard the news in 1978 of the Nobel Prize, but only a small bouquet of his late tales (such as "Old Love," "A Party in Miami Beach," "Alone," "The Hotel") are set in Miami.²¹ Singer's world was distilled in memories of a past that only his unflagging imagination—more than his powers of observation—could activate.

Two other Nobel laureates, John Steinbeck and Czeslaw Milosz, made their homes in California; and the author of novels like *Tortilla Flat* and *Cannery Row* made its ambience indelible. He transcended the category of a local colorist or regionalist, as one contemporary who was once popular did not. Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings is the only Florida-based writer mentioned in *Media-Made Dixie*, Jack Temple Kirby's study of the South's white and black culture (extending from the Opry to Oprah). After moving from Washington, DC, to Cross Creek, south of Gainesville, Rawlings purchased a home and an orange grove and found her subject all around her. Her first novel, *South Moon Under*, came out three years before Steinbeck's *In Dubious Battle*. *The Yearling* was not only the leading bestseller of 1938 but also won a Pulitzer Prize, a feat that *The Grapes of Wrath*

20. Rowe, *Idea of Florida*, 93, 96, 106.

21. Isaac Bashevis Singer, *Introduction to Richard Nagler, My Love Affair with Miami Beach* (New York, 1991), v, vii, viii.

duplicated the following year. Rawlings's nostalgic *Cross Creek* was fourth on the 1942 non-fiction list, perhaps in anticipation of Steinbeck's wistful *Travels with Charley*. Professor Kirby has described her portrayal of "crackers" as "quaint and superstitious, but proud and independent"—attributes that neatly fit families like the Joads.²² But one writer made it all the way to Stockholm in 1962, while the reputation of the other, who died at Crescent Beach in 1953, almost sank into oblivion.

Three decades after the publication of *The Grapes of Wrath*, Edward R. Murrow updated and amplified that inspired epic of migrant farm workers in California when *CBS Reports* aired a documentary entitled *Harvest of Shame*. "This . . . has nothing to do with Johannesburg or Capetown," the broadcaster intoned in November 1960. "This is Florida. . . . These are citizens of the United States."²³ This outrage was articulated from New York rather than Florida. The sponsors of the program—Philip Morris cigarettes—dispatched two executives to the state to engage in damage control, an act of apologetics to which Steinbeck's publisher had not stooped. Yet the show did not have nearly as much impact as the Great Depression novel had exerted, and it became more notorious for the broadcaster's own clumsy effort at self-censorship, in trying to block its showing in Britain, than in the revelation of social and economic injustice.²⁴

California has loomed so large and so long on the nation's mythic landscape that Florida has been dwarfed, though the key to the disparity is not only scale. By 1993 Florida became the fourth most populous state, but its capital in Tallahassee has fewer residents than California houses convicts. The explanation for varied destiny, however, probably lies in destination: California is west, Florida is south. The difference matters if America is defined as a promised land, if its axial principle is identified as freedom. Florida then suffers by comparison. Its slave plantations spanned well over a century; California's relocation camps for Japanese-Americans were closed in three years.

22. Jack Temple Kirby, *Media-Made Dixie: The South in the American Imagination*, revised ed. (Athens, 1986), 47-48.

23. Gloria Jahoda, *Florida: A Bicentennial History* (New York, 1976), 166-70.

24. A. M. Sperber, *Murrow: His Life and Times* (New York, 1986), 594-95, 603-04, 610-11, 628-31; Jacqueline Jones, *The Dispossessed: America's Underclasses from the Civil War to the Present* (New York, 1992), 168-69.

Though the history of both states is enmeshed in racial guilt, Florida had the highest rate of lynchings in the first two decades of this century of any state in the country. Nearly all the victims were black. Racial segregation was imposed by law, which California never did, and Jim Crow was abandoned only after it was declared unconstitutional. To be sure, not all of the state took racism as seriously as the rest of the Deep South; the policeman who picked up Sammy Davis, Jr., for example, for violating the nightly curfew on blacks walking outside on Miami Beach asked the entertainer for his autograph.²⁵ Such gestures rendered Jim Crow rather pointless.

Geography made Florida less stereotypically "southern" in another way. Though Los Angeles was Hispanic before Miami, Miami ranks first in the nation in its proportion of foreign-born. According to the 1990 census, over a million Hispanics live in Dade County—half of its population. Already right after World War II, Gunther observed that Florida "has a strong underlay of Spanish culture, and it is the only southern state with an Indian problem," in addition to what was then called its "Negro problem."²⁶ Yet it is California rather than Florida that, with more generosity and grandeur than any other state, suggested the pluralism that would legitimate diversity. Because California is the end of the West and faces the Pacific, the Asian continent is a distant seven time zones away. Because Florida is the bottom of the South and faces the Caribbean, a foreign country hovers only ninety miles away, and an entire continent is only a few hundred miles away, or a couple of hours by plane. By the 1960s more foreign visitors were arriving in Miami than in any other American airport except for John F. Kennedy Airport in New York City. Already by 1947 *Inside U. S. A.* had proclaimed that Miami had not only become "one of the great international airports of the world; it is the home base of Eastern Airlines, and during the war Pan American's local payroll was close to \$25 million a year."²⁷ Gunther had managed to find and single

25. Colburn and Scher, "Florida Politics in the Twentieth Century," 37; James Button, "Blacks," in Dauer, ed., *Florida's Politics and Government*, 286-93; Sammy Davis, Jr., and Jane and Burt Boyar, *Yes I Can: The Story of Sammy Davis, Jr.* (New York, 1966), 153, 157-58.

26. Lawrence H. Fuchs, *The American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity, and the Civic Culture* (Hanover, NH, 1990), 299; Gunther, *Inside U. S. A.*, 655.

27. Derr, *Some Kind of Paradise*, 338; Gunther, *Inside U. S. A.*, 729.

out two airline companies whose names and logos the next generation of Americans may be unable to recognize.

But it is even odder that *Inside U. S. A.* begins in California, to which the first four chapters are devoted; and though Gunther's hefty tome has room for separate chapters on Wyoming and Nevada and Oklahoma, no separate chapter is devoted to the second largest state east of the Mississippi River. Dade County alone is bigger than Rhode Island. Gunther offered the dubious grounds that "the singular characteristics of the great state of Florida are so well known that we can risk being brief." It is folded into a chapter on the Carolinas and Virginia because, despite its particularity, "the Peninsula State is very much part of the South," and because of the sheer longevity of its history ("there were 306 years between Ponce de Leon and proprietorship by the United States; St. Augustine is the oldest town in North America"). Gunther acknowledged the "variety" of Florida and, because of "a tremendous incursion from the North, . . . more vitality than any southern area, with the possible exception of Tennessee in the valley region." He argues that "Florida is a special case," which is hardly an argument for the absence of a separate chapter, and discerned "a considerable jealousy of California in the realms of citrus fruit and of the weather."²⁸

If Californians have harbored few envious feelings or complexes about Florida, the reverse may not be true, because of a simple cultural rule: in modern America, the hip trumps the square. California has nurtured Johnny Carson and Marilyn Monroe; Florida was stuck with Arthur Godfrey and Anita Bryant. California had "the Chairman of the Board," Frank Sinatra; Florida had to be satisfied with "the Great One," Jackie Gleason. San Francisco had Allen Ginsberg, a pot-smoking anarchist, reciting "Howl" (1956) and getting busted. St. Petersburg served as the final home for Jack Kerouac, a drunkard and a Republican, writing in virtual isolation. One notable California Latino has been Cesar Chavez, organizer of the farm workers, who fasted for a more perfect union and once celebrated mass with Robert Kennedy. One notable Florida Latino has been Charles G. (Bebe) Rebozo, a banker and a Republican, who enjoyed boating and golfing with Richard Nixon. California

28. Gunther, *Inside U. S. A.*, 655, 727, 728.

has Big Sur; Florida has Silver Springs. California has the sybarites of the Playboy Mansion; Florida has the water-skiiers of Cypress Gardens. California gave birth to the Black Panthers, stalking the state legislature to assert their right to bear arms. Florida has been home to the Gray Panthers, lobbying politicians for increased Social Security benefits. Even the flakiness of American cults produced a hip version in the Reverend Jim Jones, a square variety in L. Ron Hubbard. Or contrast the students at Berkeley with those at Fort Lauderdale. One locale helped invent the youth culture and remains one of the world's synapses of intellectual energy; every spring the other attracts young boors guzzling beers, which Connie Francis celebrated by tanning herself *Where the Boys Are* (1961).

Another source of the disparity has been the national pastime. Since the 1920s Florida has hosted the Grapefruit League and has remained the favorite site of baseball spring training. But during the regular season, the preferred sites have included Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco, and even Oakland. As late as 1992 not a single squad was playing major league baseball in Florida, which has had to await National League franchise expansion (Miami's Marlins). After leaving New York, the Giants played in San Francisco before they considered decamping to St. Petersburg. Florida made it possible—in Dylan Thomas's phrase—to “see the boys of summer in their ruin,” with retirees like Ted Williams (once “the Kid” from San Diego) living there. But it was not until 1993 that one could see those athletes playing the game during the summer.²⁹

A major reason that Florida has been the dubbed version of California is the location of the film business in Hollywood. When Upton Sinclair ran for governor in 1934 on the EPIC ticket (End Poverty in California), his promise of a substantial tax hike on the studios and his notion of a new, state-run movie industry ignited such consternation and fear among the moguls that they threatened to move to Florida if the socialist firebrand were elected.³⁰ Sinclair lost, and the consequences can only be suggested here. But largely because the movies are in California, it serves as the original version of a fantasy life, a never-never land.

29. Dylan Thomas, *Collected Poems, 1934-1952* (New York, 1971), 1.

30. Greg Mitchell, “Thalberg: Father of the Attack Ad,” *New York Times*, April 19, 1992.

William Randolph Hearst's striking castle at San Simeon is the real thing— "the way God probably would have done it," George Bernard Shaw said, "if He'd had the money."³¹ Charles Foster Kane's "Xanadu" in Orson Welles's 1941 film is the facsimile. Hearst Castle may be eclectic, but at least its building materials and its art and its artifacts were brought over from Europe. "Xanadu," placed in Florida, was created in an RKO studio— in California, where the forbidding images of its towers and cavernous spaces were created. Yet oddly enough, Samuel Taylor Coleridge may have smoked his pipeful of opium and imagined Xanadu soon after reading William Bartram's eighteenth-century account of travelling through Florida, with its Isle of Palms, its "Alligator Hole," its "Manatee Spring," and its "crystal fountain," live oaks and magnolias. In the poet's dream the Oklawaha River may have become Kublai Khan's Alph, which ran, he said, "Through caverns measureless to man/ Down to a sunless sea." The latest wrinkle from the vicinity of Orlando seems to be an amusement park called Xanadu Home of the Future.³²

Billy Wilder's farcical masterpiece, *Some Like It Hot* (1959), is also set in Florida, where Jack Lemmon and Tony Curtis are fleeing from Chicago mobsters led by George Raft; but the vacation spot where the all-female band is staying was actually filmed at the Hotel del Coronado, located along the Pacific near San Diego. The response in the mid 1980s from the vicinity of Orlando was to build the Grand Floridian Hotel, duplicating the look and Victorian seaside style of the idiosyncratic Coronado while rectifying its architectural mistakes.³³ The case is complicated with *Scarface*. The original Howard Hawks version (1932), starring Paul Muni and the ubiquitous George Raft, was conceived and shot in southern California but is set in Chicago. The Brian De Palma remake (1983), starring Al Pacino, was set in Miami, provoking its city commissioners to pass a resolution denouncing Universal Pictures for having the audacity to depict

31. Quoted in Phyllis Theroux, "No Place Like Home," *New York Times Magazine*, October 20, 1991.

32. Shoumatoff, *Florida Ramble*, 63-64; John Livingston Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu: A Study in the Ways of the Imagination* (Boston, 1930), 8-9, 356-70, 372, 513-16; Rothchild, *Up for Grabs*, 48.

33. Paul Goldberger, "25 Years of Unabashed Elitism," *New York Times*, February 2, 1992.

a Cuban as a cocaine dealer. The model for *Scarface* had of course been Al Capone, who settled in Florida in 1927 and was publicly blasted by the mayor of Miami Beach, John Newton Lummus, Jr., as "unwelcome." But as a realtor, the same J. N. Lummus helped find the newcomer from Cicero, Illinois, a mansion, which he left to become a famous guest of the Federal government in California's Alcatraz. Capone died in Miami.³⁴

Hollywood has often made Florida the sequel. The first part of Francis Ford Coppola's *The Godfather* (1972) shows the Corleones breaking into show business on the West Coast, partly in California. In *The Godfather, Part II* (1974), they finally get involved in Florida (and Cuban) gambling casinos. Wilder's film noir, *Double Indemnity* (1944), was memorably set in James M. Cain's Los Angeles, with a sizzling blonde (Barbara Stanwyck) seducing a fall guy (Fred MacMurray) and getting him to murder her husband. Lawrence Kasdan's *Body Heat* (1981) has an even steamier blonde (Kathleen Turner) seducing a fall guy (William Hurt) and getting him to murder her husband, this time in the south Florida towns of "Miranda Beach" and "Pine Haven." Having gunned down the bad guys in the Wild West for a couple of decades, Gary Cooper starred in a "southern," set in Florida during the Seminole Wars in 1840, entitled *Distant Drums* (1951). If Davy Crockett were a model Westerner, dying at the Alamo, the name of Sonny Crockett on television's *Miami Vice* was undoubtedly intended to suggest both the tropical climate and the transposition of the Western into an urban locale like Miami, the very city where John Schlesinger's *Midnight Cowboy* (1961) ends—having begun with Joe Buck (Jon Voight) in Texas. Humphrey Bogart had already made his reputation in movies set on the other side of the continent, whether as Duke Mantee in *The Petrified Forest* (1936) or in *High Sierra* (1941) or as Sam Spade in *The Maltese Falcon* (1941), before joining Baby (Lauren Bacall) in Florida's *Key Largo* (1948). *To Have and Have Not* (1945) is unique in having given screen credits to two future Nobel laureates (with William Faulkner adapting Hemingway's work). But it does not count in this context, since Howard Hawks's film is set not in Key West but in Vichy-run Martinique.

34. Rothchild, *Up for Grabs*, 136, 180-01; John Kobler, *Capone: The Life and World of Al Capone* (New York, 1971), 220, 221; Shofner, *Florida Portrait*, 178.

Sam Spade's erstwhile partner Miles Archer bestowed his name on Lew Archer, the California detective who was created by Ross Macdonald in 1949, almost a generation ahead of Sarasota's John D. MacDonald, who came up with the Florida detective Travis McGee in 1964. Archer was featured in two dozen novels; while from his houseboat, the *Busted Flush*, on Bahia Mar in Fort Lauderdale, McGee solves crimes in twenty-one volumes. Although MacDonald (the Floridian) was much honored (from the Grand Prix de Littérature Policière to the American Book Award), it was left to a reviewer on the front page of the *New York Times Book Review* to pronounce the oeuvre of Macdonald (the Californian) "the finest series of detective novels ever written by an American."³⁵

Speaking of crime, the best-known unindicted co-conspirator in American history moved from San Clemente in southern California to Key Biscayne, where Senator George Smathers's mansion was incorporated into the presidential compound early in 1969. The transfer was fitting, since Richard Nixon had won his congressional seat in 1946 in a bare-knuckle campaign that Claude D. Pepper later believed served as a model for Smathers's successful senatorial primary race against him in 1950— a campaign so savage that it even gave dirty politics a bad name. The bashing of "Red" Pepper was closely studied by Nixon before running that year for the Senate in California against Helen Gahagan Douglas.³⁶ Even California's Red Scare ran its course earlier and longer and deeper than Florida's Jack B. Tenney's Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities wreaked havoc on the careers of California teachers, trade unionists, and New Dealish state employees in the 1940s, a decade before the ugly mischief wrought by its Florida legislative counterpart. Headed by an ex-railroad conductor named Charley Johns, the Florida inquisition may have cost a dozen faculty members at the University of Florida their

35. William Goldman, review of *The Goodbye Look*, in *New York Times Book Review*, June 1, 1969, 1.

36. John Egerton, *Shades of Gray: Dispatches from the Modern South* (Baton Rouge, 1991), 157; Claude Denson Pepper, with Hays Gorey, *Pepper: Eyewitness to a Century* (San Diego, 1987), 197-210; Robert Sherrill, *Gothic Politics in the Deep South: Stars of the New Confederacy* (New York, 1968), 142-52; Garry Wills, *Nixon Agonistes: The Crisis of the Self-Made Man* (Boston, 1970), 85.

jobs, while also validating the Marxist dictum that historical tragedy gets repeated as farce.³⁷

Despite friendship with both Nixon and John F. Kennedy, neither Smathers nor any other Florida politician achieved truly national stature, even as the size of the Florida delegation in Congress kept growing like kudzu in every decade. The state's politicians have been so bland and uncharismatic, so unable to capture anyone's imagination, that a comedian's remark after the 1984 campaign is applicable to them: "Whenever I saw Walter Mondale on television, I thought I had lost the color."³⁸ The dullness of Florida's political leadership may show how unsouthern a state it is. Perhaps Pepper came closest to arousing a national constituency, as the congressional champion of the aged. It is also true that Governor LeRoy Collins, the subject of a favorable *Time* cover story in 1955, was widely known, though his career ran aground in the maelstrom of civil rights. But a contrast with California may be instructive here as well. Fuller Warren, a Jacksonville attorney, was a moderate governor (1949-1953) whose interests and aims remained parochial.³⁹ Another square-jawed, very amiable, mildly progressive governor was his contemporary. The career of Earl Warren was to propel him far beyond the confines of Sacramento (1943-1953) and into the pantheon of constitutional liberalism. The variety of California does not impede the sense that its politicians may reflect some of the state's values. Yet Florida politicians lack the clear-cut image of representing a particular constituency.

Even the altered sense of community suggests that Florida is mimetic. Oakland's Gertrude Stein is supposed to have complained of her city: "When you get there, there isn't any there there." This lapidary remark may be increasingly applicable to many of the towns in both states. The city fathers of St. Petersburg have been so eager to shed its southern origins, according to Professor Raymond Arsenault, that "for better or

37. David R. Colburn and Richard K. Scher, *Florida's Gubernatorial Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Tallahassee, 1980), 253-54.

38. Pat Paulsen quoted in Gerald Gardner, *The Mocking of the President: A History of Campaign Humor from Ike to Bush* (New York, 1989), 41.

39. Tom Wagy, *Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida: Spokesman of the New South* (Tuscaloosa, 1985), 2, 139, 143-44, 167, 175-76, 194-96, 203-04; David R. Colburn and Richard K. Scher, "Florida Gubernatorial Politics: The Fuller Warren Years," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 53 (April 1975), 389-408; Tebeau, *History of Florida*, 426-28, 430.

worse, it now belongs to the Sunbelt, a region where lack of tradition has become a tradition, and where communal feeling has more to do with a shared experience of migration and transience than with local history." If the nation's annals can be cast in the form of time-and-motion studies, there is something emblematic about Osceola County, where one out of every three residences is a mobile home.⁴⁰ Deracination and displacement mark the citizenry of the two states that share another feature besides sunshine and citrus. First in California, then in Florida, Walt Disney imprinted his own special sense of community.

It might be argued that, upon its opening in Anaheim in 1955, Disneyland represented something local as well as universal, that the choice of Ronald Reagan to serve as host at the opening ceremonies represented a link to an industry integral to California. Walt Disney World in Orlando is instead an import from outside; and CEO Michael Eisner, though not a native of California, is no Floridian either, but a New Yorker living in Los Angeles. Main Street, the obligatory vestibule of the Magic Kingdom, is designed to evoke the village Midwest of the founder's childhood. The MGM and Universal Studios theme parks are also out of sync with any historic roots in Florida and are associated, quite obviously, with "the Coast." Nicknamed "Hollywood East," Orlando has recently become the site of Universal Studios' half-dozen sound stages and the biggest backlot outside Hollywood, while at Disney-MGM Studios Theme Park's *Indiana Jones Epic Stunt Spectacular*, "visitors pretend to be extras along with actors who pretend to be extras on sets that pretend to be sets." On the expansive 27,400 acres of Disney World, "the attractions . . . offer little of Florida," Mark Derr observes, "and no one seems to care." Disney World seems to emit a post-modernist aura of free-floating signifiers (or are they signs?); and though the sociological theorist Jean Baudrillard visited California (but not Florida) to write his post-Tocqueville treatise, *Amérique* (1986), he would undoubtedly have found simulacra where "the city [Orlando] and the park [Disney] are looking more like each other every day." As the world's leading commer-

40. Quoted in Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The Democratic Experience* (New York, 1973), 1; Raymond Arsenault, *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream, 1888-1950* (Norfolk, 1988), 313; Priscilla Painton, "Fantasy's Reality," *Time* (May 27, 1991), 54.

cial tourist attraction, Orlando is something quite new among boom towns. It "is growing at a staggering pace on the model of Disney World: it is a community that imitates an imitation of a community." Orlando is built upon transience, boasting of more hotel rooms than New York or Chicago or Los Angeles.⁴¹

The land for that community had been assembled as early as 1965 for an average of \$180 an acre, or about \$5,000,000. Construction was completed in 1971 under the auspices of the Reedy Creek Improvement District in order to avoid the tackiness that had spread through the immediate Anaheim area like an oil slick. Walt Disney World was therefore designed to rectify the mistakes not of an actual community but of another imitation-community. The 250,000,000 "guests" who have come to Walt Disney World have more than doubled the gate receipts of Disneyland in California. Those who, like Jean-Luc Godard in his surreal *Weekend*, see traffic congestion as an apocalyptic end-game might ponder late December 1986 when all motel rooms were reserved and filled on I-95 between Richmond and Savannah. On December 29 the attendance record for Disney World for a single day was set with 148,500 waiting in line. More people have annually visited Disney World, for example, than Britain, though junketeering P. J. O'Rourke was among the disenchanting pilgrims to this modern Mecca: "Epcot Center . . . has accomplished something I didn't think possible in today's world. They have created a land of make-believe that's worse than regular life. Unvarnished reality would be preferable. In fact, it might be fun." O'Rourke noted that the corridor up to the gates of Paradise was saturated with "a thousand Dairy Queens, RV parks, peewee golf establishments, and souvenir stands selling cypress knee clocks and shellacked blowfish."⁴² So much for the effort to escape the commercial raunchiness around Anaheim.

41. "Fantasy's Reality," *Time*, 52, 55; Derr, *Some Kind of Paradise*, 376; Alexander Moore, "Walt Disney World: Bounded Ritual Space and the Playful Pilgrimage Center," *Anthropological Quarterly* 53 (October 1980), 211; Michael Sorkin, "See You in Disneyland," in *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*, ed. Sorkin (New York, 1992), 205.

42. Derr, *Some Kind of Paradise*, 376-77, 381; Peter C. T. Elsworth, "Too Many People and Not Enough Places to Go," *New York Times*, May 26, 1991; P. J. O'Rourke, "Through Darkest America: Epcot Center," in *Holidays in Hell* (New York, 1988), 184-85.

Though such pitches have been made to an audience to which wiseguys like O'Rourke do not belong, others envision central Florida more ethereally as an antechamber to heaven. "So many terminally ill children have made a trip to Disney World [to fulfill] their last wish," *Time* magazine has reported, "that a foundation has established a permanent village nearby to accommodate them." Evangelists have also seen the potential of Orlando as a burned-over district, though the theological contortions that result would surprise the Church Fathers. "The spiritual person and the person who wants to have fun, it's the same thing. When you're in Disney, you have hope that things can be better. And when we know God, there's always hope for a better place, which is of course heaven," according to Tammy Faye Bakker, whose much-reduced New Covenant Ministries is implanted near Orlando, which is also where the evangelical Campus Crusade for Christ relocated its headquarters from San Bernardino, California.⁴³

Promise and closure, inauguration and fulfillment, beginning and end— such combinations make the image of Florida paradoxical. Fresh starts are much of its appeal; among states with the highest proportion of plastic surgeons, Florida is second only to California.⁴⁴ But Florida is also the finish line— the Fountain of Youth crumbling under the pressure of an inexorable mortality. With almost one in three residents getting Social Security checks, no state has a grander reputation of hospitality to the elderly. By the late 1980s the median age of Pasco County was fifty-five. Florida is not only "the Great American Escape," a bicentennial chronicler asserts, "it is also . . . the Great American Dumping Ground. It is where Mom and Pop go to die."⁴⁵ Some like it hot. It is the home stretch for "Ratso" Rizzo in *Midnight Cowboy*, Seymour Glass in J. D. Salinger's "A Perfect Day for Bananafish," "Rabbit" Angstrom at rest, Charles Foster Kane muttering "Rosebud," for Kerouac and Hurston. It is the end of the line for the exhausted, the desperate, the burnt-out cases. To them attention must be paid, because "all their lives

43. "Fantasy's Reality," *Time*, 54, 58.

44. "Where the Plastic Surgeons Are," *New York Times*, February 23, 1992.

45. Jahoda, *Florida*, 182; Shoumatoff, *Florida Ramble*, 36; Carrie Teegardin, "Census Sees Florida as Two States in One," *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, April 5, 1992.

they had slaved at some kind of dull, heavy labor, behind desks and counters, in the fields and at tedious machines of all sorts, saving their pennies and dreaming of the leisure that would be theirs when they had enough. Finally the day came . . . where else should they go, but to . . . the land of sunshine and oranges?"⁴⁶ That question is posed in 1939 in *The Day of the Locust*, whose locale was California. But the question has been answered by the hordes of retirees and other immigrants to Florida, where three out of four residents are now packed onto 6 percent of the land, where four-fifths of the population are crammed into only fifteen of the state's sixty-seven counties.⁴⁷

Florida can be seen as a re-run of California in one final sense, for both states have become test sites of the national dilemma of how progress can be accommodated to paradise. The most vivid story of Florida may be little more than a repeat of the essential myth of California, which is a parable of the dangers lurking in development, or— to give a (Leo) Marxist angle on American Studies— an object lesson in putting the machine in the garden. How commerce can be reconciled with conservation, how population growth can co-exist with the natural order is the challenge that the histories of California— and Florida— now pose. "Progress" is bait that the populations of both states have swallowed, despite the fragility of the environmental structure in withstanding the relentless assault of the American way of life. The dreams of movement and mobility, of competitive capitalism and technological improvement are too intimately connected to the national experiment to be easily resisted. Florida is that saga in microcosm. Benjamin Franklin had pleaded with Europeans to come to a land of "a happy general mediocrity"; and Professor Richard Hofstadter interpreted much of the sweep of American history as a fulfillment of such promotional schemes, as immigrants "were gulled into great expectations, stirred by some searing resentment or compelling ideal."⁴⁸

46. Nathanael West, *The Day of the Locust* (New York, 1975), 131.

47. Derr, *Some Kind of Paradise*, 314; Colburn and Scher, "Florida Politics in the Twentieth Century," 41.

48. Benjamin Franklin, "Information to Those Who Would Remove to America" (1782); in *The Political Thought of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Ralph L. Ketcham (Indianapolis, 1965), 336; Richard Hofstadter, *America at 1750: A Social Portrait* (New York, 1971), 16.

Those motives inspired a pattern of overdevelopment familiar to Californians and which has been eerily reproduced in Florida. After Dade County was invaded and pervaded with progress following the Second World War came the remorseless building up of Broward and Palm Beach counties, a cycle that the central Florida counties of Orange, Osceola, and Seminole have seemed determined to repeat. According to Derr, "the waves of development ripping across central Florida have consumed hundreds of thousands of acres of forests, fields, and orange groves . . . that once served to filter water recharging the Florida Aquifer."⁴⁹ Resources have been exploited, the asphalt and concrete poured on, the populace has swarmed in, and the effects have been— as one journalist has predicted— "more jai alai stadiums, dog tracks, snake farms, juicer plants, junior colleges, pet cemeteries, utopian retirement communities, health clubs, drive-ins, car dealerships, funeral chapels, barbecue pits, hamburger franchises, and amusement parks."⁵⁰ The wackiness of the land boom that the Marx Brothers satirized in their first big Broadway hit, *The Cocoanuts* (1925-1928), has become a fixture of the Florida experience.

Without minimizing the ecological problems of California, with its plagues ranging from fire to drought to smog to earthquakes, Florida environmentalists might argue for their own special challenges. Even conservationists as gallant and persistent as Marjory Stoneman Douglas of Miami, for example, are less able to mobilize support than in the Far West, where a California mountain range like the Sierra Nevada could convey the right wholesome image for an organization like the Sierra Club, which John Muir founded in San Francisco in 1892. Coalitions can be built more romantically and effectively around protecting forests or mountains than in behalf of swamps (or, to use the politically correct term, wetlands). The beauties of Yosemite could be appreciated more easily by hikers and backpackers and by presidents like Theodore Roosevelt than such uninviting terrain as the Everglades, which stirs a dedicated but far more uncertain constituency. It must also be acknowledged that Floridians have also confronted some manifestations of nature at their least agreeable, like the water hyacinth, the Asian walking

49. Derr, *Some Kind of Paradise*, 385.

50. Shoumatoff, *Florida Rambles*, 33.

catfish, and the African tree snail, which are quite different from Smokey the Bear or the majestic redwoods. Moreover, the thrust of Florida history, it might be argued, has been to conquer the environment rather than adapt to it, to beat the heat and tempt tourists and settlers with the promise of new, developing, and developed communities. In a century of expansion so closely associated with the names of master builders like Flagler and Plant and Fisher, the ideal of economic growth has been largely uncontested. To champion ecological and aesthetic criteria as factors in making Florida habitable has been politically delicate.⁵¹

Readers of the Book of Genesis might respond in exculpation that quality control problems emerged with the first two human beings selected to inhabit Paradise; and readers of Kant know that "out of the crooked timber from which humanity is made, nothing can come out entirely straight."⁵² The philosopher died too early to see the real estate saleswomen in hot pants or the plaster flamingoes that would become more recognizable than egrets. The mythic space that Floridians have inhabited is therefore bound to be ambiguous, as the natural attractions that enraptured so many residents and transients are endangered, as the state shows increasing signs of becoming the tip of a wounded civilization. Such discontents may mean that the future is not what it used to be; but they were already recorded with acuity at the dawn of postbellum Florida. Describing a tour up the St. Johns River from the winter home that she had purchased in Mandarin, Harriet Beecher Stowe noted the beauty of "the wild, untouched banks . . . but the new settlements generally succeed in destroying all Nature's beauty, and give you only leafless, girdled trees, blackened stumps, and naked white sand, in return."⁵³ It is therefore prudent to conclude that the myth of Eden already contained within it the harbinger of the fall; the danger of dystopia already contaminated the state of nature.

51. Rothchild, *Up for Grabs*, 104, 110, 114-15; Arsenault, *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream*, 89.

52. Quoted in Isaiah Berlin, *The Crooked Timber of Humanity: Chapters in the History of Ideas*, ed. Henry Hardy (New York, 1991), xi.

53. Stowe, *Palmetto-Leaves*, 257.

JOSEPH URBAN'S PALM BEACH ARCHITECTURE

by DONALD W. CURL

WHEN Paris Singer established the Everglades Club, he changed forever the nature of Palm Beach as a winter resort. Until 1918 social life centered on the Flagler hotels and the Beach Club, Colonel Edward Bradley's gambling casino. In the period after World War I, when growing wealth allowed America's middle class to plan winter vacations, society found its exclusiveness threatened. Almost anyone who could afford it could register at the Royal Poinciana, the Breakers, or the Palm Beach Hotel. The Everglades Club, with its expensive restricted membership, allowed for a new definition of society in the winter resort.

Addison Mizner designed the Everglades Club and, in the following years, many large ocean and lakefront villas for its most fashionable members. As Palm Beach's first "society architect," his work set the standard for fashion and style in the new community. Marion Sims Wyeth, a Princeton architecture graduate who also attended the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, opened his office in 1919. In the early 1920s society almost always chose one of these two architects to design their Palm Beach residences. So did the newly rich who wished to enter Palm Beach society. Mizner and Wyeth provided their clients with the introductions needed both to become a part of the fashionable resort world and to join organizations like the Everglades Club.

By the mid 1920s a younger and livelier group of resorters challenged the Everglades Club's exclusive hold on society and Singer's ability to dictate its membership rolls. This new group called for clubs with greater emphasis on sports and for new and varied forms of entertainment. In general, they desired greater opportunities for a fuller and more active social and cultural life during the winter season.

In the mid 1920s new architects such as Maurice Fatio, Howard Major, and John L. Volk joined Mizner and Wyeth in Palm

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Beach. Numerous writers proclaimed southeast Florida the American Riviera, as the work of these architects transformed Palm Beach into a pseudo-Mediterranean village. The pastel stucco walls, variegated clay-tile roofs, lofty towers, and cast stone, wrought iron, and polychrome tile decorative details set amidst the lush semi-tropical landscape created one of America's most beautiful resorts. Although many architectural writers of the era praised this beauty, a few critics, and especially those who championed the work of modernists, found the resort architecture of Palm Beach too flamboyant and too theatrical.

The architects who created the town, and what will later be called the Palm Beach style, devoted their entire careers to design and building. Only after the mid-point of the decade did a man whose architecture could be characterized as truly flamboyant and theatrical join them. Although Joseph Urban trained as an architect, he spent his life designing stage sets for the Paris, Boston, and Metropolitan operas, and for Florenz Ziegfeld's *Follies*.

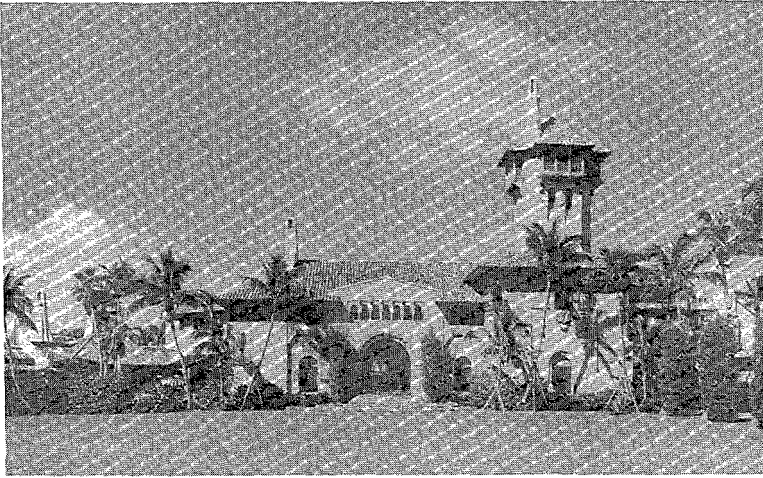
Urban became the architect of the active, younger group in Palm Beach, providing the settings for a new resort lifestyle. In just two years in Palm Beach he designed stage sets for the Club de Montmartre; remodeled the old Bradley tennis club into the Oasis Club; designed the Paramount Theatre, the Bath and Tennis Club, and a new wing for Anthony J. Drexel Biddle's oceanfront villa; executed plans for a proposed house for John Demearst on Hypoluxo Island; and completed Mar-A-Lago, Palm Beach's most elaborate and most talked-about mansion.¹

The earlier architects of Spanish Palm Beach produced a colorful though rather sedate architecture. Urban took the Mediterranean tradition he found there, blended it with his own Viennese background and training, and produced theatrical settings so lavish that some critics feel they ultimately vulgarized and killed the style. One Mar-A-Lago story, a variation on one of the world's most repeated architecture jokes, tells of Addison

1. This article was written before the publication of Randolph Carter and Robert Reed Cole, *Joseph Urban: Architecture, Theatre, Opera, Film* (New York, 1992). As a comparison will show, this article differs substantially from their chapter on Palm Beach architecture. See the Joseph Urban files of the Historical Society of Palm Beach County, Barbara D. Hoffstot's *Landmark Architecture of Palm Beach*, or Donald Curl's *Mizner's Florida: American Resort Architecture*.



Joseph Urban. From *Randolph Carter and Robert Reed Cole, Joseph Urban: Architecture, Theatre, Opera, Film* (New York, 1992).



Mar-A-Lago on South Ocean Boulevard in Palm Beach, Florida. From *Donald W. Curl, Palm Beach County (Northridge, CA, 1986)*.

Mizner proclaiming to a friend, “I think Harry Thaw shot the wrong architect.”

Carl Maria Georg Joseph Urban was born in Vienna on May 26, 1872. He studied painting and architectural design at the Imperial and Royal Academy and building construction at the Polytechnicum, completing his architectural courses in 1892. Urban received his first major commission in 1894 when the khedive of Egypt retained him to plan alterations to his palace in Cairo. He followed this with an addition to Count Karl Esterhazy’s castle and with commissions for the design of the interior of the Municipal Building in Vienna, a sanitarium at the German resort of Baden, a memorial chapel for the Empress Elizabeth, and a number of houses in Vienna.²

2. Otto Teegen, “Joseph Urban,” *Architecture* (May 1934), 251-52; V. Horvat Pintaric, *Vienna in 1900: The Architecture of Otto Wagner* (New York, 1989), 24-26; typed list of Urban Commissions, Joseph Urban Collection, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University. This fourteen-page list divides Urban’s commissions between architecture, painting, illustration, decoration, scenery, and cinema. Teegen, “Joseph Urban,” 252; Beth Dunlop, “Interview: Timothy F. Rub on the Work of Joseph Urban,” *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* (Spring 1988), 105-07; Kenneth Macgowan, “Profiles: Caprice Viennois,” *New Yorker Magazine* (October 26, 1929), 21-22.

In 1904 Urban began designing stage sets. In the next six years he worked for theaters throughout Austria and Germany and completed the Paris Opera's set for Claude Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande*. Debussy introduced him to the director of the Boston Opera, and in 1911 Urban became its production manager. Between then and 1914, when the Boston company closed, Urban staged thirty-four productions.³

A spectacular setting for a Broadway version of Hans Christian Andersen's *The Little Mermaid* brought his work to the attention of Florenz Ziegfeld and began his long association with the *Follies*. He also completed other projects for the Broadway theater, worked as art director for William Randolph Hearst's film company Cosmopolitan Productions, and from 1917 until his death in 1933 he designed practically every new production presented by the Metropolitan Opera.⁴

Urban returned to architecture in 1925 when Edward F. Hutton, the Wall Street magnate, commissioned him to complete the decoration of his new Palm Beach villa. In 1921 Marion Sims Wyeth had designed Hogarcito, a house on Golf View Road overlooking the Everglades golf course, for Hutton and his wife, Marjorie Merriweather Post. From Hogarcito's four-story observation tower, with its bells and cut-stone coping to its modulated two-tone, salmon-colored walls, it typified the Spanish-style architecture so popular in Palm Beach in the early twenties. After just a few years the Huttons decided to build a new house. Mrs. Hutton, who by 1924 was much more involved in the Palm Beach social scene, felt Hogarcito failed to compete with the large mansions of other established hostesses.⁵

In May 1925 a *Palm Beach Post* article told of Wyeth's designs for the Huttons' new oceanfront house, claiming it resembled a tiny Spanish village. Planning was well underway on Mar-A-Lago, as the Huttons called their new estate, when Wyeth received an invitation to luncheon on their yacht, the *Hussar*. The palatial yacht was too large to enter the inlet, so Wyeth traveled

3. Teegen, "Joseph Urban," 252; Kenneth Spritz, "Behind the Scenes: American Theatrical Design," *American Art & Antiques* (March/April 1979), 72-73; Dunlop, "Interview," 107; Deems Taylor, "The Scenic Art of Joseph Urban, His Protean Work in Theatre," *Architecture* (May 1934), 276.

4. Macgowan, "Profile," 22; Dunlop, "Interview," 111.

5. *Palm Beach Post*, January 4, 1922; William Wright, *Heiress, the Rich Life of Marjorie Merriweather Post* (Washington, 1978), 86.



Marjorie Merriweather Post. From *Nettie Leitch Major, C. W. Post: The Hour and The Man* (Washington, 1963).

out by launch where he met Urban who had sailed to Florida with the Huttons. During the luncheon Mrs. Hutton told Wyeth that Urban would complete the decoration of the house, though she wished him to continue as associate architect. The friendship between the Huttons, Florenz Ziegfeld, and his actress-wife Bil-

lie Burke, all of whom spent winters at the resort, probably explained Urban's involvement.⁶

Wyeth denied any responsibility for the house in later years, claiming, "It isn't my taste. It's the taste of Joe Urban. I don't want anyone to think I was the architect in charge."⁷ Still, it seems evident that he designed the layout of the house. The plans of the two houses make Hogarcito an ancestor of Mar-A-Lago. In Hogarcito all of the major rooms partially enclosed a large patio. A year after its completion Wyeth added a detached master bedroom wing to the house. An open cloister from the screened porch led to this completely separated "master's house."⁸

Wyeth designed a similar plan for Mar-A-Lago consisting of a series of pavilions that corresponded to the different functions of the house. The crescent-shaped main section of public rooms wrapped around a circular patio with a vista over sloping lawns to Lake Worth. "Deenie's House," a self-contained unit for the Huttons' daughter (today actress Dina Merrill), was connected to the main pavilion by a cloister that continued south and westward to the owners' house. Across the patio and in the northwest corner of the house a large U-shaped wing contained kitchen, service, and staff rooms. The porte cochere at the front door linked the two-story guest pavilion to the main house.⁹

Urban brought Franz Barwig, a Viennese sculptor, and Barwig's son to Palm Beach to begin shaping and carving the house's decorative detailing. The architects ordered three shiploads of Dorian stone from Genoa, and they found around 20,000 old roofing tiles and 2,200 square feet of black and white marble floor blocks in Cuba. Mrs. Hutton purchased 36,000 antique tiles that had been collected by Mrs. Horace Haver-meyer in the 1880s. The contractor bought cypress wood for

6. *Palm Beach Post*, May 2, 9, 10, 1925.

7. *Palm Beach Daily News*, March 16, 1981.

8. *Palm Beach Post*, May 9, 1925; plans for Hogarcito, Collection of Sidney Neill, AIA, Palm Beach. Neill was the successor of Wyeth, King and Johnson, Wyeth's last firm. In his inventory of plans those for Mar-A-Lago are mentioned as located in a "trunk." The trunk has never been found.

9. Irvin L. Scott, "Mar-A-Lago, Estate of Edward F. Hutton, Palm Beach, Fla.," *The American Architect* (June 20, 1928), 811; Nettie Leitch Major, *Mar-A-Lago, Palm Beach, Florida* (Palm Beach, 1969), 2-3; *Palm Beach Post*, September 24, 1925. In 1959 Wyeth added a sixth pavilion for a ballroom, the scene of Mrs. Post's famous square dances.

doors and beams locally and commissioned the ironwork in West Palm Beach. Urban hired Louis Jambor, an Hungarian artist, to create frescoes on the patio walls.¹⁰

Cooper C. Lightbown, the town's major builder and former mayor, had construction well along when in March 1926 Hutton ordered work on the mansion stopped. Hutton's order came after Mrs. Horace Dodge, widow of the automaker, sold the land south of the Hutton estate for over \$1,500,000 to a company that announced plans to build a twelve-story apartment-hotel and to sell small parcels for stores, apartments, and residential development. Mrs. Dodge, who had planned to build a new mansion on the property, instead purchased Playa Riente, the oceanfront villa Mizner had designed for Joshua Cosden. Hutton said that while he had already spent \$750,000, commercial use of the land "would so mar the beauty of that section" that he no longer wished to continue construction. Work resumed on Mar-A-Lago when a syndicate formed by prominent resorters, property owners in the immediate area, and Hutton purchased the former Dodge land to build a new bath and tennis club.¹¹

As Mar-A-Lago neared completion local reporters began to argue about its style. While all agreed to its "outstanding architectural beauty," some called it Spanish, others Moorish, in design.¹² A *Palm Beach Daily News* reporter claimed the house could not be architecturally classified. The mansion revealed "traits that are essentially Gothic, Spanish towers topped by chimneys that might have been brought from the Netherlands and courtyards that smack of French chateaux abound. . . . One envisages Persian Mosques, English country places, the Taj Mahal. On the west will be a courtyard reminiscent of the 'Court of Lions' of the famed Alhambra."¹³ Finally, one reporter declared the architecture unique and best characterized as "Urbanesque."¹⁴

A recent critic also agreed that the style was more Urbanesque than Spanish: "The towers in Mar-A-Lago were thoroughly

10. Major, *Mar-A-Lago*, 2-3; *Palm Beach Post*, December 18, 1927.

11. *Palm Beach Post*, March 6, 1926; *Palm Beach Times*, July 3, 9, 1926; Donald W. Curl, *Mizner's Florida: American Resort Architecture* (New York, 1984), 186.

12. *The Tropical Sun*, December 24, 1926.

13. *Palm Beach Daily News*, December 20, 1926.

14. *Ibid.*, December 24, 1926.

Viennese, as were the smaller pylons that rise about the roof line. They go back directly to what Urban was doing in the early days in Vienna.¹⁵ Nonetheless, from the structural massing of the stucco and stone house to its massive roof of old clay tiles, its decorative cast and carved stonework, its arcades of Gothic- and Moorish-inspired columns, its decorative wrought iron grills and gates, and its glazed polychrome tiles, the style remained more Mediterranean than Austrian. While non-Latin accents could be heard, the basic vocabulary remained Mediterranean.¹⁶

Urban's elaborate exterior decorations included a row of Egyptian ram's heads with gold-leaf horns placed under the eaves, carved figures with origins as diverse as the Garden of Eden, China, and Elizabethan England, and outstanding wrought iron grills fashioned by Frank Ahrens, a local craftsman. The imported Dorian stone used in the house had a rough, pitted texture and contained marine fossils. When carved it presented the antique appearance much admired at the time.¹⁷

In later years Wyeth told many stories about the continuously mounting costs of the mansion, which he attributed to Urban's excessively flamboyant decoration. Although interior design in Palm Beach in the 1920s called for historically correct detailing, no house of the era equalled Mar-A-Lago's elaborate and exacting handling. The wainscoting in the entrance hall consisted of hundreds of antique tiles, some dating from the fifteenth century. Ten coats of arms of the Merriweather and Post families circled the room above the wainscoting. Old Spanish lanterns hung from the hand-painted, beamed Spanish ceiling, and Dresden urns and sixteenth-century marble busts in tiled niches and a hooded fireplace suggested the richness to come in the rest of the house.¹⁸

From the entrance hall great cypress doors with gilded cherubs opened into the lofty, two-story living room with a gold-leaf, "thousand-wing ceiling" copied from the Accademia in Venice. As Mrs. Hutton disliked ecclesiastical motifs, the decorators substituted sun bursts for the angels of the original.

15. Dunlop, "Interview," 111.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Palm Beach Daily News*, December 24, 1926.

18. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1981.

Four curved marble steps led up to a loggia dominated by a huge plate glass window that overlooked the front lawn and the ocean beyond. Columns supported by lions carved by Barwig framed the entrance to the loggia. The entrance to the "Monkey Loggia," named for the monkey sculptures used to decorate its walls, was on the left of the great, hooded fireplace. On its right a door led to the library, specifically designed around Old English walnut paneling.

Urban adapted the dining room from one in the Chigi Palace in Rome. As the Italian dictator Benito Mussolini used the palace for his office, the architect referred to the chamber as the "Mussolini Room." Floor-to-ceiling, Italian-coastline murals on canvas covered the walls between marble pilasters. Urban used motifs from the pietredure tables found in the Pitti Palace and Uffizi Gallery for the dining table. Various colored marbles, lapis lazuli, jasper, and alabaster formed the fruit motif of the mosaic top that was crafted in Florence. The twelve-foot-long main table, which weighted over 4,000 pounds, was mounted on a steel frame. Carved wood with clusters of grapes on the legs covered the frame. A side table and six leaves allowed its extension to twenty-nine feet without interrupting the design.¹⁹

Although the newspapers referred to Mar-A-Lago as belonging to Edward Hutton, everyone knew that it was Mrs. Hutton's house. E. F. Hutton had expanded his wife's Postum Company with the addition of many other firms, including Maxwell House Coffee, Jell-O, and Birdseye Frozen Foods, all of which eventually became part of the gigantic General Foods Corporation. Mrs. Hutton's great fortune allowed her to indulge a lifestyle of unparalleled luxury. Mar-A-Lago remained her winter residence through the 1934 divorce from Hutton, the 1935 marriage to Joseph Davies (and his term as Franklin D. Roosevelt's ambassador to Russia), their 1955 divorce, and her brief marriage to Herbert May. On her death in 1973 she willed the house to the United States government.²⁰

19. Telegram from Joe Urban to Mrs. E. F. Hutton, August 9, 1926, box 4. Joseph Urban Collection; Major, *Mar-A-Lago*, 4-7; Merrill Folsom, *More Great American Mansions and Their Stories* (New York, 1967), 80-82; Allene Hatch, "A Legacy of Grandeur: Marjorie Merriweather Post: A Biography," *Palm Beach Life* (December 1977), 80-82; Lanfranco Rasponi, *The Golden Oases* (New York, 1968), 186-87.

20. William Watts, "Marjorie Merriweather Post," *Palm Beach Life* (September/

Although Mrs. Post left Mar-A-Lago to the government for a presidential retreat and guest house, its location in the Palm Beach airport flight path created a serious security problem. When the president rejected the house, the National Park Service attempted to open it as a museum. Although the Park Service planned parking in West Palm Beach with a shuttle bus to the house, the Palm Beach Town Council feared traffic problems and declining property values. Later, when the Park Service complained that maintenance costs were double the amount provided by the Post estate, the council called for the return of the house to the Post Foundation. A bill introduced by Representative Paul Rogers passed Congress and received President Carter's signature, and the foundation took title to the mansion in December 1980. It immediately placed the estate on the market at \$20,000,000.²¹

For the next four years prospective purchasers who could supply proper bank references visited the house without making any serious offers. Rumors often surfaced that members of an Arab royal family, European nobility, and other assorted millionaires wished to buy the property, but they all came to naught. In 1984 a Texas developer offered \$14,500,000 for the property in return for town approval to subdivide the estate into eight lots. Calling this the best solution to the Mar-A-Lago problem, the council gave final approval in March 1985. But the developer found it impossible to raise the money for the deal, and the lawyers for the foundation placed the estate back on the market.²²

Once more preservationists worried about the ultimate fate of the mansion. Then on October 11, 1985, came the announcement that Donald Trump, the New York real estate magnate, had purchased Mar-A-Lago for use as a private home. Town Council President Paul Ilyinsky found the idea "mindboggling."

October 1976), 58-59; *Miami Herald*, September 13, 1973; *Palm Beach Daily News*, September 13, 1973.

21. *Palm Beach Post*, September 21, 1975, January 12, 1979; *Palm Beach Daily News*, May 22, December 5, 1975; *Fort Lauderdale Sun-Sentinel*, May 12, 1978; *Miami Herald*, February 25, 1980.
22. *Palm Beach Daily News*, March 6, 1982; Patricia Bellew, "Hard Sell: OK, All You Ultra Chic Super Rich Big Spenders Out There— Don't you know how to show off anymore?" *Tropic Magazine* of the *Miami Herald*, December 11, 1983; *Palm Beach Post*, November 14, 1984, September 11, 1985; *Palm Beach Daily News*, March 13, 1985.

Experts speculated that Trump paid between \$10,000,000 and \$15,000,000 for the estate. The deed with the Palm Beach County clerk's office revealed, however, that he had paid only \$7,000,000–\$5,000,000 to the Post Foundation for the property and \$2,000,000 for 358 feet of beachfront that had been sold earlier to a neighbor. Local real estate people called the price incredibly low.²³

While completing Mar-A-Lago, Urban undertook several other projects in Palm Beach. These commissions almost always involved the Huttons or Anthony J. Drexel Biddle, Jr., the Philadelphia sportsman and socialite. The first of these projects called for a new cabaret for evening entertainment. In a 1954 interview Biddle said that he and Paris Singer decided that Palm Beach needed a good night club to compete with the night life offered in Miami. They brought Ziegfeld into their plans, and he agreed to produce a version of his *Follies* during the winter season.²⁴

In December, Singer and Biddle took over management of the Club de Montmartre on the Lake Trail. Designed by Mizner, it had opened in February 1924 as a membership supper club that served tea in the afternoon and late supper after half past ten. Described as Spanish-Moresque in style, the interior had a large, high-raftered room with its "lines emphasized in the orange edged trusses." The exterior was painted Mizner green. While the Montmartre opened in January 1925 for its second season, it never gained wide popularity.²⁵

23. *Miami Herald*, October 11, 1985; *Palm Beach Post*, January 1, 1986; *Palm Beach Daily News*, March 9, 1986. The Trumps purchased Mar-A-Lago's furnishings and began spending long winter weekends in the resort. They also allowed the Palm Beach Preservation Foundation to continue holding its annual ball at Mar-A-Lago, though for the first time they insisted on a tent and a limit of 350 guests. As Paul Ilyinsky said, Mar-A-Lago's problems seemed to be solved. Then came the end of the eighties, recession, and the collapse of many of the boomtime deals and their financing. Evidently, Donald Trump's real estate empire experienced difficulties. In early 1991 he asked for permission to subdivide the estate. He claimed that only by parceling out the property into nine lots could he afford to continue to maintain the house. Although the Landmarks Commission, Planning and Zoning Board, and Town Council all said no, negotiations continued in 1992. *Palm Beach Post*, March 11, 1991.

24. *Palm Beach Post*, October 25, 28, 1925.

25. *Palm Beach Times*, November 7, 1923, February 11, 1924; *Palm Beach Post*, January 9, 1925.

Urban remodeled the club, transforming what newspapers called “the barnlike structure” with color and his stage designs. It opened on January 14, 1926, before “Palm Beach’s most exclusive set” with a members-only policy. The revue, called *Ziegfeld’s Palm Beach Nights*, included Morton Downey, Claire Luce, and Ukulele Ike in its cast. In a few weeks the club dropped the members-only policy and advertised “prices within the reach of all.” Although popular, the revue never seemed to attract the audiences needed for a profitable venture. Nonetheless, articles mentioning important guests at the club appeared regularly in area newspapers, as did stories about the beautiful Ziegfeld girls. One, perhaps to counteract the image of the chorus girl, told of their checkers tournament on the Breakers Beach with Ziegfeld himself giving out the prizes to the winners.²⁶

Although Biddle remembered *Palm Beach Nights* as one of Ziegfeld’s loveliest shows and said he still felt nostalgic almost thirty years later when he heard “No Foolin’” and “Florida, the Moon and You,” the Palm Beach version of the *Follies* failed to open for its second season. On the night of September 1, 1927, a spectacular fire, probably caused by bad wiring, completely destroyed the building.²⁷

During construction of Mar-A-Lago Urban also remodeled the old Bradley tennis building to create the new Oasis Club. Biddle headed a group that wanted a place for men to get together and play cards or discuss affairs “without fear of interruption.” Biddle also believed that Palm Beach needed “nice young men” to keep the daughters of the cottage colonists content during the winter. Unfortunately, the resort’s high costs kept them from visiting. The Oasis Club provided adequate housing facilities at nominal rates for these carefully screened bachelors. Biddle later remembered that many marriages resulted from this arrangement.²⁸

Bradley built the tennis club in 1914 to entertain a British team that planned to play in Palm Beach during the season. The

26. *Palm Beach Independent*, January 8, 1926; *Palm Beach Post*, January 19, 26, February 7, March 14, 1926.

27. *Palm Beach Post-Times*, February 14, 1954; *Palm Beach Post*, September 2, 3, 1927; *Palm Beach Independent*, September 9, 1927; *Palm Beach Times*, September 9, 1927, September 2, 1930.

28. *Palm Beach Post-Times*, February 14, 1954.

outbreak of World War I canceled the proposed visit, and the club stood vacant for over a decade. Urban completely refurbished the building and added a long, two-story wing that contained eight bedrooms and a shower room on each floor. An open balcony provided access to the second-floor rooms and sheltered the walkway for those on the first floor. The original building and the addition formed two sides of the large, walled patio. Urban added a handsome double staircase that framed three French doors opening from the grillroom to the patio. A frieze across the patio wall of the old building showed a woman on a camel being led by Arabs into an oasis. Urban also added a fountain and a dance floor surrounded by tea tables to the patio.²⁹

The Oasis Club opened with a membership list of the most fashionable men of the community, including Urban himself and Vizcaya architect F. Burrell Hoffman, Jr. In an unusual move for a Palm Beach club of the era, names such as William K. Vanderbilt, Ogden Reid, Edward Hutton, Edward McLean, Robert Goelet, Paris Singer, Felix Doubleday, Conde Nast, and Thomas Hitchcock could be found along with those of Jules S. Bathe, Otto H. Kahn, Henry Seligman, and Mortimer L. Schiff. In many Palm Beach clubs, including the Everglades Club, Jews were denied membership. Architect Maurice Fatio became one of the first residents of the new clubhouse, sending his family in Switzerland a photograph with his room marked. In 1928 Fatio added eight new bedrooms with private baths across the west end of the patio.³⁰

During the first season, a “rigidly adhered-to-rule against members of the fair sex in the sacred precincts” except on Friday night allowed men “a quiet place away from feminine invasion.”³¹ During the second season the club admitted women every evening after half past five. In these years the Oasis be-

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29. *Palm Beach Times*, January 18, 1927; *Palm Beach Post*, January 7, 1926, January 23, 1927; “The Popular Oasis Club,” *Palm Beach Life*, March 6, 1928, 18-19; Oasis Club, Alterations and Additions, June 1926, revised August 18, 1926, first floor plans, elevation of staircase, drawing showing a pool in the patio, box 22, Joseph Urban Collection.
30. *Palm Beach Times*, January 18, 26, 1927; “Popular Oasis Club,” 18-19; *Palm Beach Daily News*, January 28, 1928; Maurice Fatio to his parents, January 20, 1927, Fatio Collection, Historical Society of Palm Beach County. See also Alexandra Fatio Taylor, ed., *Maurice Fatio, Architect* (Palm Beach, 1992). 55.
31. *New York Evening World*, March 16, 1928.

came known for its boxing matches organized by Walter C. Monaghan, who also taught boxing at the Palm Beach Private School. A ring constructed in the middle of the patio allowed "tea dances and boxing bouts" to become the club's most popular events. The caption under a photo of the ring in the *Palm Beach Times* said, "Here debs and matrons joined the men in sipping from china cups, nibbling cookies and calling for a knockout."³²

The 1929 season witnessed the debut of the supper dance and the Monday dinner boxing bouts.³³ Randolph Churchill found the dinner match "bizarre and barbaric." In an article for the *London Daily Mail* he told how a thousand people consumed a ten-course dinner at tables surrounding a ring in the center of the patio. "No gladiatorial contest in imperial Rome was fought with more genuine brutality than was employed by these modern Milos; so that before long faces of the combatants were as incarnadine as the lips of the female spectators." The bouts continued from "oysters to ices," and during breaks the guests danced in the ring.³⁴

The Great Depression dealt the club a serious blow, and by 1936 it was back in the hands of Colonel Bradley who had taken a mortgage at the time of the sale. He gave it to the Institutum Divi Thomae, which used it for scientific research. Later it became a boys choir's home, and still later Frank J. Hale of the Royal Poinciana Theater used it to house his actors. In 1980 the old club was demolished and a condominium built on the site.³⁵

One legacy of the club organization still remains: the club-within-the-club known as the Coccoanuts. "A number of gay young bachelors" founded the Coccoanuts in 1927 to give an end-of-season costume ball to repay their social obligations. Joseph Urban provided the decorations for the first ball, and the society writer of the *Palm Beach Post* called the event, with its gilded palm trees and black velvet draperies, "the most beautiful ever seen in Palm Beach."³⁶

32. *Palm Beach Times*, March 13, 1929.

33. *Palm Beach Post*, March 19, 1929; *Palm Beach Times*, March 19, 1929.

34. "Young Mr. Churchill on Palm Beach's Banquets," *Literary Digest* (August 22, 1931), 30.

35. *Palm Beach Daily News*, June 6, 1948; *Palm Beach Post*, November 14, 1961; *Palm Beach Times*, August 28, 1980.

36. *History of the Everglades Club* (Palm Beach, 1951), 186; *Palm Beach Post*, March 6, 1927.

The mid 1920s saw Palm Beach resorters enlarging their earlier homes. Many added large dining rooms, as private dinner parties became the usual entertainment among elite householders. In 1926 Biddle asked Urban to alter Villa del Sarmiento, his oceanfront residence, originally designed by Mizner in 1923. Urban's plans reversed the orientation of the house. Mizner designed the entrance through a patio from a service road west of the house. Urban placed the new entry on South Ocean Boulevard. He added a new dining room of ballroom proportions and converted the old dining room into the entrance hall. He also razed the old service wing, adding new kitchens and staff rooms and greatly enlarging the patio.³⁷

The new dining room's high, beamed ceiling—copied from one in the Alhambra—and its hooded fireplace supported by two Moresque columns added to the Spanish flavor of the existing house. A semi-circular stage, set in an apse ringed by an arcade of columns, provided a focal point for the room. One report claimed that its raised, black-marble floor converted into a Persian fountain when “not used by artists at dinner.”³⁸

Urban had three other projects for new buildings in Palm Beach. Construction on the Sunrise Building and Paramount Theatre started in May 1926. Biddle recalled that he, J. Leonard Repolgle (of Pittsburgh Steel), and E. F. Hutton “dreamed up the idea of the Paramount,” believing that Palm Beach needed a more elegant theater than the old 1916 Beaux Arts on the lakefront or the Garden on Main Street. The three men agreed to finance what the newspapers called a \$500,000 combination theater, office, and store building. Stanley C. Warrick, who owned the Beaux Arts and Garden theaters, headed the company that managed the Paramount.³⁹

37. Curl, *Mixer's Florida*, 105-07; *Palm Beach Post*, January 9, 1926; a drawing labeled “Projecting Room in Mr. Biddle's House,” n.d., box 2, Joseph Urban Collection.

38. *New York Journal*, March 14, 1928; *Palm Beach Post-Times*, December 16, 1973. After the Biddles' divorce in 1929 Mary Duke Biddle sold the Villa del Sarmiento to Jay O'Brien. O'Brien commissioned Maurice Fatio to add an enclosed loggia to the west of the living room and a swimming pool and pavilion to the patio. The house remains one of Palm Beach's great oceanfront mansions.

39. *Palm Beach Post*, May 29, 1926; *Palm Beach Independent*, June 4, 1926; *Palm*

What Biddle meant by a "more suitable theater" for Palm Beach became obvious when plans revealed twenty-six private boxes fitted into a balcony level. Each six-seat box rented at \$1,000 for the season. Hutton, Biddle, Ziegfeld, Henry Phipps, Edward Stotesbury, Rodman Wannamaker, John Shepard, Edward and Paul Moore, and other leading members of the resort's social set leased all twenty-six before the theater opened. Urban designed the foyer behind the boxes as a private lounge fitted with comfortable chairs and sofas. Newspapers dubbed the boxes "The Diamond Horseshoe," a comparison to the Metropolitan Opera House.⁴⁰

While one critic likened the Paramount's dome to work done by turn-of-the-century architects in Austria, the overall effect of the building remained Mediterranean. A large, two-story, pointed archway that led into an open court with a rough stone floor provided the entrance to the theater. Twenty shops surrounded the court on the first floor with open terraces and thirteen offices above them. Helena Rubenstein, Hattie Carnegie, the New York jeweler Marcus and Company, a restaurant, and fashionable hair dressers, florists, and photographers leased the stores. Biddle, Repolgle, and Hutton occupied offices, and Hutton opened a branch of his brokerage firm in the building.⁴¹

The fan-shaped main auditorium provided 1,080 orchestra seats ranked in twenty-three rows. The aisles converged on a shallow orchestra pit with a "mammoth Wurlitzer organ" and a wide, ogee-curved, proscenium-arched stage. Glass chandeliers hung from the wooden ceiling, which was supported by massive beams that fanned outward from over the stage. For the side walls and over the proscenium arch, Urban designed a mural that seemed to submerge the theater audience in a fantastic sea inhabited by gigantic surrealistic fish. The great canvas panels, painted by Pamela Bianca in Yonkers, New York, depicted bizarre figures of undersea life in purple, silver, yellow, oranges,

Beach Post-Times, February 14, 1954; Douglas Gomery, "The Paramount Theatre, Palm Beach, Florida," *Marquee, the Journal of the Theatre Historical Society* (Fourth Quarter 1982), 3-5, presents a not-always accurate summary of the theater's early history.

40. *Palm Beach Times*, November 28, 1926; *Palm Beach Post*, January 9, 10, 1927.

41. Dunlop, "Interview," 111; plans, box 31, Joseph Urban Collection. See also Joseph Urban file, Historical Society of Palm Beach County; *Palm Beach Times*, December 26, 1926.

and reds. The fish, with long, elegant tails and piercing eyes, appeared to swim through gold-colored, subterranean plants in a luminescent, emerald-green sea that harmonized with the subdued green color scheme of the entire interior.⁴²

Opening night of the Paramount once more demonstrated why Biddle thought the resort needed a larger and more elegant theater. Warrick chose *Beau Geste* with Ronald Colman as the first motion picture for the Sunday evening, January 9, 1927, gala. He also brought a sixteen-piece orchestra from New York and hired Emil Velasco, a noted organist, to play the Wurlitzer. Newspaper accounts favorably compared the opening night audience with those of the Metropolitan Opera and described the "beautiful coterie" of women in "lovely French frocks and rare jewels." Several stories claimed that some guests arrived with their own body guards to protect their jewels. The opening of the theater also brought another innovation to the area: ushers in formal uniforms.⁴³

Urban designed the Paramount for silent movies accompanied by either organ or orchestra backgrounds. The theater's excellent acoustics allowed it to serve also as a concert hall for full orchestras and recitals. The Society of Arts, a forerunner of the Society of the Four Arts, used the Paramount for its yearly series of concerts, which brought the Cleveland Symphony, John Charles Thomas, and Sergei Rachmaninoff to Palm Beach. At the same time, benefits for underprivileged children, the Salvation Army, and other charities called popular entertainers such as Will Rogers, Al Jolson, Billie Burke, and W. C. Fields to its stage.⁴⁴

42. *Palm Beach Daily News*, January 8, 1927; *Palm Beach Post*, January 9, 1927; Alice Delamar, April 24, 1983, note in Delamar file, Historical Society of Palm Beach County. Miss Delamar said Bianca was a child prodigy painter who also completed the murals in the old Persian Room of the Plaza Hotel. Her work was promoted by Frank Crowninshield, the editor of *Vanity Fair*, who published her drawings when she was only a teenager. See Gomery, "The Paramount Theatre," 4. See also Beth Dunlop, "Ill-fated Paramount Theatre Needs a Real-life Hero," *Miami Herald*, June 13, 1982. She attributes the Harry Thaw joke to Wilson Mizner on seeing the Paramount.

43. *Palm Beach Post*, January 10, 30, 1927; *Palm Beach Daily News*, January 10, 1927.

44. *Palm Beach Times*, March 6, 17, 1928; *Palm Beach Post*, March 6, 25, 1928; Gomery, "Paramount Theatre," 4. The Paramount opened its third season in December 1928 with sound. See *Palm Beach Times*, December 19, 29, 1928.

Urban's commission to design the Bath and Tennis Club came as a result of the Huttons' desire to safeguard the exclusiveness of their neighborhood. Once more Anthony Biddle helped organize the club. He and Hutton saw that private estates were rapidly taking over the beach frontage in town. They saw the need for a club on the beach for families, and they decided to buy the former Dodge land. They particularly liked the site because of its location amidst palatial houses and estates and away from "the curious gaze of the masses."⁴⁵

During the 1926 season the original Bath and Tennis Club opened just south of Breakers Beach. Its membership, led by Mrs. Stotesbury as honorary president and Biddle as acting president, had erected twenty-eight green bathhouses with colorfully striped roofs. Each bathhouse contained two dressing rooms, a small sitting room, and a porch covered by an awning. The members hoped that their new club might keep away the "prying Fourth Estate eyes." Moreover, the private beach allowed members freedom from "the annoyances that beset people" on public beaches. When the club opened in February 1926, Meyer Davis's orchestra played, and the Whitehall Hotel catered a cold buffet luncheon. Mrs. E. F. Hutton, "in a charming costume of unmistakable French origin," received credit from her friends for the idea of the club.⁴⁶

The combination of Mrs. Dodge's sale of her land and a July storm that did extensive damage to the Bath and Tennis Club bathhouses accounted for the decision to build a new clubhouse. Cooper Lightbown's construction company began excavation work for the swimming pool in late August, even before the new owners received final title to the property on September 9, 1926. In announcing the start of construction, Lightbown mentioned that the club planned to remain very exclusive, and he estimated the cost of the clubhouse at \$250,000. Later estimates placed the total cost at close to \$1,500,000.⁴⁷

Once more, "Urbanesque" best describes the architecture. The beautiful, rambling building was planned for "convenience,

45. *Palm Beach Post-Times*, February 14, 1954; *Palm Beach Times*, July 3, 1926; *Palm Beach Post*, September 14, 1926.

46. *Palm Beach Times*, February 14, 15, 1926; *Palm Beach Daily News*, February 16, 1926; *Palm Beach Post*, February 17, 1926.

47. *Palm Beach Post*, April 11, September 9, 1926; *Palm Beach Times*, July 9, August 22, 29, 1926.

spaciousness and to serve the purposes intended." A massive, red-tile roof, over which Urban placed a tall, narrow bell tower, covered the semi-circular oceanfront facade. The tower, with its finely molded, curvilinear gable and openings for four bells, rose high above the clubhouse. Although one critic saw it as "a baroque curved gable of Austrian architecture . . . a self-conscious historicizing that looked to Austria," in all likelihood Urban actually had the missions of Spanish America in mind. Certainly the arcaded cloister surrounding the patio showed no Austrian influence.⁴⁸

Spacious living, dining, and card rooms faced the sea and had access to a terrace that wrapped around the east side of the building. Urban stenciled the dark, wooden beams in the living room, creating a "feeling of age and mellowness." The dining room, which could seat 250, had a ceiling of small, wooden squares supported by green-colored arches. Underneath the terrace a cafeteria was installed for those who wished to lunch in their bathing suits. Originally, an open patio on the west side contained a dance floor. In the summer of 1928 Urban enclosed the west side and later added a small swimming pool. The decorating committee chose bright blue- and orange-striped awnings for the 105 cabanas that it furnished with blue-enameled furniture.⁴⁹

The new club promised to be the resort's most exclusive establishment, and, to protect its members from the curious eyes of the multitude, uniformed guards prevented intrusion while members sunned and bathed. Nonetheless, its officers also recognized that becoming "the most exclusive social club in Florida" in the 1920s meant encouraging the envy of those same multitudes. Consequently, before the club opened formally, reporters received a tour of the building. One reporter noted, "No resort in the world can show a place of more distinction and one where society will find such luxury combined with the atmosphere of informality."⁵⁰

48. *New York Herald Tribune*, January 26, 1927; "Bath and Tennis Club," Historical Edition, *Palm Beach Daily News*, 1936; Dunlop, "Interview," 111. See also "Newest Playground at Palm Beach," *Arts and Decoration* 26 (April 1927), 62.

49. *Palm Beach Times*, January 23, 26, 1927.

50. *Palm Beach Post*, January 23, October 2, 1927. After the 1948 hurricane John L. Volk almost completely rebuilt the old building. The Mission bell tower was removed, and new cabanas were constructed.

Before the end of the season Urban created “a walled city of Persia” decor for the club’s first costume ball. He adorned the patio walls with Persian frescoes “emblazoned in gorgeous colors against gold and silver backgrounds.” A long passageway simulated garden foliage and led to supper tables in the streets of Baghdad. Mrs. Hutton came as a Persian princess, and 200 of Palm Beach’s elite served as members of the harem. Another early Bath and Tennis Club event was a luncheon party given for President-elect and Mrs. Herbert Hoover on February 15, 1929. In the 1920s Palm Beach remained a Republican oasis in a Democratic desert.⁵¹

Urban’s final Palm Beach project remains unbuilt. John M. Demarest bought the southern end of Hypoluxo during the 1925 season and announced plans to build a large house on the largely uninhabited island. Demarest, a wealthy real estate man, had developed Forest Hills, Long Island, in cooperation with the Russell Sage Foundation. Urban labeled his 1925 design for Demarest “The Little Castle.” Of all his Palm Beach projects, this house seemed most inspired by the architect’s homeland.

Why Demarest never built the house is unknown. The rough plans and elevations never progressed beyond proposals. Demarest continued to live in his old island house for almost a decade. In 1928-1929 Howard Major remodeled the Hypoluxo property into a rambling “whitewash and brick” British West Indian-style house. Major also added guest and service rooms and a new swimming pool. In 1934 Demarest sold the estate to Mr. and Mrs. Louis Jacques Balsan (she was the former Consuelo Vanderbilt). Her brother, Harold Vanderbilt, had recently built an oceanfront mansion across from the island. The Balsans demolished the Demarest house, and Fatio designed the new Casa Alva on the site.⁵²

Urban completed almost all of his work in Florida in the period between 1925 and 1927. His two years in the resort brought him back to architecture. Since coming to the United States in 1911 and his acceptance of the Mar-A-Lago project, his list of commissions contained only four connected with architecture. In 1926 alone eight were listed. After his Palm Beach

51. *Palm Beach Post*, September 14, March 12, 1926, January 24, 1927, February 14, 1929; *Palm Beach Times*, February 16, 1929.

52. *Brooklyn Eagle*, April 8, 1928; *Palm Beach Independent*, May 10, 1929; *Palm Beach Daily News*, July 23, 1934.

years he completed those buildings and projects in other communities on which his fame as an architect rests. These included the Ziegfeld Theatre (1927); the design for the unbuilt Metropolitan Opera House (1928); the Hearst International Building, Max Reinhart Theatre, and Casino in Central Park (1929); the New School for Social Research and Atlantic Beach Club (1930); and the Park Avenue Club and Atlantic Beach Apartments (1931). Both the Casino in Central Park and the Atlantic Beach Club on Long Island had Biddle as a backer.⁵³

As for Palm Beach, Urban's designs produced a series of new clubs and theaters that helped create the modern resort. Just as the Everglades Club had revolutionized Henry Flagler's hotel resort, so the Oasis and Bath and Tennis clubs provided alternatives to the Everglades. The Club de Montmartre and the Paramount Theatre added glamour to the resort's night life. Finally, Mar-A-Lago gave added prominence to Mrs. Post and helped produce the island's grandest grand dame.

53. Urban Commission List, Joseph Urban Collection; *New York Herald Tribune*, November 30, 1928, May 28, 1930; *The Evening Post*, June 20, 1930. See also Joseph Urban, *Theatres* (New York, 1929).

JOSEPH L. WILEY: A BLACK FLORIDA EDUCATOR

by JOE M. RICHARDSON

“**W**HAT has become of Prof. Wiley,” asked the *Ocala Evening Star* on September 6, 1915.¹ Joseph L. Wiley, longtime principal of Fessenden Academy at Martin, had mysteriously disappeared on July 1 while in Ocala to attend a movie. He had parked his car on West Broadway and walked to the Temple Theater downtown. The next morning his car was still there, but Wiley was never seen again. His financial affairs were in order, he had drawn no money from the bank, and his family and possessions remained behind. Rumors abounded as to his whereabouts. Many local blacks believed that he had been murdered. An acquaintance, writing years later, recalled that gossip at the time hinted that the slender, light-skinned, straight-haired teacher may have decided to leave the area and pass as white somewhere else. But, she added, “I have never been sure that he was not merely taken to a swamp or out to sea.”² Whether Wiley simply had disappeared or had been killed, Fessenden Academy and the community had lost a prominent leader and educator.

The school began in 1868 when Thomas B. Ward and local blacks built a log cabin and hired a teacher to instruct the freedmen in the community. “The first course of study was Webster’s blue-back speller, the primer and the hickory rod. Few even

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1. Fessenden Academy records prior to 1919 were destroyed by fire. Although it is possible to piece together Wiley’s career at Fessenden from other sources, the complete story will never be known. J. A. Buggs to P. M. Widenhouse, June 18, 1951, John A. Buggs Papers, box 2, Amistad Research Center, New Orleans (hereinafter, ARC).
2. *Ocala Evening Star*, September 6, 1915; Central Florida Community College, *The Struggle For Survival: A Partial History of the Negroes of Marion County, 1865 to 1976* (Ocala, 1977), 40; Lura Beam, *He Called Them By the Lightning: A Teacher’s Odyssey in the Negro South, 1908-1919* (Indianapolis, 1967), 89.



The faculty of Fessenden Academy in front of the school, c. 1914. Joseph Wiley is in the middle of the back row. *Photograph courtesy Amistad Research Center, New Orleans, Louisiana.*

mastered these except the rod in the early days.”³ Since local school officials had limited interest in educating black youths, the school had changed little when Ferdinand S. Fessenden first saw it in 1890. Fessenden, a wealthy Bostonian, was staying in Martin, Florida, eight miles north of Ocala in December 1889 for his health. While strolling one day, Fessenden visited the school and was shocked at the condition of the rude “tumbledown cabin” and the seventy-five students. He was pained by the school’s meager furnishings and by the “mis-directed energy of the teacher whose discipline consisted of a

3. Eloise Robinson Ott and Louis Hickman Chazal, *Ocali Country, Kingdom of the Sun: A History of Marion County, Florida* (Ocala, 1966), 91; Central Florida Community College, *Struggle for Survival*, 40; *American Missionary* 64 (September 1910), 387.

plentiful supply of hickory whips.” Fessenden agreed to build and furnish a two-story, fifty-by-fifty-foot school building equipped with four “elegant airy recitation rooms,” good desks, maps, and books.⁴ On October 1, 1891, Fessenden led the procession of the students from the log cabin to the new structure. Two years later he deeded the school, now named Union, to the American Missionary Association (AMA).⁵ Initially, Fessenden had intended to transfer the school to Marion County officials, but he had found among them “such a divergence of sentiment and such low views of education” for blacks that he concluded to entrust his property to the AMA, which was known for its work in black education in the South. Fessenden also gave the association “an extensive orange grove well-loaded with fruit” that he hoped would help pay teachers’ salaries, but within a year it had been destroyed by bad weather. After the historic February 8, 1895, hard freeze, it was reported, the groves in Marion County “looked as though a terrible plague had swept through them.”⁶

The AMA staffed the school with two, occasionally three, teachers and instructed up to 140 students a year, but it was not until Joseph L. Wiley became principal in 1898 that the school really began to prosper. Wiley, described by an AMA official as Caucasian in appearance, was born in Woodbury, Tennessee. He apparently attended public schools there and around 1890 enrolled at Fisk University where he was an active and popular student. As editor-in-chief of the school paper, the *Fisk Herald*, he complimented Booker T. Washington who had recently assured Fisk students that he favored college training and that the country needed more colleges as well as industrial schools.⁷ Wiley was senior class historian in 1895 and delivered the commencement oration, “Origin and Evolution of Civilization,” that

4. Fred L. Brownlee, *New Day Ascending* (Boston, 1946), 141; A. F. Beard to Miss Bridgeman, November 14, 1922, A. F. Beard Papers, ARC; *American Missionary* 57 (April 1903), 102-04; 77 (October 1923), 354; *Fisk Herald* 18 (April 1901), 1-2.

5. *American Missionary* 87 (March 1933), 272.

6. Beard to Bridgeman, November 14; American Missionary Association (AMA), Executive Committee Minutes, March 13, 1893, American Missionary Association Archives (AMAA), addendum, ARC; *American Missionary* 87 (March 1933), 272; Ott and Chazal, *Ocali Country*, 154.

7. AMA, Teacher’s Records, n.d., AMAA, addendum, ARC; *Fisk Herald* 12 (April 1895), 9.

same year. The speech was given in Wiley's "characteristic animated oratorical style." Upon graduating with a degree in classics, Wiley announced that he would spend the summer "teaching and rustivating in the rock ribbed hills and lovely valleys of Cannon County," Tennessee.⁸ While teaching, Wiley studied law, and in 1896 he was admitted to the Tennessee bar. After two years practicing law he "became convinced that he could do more good as a Christian teacher" and accepted an AMA commission as principal of Union School. The AMA renamed the school Fessenden Academy in 1900.⁹

Wiley arrived in Martin with his wife, Josephine Hobbs Wiley, an 1893 Fisk graduate, determined to improve the school. His task would not be easy. The AMA was closing many of its schools in order to conserve money. Fessenden, far from the association's New York headquarters, was seldom visited by officials, and it was considered less important than schools in urban areas that attracted larger numbers of students and more public attention. But the aggressive, energetic Wiley was undeterred. Within two years, with the help of his wife, who was depicted as "brisk, competent," and a "very good" teacher, he had increased the teaching staff to four and was instructing 238 students. Wiley, characterized by an AMA official as a diplomat and politician, was also receiving favorable attention from whites in the community. In early 1901 he gave an address to a black farmer's convention in Ocala, which the *Ocala Weekly Star* hailed as the speech of the day. Wiley urged his audience to be good citizens—thrifty, industrious, temperate—and to practice scientific farming. He advised them to stay on the land, "for if you go to the city, as a rule, your sons and daughters get into the evil ways of the idle and vicious." Not surprisingly, the address pleased the whites who heard or read about it. In an article entitled "A Worthy Educator," the *Star* proclaimed Wiley to be the right man in the right place and a credit to his profession and race.¹⁰

8. *Fisk Herald* 12 (June 1895), 7-10, 12.

9. The Union School was not renamed Fessenden Academy until after Fessenden's death in 1899. *American Missionary* 66 (April 1912), 31; 63 (February 1909), 44; *Fisk University News* 12 (April 1922), 30; *Who's Who of the Colored Race* (Chicago, 1915; reprint ed., Detroit, 1976), 283.

10. *Fifty-Fifth Annual Report of the American Missionary Association*. . . . (New York, 1901), 63, 96; AMA, Teacher's Record, n.d., AMAA, ARC; *Ocala*

Wiley continued to improve the school. By 1903 his staff numbered six teachers, and he had added two years of secondary training, the only area school to offer more than eight grades to black children.¹¹ The first class to complete the tenth grade was composed of five young women, all of whom had passed the state teacher's examination and were teaching in county schools in 1903. At first Fessenden attracted primarily local black children, but, as it added higher grades, students began to come from greater distances. In 1903 Fessenden had an enrollment of 250 with at least fifty pupils boarding in cabins surrounding the school. Wiley had built a small men's dormitory on campus and in 1904 began construction of a women's dorm. According to the AMA, Wiley was "conducting building operations of considerable importance without drawing upon the treasury of the Association." He had also added thirty-seven acres of land to the campus.¹² Wiley had unusual success in soliciting funds for his small, rural school.

The irrepressible Wiley was not content with his gains. His greatest building success came in 1907-1908 when he secured a \$6,500 grant from Andrew Carnegie. With an additional \$1,500 in gifts, Wiley was able to finance the construction of a building that included a library, accommodations for female boarders, a large dining hall, and classrooms for domestic science courses. The building, designed by a black architect retained by the AMA, was constructed entirely by black labor.¹³ When Wiley became principal in 1898 the Fessenden plant was valued at \$6,000; by 1912 it was appraised at \$30,000. Half a dozen build-

Weekly Star quoted in *American Missionary* 55 (April 1901), 110; *Ocala Star* quoted in *Fisk Herald* 19 (March 1902), 14.

11. The Marion County superintendent claimed that Howard Academy in Ocala was offering ten grades by 1904. *Bi-ennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1902-04*, 324. Most sources indicate that Fessenden was the only school in the area offering secondary education for blacks for several years. See U.S. Office of Education, *Negro Education: A Study of Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States*, 1916, bulletin, no. 39 (Washington, 1917), 162, 165-69.
12. *American Missionary* 57 (April 1903), 103-04; 58 (December 1904), 324-26; 59 (December 1905), 305; *Fifty Seventh Annual Report of the AMA*. . . . (New York, 1903), 55, 60.
13. U.S. Office of Education, *Negro Education*, 173; H. Paul Douglass to J. W. Cooper, December, n.d., 1908, Beam-Douglass Papers, ARC; *American Missionary* 61 (October 1907), 236; 62 (November 1908), 288; H. Paul Douglass, *Christian Reconstruction in the South* (Boston, 1909), 38-39.

ings had been added, most of them partially built by students, and the campus had increased from ten to 200 acres. Most of the plant improvement had been accomplished by the principal. The AMA paid teachers' salaries but gave little more than its moral support to the building program. Wiley's success, however, slightly loosened the association's purse strings. In 1910 it appropriated \$1,800 for an addition to a building, \$600 for a water system and plumbing for the girls' dormitory, \$100 for moving and equipping a blacksmith shop, \$200 for fencing and equipment, and \$300 for painting and sundry repairs—a total of \$3,000.¹⁴

Despite his emphasis on constructing buildings, Wiley did not neglect academics. In December 1908 members of the Marion County Board of Public Instruction visited Fessenden at Wiley's invitation and found it "in most excellent condition and doing splendid work." The board commended Principal Wiley "for his untiring work and splendid success" and enthusiastically recommended Fessenden to Florida's black students. The board further stated that "in its opinion it was the best colored school" in the state. By 1910 the school had a staff of eleven and more than 300 students, of whom forty-five were boarders. Six of the teachers were college graduates. Fessenden had added a four-year normal course from which sixteen men and women had graduated as teachers. Many others who had not received diplomas were also teaching in country schools. By 1912 at least a thousand students had attended the school, "carrying the leaven of their education and training; high ideas, and Christian influence."¹⁵

From the time Wiley arrived in Martin he began to cultivate good relations with the community—black and white—and with county school officials. Generally he succeeded. Local blacks sent their children to Fessenden, made donations to the school, cooperated in building campaigns, sought advice from Wiley, and assisted in plant construction. True, a few people referred to Wiley as "a white man's man," but he was popular in the black

14. AMA, Executive Committee Minutes, July 12, 1910, AMAA, addendum, ARC; *American Missionary* 64 (November 1910), 531; 66 (April 1912), 32.

15. Broward Lovell, *Gone With the Hickory Stick: School Days in Marion County, 1845-1960* (Ocala, 1975), 70; *Sixty-Fourth Annual Report of the AMA*. . . . (New York, 1910), 42; *American Missionary* 64 (September 1910), 387-88; 66 (April 1912), 32.

community. Many whites seemed pleased with the suave principal. By 1907 it was stated that "the white people of this part of Florida who may have had doubts as to the wisdom of Negro education have become firm friends of Fessenden Academy." When a former Fessenden student was murdered in 1909, Wiley was summoned to join the posse to catch the killers. He "counselled . . . the dignity and majesty of the law in the minds of those who had just cause for righteous retribution." Wiley's standing with whites was reflected in P. H. Nugent's letter to the *Ocala Banner* supporting a restriction on voting. "This law is so worded," Nugent wrote, "that it does cut out colored men from voting, and it cuts out every wandering temporary turpentine worker and sawmill hand who is colored, . . . but it does not cut out . . . Prof. Wiley and other colored men of intelligence and property." The *Ocala Evening Star* called Wiley "a very intelligent man, well educated, and with a great amount of tact; a quality much needed in the position."¹⁶

Wiley maintained good relations with county school officials, especially during the administrations of superintendents W. D. Carn and J. H. Brinson (the latter who became state superintendent of Negro education). He also corresponded with state superintendents of public instruction William N. Sheats and William M. Holloway. The AMA had not gotten off to a very good start with the county. Secretary Augustus F. Beard visited the school in 1897 and invited the county superintendent to address the students in the assembly room, which had large engravings of Lincoln and Washington on the wall. The superintendent told the students that they were fine pictures but that there should be one of the man who had done far more for them than Washington and Lincoln. "Children, you all know whom I mean," the superintendent said, "tell me his name." Much to his chagrin the children answered in unison, "John Brown." Although there is no evidence that the superintendent was permanently angry, greater cooperation awaited Wiley's arrival.¹⁷

In 1902 County Superintendent W. D. Carn applied for Peabody funds for Fessenden Academy, and State Superintendent

16. AMA, Teacher's Record, n.d., AMAA, ARC; *American Missionary* 61 (October 1907), 236; 63 (August 1909), 516-17; *Ocala Banner*, May 28, 1915; *Ocala Evening Star*, September 6, 1915.

17. *American Missionary* 51 (April 1897), 120.

William N. Sheats endorsed the application. "So far as I can judge from reports," Sheats wrote, "and from my acquaintance with the Principal Wiley, this is one of the best and most progressively administered colored schools in the state."¹⁸ In 1903 the Florida legislature enacted a law providing state supplements to high schools in order to encourage their development. Although the State Board of Education announced that pupils enrolled in private and sectarian schools were ineligible for such aid and that aid could be granted to "no school unless the building in which the school is taught is owned by the school authorities in fee simple," Carn asked for state assistance for Fessenden. Sheats informed Carn that state aid had been approved for Fessenden but added, "I am doubtful whether it is constitutional or not. We will have to place the blame on your Board this time if any trouble arises." Sheats wrote Wiley that he believed "that you will use the state aid allowed you to the very best advantage."¹⁹ Fessenden Academy received \$360 in state money in 1904 and continued to receive small state supplements through 1908.²⁰ County officials regularly inspected the school and occasionally provided financial assistance for students studying to be teachers. The *Ocala Evening Star* claimed that it was a tribute to Wiley that the board cooperated with Fessenden as long as he was principal. The board withdrew support after his disappearance.²¹

Perhaps Wiley was accepted by whites because he was intelligent, energetic, and diplomatic, but also because of what he taught his students. The *Star* claimed that Wiley had instructed his students on how to use their hands as well as their heads and how to get along with white people. Although he emphasized academic instruction, Wiley supported industrial training. There were 22,000 black farmers living in Marion County in 1910. In 1902 the John F. Slater Fund offered Fessenden Academy \$600 to establish an industrial department if it would

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18. W. N. Sheats to J. L. M. Curry, January 23, 1902, Sheats to J. L. Wiley, February 4, 1902, Superintendent of Public Instruction Letterbook, record group 402, series 244, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee (hereinafter, SPIL, FSA).
 19. Sheats to W. D. Carn, January 14, 26, 1904, Sheats to Wiley, January 24, 1904, SPIL, FSA.
 20. *Bi-ennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1903-1904*, 119; *Bi-ennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1907-1908*, 363.
 21. *Ocala Evening Star*, September 6, 1915.



Up-to-date plowing at Fessenden Academy, c. 1911. Photograph courtesy Amistad Research Center, New Orleans, Louisiana.

permit the county board to supervise the work, and Wiley agreed. The board would enclose thirty-seven acres and employ a teacher "who understands agriculture, carpentry, blacksmithing, cooking, sewing and housework."²²

Practical industrial training was offered in agriculture, carpentry, and sewing. Students helped build most of the structures on campus, constructing some of the smaller ones completely. They also grew most of the food that was served in the dining room. In 1908 students cultivated one-half acre of turnips, beets, cabbages, and other vegetables for their own meals. In addition they planted a field of oats, fed twenty-five pigs, cared for the other farm animals, and harvested 150 bushels of sweet potatoes. In 1912 State Superintendent Brinson reported that Fessenden Academy was "doing a splendid work for negro youth." Especially encouraging, he thought, was the mechanical and agricultural activity. The female students concentrated on sewing, food preservation, and housework. In 1912 Fessenden won \$99.75 in premiums on the livestock, sewing, and ironwork displayed at the county fair. Two years later the *Ocala Daily Banner* complimented Fessenden on its exhibits at the Marion

22. *Ibid.*; Bureau of Census, *Negro Population 1790-1915* (Washington, 1918), 645, 678, 708; Lovell, *Gone With the Hickory Stick*, 61-62.

and Sumter county fairs. "We do not believe," the *Banner* proclaimed, "the exhibits can be excelled by the colored people of any section of our country." Fessenden's display filled one-half of a building and showed "finished work that carpenters, blacksmiths, seamstresses and cooks recognize as the standard of perfection." The sewing was "elaborate," the carpentry exhibit "exhaustive and excellent," and the ironwork "very noticeable." The *Banner* was also impressed with the well-written, well-chosen, "splendid academic papers."²³

Despite some notable success in industrial training, Wiley always emphasized that the academic program must come first. He was not a Booker T. Washington disciple. He encouraged industrial education because the school was in a rural area, student gardeners reduced the cost of feeding pupils, and to curry favor with county and state school officials. County superintendents Carn and Brinson pushed industrial education for black children as did state superintendents Sheats and Holloway. In 1903 Sheats wrote Wiley that he would be wise "to substitute 'industrial work' for Latin," as "the knowledge of how to do something would be worth more to the colored race just now than a smattering" of a foreign language.²⁴ Wiley advocated the AMA policy that industrial education was not an end, but a means to an end. The aim was to make "men" rather than mechanics, "to make a carpenter a man, not simply make a man a carpenter." One of Wiley's favorite students was James Sistrunk, who was "almost grown" when he enrolled in 1902. Sistrunk was assigned to haul water and clear rocks from school property with an ox sled. One day he was "fearfully gored" by one of the animals and was rushed to a doctor who advised the young man to withdraw from school. Sistrunk stayed on, however, and became the outstanding student of his class, president of the Y.M.C.A. and the Beard Literary Society, and winner of a gold medal for his eloquent graduating speech. In 1914 Sistrunk was a carpenter, owner of a tailor shop, a "director of boys, a leader and a MAN."²⁵ According to Wiley, Fessenden

23. H. Paul Douglass, Report on Fessenden, December, n.d., 1908, Beam-Douglass Papers, ARC; *American Missionary* 61 (June 1907), 184; *Bi-ennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1910-1912*, 112; *American Missionary* 67 (April 1913), 33; *Ocala Daily Banner* quoted in *American Missionary* 69 (January 1915), 580-81.

24. Sheats to Wiley, October 21, 1903, SPIL, FSA.

25. *American Missionary* 68 (July 1914), 216-17.

Academy gave special attention "to intelligent knowledge of studies pursued, good reading, good writing and accurate spelling." It was only after the successful completion of these requirements that the school offered practical training. Knowledge of good grammar and participation in the literary society were more significant than knowing the proper technique of weeding the garden or squaring a board, Wiley announced. He believed the school had to produce leaders for the black community.²⁶

More important to Wiley than industrial training was to teach "correct living." Most of the students, Wiley said, were from "cabin homes" and needed "new ideas and new views of life," which, to him, meant they must learn to "conquer acquired habits of unthrift and carelessness—the battle—to be renewed day by day . . . for tidiness, for politeness, for thoughtfulness, for clean rooms and clean bodies, and clean minds and clean hearts and clean yards and everything clean."²⁷ Wiley used the daily morning devotional period to impress upon students the necessity of good manners and morals. Teaching geometry, chemistry, or languages was almost futile, Wiley stated, if students were untrained in Christian character. Although he advocated no denomination, Wiley encouraged regular church attendance. Fessenden had weekly prayer meetings, a Sunday school, and an organization to "develop the powers of the young people to lead Christian meetings and to follow close to Christ." The Young Women's Christian Association and the Y.M.C.A. met on campus every Sunday.²⁸

Wiley's view of "correct living" included temperance. In the early 1900s his students helped defeat a local option campaign. According to an AMA official, the "saloon party" enfranchised many Marion County blacks by paying their poll tax, but "the influence of Fessenden Academy carried its precinct for no license." The Women's Christian Temperance Union frequently held medal contests at Fessenden where students orated against liquor. In 1915 Wiley prefaced the presentation of awards "with a most excellent temperance address to his people which will be

26. *Ibid.* 64 (September 1910), 387; 65 (December 1911), 528; 68 (July 1914), 216-17; 61 (June 1907), 184.

27. *Ibid.* 68 (July 1914), 217.

28. *Ibid.* 61 (June 1907), 183; 68 (July 1914), 217; 57 (April 1903), 103; 69 (May 1915), 97-98.

long remembered by them."²⁹ Intoxicants, snuff, tobacco, fire-arms, and profanity were prohibited on campus. The emphasis on Christian living did not mean that students were not allowed to have fun; games, recreation, and socials were encouraged. Just prior to Christmas in 1913 Santa Claus suddenly appeared on campus in traditional garb. The students roared welcome. The boys ran to the barn, fetched the red buggy, and pushed Santa all about campus. Students and teachers received presents, sang Christmas songs, made speeches, and performed "the march." Mixed dancing was not permitted on campus, but the march allowed the students—men in one line, women in another—to move in time to the music.³⁰

Wiley also insisted upon patriotism at his school. AMA pupils were taught to honor the flag even though, as he saw it, it had failed to protect them. Wiley urged students to prove to the world Lincoln's wisdom that blacks were more valuable as citizens than as slaves. The exchange of the cabin for the cottage, virtue for vice, ignorance for intelligence, and the "full development of strong racial characteristics that live in the heights of integrity and industry will continue to show that children of former slaves, freed by Lincoln are worthy of his deeds and all they cost." He asked students to remember that the United States was their home and country. "If it seems that there are conditions oppressing you . . . laws that are passed to humiliate you, to discourage you," Wiley added, "do not desert the flag; do not question the Constitution. They are right; stand for them and the time will surely come when every man and every woman will be accorded every right." The United States, Wiley declared, had a "glorious opportunity to teach the world a lesson in brotherhood." Blacks should "live and achieve" so that the country might become better, become a haven for other oppressed people.³¹

Although Wiley was overburdened as principal, teacher, business manager, and farm supervisor, he did not neglect the

29. *Ocala Banner*, April 16, 1915.

30. Douglass, *Christian Reconstruction*, 38; *Ocala Banner*, April 16, 1915; *American Missionary* 68 (February 1914), 676.

31. *American Missionary* 62 (December 1908), 305-06; Joseph L. Wiley, "Sidelights From the Life of Abraham Lincoln," *American Missionary* 63 (February 1909), 45; 66 (April 1912), 32.

community. He constantly spoke at churches, schools, and farm conventions. He led the fight against legal liquor in his precinct, worked for better public schools, and joined with Ocala black businessmen in creating the Metropolitan Savings Bank with a capital stock of \$25,000 in 1913. George Giles was president, and Wiley was first vice-president of the bank. He was widely respected by both black and white residents.³² Yet all was not well with Wiley. For the last several years he had been feuding with his staff and occasionally with AMA officers. One AMA official called him "a terror on teachers." The teachers were young and "not so earnest in the work as he, and he drives them hard and without sympathy." In 1908 Wiley wanted to curtail Christmas vacation to three days including Saturday; the teachers wanted more time. Wiley believed that educating his pupils was more important than vacation time, and he demanded that all staff be on duty. The teachers appealed to the AMA, and a bitter quarrel ensued. Wiley insisted that the staff be well educated, absolutely committed to the work, energetic, and pliable. When they failed to meet his standards he fired them, and this often brought him into conflict with the AMA, which did most of the hiring.³³

Dictatorial principals were common in the AMA and in other schools, and Wiley easily survived the teacher unrest, but he came into conflict with a man as stubborn, strong willed, and dictatorial as he, and unfortunately that man was his superior in the AMA. The association generally allowed its principals little latitude. Orders were issued in New York and were expected to be obeyed in the field. Every expenditure, even to building an outdoor toilet, had to be approved at the home office. Since Wiley was able and innovative and since Florida was so far away and rarely visited by officials, he had been an exception. The AMA let him go his own way as long as he did not acquire debts. Indeed, AMA officers were impressed with his initiative and Fessenden's constant growth; that is, until H. Paul Douglass assumed supervision of AMA schools in 1906.

Initially the two men got along well, but by 1908 Douglass had decided that Wiley followed his own inclinations too much

32. *Who's Who of the Colored Race*, 283; Federal Writer's Project, Florida, "Negro History in Florida," typescript, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville: *Crisis* 7 (December 1913), 65.

33. AMA, Teacher's Record, n.d., AMAA, addendum, ARC; Douglass, Report on Fessenden, December, n.d., 1908.

and Douglass's orders too little. For example, Wiley had a new well dug for the school without permission, and the AMA had to pay the bill. It was needed, but the principal had not asked for approval. Wiley was not accused of being wasteful. He had a good bookkeeping system. "The only looseness," Douglass wrote, "is that Wiley gets things out of his own pocket, which we do not want him to do, expecting to charge them later if [the school] has enough money, otherwise to assume them himself." Quite often Wiley spent much of his own money on Fessenden. Douglass admitted that Wiley was a successful principal; his influence on students was excellent. Although Wiley's manner was often stiff and formal, he was more relaxed with students, even occasionally displaying a sense of humor. Once, during an especially dry spring, students asked him what they should plant in the garden. He suggested alternate rows of onions and potatoes so that the onions might get in the eyes of the potatoes and thus cause "tears" enough to water the crops. His daily chapel services were impressive and edifying. He met often with students trying to satisfy both their personal and academic needs. Moreover, Douglass said, "his hold on the white people of the county is undoubtedly remarkable. He gets public money, furnishings and other favors." Still Douglass was agitated at Wiley's independence. It seemed that neither man was willing to compromise. In exasperation Douglass wrote, "In brief I expect history to repeat itself. Wiley will add to the plant, involving us more or less but getting the greater proportion of money elsewhere." Wiley, he concluded, was "incurable."³⁴

The two men continued their angry feud until Wiley disappeared in 1915. AMA records suggest that Douglass had asked for Wiley's resignation in 1913, but he refused to resign and was still present at Fessenden's commencement two years later.³⁵ Apparently, the faculty and his family were unaware of Wiley's imminent departure. Perhaps, Wiley was so humiliated at attempts to force him out of the school he had directed for so

34. Douglass, Report on Fessenden, December, n.d., 1908; *American Missionary* 65 (September 1911), 325; H. Paul Douglass to J. W. Cooper, January 16, 1909, Beam-Douglass Papers, ARC.

35. Wiley's teacher's record indicates that he was asked to resign in 1913 and that he vanished July 1, 1915. The record apparently was completed years later. It also indicates that he had gone to Fessenden in 1893, although he did not go until 1898. The accuracy of the record is questionable. AMA, Teacher's Record, AMAA, addendum, ARC.

many years that he simply chose to disappear. Perhaps, he decided to pass for white or, more likely, met with foul play.³⁶ Fessenden faltered for a time after Wiley disappeared, but it recovered and continued to offer opportunities to black youth until it closed its doors in 1951.

36. In September 1915 an Ocala black businessman received a letter from Mrs. Wiley in Nashville. She had heard nothing of her husband and was in "great distress at his prolonged absence." In 1922 the *Fisk University News* located Mrs. Wiley in Chicago. It listed Wiley as "address and occupation unknown." In 1938 AMA Executive Secretary Fred L. Brownlee said Wiley disappeared, and no one ever knew what became of him. *Ocala Evening Star*, September 6, 1915; *Fisk University News* 12 (April 1922), 42; Fred L. Brownlee, *A Continuing Service* (New York, 1938), 23.

REVIEW ESSAY

Jessie Ball duPont: A Gracious and Generous Lady

by JAMES B. CROOKS

Jessie Ball duPont. By Richard Greening Hewlett. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992. xvi, 357 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, photographs, illustrations, tables, appendices, notes, essay on sources, index. \$39.95.)

In September 1951 when Governor Fuller Warren asked Jessie Ball duPont to serve on the Florida Board of Control (forerunner of the Board of Regents), he spoke of her as “perhaps the state’s top taxpayer, [who] heads Florida’s biggest business-banking empire” (p. 201). The governor’s description exaggerated Mrs. duPont’s control over the St. Joe Paper Company, the Florida National Bank, and the Florida East Coast Railroad, but there was little question that she was one of the wealthiest persons in Florida. Mrs. duPont and her husband, Alfred I. duPont, had moved to Florida from Delaware in 1926 partly to escape family feuds, in part because Jessie preferred the warmer climate, and also because Alfred saw the potential for economic development in this changing state.

The early hopes of the Florida land boom began to collapse the year that the duPont’s arrived, and it was followed by the devastating hurricane that destroyed much of the southern coast of the state. In the northwest corner of Florida an impoverished Panhandle had never recovered from the Civil War. Only Jacksonville seemed to possess a solid economic foundation, and it was to that city on the St. Johns River that the duPonts moved.

In many ways Alfred duPont approached Florida like his predecessors Henry Plant and Henry Flagler. All sought to foster economic development. But duPont went further. His business colleague, William T. Edwards, subsequently remembered duPont telling him and his younger associate, Ed Ball: “Our business undertakings should be sound but our primary object

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should not be the making of more money— we have enough money for ourselves and any of these needs. Through helpful works, let's build up good will in this State and make it a better place in which to live. In my last years I would much rather the people of Florida say that I had been of help to them and their State— than to double the fortune I now have."¹

DuPont essentially brought all of his wealth to Florida, creating Almour's Securities, Inc., capitalized at \$34,000,000 to hold his assets. These included his duPont stock and other securities and real estate, excepting his Nemours home in Delaware.

He next moved to restore confidence in Florida banking. Many banks had speculated in the recent Florida land boom and subsequently had collapsed. DuPont began buying shares in the Florida National Bank in Jacksonville, eventually securing 51 percent control. He next established branches in Daytona, Orlando, Lakeland, Bartow, St. Petersburg, and Miami to help restore banking confidence in those communities. When depositors made a run on the Florida National in the summer of 1929, duPont backed the institution with his own stock, and the bank survived. Within three years, duPont had established a major financial presence in Florida.

DuPont saw banking as the first step in his efforts to foster Florida's economic development. He was intrigued by the severe poverty of the state's western counties. Cotton shipments before the Civil War had brought prosperity to towns like Apalachicola and St. Joseph, but Civil War blockades and postwar agricultural poverty had left the region economically depressed. There were virtually no paved roads west of Tallahassee. DuPont's biographer, Joseph Frazier Wall, compared it to the poverty of the Appalachian region of Kentucky, Tennessee, and West Virginia.²

DuPont began to buy large quantities of pine land for development. He lobbied with both state and federal governments for road construction. He benefitted from a scientific breakthrough that created a new process to utilize southern pine, heretofore unfit for the manufacture of newsprint. While the rest of the nation suffered through the Great Depression, du-

1. Quoted in Joseph Frazier Wall, *Alfred I. du Pont, The Man and His Family* (New York, 1990), 486.

2. *Ibid.*, 491.

Pont and his associates planned for a newsprint mill, later a Kraft paper mill, to provide jobs, utilize local natural resources, build transportation links, and revitalize the town of Port St. Joe. Like the New Deal, which created the Tennessee Valley Authority to the north, duPont envisioned developing the Florida Panhandle in a multifaceted way to enhance the quality of life in the region. Having come to Florida at the age of sixty-two when most wealthy migrants would have looked to retirement, duPont, like Flagler, embarked on a second career for the last nine years of his life.

Meanwhile, in Jacksonville, Jessie Ball duPont began to design, build, and furnish Epping Forest, the new family home overlooking the St. Johns River. The mansion, named after the home of her ancestor Mary Ball (George Washington's mother), became Jessie's showpiece. Ever since her marriage to Alfred in 1921 she had lived at Nemours, her husband's estate in Delaware, which had been built for Alfred's second wife. A handsome, baronial manor, Nemours had been designed and furnished by her predecessor, and Jessie was reluctant to change it. Epping Forest, in contrast, was Jessie's place, though she continued to spend summers each year at the Delaware estate.

Jessie Ball duPont came to her marriage with Alfred at the mature age of thirty-seven; her husband was twenty years older. They had known one another informally since Jessie was a child growing up in the Northern Neck of Virginia on the shores of the Chesapeake Bay between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers. Alfred duPont had first arrived with a hunting party in the fall of 1899. He befriended the Ball family, including their fifteen-year-old daughter.

The Balls were impoverished gentry, descended from seventeenth-century colonial stock. Jessie's father, Thomas, had studied law at the College of William and Mary and had fought for the Confederacy. After the war, instead of rebuilding a run-down plantation, the father took his family west to Texas. He enjoyed brief success, followed by failure, and returned to Virginia in 1881. Ball settled down to a law practice in the Northern Neck, but he never flourished. The children grew up in limited financial circumstances. One son went to college. Jessie and a sister attended the State Female Normal School (now Longwood College). Jessie received her teaching certificate in 1902. She would have to support herself as an adult.

Jessie grew up an intelligent, attractive, strong-minded person in a difficult era for southern women. She taught elementary school briefly in the Northern Neck and then followed her older brother to California in 1908 where career opportunities were brighter. By 1916 "her abilities as an instructor and disciplinarian" led to her promotion to vice-principal of the largest elementary school in San Diego (p. 27). With no romantic attachments, Jessie appeared to be headed for a career in education.

About this time a correspondence that Jessie and Alfred had shared intermittently over the years picked up, following the death of Alfred's second wife. They met once again during Jessie's annual trip back east and were married a year later. The marriage was an extraordinary one. Both parties were deeply in love. Jessie made Alfred happier than he ever had been. She brought life and joy to Nemours. She reunited Alfred's estranged children from his first marriage, and he in turn fulfilled her romantic desire, which may have stemmed from her teen years when Alfred first came hunting in the Northern Neck.

But marriage was more than an intimate liaison. Jessie was also an extraordinary hostess, perhaps even too much of one in Alfred's later years. She learned and understood much about Alfred's finances, often assisting in business meetings because his hearing was severely impaired. Jessie also subscribed to his views on sharing the duPont wealth with people less fortunate than themselves. Early in his career Alfred had learned the maxim that "with great privilege must also come great responsibility."³

To this end Alfred established a private pension program in 1929 for all impoverished Delawareans over the age of sixty-five. With it he supported 1,200 people. During the Depression he created a private pension program for Delaware teachers. In Jacksonville duPont employed 300 men, both blacks and whites, to clear the walks and grounds of city parks and plant shrubs and flowers. In his will he created the Nemours Foundation "as a charitable institution for the care and treatment of crippled children, but not of incurables, or the care of old men or old women, particularly couples" (p. 106). Most of the income from his estate would fund the foundation. DuPont wanted the bulk to be used for the relief of human suffering.

3. *Ibid.*, 513.

Jessie Ball duPont, meanwhile, had established her own charitable role with money from gifts, allowances, and investments. She helped impoverished Ball relatives and indigent neighbors from Virginia's Northern Neck. The scope expanded, and Mrs. duPont hired a private secretary to assist in the gift efforts. In 1928 she helped "alleviate the debt of a black congregation, . . . start a public library, pay off the debts of a deceased black physician who spent most of his career on charity cases, and provide winter clothes and shoes for a destitute child" (p. 55). Her efforts paralleled those of her husband. When he died in 1935, she began to give away both his wealth and hers.

Alfred duPont's holdings at his death included the Almour's Securities (largely duPont stock), Florida National Bank, the timberlands, railroad, telephone company, beach property in the Florida Panhandle, and real estate in Delaware and Florida. His 582,000 shares of duPont stock alone, at the depths of the Depression, was worth upward of \$50,000,000. Estate tax to the state of Florida eventually totalled \$2,900,000. Neither Richard Hewlett, Mrs. duPont's biographer, or Alfred's biographer, Joseph Wall, declare the exact size of the estate, but clearly it was substantial and continuing to grow.

Following Alfred's death Jessie's younger brother, Edward Ball, took over much of the responsibility for running the business and financial empire. Ball had begun working for Alfred duPont in 1922. Industrious, loyal, and effective, he earned Alfred's trust and greater responsibility. After the latter's death he controlled most of the business operations at the bank and in the developing paper mill.

Ball differed from his sister and her husband in one basic characteristic. Where the duPonts wanted to share their wealth, Ed Ball wanted to amass it. Increasing profits, controlling operations, and expanding the scope of the duPont empire were his goals. Where Alfred had talked about building homes for workers at the paper mill, Ball delayed and then derailed the plan following duPont's death. Ball acquired the bankrupt Florida East Coast Railroad and built it into a prosperous line, defying unions and governmental regulators. As a co-trustee of the Nemours Foundation, he welcomed additions to its capital but reluctantly approved spending its income for either crippled children or older adults. Eventually, Congress passed legislation that forced the Foundation to disburse all of its income—less

expenses and reserves— in a direct effort to break Ball's stranglehold. To a large extent the altruistic intentions of the duPonts, both Alfred and Jessie, were blocked by the narrow purposes of Ed Ball, who sought to maximize the family's wealth.

Ball's efforts, however, did not stop his sister from spending her own money or from using a portion of the Nemours Foundation to build a hospital for crippled children in Delaware. Jessie's annual income ran into the low millions, and she gave away a substantial proportion to colleges like Stetson, Hollins, Washington and Lee, and the University of the South, to hospitals like Jacksonville's Baptist Memorial, and to the Episcopal Church. She became a founder and major contributor to the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts and to the Robert E. Lee Memorial Foundation at Stratford, Virginia. She served on the governing boards of both institutions. Smaller gifts went to other religious denominations, to Cummer Gallery in Jacksonville, and to Jacksonville Junior College (later Jacksonville University). A possible weakness of the biography is that the extended discussion of her gifts gives only a fragmented sense of their extent and diversity.

Mrs. duPont gave to black industrial schools, but she vehemently opposed racial desegregation in the 1950s at both public and private schools and colleges. She cut off scholarship aid to any college admitting African Americans. Richard Hewlett candidly discusses Mrs. duPont's racial biases, considering her a product of her turn-of-the-century upbringing in rural Virginia. Where a Claude Pepper or Justice Hugh Black changed with the times, Mrs. duPont did not.

That same rural Virginia upbringing probably also influenced her political and social views. Her husband initially welcomed the New Deal, but she believed that FDR was moving Americans toward socialism, or worse. Following World War II she saw the country drifting towards communism, though here her views were not as intense as those of her brother, Ed Ball. A reader from another generation can see Jessie Ball duPont as a relic of the old South, cherishing memories of an ancestral line, achieving wealth and position through a fortunate marriage, living and entertaining sumptuously at Nemours and Epping Forest, and disliking the political, economic, and social changes of the twentieth century.

To say that Mrs. duPont represented only the South's "ancien regime," however, does her a disservice. Dr. Hewlett rightly points to the young Jessie Ball as an independent woman making her own career. He describes her developing interest in helping others through her charity and philanthropy. Her support for private higher education, church, and other institutions was quite exceptional.

But in the end, despite her many strengths and attributes, she remained a secondary figure to her husband during his lifetime and to Ed Ball, who dominated the duPont empire after Alfred's death. She had her own wealth, which she shared generously, but she gave only to certain individuals and institutions and usually with strings attached. Perhaps her greatest contribution was establishing the Jessie Ball duPont Religious, Charitable, and Educational Fund through her will. It began operations in 1970 with assets of more than \$42,000,000. Its works have made a substantial philanthropic contribution, particularly since the death of Ed Ball in 1981.

Richard Hewlett's biography of Jessie Ball duPont reads well, but its substance pales in comparison with Dr. Wall's biography of her husband. In part, it is that Alfred duPont was a more significant historical figure. In part, Dr. Hewlett perhaps focuses too much on the details of Mrs. duPont's life to see the larger picture. That picture does emerge, however, in his discussion of her role as a professional woman, as a product of the values of the first New South (1880s to 1920s), and in his attempt to focus on the shift from her charity to philanthropy in Mrs. duPont's later life.

Still, details get in the way. One reads much about the various reunions at Stratford and board meetings in Richmond but learns little about Mrs. duPont's role in the restoration of Lee's birthplace or the creation of the Virginia Museum, other than through her monetary gifts. Perhaps there was no other role. Her participation in the Florida Board of Control was barely noteworthy.

Another flaw in the book is the author's estimate of Ed Ball's political and economic power. Both Dr. Hewlett and Dr. Wall make references to it, but never with specific examples or citations. It apparently is part of the folklore of Florida political history, but the vagueness of the references raises at least this reviewer's skepticism.

Dr. Hewlett concludes by noting that none of the duPont fund's current governors knew Mrs. duPont, and one of the purposes of the book is to retrieve from the mass of letters, bank statements, photographs, and mementos "the essence of her life and career" (p. 287). Clearly, the life and career are well documented. Her generosity and vitality as a human being were exceptional. The author has written an engaging book of one of Florida's wealthiest residents who, with her husband and brother, helped to shape the history of this state.

REVIEW ESSAY

Henry Clay and the Historian: A One-Hundred-Year Perspective

by JOHN M. BELOHLAVEK

Henry Clay, Statesman for the Union. By Robert V. Remini. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1991. xxviii, 818 pp. Preface, chronology, genealogy, abbreviations, photographs, bibliographical essay, index. \$35.00.)

Asked on his deathbed if he had any regrets of things that he had not done in his life, Andrew Jackson replied, "Yes, I didn't shoot Henry Clay and I didn't hang John C. Calhoun." Jackson viewed Clay as a "base, mean scoundrel," while Clay judged Old Hickory to be an ignorant, corrupt hypocrite. Although Clay attained an enviable list of public contributions during his lifetime, the enmity between him and Jackson often serves as the focal point of the Kentuckian's forty-year career. Clay scholars have struggled for over 150 years to bring him out of Jackson's shadow and into the warm light of recognition of his accomplishments as politician and diplomat.

As one of the most prominent men of the early republic and a three-time presidential candidate, Clay has been the subject of numerous adulatory biographies, including a predictable effort by his grandson.¹ Late nineteenth-century authors, troubled by the greed and financial corruption of the Gilded Age, saluted Clay's sense of selfless public responsibility. Civil service reformer, editor, and politician Carl Schurz praised "Harry of the West" in his two-volume biography, noting, "In no sense was he

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1. George D. Prentice, *Biography of Henry Clay* (Hartford, 1831); Calvin Colton, *The Life and Times of Henry Clay*, 2 vols. (New York, 1846), and Colton, *The Last Seven Years of the Life of Henry Clay* (New York, 1856); Nathan Sargent, *Life of Henry Clay* (Philadelphia, 1844); Epes Sargent, *The Life and Public Services of Henry Clay Down to 1848* (New York, 1848); Thomas Hart Clay, *Henry Clay* (Philadelphia, 1910).

a money-maker in politics. His integrity as a public man remained without blemish throughout his long career."²

Although several monographs in the early twentieth century traced particular aspects of Clay's service, he did not receive serious biographical consideration again until the 1930s. In that decade, studies by Bernard Mayo and George Poage but especially Glyndon Van Deusen, documented Clay's place in American history.³ Generally sympathetic works marked Clay's career as nationalist champion of government promotion of the economy and patron saint of the Whig party. Most importantly, the "Great Compromiser" and "Pacificator" guided the troubled Union through a series of life-threatening crises. Satisfied with Clay's image, historians generally eschewed revisionist biography in favor of an examination of political party structure and membership.⁴ It is subtle irony, of course, that Robert Remini, the author of more than a half-dozen books on Jackson, has

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2. Carl Schurz, *Life of Henry Clay*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1887); Howard Caldwell, *Henry Clay: The Great Compromiser* (Chicago, 1899); Joseph M. Rogers, *The True Henry Clay* (Philadelphia, 1904).
 3. Mary Follett, *Henry Clay as Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives* (Washington, DC, 1892); John Bassett Moore, *Henry Clay and Pan Americanism* (New York, 1915). Bernard Mayo's *Henry Clay: Spokesman of the New West* (Boston, 1937), intended as part of a multi-volume biography, ends with the War of 1812. George Poage, *Henry Clay and the Whig Party* (Chapel Hill, 1936), focuses largely on politics. The best biographer of Clay was Glyndon Van Deusen, *The Life of Henry Clay* (Boston, 1937). Over 400 pages, the book is well researched and written and, while sympathetic to Clay, even handed in overall treatment. Claude Bowers, *Party Battles of the Jackson Period* (Boston, 1922), a Democratic loyalist, renders an unusually negative view of Clay as a "political opportunist" (p. 174).
 4. Clement Eaton's *Henry Clay and the Art of American Politics* (Boston, 1957) was not intended to be a comprehensive biography, but it is the best brief study available. Studies such as Merrill D. Peterson, *The Great Triumverate: Webster, Clay and Calhoun* (New York, 1987), intertwine the careers of Jackson's enemies brilliantly, and Marie-Luise Frings, *Henry Clay's American System und die Sektionale Kontroverse in den Vereinigten Staaten Von Amerika, 1815-1829* (Frankfort, 1979), argues local not national motives prompted Clay's desire for the American System. Florida Whiggery was addressed in the 1950s by Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., *The Whigs of Florida, 1845-1854* (Gainesville, 1959), and in Doherty, *Richard Keith Call: Southern Unionist* (Gainesville, 1961). In the post-war era, historians such as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston, 1945); John William Ward, *Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age* (New York, 1955); Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion* (Stanford, 1957); and Lee Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy* (Princeton, 1961), moved the focus away from biography to issues of class, psychological forces, and voter analysis.

emerged as the first serious biographer of Clay since the Great Depression.⁵

Readers familiar with Remini's work know that his views are more pro-Jackson than anti-Clay. Surprisingly, however, the author has a genuine respect and even affection for the Kentuckian. Philosophically, Remini shares Clay's beliefs in an activist role for government. Personally, he admires Clay's class and style, his sense for the dramatic and daring. Remini takes obvious delight—some may argue to the point of overkill—in extolling Clay's virtues as an orator: "His style was . . . relaxed and freewheeling, his movements always graceful, even when propelled by passion. When the Kentuckian spoke, listeners did not have the sense that they were hearing an oration, yet they found themselves utterly absorbed in his argument and fully persuaded by his logic and commanding language. His enthusiasm, his total involvement in his cause, and his frequent majestic flights of oratory mesmerized his audience" (p. 431).

Pausing at the appropriate moment to adjust his spectacles or dip a pinch of snuff from his silver box, Clay appears unequaled as a debater. The combination of gifted mind, quick wit, and sharp tongue devastated ill-armed opponents. Unfortunately, his insensitivity toward, and often humiliation of, those who disagreed with him created enemies. For Clay the attacks were political, rarely personal, and he generally tried to salve the wound with a handshake and a glass of whiskey. Remini speaks with fondness of Clay's emotion and sentimentality, but especially of his self-deprecating sense of humor and the ability not to take himself too seriously—the latter qualities Jackson certainly lacked.

Although a middle-class Virginian by birth (1777), Clay moved to rough-and-tumble Kentucky at the age of twenty and became a man of the frontier. He loved to drink, carouse, swear, gamble, and tell stories— all qualities that endeared him to Westerners of his era. When his wife Lucretia was asked if she objected to Clay's cardplaying, she retored, "Heavens, no, he almost always wins!" These virtues later became vices. Critics at-

5. Robert V. Remini's works include *The Election of Andrew Jackson* (Philadelphia, 1963); *Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1966); *Andrew Jackson and the Bank War* (New York, 1967); *Andrew Jackson*, 3 vols. (New York, 1977-1984); and *The Legacy of Andrew Jackson: Essays on Democracy, Indian Removal, and Slavery* (Baton Rouge, 1988).

tacked Clay's "lewd" lifestyle. Remini admits that Clay was a "wretched father," drank excessively, and was "quite possibly" unfaithful to Lucretia. Yet the author contends that "Prince Hal" generally remained in control of his habits and never let them affect his work. Rumor and perception contributed to Clay's reputation for hard living.

Within a decade of arriving in Lexington, Kentucky, the young barrister had achieved both prosperity and national political office. Comfortable in his beloved estate, "Ashland," Clay married into a good Kentucky family and surrounded himself with slaves and horses. He aligned himself with the "aristocratic" as opposed to the "democratic" elements after his election to the state assembly in 1803. This bonding illustrated a nagging flaw in Clay's political character— a failure to identify with the "populist" elements of the frontier. He perceived himself as a "Madisonian Republican" and mistrusted the transformation of American politics from the representative republicanism of the Jeffersonian era to the emerging majoritarian democracy of the Age of Jackson. Elected to the United States Senate in 1806, Clay emerged as a leader of the nationalist "War Hawks" in Congress. Decrying high seas violations by Great Britain, they championed American expansion into British Canada and the Spanish Floridas. Ever pragmatic, Clay's nationalism evaporated, however, in opposition to the rechartering of the Bank of the United States in 1811.

Eagerly switching to the House of Representatives, Clay served as speaker for the next decade, seizing the opportunity to reshape the office into an instrument of political power. In the process, he displayed troublesome qualities that haunted him throughout his congressional career. Colleagues branded him "The Dictator," and Remini notes that "his arrogance, his overbearing conceit, his presumptuousness, eventually turned men against him" (p. 84).

Although some historians more sympathetic with James Madison might disagree, the War Hawks in Congress became increasingly distraught over the "appalling failure of leadership" provided by the president (p. 87).⁶ Reluctantly pushed

6. Madison's major biographer, Irving Brandt, *James Madison, The Fourth President* (London, 1969), sees his subject as bold and aggressive, although Jack Rakove, *James Madison and the Creation of the American Republic* (Glenview,

towards hostilities in 1812, Madison proved to be an unimpressive wartime chief—Clay dubbed him “too benevolent.” Nonetheless, the Kentuckian led the House in defense of the administration until he departed for Europe as a member of the peace mission in 1814. This eighteen-month sojourn provided Clay with his only European travel and an opportunity to work closely with John Quincy Adams. Although the delegation concluded a favorable treaty at Ghent, Belgium, in December 1814, Remini excoriates Clay for his “inexcusable” and “childish” behavior during the negotiations and for playing the role of “capping critic” rather than constructive force. When he returned to the United States in September 1815, Clay’s ego had grown geometrically. Contemplating the presidency, he viewed the State Department as a proper stepping stone and a place rightfully due him. He was consequently furious when James Monroe offered the post of secretary of state to John Quincy Adams. In an amazing display of pettiness, Clay sought to utilize his speakership to cripple the new administration. Remini observes, “Clay set out to replace the executive as the controlling arm in the conduct of American foreign policy” (p. 155). Shifting his pragmatism to domestic affairs, Clay experienced a rebirth of economic nationalism. Based on the debacle of the War of 1812, the Kentuckian embraced the need for a new national bank, a tariff with selected, protective rates, and federally funded internal improvements. Later dubbed the “American System,” this became the bedrock program with which Clay would live and eventually, die.

During the years 1817 to 1825 Clay demonstrated that the term “The Era of Good Feelings” was a national political misnomer. He unsuccessfully battled Monroe on internal improvements and Adams on foreign affairs. Adams proved to be one of the most successful secretaries of state in American history, scoring triumphs in negotiations with Great Britain, Russia, and

IL, 1990), views him as more thoughtful and deliberate. Most historians join Remini in harsher criticism. Roger H. Brown, *The Republic in Peril: 1812* (New York, 1963), notes, “He [Madison] was beyond his depth in managing the affairs of an unruly, fractious, nineteenth century republic as it moved towards war” (p. 189). Donald Hickey, *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict* (Urbana, IL, 1989), also criticizes Madison as “one of the weakest war leaders in the nation’s history” (p. 301).

Spain. The United States acquired Florida and laid down the Monroe Doctrine.⁷

In a brilliant speech in January 1819, Clay bashed the administration for executive abuse of power in ordering an invasion of Spanish Florida. He also, unfortunately, harshly criticized Andrew Jackson for his conduct in leading that operation. A House investigation exonerated Old Hickory, but Clay had committed a serious mistake. Jackson neither forgave nor forgot. Even so, Clay enhanced his national reputation as a champion of union and compromise through his role in promoting the Missouri Compromise of 1819-1821. Remini laments, "He was one of the most gifted men of his age. He distinguished himself as a public speaker, a lawyer, a politician, and Speaker of the House of Representatives. He might have made a truly great President" (p. 209). This primary goal of Clay's life— his driving passion— would never be achieved.

Clay made his first serious attempt at the White House in 1824. While most Americans acknowledged his administrative and political talents, leadership, and oratorical skills, increasing doubt arose over his ambition and integrity. He could not escape this duality. Many contemporaries feared that he "lusted" for the presidency in an era when candidates were expected to "stand" not "run" for the office. In 1887 Carl Schurz noted Clay's "chronic" ambition, suggesting that such zealotry was "apt to unsettle the character, and darken the existence of those afflicted with it by confusing their appreciation of all else" (p. 413). Schurz sadly observed that Clay would have been a happier and greater man if he had never coveted "the glittering prize." Remini contends that Clay likely had "a greater natural force of mind than any of his contemporaries," but he recklessly squandered it in the pursuit of pleasure and ambition (p. 339). He was "a savagely ambitious man," and the passion for power colored all that he did and took precedence over his personal and family life (p. 687). No historian of "Harry of the West" neglects to comment on this characteristic and its negative im-

7. The success of Adams in outfoxing Clay in the timing and delineation of American policy regarding Florida and Latin America is explained by William Weeks, *John Quincy Adams and American Global Empire* (Lexington, KY, 1992). A similar view, but less-obviously Machiavellian, is presented in Samuel F. Bemis, *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1949).

pact upon his career. Clay's reputation suffered dramatically in the aftermath of his failed bid for the presidency in 1824. When an electoral deadlock sent the names of John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, and William H. Crawford to the House of Representatives in 1825 for resolution, Clay threw his support behind his old nemesis from Massachusetts. Although he personally disliked Adams, Clay agreed with his nationalistic outlook and respected his abilities. Adams was elected on the first ballot in early February, and a week later Clay accepted the post of secretary of state. The "corrupt bargain" had been sealed.

Clay's biographers have battled the charge since its inception. Calvin Colton, in a chapter entitled "The Great Conspiracy," refers to the corrupt bargain charge as "one of the greatest atrocities in the moral history of mankind" (p. 287). Carl Schurz calls the bargain issue "absurd" (p. 249). Joseph Rogers presents greater balance by suggesting that "history has fully justified the purity of Clay's and Adams's motives, but it has not sustained them in their conduct, either from a political or practical point of view" (p. 137). The recent scholarship of Clement Eaton emphasizes that "the most careful searching of the evidence has turned up nothing to incriminate Clay" (p. 56), and Merrill Peterson agrees that Clay was "innocent of bargain and corruption" (p. 130). Samuel Bemis concurs that an "implicit bargain, a gentleman's agreement" occurred, but "nothing corrupt." Remini is probably closest to the mark. He denies that any overt bargain ever took place; it was unnecessary. Both men were intelligent enough to assume the obvious. Tragically, the corrupt bargain charge haunted Clay for the remainder of his career and, in Remini's judgment, played the major role in keeping him from the White House.⁸

Clay served four joyless years in the State Department. He focused upon the promotion of a dynamic policy with the newly emerging Latin American republics. Remini views this as a forerunner of the "Good Neighbor Policy" of the next century.

8. Samuel F. Bemis, *John Quincy Adams and the Union* (New York, 1956), 130-31. A frustrated Clay continually addressed the corrupt bargain charge throughout his career, at one point publishing a thirty-page pamphlet in rebuttal. Mary Hargreaves, *The Presidency of John Quincy Adams* (Lawrence, KS, 1985) argues that Clay's great betrayal was not supporting fellow Westerner Jackson, and his "corruption was the error of political misjudgment in generalizing the trends of intrasectional change."

Including such elements as free trade, freedom of the seas, self-determination, and a transisthmian canal, the visionary policy sank on the reef of a hostile Jacksonian Congress. Negotiations with Mexico and Britain also failed, prompting Remini to give the administration high marks for imagination and low marks for achievement.

When Adams failed in his re-election bid against Andrew Jackson in 1828, the field finally opened for Henry Clay. As the new leader of the National Republican party, "Prince Hal" fully expected that the popular American System would catapult him into the executive mansion. Surely, the people would reject Jackson, a "military chieftain" and petty tyrant who had abused the presidential office through his veto of the Second Bank. Once again, Clay erred. The people trusted the Old Hero and re-elected him in 1832 by a solid margin.

Clay was promptly presented, however, with another opportunity to restore his reputation and save the union in 1833. Tariff conflict had brought about nullification in South Carolina and a contest of wills between the president and state officials. Remini praises Clay's patriotism in masterminding the compromise tariff, which alleviated the crisis. Here the Kentuckian was at his best as national statesman.

For the remainder of the decade Clay played the role of opposition leader in the Senate. Obsessed with the despotic excesses of "Jacksonism," he tormented the administration at every opportunity. Referring to the enemies of "King Andrew" as Whigs, Clay sought to save the republic and bring this tyrannical lunatic to heel. No doubt his most triumphant moment came with the censure of the president by the Senate in March 1834 for violations of executive power.⁹

Although Clay and his compatriots functioned most effectively as critics, they could not mount a unified campaign in 1836 and select a candidate to oppose Jackson's heir, Martin

9. The philosophical underpinnings of the Democrat and Whig parties have been examined most recently by Harry Watson, *Liberty and Power* (New York, 1990), and Lawrence Kohl, *The Politics of Individualism* (New York, 1989). Also important for placing Clay in the context of Whig thought is Daniel W. Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (Chicago, 1979). Key for understanding the market forces at work in party definition is Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (New York, 1991).

Van Buren. Clay's disillusionment peaked as he watched the Jacksonians dismantle his economic programs, and he failed to capture the Whig party's nomination in either 1836 or 1840. The contest in 1840 became particularly painful because a national financial collapse predicated a Whig victory. Clay campaigned for the nomination, but the negatives mounted. His albatross—the corrupt bargain—continued to hang around his neck; people suspected Clay's integrity and questioned his "loose morals." He suffered a "popularity problem" with the masses, as evidenced by two previous defeats. Continuing to rely on the American System as his platform, Clay dismissed the increasingly controversial issue of slavery. Time and Providence would cure all in Clay's judgment. In lashing out at abolitionist "ultras" Clay had cried, "I would rather be right than be president." Remini suggests he would rather be right and president. Despite the patriotic resonance of such statements, the Whigs jumped on the bandwagon of their own "military chieftain," William Henry Harrison, who was swept to victory in November.

Clay responded to "Old Tip's" triumph with bittersweet arrogance. Clearly, the Kentuckian expected to dominate the administration and to resurrect his American System in Congress. But Clay, domineering and demanding, did not gain the influence with his new chief as planned. When Harrison died one month after taking office, Clay viewed the ascent of John Tyler with relief. Once again branded a "dictator" by his Senate peers, Clay rushed ahead on a collision course with the president. Remini criticizes Tyler for lacking "moral firmness" but indicts the headstrong Kentuckian for almost single-handedly destroying the Whig party in his obsession to recharter the Bank of the United States. Although a number of significant Whig economic gains were made, the struggle left the party exhausted and Tyler and Clay bitter enemies.

Clay's commitment to domestic affairs revealed a naiveté about the evolving American concern for Texas and Oregon. Although Clay desperately wanted the presidential nomination in 1844, he failed to envision expansion as a key issue. A victim of overconfidence and an abiding desire to set the national agenda, he finally recognized the importance of Texas in the spring of 1844; Clay's views on the subject, published in a series of letters in the summer, tried to divorce the heated topics of slavery and annexation and created an air of indecisiveness

about his position. Voters may have loved Henry Clay, but they distrusted him. The letters doomed his candidacy, and he lost to a "dark horse" Democrat, James K. Polk.

The Kentuckian spent the next four years attacking the myopic economic policies of the Jacksonians and speaking out against the Mexican War. Betrayed again by a party bent on expediency, Clay lost the 1848 nomination to war hero Zachary Taylor. A failure in leadership, however, allowed "the Star of the West" one last chance to assert his talents in the Senate. Legislation surrounding the fate of territories in the West acquired during the recent conflict once again paralyzed the government and threatened disunion. Into the breach stepped the "Great Pacificator" to author and argue for the Compromise of 1850. Remini joins other Clay biographers in praising the Kentuckian as "the one person most responsible for the ultimate solution of the crisis of 1850" (p. 761). Other historians disagree. Holman Hamilton argues that Congressional Democrats, especially Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, should be given credit for the compromise. E. B. Smith makes a more difficult argument in advocating a leadership role for Zachary Taylor, who died in July before the various segments of the legislation had passed.¹⁰

The year 1850 marked the passing of the political torch to a new generation of American political leadership. Some historians have argued that the flickering flame of union burned out with them. Calhoun had died in March 1850, Clay succumbed to tuberculosis in the summer of 1852, while Webster followed a few months later from complications of liver disease. These were the men who ardently desired the presidency, yet none reached the brass ring of executive office. Remini clarifies why Clay never reached the White House. Simply put, he never understood the people. Americans loved and respected Clay's talents and abilities but could not overcome their far-reaching reservations about his persona: the aristocratic predilections, ar-

10. Holman Hamilton, *Prologue to Conflict: The Crisis and Compromise of 1850* (Lexington, KY, 1964), E. B. Smith, *The Presidencies of Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore* (Lawrence, KS, 1988). William Freehling, *The Road to Disunion* (New York, 1990), 507-08, is critical also of Clay and praises Douglas. Recent Clay scholars have given other figures, particularly Douglas, credit for the passage of the compromise but insist that Clay should receive maximum credit for originating and arguing the Omnibus measure. See Eaton, *Henry Clay*, 192-93, and Peterson, *Great Triumverate*, 474-75.

rogance and conceit, consuming ambition, and tainted character. Perhaps Americans could never elect a man who used a silver snuff box.

Sympathetic yet critical, this volume stands as the best work on Clay ever written. Its preeminence arises, however, not from interpretive innovation. In fact, it is striking how Clay's biographers have generally recognized and agreed upon their subject's strengths and failings. Instead, Remini's effort excels through its exhaustive research, narrative force, and detailed description of over 800 pages. The press may possibly agree to publish an abridgement, which would give the reader an opportunity to discover Clay without embracing the present edition's daunting size. It might also allow the overzealous author an opportunity to winnow some of his very lengthy, descriptive sentences. Sharper analysis in some instances would also have been more helpful. For example, if Clay was as politically clever and cunning as Remini suggests, why did he agree to accept the appointment of secretary of state in an atmosphere so shrouded in controversy, and why did he fail to recognize the rising tide of slavery as a national issue? Minor issues aside, this tour-de-force on Henry Clay has simply reinforced Robert Remini's position as one of the nation's premier scholars in the field of nineteenth-century political biography.

BOOK REVIEWS

Spanish Pathways in Florida: 1492-1992. Edited by Ann L. Henderson and Gary R. Mormino. (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1991. 364 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, illustrations, glossary, index. \$24.95.)

Spanish Pathways, which explores the legacy of the Hispanic presence in Florida from 1565 to this day, commemorates the Quinto Centenario of the opening of the New World by Columbus. It appears both in English and Spanish. The former is the language of the market place, the latter records the content of the legacy. Thus the subject and fair play dictated the use of Spanish.

Fifteen superb essays, authored by the most prominent Florida historians and anthropologists, present the legacy. In addition to an introductory essay, nine relate to a Spanish colonial theme, four to a Cuban heritage theme, and the final one expresses a hope for the future. The authors include the results of their interdisciplinary research, as they describe the Hispanic experience in Florida.

Reading Henry Dobyns makes one sadly aware that the natives did not understand how or why the European diseases were killing them. Jerald Milanich describes how the Spanish employed violence as the way to force the aborigines into submission. Eugene Lyon notes that St. Augustine survived because the king willed it so, after the failure of Menéndez's private enterprise. Amy Turner Bushnell records the economic rise of a *hidalgo criollo* through land acquisition, cattle ranching, trade, and dynastic office holding. John Hann describes the activities of the missionary priests who were committed to the transculturation of the Florida natives. Jane Landers explains how Florida-born Francisco Javier Sanchez, the progenitor of both a mulatto and a white family, became a successful businessman. Kathleen Deagan describes Fort Mose and its black residents. Charlotte Porter identifies the New World plants that revolutionized European food preparation, ornamentation, and medicine. William Coker writes of the Moreno family of Pensacola.

In the portion of the book relating to the Cuban heritage, Louis Pérez details the contributions of cigar workers in Key West and Ybor City, to José Martí's battle for Cuban independence. Nancy Hewitt's essay records the role of black and white Cuban women in the separatist movement. Diane Lesko shows how Mario Sánchez's art-translated memories provide understanding of Hispanic life. Raymond Mohl analyzes the political changes in the Miami area as a result of its Hispanic population, pointing to the presence of a Hispanic mayor since 1973. The last essay by Michael Gannon expresses the hope that the Quinto Centenario celebration in Florida will lead to an understanding and appreciation of the Spanish legacy.

The skills of the translators— Carlos J. Cano, José Feliciano-Butler, and Warren Hampton— make most of the essays read as if they had been originally written in Spanish. Regrettably, Spanish words and names used in the English texts were not edited for the presence of accent marks where required, and typos in both languages abound.

Spanish Pathways contains many photographs and other illustrations, but the blooper strikes on page 125. Here, captioned as "Castillo de San Marcos" in San Agustín, an old photo shows multi-embraused, United States-built Fort Barrancas (background) and Spanish-built Battery San Antonio (foreground). This installation at Gulf Islands National Seashore in Pensacola appears as it was before the stabilization performed in the 1980s by the National Park Service. Shame!

*Castillo de San Marcos
National Monument*

LUIS RAFAEL ARANA

Jacksonville after the Fire, 1901-1919, A New South City. By James B. Crooks. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1991. x, 193 pp. Illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, notes on sources, index. \$24.95.)

During the past century much of Florida's landscape has been transformed into a metropolitan mosaic, a sprawling network of cities, suburbs, and urban corridors. Although the state's rural roots are still in evidence, especially in the Panhandle, no one can hope to understand the history of modern

Florida without carefully examining the development of its cities and metropolitan areas. Until recently, the historical literature on this subject was embarrassingly thin, but during the past decade a number of important books and articles dealing with urban Florida have appeared. The latest contribution is James B. Crooks's *Jacksonville after the Fire, 1901-1919, A New South City*.

In this slim but significant volume, Crooks explores two decades of Jacksonville's development, from the devastating fire of 1901 to the immediate aftermath of World War I. This was the era of New South progressivism, when public and private institutions joined forces to create an expanding and increasingly complex community. At the turn of the century, Jacksonville was already the largest city in Florida, with a population of 28,249, but by 1920 the city's population had more than tripled, to 91,558. As Crooks points out in painstaking detail, this explosive growth created new opportunities for certain segments of the community, but it also placed severe strains on the city's social and physical infrastructure. Unlike earlier studies of the city's history, such as T. Frederick Davis's *History of Jacksonville* (1924), Crooks's analysis is free of local boosterism and racial chauvinism. Instead, he is sensitive to the varied experiences of blacks and whites, women and men, and working class and middle class families. Commercial success and institutional growth represent only part of the story in a New South city where leaders embraced Jim Crow racialism, class privilege, and elitist power politics with increasing enthusiasm. In important ways, Jacksonville, like much of the early twentieth-century South, was headed in the wrong direction.

Crooks has written a useful survey of Jacksonville during the Progressive Era. He has consulted a wide range of primary and secondary sources, and he has made an admirable attempt to blend southern and urban studies, as well as social and political history. Nevertheless, readers seeking answers to the larger questions about the nature of urban life in the New South—questions related to community structure, regional distinctiveness, and national culture—are bound to be a bit disappointed by this book. Part of the problem is an unimaginative and unengaging prose style, but even more problematic is the artificiality of the book's parameters. Beginning with the fire of 1901 is a highly questionable strategy for an author who wants to explore

New South urbanism, an elusive phenomenon that requires a much broader canvas than the two decades of the Progressive Era. Equally perplexing is the decision to end the book in 1919, just as the “urban ethos,” to use Blaine Brownell’s apt phrase, was taking hold in the New South. Although the book is successful as far as it goes, unlocking the mysteries of Main Street, South— even in a small city such as early twentieth-century Jacksonville— will require a much longer walk into the past.

University of South Florida

RAYMOND ARSENAULT

Heavy Artillery and Light Infantry: A History of the 1st Florida Special Battalion & 10th Infantry, C.S.A. By Don Hillhouse. (Jacksonville: Published by the Author, 1992. xii, 282 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, illustrations, photographs, maps, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$25.00 plus \$3.00 S. & H.)

The author advertises his work as “the first regimental history of a Florida Confederate Unit in over a century.” The First Florida Special Battalion was born in controversy during an uncertain period of the Confederacy when both state and national military and political organization were taking part. It was initially caught in a political squeeze play: was it artillery or infantry, state or national, and had its officers been properly commissioned? It managed to survive as the First Special Infantry Battalion and was mustered into Confederate service. It was stationed in Florida until 1864, where it participated in actions at Fernandina, in defensive positions along the Chattahoochee River and at St. Johns Bluff on the St. Johns River, in the vicinity of Savannah, and then was ordered back to Florida to participate in the Battle of Olustee. It became part of the Florida Brigade under General Joseph Finegan that was called to join Lee’s army in the Richmond-Petersburg area, where it became part of the newly formed 10th Infantry Regiment. As such, the unit served until the surrender at Appomattox.

There is unfortunately a scarcity of published material on the role of Florida in the Confederacy; this work makes a contribution. Hillhouse’s extensive research makes several pieces

more available. These include the reminiscences of G. H. Dorman, written some fifty years after the war by a member of the unit who was with it until the summer of 1864, and a copy of the report submitted by the unit's commanding officer after the Battle of Olustee. Interestingly, a copy of this latter piece, which is not found in the *Official Records*, was sent to a local newspaper, and it gives the First Battalion more credit for the Confederate victory than others have, then or later. Hillhouse includes several biographic sketches and what amounts to almost 100 pages of an annotated roster of the unit's members, compiled from the WPA Veterans Burial Project, Compiled Service Records, and Florida Pension Applications. This information will be of interest to those doing genealogical research.

It would appear that the author has exhaustively scoured the available sources relating to individual members of the First Florida Special Battalion, a very difficult task considering the paucity of materials that exist. I do have some reservations about whether all of the material relating to events in which the unit was involved was considered or properly evaluated. For example, while the First Florida arrived on the battlefield at Olustee at a critical point, it was not alone. The infantry regiment, separate battalion, and artillery section that arrived at about the same time certainly helped hold the position until replenishment of ammunition could be accomplished. I feel the work loses something when it attempts to place the unit's activities within the larger framework of events. While the fighting in the Richmond-Petersburg area was important, I find it hard to accept as "the pivotal campaign of the war." I also have some problem with the assessment the author makes of the performance of some of the key people involved in Confederate Florida, to include governors Perry and Milton and generals Finegan, Seymour, Gardner, and Colonel Colquitt.

The work has considerable merit as a unit history if considered in that light. Its strength is its compilation of information on a unit and its members from initial inception to final disbandment. It also includes the contribution of members' views of events, albeit sometimes from a great distance of time. For those who are interested in individual members of the unit, it is a welcome addition to Florida history—military and genealogical. For those interested in the larger picture concerning events in

Confederate Florida and the Civil War, I would suggest it be considered with other information for a more balanced picture.

[This book may be ordered from the author, P.O. Box 2651, Dept. B, Rome, GA 30164.]

Orange Park, FL

WILLIAM NULTY

Idella: Marjorie Rawlings' "Perfect Maid." By Idella Parker with Mary Keating. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992. xv, 135 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, photographs, map, index. \$22.95, cloth; \$12.95, paper.)

In September 1940, a cream-colored Oldsmobile pulled into the yard of the Thompson family of Reddick, Florida, and the white woman behind the wheel flicked her cigarette ash out the window and announced that she needed a cook. Idella Thompson had been expecting a woman named Mrs. Camp, for whom she thought she was going to work as a cook, and so the visit was not a complete surprise. Only when Thompson looked at the signature on the two dollar check the woman handed to her as a binder did she realize she had just been employed by Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings.

For a decade Idella Thompson Parker served as cook, maid, driver, and general factotum to the most celebrated resident of Cross Creek, whose book *The Yearling* had won the Pulitzer Prize in 1939. It was a quiet life in the modest wood-frame house with the screened porch that Rawlings and her first husband had purchased. Rawlings spent long hours at her typewriter, and during the time Parker was with her produced *Cross Creek* and *Cross Creek Cookery*, stories, articles, and a voluminous private correspondence. But Rawlings's work could not consume all her time or her emotions, and as Parker relates, more and more she turned to her maid.

Parker paints a portrait of a complex Rawlings, an eccentric who overdressed in long, flowing gowns when she had dinner parties but who frequently wore mismatched ankle socks during the day; who expected her breakfast to be served on a silver tray and who then let her cat eat from the tray.

Most interesting are Parker's recollections of Rawlings's attitudes about race. Rawlings was quite liberal in her thinking, but she was also of her time. Parker recalls when the black writer Zora Neale Hurston was a guest at Cross Creek. The two women writers, the white hostess and the black guest, ate and talked and drank— and drank, and drank— as equals. But when it came time to offer Hurston, who was in no shape to leave, lodging for the night, Rawlings ordered Parker to share her bed. "My mind keeps going back to the way Mrs. Rawlings made her sleep out in the tenant house," writes Parker. "No matter how much she respected Zora's writing ability and enjoyed her company, Zora was still colored, and would always be treated as such by white people. As liberal and understanding as Mrs. Rawlings was about the poor treatment of blacks by whites, she couldn't bring herself to let a black woman sleep in her house."

According to Parker, Rawlings suffered a profound loneliness, which she often tried to assuage with liquor, frequently leading to "morning-after embarrassment" and near-accidents on the road. Rawlings's drinking caused Parker to leave her two times before she left for good, three years before Rawlings's death of a stroke at the age of fifty-seven.

A frequent refrain of Parker's is "I loved her then, and I love her still, but what could I do?" She never clearly explains what she means, and there are many instances in which her co-author or editor should have encouraged Parker to clarify or elaborate on her statements. More attention should also have been paid to chronology. Parker makes it seem as if Rawlings did not marry her second husband, Norton Baskin, until after Parker had been with Rawlings for several years; yet, Rawlings married Baskin in 1941. The jacket copy for the book states that Parker was with Rawlings from 1940 to 1950; yet, on page 25, Parker says she was with Rawlings for thirteen years.

Such reservations notwithstanding, this modest book is a welcome addition to Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings lore, as well as an important memoir of race relations in rural Florida in the pre-war era.

Spanish Observers and the American Revolution, 1775-1783. By Light Townsend Cummins. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991. xv, 229 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, glossary, key to Spanish surnames, sources, index. \$32.50.)

When imperial school historians have examined the American Revolution, their emphasis has been to evaluate the conflict from the American, British, or, less often, the French perspective. Now, with the Colombian Quincentenary focusing attention upon Hispanic contributions to New World history, Light T. Cummins's work makes an important contribution to a neglected area of Revolutionary historiography. Cummins's thesis is straightforward. Although working in their own interests, Spain and her colonies played an important part in helping the rebellious British colonies to secure their independence. One link in Spain's strategy was a network of agents who were entrusted with gathering and passing on information vital to the formation of Spain's policy during the struggle.

After 1763 Spain's monarch, Charles III, was torn between the fear of a British attack and by a desire for revenge for territorial losses suffered as a consequence of the Seven Years' War. In the initial years of the rebellion, Spain performed a delicate tightrope act, balancing between neutrality on the one hand and support for her French cousins who openly supported the rebellious colonies on the other. While pursuing a wait-and-see policy, Charles III and his advisors determined to keep on top of the situation by establishing a network of civilian agents—merchants, ships' captains, and fishermen—who could keep royal officials in Havana informed of British military and naval activities and avert a repetition of the disaster of 1762, when British forces occupied the city. Cummins draws upon extensive primary documentation, which he describes in detail in his bibliography, to reconstruct the intelligence networks created in the 1770s under the direction of the captain-general of Cuba. The author eschews using the term "espionage," preferring instead to borrow a contemporary American phrase, "observers," to describe men whose information gathering allowed Spain to pursue a safely neutral course. By 1779 Spain was forced to abandon its policy of official neutrality. Agitation from anti-British ministers in Charles's cabinet, pleas from exiled

floridanos who lobbied for military action to oust the British from East Florida, and instigation on part of the de Gálvez family for military intervention in the Mississippi region propelled Spain into a position of belligerency. After 1779 Spanish observers became even more critical in providing intelligence information and in establishing mutually beneficial commercial relationships between Cuba and the United States.

While Cummins's book should appeal to a wide audience, his work is especially important to Florida history. At its most basic, his research reveals the increasing importance of the capitancy-general of Cuba and the vital position Florida played in Spain's strategy of containment. After 1779 the Mississippi River adventure of rebel opportunist James Willing brought Bernardo de Gálvez, governor of Spanish Louisiana, into conflict with Peter Chester, governor of British West Florida. Cummins makes clear, however, that de Gálvez's governorship and subsequent "Yo Solo" military exploits would have been less successful without the intelligence reports of an anonymous observer in Pensacola. After 1779 the eastern seaboard theater assumed greater importance, and exiled floridanos played an important part in maintaining Spain's intelligence network. Florida's historians will recognize familiar names, such as Luciano de Herrera and brothers Juan José and Josef María Eligio de la Puente, whose careers are detailed in this work. Merchant Juan Miralles, brother-in-law to the Puente family, served as an observer in Philadelphia, moving in the highest social circles while establishing important and enduring commercial relationships with American merchants such as Robert Morris. Cummins's investigation also details the contributions of less-known floridanos—for example, the 1779 mission of Francisco Ruiz del Canto to Apalachee to secure the support of the Yuchi nation. Similarly, the author establishes how ships' captains Lorenzo Rodríguez, Antonio Marin, and Miguel Chapus maintained contact with East Florida and the Catholic colony of Minorcans at New Smyrna, activities which ultimately helped to defeat the British and to regain their homeland.

Cummins's book provides an understanding of the international issues involved in Spain's policy toward the American rebellion and dovetails nicely with works written about the late eighteenth-century Caribbean by scholars such as Allan J. Kuethe and Jacques A. Barbier. His work establishes that com-

mercial ties that developed between Cuba and the United States were forged during this period through contacts between Spanish merchants-cum-observers and American commercial interests. More importantly, Cummins demonstrates that floridanos played an important role in serving their monarch and working towards the defeat of Great Britain. Not surprisingly, when Spanish rule returned to Florida, floridanos came home as proud victors, once again masters of their ancestral homes.

University of Florida

SHERRY JOHNSON

Sacred Revolt: The Muskogee Struggle for a New World. By Joel W. Martin. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991. xii, 233 pp. Preface, introduction, maps, notes, index. \$24.95.)

The story is well known and briefly sketched in most histories of the United States. On March 27, 1814, at Horseshoe Bend on the Tallapoosa River in northeastern Alabama, General Andrew Jackson and his mixed force of some 2,000 American regulars, militia, and friendly Indians virtually annihilated nearly 1,000 Redstick Creek warriors. The Redsticks (named for their red-painted war clubs) are often portrayed as religious fanatics who initiated a fratricidal civil war within the Creek nation, were pro-British in the War of 1812, and blocked the course of rightful American expansion. In the aftermath of this defeat, the Creeks were forced to sign away some 14,000,000 acres—two-thirds of their land—at the Treaty of Fort Jackson. Rather than submit to such villainy, most of the surviving Redsticks and their families migrated to Spanish Florida where they joined the Seminoles. This episode with the Creeks secured Jackson's reputation as an Indian fighter, while his stunning victory over the British at New Orleans ten months later made him a national hero destined for the White House. This is the point at which most histories usually end the tale.

In this extraordinary work Joel Martin has provided a totally new interpretation of the Redstick revolt of 1813- 1814, combining the methodologies of comparative religious study and ethnohistory to view the events from an Indian perspective. He begins by correcting the glossary. The Creeks are more properly

known as Muskogeese, so-called for the predominant language spoken throughout a loose confederation of towns stretching from the Tallapoosa and Alabama rivers (the Upper, Towns) thence along the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers to Spanish Florida (Lower Towns). Horseshoe Bend was actually the fortified town of Tohopeka, seat of a Redstick resistance movement centered in the Upper Towns. The Lower Towns were heavily under the influence of United States Indian agent Benjamin Hawkins, who distributed funds and promoted various civilization schemes authorized by the national government. It was primarily this intrusion of new ideas and new values, as well as the usurpation of their homelands by unauthorized settlers abetted by a growing mixed-blood Metis population in the Lower Towns, which triggered a civil war among the Muskogeese and inevitably led to the disastrous American intervention.

Most importantly, according to Martin, at its root the Muskogee revolution was primarily religious rather than political in nature; it was a call to purify Muskogee life. The prophets whom the Redsticks followed called for a return to the sacred rituals, myths, and values that had shaped traditional Muskogee social order. "Visions of cosmological renewal or millenarian upheaval motivated and prophetic shamans led the rebels. Ritual patterns, drawn from traditional religious ceremonies, provided a dramatic form that helped organize and give meaning to significant acts of rebellion." This meant a total purge of the profane elements which had intruded into their culture and brought imbalance. The acculturated Muskogeese were killed, their crops, cattle, and hogs destroyed, their homes and their foreign contents burned to the ground. Not unlike other Indian revitalization movements, the prophets promised their followers much more than spiritual transcendence; they also promised that they would be impervious to the white man's bullets. For this reason, the defenders at Tohopeka faced Jackson's artillery and bayonets with axes and red war clubs but few muskets. The result was a murderous loss of life and collapse of the Muskogee's faith in their prophets.

Martin has made a major contribution to our growing understanding that the significant Indian uprisings in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were more than political or military attempts to expel Euroamerican invaders. At their heart, these native revolts were an attempt to recapture the spiritual essence

of a culture that was inexorably being swept away. This book should be read by all who would understand not only the inner motivation of the Muskogees but also those contemporary American Indian tribes whose spiritual world remains under assault.

Florida Atlantic University

HARRY A. KERSEY, JR.

Ladies, Women, & Wenches: Choice & Constraint in Antebellum Charleston & Boston. By Jane H. Pease and William H. Pease. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990. xiii, 218 pp. Preface, illustrations, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$24.95, cloth; \$10.95, paper.)

Using diaries and letters, census figures, and contemporary literature, Jane H. Pease and William H. Pease survey the lives of women in two antebellum cities— Boston and Charleston. The authors argue that marital status, class, and race influenced the options available to women but that women nonetheless made meaningful choices within the constraints imposed by poverty, ethnicity, or propriety. The authors also explore the ways in which regional differences— notably slavery— affected women's lives. The result is a sound but unremarkable book which tells a familiar story of women's experience in antebellum America.

The book is organized topically, with the narrative ranging back and forth between Charleston and Boston. The authors begin by discussing the importance of marriage, motherhood, and widowhood in women's lives, pointing out that, north and south, wealthy women had many more options available to them (not surprisingly). The family of a well-to-do woman, for example, could easily shelter her from a bad marriage, and only a woman with a sizable fortune was likely to enjoy widowhood. Slave women, of course, had the least latitude of any. Yet all women, the Peases argue, exercised choices in their lives: some insisted upon choosing their own fiances, some resisted marrying until late in life, some fled abusive husbands, and others decided not to marry at all. Throughout most of this discussion, however, the authors overstate their case for "agency." Most women who remained unmarried, for example, lamented their

fate for years and only grudgingly came to see the single life as a boon rather than a burden.

The book also describes how opportunities for paid employment were impacted by race, class, and region. Middle-class women chose the respectable occupations of teaching or writing when they needed income; poor white women were most likely to work in the needle trades for poverty-level wages, while black women in South Carolina and immigrant women in Massachusetts filled jobs as domestic workers. A few women defied propriety and became stage performers, and some even chose prostitution for the high wages it offered, or "to gain freedom from social and familial restraints" (p. 148). Though there were some differences between north and south in this pattern, it was minimal. The fact is that most women had few options, especially if poor and husbandless.

Finally, the authors discuss regional differences in women's philanthropic and reform activity, another well-known story. That the South was hostile to reform activity and allowed women to engage only in safer forms of charity and benevolence is hardly news.

This book is different from most others in that it examines all classes and races of women in two different regions; however, while it is comprehensive in scope, it is unimpressive in its findings. Occasionally the evidence does not support the conclusions (as when discussing the "option" of spinsterhood), but more importantly, there is little here that has not been said before. In short, though the research is original, the conclusions are not.

McNeese State University

JANET ALLURED

Ambiguous Lives: Free Women of Color in Rural Georgia, 1789-1879.

By Adele Logan Alexander. (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1991. xiii, 268 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, charts, maps, photographs, notes, selected bibliography and sources, index. \$23.00.)

"Little has been written about women of color, about African-Americans who were neither truly 'black' nor poor, and especially about people who were both female and free. The challenge is to move beyond a nonarticulated image of people and

color— to break apart that undifferentiated mass, and then to reconstruct a more accurate, vivid, and finely focused picture of the past” (p. 7). In *Ambiguous Lives* Adele Logan Alexander attempts to meet the challenge as stated above by recreating the lives of “people of color who looked indisputably white” in middle Georgia (p. 6). A difficult task indeed because, as the author discovered, free people of color were “hard to find, identify, and define” (p. 7).

Utilizing oral accounts; personal papers; county, courthouse, and census records, Alexander attempts to reconstruct the lives of her forebears, the Hunt family of Hancock County, Georgia. In doing so she intricately weaves several stories into one. Her focus is on an “atypical” southern family— the Hunts, both male and female, black and white. In fact, one completes this book knowing much more about the white, male side of the family than about the free females of color. The nonwhite branch of the Hunts were free people of color and began with Susan, the daughter of a Cherokee mother and an African-American father. Susan inherited her mother’s freedom and was raised by the Anglo-American Hunts.

Susan became the mistress of Nathan Sayre, a highly respected white bachelor, attorney, and judge. Although they could not legally marry, Alexander speculates that Susan was much more than a mistress to Sayre. She lived with him, bore him three children, and served as his “wife.” Sayre gave her “moral and physical protection” for more than twenty years and made provisions for her after his death (p. 87). According to the author, Susan Hunt and her family “enjoyed the patronage of a powerful white man” who provided for her and her children “with at least some of the privileges accorded young people in upper-class white families” (p. 80). Their daughter, Mariah, who had no African-American features, followed in her mother’s footsteps when she “married” a Caucasian, Henry Alexander Hunt. Their relationship produced nine children.

Alexander argues that women such as Susan and Mariah lived as a “sub-caste of free people of color because they were protected as ‘family’ by white men who enjoyed considerable community status and who would not be casually challenged by local authorities” (p. 120). Yet they led ambiguous and tenuous lives. Although free, the nonwhite Hunts had no legal documentation, and they never appeared on census or county records

before the Civil War. Their status was somewhere between slavery and freedom. In a sense they were invisible. Emancipation, of course, abolished the distinction between free blacks and slaves. Legally, the nonwhite Hunts were grouped with former slaves, but because of their complexion they were in a position to choose which world they would live in. All except one chose to remain in the black world.

This account of the Hunt family is also a history of free blacks, slaves, Native Americans, and whites and their interactions and inter-relationships in an eight-county region in middle Georgia. Religion, education, black property owners, and Georgia society are all discussed. While the author reveals something of free women of color and their unique place in society, she more effectively deals with middle Georgia history. Alexander does an excellent job in recreating the environment in which these people interacted on a daily basis. Well written and thoroughly researched, Alexander's study is a welcome addition to southern and women's history.

Florida State University

MAXINE D. JONES

The Fire-Eaters. By Eric H. Walther. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992. xv, 333 pp. Acknowledgments, abbreviations, introduction, illustrations, bibliographical essay, index. \$39.95, cloth; \$12.95, paper.)

Historians tend to think of the fire-eaters as a group, yet rarely have they studied them as such. Eric Walther has written the first book devoted to several—nine to be precise—of those most radical advocates of southern independence. His thesis, essentially that the fire-eaters formed a group in only the loosest sense of the word, though surely correct, challenges him to treat them collectively and in a coherent volume.

The Fire-Eaters is not a monograph but a collection of self-contained essays on Beverley Tucker, William Yancey, John Quitman, Robert Barnwell Rhett, Laurence Keitt, Louis Wigfall, J. D. B. De Bow, Edmund Ruffin, and William Percher Miles. Together, argues Walther, these men represented “the unity and diversity of people and ideas encompassed within the secession movement” (p. 6). Though the most famous fire-eaters are

included, no doubt some readers will quibble with this list. Florida historians, for example, may regret the absence of David Levy Yulee. But quibblers would miss Walther's larger point, in light of which the men he has chosen are quite appropriate. Each fire-eater, he argues, "emphasized different issues, ideas, and goals" (p. 6), and "interacted infrequently if at all" (p. 7). While the intellectual arguments of Miles and Tucker drew some Southerners into the secession camp, the rhetorical passion of Yancey and Rhett, the manliness of the violent, hard-drinking Wigfall, and the practical economic arguments of De Bow swayed others. Commitment to secession, to slavery and a republican ideal that rested upon it; and to a broad notion of honor was all that united a group so disparate they did not really comprise a movement. Though Walther does not push his argument this far—indeed, he refers to secession as a movement—his evidence supports such a conclusion.

Walther makes a convincing case. As a consequence of his very success, however, his book lacks coherence. The author might have explored further the common ground that linked the fire-eaters without necessarily undermining his argument about their differences. For example, he might have made more of the South Carolina connection. Five secessionists came of age in the state dominated by John C. Calhoun. Beverley Tucker, though a Virginian, worked out many of his ideas during the nullification crisis and then developed a more direct Carolina connection through his correspondence with James Hammond. Edmund Ruffin, too, had strong ties to South Carolina. Walther also could have strengthened his argument by better connecting individual fire-eaters with the audiences to which their unique characters or styles of politics appealed. His effort to revise the view that Southerners were pushed toward secession by events, not pulled by a strong and varied appeal from the fire-eaters, is not completely successful. His argument to the contrary notwithstanding, radical secessionists as they appear in this book lived largely on the fringes of southern politics, except during brief moments when they moderated their views, until John Brown raided Harper's Ferry and transformed public opinion in the South. Finally, we observe in *The Fire-Eaters* nine men over the course of their lives and as they became secessionists, some of them suddenly, others over extended periods. Yet, we never really learn why their political metamorphoses occurred.

In a representative passage Walther discusses how De Bow, a reluctant Unionist and the most vocal advocate of the South's need to industrialize, was by 1857 proclaiming the benefits of agriculture and King Cotton— a change of mind that prepared De Bow for his eventual embracing of secession. Such an apparent change of mind begs for extended explanation. Walther, however, brushes past it. De Bow's reasons, he tells us, are simply unclear.

Scholars of the Civil War era and teachers of American history in general will find much use for these brief biographical sketches neatly and conveniently packaged in a single volume. Although the book presents little information that is new, and its analyses of well-known historical figures are occasionally superficial— a problem almost inherent in collective biography— the research and basic interpretation are solid.

University of Texas at Arlington

CHRISTOPHER MORRIS

The Confederate Constitution of 1861: An Inquiry into American Constitutionalism. By Marshall L. DeRosa. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991. vi, 182 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$32.50, cloth; \$19.95, paper.)

In this slim yet provocative volume, Marshall L. DeRosa explores both the textual intricacies of the Confederate Constitution and the underlying ideology of Confederate constitutionalism. Significantly, the author's interest in the subject is not that of an historian; instead, as a political scientist, DeRosa views Confederate constitutionalism as a potential solution to contemporary political problems. He thus faces the daunting tasks of revitalizing and legitimizing the constitution of a nation that was not only defeated on the battlefield but subsequently disgraced for its devotion to slavery.

DeRosa attempts to move beyond negative moral judgments about the Confederate Constitution in two ways. First, he finessees the slavery issue by arguing that the supremacy of the states, rather than the security of slaveholders, lay at the center of the Constitution. Indeed, DeRosa spends a considerable portion of the book explaining the state sovereignty argument, articulated

most effectively by John C. Calhoun, and showing how the theory found specific expression in the text of the Confederate Constitution. The author notes, for example, that although the document prohibited the general government from abolishing the "peculiar institution," the Constitution granted complete freedom to the states to legislate on slavery and even provided for the future admission of free states to the Confederacy. Yet, in repeatedly contending that a commitment to state sovereignty— not slavery— guided the South's constitution makers, DeRosa overlooks the fact that state sovereignty in the hands of Southerners was, above all, a pro-slavery constitutional theory. When secessionists spoke in Calhounian terms about protecting their "rights and interests," they undoubtedly were expressing their commitment to slavery. Instead of trying to rewrite history by presenting the founders of the Confederacy as enlightened statesmen who were relatively unconcerned about the perpetuation of slaveholding, DeRosa might more effectively have argued that today's policy makers have something to learn from the Confederate Constitution despite the racism of its framers.

The second way in which the author attempts to legitimize the Confederate Constitution is by placing the document squarely within the American constitutional tradition. Although he outlines the explicit differences between the United States and the Confederate States Constitutions in terms of their respective bills of rights and separation of powers, DeRosa ultimately concludes that Confederate constitutionalism derived from "the eighteenth-century American Antifederalist interpretation of federalism" (p. 121). Both the Antifederalists of 1787 and the secessionists of 1861, he contends, feared the centralization of political power at the national level and held up the sovereignty of individual states as a buffer against an "uncontrollable and perhaps authoritarian central government" (p. 132). The Confederate Constitution, then, embodied the values of a deeply-rooted American constitutional tradition—yet a tradition that had been steadily eroding in the nineteenth century.

DeRosa generally succeeds in his attempt to resurrect the Confederate Constitution. As a work of history, the book benefits from the author's extensive research in primary sources and his clear explanatory prose. As a political commentary, however, the work is sure to stir controversy over the merits of some of

the Confederates' innovations: an executive line-item veto, a single six-year presidential term, and the elimination of the United States Constitution's "general welfare" clause. Whether or not one agrees with the efficacy of such constitutional changes, DeRosa has clearly given students of both history and political science something to think about.

University of Florida

TIMOTHY S. HUEBNER

The First Day at Gettysburg: Essays on Union and Confederate Leadership. Edited by Gary W. Gallagher. (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1992. x, 174 pp. Introduction, photographs, illustrations, maps, appendix, notes, bibliographic essay, contributors. \$24.00, cloth; \$14.00, paper.)

In June 1863 General Robert E. Lee sent his Army of Northern Virginia into Maryland, launching the campaign that led to the small Pennsylvania town of Gettysburg. There, on July 1, 2, and 3, Lee's men and the Yankee Army of the Potomac fought the largest battle ever in North America. Not surprisingly, the engagement spawned a vast outpouring of books that shows no sign of abating.

Most of the attention lavished on this battle has been focused on the dramatic events of the second day (when Lee almost gained a clear victory) or the third (when the great assault called "Pickett's Charge" took place). Relatively little notice has been given to July 1, when elements of the opposing armies collided northwest of Gettysburg in a meeting engagement that set the stage for the struggle to follow.

If Gettysburg is the center of a clock, the battle began when two divisions of the Confederate Third Corps marched from ten toward the center. These Confederates clashed first with Federal cavalymen and then with infantry from the First and Eleventh Corps of the Union army moving from the center toward ten. Several hours later, troops from the Second Corps of Lee's army arrived from the area of twelve. These Confederates struck the Yankees' right flank, defeating them and chasing them through the town to the hills and ridges to the south. Federal reinforcements, marching from the area of six, joined them there, and the stage was set for the great struggles of July 2 and 3.

The papers in this book grew from a June 1990 conference at the Mount Alto campus of Pennsylvania State University. Alan Nolen surveys Lee's role in the grand strategy that led to the Gettysburg campaign and points out that he chose to renew the battle on the afternoon of July 1 (after a lull in the fighting), thus committing his army to "a major confrontation" at Gettysburg (p. 24). He could have retired to a defensive position to the west and waited for public opinion to push his opponent into making costly attacks.

Gary Gallagher evaluates Generals A. P. Hill and Richard S. Ewell (commanding respectively the Third and Second Corps of Lee's army). Gallagher finds that the two performed adequately on July 1. He thus refutes many earlier accounts in which they had been portrayed as bungling their first major battle as corps commanders.

Will Greene examines Major General Oliver O. Howard and his chief subordinates who commanded the Union Eleventh Corps. Howard, like Hill and Ewell, has often been faulted for his conduct of operations on July 1. Greene, however, believes that when all factors are considered, Howard and the generals of the Eleventh Corps made, overall, a positive contribution to eventual Union success at Gettysburg.

Bob Krick, in the collection's best essay, explores the conduct of three new Confederate brigade commanders (Brigadier Generals Joseph Davis, Alfred Iverson, and Edward A. O'Neal). All three performed poorly on July 1 ("extraordinarily dark tactical failures"), and, as a result, many of their men became casualties. They "were not competent and never would be" (p. 138). Their poor performance illustrated the "deterioration" of Confederate generalship as the war entered its third year (p. 91).

About 700 Florida troops served at Gettysburg; 455 of them became casualties. These troops (the Second, Fifth, and Eighth Florida infantry regiments), however, were in a part of the Third Corps that was held in reserve on July 1. This book, therefore, does not deal directly with Florida's role in the battle, but it can help readers of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* understand how and why the battle developed as it did.

The Confederacy's Fighting Chaplain: Father John B. Bannon. By Phillip Thomas Tucker. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992. xi, 254 pp. Preface, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$32.95.)

In December 1861 an Irish priest, John B. Bannon, left his parish in St. Louis to join Confederate forces under General Sterling Price. Once Bannon arrived in Springfield, Missouri, he "washed up" and "put on a soldier's uniform" (p. 23). For more than a year he served as a volunteer chaplain to St. Louis Catholics among the First Missouri Brigade. At battles such as Pea Ridge, Iuka, and Corinth, Bannon was often in the front lines helping the wounded and giving rites to the dying. By exposing himself to the risks of other soldiers, he earned their respect and admiration.

In January 1863 Bannon used a letter from a bishop in Mobile to obtain an appointment as a Confederate chaplain. The commission was backdated to February 1, 1862. This permitted Bannon to repay the loans used to finance his service with the Confederacy. Bannon rejoined the First Missouri Brigade, serving at Grand Gulf, Champion Hill, and Vicksburg. As a southern "zealot," he believed God was on the side of the Confederacy— something which may explain why he joined in the combat at Pea Ridge and at Champion Hill. Later at Vicksburg, "no one was more angry over the citadel's fall than Bannon" (p. 152).

In August 1863 Bannon traveled to Richmond where he received a diplomatic assignment. He was sent to Ireland to discourage potential enlistments in the Union army. On the way to Ireland Bannon went to Rome, seeking recognition for the Confederacy from Pope Pius IX. While the Pontiff gave Bannon a favorable audience, he deferred on recognition until France acted. At the conclusion of his mission in August 1864, Bannon joined the Jesuits in Milltown Park, Ireland. Tucker states that Bannon was prevented from returning to St. Louis because of loyalty oaths and the potential of being arrested. While these were real difficulties, they were not permanent problems. Bannon's superior in St. Louis, Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick, would successfully fight loyalty oaths in Missouri by winning a case with the U.S. Supreme Court.

Tucker fails to recognize a more likely explanation of Bannon's decision to stay in Ireland. In leaving St. Louis, Bannon had angered Kenrick. Had Bannon returned to St. Louis, the archbishop could have charged him with numerous violations of canon law: leaving the archdiocese without permission, engaging in military service without permission, wearing military uniforms and engaging in combat, and obtaining an appointment as a military chaplain using a letter from a bishop who was not his superior. Phillip Thomas Tucker's desire to address a neglected topic, religion and religious leaders in the Confederacy, is an admirable one. Unfortunately, Tucker omits a crucial factor—violations of canon law—which no doubt influenced Bannon's actions.

Florida A&M University

JOHN T. FOSTER, JR.

Let Us Have Peace: Ulysses S. Grant and the Politics of War and Reconstruction, 1861-1868. By Brooks D. Simpson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991. xx, 337 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, prologue, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95.)

Ulysses S. Grant was elected president in 1868 on the basis of his military record. Yet, the Union general's activities at Shiloh, Vicksburg, and in Virginia (although treated) are not the focus of Brooks Simpson. Rather, Grant's experiences as a policymaking general and his role as secretary of state under Andrew Johnson form the basis of this study. Most fundamentally, the author traces the evolution of Grant from his enlistment to the man who Republicans nominated for president. Those were two very different individuals.

The war and the experiences of Reconstruction forged the future president. It was more Grant's attachment to the Union than any antipathy to slavery that caused his enlistment. As Simpson points out, for Grant "the war was one for reunion, not revolution" (p. 17). Hints of a growing consciousness are revealed during the conflict. Grant pushed for black enlistments and endorsed the end of slavery. Even so, Grant was no Radical. During the war he returned fugitive slaves, and following its conclusion he opposed posturing Freedmen's Bureau agents

who promoted extensive social change. Neither was Grant in the vanguard of those calling for black suffrage. Above all, as with his magnanimous position at Appomattox, Grant promoted conciliation. This position had much to do with his appointment as secretary of war by Johnson in August 1865. Several months later, late in 1865, Grant traveled through parts of the South on a fact-finding trip. His often-cited report indicating tranquility and loyalty among Southerners seemed to serve the political purposes of Johnson and the Democrats. Radicals such as Senator Charles Sumner protested.

Yet, Simpson contends the report has been traditionally misconstrued. Grant did not "whitewash" the situation, and he favored the continued presence of Federal troops. It is further the author's contention that the trip provided a turning point. During the next year Grant would first disagree and then break with Johnson. As secretary of war, Grant's priorities shifted from "reconciliation to protection" (p. 128). During 1866 the president and congressional Republicans drifted further apart. The situation profoundly affected Grant who tried to steer a middle course in an aptly entitled chapter, "Walking a Political Tightrope." That attempt failed, the breach widened, and Simpson convincingly writes of those like Grant who seeking "middle ground soon discovered that it was giving way under their feet" (p. 151). Grant opposed the veto of the Civil Rights and Freedmen's Bureau bills. Simpson describes his "growing contempt" for a man who seemed "blind and insensitive to the persecution of blacks, white Unionists, and army personnel in the South" (p. 161). He became a proponent of racial justice and civil equality. Grant had moved toward a new credo slowly and tentatively but with eventual true conviction. He favored the Fourteenth Amendment and black suffrage. Even so, Grant resisted total baptism, opposing the impeachment of Johnson and any notions of land redistribution.

Under the circumstances, an apparant anomaly makes sense. Radicals were skeptical of Grant's true convictions when he was being promoted for the Republican presidential nomination in 1868. But Democrats, sure of his purposes, feared his agenda and election. It is not the author's purpose to examine the presidency of Grant. He does point out, and this study substantiates, that Grant was well versed in the practice of politics when he assumed office. Although Simpson does not provide the com-

elling picture of his subject that William McFeely did in his Pulitzer Prize-winning biography of Grant, this is a soundly researched and ably written study. The crux of the work— Grant's development— is well handled, and the author has provided a study that Civil War and Reconstruction scholars will find extremely valuable.

Gainesville College

WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS, JR.

The Sultana Tragedy: America's Greatest Maritime Disaster. By Jerry O. Potter. (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 1992. xii, 300 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, photographs, tables, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95.)

On the night following John Wilkes Booth's capture, the 260-foot steamboat *Sultana* pulled away from the Memphis pier with caution. The boilers were in disrepair, but just as dangerous was the overcrowded condition of the vessel. On this riverboat, authorized to carry no more than 376 passengers, the captain had crammed 2,400 war-weary Union soldiers who were en route to their loved ones in the North. These men had endured the unspeakable horrors of Andersonville and Cahaba prisons, but this one night would prove to be even more ghastly than all those months of captivity combined.

The United States Army was offering lucrative fees per man for transporting these prisoners up the Mississippi River, and so by a combination of greed on the captain's part and negligence on the part of army officials, the fate of these men was sealed. When the boiler exploded, some 1,800 of them perished.

The author of this first comprehensive account of that night's disaster spins a dramatic tale of what happened to those *Sultana* passengers. His use of recollections by the survivors, together with actual photographs of many of the passengers, puts faces on this great tragedy in a way that few history books do. Potter spins this tale with craft. The story leading up through the rescue of survivors is suspenseful and dramatic, filled not only with sights, but with sounds and smells, so that the reader has the sensation of witnessing the horrors of this night personally.

The story of the *Sultana* tragedy, however, does not end with the disaster itself. The author devotes almost half of the book to untangling the conflicting testimonies of those involved to ascertain who was responsible for these needless deaths. This is necessary because only one person, an assistant adjutant general, was ever brought to trial for being responsible for the tragedy, and even he was exonerated. Ultimately, the army absolved itself of any wrongdoing in the matter, and, when pressed by attorneys representing the steamboat's owners, claimed that the records of its inquiry had been lost.

Finally, the author closes by answering the question of why this, the worst maritime disaster in American history, could have been virtually ignored by the American public in 1865. Potter believes the other sensational news of April 1865, Lincoln's assassination, relegated the *Sultana's* demise to the back pages. Surely Potter is right in arguing that Americans by then had become so accustomed to death and suffering that they were indifferent to it. That the men who died were not officers but enlisted men surely had some impact on the media coverage of the event. But Potter's last assertion concerning why history has forgotten the *Sultana's* victims is less obvious. The author believes that had the explosion occurred on an eastern river and had the passengers been Easterners instead of Midwesterners, "the nation in all likelihood would not have forgotten them" (p. 186). On this point I wish the author had expounded, but perhaps this is beyond the scope of his work. In bringing the saga of America's greatest maritime disaster to light, Jerry O. Potter has done a valuable service to American history and has finally honored the memory of the passengers of the *Sultana*.

Winthrop University

LYNN WILLOUGHBY

Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865-1900.

By Stuart McConnell. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992. xvii, 312 pp. Preface, illustrations, photographs, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$32.50.)

The Grand Army of the Republic was the largest Union army veteran's organization of the post Civil War years and a powerful political lobby, securing large pensions for veterans

and helping to elect five postwar presidents from its own membership. For its members it was also a secret fraternal order, a source of local charity, a provider of entertainment in small towns, and a patriotic organization. Stuart McConnell, who teaches history at Pitzer College, has written a first-rate study of this prominent and influential veterans association.

In its heyday in the late nineteenth century the GAR was a powerful organization whose political might has led most subsequent historians to identify it largely as a pension lobby or a bloody-shirt Republican association. Both of these activities have long been documented, and most studies of the GAR have corroborated Mary Dearing's early study (1952) of the GAR— that it was a political organization that supported the Republican party.

McConnell argues that partisan politics of the GAR is only part of the story and, particularly after Grant's reelection in 1872, not the most important part. He maintains that after 1872 the GAR appeared in a number of different ways: fraternal lodge, charitable society, special-interest lobby, patriotic group, political club. Thus, McConnell, while not ignoring the GAR's obvious Republican partisanship, has not attempted to duplicate Dearing's analysis of elections. Instead, as he says, he has tried to cast his net widely, to recapture the social and cultural meaning of the GAR membership. From partisan origins in 1866, the GAR soon foundered and by 1872 was just about moribund. It revived in the late 1870s as a fraternal order, and by 1890 it had become a powerful lobby for pensions, "correct" history, and a particular brand of American nationalism. At the same time, McConnell has tried to suggest ways in which the Grand Army experience illuminates certain aspects of Gilded Age society outside the GAR's post room door.

Thus, this is as much a book about Gilded Age Americans as it is a book about Union army veterans. For example, McConnell contends that the GAR pension campaigns of the 1880s called for an important new public attitude toward charity. And he further contends that the GAR of the 1890s provided a preservationist model of the American nation that many white, middle-class Northerners found congenial as they faced the serious social upheavals of that decade.

In his purpose and arguments McConnell has succeeded very well and thus has made an important contribution to the

history of Gilded Age America. He has thoroughly covered the GAR's many activities and attitudes toward former Confederate enemies and toward a whole range of noncombatants whom the Union veterans called civilians or those people who stayed at home during the Civil War. McConnell has largely organized his very readable narrative around the men who joined the GAR in three different parts of the country: Philadelphia, Brockton, Massachusetts, and Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin. And he has a solid piece of scholarship based on a variety of sources such as published and unpublished GAR materials, including GAR convention proceedings, newspapers, songs, rule books, and local post records, and other newspapers, and books, articles, and theses.

McConnell's book is rich in detail and is filled with many perceptive ideas and conclusions about the GAR and the Gilded Age. For example, he maintains that the GAR was not just one more fraternal organization among the hundreds that sprouted during the Gilded Age. Unlike the Masons, few of whom had ever been masons, or the Improved Order of Red Men, none of whom had ever been Indians, the Grand Army existed only because all of its members had at one time been members of a real army with real ranks engaged in real combat. Another was the worry of the GAR about transmitting the lessons of the war to the next generation intact. Thus the Grand Army memory of the war represented the persistence into peacetime of the millennial, republican vision widely prevalent in the North before 1860. And still another was the GAR's campaign for "correct" Civil War histories that began in the late 1880s with the discovery by some members that commonly used school history texts often presented a version of the war that was significantly different from the Grand Army's evangelical, nationalist view.

These few examples give some idea of the coverage and scholarship of this fine book and of the important contribution it makes. None of the other studies of the GAR, including Mary Dearing's work, is as broad and rich in content as McConnell's, which is a very useful book for both professional historians and serious general readers.

Mormons & Cowboys, Moonshiners & Klansmen: Federal Law Enforcement in the South & West, 1870-1893. By Stephen Cresswell. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991. viii, 323 pp. Acknowledgments, photographs, maps, tables, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.95.)

While issues of law and order often occupy the historian, studies of the local enforcement of the law are less common. Stephen Cresswell has produced an interesting work which uses local case studies to illustrate the nature of national law enforcement in the South and West during the last part of the nineteenth century.

Cresswell concentrates on the Enforcement Acts in northern Mississippi, polygamy in the Utah territory, moonshine cases in eastern Tennessee, and more general law enforcement in the Arizona territory. Using contemporary accounts and letters to and from Washington involving United States attorneys and marshals, he traces the development of the modern Justice Department, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The local officers often had a difficult time, caught between regional custom and federal policy, laboring as political appointees who seldom were sufficiently paid and had insufficient office budgets.

He concludes that while lack of support from both Congress and the attorney general was one reason for the real difficulties experienced in enforcing federal laws in the South and West, local resistance was the major factor. It was the local culture that conflicted with a supposed national ethos. Race views in Mississippi, religious views toward marriage in Utah, poverty and custom in Tennessee, hatred of the Apache, and an attitude toward exploiting the government in Arizona all complicated the local enforcement of laws by the Justice Department.

The book provides an engaging view of the difficulties of law enforcement, the regional variations in enforcement, and the gradual development of a more efficient enforcement system. While the North is deliberately neglected in the study—since it seemed less defiant of the federal laws and since many federal laws in this period were aimed at the South and West—it would be interesting to see a similar study of that area. The book is well written, which is fortunate since the detailed case studies that are necessary to support its methodology would be

laborious to follow in a less-skillfull work. This is an important contribution to legal history and also to regional studies, social history, and popular culture.

University of Louisville

CARL RYANT

Looking for the Light: The Hidden Life and Art of Marion Post Wolcott. By Paul Hendrickson. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992. xxvii, 297 pp. Acknowledgments, note on illustrations, frontpiece, photographs, prologue, epilogue, final takes. \$35.00.)

Paul Hendrickson, a staff writer for the *Washington Post*, became in the late 1980s increasingly distraught over his inability to finish a high-profile book. To relieve his tensions, he went over to the Library of Congress where in the gift shop reproductions of the photographs taken during the Great Depression by the Farm Security Administration (FSA) caught his eye. Upon leafing through the actual FSA file, Hendrickson came across in the shadows cast by Dorothea Lange, Arthur Rothstein, and Walker Evans an impressive body of work (an estimated 15,000 photographs) done by Marion Post Wolcott, and he learned that after her three-year stint with the federal agency she left photography. He became obsessed with finding out why this attractive and talented woman walked away from what appeared a highly promising career.

Hendrickson used Marion Post Wolcott's correspondence, including several letters written from Florida as well as about the state, to frame the outlines of her life and art. Of the seventy-seven photographs chosen to illustrate this study, the author selected several from Florida, primarily migrant scenes near Belle Glade and the indulgences of the wealthy around Miami. He further picked some Florida pictures— a juke joint near Moore Haven and a picnic on the beach at Sarasota— to detail intimate features and speculate on what they represented. Hendrickson even went back to find some of the locations and people that Marion Post Wolcott snapped decades earlier, such as a segregated theater in Belzoni, Mississippi, and a rickets-ridden child in Wadesboro, North Carolina, to reveal what happened to these subjects since she captured them on film. He

found, for instance, that a cotton broker from Clarksdale, Mississippi, was far different in life than what his photograph suggested.

Hendrickson tells us more than we have heard before about her personal and professional existence. Written in a popular journalistic style, Hendrickson makes passing reference to the sources of his material rather than providing footnotes and a bibliography. Much of the new information was secured by Hendrickson through oral interviews with Marion Post Wolcott, her family, and acquaintances. He explores her incompatible parents—distant father and unfulfilled mother—family scandals, sibling rivalries, struggles as a free-lancer, male occupational antagonisms, and repeated residential moves (thirty between the 1950s and 1980s alone) for her anxieties and insecurities. Hendrickson devotes, however, a disproportionate amount of space to why she gave up photography. On the one hand, Marion Post Wolcott was unsure of herself, questioning, and in need of assurance. On the other hand, Lee Wolcott, her husband, was possessive, driven, and domineering. In between, the couple desired to raise a family and make the marriage work. There are plenty of eye-opening revelations throughout the book: Lee Wolcott using his position in the Department of Agriculture to make the FSA postcredit all of his wife's work with the name Marion Post Wolcott; Roy Stryker brushing off a couple of contacts by Marion Post Wolcott about reentering the profession; and historian F. Jack Hurley altering the contents of his biography on the photographer to comport with the family's demands. *Looking for the Light* joins recent works by Beverly Brannan, James Curtis, Carl Fleischhauer, Nicholas Natanson, Maren Stange, Sally Stein, and Alan Trachtenberg in expanding our knowledge of the many forces operating behind the lens and leaving impressions on photographs that we might not otherwise see.

University of South Florida

ROBERT E. SNYDER

The Closing Door: Conservative Policy and Black Opportunity. By Gary Orfield and Carole Ashkinaze. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991. xx, 254 pp. Foreword, preface, acknowledgments, tables, references, index. \$22.50.)

This book is a case study of the effects of the conservative civil rights policies of Ronald Reagan and George Bush in the city of Atlanta. The authors argue that the Great Society programs of Lyndon Johnson were perceived as failures because "their positive effects were partially offset by long-time negative market trends in jobs and housing for urban blacks" (p. 3). Such aggressive actions as affirmative action and busing did not bring quick results in the face of those negative market trends; therefore, conservatives charged that those policies did not work, were unfair to whites, and "were even hurting the intended beneficiaries" (p. 206). Conservative ideology held that the answer to black problems was unleashing private capitalism to expand the economy and create jobs. It called race-conscious civil rights policies paternalistic and debilitating and favored welfare cuts and a "get-tough" approach to correct the "pathologies of the ghetto underclass" (p. 206). At the same time, liberals and Black Power advocates began to focus hopes on black political empowerment. To them the problems of the ghettos were the result of white racism; thus the solution was control by black leaders who could "make large moves toward racial equity simply by devising policies and practices reflecting their understanding of the background and needs of black people" (p. 14). Thus in the 1980s, policy was dramatically reversed in an unusually short time with the virtual abandonment of desegregation efforts and affirmative action.

Because Atlanta had a rapidly growing economy, a tight job market, and dynamic black leadership, the authors assert, "If these theories didn't work in Atlanta, it is very doubtful they will have application elsewhere" (p. 4). By examining computer data bases of numerous institutions and government agencies, they determined that inequalities grew in the 1980s and "the gains of the 1960s were more than wiped out" (p. 55). The numerous reasons for the failure of conservative policy are well documented in chapters on the unequal distribution of the benefits of the economic boom; housing discrimination and its impact on opportunity; the shortcomings of residentially segre-

gated high schools; the declining black access to college; and the limitations of job training programs geared more to the needs of businesses than the hardcore unemployed. At the base of the problem, however, was the persistence of racism and racial barriers, especially in housing. Residential segregation has become "the basic way in which we can openly and legally offer unequal opportunity." Market approaches fail because a "rising tide will not float all boats if part of the harbor is walled off from the tide" (pp. 68-69).

Orfield and Ashkinaze make a compelling case for the need for federal policies that "directly attack the color line and its continuing consequences" (p. 12). Racism continues to negate the effectiveness of "color-blind" policies, and local governments do not have the power or resources to overcome the obstacles. The book's integrationist orientation will offend some black nationalists as well as white conservatives. The authors are most critical of Reagan's and Bush's policies but also suggest that black Atlanta leaders became so caught up in "boosterism" that they downplayed the problems of the inner city and accepted segregation in return for power. "The thesis that black politicians, conservative businessmen, and Atlanta's isolated low-income children had the same common long-term interests was wrong" (p. 148). Too few people, including black leaders, have had enough information on which to make decisions. Because the federal government greatly reduced the collection of data by which conservative policies' impacts could be evaluated, the book provides much-needed facts. Of course, a statistical study is only as good as its data, which sometimes seem to be presented in ways to support the authors' theses rather than to illumine the readers. Nevertheless, the book is a useful addition to the debate over liberal and conservative approaches to civil rights.

North Carolina State University

LINDA O. MCMURRY

Indians of the Southeastern United States in the Late 20th Century.

Edited by J. Anthony Paredes. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992. xii, 240 pp. Illustrations and tables, acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, notes, references cited, contributors, index. \$21.95, paper.)

Those of us who remember the 1979 publication of *Southeastern Indians Since the Removal Era*, edited by Walter L. Williams, may wonder why, a scant thirteen years later, we need another collection of essays on contemporary southeastern Native Americans. The answer provided by editor Anthony Paredes is that this volume focuses on the 1970s and 1980s is more current than historical, and is more inclusive, thanks to several essays that survey the Native groups within the states of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Louisiana. These chapters, plus specialty pieces on the Cherokees, Seminoles and Miccosukees, Poarch Creeks, and Choctaws, comprehend virtually all the recognized and unrecognized Native tribes and communities in the present South.

The nine essays in *Indians of the Southeastern United States in the Late 20th Century* originated in papers presented at a Southern Anthropological Society symposium, and all the authors but one are anthropologists. It therefore will not surprise most readers to find that these essays tend to be ethnographic accounts with relatively little historical background.

The composite picture of contemporary southeastern Native America is remarkably complex. Some tribes have both state and federal recognition, some are recognized by state and not federal authority, some are the reverse, and some Native communities have neither state nor federal recognition. Generally, but not in every case, Indian groups believe federal recognition, with its expected range of economic benefits, is better than state, and any official recognition is better than none. Thus for some groups, such as the Poarch Band of Creeks in Alabama and the Tunica-Biloxi of Louisiana, gaining federal recognition has been a preoccupation during the last two decades. But for all groups, recognized or not, winning their neighbors' respect for their Indian ethnicity has been a compelling goal.

The general pattern has been that in the period of post-Civil War institutionalized racism, Indians, characterized as non-white, rejected being defined as black. In a bi-racial society, their

challenge was to create and win recognition of a third category. This battle was fought most vigorously in the area of education, and ultimately several states agreed to the establishment of Indian schools. North Carolina led the way by creating an Indian college to train Indian teachers for those schools, but throughout the South many of these communities won separate schools and through them a kind of recognition of their Indianness. Civil rights legislation and the end of legalized segregation closed those Indian schools and forced the communities to seek public affirmation of their ethnicity in other ways. One obvious avenue was to sponsor public events, such as powwows, which focused on their Indian identity. Non-Indian neighbors would witness their attributes of Indianness and come away impressed by the ethnic identity of the group. Another solution has been to establish strong working relationships with local political and law enforcement officials. Important in their own right, these strategies may also parallel attempts to gain official recognition from their states and the federal government. These and other policies, the authors generally argue, have had the additional and perhaps more significant result of stimulating the establishment of tribal or community organizations, offices, and leaders, all of which enhance the creation of community cohesion.

Groups such as the North Carolina Cherokees, the Catawbas, the Mississippi Choctaws, and the Seminoles and Miccosukees of Florida have faced a different set of challenges in recent years. With their ethnic identity as Indians never in doubt, their problems have been more rooted in the areas of economic development and culture retention. Here the record, as it is nationwide, is mixed. The Cherokees have become quintessential "tourist Indians," and the Choctaws have masterminded an industrial "miracle." Others, following the lead of the Seminoles, have embraced high-stakes bingo which provides jobs and produces a vital tribal income.

Readers of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* will not be surprised to find that Harry Kersey, the preeminent scholar of Seminole and Miccosukee history, contributed the essay in this volume on those people. Consistent with the high standard for which he has long been noted, Kersey's chapter stands out as an exemplary piece of work.

Taken together, Paredes's *Indians of the Southeastern United States* and Williams's earlier *Southeastern Indians* have ably co-

vered the field. All that remains is for some scholar to come forth with a unified, comprehensive, interpretive study of the region and its Native people in the 20th century.

University of Kentucky

MICHAEL D. GREEN

Sending My Heart Back Across the Years: Tradition and Innovation in Native American Autobiography. By Hertha Dawn Wong. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. x, 246 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, notes, works cited, index. \$35.00.)

This being the year of the quincentenary of the Columbian voyages, we have seen, predictably perhaps, a number of volumes published concerning the relationship between the American Indians and the general European culture. It is a very interesting set of circumstances that has led to several books dealing with what the Indians have had to say; among these is the volume under consideration by Hertha Dawn Wong. Professor Wong has produced a remarkable synthesis that accomplishes exactly what her subtitle, *Tradition and Innovation in American Indian Biography*, promises.

Sending My Heart Back Across the Years considers autobiographical theory as it is envisioned within Native-American self-narrative and then moves through a variety of expressions that make up the body of Native-American testimony through the use of oral, pictographic, and autobiographical narratives; coup tales; vision stories and naming practices. This is a particularly productive field since most of the material comes from the Northern Plains where there was an especially strong tradition that included all of the forms named above.

Wong has included pictographs as autobiography— the Plains Indian sketchbooks, diaries, and other texts— and once again the material relies more heavily on the Plains than on any other part of the United States. This is perhaps a limitation of the book, but it is also a remarkable demonstration of what the Plains testimony has to offer.

One section of the book is a consideration in depth of two men and two women from the Plains; the author includes in this segment a remarkably good discussion of self-narration and a rather perceptive set of views into the interior of the changing

life of the American Indian. At times Wong shows real strength and keen insight. At one point she states, "This artist's uncharacteristic expression of inner feelings may be an aberration, or it may be an indication of how little Euroamericans noted the tender side of Plains Indian men, preferring instead a noble and ferocious warrior stereotype." In describing courtship dances, Wong effectively shows how the Indians were communicating through their artists.

In the discussions of life histories, what she refers to as the "literary boundary cultures," her examples could have been more diverse; additionally, throughout the work she has used the voices of well-known people in the history of American Indian narration. In the literary boundary cultures, however, once again her ability to show great insight comes through very clearly.

Perhaps the most important section of the book is to be found in Chapter 5 where oral, written, and collaborative autobiography are discussed using Nicholas Black Elk and Charles Alexander Eastman. Both are remarkable figures in the history of Native-American narration: they are well known, both of the books are published and have been read very widely for many years. Her assessments remain fresh, but perhaps a wider selection is indicated.

Wong uses the works of two well-known contemporary writers, M. Scott Momaday and Leslie Morman Silko, in discussing current Native-American autobiography. While she discusses their innovations, she does not always persuade the reader that theirs are different from those of people who grow up in other subcultures within the United States. Stated bluntly, the case for uniqueness might have been better made.

Ms. Wong's work is well written, well organized, and insightful; Oxford Press is certainly justified in publishing *Sending My Heart Back Across the Years*. It is a book that will endure on the shelves of those who work in the fields of American-Indian history, American-Indian literature, oral history, and in the fields of biography and autobiography in the United States.

American West Center,
University of Utah

FLOYD A. O'NEIL

BOOK NOTES

Many storms and hurricanes have devastated Florida over the years. There are many accounts of shipwrecks, destroyed properties, and lives lost because of these disasters. The two most destructive hurricanes in Miami's history unleashed their fury in September 1926 and August 1992. The damage was enormous. The twelve-hour 1926 hurricane changed the course of south Florida's history. Many people lost everything, including family and friends. One of the survivors, L. F. Reardon, wrote *The Florida Hurricane & Disaster, 1926*, describing the terror and destruction that covered an area sixty miles wide and 600 miles in length. Many black-and-white photographs document the destructive impact of what was then referred to as "America's greatest storm." The book was republished in 1986 by Arva Parks & Company of Coral Gables. It included a memoir by Mrs. Parks (a very, very young child at the time). The other really "big one" was Andrew, which struck in 1992. It moved quickly, and there was not as much rain as in 1926, but the destruction was enormous, particularly for the south Dade County area. Homestead and Florida City were almost obliterated. Howard Kleinberg, a national columnist for Cox newspapers and the last editor of *The Miami News*, has written a detailed, harrowing account of Andrew. It includes more than 100 photographs, articles from area newspapers, and eyewitness reports from Homestead and Kendall. Kleinberg's account of the storm, *The Florida Hurricane & Disaster, 1992*, was published by Centennial Press of Miami. Arva Parks has written an introduction for Kleinberg's book also. Both Reardon's and Kleinberg's histories have been published in a single volume. Order from Centennial Press, P. O. Box 11830, Miami, FL 33101. The price is \$29.95, plus shipping.

The Franciscan missions of seventeenth-century, Spanish Florida are the subject of Robert Allen Matter's book *Pre-Seminole Florida: Spanish Soldiers, Friars, and Indian Missions, 1513-1763* (1990), published in the Garland Publishing, Inc., series "The Evolution of North American Indians." A revised edition of his often-cited 1972 dissertation, this updated reference focuses on church-state friction and includes background

information on the mission system, its origins, and its demise. This revision includes a postscript and additional references through 1989. The price is \$76.00 [Reviewed by Jerald T. Milanich, Florida Museum of Natural History.]

The Last Paradise: The Building of Marco Island, by Douglas Waitley, recounts the history of the development of the island by the Mackle brothers—Elliott, Robert, and Frank—and the Deltona Company, their land development corporation. The first white settler was W. T. Collier who arrived at Marco from Tennessee shortly after the Civil War. He and his family lived in a palmetto shack and shipped cabbages to Key West. One of the sons, Captain Bill, built a hotel for the occasional visitor who came from the mainland to fish or swim. In the 1920s Barron Collier (no relation to W. T. Collier) bought up large tracts on Marco. His son, Barron, Jr., convinced the Mackles that the island could be developed into a major resort and residential community. There were problems—lots of mosquitoes, no sewer facilities, a shortage of fresh water, its isolation—but with money and persistence the Mackles believed they could solve these problems. Construction began in 1964. Roads, a hotel, a condominium, and a few homes were ready for the grand opening on January 31, 1965. A huge advertising campaign guaranteed a large crowd. Soon there was a yacht club, an eighteen-hole golf course, and an intricate maze of waterways and canals. Marco Beach Hotel opened in 1971 with Florida Governor Reubin Askew as a guest. Marco Island Airways began operating the following year. There were major problems for Deltona, however, including the controversy over the development of the Robert Bay area. The Army Corps of Engineers issued a cease-and-desist order because development was threatening wetlands and navigable waterways. With declining land and home sales in 1974, Deltona's stock plummeted from seventy dollars to three dollars a share. The Collier County Conservancy launched a major environmental battle that forced Deltona in 1982 to convert its undeveloped holdings into nature preserves. When Frank Mackle resigned in 1986, the company was virtually destroyed. This interesting account of Marco Island is based upon surviving company records and interviews with persons involved in the development of this area. The book includes many photographs, some that are being published for the first

time. *The Last Paradise* was published by Pickering Press, Inc., Miami, FL, and it sells for \$12.95.

Napoleon Bonaparte Broward was one of Florida's most influential governors. He served only one term (1905-1909), but his impact on Florida was enormous. He is recognized as one of the leaders of the populist-progressive movement that was changing the South economically and politically in the early twentieth century. Samuel Proctor's biography, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, Florida's Fighting Democrat* has long been out of print. The University Press of Florida has reprinted it in its Florida Sand Dollar Book series. The price of the paperback edition is \$16.95.

Maurice Fatio left his creative mark on Florida architecture, particularly the Palm Beach-Miami area, during the 1930s. If Addison Mizner dominated the south Florida architectural scene during the heady boom days of the 1920s, Fatio was his major successor. Born in Switzerland in 1897 and educated at the Zurich Polytechnic, Fatio arrived in New York in 1920. He formed a partnership with William A. Treanor and quickly became one of the busiest architects in New York. He became part of the "International Set," counting among his friends the Vanderbilts, Rockefellers, and Wideners. The firm opened an office in Palm Beach, and Fatio was in charge there. He quickly received commissions to build homes and villas in Palm Beach for some of the wealthiest and most powerful families in America. The Reef, built in 1936, was possibly the best design of Fatio's career. It won a gold medal in the 1937 Paris International Exhibition as "the most modern house in America." Fatio also designed buildings in West Palm Beach and residences and commercial properties in Boynton Beach, Jupiter Island, Miami Beach, Boca Raton, Fort Lauderdale, and Nassau and Eleuthera in the Bahamas. Fatio and his firm did important work in South America, Michigan, and Texas. Fatio died in 1943; he was forty-six. Alexandria Fatio Taylor has compiled a volume, *Maurice Fatio, Architect*, which provides biographical information, much of it derived from Fatio's personal correspondence. There are also family pictures and photographs of many of the homes. The book sells for \$55.00 and may be ordered from the author at 360 Cocoonut Row, Apt. 6, Palm Beach, FL 33480 (407/833-0568).

Until the Florida territory was acquired by the United States in 1821, there were no banks in the area. Most business transactions were in gold or silver, by bills of exchange, or with notes issued by the Bank of the United States. When Andrew Jackson was governor of Florida, he urged that a bank be opened in Florida. The Territorial Council also asked for a bank, but neither request was honored. Carling Gresham's *Territorial Florida Bank & Bonds, 1821-1845* provides a concise history of the early financial institutions and the personalities associated with them. The first was John G. Gamble's Union Bank of Florida, which opened for business in 1835. It catered to the wealthy planters of Leon and surrounding counties who could mortgage land and slaves for cash to buy more land or slaves, which could be mortgaged again and again, "as long as the bank had money." But the bank began to run out of money, and the Panic of 1837 finally doomed its operations. The monograph describes the bonds issued by the Union Bank of Florida between 1834 and 1839. The history of the Bank of Pensacola and the Southern Life Insurance and Trust Company (founded in St. Augustine in 1835) and the bonds that they issued are also described. In 1843 the Territorial Council decreed that banks not paying in specie had to suspend operations. Two years later Florida's first state legislature revoked the charters of the "big three," closing down their operations. All of the bank charters authorized by the Territorial Council are listed in sequential order in this monograph. Information about surviving bonds and their approximate value is provided. Mr. Gresham is seeking additional information about Florida bonds. Contact him at P. O. Drawer 580, Pomona Park, FL 32181. This monograph may also be ordered from him, and the price is \$8.00.

John Fritchey's grandfather, working as a brakeman on the railroad at Fort Smith, Arkansas, heard stories about the rich farmlands in south Florida and how easy it was to acquire acreage in the Everglades and to raise vegetables, hogs, and cattle. A personal visit convinced him that the stories were not exaggerated, and in 1922 he moved his family to Florida. John Fritchey, born and reared in south Florida, followed in the footsteps of his grandfather; he was a farmer. Fritchey compiled notes—observations and recollections—in handwritten spiral-bound notebooks, and these were published under the title

Everglades Journal. Edited by Beth R. Read, Fritchey's *Journal* was published by the Archaeological and Historical Conservancy, Inc., P. O. Box 450283, Miami, FL 33145. Garth Fripp did the black-and-white lithographs that are included. *Everglades Journal* sells for \$16.95.

Love Dean's *Reef Lights: Seaswept Lighthouses of the Florida Keys* was published in 1982. Readers supplied new information about places and people, and Mrs. Dean has revised and enlarged her study. Her new book, *Lighthouses of the Florida Keys*, is more detailed and contains new chapters on the Key West lighthouse and on the Tortugas. Included also is a chapter on the lighthouse that once marked the Northwest Passage off Key West. Dean details lighthouse construction and its equipment and traces the technological improvements that led to automation. Historic photographs and drawings illustrate *Lighthouses of the Florida Keys*. It was published by the Historic Florida Keys Foundation, and the price is \$24.95. Order from the foundation office, Old City Hall, 510 Greene Street (upstairs), Key West, FL 33040.

Blacks have played a significant role in Florida history from the First Spanish Period to the present. To illuminate this history and to identify geographic locations in the state that are associated with African-American history, the Division of Historical Resources, Florida Department of State, has published the *Florida Black Heritage Trail*. Alphabetically arranged, it highlights places in Florida that have special significance. These sites include churches, schools, museums, historic houses, conference and recreation centers, educational institutions, hospitals, theaters, historic districts, beaches and recreation areas, business properties, and Masonic and fraternal lodge buildings. One of the oldest sites in Florida associated with blacks is Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, two miles north of St. Augustine. It was a village and fort established by Spanish Governor Montiano in the 1730s to rescue slave fugitives from Georgia and South Carolina. All the sites listed in this booklet include a brief historical description and information about location and hours of operation. Included is a map of Florida which pinpoints the site locations. Information on Florida Black Heritage Trail tours and festivals and special events are also included. Many of the

places listed are illustrated with color photographs. Order *Florida Black Heritage Trail* from the Museum of Florida History, R. A. Gray Building, 500 South Bronough Street, Tallahassee, FL 32399-0250; the price is \$2.25.

The Civil War was the first armed conflict in history to be extensively photographed. *My Brother's Face: Portraits of the Civil War in Photographs, Diaries, and Letters*, by Charles Phillips and Alan Axelrod, is a photographic history of the conflict. The book uses historical photographs and portraits and material from letters, diaries, and autobiographies. Included are eighty daguerreotypes and tintypes. The book is organized chronologically by the major battles, beginning with Fort Sumter and Manassas and ending with the fall of Atlanta and Appomattox. The foreword by Brian C. Pohanka, a senior researcher and writer for *Time-Life Books*, places the war within the tradition of photographic journalism. *My Brother's Face* was published by Chronicle Books, San Francisco, and the paperback edition sells for \$16.95.

Elisabeth Muhlenfeld became intrigued with Mary Chesnut, one of the most colorful personalities associated with the Civil War period, when she read Ben Ame Williams's book, *A Diary from Dixie*. She also talked with C. Vann Woodward who was working on a new edition of Mrs. Chesnut's diary. The result was Muhlenfeld's *Mary Boykin Chesnut, A Biography*. It was published by Louisiana State University Press in 1981 (and reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, April 1982), in its Southern Biography Series. LSU Press has republished the biography in paperback, and it sells for \$9.95.

Two catalogues of Confederate currency have been published by Colonel Grover Criswell. One is a compendium and guide to Confederate money; the other deals with Confederate war bonds. As always with Criswell's publications these two pamphlets contain much Florida history that is not easily obtainable elsewhere. Each catalogue sells for \$5.00, plus \$1.30 for handling and postage. Order from Criswell's, 15001 NE 248th Av. Rd., Salt Springs, FL 32134-6000.

Five months after General Oglethorpe established a colony in Georgia in 1733, forty-two Jewish settlers arrived in Savannah

aboard the *William and Sarah*, bound from London. Among the group was a German-born couple, Abraham and Abigail Minis. Kaye Kole, a certified genealogist, has expertly traced ten generations of this founding family in *The Minis Family of Georgia, 1733-1992*. The author has done an extraordinary amount of research, tapping state, county, and municipal records, newspapers, family manuscripts, and a wide range of secondary literature in Georgian and American Jewish history. The material is organized by generation, with separate subsections on each family member. An extensive bibliography and index make information in the book readily accessible. The reader learns about the family's business dealings, education, social and political life, and religious affiliations. The trials and tribulations of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century life leap from the pages, as when the author describes how a devastating hurricane in 1822 nearly wiped out a whole branch of the family. Today members of the Minis family live throughout the United States, including many in Florida. Kole's book should appeal to those interested in the history of Georgia, southern and American Jewish history, and family history. *The Minis Family of Georgia* was published by the Georgia Historical Society and may be ordered from the Society, 501 Whitaker Street, Savannah, GA 31499. The price is \$22.50. [Review by Mark I. Greenberg, University of Florida.]

Georgia civic leader and attorney Albert Sidney Johnson has published an affectionate memoir of the Long Pond area of Montgomery County, Georgia, and of his ancestors who were early settlers of the region. Named *Longpondium*, which the author defines as "a short, but complete summary of stories about people and events related to Long Pond, sometimes accompanied by a wild uproar or noise," the book provides extensive historical, anecdotal, and genealogical information about the Johnson, Conner, and related families. Many descendants of the families later settled in Florida, and those interested in this state's history will be particularly drawn to biographical information on Wilson Conner, named in January 1814 during the Patriot War as "Minister Plenipotentiary" of the "District of Alotcheway" to the United States Congress. Johnson also includes a transcript of Conner's journal as a travelling Baptist preacher during the period March 1830-July 1838, including a February

1831 visit to "Hardin's M. H. in Floriday." *Longpondium* is hardbound, indexed, and runs 326 pages in length. It may be ordered from Sid Johnson, 2251 Sagamore Hills Drive, Decatur, GA 30033. The price is \$25.00, plus \$3.00 postage and handling. [Review by Canter Brown, Jr., Florida State University.]

HISTORY NEWS

Annual Meeting

The annual convention of the Florida Historical Society will be held in Pensacola, May 20-22, 1993, at the Pensacola Grand Hotel. The Florida Historical Confederation's sessions on the first day of the meeting will cover Historic Preservation Opportunities for Local Historical Societies, The Role of Video and Documenting Local History, and Preservation Possibilities: A Bleak Future?

The first conference session on Thursday evening will be chaired by J. Earle Bowden of the *Pensacola News Journal*, and the papers will relate to Pensacola in War and Peace. A total of fifty-one historians, anthropologists, archaeologists, archivists, teachers, graduate students, journalists, independent historical consultants, and writers will present papers and chair sessions. The major theme of the conference is Florida during World War II, but other papers and panels will discuss War and Colonial Florida; the Florida Environment; the Struggle for Racial Justice in Twentieth-Century Florida; Images of Florida; Race, Class, and Biography in Florida; Women and Florida; and the Struggle for Equal Rights in Florida. A wine and cheese reception is scheduled for the Museum of Industry, Historic Pensacola Village on Thursday evening. On Friday evening the reception will be sponsored by the Pensacola Historical Society and the Civil War Soldiers Museum. Dr. Samuel Proctor, who is retiring this year as editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, will be the speaker at the banquet on Friday evening. Dr. David Colburn, president of the Society, will preside at the banquet and the business session. The winners of the Golden Quill Media Awards, Frederick Cubberly Prize, Governor LeRoy Collins Prize, Caroline Mays Brevard Prize, Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Prize, Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize, and the Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award will be announced at the banquet.

The Society's general business meeting will be held on Saturday morning at 9:00 A.M. There will be a picnic at Fountain Park, Historic Pensacola Village on Saturday beginning at 12:30. A walking tour of Historic Pensacola is also scheduled for Satur-

day afternoon, 1:30-3:30 P.M. Tours of the Navy Aviation Museum and the British fort excavation on Plaza Ferdinand are scheduled for Friday morning. Dr. Gary Mormino, University of South Florida, has served as program chairman.

Journeys for the Junior Historian

Susan Parker of the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board has been appointed editor of *Journeys for the Junior Historian*, published by the Florida Historical Society. Members of the editorial board include Thomas Muir, Jr., Joe Knetsch, Morgan Strong, and Macintosh Strong. The most recent issue of *Journeys* includes articles on Fort Pickens, the Civil War in Florida and the escape through Florida of Confederate cabinet officers John C. Breckinridge and Judah P. Benjamin, an 1862 letter by Francis P. Fleming (later governor of Florida), and a short story, "A Civil War Romance," by Page Edwards, Jr. *Journeys* is published three times a year, and the annual subscription rate is \$5.00. For information write the Florida Historical Society, P. O. Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687-0197.

Northeast Florida History

The Jacksonville Historical Society has launched a new publication, *Northeast Florida History*. Dr. Daniel L. Schafer, professor of history, University of North Florida, is editor. The first issue includes articles on Jacksonville's Greek-American community and its Jewish community, the lumber industry, women in rural Clay County, and the story of the killing of a giant rattlesnake at Jacksonville Beach in 1937. There is also a poem, "Isiah David Hart: American Man," by Richard A. Martin. The Society also publishes the *Jacksonville Historical Quarterly*. For information on membership and the publications write the Society, 300-C Wharfside Way, Jacksonville, FL 32207.

National Register of Historic Places

The Florida Department of State, Division of Historic Resources, reports that the following Florida properties were added to the National Register of Historic Places during the year 1992: *Brevard County*— Community Chapel of Melbourne Beach; Barton Avenue Residential District; Rockledge Drive Residential District; and Valencia Subdivision Residential District.

Citrus County— Old Citrus County Courthouse. *Dade County*— Greater Bethel A.M.E. Church; St. John's Baptist Church; and Bay Shore Historic District. *Duval County*— Young Men's Hebrew Association; Woman's Club of Jacksonville; Buckman and Ulmer Building; Church of the Immaculate Conception; Groover Street Drug Company Building; Mount Zion A.M.E. Church; Plaza Hotel; and South Atlantic Investment Corporation Building. *Flagler County*— Old Bunnell State Bank Building. *Indian River County*— Vero Theatre. *Lake County*— Old Mount Dora A.C.L. Railroad Station. *Lee County*— Paul Lawrence Dunbar School. *Leon County*— Flavius Coles Farm House. *Monroe County*— African Queen; and George Adderley House. *Okaloosa County*— Gulfview Hotel Historic District. *Orange County*— Lake Eola Heights Historic District; and Twin Mounds Archaeological District. *Palm Beach County*— John and Elizabeth Sundy House; Northwest Historic District; West Palm Beach National Guard Armory; and Fred C. Aiken House. *Pinellas County*— Ingleside; and Old Pinellas County Courthouse. *Santa Rosa County*— Mt. Pilgrim African Baptist Church. *Sarasota County*— Bacheller-Brewer Model Home Estate. *Seminole County*— St. James A.M.E. Church. *St. Johns County*— St. Augustine Alligator Farm Historic District. *Union County*— Townsend Building. *Volusia County*— Cornelia S. Young Memorial Library; White Hall; and West DeLand Residential District. *Walton County*— Perry L. Biddle House; and DeFuniak Springs Historic District.

Awards and Recognitions

The St. Augustine Historical Society's 1992 Awards for Excellence were announced at the Society's annual meeting in January. Dr. Kathleen Deagan, curator of historical archaeology at the Florida Museum of Natural History and professor of archaeology at the University of Florida, was recognized for her contributions through her archaeological work in Florida and the Caribbean. Dr. Eugene Lyon, director of the Center for Historic Research at Flagler College and adjunct professor of history at the University of Florida, was cited for his special studies and continuing research on the sixteenth-century Spanish presence in North America. Dr. John Griffin and Dr. Patricia Griffin each received an award for their scholarly contributions to St. Augustine and Florida history. Don Secor, who

serves as a docent at the St. Augustine Lighthouse Museum, received an award for outstanding volunteer work in the St. Augustine community.

Dr. Donald W. Curl, Florida Atlantic University, received the 1993 Judge James R. Knott Award from the Historical Society of Palm Beach County. It recognizes his many years of service to the historical community and his many contributions to the writing and preservation of Palm Beach County history. The award was presented at a luncheon in Dr. Curl's honor on February 18, 1993, at Mar-A-Lago in Palm Beach. Dr. Curl has served on the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society and held several offices, including president of the Historical Society of Palm Beach County. He is the author and editor of numerous books and articles relating to Florida and Palm Beach County history. His *Mizner's Florida: American Resort Architecture* received the Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award from the Florida Historical Society in 1984. Dr. Curl's article "Joseph Urban's Palm Beach Architecture" is included in this issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

Mrs. Leora Sutton of Pensacola received the Adelia Roscoe-Sole Award from the West Florida Literary Association for her outstanding literary achievements. Mrs. Sutton's monographs and articles and her research have been devoted to the Pensacola and West Florida area.

Call for Papers

The Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference will hold its fourteenth meeting in Mobile, Alabama, October 7-9, 1993. The program committee invites proposals for single papers and full sessions relating to the conference theme: "The Gulf Coast in the Gilded Age." Include a brief summary of the proposed paper(s) and a curriculum vitae of each presenter to Professor Michael Thomason, Department of History, University of South Alabama, Mobile, AL 36688 (telephone: 205/460-6210; fax: 205/460-6750).

The Southern Association for Women Historians invites proposals for the Third Southern Conference on Women's His-

tory, to be held June 2-5, 1994. Proposals for individual papers and complete sessions, panel discussions, round tables, and media presentations are welcome. Although the conference is regionally based, proposals from all parts of the country are welcomed, especially from young scholars and graduate students. Proposals with a brief synopsis should be submitted to Professor Joan Cashin, Department of History, Ohio State University, 106 Dulles, 230 West 17th Avenue, Columbus, OH 43210 (telephone: 614/292-2674) by June 15, 1993.

The program committee for the 1994 Western History Association meeting scheduled for Albuquerque, New Mexico, October 20-23, 1994, welcomes proposals for sessions. Include a brief summary of prospective papers with a short identification of each presenter, chair, and commentator. Send proposals by September 1, 1993, to the committee chair, Dr. Melody Webb, P. O. Box 308, Moose, WY 83012.

The Ah-Tha-Thi-Ki Museum, established by the Seminole Tribal Museum Authority, opened at the Hollywood Reservation facility on November 20, 1992. The museum's goal is to preserve and protect Seminole history and culture. James E. Billy, chairman of the Tribal Council of the Seminole Tribe of Florida and chairman of the Seminole Tribal Museum Authority, and Billy Cypress, executive director of the Museum Authority, were the speakers for the opening ceremonies. The museum's board of commissioners include James E. Billy; Joel M. Frank, Sr., vice-chairman; Priscilla D. Saylen, secretary/treasurer; and David Cypress, Louise Gopher, Carol Cypress, and Jeannette Cypress. On January 28, 1993, ground was broken for the construction of the first permanent museum building at the site of the Big Cypress Seminole Reservation. This is the first phase of a five-year \$10,000,000 project.

Dr. Steven Lawson, chairman of the Department of History at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, presented the annual Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Lecture at Guilford College. His topic was "The Political Impact of the Civil Rights Movement." Dr. Patrick was professor of history and chairman of the Department of History at the University of Florida. He

was an officer in the Florida Historical Society and served as editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

The Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism at the University of Notre Dame is offering three \$12,000 dissertation fellowships for the academic year 1994-1995 for the study of the history of United States Hispanic Catholics. Application forms must be requested by November 1, 1993, and returned by January 1, 1994. For information and applications contact the director, Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, 614 Hesburgh Library, Notre Dame, IN 46556 (telephone: 219/631-5441).

The St. Petersburg Historical and Flight One Museum has reopened after major renovations. In one pavilion is the Benoist airboat, a copy of a biplane piloted by Tony Jannus in 1914. It was part of the St. Petersburg-Tampa Airboat Line. The museum is open 10 A.M. to 5 P.M., Monday through Saturday and Sunday afternoons.

**FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MINUTES OF THE BOARD MEETING
January 23, 1993**

The semiannual meeting of the officers and board of directors of the Florida Historical Society was convened at 1:15 P.M. in the student center of the Florida Institute of Technology, Melbourne, January 23, 1993, by David H. Colburn, president.

Those attending included Kathleen H. Arsenault, Patricia Bartlett, Canter Brown, Jr., William S. Coker, Emily Perry Dieterich, Hampton Dunn, J. Larry Durrence, Jan F. Godown, Milton Jones, Marinus H. Latour, Lester N. May, Stuart B. McIver, Thomas Muir, John W. Partin, Samuel Proctor, Niles F. Schuh, Jerrell H. Shofner, Rebecca A. Smith, Patsy West, Lindsey Williams, and Executive Director Lewis N. Wynne. Also present were Charles Arnade, Gary Mormino, and Marilyn Potts.

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

Milton Jones reported on the Rossetter gift and its ramifications for the Society's future. A three-way agreement has been signed and executed between the newly formed Rossetter House Foundation, the Rossetters, and the Society. First, the contract calls for the conveyance of the Rossetter House and a \$1,750,000 endowment to the foundation upon the death of the Rossetter sisters; the income from the endowment will support the staffing and operation of the house as a house museum. Second, the Society will move its headquarters to the Roesch House, opposite the Rossetter House, in Eau Gallie. The Rossetters have already donated the house and will donate \$1,000,000 (after their deaths), which will become an endowment to support the Society's operations. An additional \$100,000 was given to help restore the house and offset moving expenses. The Society will not move until the \$1,000,000 has been received. Work on the Roesch House, however, will begin immediately. A \$25,000 grant has been received also from the state of Florida for the restoration.

One of the provisions in the agreement provides that if the Rossetter House should be partially or totally destroyed, the

foundation can dissolve itself and distribute its property to the Society. The Society's executive director is also the executive director of the foundation. The Society president has appointed four trustees— David Colburn, Marinus Latour, Eugene Lyon, and Jerrell Shofner— and the Rossetter Trust has appointed one trustee— William Potter. The foundation trustees are drafting bylaws.

Dr. Wynne added that the Rossetters have agreed to share the expenses of operational staff, which will be available for the Society and the foundation. A special issue of the Society *Report*, with color photographs of the houses, was distributed. Dr. Wynne noted that tours of the Roesch House and Rossetter property would be conducted for Society directors.

Dr. Wynne stated that Ann Prentice has verbally assured him that the University of South Florida's commitment to the Society will continue unchanged until the Society relocates, with an annual contract and financial commitment. The Society's artifacts will be transferred from the Florida Museum of Natural History at the University of Florida to the Brevard Museum of Science in Eau Gallie in February 1993. Mr. Jones thanked Marinus Latour for his help in making these arrangements.

Dr. Wynne summarized immediate plans for the Roesch House. The house has not been occupied for some seventy years, and electrical, plumbing, and HAVC systems need to be added or replaced. Total restoration costs are estimated at between \$60,000 and \$70,000. A security system like the one in the Rossetter House will be installed. The family will fund the writing and publication of a family history, to be completed by a part-time associate director of the Society. Dr. Wynne is also working with a Tampa foundation to supplement the project with additional funds to write a history of the Lowry family.

Dr. Colburn noted that the gifts from the Rossetters will give the Society a special identity. He also asked the Society officers to be careful with the money, especially in the current low-interest, uncertain economy. Those attending commended Milton Jones and Nick Wynne for their splendid work on the Rossetter and Roesch houses. A motion was made and approved to accept the Rossetter gift reports with commendation. Dr. Wynne was asked to write a resolution concerning the gift.

The board then reviewed the revenues and expenditures of the Society for fiscal year 1992 and the proposed budget for fiscal year 1993.

Income for 1992 slightly exceeded expenses. Income from membership, however, declined about \$8,000. Sales of Society publications also declined. They seem to have a low priority for libraries and other purchasers until microfilming of the index to the *Florida Historical Quarterly* is completed. Grants income increased. These included a grant from the State Historic Records Advisory Board to survey the Society's archives. The \$20,000 gift from Hector C. Borghetty of Clearwater underwrote the special quinentennary publications of the *Junior Historian*, the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, and the proceedings of the 1992 annual meeting.

Personnel expenses for 1992 were reduced, but operating expenses increased. Programmatic expenses were reduced; for example, one less issue of the *Junior Historian* was published. Unbudgeted expenses related to travel to and from Melbourne; grant proposals; the *Florida Historical Quarterly* index; the collection survey; and the annual appeal.

Projected income for the proposed 1993 budget includes \$100,000 from the Rossetters to assist in the Roesch House restoration and to help prepare for the Society's move; and \$45,000 in grants. With additional income, the total will be \$254,609. Projected expenses (\$184,900) are about the same as 1992, with the addition of a \$1,000 stipend for the *Junior Historian* editor, the salary for a part-time associate director, and the cost of the collections survey.

Larry Durrence commended Dr. Wynne, Dr. Colburn, and the finance committee on the improved financial report and the presentation of the budget. A motion was made and approved to adopt the proposed budget for 1993.

Dr. Wynne reported on the status of the endowed accounts. Last year's rate of return was 2.74 percent. Cubberly, Brevard, Collins, Patrick, Thompson, and Tebeau prizes expenses exceeded income from the endowments in 1992 and will do so again in 1993. Dr. Wynne reminded the board that at the previous meeting the consensus was to match prize amounts to available income. Those attending discussed the situation. President Colburn asked the finance committee to study the handling of endowments, including alternate ways to invest the Society's resources. There will be a recommendation at the May 1993 board meeting.

The board discussed the amounts for prizes for 1993. Points discussed included the solicitation of additional contributions to

the funds, the consolidation of the funds into one account for administrative purposes while still retaining their separate identities, and the solicitation of funds for a general prize fund as well as for specific prizes. A motion was made and approved to ask the finance committee to recommend whether the Society should retain the separate identities of the prizes but combine funds together.

Those attending discussed the proposed associate director responsibilities. The position would be funded for a minimum of one year, during which time the person selected will research and write a Rossetter family history and represent the Society in Melbourne. David Colburn and Marinus Latour will appoint the associate director. A motion was made and approved to create the position.

The board discussed the establishment of a membership committee to assist the executive director in recruiting and retaining members. A motion was made and approved for President Colburn to establish and appoint a committee. Dr. Colburn will consult Dr. Latour and Dr. Wynne in appointing the committee.

Gary Mormino reported on the selection of the editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* to succeed Dr. Proctor, who will retire from that position July 1, 1993. Dr. Proctor has held the post since 1963. The editor serves at the pleasure of the board. Dr. Mormino stated that probably only the University of Florida can provide the considerable resources needed to produce the *Quarterly*. The search committee— Dr. Mormino, Dr. Colburn, and Dr. Michael Gannon on behalf of the University of Florida— recommended George Pozzetta to be appointed editor of the *Quarterly*. Dr. Pozzetta has been a member of the faculty of the University of Florida since 1971; he has demonstrated strong administrative skills; and he has a great sense of service to the profession. Dr. Proctor expressed his support for the recommendation.

A motion was made and approved to accept the committee's recommendation. Those present gave a standing ovation to Dr. Proctor. Dr. Proctor recommended that the July issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* be jointly edited; thereafter, Dr. Pozzetta will serve as editor.

Marinus Latour reported on the status of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* index project. The project began in May 1985. There is a hard-copy index for the years 1966-1988, but the index needs to be placed on computer disk. That is now being

done. The remaining volumes, 67-71, need to be included. The committee estimates that printing will cost approximately \$4,000 for 500 copies. Dr. Latour asked for suggestions for possible printers.

Dr. Wynne reported on the status of the Society's artifact collection. Most of these objects are in storage at the Florida Museum of Natural History at the University of Florida. The Brevard Museum of History and Natural Science has agreed to take the artifacts on extended loan. Efforts are underway to document and identify the location of other Society artifacts. Objects on loan to other organizations that are not on display will be returned to the Society.

Emily Perry Dieterich reported on the status of the Society's manuscript collection. The Society received a \$9,000 grant from the Florida Local Historical Records Grant Project to identify and locate its manuscript holdings at the University of South Florida library and other locations throughout the state. The project began in December 1992, and about 30 percent of the holdings have been surveyed. She distributed a list of papers found missing during the survey. The papers are from the Pleasant Woodson White and Francis P. Fleming collections and are believed to have been stolen. The documents apparently disappeared in the early 1980s and are believed to have been sold to private collectors.

Those present discussed the apparent theft. Canter Brown noted that the White collection is one of the most important Civil War collections in Florida. Dr. Wynne tried unsuccessfully to purchase some of the letters from a private source. He is obtaining photocopies of many of the papers from another individual who was offered, but did not obtain, the papers. Mr. Brown stated that only the owner of an original document can permit use of that document, so the utilization of photocopies may be problematic. Dr. Wynne commented that the completed survey, with refined collections policies, will help the Society decide whether to move the manuscripts collection to Melbourne.

Ms. Perry reported for Dr. Joe Knetsch, who was unable to attend, on the recommendations of the committee on awards procedures. The committee recommended that a calendar year rather than academic year be used for essay awards; students should submit papers with a cover letter by their professor; and Golden Quill print awards should include magazine and journal

articles written in Florida and elsewhere. The committee did not reach a consensus on whether to limit the number of Golden Quill awards to one in each category; whether to charge an entry fee for the Golden Quill awards; whether an author or editor can make a nomination for a Golden Quill print award; and who can submit nominations for the Patrick and Tebeau prizes.

The board discussed the number of Golden Quill awards to present. Dr. Colburn noted that only a few prizes are given for scholarly work as compared to the number of media prizes. Lindsey Williams suggested that one award and additional merit certificates be given for each category. Nine Golden Quill awards were given last year. A motion to present three electronic media and three print Golden Quill awards was not approved. A motion was approved to present one award in each category and to consider developing a program to recognize merit by presenting certificates of merit. President Colburn asked the committee to make recommendations on certificates of merit at the next board meeting.

Those present discussed the book prizes and the *Florida Historical Quarterly* article prize procedures. Dr. Proctor noted that in past years the editor has selected the judges for the Tebeau and Patrick prizes; book nominations are selected through book reviews appearing in journals and review copies sent to the *Quarterly* office; the editor asks publishers to send review copies to the judges; the judges rank their first three choices for a prize; and the Tebeau prize is for younger readers in high school or junior college. He urged that sources for nominations be kept as open as possible. Dr. Colburn recommended that the new editor work with the president and executive director to set up a committee to deal with the awards. Dr. Proctor affirmed that suggestions for nominations are welcome from anyone. Dr. Colburn suggested that the policy continue as it is; it be made clear to the membership that nominations are welcome; and the editor, president, and executive director establish the composition of a committee to consider the prizes. A motion was made and approved to implement Dr. Colburn's suggestions. Dr. Proctor distributed the mid-winter report for the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and noted that there is a backlog of submitted articles.

The amount of the prize awards was discussed. Those pres-

ent were reminded that at the previous meeting the board voted to reduce the Brevard prize to \$250. A motion was made and approved, with two abstaining, to maintain the three literary prizes at \$200 each for the spring 1993 awards.

Gary Mormino reported on arrangements for the 1993 annual meeting. About half of the thirty papers that have been submitted pertain to the meeting's theme, World War II. Others on the program committee are Raymond Arsenault, James M. Denham, and Jane Dysart. Dr. Colburn commended Dr. Mormino on his effectiveness in soliciting papers.

Those present discussed the 150th anniversary of Florida's statehood in 1995. A committee, consisting of Nick Wynne, David Colburn, Samuel Proctor, Gary Mormino, George Bedell, Ann Henderson, and Michael Gannon, met to discuss possible plans. Dr. Proctor and Dr. Colburn met with Secretary of State Jim Smith and Director of Historic Resources George Percy recently. Mr. Percy expressed an interest in publishing a popular history series on Florida. Ann Henderson is enthusiastic about the Florida Humanities Council sponsoring a variety of projects, including television and radio segments and public school programs. Dr. Colburn welcomed any board members who would like to participate in the planning process. One of the ideas is for the Society to meet in Tallahassee in 1995 in the Old Capitol. A local arrangements committee needs to be formed to make that possible.

A motion was made and approved to thank the Florida Institute of Technology for the use of their facility for the meeting.

Dr. Proctor briefly left the room, and those present discussed ways to recognize his contributions to the Society as editor of the *Quarterly* for the past thirty years.

President Colburn thanked Marilyn Potts and Dr. Wynne for their efforts in arranging the board meeting.

The meeting was adjourned at 4:30 P.M.

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