

THE FLORIDA

HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

PUBLISHED BY THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

RECEIVED
UCF LIBRARY

JUN 13 2006

SERIALS



VOLUME 84

SPRING 2006

NUMBER 4

The Florida Historical Quarterly

Published by the Florida Historical Society

Connie L. Lester, *Editor*

Sponsored by the University of Central Florida

Board of Editors

Robert Cassanello, University of Central Florida
Frederick R. Davis, Florida State University
Andrew Frank, Florida Atlantic University
Elna C. Green, Florida State University
Paul E. Hoffman, Louisiana State University
Daniel S. Murphree, University of Texas, Tyler
Gregory O'Brien, University of Southern Mississippi
Melanie Shell-Weiss, Johns Hopkins University
Irvin D.S. Winsboro, Florida Gulf Coast University

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

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

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to Editor, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Dept. of History, CNH 551, Univ. of Central Florida, Orlando, FL 32816-1350; (407) 823-6421; fax: (407) 823-3184; email: <flhisqtr@mail.ucf.edu>. Manuscripts should be submitted in triplicate. Guidelines for preparing manuscripts are available at <<http://pegasus.cc.ucf.edu/~flhisqtr/quarterly.html>>. The *Quarterly* is a member of the Conference of Historical Journals. The Florida Historical Society and the editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* disclaim responsibility for statements whether of fact or opinion made by contributors.

THE

FLORIDA

Spring 2006

HISTORICAL QUARTERLY Vol. 84, No. 4

“More Courage Than Discretion”:

**Charles M. Hamilton in Reconstruction-
Era Florida**

Daniel R. Weinfeld

479

**Raising Her Voice: Ruth Perry, Activist and
Journalist for the Miami NAACP**

Judith G. Poucher

517

Florida Room:

**Battle for St. Augustine 1964: Public Record
and Personal Recollection**

Claudia S. Slate

541

Book Reviews

569

Index

599

Cover Illustration: The cover image depicts the civil rights efforts to integrate St. Augustine’s beaches. The “wade-in” demonstration in this photograph occurred in 1964. Photograph courtesy of the *Florida State Archives*.

Book Reviews

- Taylor, *The Key West Lighthouse; A Light in Paradis*, by
Steve Belko 569
- Williams, *Self-Taught: African American Education
in Slavery and Freedom*, by Rebecca
Montgomery 571
- Clarke, *Dwelling Place: A Plantation Epic*, by Jonathan
M. Atkins 573
- Walker, *Hell's Broke Loose in Georgia: Survival in a Civil
War Regiment*, by Brian D. McKnight 576
- Johnson, *Southern Ladies, New Women: Race, Region and
Clubwomen in South Carolina, 1890-1930*, by
Ann Short Chirhart 578
- Feldman, ed. *Politics and Religion in the White South*, by
E. Stanly Godbold, Jr. 580
- Jackson and Brown, eds., *Go Sound the Trumpet!
Selections in Florida's African-American History*,
by Jennifer Roady-Lawson 583
- Green, *Before His Time, The Untold Story of Harry T.
Moore, America's First Civil Rights Martyr*, by
Leonard R. Lempel 587
- Patterson, *Zora Neale Hurston and a History of Southern
Life*, by Kenneth W. Vickers 590
- Daniel, *Toxic Drift: Pesticides and Health in the Post-
World War II South*, by Alan I. Marcus 592
- Hollis, *Florida's Miracle Strip: From Redneck Rivera to
Emerald Coast*, by Robert E. Snyder 594

“More Courage Than Discretion”: Charles M. Hamilton in Reconstruction-Era Florida

By Daniel R. Weinfeld

At the close of the Civil War, Union army officers arrived in Florida to serve as agents of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (the “Bureau”). In addition to their official Bureau duties, the agents, often the sole representatives of the Federal government in their assigned districts, acted as protectors of the newly freed slaves against a recalcitrant white population that refused to accept the blacks’ liberated status. As Congress implemented its Reconstruction plan, the agents helped organize the Republican Party in Florida in anticipation of readmission and encouraged the freedmen to become loyal Republican voters. The Bureau agents soon confronted an unanticipated situation, however, when enfranchised blacks acted not merely as their wards but also as competitors for political power. This struggle for control within the Republican Party continued throughout the Reconstruction Era.

Evaluation of the record of Florida’s Reconstruction-era Republicans has changed over time. After southern-born whites under the Democratic Party’s banner regained control of the state’s government in the 1876 election, blame for the turmoil of the period was placed squarely upon “carpetbaggers.”¹ Beginning

Daniel R. Weinfeld is an independent scholar and a practicing attorney in New York City.

1. For a historiography of the portrayal of the Florida carpetbaggers, see James C. Clark, “John Wallace and the Writing of Reconstruction History,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 67 (April 1989), 420-2.

in the 1960s, the careers of individual northern-born Republicans active in Florida began to be more favorably reappraised.² Such revision, however, has been tempered by the observation that the carpetbaggers enjoyed their brief hegemony at the expense not only of conservative southern whites, but also of progressive African American Republicans.³

The brief career of Charles Memorial Hamilton sheds light on Florida's Reconstruction era political climate characterized by the growth and subsequent fracturing of the Florida Republican Party and the emergence of black political consciousness. As a Bureau agent and then as Florida's first post-Civil War Congressman, Hamilton remained fervently loyal to the national Republican Party, particularly its congressional radicals, and sincerely committed to promoting the interests of his black constituents. Hamilton, however, affiliated politically with Florida's less progressive, moderate Republican leadership. As white conservative resistance became increasingly violent and Florida's Republican Party became mired in internecine squabbling, Hamilton remained faithful to his principles. His promising career was cut short by his failure to balance the competing factions in the Republican Party and navigate the vicious personal politics of his era.

Born on November 1, 1840, Hamilton was raised in a farming community near the small town of Jersey Shore in north-central Pennsylvania.⁴ He received "an academic education" and studied

2. Claude R. Flory, "Marcellus L. Stearns, Florida's Last Reconstruction Governor," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 44 (January 1966), 181-92; Mildred L. Fryman, "Career of a Carpetbagger: Malachi Martin in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 56 (January 1978), 317-38; Jerrell H. Shofner, "A New Jersey Carpetbagger in Reconstruction Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 52 (January 1974), 286-93. Canter Brown, Jr. has written of revisionism, however, that "in some instances the point has been taken too far." See Brown, *Carpetbagger Intrigues, Black Leadership, and a Southern Loyalist Triumph: Gubernatorial Election of 1872*, *Florida Historical Quarterly* 72 (January 1994), 278.
3. Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor is it Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974), 184-88; Canter Brown, Jr., *Florida's Black Public Officials, 1867-1924* (Tuscaloosa, 1998), 2-11.
4. The Hamilton family had a long tradition of service and Charles Hamilton grew up hearing stories of his ancestor, Captain Alex Hamilton, who led local farmers in the drafting of the "Tiadaghton" declaration of independence from England in 1776 and died fighting the British allied Iroquois. Robert B. Hamilton, Jr. "Hamiltons of Pine Creek, Pennsylvania" (unpublished, Lycoming County Historical Society, Williamsport, Pennsylvania, 1994); R. B. Hamilton, Jr., letters and conversations with author.

law, though he listed his occupation upon enlistment as farmer.⁵ In May 1861, shortly after the shots fired at Fort Sumter, Hamilton and his brother Alexander volunteered for Company A of the 5th Pennsylvania Reserve Infantry Regiment, known as the “Jersey Shore Rifles.” The 5th Pennsylvania fought in the Peninsula and Antietam campaigns. In December 1862, at Fredericksburg, a bullet fractured Hamilton’s right leg just below the knee while he was “charging in front of his regiment with the colors in his hands, snatched from the grasp of the falling sargeant [sic].” He lay on the field for five days before the Confederates took him prisoner and sent him to Libby Prison in Richmond. In late January 1863, he was exchanged and, during a furlough home, fell ill with typhus fever. Dependant on crutches for a year, Hamilton was transferred to the Veteran Reserve Corps – formerly known as the Invalid Corps – in Washington, D.C. and received a promotion to lieutenant.⁶

During the next two years, Hamilton served in a variety of capacities, including commanding bridges in Washington’s defense network, guarding prisoners, working several months in the Judge Advocate General Corps, and serving as an aide-de-camp to the military governor of Washington. According to William J. Purman’s reminiscences more than sixty years after the event, Hamilton was in attendance at Ford’s Theatre the night of Lincoln’s assassination.⁷ After the war, Hamilton, like a number of other Veteran Reserve Corps officers, was assigned to the Bureau. He was posted to Florida as assistant sub-commissioner for Jackson, Washington, Calhoun and Holmes counties and arrived at Marianna, Jackson County, on January 29, 1866.⁸

5. Charles M. Hamilton, Box 35, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

6. The 5th Pennsylvania Reserves was also numbered as the 34th Pennsylvania Volunteers. Charles M. Hamilton, 5th Pennsylvania Reserves, Compiled Military Service Files, National Archives; C. M. Hamilton to Dear Sir, December 5, 1870, Box 35, P. K. Yonge Library; Charles M. Hamilton, Pension File, National Archives. Hamilton saved himself from bayoneting when he made the “sign” to an approaching Confederate who wore a Masonic badge. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, March 10, 1868; Hamilton, “Hamiltons of Pine Creek, Pennsylvania.”

7. M. Hamilton, Veteran Reserve Corps. Compiled Military Service File, National Archives; *Washington Post*, 13 March 1927.

8. C. M. Hamilton to T. W. Osborn, 28 February 1866, Records of the Assistant Commissioner and Subordinate field offices for the State of Florida, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands 1865-1872 (microform), Department of Special Collections, Smathers Library, University of Florida, Gainesville (hereinafter cited as Records, Florida, BRF&AL).

Hamilton found himself the senior federal government authority responsible for the welfare of at least six thousand former slaves largely concentrated in Jackson County. The Bureau assistant commissioner for Florida, T. W. Osborn, had previously appointed civilian agents from among the local white population with instructions to supervise the drafting of labor contracts between freedmen and planters and to establish freedmen's schools. As he surveyed his new territory, Hamilton saw little progress in either area. The freedmen did not trust Osborn's southern-born, civilian appointees and were confident only in the Bureau's military officers. Hamilton recruited new agents and arranged for the appointment of his boyhood neighbor, William J. Purman, as civilian agent for Jackson County.⁹ Purman resigned his clerical post at the War Department in Washington, arrived in Marianna in March 1866, and shared Bureau duties with Hamilton for most of the next two years.¹⁰

Hamilton first focused on the basic functions of the Bureau: arranging labor contracts, establishing schools and distributing rations to destitute freedmen. In some of his counties, no contracts had been formed. In other counties, contracts were so prejudicial as to "place a laborer in a condition worse than slavery." Hamilton abrogated these contracts and insisted that planters and laborers sign new agreements under his supervision that complied with Bureau guidelines. To replace the voided contracts, he drafted and printed a model template.¹¹

Various Bureau assistant sub-commissioners differed in their opinions of the better compensation system for the freedmen laborers: money-wages versus crop-sharing.¹² Hamilton strongly encouraged the freedmen to accept a share of the crop harvested

9. C. M. Hamilton to T. W. Osborn, 10 and 28 February, 3 April 1866, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

10. In February 1867, the Bureau transferred Purman to East Florida. Citing his unmanageably large district, Hamilton urged the Bureau to return Purman, "an agent of very considerable efficiency - with a heart devoted to the Freedmen's cause." C. M. Hamilton to A. H. Jackson, 21 March 1867, Records, Florida, BRF&AL. Many freedmen signed a petition pleading for Purman's re-appointment to Jackson County. Emanuel Fortune, *et. al.* to John Sprague, 25 March 1867, Records, Florida, BRF&AL. The Bureau reassigned Purman to Jackson County in June 1867.

11. C. M. Hamilton to T. W. Osborn, 10 February 1866, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

12. George R. Bentley, *A History of the Freedmen's Bureau* (Philadelphia, 1955), 150.

and provisions, rather than cash payments. Eventually, under Hamilton's guidance, it became common practice in the district for farm laborers to receive a one-third crop share, typically cotton or corn, and two hundred and eight pounds of meat. Hamilton thought that crop-sharing benefited both the planter and laborer because, sharing risk and reward, "the necessity of industry and providence would fall upon both alike." Working for a portion of the crop, Hamilton explained, would be an incentive to the laborer and, consequently, he contended, the laborer's productivity and compensation would be higher than if working for stated wages.¹³

The Bureau stressed to its agents the importance of keeping the freedmen employed so they would not wander about the countryside or collect idly in towns.¹⁴ By the end of March 1866, Hamilton reported that the Bureau goal of full employment of freedmen had nearly been achieved. The industriousness and productivity of the freedmen, he concluded, had justified his faith in the superiority of free labor to slavery. To his great satisfaction, Hamilton observed that even the "rebels" admitted their mistake in this matter, conceding that the "freedmen work better, and take greater interest in their work than they did as slaves."¹⁵

Hamilton discerned, however, the necessity of protecting laborers from those planters who would "take advantage of them whenever an opportunity presents" even within the scope of written contracts. For example, he did not allow planters the power to discharge laborers for dereliction of duty. That would "be putting the key of the safe in the hands of a thief." In instances where he felt that a planter had dealt "unkindly" with his laborers or had

13. At a public meeting in December 1866, Hamilton presented four options for payment terms including three variations of the share system and the alternative of stated yearly wages. C. M. Hamilton to E. C. Woodruff, 31 December 1866, Records, Florida, BRF&AL. See also "Testimony Taken by the Joint Select Committee to Inquire Into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States," House Report No. 22, pt. 13, 42d Cong., 2d sess. (Washington, 1872), 285; hereinafter cited as *House Report No. 22*.

14. Bentley, *A History of the Freedmen's Bureau*, 82-4

15. C. M. Hamilton to J. L. McHenry, 31 March, 30 April, 31 July 1866; C. M. Hamilton to E. C. Woodruff, 31 December 1866; C. M. Hamilton to A. H. Jackson, 31 May, 31 August, 30 September 1867; W. J. Purman to C. M. Hamilton, 31 May 1866, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

refused to enter into a written contract, Hamilton found the freedmen employment elsewhere.¹⁶

Although he continued to champion the share system, during his second spring in Jackson County, Hamilton began to recognize the devastating weaknesses inherent in this arrangement. The continued success of the free labor system depended on the cooperation of the employers and, he observed, such cooperation was not forthcoming. Many planters, for example, had developed underhanded schemes designed to deprive the laborers of their shares at harvest time.¹⁷ When a collapse in cotton prices in 1867 threatened to throw many of the laborers into destitution or a future of inescapable indebtedness to the planters, Hamilton resorted to ordering planters to set aside sufficient corn to sustain the laborers' families.¹⁸

In addition to their resentment of the imposed contracting system, the Jackson County planters chafed at the fees charged by the Bureau agents. Whereas Hamilton, the military officer, did not receive compensation for Bureau services, Purman, the civilian agent, was entitled under Bureau rules to assess a fee.¹⁹ Agents were authorized to charge as much as one dollar per contract and twenty-five cents for each additional laborer included. Purman was also compensated for the cost of printing, paper and Internal

16. C. M. Hamilton to A. H. Jackson, 31 March 1867; C. M. Hamilton to T. W. Osborn, 28 February 1866; C. M. Hamilton to J. L. McHenry, 31 March, 30 April 1866, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

17. Each plantation had a small store or credit arrangements with local merchants. Laborers were encouraged to run up their accounts at inflated prices. The planter would settle the laborer's account at harvest time by taking the debt owed out of the laborer's share, often leaving the laborer with no proceeds from his year's efforts. Alternatively, the planter might convince the laborer to consign his cotton share to the planter to take to market, whereupon the planter would deduct shipping, hauling, taxes and other charges which, in total, eliminated the proceeds. C. M. Hamilton to A. H. Jackson, 31 March, 31 August, 30 September 1867, Records, Florida, BRF&AL. More crudely, some planters would find an excuse to drive laborers off the property at gunpoint or accuse them of some offense to justify their discharge after a full season of labor but prior to the harvest and distribution of the crop share. C. M. Hamilton to J. L. McHenry, 30 June 1866; W. J. Purman to C. M. Hamilton, 29 September 1866, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

18. C. M. Hamilton to A. H. Jackson, 31 October, 31 December 1867; W. J. Purman to A. H. Jackson, 4 January 1868, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

19. Initially hired as an unsalaried civilian agent, Purman derived his pay entirely from contract fees. Hamilton sent Osborn a request for a salaried appointment for Purman. C.M. Hamilton to T.W. Osborn, 3 April 1866, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

Revenue stamps. Hamilton later offered that the contract fee charged was twenty-five cents plus five cents for stamps. He insisted that he never received a single penny. No evidence exists that Hamilton authorized fees in excess of standard Bureau practices and there is no record of local freedmen complaining about this issue. Nevertheless, charges of financial impropriety and profiteering arising from supervision of contracts were hurled against Hamilton by local whites.²⁰

As with his supervision of labor, Hamilton's experience with the Bureau's educational program included both accomplishments and, ultimately, frustration. Hamilton was "astonished" by the eagerness of the freedmen for education for which, he observed, they manifested "greater interest" than did the whites. On his arrival in Marianna, he found one school for black children, established by Union soldiers the previous year, in operation. Despite his enthusiasm for the project, Hamilton succeeded in opening only one more school during 1866. The following year, Hamilton and Purman redoubled their efforts and in May, Hamilton reported that eleven schools were in "flourishing condition" in his district, although, admittedly, all were "not regular authorized establishments."²¹ Actually, there may have been only three regular schools for black children: two in Marianna and one in nearby Greenwood. The remaining schools included a night program for adults in Marianna and several "school societies" – organizations of freedmen who met on Sundays and contributed funds aimed at building schools in their communities.²²

The Bureau agents and the freedmen faced nearly insurmountable challenges in establishing schools: obtaining the land and funds necessary for the construction of school buildings, finding and paying competent teachers, purchasing books, and weathering the hostility of local whites. Hamilton and Purman gave up building a school at Campbellton, near the Alabama border, concluding local whites would destroy any building designated as a freedmen's school. The Greenwood school opened only after much effort and in the face of opposition. Hamilton was

20. Bentley, *Freedmen's Bureau*, 104; House Report No. 22, pp. 281.

21. Jerrell H. Shofner, *Jackson County, Florida – A History* (Jackson County, Florida, 1985), 265; C. M. Hamilton to E. C. Woodruff, 31 December 1866; C. M. Hamilton to J. L. McHenry, 31 March 1866, C. M. Hamilton to A. H. Jackson, 31 May 1867, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

22. W. J. Purman to A. H. Jackson, 4 December 1867, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

particularly satisfied with the thriving Marianna schools that averaged fifty to sixty pupils in daily attendance. By April 1868, a few months after Hamilton left the Bureau, however, only one children's school, in Marianna, was operating in Jackson County.²³

Hamilton's greatest frustration arose from his realization that he and Purman were ultimately impotent to enforce the Bureau's directives and their initiatives. The agents were fully cognizant that they retained only the power of persuasion.²⁴ Hamilton thought that during the harvest settlement and contracting seasons the presence of troops could provide the necessary "influence" to ensure white compliance with Bureau decisions. While the detachment of five soldiers periodically garrisoned in Marianna occasionally intimidated planters into cooperation, the agents and the handful of soldiers dared not risk confronting armed or determined opposition.²⁵

Freedmen could not find redress for their grievances in the civil court system. The courts served as yet another instrument for maintaining white dominance. During the fall 1866, one local judge declared Bureau-supervised contracts to be unenforceable because they had not been drafted in accordance with Florida state statutes. Freedmen, generally subjected to "lynx-eyed scrutiny," were arraigned before the authorities on the "slightest pretext," and subjected to disproportionate and crippling fines and court fees.²⁶ Beginning in 1867, labor contracts included a clause that referred disputes to an arbitration board to include a Bureau agent. Attempts to enforce arbitration decisions against non-cooperating planters proved futile. When freedmen sought compensation for breach of contract or abuse, Hamilton felt he had no

23. C. M. Hamilton to E.C. Woodruff, 31 December 1866, Florida BRF&AL. At Purman's recommendation, Hamilton dismissed George H. Bremen, the incumbent teacher at Marianna, and recruited a local woman, Mrs. Amanda Barkley, to teach. W.J. Purman to C.M. Hamilton, 31 May 1866; C. M. Hamilton to J. L. McHenry, 30 June 1866, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

24. C. M. Hamilton to J. L. McHenry, 30 June 1866, Records, Florida, BRF&AL. "Unless moral suasion is effectual — we are here quite helpless." C. M. Hamilton to A. H. Jackson, 31 March 1867, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

25. C. M. Hamilton to E. C. Woodruff, 26 December 1866; C. M. Hamilton to A. H. Jackson, 31 December 1867, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

26. C. M. Hamilton to J. L. McHenry, 31 July 1866; C. M. Hamilton to A. H. Jackson, 31 March, 31 October 1867; W. J. Purman to C. M. Hamilton, 29 September 1866; C. M. Hamilton to E. C. Woodruff, 31 December 1866, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

choice but to refer the complainants to the civil court even though the court officials and all-white jurors were blatantly biased against the freedmen. The "fulcrum" of white control, Hamilton observed, was the practice of not allowing blacks to serve as jurors. After watching whites accused of murdering blacks acquitted in three separate cases, Hamilton met with Judge Bush of the Circuit Court to request that blacks be seated as jurors at least in cases in which an African American was a party or the parties may agree. These efforts were unsuccessful.²⁷

During Hamilton's two years in Marianna, a series of incidents created the legend, in the imagination of local whites, of the outrageous and inflammatory conduct of Hamilton and Purman. The first major crisis came in June 1866 when a delegation of freedmen requested Hamilton's approval for an Independence Day parade with the United States flag and portraits of Washington and Lincoln to be followed by a large public barbecue. Hamilton replied that he had no objection to such a celebration and he would "take pleasure to assist them in every proper way." Nevertheless, Hamilton sought and received confirmation from his Bureau superiors of his decision. With news of the forthcoming event, elements of the white community angrily objected and sent a petition to Governor David Walker protesting the celebration. Rumors spread that any attempt to carry the portraits and flag through Marianna would be met with violence. Increasingly concerned, Hamilton "earnestly" requested that a detachment of troops be sent to Marianna to "afford security to person and property, and protection to the United States flag." Hamilton consulted the mayor who declared that the celebration, including carrying Lincoln's portrait, would be "as if the negroes were flaunting defiance in our faces." The event's organizer agreed to lay aside the portraits, but Hamilton insisted that the Stars and Stripes be carried. As the day of the event approached, new rumors spread among whites that Hamilton had ordered the freedmen to attend the celebration armed.²⁸

To Hamilton's delight, the Fourth of July event was a complete success. Over three thousand blacks and most male white citizens

27. C. M. Hamilton to A. H. Jackson, 31 May 1867, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

28. J. L. McHenry to C. M. Hamilton, 23 June 1866; C. M. Hamilton to C. Munde, 24 June 1866; C. M. Hamilton to J. L. McHenry, 30 June 1866, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

of Marianna conducted themselves in a "highly creditable manner" with "not a rude word spoken." The happy affair and fine barbecue would "long be remembered, both by the whites and blacks." Hamilton felt so elated that he withdrew his pending request for troops. He saw the celebration as a significant "victory" for the freedmen, exorcising "the secret, baneful social and moral influence that slavery has long engendered."²⁹ A similarly successful celebration was held the following Fourth of July when the portraits of Washington and Lincoln were finally carried through the streets of Marianna.³⁰ Hamilton's role in these events, however, helped solidify the perception of local whites that the agents were their determined adversaries and advocates solely of black interests.

In May 1867, Hamilton's handling of another incident contributed to white resentment. Black children had decorated the Marianna public cemetery grave of a Union soldier killed in an 1864 raid on the town.³¹ Some young white women threw the flowers onto the public walk and trampled on them. A few days subsequent, Hamilton "respectfully requested the young ladies charged with this act of desecration" to report to his office. They arrived accompanied by many friends, relatives and counsel. After conceding that "the guilty parties could not be sufficiently identified to warrant further action," Hamilton delivered "a lecture upon the matter," released the women, and dropped the matter. Hamilton later admitted that the young women had indeed been identified by two black witnesses and the town's postmistress, but he did not know what he "could do with them, further than to attach the blame" and give them "a lecture." The Marianna *Courier* snidely advised the women to beware of approaching Hamilton's "sacred spot" in the cemetery in the future.³² Three years later, however, the *Courier* was less droll, recalling the "degrading insult... marked

29. C. M. Hamilton to J. L. McHenry, 5 and 31 July 1866, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

30. C. M. Hamilton to A. H. Jackson, 7 July 1867, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

31. For a description of the destructive 1864 Union army raid, known as the "Battle of Marianna," see Dale A. Cox, *The West Florida War*, (<http://www.jctdc.org/cox.html>, 1989 and 1999).

32. C. M. Hamilton to A. H. Jackson, 31 May 1867, Records, Florida, BRF&AL; House Report No. 22, p. 282. See also, Hamilton's description of the event and excerpt from the Marianna *Courier*, 30 May 1867 in House Report No. 22, p. 282.

in the arrest of the young ladies of this place to be arraigned before a vile potentate.”³³

In another incident where whites castigated Hamilton for intervening, a laborer complained that at harvest time he and his family had been driven off the land they worked for “impudence.” When the planters refused Hamilton’s direction to make a settlement, Hamilton dispatched soldiers to protect the laborer who returned to claim his crop share. The soldiers “observed preparation for resistance on the part of the employers” and arrested them. The *Courier* later recounted how the planters had been “insultingly arrested and ruthlessly incarcerated in a filthy old smokehouse to be made to succumb to an unfair and unjust disposition of their property that amounted to absolute robbery.” In subsequent years, the *Courier* invoked this incident when listing Hamilton’s offenses against the people of Jackson County.³⁴

In his initial dispatches, Hamilton found the people of the county “generally hospitable and intelligent.” Most of the Marianna white community, however, soon ostracized Hamilton and Purman. The “better order of gentlemen” were friendly on the street, Purman complained, but would “never compromise their social standing by extending to the forlorn Agents an invitation or introduction to their homes and families.” Conversely, at least one Marianna citizen remarked that Hamilton “seemed to prefer the freedmen and certain white men of no social standing, and kept himself aloof from the more respectable portion of the community.”³⁵ Maine-born farmer F. W. Gillette wrote to his friend Freedmen’s Bureau Commissioner General O. O. Howard that “the rebels hate” Hamilton.³⁶

33. House Report No. 22, p. 284. In his testimony before the Congressional Committee, John Williams referred to this incident when listing the causes of resentment against Hamilton. Ibid, 232.

34. Ibid., 283-84; Marianna *Courier*, 8 January 1868 quoted in Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, 14 January 1868; Marianna *Courier*, 7 October 1869, quoted in Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, 19 October 1869, “incarcerated in the filthiest and most objectionable prison the ingenuity of a coward could contrive.”

35. C. M. Hamilton to T. W. Osborn, 28 February 1866; W. J. Purman to E. C. Woodruff, 28 February 1867, Records, Florida, BRF&AL; T. T. Flint to C. F. Larrabee, 9 September 1867, Records, Florida, BFR&AL, quoted in Joe M. Richardson, “The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida,” (Florida State University, Ph.D. dissertation, 1963), microfilm, 40.

36. F. W. Gillette to O. O. Howard, 1 August 1867, O. O. Howard Papers, (George J. Mitchell Department of Special Collection and Archives, Bowdoin College Library).

By mid-1867, social slights and insults had evolved into threats of violence. When he talked to freedmen in Calhoun County about voting registration, Hamilton reported that "a drunken irish-rebel (hired, I am since informed, for the occasion) approached" with a knife, shouting that "he wanted to 'get to the d'n Yankee.'" This assailant was stopped and arrested. While Hamilton lectured in Campbellton before a racially mixed audience, a Dr. Colley, allegedly drunk and armed, had "half-concealed himself behind the speakers stand, prepared to perpetuate his evil design ... to shoot." After Hamilton insisted, the deputy sheriff "reluctantly" arrested Colley. During a trip to Walton County with freedman minister and Republican activist Emanuel Fortune to discuss the election of delegates to the constitutional convention, Hamilton brawled with local whites, who objected to his speaking to a group of blacks. In October 1867, some "rebels" entered Hamilton's stable and shaved his horses' tails and manes. Hamilton suspected that the leading culprit was William Coker, son of the prominent Marianna merchant James Coker. James Coker later boasted that more than once he had planned to kill Hamilton.³⁷

Hamilton acknowledged that reasonable people could be found among the professional class of the community including a few whites who were willing to express empathy for the Bureau agents and their goals as well as some who actively and openly cooperated. Dr. L. C. Armistead from Greenwood served as registrar for the 1867 fall election and was persecuted for his efforts. Hamilton found a sympathizer in Samuel Fleishman, a German-Jewish immigrant and dry goods merchant in the area for almost two decades, whom Hamilton recommended to fill a vacancy as county tax collector.³⁸

The agents' closest friendships in Marianna came from the Finlayson family. Fairly prosperous land and slave owners before the war, the Finlaysons had suffered financially, particularly during the 1864 raid.³⁹ The oldest son, Dr. John L. Finlayson, a

37. C. M. Hamilton to A. H. Jackson, 31 May, 31 July 1867, Records, Florida, BRF&AL; House *Report No. 22*, p. 98-9; C. M. Hamilton to A. H. Jackson, 31 October, 31 December 1867, Records, Florida, BRF&AL; House *Report No. 22*, p. 81

38. C. M. Hamilton to A. J. Jackson, 31 May, 31 July, 31 October 1867, Records, Florida, BRF&AL; Daniel R. Weinfeld, "Samuel Fleishman: Tragedy in Reconstruction-Era Florida," *Southern Jewish History* 8 (2005), 44-5.

39. Shofner, *Jackson County*, 266-7; *Boston Daily Globe*, 7 March 1894.

Confederate army veteran, was about the same age as Hamilton and Purman and became close friends with the two men. Remarkably, Finlayson allied himself with the Bureau, providing medical services to freedmen and teaching adults at the Bureau night school in Marianna. He attended a Florida Republican convention in 1867 and accepted appointments as Bureau medical officer and later clerk of court for Jackson County. Finlayson's sisters, Martha and Leodora, became romantically involved with the two young Yankee veterans.⁴⁰

Hamilton realized that he could not change the attitudes of local whites who continued to view the freedmen as no more than "hewers of wood and drawers of water."⁴¹ Hamilton noted that the Jackson County whites remained "full of the seed of disloyalty, which their subjugation could not destroy; which no magnanimity can remove, and which is nourished and kept in growth." Conciliation was futile since "no power of good will can change them, and all charity and generosity towards them is only accepted as a homage due them, and as a weakness on our part."⁴² For freedmen to achieve the full rights of citizenship, change would have to come from a different direction.

Hamilton and Purman willingly accepted the task of educating the freedmen about the implications of their emancipated status. Soon after their arrival in Marianna, they began lecturing the "almost helpless wards of the Government ... on business, in their rights, on the laws of the State, and their duties and conduct under them."⁴³ The two agents frequently attended meetings of freedmen where it was their "pleasant duty...to impart general information, and instruct & encourage them in their new duties as citizens." With the announcement in the spring of 1867 of the Congressional plan for reconstituting the southern states, these meetings became overtly political, and Hamilton noted that the

40. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, 15 July 1867; C. M. Hamilton to A. H. Jackson, 31 May 1867; W. J. Purman to E. C. Woodruff, 28 February 1867; W. J. Purman to A. H. Jackson, 30 September 1867, 19 and 30 May 1868, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

41. C. M. Hamilton to T. W. Osborn, 28 February 1866; C. M. Hamilton to E. C. Woodruff, 31 December 1866, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

42. C. M. Hamilton to J. L. McHenry, 30 April 1866, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

43. *Ibid.* In a ten month period Purman made forty-six public speeches to freedmen. W. J. Purman to E. C. Woodruff, 28 February 1867, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

freedmen were elated at the prospect of suffrage. Hamilton too looked forward to the "new regime, which is near at hand."⁴⁴

By the time elections for delegates to a state constitutional convention had been scheduled for November 1867, Hamilton had concluded that only the right of suffrage would permit "this unfortunate race to force justice, and consideration." The agents became more openly partisan advocates of the Republican Party as 1867 progressed. By May, Hamilton wrote that the "colored citizens" were "almost a unit on Republicanism" and were eager to register to vote. Hamilton advised freedmen in Calhoun County to vote only "for men for office in whom they had full confidence" and to vote for men "of their own color" if they could not find "white ones" to trust.⁴⁵ In asking Commissioner O. O. Howard to extend Hamilton's service, Gillette wrote that "it is essential to our success as members of the Republican Party that we should have his aid until after the Ratification of our new constitution."⁴⁶

Hamilton arrived in Florida with relatively progressive racial attitudes that reflected his upbringing. A Pennsylvania biographer familiar with the Hamilton family remarked that Hamilton's support for black suffrage was in line with "his hereditary views." Further evidence of the Hamilton family's sympathies was the service of Charles' brother, John L., as an officer in a U.S. Colored Troops regiment.⁴⁷ The former slaves "are supposed to be stupid and unintelligent," Hamilton wrote soon after assuming his post in Marianna, but "[a]s a mass they are not so very much beneath the white plebians [sic] of the South in intelligence."⁴⁸ After the triumph of the 1866 Independence Day parade, Hamilton increasingly praised the freedmen. He admitted being "very impressed by their courage" and their willingness to "face the consequences" for what they believed to be right. He frequently commended the freedmen on their deportment, particularly in contrast with the local white population. He admired the way they "bore their

44. C. M. Hamilton to A. H. Jackson, 31 May 1867, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

45. C. M. Hamilton to E. C. Woodruff, 31 December 1866; C. M. Hamilton to A. H. Jackson, 31 March, 31 May 1867, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

46. F. W. Gillette to O. O. Howard, 11 December 1867, O. O. Howard Papers.

47. John. F. Meginness, *Biographical Annals of Deceased Residents of the West Branch Valley of the Susquehanna from the Earliest Times to the Present* (Williamsport, Pennsylvania, 1889), 157. John L. Hamilton died at Petersburg in the war's last week. Tombstone inscription, John L. Hamilton, Jersey Shore Cemetery, Jersey Shore, Pennsylvania.

48. C. M. Hamilton to J. L. McHenry, 31 March 1866, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

slights" and insisted that their deficiencies were not the result of any "natural incapacity, but the result of their late painful condition."⁴⁹ As he became increasingly bitter toward the white population, Hamilton reported that the freedpeople "are better, worthier citizens, and a more christian people than their late 'lordly masters' or their friends." He was confident they would vote "as a class, quite as intelligently as any other people that have ever inhabited these States – at least since 1860."⁵⁰

Hamilton's high regard for the freedmen in his district was reciprocated. Richard Pousser, a Jackson County constable, stated that the freedmen appreciated "Mr. Purman and Mr. Hamilton, because they treated them like gentlemen, and told them how to get along and how to manage." The freedmen, Pousser continued, would go to Hamilton and Purman for advice and for protection and their condition had deteriorated after the two men left Jackson County.⁵¹ Fortune testified to his close relationship with Hamilton, remembering that together they had gone "through all the combats that were fought" in Jackson County in organizing the Republican Party.⁵² Years later, Fortune's son, Timothy Thomas Fortune, a prominent African American journalist and activist, recalled Hamilton and Purman as "very superior men" who "played a conspicuous and honorable part" in Reconstruction and "made friends with the Negro people."⁵³ Gillette wrote of Hamilton that "the negroes love & respect him as their protector."⁵⁴

On January 1, 1868, more than six-and-a-half years after he first volunteered, Hamilton was mustered out of the United States armed services and, concomitantly, his position as a Bureau military official came to an end. Gillette's pleas to General Howard to extend Hamilton's service "as long as possible" because "the entirety of the colored people imperatively demand his further

49. C. M. Hamilton to E. C. Woodruff, 31 December 1866, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

50. C. M. Hamilton to J. L. McHenry, 5 July 1866; C. M. Hamilton to A. H. Jackson, 31 May 1867, Records, Florida, BRF&AL.

51. House *Report No. 22*, p. 275.

52. *Ibid.*, 94.

53. T. Thomas Fortune, "After War Times," *Norfolk Journal & Guide*, 6 August 1927.

54. F. W. Gillette to O. O. Howard, 1 August 1867, O. O. Howard Papers. Gillette could not commend Hamilton "too highly" and considered him "as indispensable almost to this rebellious county as the rain."

retention" were to no avail.⁵⁵ Despite the frustrations and insults he had endured, Hamilton had reason for satisfaction with the accomplishments of his two years in Jackson County and optimism for the future. The November election had been peacefully and successfully carried out. Four representatives, two black and two white, including Purman, Fortune, and Dr. Armistead, were sent to represent Jackson County at the upcoming constitutional convention. The forthcoming constitution would assuredly establish Florida's government under Republican principles and clear obstacles placed by the "rebels" in the path of fully realized African American citizenship.

At the end of his term of service with the Bureau, it is unclear whether Hamilton had expectations for a political career. Purman's immediate leap into the center of the state's new Republican Party may have interested Hamilton in such a future. Leaving Jackson County, Hamilton visited his Pennsylvania home but returned to settle in Jacksonville. Quite likely, his romance with Martha Finlayson had progressed so far as to persuade him to remain in Florida. He anticipated his need to earn a living after leaving the military payroll when, just a month before he left the Bureau, he gained admission to practice law before the Florida state bar.

At the Florida constitutional convention in late January 1868, most white Republicans, northern and southern born, united under the leadership of carpetbaggers T. W. Osborn and Harrison Reed. These "moderates," including many Bureau officers who had served under Osborn, promoted economic recovery and black suffrage, but not black political power. Hoping to gain the support of white conservatives, they proposed positions that had the effect of limiting the role of blacks in state government. Radicals, who were mostly black, initially gained control of the Tallahassee convention.⁵⁶ Stalling until more allies arrived, Purman convened the moderates in a second, splinter convention in Monticello. Eventually, through much maneuvering, the moderates seized

55. F. W. Gillette to O. O. Howard, 11 December 1867, O. O. Howard Papers. Gillette wrote that "it is the earnest wish and entreaty of every loyal man, white or black, in this district that he be retained."

56. For a detailed analysis of the composition of the convention see, David L. Hume, "Membership of the Florida Constitutional Convention of 1868: A Case Study of Republican Factionalism in the Reconstruction South," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 51 (July 1972), 1-21.

control of the main convention's floor. Hamilton then briefly, but dramatically, entered the story. According to the radical faction's leaders, Hamilton woke two black delegates from their beds in the middle of the night to join the moderates to form a decisive quorum. The two delegates had complied, the radicals complained, because they thought that Hamilton was still a Bureau military officer with authority to enforce his orders.⁵⁷

The moderates and radicals each dispatched proposed constitutions to Congress for approval. The moderate document differed from the radical proposal in three key provisions which had the cumulative effect of precluding black political control of the state government. While the radicals proposed the election of most state and county officials, the moderates empowered the governor to appoint nearly all officeholders. The moderates also were lenient in their treatment of former Confederates, requiring only a simple loyalty oath to regain rights. Most significantly, the two contending movements differed in their system of electoral representation for the state legislature and senate. The radicals wanted representation proportionate to population which would, for example, have combined several small counties with white populations into one legislative district. The moderates allowed each county at least one legislator with a limit of four. With the black population largely concentrated in a few counties, the moderate plan diluted black voting power and ensured that whites would control of the state's lower house.⁵⁸

Immediately after the close of the convention in late February, the moderates nominated Reed for governor and Hamilton for Florida's sole congressional seat. Elections were scheduled for early May. Hamilton was, of course, the closest associate of Purman, now established as a leading figure among the moderates.

57. Canter Brown, Jr., *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 7, 10; Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor is it Over Yet*, 173-4; John Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida: The Inside Workings of the Reconstruction of Civil Government in Florida After the Close of the Civil War* (Jacksonville, 1888), 69 ("Memorial of Richards-Saunders Team to Congress, March 23, 1868"). Solon Robinson included Hamilton in a list of moderates who were "leading agitators" at the convention. *New York Tribune*, 12 February 1868.

58. Shofner, *Nor is it Over Yet* 185-6; Jerrell H. Shofner, "The Constitution of 1868," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 41 (April 1963), 367-8; *New York Times*, 31 May 1868. Congress felt confident that the powers of patronage conferred on the governor "would be used to secure the state" for the Republicans. *New York Times*, 13 June 1868.



Portrait of Charles M. Hamilton. *Image courtesy of Florida State Archives.*

As a candidate, Hamilton offered a solid record as a Bureau agent, the loyalty of the black population of one of the state's largest counties, an appealing personality, and an "unusually prepossessing" physical presence.⁵⁹ In a favorable portrayal, never to be

59. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, 10 March 1868. "[A] tall, florid, blue-eyed youth, with an unsuspecting, pleasing address." Chicago Tribune, 21 April 1871. "In

repeated, the *Weekly Floridian* described Hamilton as "about six feet tall, 'devilish handsome,' an admirer says, of splendid intellectual abilities, great nobleness of heart and of accomplished manners." Poor oratorical skills presented his most glaring weakness as a campaigner.⁶⁰

In early April Congress approved the moderate drafted constitution, and the following month, Florida's voters endorsed the proposed constitution and the Republican ticket. Reed and Hamilton traveled to Washington at the end of May to urge Congress to complete the readmission process.⁶¹ Florida's newly reconstituted legislature took the final steps required by Congress for reinstatement when it ratified the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution and selected senators, including Osborn. On June 30, Congressman Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, leader of the radical Republican faction in Congress, presented Hamilton's credentials. The next day Hamilton, twenty-seven-years-old, was sworn in as the youngest member of the Fortieth Congress.⁶²

Almost immediately upon being seated in Congress, Hamilton threw himself into the controversies of Reconstruction. His first

urbanity, courtesy and gentlemanly deportment, he had few equals." Meginness, *Biographical Annals of the West Branch Valley*, 157. In the subsequent fall campaign and throughout the remainder of Hamilton's public career, however, the *Weekly Floridian* ridiculed him as "Handsome Charley," Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, 1, 8, 15 December 1868, 21 March 1871, and "Dandy Hamilton," 16 August 1870.

60. The *Weekly Floridian*, referring to Hamilton's public speaking, taunted him as "a gas bag" and "Hamilton the gassy." The Democratic press frequently derided Hamilton's oratory. Jacksonville *East Floridian*, 12 March 1868 quoted in Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, 17 March 1868. See also, Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, 1, 8, 15 December 1868. Fifteen years after Hamilton left Florida, John Wallace recalled him as "a man of very ordinary capacity" but conceded that Hamilton "possessed courage and will power in a high degree." According to Wallace, Hamilton was the "cats paw" of Purman who "directed all the operations of the Bureau and put Hamilton forward to do all the dirty or dangerous work." Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, 107, 112. For analysis of Wallace's influential but biased book and a historiography of the portrayal of the Florida carpetbaggers, see Clark, "John Wallace and the Writing of Reconstruction History," 409-27.

61. *New York Times*, 31 May, 5 June 1868. Upon his arrival in Washington, Hamilton wrote to Thaddeus Stevens to defend Reed against charges of political bargaining leveled by the radical faction and to implore the Reconstruction Committee to recognize the moderate-led state legislature. C. M. Hamilton to Thaddeus Stevens, 31 May 1868, Thaddeus Stevens Papers (New York Public Library), microfilm.

62. *Congressional Globe*, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 1868, pp. 3614, 3655.

words on the House floor included a resolution from the Florida state constitutional convention that proposed an amendment to the United States Constitution providing for "equal and uniform suffrage in all states."⁶³ While being associated with the Florida moderates suggested Hamilton's complicity with that faction's plan of precluding black control, such affiliation did not constrain Hamilton from allying himself with the radical Republican leadership in Congress.

Hamilton soon found an opportunity to demonstrate such allegiance. On July 7, Stevens introduced additional articles of impeachment against Andrew Johnson, even though the president had been acquitted by the Senate only two months earlier. At the end of a lengthy address, Stevens moved that further consideration of the subject be postponed for two weeks. Stevens, however, did not raise this issue again in the House. Instead, a few weeks later, Hamilton rose and, after some procedural maneuvering with the assistance of Rep. George Boutwell of Massachusetts, read a long resolution calling for the impeachment of Johnson and reconvening of the House managers from the impeachment trial.⁶⁴ The Democratic press may have been correct when it attacked Hamilton as "being anxious to signalize himself on his entrance into the House by reviving the impeachment."⁶⁵ Hamilton had

63. *Globe*, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 4253. The first time he raised voice in the House, attempting to offer an amendment to a bill regarding the exclusion of formerly rebellious southern states from the electoral college for the upcoming presidential election, Hamilton was called out of order. *Ibid.*, 3980.

64. *Ibid.*, 3792. Stevens, who had been ill, last spoke in the House on 23 July and died on 11 August 1868. Boutwell, a "staunch radical who had a long record of endorsing universal Negro suffrage," had chaired the committee appointed to report articles of impeachment and served as a House manager during the Johnson trial. William Gillette, *The Right to Vote: Politics and the Passage of the Fifteenth Amendment* (Baltimore, 1965), 50-1. *Globe*, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 3980, 4253, 4473-4. Hamilton's resolutions attacked Johnson for defying and undermining congress' constitutional authority to conduct reconstruction. On the day of Hamilton's speech, President Johnson vetoed a bill to extend the educational endeavors of the Freedmen's Bureau for an additional year.

65. *New York Express* quoted in *New York World*, 22 September 1868 and *Weekly Floridian*, 20 October 1868. The *Express* article also attacked Hamilton for allegedly collecting \$442 in "travel, pay and subsistence" from Florida to Pennsylvania upon his discharge from the Veteran Reserve Corps. According to the author, Hamilton's residence was Pennsylvania not Florida and, consequently, he could not both represent Florida in Congress and collect this money. *Ibid.* The press portrayed Hamilton's impeachment proposal as bumbling and even embarrassing to House Republicans who did not wish to be reminded of the recent impeachment debacle. *Boston Advertiser* quoted in "Old Congressmen Ashamed of the Carpet Baggers," *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 4 August 1868 and "Well Done, Hamilton," 25 August 1868.

certainly "signalized" his entrance into the House to men like Stevens and Boutwell, leaders he admired.⁶⁶

Two days after Hamilton's first major address, the second session of the Fortieth Congress adjourned until commencement of the lame duck session in December. Hamilton did not have much time to relax and get accustomed to Washington. Like all members of Congress, he had to win back his seat in the 1868 national elections to join the Forty-first Congress in 1869. Florida's Republican Party re-nominated Hamilton at the November convention in Tallahassee. Florida's legislature had already determined that it would appoint presidential electors and, consequently, the state did not participate in the popular presidential election on November 3. Because Governor Reed had selected December 29 as the date of the congressional election, Hamilton did not know his political fate until several weeks after the President and the rest of the Forty-first Congress had been selected. His Democratic opponent in the election was William D. Barnes from Jackson County. William U. Saunders, a leader of the radical Republican faction also campaigned for Florida's at-large seat, thereby encouraging Democrats who hoped for a split in the Republican Party.⁶⁷ Hamilton campaigned with "untiring energy" and easily won re-election with 9,749 votes state-wide, surpassing Barnes' total by more than three thousand votes.⁶⁸

With his electoral triumph behind him, Hamilton resumed the course he had chosen the previous July by taking an active part in the Reconstruction issues before Congress. During the lame duck session, Congress debated proposals ensuring universal male suffrage. The final version of these proposals that became the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution provided that the rights of citizens to vote may not be denied or abridged by

66. Shortly after Hamilton's election to Congress, his father wrote to Stevens that his son "has been an interested and gratified observer of your zeal in congress." John Hamilton to Thaddeus Stevens, May 1868, Thaddeus Stevens Papers.

67. See Peter D. Klingman, *Josiah Walls, Florida's Black Congressman of Reconstruction* (Gainesville, 1976), 25, 32. The *Weekly Floridian* tried to stir up dissension within Republican ranks by repeatedly comparing Hamilton unfavorably with Saunders and claiming that the Republicans had given up any hope of Hamilton's prevailing in the election, Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, 1, 15, 22 December 1868.

68. *New York Tribune*, 25 December 1868; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, 11 May 1869. Saunders received only 877 votes.

the government on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Hamilton spoke in support of the joint resolution on January 29, 1869.⁶⁹

In the most eloquent and impassioned speech of his Congressional career, Hamilton invoked an impressive array of sources, ranging from seventeenth-century political thinkers to Lincoln, Stevens, and contemporary poets. He opened by stating he would be more than gratified if the memorial he had presented to Congress the previous July, calling for a constitutional amendment, had any role in encouraging the amendment under consideration. Leaving discussion of the legal authority for the "suffrage amendment" to others, Hamilton spoke about the "justice, right, necessity, and obligation" upon which it was founded. The right of suffrage, derived from "natural rights," was inalienable as declared in the Declaration of Independence. Yet, "fellow-American citizens" had been "unjustly, illegally" deprived of this right. Congressional Reconstruction had already predicated readmission of southern states on their ensuring black suffrage. Hamilton discerned that the primary effect of the Fifteenth Amendment was the extension of black suffrage to the North. Hamilton declared he would "never rest" until universal suffrage has also been forced on northern states, like his native Pennsylvania, which had disenfranchised "that generous, loyal, noble, patriotic people, black though they be, who during the darkest days of the rebellion never faltered in their devotion to the Union." In conclusion, Hamilton foresaw the spread of republican government's "benign, enlightening, Christianizing influence to the furthest ends of the globe, until all men shall freely and fully possess and....enjoy the inalienable endowments of Heaven."⁷⁰

In early 1869, Hamilton could anticipate a bright future. Only twenty-eight-years-old, he had become identified after only a few months in the House as an outspoken stalwart of the radical faction of the national Republican Party. The Jacksonville *Florida Union* reported that Hamilton had earned "a high reputation" in Congress and "stands foremost among the young men who occupy seats in that honorable body, and especially among the

69. Hamilton endorsed the most radical formulation of the amendment prior to voting for Boutwell's more pragmatic compromise proposal. Gillette, *The Right to Vote*, 54, 69; *Globe*, 40th Cong., 3d sess., 1869, p. 744.

70. Appendix to the *Congressional Globe*, 40th Cong., 3d sess., 1869, pp. 100-2.

Representatives from the reconstructed States.”⁷¹ Ensnared in Washington and focused on national issues, Hamilton avoided becoming entangled in the bitter internecine battles over state patronage appointments and financial policy tearing apart the Florida Republican Party as Governor Reed parried various configurations of Osborn’s “Ring” set on impeaching him.⁷² Although Hamilton, unlike Purman, avoided public confrontation with political rivals, also unlike Purman, he failed to forge lasting alliances that extended beyond Jackson County. Ensuing events revealed that not even Jackson County was a secure base.

Hamilton could avoid Tallahassee’s political warfare, but he could not ignore Jackson County’s real bloodshed. On the night of February 26, walking together after a minstrel performance by the local garrison, John Finlayson was shot dead and Purman was wounded in the neck.⁷³ Purman survived the ambush but left Jackson County and never resided there again. Hamilton was deeply affected by the shootings. He later described Finlayson as “that brave, noble, valuable friend, whom I loved with an almost holy affection.”⁷⁴ Emotions engendered by Finlayson’s murder may have prompted Hamilton and Finlayson’s sister, Martha Mary, to decide to marry a month later at St. Stephen’s Parish in Washington, D.C. Hamilton appeared in early March to be sworn into the Forty-first Congress, but illness soon incapacitated him and he had no further accomplishments during Congress’ first session ending on April 11.⁷⁵

The Jackson County violence also had important political ramifications for Hamilton. The attack on the prominent Republicans, Purman and Finlayson, signaled the beginning of the “Jackson County War” — a two-year period of mayhem. As

71. Jacksonville *Florida Union* quoted in *Tallahassee Sentinel*, 14 May 1870.

72. Hamilton did make occasional forays into Florida’s disputes from the safe distance of Washington. For example, Hamilton wrote to the U. S. Adjutant General’s Office to request the recall of Florida’s Adjutant General, George B. Carse, for interfering with Osborn Ring plans against Governor Reed. Jerrell H. Shofner, “A New Jersey Carpetbagger in Reconstruction Florida,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 52 (January 1974), 290.

73. J. Q. Dickinson, letter to Rutland *Daily Herald*, 15 April 1869. Dickinson missed being a target because he was too ill to attend the show that night.

74. C. M. Hamilton to J. Q. Dickinson, 29 December 1870, Private Collection.

75. C. M. Hamilton, Pension File, National Archives. William Purman married Martha and John Finlayson’s sister Leodora in October 1871. W. J. Purman to Dear James, 28 June 1926, Box 51, P. K. Yonge Library. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, 27 August 1870. Meginniss, *Biographical Annals of the West Branch Valley*, 157.

organized white groups resorted to terror to crush black and Republican power, Hamilton's base of political support came under siege. Eventually, at least 166 Jackson County residents, mostly black, were murdered. The insurgency ended in 1871 only after the Marianna "regulators," led by James Coker and Marianna attorney James McClellan, achieved their goal of seizing control of the county government.⁷⁶

Jackson County became infamous as the most violent county in the state. Beginning with the Marianna *Courier* in the fall of 1869, the Democratic press conveniently attributed the carnage to the provocations of Hamilton and Purman. The *Weekly Floridian* echoed this refrain declaring that Hamilton "sowed the seed that is now cropping out in a harvest of blood." Only the Republican *Florida Union* challenged the logic of holding Hamilton and Purman responsible by pointing out that wide-spread violence began only after they had both left the county and that the vast majority of victims were their black Republican allies.⁷⁷

Hamilton's response to the eruption of violence was ambiguous. As the death toll mounted in late September and early October 1869, John Q. Dickinson, Purman's successor as Bureau agent and Hamilton's friend, wrote a series of letters seeking Hamilton's advice and help. There is no record of any response or action on Hamilton's part, even after his own friends were victimized by the violence. Fearing for his life, Fortune fled with his family to Jacksonville. In early October, Samuel Fleishman was expelled from Jackson County for allegedly making a statement encouraging blacks to seek vengeance against local whites and murdered upon his return to Marianna a week later.⁷⁸ Hamilton did tell a New York newspaper that he feared he would be killed if he visited Marianna. In late October, he returned to Florida to attend the Florida Republican Convention in Tallahassee where he

76. Shofner, *Jackson County*, 293; *House Report No. 22*, pp. 89, 112-3, 147, 150, 155; *New York Daily Tribune*, 23 October 1869 and *New York Evening Post*, 22 October 1869 identifying Coker as "leader of the mob" and "a wealthy and influential man."

77. Marianna *Courier*, 7 October 1869 quoted in Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, 19 October 1869; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, 26 October November 2, 1869; Jacksonville *Florida Union*, 14 October 1869.

78. While the troops Dickinson begged for in his letters to Hamilton did arrive in Marianna in late October, it is unclear whether Hamilton took any action to speed their dispatch. *House Report No. 22*, pp. 289-91; Weinfeld, "Samuel Fleishman," 50, 55-7.

was honored and spoke in favor of the imposition of martial law in Jackson County.⁷⁹ Shortly after the convention, Reed appointed Hamilton Major General of the Florida state militia.

Hamilton returned to Washington and Purman joined him in December to attend the Colored National Labor Convention. Hamilton, listed as a delegate from Florida, embraced his radical status when addressing an audience composed of African American activists from across the nation. Echoing earlier proposals of Thaddeus Stevens, Hamilton called for the redistribution of large land holdings in the hands of southern whites. These "vast estates" and the willful, malicious refusal of white owners "to dispose of part of them," formed a "mountainous obstacle" in the way of "the advancement, the prosperity, the liberty of the millions of laborers in the South." The "land monopoly" was deliberately preserved by whites to serve the dual "purpose of keeping the laborers dependent upon the land-owners not only for employment but for very existence."⁸⁰

Much of Hamilton's time in Congress was devoted to proposing bills related to matters expected of a congressman: protecting local agricultural interests, proposing new mail routes, granting land to railroad companies, aiding the development of canals, seeking federal support for various port related improvements, and even removing the political disabilities of certain former Confederates. His efforts to raise tariffs to protect Florida's nascent citrus industry were successful.⁸¹ Hamilton also continued to address those issues that resonated with him. He spoke in favor of Cuban independence, declaring that America should aid people "throttled by tyranny."⁸² When a vote was taken to re-admit Georgia, Hamilton

79. *New York Journal of Commerce*, 15 October 1869. He "was treated with marked courtesy by the Convention, and his remarks applauded." *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 2 November 1869.

80. *Proceedings of the Colored National Labor Convention* (Washington, D.C., 1870), 24, 32-3.

81. Florida's Republican press praised Hamilton for his "energy and perseverance in bringing the claims of Florida before Congress." Jacksonville *Florida Union* quoted in *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 24 May 1870; *Tallahassee Sentinel*, 27 August 1870, listing Hamilton's achievements in promoting federally funded improvement projects in Florida and efforts on behalf of the citrus industry. Even the *Weekly Floridian* acknowledged his efforts on behalf of the state, *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 5 July 1870. See also Hamilton's eloquent, though florid, speech in defense of tariffs to benefit Florida's orange crop. *Globe*, 41st Cong., 2d sess., 1870, pp. 3468-9.

82. *Globe*, 41st Cong., 2d sess., 498.

enthusiastically supported the bill for upholding the friends of the national government in the South, who had been struggling "against the revived rebellion, more hostile, bitter, and relentless than the first."⁸³ His work on the District of Columbia committee once again allowed Hamilton to assume the role of defender of African American interests. When debate over a bill to provide aid to indigent blacks in the District degenerated into racially biased rhetoric, Hamilton insisted that because the "summer of their lives was spent in the compulsory service of others, else they had laid up support against this day of want," the federal government was obliged to provide for impoverished freedmen.⁸⁴

While Hamilton reinvested himself in his Congressional duties, events that sealed his political fate were set in motion. Senator Osborn's brother, Rev. Abraham C. Osborn of Brooklyn, New York, had proposed building a rail line from the Georgia border down the length of the Florida peninsula. The Osborns recruited nearly all of Florida's Republican leaders in the scheme, listing them as stockholders in the Great Southern Railway Company's documents. Purman assigned some of his shares to Hamilton.⁸⁵ In January 1870, Senator Osborn introduced Senate bill 438 to grant federal lands along the railroad's proposed route to the company. Once granted, the lands could then be mortgaged and bonds issued, thereby raising money before any track was laid. Senator Osborn struggled to get his land grant bill through the Senate where he was challenged for "giving away all the lands to railroads."⁸⁶

By early 1870, the Osborns realized that despite his financial interests in the company's success, Hamilton was not going to support the land grant bill in the House.⁸⁷ The reasons for

83. Appendix to the *Congressional Globe*, 41st Cong., 2d sess., 541-2.

84. *Globe*, 41st Cong., 2d sess., 986. Meginness wrote that Hamilton "took a special interest in every measure relating to the welfare of the colored race." Meginness, *Biographical Annals of the West Branch Valley*, 157.

85. *Washington Capital*, April 9, 1871.

86. Osborn persisted, admitting he was "very anxious that it should be passed," but did not mention on the Senate floor his personal stake in the company. *Globe*, 41st Cong., 2d sess., 4307, 4448-9; A. C. Osborn to C. M. Hamilton, 14 February 1870 quoted in *Washington Capital*, 9 April 1871.

87. A. C. Osborn to C. M. Hamilton, 14 February 1870 quoted in *Washington Capital*, 9 April 1871; E. M. Cheney to C. M. Hamilton, 24 January 1870, Records of the Attorney General's Office, Letters Received from Florida, RG 60, NARA, confirming that Hamilton and Purman had broken with Osborn and embraced Reed by the beginning of 1870. See Shofner, *Nor is it Over Yet*, 211.

Hamilton's opposition are subject to speculation. Perhaps more concerned about being re-nominated for Congress than with any profit to be gained by Osborn's dubious venture, Hamilton may have calculated that he had little to lose, and even something to gain, by antagonizing Osborn and allying with Osborn's enemy, Governor Reed, who was purportedly popular with black voters. Reed and Osborn were then in the midst of a brutal battle centering on various railroad interests seeking state support.⁸⁸ Hamilton needed the support of black delegates to be nominated for Congress at Florida's Republican Party at its August 1870 convention. Black Republicans, however, frustrated by the Osborn-led moderates' refusal to appoint blacks to prominent positions, were discussing putting forth a black candidate to contest Hamilton's seat. Despite his radical rhetoric in Washington, Hamilton probably recognized that he could not take black support outside of Jackson County for granted. Hamilton may have seen an alliance with Reed as a means of shoring up black support.⁸⁹

Hamilton also probably opposed Osborn's scheme for ethical reasons. Hamilton had a reputation for "integrity and incorruptibility" that even his antagonists in the Democratic press conceded to be unassailable.⁹⁰ He may have been the only prominent figure in Florida Reconstruction politics who could claim such an impeccable reputation. Examination of his writings and record does not uncover any evidence to challenge this image. Hamilton later publicly deemed the Great Southern affair a swindle and was undoubtedly correct.

Concerned by the lack of support from Hamilton in Congress and Purman in the Florida Senate and their influence

88. For financial dealings and disputes between Reed and Osborn and corruption allegations, see Peter Klingman, *Neither Dies nor Surrenders: A History of the Republican Party in Florida, 1867-1970*, (Gainesville, 1984), 30-1, 39-40, and Brown, "Carpetbagger Intrigues, Black Leadership, and a Southern Loyalist Triumph," 279, 282-3. For the vagaries of Reed's relationship with black Republicans, see, Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, 16-20.

89. The alliance with Reed was presaged by Hamilton's dining with the governor in New York City during the previous summer. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 21 August 1869.

90. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, 27 August 1870; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 18 April 1871; *Ocala Banner* quoted in *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 7 May 1871. According to the *Jacksonville Union*, Hamilton's course has not "pleased the selfish and scheming politicians whose only end is personal gain," quoted in *Tallahassee Sentinel*, 25 March 1871.

over Governor Reed, the Osborns lobbied on behalf of their railroad venture. When Purman proposed changing the railroad's state charter, the Osborns were delighted by the apparent willingness of Purman and Hamilton to strike a deal. With Hamilton and Purman's support, and the generous distribution of stock to various Florida politicians, the Osborns believed they could prevail over any opposition from Reed. In fact, Purman introduced a bill incorporating the company in the Florida senate in February. A. C. Osborn offered to give Hamilton shares equivalent to Senator Osborn's interest and to place him on the company's Board of Directors. As indicated by A. C. Osborn's repetition of this offer in May, Hamilton did not accept these entreaties.⁹¹

The U.S. Senate passed the land grant bill and sent it to the House on June 15, 1870. As Congress drew closer to a five-month recess to begin in July, the bill languished without the endorsement of Florida's sole congressman. At the end of June, A. C. Osborn threatened that if Hamilton did not support the bill, the Osborns would ensure that he would not be re-nominated at the August convention. A. C. Osborn advised Hamilton that the friends of the Great Southern would "unite with the colored vote and put forward a colored man, or any available man to defeat you." Osborn reminded Hamilton of his financial interest in the venture and of the Osborns' offer to re-adjust federal patronage to his satisfaction, push through the Senate any measure he might approve, and hire Hamilton as attorney for the Great Southern "at a salary you name." Furthermore, Osborn promised, should Hamilton support the bill, the Great Southern would "give its influence in your favor, both in the convention and in the canvass." After the bill was blocked in the House at the end of June, Morris H. Alberger, Great Southern's secretary and lobbyist, visited Hamilton at his residence and offered him twenty thousand dollars. Hamilton refused this bribe and the

91. M.L. Stearns, speaker of Florida's House of Assembly and future governor, was entrusted by the Osborns with distributing company shares at his discretion to ease passage of state legislation in support of the company. *Washington Capital*, 9 April 1871. Hamilton and Purman, as well as Reed, Walls, Senator Osborn and A. C. Osborn, were listed as incorporators in the Florida legislation. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 18 April 1871. Hamilton, however, wrote to the Jacksonville *Florida Union* that his name had been included as an incorporator on a number of railroad and other charter companies without his authority. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, 14 May 1870.

bill was defeated once more in the House before the close of the second session on July 15.⁹²

At the end of July, Hamilton returned to Florida for the nominating convention and the inevitable showdown with the Osborns. Before traveling to Gainesville, however, Hamilton and Purman narrowly avoided tragedy in Marianna. Their first appearance in Jackson County since Purman's shooting a year-and-a-half earlier was aimed at rallying Republicans and organizing delegates prior to the upcoming convention.⁹³ African American politician and Congressional aspirant J. C. Gibbs traveled to Marianna at the same time to challenge Hamilton's hold over black voters. Hamilton and Purman's appearance in Marianna "produced quite a consternation at once" among their white former neighbors. The two men learned of a planned assault on the house where they were staying but paid little attention to such threats until, the next morning, they found their guard dogs poisoned. They stayed on for another day or two despite the ominous signs and unenthusiastic reception at a political rally they cut short. They then learned that the roads leading out of Marianna had been blocked by armed men. Realizing their desperate situation, they convened a meeting of some older, prominent citizens of the county. After negotiations, ten Marianna men agreed to accompany Hamilton and Purman "in the form of hostages, and as an escort out of the county." The delegation of Marianna men led them over an unfrequented road to Bainbridge, Georgia, where Hamilton and Purman treated their escort to champagne to express their appreciation.⁹⁴

92. Washington *Capital*, 9 April 1871. A. C. Osborn pointed out that Hamilton had also made enemies by standing in the way of the Jacksonville, Pensacola & Mobile Railroad. The J.P. & M. Railroad was a central component of the Swebson-Littlefield fraud. The plans for the Great Southern, including obtaining state subsidies, seemed to have been modeled on the J.P. & M. Railroad. See Paul E. Fenlon, "The Notorious Swebson-Littlefield Fraud: Railroad Financing in Florida, 1868-1871," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 32 (April 1954), 232-62.

93. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, 16 August 1870.

94. The Marianna *Courier* decried the cooperation of the escort as "humbling beggary, such degrading action, such humiliating resorts." House *Report No.* 22, pp. 145-6, 152, 194. The *Courier* and *Weekly Floridian* claimed that Hamilton and Purman exaggerated the threats which, in any event, justifiably ensued from their provocations. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, 16 August, 6 September 1870, 18 April 1871.

Although trapped in Marianna for several more days than anticipated, Hamilton and Purman arrived in Gainesville in time for the mid-August convention. As the proceedings began, Osborn Ring delegates confirmed that they were determined to defeat Hamilton. In the convention's first ballot for the Republican nominee for Congress, Hamilton received eighteen votes, having retained the support of Purman and his followers, including the Jackson County delegation, despite J. C. Gibbs' efforts in Marianna. Hamilton, however, was far short of the fifty votes necessary for the nomination. The Osborn group organized behind Robert Meacham, a black politician from Leon County. Gibbs and other black delegates, including Josiah Walls from Alachua County, also received votes. Gibbs later confirmed that "the colored men of this State have fully determined to send a colored man to Congress, believing it would strengthen the Republican Party here & in Washington, was an act of justice to our race & a strong pledge for the future." Hamilton's opponents, however, had not yet settled upon any particular candidate to replace him.⁹⁵

On the tenth ballot, Hamilton held his ground while Osborn's faction pushed Meacham within two votes of the nomination. At the same time, however, the black delegates not affiliated with either the Osborn or Hamilton-Purman camps began to coalesce behind Walls. The expected chicanery ensued with both Purman and Osborn accused of improper conduct. As the support behind Walls grew, many of Hamilton's supporters switched over and Walls prevailed on the next ballot. Congratulating Walls, Hamilton told the convention "that though he might be disappointed, he was not disheartened." He called on the party to support the new nominee and said he "had the least possible reason to regret his own defeat." Purman, too, pledged his support to Walls. Osborn had wrecked his vengeance and the black delegates had achieved their goal. Hamilton now faced nearly seven months as a lame duck in the House.⁹⁶

95. Hamilton also enjoyed the endorsement of embattled Governor Reed, which confirmed their alliance but had no practical benefit on the convention floor. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, 23 August 1870; J. C. Gibbs to Charles Sumner, 24 August 1870, Charles Sumner Papers, Reel 51, #415, microfilm, (Columbia University Butler Library).

96. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, 23 August 1870; Tallahassee *Sentinel*, 20 August 1870.

Historians writing about the 1870 Gainesville convention have attributed Hamilton's defeat to the moderate Republican leadership's acquiescence to the demands of their black electorate to send a black candidate to Congress. The party leadership, they inferred, threatened by growing Democrat strength, recognized that the black voting base had to be rewarded if Republicans were to maintain their hold over state government.⁹⁷ This analysis relied on contemporary newspapers which promoted this interpretation. John Wallace came to the same conclusion and erroneously asserted that the black delegates had triumphed despite the fact that "the Osborn Ring strove hard to re-nominate Charles Hamilton."⁹⁸

This traditional interpretation of the Gainesville convention fails, however, to take into consideration A. C. Osborn's letters, published nearly a year after the convention. Undoubtedly, had Hamilton guided the Great Southern bill through the House, the Osborn Ring would have joined forces with Purman and his followers at the convention to ensure Hamilton's re-nomination. Even with the moderates divided, Osborn still was able to summon 48 of the 50 necessary ballots for the relatively obscure Meacham. Those delegates who were determined to put forth a black candidate adeptly exploited the fatal break between the Osborn and Hamilton-Purman camps, both of which eventually collapsed in the face of stalemate and conceded the nomination to Walls. Hamilton's split with Osborn over the Great Southern, and not new-found sensitivity of the moderates to black political aspirations, was the deciding factor behind Hamilton's failure to be re-nominated.

After the convention debacle, Hamilton returned to Washington. When the third, and final, session of the Forty-first Congress convened on December 6, he resumed the level of legislative activity he had established in the first half of the year. During his last three months in the House, he continued to propose bills and present petitions for internal improvement to benefit Florida. In December he rose to denounce a bill offering amnesty to "all persons engaged" in the war of rebellion. Hamilton's time in Congress had not softened his stance toward

97. Klingman, *Josiah Walls*, 32, 35; Klingman, *Neither Dies nor Surrenders*, 41; Richardson, *The Negro in Reconstruction Florida*, 178; Canter Brown, Jr., "Where are the hopes I cherished" – The Life and Times of Robert Meacham," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 69 (July 1990), 16.

98. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, 20 August 1870; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 23 August 1870; Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, 126.

former Confederates. Drawing upon "an observation and an experience of ten years in the South," Hamilton argued against amnesty for "that rebellious, vindictive, impenitent and blood-thirsty class." Forgiveness had a "baneful effect" on both Congressional legislation toward the South and the Reconstruction state governments. Hamilton concluded that "while it becomes a great and victorious nation to be generous, it behooves it far more to be just."⁹⁹

During his lame duck months, Hamilton took time to reflect on his experience in Jackson County. Hamilton's ambivalence about the two years he lived in Marianna was captured in his December 1870 letter to J. Q. Dickinson. Hamilton recalled "people there whom I love almost as a father loves his children" and "all the good friends who comforted me, a stranger in a strange land." He asked "[w]ho can tell what thoughts, what feelings, the name 'Marianna' excites within me. I cannot describe them." He could not determine, however, "whether the emotion partakes more of the pleasant or unpleasant."¹⁰⁰

On March 3, Hamilton delivered his last speech in Congress when he attacked the minority report from his Committee on Education and Labor's investigation of corruption allegations against General Howard. Hamilton decried the partisan agenda of those Congressmen who had turned the investigation into a prosecution and defended his former superior officer. He also objected once more to the Great Southern bill, which had been raised in the House again, killing it finally for the Forty-first Congress. On March 4, after Speaker James Blaine thanked his colleagues in the House for their service, Hamilton's congressional career ended.¹⁰¹ Hamilton's thwarting Osborn proved pyrrhic when Josiah Walls re-introduced the Great Southern assistance bill upon his debut in the House in mid-March shortly after the Forty-second Congress convened.¹⁰²

99. *Globe*, 41st Cong., 3d sess., 1870, p. 208. The *Weekly Floridian* responded to Hamilton's speech with a vicious attack, wishing him "God speed to Alaska." Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, 27 December 1870. With respect to Hamilton's opposition to the amnesty proposal, the *Weekly Floridian* later wrote described him as "a notorious malignant incapable of any feeling except of bitter hatred against the Conservative people of this State." Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, 18 April 1871.

100. C. M. Hamilton to J. Q. Dickinson, 29 December 1870, Private Collection.

101. Appendix to the *Congressional Globe*, 41st Cong., 3d sess., 1871, p. 236-37.

102. H.R. 130, 42nd Cong., 1st sess., 1871. Osborn re-introduced the bill in the Senate on March 7, almost immediately after the Forty-second Congress was

During the winter of 1871, Hamilton began to plan his post-congressional life. His name had been mentioned in connection with a judicial appointment. He also let it become known that he was particularly interested in serving as the United States Marshal for the Northern District of Florida. Any federal government patronage position, however, would have to receive Senator Osborn's approval.

Aware that Hamilton possessed damaging information regarding the Great Southern venture, the Osborns were determined to prevent Hamilton's appointment as the leading federal law enforcement official in Florida. Within a week of Hamilton's departure from Congress, President Grant submitted his nomination as United States Marshal to the Senate for confirmation. From Brooklyn, A. C. Osborn urged Alberger to lobby against the appointment. Osborn prepared an affidavit in which he alleged that Hamilton had privately met with him in February and had offered to wield his influence on behalf of the Great Southern land grant bill in exchange for Great Southern stock, employment as Great Southern's attorney at an annual salary of \$5,000, and confirmation as United States Marshal. Osborn averred that he had rejected such demands. On the same day in March that Hamilton's nomination was referred by the Senate to the Judiciary Committee, Alberger sent Senator Osborn a copy of A. C. Osborn's letter and affidavit and urged the Senator to protest Hamilton's appointment.¹⁰³ Alberger or Senator Osborn filed the affidavit with the Attorney General's office. President Grant withdrew Hamilton's name in favor of Sherman Conant, an Osborn ally, who was confirmed as Marshal shortly thereafter.

Frozen out of federal patronage and his reputation besmirched by the Osborns, Hamilton counterattacked in the April 9, 1871, edition of Washington's new newspaper, *The Capital*. Hamilton rejected A. C. Osborn's accusation of influence peddling and instead asserted that the Osborns and Alberger had repeatedly "lobbied, annoyed, promised, threatened" and offered bribes to

seated. Walls' biographer, Peter Klingman, found it "incredible that Walls should not have known" that the Great Southern bill was a "fraud." Klingman, *Josiah Walls*, 82.

103. Washington *Capital*, April 9, 1871. Alberger described Hamilton's proposed appointment as "an insult and outrage" to the Florida Republican Party. M. H. Alberger to T. W. Osborn, March 10, 1871 quoted in *Globe*, 42nd Cong., 1st sess., 1871, p. 711.

secure his cooperation in passing the Great Southern bill during his term in Congress. Hamilton convincingly supported his argument by appending three devastating letters he had received from A. C. Osborn in 1870.¹⁰⁴

Senator Osborn jumped into the fray to assail Hamilton. Taking the Senate floor to "make an explanation," Osborn read various letters into the record including statements prepared by Alberger rejecting Hamilton's claims and alleging that Hamilton was frustrated because his attempt at gaining control of the company had failed. Senator Osborn dismissed his brother's letter, in which he threatened to throw the Gainesville convention to another nominee unless Hamilton supported the bill, as a "political letter" and ignored other damaging documents altogether. Comparison between the Congressional record and the Washington *Capital* account clearly shows that Osborn had edited the letters he presented to the Senate, excising damaging information.¹⁰⁵

With Osborn's public response, the national press took notice of the affair. *The Capital* editorialized that the Osborns were "candidates for the penitentiary" and printed a letter from Hamilton daring Senator Osborn to convene an investigation. The *New York Times* and *New York Tribune* covered Osborn's rebuttal without scrutiny, leaving the Senator with the final word in the dispute. The *Nation* magazine, however, sympathized with Hamilton, accepting his account of the matter. Thoroughly enjoying the embarrassment of the Florida Republican Party, the *Weekly Floridian* printed all the key documents, analyzed the issues and even published a farcical, mock interview with Hamilton with a fictional rejoinder from Osborn. Ironically, the *Weekly Floridian*, Hamilton's long-time antagonist, was his strongest defender, deftly dissecting and parrying the Osborns'

104. Washington *Capital*, 9 April 1871. The *Tallahassee Sentinel* reprinted the entire lengthy *Capital* article on its first page on 15 April and the *Weekly Floridian* followed suit on 18 April 1871. Hamilton also sent a personal note to A. C. Osborn in which, at least in the sentence excerpted by Osborn, he seemed to concede by implication the substance of Osborn's allegation regarding their private meeting in February. Hamilton wrote that he had never "seriously" offered his influence or services on behalf of the bill and "pitied" Osborn's "simplicity" for believing otherwise.

105. *Globe*, 42nd Cong., 1st sess., 710-11. Osborn pounced upon Hamilton's "seriously" language as an admission. *Ibid.*

attacks and praising Hamilton's character. After this initial flurry of interest, however, even *The Capital* and the *Weekly Floridian* dropped the story.¹⁰⁶

Hamilton remained in Washington and advertised the opening of the law firm of Hamilton & Purman, devoted to prosecuting claims arising from war-related losses brought by loyal southerners before the Southern Claims Commission. Perhaps in need of funds, he filed for a government pension based on his war injuries. During the summer, he finally received a patronage position when President Grant appointed him postmaster at Jacksonville to fill a vacancy through the remainder of the year. In August, Hamilton returned to Florida.¹⁰⁷

The House Joint Select Committee investigating the violence sweeping the South and the role of the Ku Klux Klan convened in Jacksonville in November 1871. Hamilton, one of the last witnesses scheduled to appear in Florida, was subjected to rigorous questioning about his conduct as Jackson County's Bureau assistant sub-commissioner. He responded to allegations regarding his management of contracts between planters and laborers and certain incidents notorious among the white population. Hamilton came prepared with excerpts from the *Marianna Courier* to illustrate the outrageousness of conservative white opinion. Appearing in the shadow of two years of violence in Jackson County, he defended himself against the accusations that

106. The *Weekly Floridian* conceded that "amid all the rascally plundering which has characterized carpet bag rule in this State, there has been no proof of complicity on the part of Hamilton therein." *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 18 April 1871; *Washington Capital*, 16 and 23 April 1871; *New York Times*, 15 and 18 April 1871; *New York Tribune*, 17 April 1871; *The Nation*, 20 April 1871; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 25 April, 9 May 1871. The *Tallahassee Sentinel* turned Against Hamilton for the first time in the wake of his exposure of the scandal, Accepting the Osborns' rebuttal without question and even editorializing in their defense. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, 22 April, 6 May 1871. The reporting of the Great Southern scandal coincided with extensive coverage in the Florida press of the assassination of J.Q. Dickinson in Marianna on 3 April 1871.

107. *Washington Capital*, 16 July, 13 August 1871. Charles M. Hamilton, Military Pension File, National Archives. The *Tallahassee* newspapers speculated that Hamilton was being dispatched to Florida as an agent of the Grant administration to watch over Osborn and his allies. Osborn had broken with Grant, supporting Ben Butler's bid for the Republican national nomination. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, 8 August 1871.

he had provoked the bloodshed.¹⁰⁸ He bitterly told the committee that "the people of the South, have been so perverted by the institution of slavery, and the teachings of their leaders, that as a general thing, they lack many of the finer sensibilities that belong to honorable manhood." After nearly six frustrating years of confrontation with white recalcitrance, Hamilton admitted that "we have failed to accomplish anything by appealing to their reason." The only way to achieve peace was to take "a pretty vigorous hold" and repress "this spirit of rebellion, which, since the war, has become intensified ten times over what it was during the war."¹⁰⁹

With Osborn still seated in the Senate, Hamilton's reappointment as Jacksonville postmaster for 1872 was quashed.¹¹⁰ Purman's election in November to the Forty-third Congress to convene in March 1873, however, gave Hamilton a chance at political redemption and he took the initiative of applying to fill various vacancies. Visiting Washington in the fall 1872 for medical treatment, Hamilton twice asked President Grant to name him Customs Collector in Key West.¹¹¹ Fortuitously, Florida's Republican Party nominated Simon Conover, a

108. The Committee had already heard the claim of Leon County planter John Williams that Hamilton and Purman had provoked the violence. Williams alleged that Hamilton's abrogation of the contracts "started all the trouble in that county." *House Report No. 22*, p. 232, 237. Hamilton believed that such accusations impeded his post-Congressional career, culminating in the Florida Senate's failure to confirm him as Clerk of the Circuit Court in early 1872. In his application to President Grant for Customs Collector in late 1872, Hamilton stressed that during his time in Jackson County "there was not a single outrage perpetrated." C. M. Hamilton to President Grant, 3 December 1872, Applications for Appointments as Customs Service Officers, RG 56, NARA. Writing fifteen years after Hamilton left Florida, John Wallace held Hamilton and Purman entirely responsible for the violence that engulfed Jackson County. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, 111.

109. *House Report No. 22*, pp. 281-9.

110. The Florida delegation in Washington, including Walls, opposed Hamilton's confirmation. One senator declared that in light of Hamilton's accusations against Osborn, Hamilton's confirmation would require Osborn's removal from the Senate. In a preliminary vote, Hamilton received the support of all the Democrats in the Senate but only two or three Republicans, who constituted a two-thirds majority in the chamber. *New York Tribune* quoted in *Tallahassee Sentinel*, 10 February 1872.

111. Hamilton had learned that Grant was considering removing Sherman Conant as Marshal and applied for that position, but Grant ultimately decided not to make the change. John Y. Simon, ed., *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant* (Carbondale, IL, 1967), 23:260 and 24:96-97. Hamilton had been undergoing "rigorous medical treatment" for a severe cough and "acute inflammation of

Purman ally, for Osborn's Senate seat in February 1873, thereby finally breaking the Osborn Ring. Within a week of Osborn's defeat, Hamilton was confirmed by the Senate as Customs Collector. Further vindication came with news of the arrest of Morris Alberger in connection with an election-related robbery at the Jacksonville post office. Hamilton's rehabilitation, however, was short lived. By August 1873, his health had deteriorated so drastically that he resigned his post at Key West and returned to his Pennsylvania birthplace. He lived under his father's care until his death on October 22, 1875, shortly before his thirty-fifth birthday.¹¹²

Hamilton's career in Florida reflects the struggles of the first years of the Reconstruction period. As Congress battled President Johnson for control of Reconstruction policy, freed slaves, former rebels, carpetbaggers and their local allies contended in the towns and rural areas over the future of the South. Embattled Bureau agents like Hamilton staved off former rebels who sought to restore the ante-bellum social order. When the states prepared for readmission to the Union, Bureau veterans provided a source of leadership for the emerging state Republican parties with their largely freedman constituency.

Hamilton, however, stood out from other Florida carpetbaggers. His background, experience in the war, and observation of the plight of freedmen in Marianna led him to champion the rights of African Americans in his district. As a Bureau agent, he persevered in his struggle on behalf of the freedmen despite the

the throat" contracted years earlier. His physician had "recommended a mild climate to effect a cure." Hamilton insisted, however, that he sought the post not solely for "personal consideration," but because it would place him "in a position where much good may be done for the State, the Customs Department... and the party of the Union." C. M. Hamilton to President Grant, 3 December 1872, RG 56, NARA. Purman's election allowed him to reciprocate for the federal appointment as Florida's tax assessor he had received during Hamilton's term in Congress.

112. Hamilton "could not conceive" the basis of rumors that he was to be removed from the Key West Customs post and stressed his commitment to the Customs post and to organizing the Republican Party in south Florida. C. M. Hamilton to U. S. Grant, 16 June 1873, Applications for Appointments, RG 56, NARA. He resigned his post two months later. Martha Hamilton never remarried and lived the remainder of her long life with her sister's family as a beloved member of the Purman household. "Aunt Mattie" moved with the family to Boston and then to Washington, D.C. where Leodora and William Purman and their six children settled permanently. Martha Finlayson died in 1922. Charles M. Hamilton Pension File. Purman died aged 88 in 1928.

hostility of southern whites, and he was rewarded with the loyalty of Jackson County's black citizens. As a congressman he continued to promote his principles by allying with the Radical Republicans, despite little support from Florida's moderate Republicans and, eventually, challenges from Florida's black political leadership. His ideological development culminated in his passionate speech in support of the Fifteenth Amendment.

Hamilton's adherence to principle and political naiveté undermined a promising career and precipitated his fall from prominence in Florida. He could not possibly satisfy Florida's moderate Republicans, black radicals, financial speculators and white southerners, all of whom eventually turned against him. Shortly after meeting him, a Chicago *Tribune* reporter described Hamilton as "a fine type of an impulsive Northern young man, too independent to be pulled into rings, and yet not discreet enough to take care of his own interests." The reporter concluded that Hamilton possessed "more courage than discretion."¹¹³ Regrettably, John Wallace's dismissive treatment of Hamilton in his political history of Florida during Reconstruction consigned Hamilton to historical oblivion. Idealistic and incorruptible, Hamilton, nevertheless, established a legacy of courageous struggle on behalf of the Union and its newly freed citizens worthy of reexamination and admiration.

113. Chicago Tribune, 21 April 1871.

Raising Her Voice: Ruth Perry, Activist and Journalist for the Miami NAACP

by Judith G. Poucher

Ruth Willis Perry sat rigidly in the witness box, clutching her purse and facing the television cameras. Her strained expression reflected not only the tension of a possible jail sentence but also the escalating effects of three years of threats against her life, her reputation, and her career. A few feet away, her would-be assassins smirked and jostled one another. It was February 25, 1957, and Miami's White Citizens' Council had occupied the front rows of the courtroom since early morning. They were ready for a showdown, but so were Ruth Perry and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).¹

As an NAACP officer and journalist in the 1950s and 1960s, Ruth Perry's civil rights work spanned the period from the 1953 bus boycott in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, to the 1952 riots at the University of Mississippi. This was also the time when the Florida NAACP—particularly the Miami chapter—was under

Judith G. Poucher is professor of Humanities and English at Florida Community College at Jacksonville. She thanks Steve Piscitelli for his insightful comments on an earlier draft of this article and Ruth Perry's daughter, Caroline Perry-Kilburg, for sharing not only her memories but documents from her private collection as well.

1. John B. McDermott, "10 More Cited in Reds Hunt," *Miami Herald*, 28 February 1958, Ruth Perry Papers at the University of South Florida (USF) Tampa Library, Special Collections; *Dark Legacy*, prod. Darwin Gamble and dir. Chris Thompson, 28 min., WFSU Television, 1994, videocassette; Robert Saunders, (former Florida NAACP field secretary), interview by author, Tampa, Fla., 15 February 2002; Robert Saunders, *Bridging the Gap: Continuing the Florida NAACP Legacy of Harry T. Moore* (Tampa, Fla., 2000), 168.

severe attack by the Johns Committee, an investigative group established by the Florida legislature. Perry was one of the local NAACP officials closely involved in the Miami chapter's fight against the committee as well as other chapter concerns, and she served the organization during some of its most difficult years. As this study will show, Ruth Perry played two roles in the Miami NAACP during the 1950s and into the 1960s: the outspoken activist, who helped the chapter survive and grow, and the developing journalist, who searched for a mature voice while analyzing major events of the civil rights movement for her local audience. Ultimately, she found that voice, and the Miami NAACP found that Perry the activist and Perry the journalist had helped to secure the chapter's future.

Perry's early years prepared her well for civil rights work in the South, for she described herself as "not strictly Northern or Southern in [her] outlook . . . [but] a mixture of two viewpoints." The granddaughter of a slaveholding Confederate officer, who was with Robert E. Lee at Appomattox, Perry grew up in both Ithaca, New York (home of Cornell University), and Williston, South Carolina, a town named for her father's upper middle-class family. She spent her summers in Williston but attended elementary through high school in Ithaca, where schools and churches were integrated. Her father, Francis Marion Willis, was a successful dentist, so Perry grew up surrounded by educated people. Under her father's influence, Perry developed a great love for books and respect for a variety of ideas. Dr. Willis was interested in politics, and the Willises were among the very few Democrats in Republican Ithaca. Perry's childhood experience with divergent viewpoints provided good training for a future activist.²

Perry's later strength of character also emerged from her strong relationship with her father. She admired him, and he

2. Ruth Perry quoted in Robert Saunders, "The NAACP Report," *Pittsburg Courier*, 10 April 1954, Perry Papers; Caroline Perry-Kilburg, interview by author, Daytona Beach, Fla., 31 August 2002; Perry-Kilburg, e-mail to author, 10 September 2005; Ruth Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 19 September 1959, Perry Papers. Unless otherwise noted, columns are from the Perry Papers at the USF Tampa Library, Special Collections, which contains the majority of her columns. The remaining columns were obtained from microfilm or from the private papers of Caroline Perry-Kilburg. Autobiographical notes, speeches, letters, broadcasts, and comments are also from the Perry Papers at the USF Tampa Library, Special Collections, unless otherwise noted.



Ruth Perry at the Miami Beach Public Library, c. 1955. *Photograph courtesy of Caroline Perry-Kilburg*

encouraged her solid work ethic and perseverance. In a letter written shortly after Perry graduated from Drexel University with a degree in library science, and just before she began her first job at Cornell University, Dr. Willis praised her for becoming a

well-educated woman. (She had previously earned a degree in English from Converse College in South Carolina.) He concluded his letter by predicting the moral courage that his daughter would demonstrate in the future, telling her, "later in life you will learn that character is everything."³

Dr. Willis could not have been surprised that his daughter eventually married a soft-spoken, liberal man who admired Eleanor Roosevelt almost as much as Perry herself did. Walter Dean Perry, the son of an Ithaca family, was three years younger than his wife. By all accounts, theirs was a successful marriage, and Perry regarded him as her best friend. Although he did not attend college, Walter Perry was well read. A professional horticulturist, he was also an environmentalist long before the term became popular. In 1940, the Perrys' first and only child, Caroline, was born.⁴

In 1945, Perry and her family moved to Miami, and she began working for the Miami Beach Public Library as a cataloger. In a very short time, she grew to love Florida and could not imagine living anywhere else. She and her husband shared their love of the state as well as their views on politics with their daughter. At Perry's dinner table, serious discussions were a regular occurrence, particularly if they focused on current events or the Miami NAACP. Perry had joined the local branch soon after arriving in the city because she was particularly interested in civil rights. As she later explained to a reporter: "Rather than scatter my effort, I went into the NAACP to do what I could in one area. I feel very strongly that what I am doing (in the NAACP) I am doing for everyone."⁵

The Miami chapter, founded in 1935, was the last chartered in Florida's major cities, because of the difficulty of enrolling white members (all branches were required to be bi-racial) and the continued racist climate of the city in the 1940s and 1950s. Despite Miami's transplanted northerners and tourist economy, the city

3. Perry-Kilburg, interview by author, 31 August 2002; Willard Austen, Cornell University, to Ruth Willis, 13 June 1929; R.H. Edwards, Cornell University, to Ruth Willis, 3 September 1929; Francis Willis to Ruth Willis, 21 July 1929, all from private papers of Caroline Perry-Kilburg.

4. Perry-Kilburg, interview by author, 31 August 2002.

5. "Presentation," *Florida Sun*, 7 December 1951, Perry Papers; Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 18 May 1957; Perry, Speech 7, n.d.; Perry-Kilburg, interview by author, 31 August 2002; Ronald York, "A Witness Eye-View," *Miami Herald*, 1 March 1958.

had, as Perry saw it, "an appearance of more liberality and freedom than actually exist[ed]."⁶

Miami supported an active Ku Klux Klan organization, and the organization's national Imperial Wizard had retired there in the 1940s. The Klan harassed African Americans who attempted to integrate new subdivisions, burning crosses and homes to intimidate potential homeowners and voters. Beginning in September of 1951, the Klan escalated its activities. A series of dynamite bombings destroyed parts of a newly integrated apartment complex known as Carver Village.⁷ Three months later, and 200 miles north, a bomb exploded under the bedroom of Harry T. Moore, the outspoken state coordinator of the NAACP and his wife on Christmas night, killing them both.⁸

His assassination shocked many Floridians, particularly Perry, who had recently become the Miami NAACP secretary. Perry was "horror stricken that such things were happening in Florida and that killings like this would or could be tolerated by white citizens." Harry Moore's death was a turning point for her, galvanizing her into becoming even more active in the NAACP. Determined to help achieve "justice [and] equal rights under the law" for everyone, she soon became a state officer for the Florida NAACP and a regular speaker and radio broadcaster for the Miami chapter. In short, she made the NAACP the focus of her activist energies for nearly twenty years.⁹

6. Caroline Emmons, "Flame of Resistance: The NAACP in Florida, 1910-1960" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1998), 22, 242. Only fifty members were Required in order to have an NAACP chapter and, twenty-four years after its founding, the Miami chapter's white membership had reached about 25 percent, although many remained anonymous. See Marvin Dunn, *Black Miami in the Twentieth Century* (Gainesville, Fla., 1997), 220-221.

7. Emmons, 6; Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 15 June 1957, Perry Papers; Raymond Mohl, "'South of the South': Jews, Blacks, and the Civil Rights Movement in Miami," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 18 (Winter 1999): 5-6; Emmons, 157-158.

8. Ben Green, *Before His Time: The Untold Story of Harry T. Moore, America's First Civil Rights Martyr*, (New York, 1999) 171, 186. For discussion of this violence from an NAACP perspective, see the analysis by Robert Saunders, Moore's successor, in Saunders, *Bridging the Gap*, 111-119. Saunders, Emmons, Mohl, and Green name the Klan or White Citizens' Council as the assassins.

9. Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 23 December 1961; "Along Freedom's Road," 27 October 1956; Perry-Kilburg, interview by author, 31 August 2002; Perry, Autobiographical Notes," n.d.; "Miami Branch Committees," April-May 1957, Robert and Helen Saunders Papers, at the USF Tampa Library, Special Collections.

Her work for the Miami branch soon drew fire from local racists. In June 1953, Perry began airing her Sunday afternoon radio broadcasts on Miami's African-American station, WMBM. In her NAACP programs, Perry forthrightly called for an end to segregation and full equality for African Americans and denounced Klan violence and other forms of terrorism. Friends in her radio audience questioned such bold statements, asking her, "How have you got the nerve to say such things on the air? Suppose something happens to you?" Perry's response to their concerns was both simple and prophetic. She promised to take sensible precautions and then added: "I believe in some things so strongly that I will stand up for them, no matter what comes."¹⁰

Reprisals for her broadcasts came in a matter of months, first as anonymous phone calls, and later as anonymous letters, which she described to her radio audience as "vilifying and malicious. . . stab-bings in the dark. . . [that proved] that the writer [did] not have moral courage." Segregationists objecting to her broadcasts, often assumed that she was African American, telling her, "Practically everything you Negroes do is an imitation of the white race [because] you haven't been civilized long enough." When one of her detractors wrote, "All you niggers better go back to Africa where you all belong," Perry told her listeners that she could only imagine how much angrier the writer would have been if he had known she was white. (Most of Perry's listeners would have known that she was white, despite her broadcasts being aired on an African-American station, because WMBM's listening audience was relatively small in the early 1950s.)¹¹ She regarded such threats as proof of the effectiveness of the Miami chapter's civil rights work and predicted that more intimidation tactics and threats of violence would follow.

Perry was correct. Bomb threats were called into her home repeatedly during the mid-1950s, but she refused to be bullied. As she bluntly told the Fort Lauderdale chapter at their tenth anniversary celebration, "If you are afraid — afraid of what might happen to you — there is no room for you in the NAACP." When one of her anonymous detractors called her a "half-breed and a crackpot" during her final broadcast in August of 1956, she remained

10. Perry, Speech 12, 5 July 1953.

11. Perry, Comments 4, n.d. (Comments are undated broadcasts.); Anonymous to Perry, 24 August 1954; Perry, Speech 6, December 1955; Perry-Kilburg, interview by author, 31 August 2002.

undaunted and replied that she had no respect for those who wore hoods or refused to provide their names when slandering others.¹²

Perry maintained her poise on the air, secure in the knowledge that she had been instrumental in the growing membership and influence of the Miami chapter. By 1957, as chapter vice-president and state secretary, Perry had watched as the NAACP influence in the Miami area grew until the local branch was holding regular meetings at the Afro-American Life Insurance Company's offices. In addition chapters organized in nearby Homestead, Liberty City, and Perrine worked with the Miami chapter during annual membership drives.¹³

In June 1956, the Miami branch raised its profile by challenging Florida's segregation laws. In a single week, the chapter initiated two lawsuits to integrate the city's buses and schools. The driving force behind both suits was chapter president, Father Theodore Gibson, and chapter attorney, G. E. Graves. Gibson was the African-American rector of Christ Episcopal Church, a powerful congregation of 800 members, and Graves was involved in most of the major civil rights cases originating in Miami. The two men worked closely in several legal actions.¹⁴

The bus case began on June 7, 1956, when the Miami branch demanded an end to segregated buses and announced that the NAACP was considering a boycott. Fully aware of the number of African Americans riding the buses, the economic impact of a two-week-old bus boycott in Tallahassee, and the escalation of the Montgomery, Alabama, boycott, the Miami Transit Company found the threat troubling. However, the Miami chapter eventually decided not to follow through with the boycott in order to avoid violence.¹⁵ As the local NAACP chapter grappled with their

12. Perry, Speech 6, December 1955; Caroline Perry-Kilburg, interview by author, Daytona Beach, Fla., 29 July 2002; Perry-Kilburg, interview by author, 31 August 2002; Speech 9, 22 November 1955; Broadcast 2, 22 August 1956.

13. Perry, "Autobiographical Notes," n.d.; State Archives of Florida, Tallahassee, Fla., Florida Legislative Investigation Committee (subsequently referred to in footnotes as FLIC) Records, RG 940, box 13, "Names Lists," file 11, "Miscellaneous," 5 June 1956; Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 17 November 1956; Comments 2, February 1956.

14. Emmons, 218-219; Saunders, *Bridging the Gap*, 83; Dunn, 182, 191.

15. Dunn, 213; Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 12 January 1957. Emmons (223) differs with Perry's eyewitness account on this point, while Glenda Rabby's interpretation is similar to Perry's. See Glenda Alice Rabby, *The Pain and the Promise: the Struggle for Civil Rights in Tallahassee, Florida*, (Athens, Ga., 1999) 51.



Marvin Davis, State Field Director, NAACP with Reverend Theodore Gibson, former President of the Miami Branch, 1968. *Photo courtesy of the Historical Museum of South Florida*

options, Perry corresponded with Thurgood Marshall, Chief Counsel and Director of the national NAACP's Legal Defense and Educational Fund. Advised that the final decision lay with the chapter, Gibson, Perry, the other officers, and Graves filed suit. Six months later, when the U.S. district court ruled in favor of the NAACP, Perry was in the courtroom. In her assessment of the ruling, Perry noted that desegregation of Miami's buses could be accomplished non-violently if city officials enforced the law; she emphasized that the NAACP's opposition to violence had prevented a Miami bus boycott. With a local victory in the bus suit, the Miami chapter grew even stronger. As Florida's NAACP field secretary, Robert Saunders, saw it in 1957, the Miami branch had almost 100 percent backing from local African Americans for the first time in the chapter's history.¹⁶

16. Marshall to Perry, 17 July 1956; Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 12 January 1957; Perry, Speech 5, n.d.; Saunders, *Bridging the Gap*, 83; Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 12 January 1957; Emmons, 229. In 1958, the Miami branch won again in federal appeals court. This victory left the city only one recourse, an appeal to the US Supreme Court which Miami's

The chapter's school suit paralleled the bus case. In response to Florida's delay in implementing the 1954 *Brown v. the Board of Education* decision, Miami NAACP president Gibson and five other parents filed a federal suit on behalf of their children in June 1956 to end segregation in Dade County. Perry characterized the suit as the "real birth of freedom for all of us here in Florida."¹⁷ As he had with the bus suit, Thurgood Marshall corresponded with Perry on the school case. However, while his advice on the latter dealt primarily with attorney fees, Perry's work on the case focused on publicity and fundraising. As with the bus suit, Perry spoke to other NAACP chapters about the school case, urging members to support the action not only through the NAACP, but also through their churches and clubs. She was characteristically blunt in her appeals: "Our goal is this—to write off the word 'segregation' from Florida law. . . . If we want freedom, we can raise enough money here today or within a few days. Don't tell me you can't afford it."¹⁸

With two high-profile cases working their way through the courts, the Miami chapter became one of the most aggressive branches in the Florida NAACP by the mid-1950s. By the mid-1950s, the chapter provided much of the leadership for the state organization as well. At the state conference in October of 1956, all but one of the state officers for the coming year were from Miami, including Gibson and Perry, who were re-elected as treasurer and secretary.¹⁹

In the fall of 1956, Perry took on a new assignment for the NAACP. She began writing a weekly column for the *Miami Times*, one of the oldest African-American newspapers in Florida. Her column, "Along Freedom's Road," provided a new forum for Perry and other Miami chapter officers, allowing them to reach a larger audience and leave a more lasting impression. More forthright than her broadcasts, Perry's columns exposed racism by analyzing current events from an NAACP perspective, often quoting other NAACP officials and never hesitating to name racist organizations and politicians, whether local, state, or national.²⁰

city attorney said would not be successful (Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 19 April 1958).

17. Perry, Speech 5, n.d.

18. Thurgood Marshall to Perry, 17 July 1956; Perry, Speech 5, n.d.

19. Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 13 November 1956.

20. Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 6 October 1956.

Such defiant views coming from an increasingly visible NAACP activist made Perry a more inviting target than she had been as a broadcaster and also caught the attention of the state legislature's newly formed investigative group, the Johns Committee. Officially known as the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee, this panel was the brainchild of state senator and former Acting Governor Charley Johns. Born out of the integration hysteria that pervaded Florida during the Cold War and after the *Brown I* and *II* decisions began to generate integration suits, the committee was designed to investigate integrationists and subversives. Its communist strategy became apparent at its second meeting when the committee reviewed the U.S. House Un-American Activities Committee's rules of procedure. The Johns Committee planned to portray the NAACP as communist-influenced by obtaining the organization's membership lists and meeting minutes. These records could then be matched against the committee's lists of communists. That their own lists were inaccurate was irrelevant to the committee; if they could portray NAACP members as communists, it was but a short leap to show that the organization's push for integration was really a communist plot. Thus the Miami chapter's records were the linchpin of the Committee's McCarthy-like strategy.²¹ As Miami chapter secretary and guardian of those membership rolls and meeting minutes for the past seven years, Ruth Perry's most dramatic service to the chapter came in protecting those records. In order to obtain the membership lists, the Johns Committee subpoenaed Perry and other chapter officers to testify in a public hearing held on February 25, 1957.²²

²¹ FLIC Records, RG 940, box 1, "Administrative Files", file 16, "Minutes", 11 September 1956. For a detailed discussion of the Committee's legal strategy, see Steven F. Lawson, "The Florida Legislative Investigation Committee and the Constitutional Readjustment of Race Relations, 1956-1963," in *An Uncertain Tradition: Constitutionalism and the History of the South*, eds. Kermit L. Hall and James W. Ely, Sr. (Athens, Ga., 1989), 300-302. *Dark Legacy*, videocassette; FLIC Records, RG 940, box 1, file 16, "Minutes," 10 October 1956. For more on the Committee's origins and strategies before the 1957 Miami hearings, see Judith Poucher, "One Woman's Courage: Ruth Perry and the Johns Committee," in *Making Waves: Female Activists in Florida*, eds. Jack E. Davis and Kari Frederickson. (Gainesville, Fla., 2003), 229-249.

²² Florida law limits disclosure of the "identity of any witness, any person who was a subject of inquiry, or any person referred to in testimony, documents, or evidence retained in the committee's records; however this exemption does not apply to a member of the committee, its staff, or any public official, who was not a subject of the inquiry" See Florida Statutes, *Legislative*

Only two days before she was scheduled to testify, Perry learned from chapter attorney Graves that she had been "marked for assassination." He uncovered the Miami White Citizens' Council plot to start race riots through a series of actions that would begin with a cross burning, followed by bombings at two housing projects, and ending with five gunmen shooting Perry, Graves, Gibson, and two other NAACP officials. Acting on information supplied by his paid informant, Graves, the police, and the media were waiting for the terrorists when they planted the cross.²³ Less than two days later and, despite a legitimate concern for her own life, Perry took the stand, knowing how crucial her testimony would be. As the official guardian of the chapter's records for seven years, she not only controlled the files, but had a detailed understanding of their contents and knew much information from memory alone. The future of the Florida NAACP hung on Perry's testimony. As Gibson insisted years later, "If members' names had been exposed . . . the NAACP would have been able to hold roll call in a telephone booth."²⁴

As Perry testified, she faced not only the television cameras but also her would-be assassins, the men of the White Citizens' Council, as they sat only a few feet away from her on the front rows of the courtroom. Leering and elbowing one another, they waited eagerly for her to break. She disappointed them. Despite intense questioning by the Johns Committee, Perry never flinched. She not only refused to cooperate; she also helped to outsmart the committee. Acting upon Chief Counsel Thurgood Marshall's orders, she and Graves had shipped all chapter records to New York before the hearings began.²⁵ On her *own* initiative, she had

Organization, Procedures, and Staffing (1993, chapter 11, section 11.0431 (1) (g)). In order to protect the people who were victimized by the Johns Committee investigations, this study contains only names already in sources other than Johns Committee documents. Other than those connected with the Virgil Hawkins case against the University of Florida, Miami chapter officers and leaders were subpoenaed more than any other branch in Florida in 1957 (FLIC Records, Box 13, file 12, "Miscellaneous").

23. Perry, "Autobiographical Notes," n.d.; "The Daring Plot against Miami Negroes," *Jet*, 28 March 1957, Perry Papers; Dunn, 210; Saunders, interview by author, Tallahassee, Fla., 18 December 1998.
24. FLIC Records, RG 940, box 4, "25 February 1957 Miami Transcripts" file; Jack Mann, "Gibson Breaks Witch Hunt by Charley Johns," *Miami Herald*, 5 December 1968, Perry Papers.
25. Saunders, *Bridging the Gap*, 168; Saunders, interview by author, 15 February 2002.

resorted to keeping only a few, very brief records several months before the hearings began. She notified members of meetings via radio and newspaper and thus protected members' names and addresses even as she periodically published her home telephone number in her column.²⁶

Not content with her efforts to ensure the Miami chapter's survival by guarding members' names, Perry went further. She used her column to extend the influence of the chapter by publicizing its stand against the Johns Committee and assuring her readers that the chapters' officers would not back down. As proof of her own determination, she exposed one of the terrorists who had tried to assassinate her, actually naming him in her column. Her words and other news reports on the hearings had the desired effect. Florida's NAACP field secretary, Robert Saunders, noted that publicity from the hearings generated more interest in the organization by whites and African Americans. As he expressed it, the "Committee's only success was in saving itself [It was renewed and refunded for another legislative term]."²⁷

The Miami branch had more success than the committee. Three months after the hearings concluded, the chapter's school suit reached another milestone when oral arguments in the case ended in the circuit court of appeals. Later in the summer, Perry reported that segregationists anticipated that they would lose the suit and then appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, adding that such plans were part of the Dade County School Board's segregationist agenda to delay integration as long as possible.²⁸ She offered cautionary words for another group trying to delay integration, the Johns Committee. After noting that the Committee had wasted taxpayers' money and accomplished nothing in the previous Miami

26. Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 26 January 1957; FLIC Records, RG 940, box 4, "25 February 1957 Miami Transcripts" file; Executive Board Meeting Notes, 14 March 1957 and 28 March 1958, Perry-Kilburg Papers.

27. Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 9 March 1957; Emmons, 230; Saunders, *Bridging the Gap*, 168; Robert Saunders, "Continuing the Florida NAACP Legacy of Harry T. Moore," (lecture at the Florida Conversations Lecture Series, Tampa, Fla., 15 February 2002).

28. Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 8 June 1957; Perry, Comments, 28 July 1957. In late 1959, the School Board did lose the suit and announced that African Americans would be admitted to Miami's Orchard Villa Elementary School at the start of the next school year. Whites soon withdrew from the school, and by December of 1959 it was virtually an all-African-American school (Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 12 September 1959).

hearings, Perry predicted that the committee would fail again, even with Charley Johns himself as the new chair.²⁹ Subpoenaed for the committee's second round of hearings, Perry reassured her readers that her repeat appearance provided "conclusive proof ... that the NAACP [was] not only alive in Florida but [continued] to be effective. Why else would [they] be investigated?"³⁰

Almost one year to the day after the first Miami hearings, the committee convened a second time. Everyone expected a final showdown between the Johns Committee and the Miami NAACP, and both sides expressed particular interest in Perry's testimony. As eyewitness Robert Saunders explained, "[We knew that] the Committee had targeted Perry because she was a white civil rights activist who despised racial segregation She was a southern white woman who defied them." The scene played out essentially the same as the previous year: once again Perry's would-be assassins (White Citizens' Council) were entrenched in the front rows of the courtroom. Facing them, and with TV cameras rolling, Perry testified. As she had done the year before, she refused to cooperate. Committee member Cliff Herrell (a Miamian who was acutely aware of his white constituency) angrily asserted that she was not "fit to be a citizen of the state of Florida." Perry responded without emotion, "I would like to say that I have never been a member of the Communist Party, and am not now, and never intend to be. I am an American citizen. I believe in democracy and the Constitution of the United States." When the Committee cited her for contempt, the white supremacists cheered from the front rows.³¹ Gibson, on the other hand, was so angry over the treatment of Perry that he interrupted the hearing by walking out part way through the interrogation. He later told a reporter, "[The committee members] were painting her with all kinds of brushes. She was brave, and they abused her."³²

29. Perry, Comments, 28 July 1957; James Schnur, "Cold Warriors in the Hot Sunshine: the Johns Committee's Assault on Civil Liberties in Florida, 1956 - 1965," (master's thesis, University of South Florida, Tampa, Fla., 1995) 38.

30. Perry, "Autobiographical Notes"; "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 22 February 1958.

31. Saunders, interview by author, Tallahassee, Fla., 18 December 1998; Saunders, *Bridging the Gap*, 168-169; FLIC Records, RG 940, box 4, "27 February 1958 Miami Transcripts" file. For a more detailed discussion of Perry's testimony at both the 1957 and 1958 Miami hearings, see Poucher, "One Woman's Courage."

32. Mann, "Gibson Breaks," Perry Papers.

A few days later, Perry was threatened with economic reprisal. She had heard rumors that she would be fired from her job as a librarian, a position she had held for eight years. She had also received an anonymous letter with a similar threat. National NAACP officials assured Perry that they would support a fight for her job, even if it meant taking a case to the U.S. Supreme Court, but warned her that she could be unemployed in the meantime. However, nothing came of the threats, and the library employed and promoted Perry until her retirement.³³

A week after her testimony, Perry offered assurances to her readers that she and the other chapter officers believed that their stand would be justified, but the Miami chapter prevailed only after a series of legal battles. Following the hearings, the Johns Committee and the NAACP engaged in numerous court battles over the contempt cases against Perry and her colleagues. NAACP attorneys consistently argued that the committee had punished Perry and her colleagues for asserting their Constitutional rights and thus deprived them of due process.³⁴ As the legal battles continued into 1959 and the NAACP began to prepare a case for the U.S. Supreme Court, no one was surprised when Perry was subpoenaed for the third time. However, by the time Miami chapter officers testified in Tallahassee in November of 1959, Gibson had taken possession of the membership records because the NAACP's national office was planning its Supreme Court case with him as the sole plaintiff.³⁵ In accordance with those plans, Graves instructed Perry to tell the Committee that Gibson alone possessed the records. Her contempt citation was dropped,³⁶ but Perry's disdain for the committee continued. In the summer of 1960, when Gibson appeared in circuit court in

33. York, "A Witness," Perry Papers; Anonymous to Perry, 3 March 1958; Robert Carter to Perry, 7 March 1958 and 2 April 1958.

34. Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 8 March 1958; Petition to the Supreme Court of the United States for Writ of Certiorari to the Supreme Court of Florida, October Term 1958, Perry Papers. For a full discussion of *Gibson v. The Florida Legislative Investigation Committee*, see Lawson, "Florida and Race Relations," 305-317.

35. Mann, "Gibson Breaks," Perry Papers; Saunders, interview by author, 18 December 1998; FLIC Records, box 13, file 4, "Background Information," n.d.; file 26, "List of Witnesses in Miami Case," n.d.; Lawson, "Florida and Race Relations," 303.

36. For a full explanation of Gibson's legal battles, Lawson's essay is a very good source. Although written before the Johns Committee Papers were unsealed in 1993, his essay uses the Florida Bar Association files and is an excellent

Tallahassee, Perry testified as a witness. She informed her readers which NAACP members were present and described the unprofessional manner in which the hearing was conducted.³⁷

In 1963, Perry saw her pride and courage justified when, in *Gibson v. The Florida Legislative Investigation Committee*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of Gibson and the NAACP. That ruling not only prevented the Johns Committee from obtaining Florida NAACP records but ensured the survival of the organization within the state. In Miami, the Gibson case helped to increase membership as well. Once people knew that NAACP officers would go to jail to protect the membership lists, new members joined the organization.³⁸ Just as Perry had promised her readers, the Miami NAACP had prevailed.

Ruth Perry helped the chapter prevail by fulfilling her role as an officer responsible for much of the practical work of the chapter. Acting as its spokesperson, she publicized its lawsuits and reported its courageous stands and victories against the Johns Committee. However, Perry's second role in chapter affairs was concerned less with her position as the voice of the chapter and more with finding her own voice as a civil rights journalist. Perry reported on some of the major events of the civil rights movement—from the *Brown* decision in 1954 to the University of Mississippi riots in 1962. In commenting on these events, Perry matured as a journalist as she transcended the workman-like tone of her other broadcasts and columns on local chapter activities. In reporting on the *Brown* decision or the riots in Mississippi, she analyzed national events in which she had not participated, unlike the chapter's lawsuits or the Johns Committee hearings. However, although her analysis changed, Perry continued to write for a local audience, the same group for which she intermittently composed her utilitarian journalism. Thus, writing on a level beyond the informational and the personal—while analyzing national events—initiated her search for a different voice.

Only a few months after she began her NAACP broadcasts, Perry reported her first major civil rights event, the U.S. Supreme

study of associational privacy. Saunders, interview by author, 18 December 1998; Perry, "Autobiographical Notes," n.d.

37. Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 4 June 1960.

38. Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 6 April 1963, Perry-Kilburg Papers; 23 March 1963; 6 April 1961; Lawson, "Florida and Race Relations," 315–316; Dunn, 222.

Court's 1954 *Brown* decision declaring public school segregation unconstitutional. She compensated for her lack of experience in covering national events by using the informational voice of her earlier broadcasts and drawing upon her years as a librarian. In her columns on *Brown*, Perry spoke primarily as the consummate librarian—a finder and conveyor of facts. More detailed than her broadcasts on chapter news, the voice of the librarian is evident in her coverage of *Brown*. In her first radio broadcast on the pending *Brown* decision, Perry spoke to the audience's intellect as she explained not only the complicated evolution of the case but the particulars of the NAACP's legal approach. In a follow-up broadcast only a month before the ruling, Perry's tone, while still informational, was also interpretive. First, she reported the remarks of Florida's state superintendent of schools—that a Florida case, and possibly a case for each of the states, would have to be heard by the court before its decision could apply to Florida. Then with the precision of a librarian and the perception of an intellectual, Perry interpreted his remarks with cool but damning logic: "if the decision ...is to end school segregation in those states [in which the suits began], the spirit of the law will also apply in every other state. That is my interpretation [and] that of the NAACP."³⁹

In her next broadcast after the May 17 announcement of the *Brown* decision, Perry's tone remained informational; however, she also placed the ruling within a larger civil rights context by tracing the numerous legal precedents for *Brown*. Placing the *Brown* announcement within the larger context of the legal precedents and Constitutional rights that drove the civil rights movement allowed Perry to write with a greater sense of optimism, while also appealing to her listeners' own sense of historical progress.⁴⁰

Three months later, Perry analyzed *Brown* against the backdrop of international relations and the Cold War. After tracing the growth of white supremacy from the post-Reconstruction period to the present, Perry alluded to the status of the United States as a world power in the Cold War: "What we do here in Miami will sooner or later have its effect on Washington or London or a little town in Indochina." In one statement using simple logic, Perry

39. Perry, 25 October 1953 Broadcast, Perry-Kilburg Papers; 11 April 1954 Broadcast, Perry-Kilburg Papers.

40. Perry, 23 May 1954 Broadcast.

internationalized the local issues of white supremacy and civil rights. While she appealed to her audience's historical and global understanding, she spoke to the immediacy of their civil rights struggles in Miami as well.⁴¹

Perry localized civil rights in a new way in October 1954. She asked daughter Caroline and three other teens to participate in a special broadcast on integration in Miami. Caroline, a student at Miami Beach High School, was joined by a friend and classmate, as well as two African-American students from Miami's segregated high schools. Perry acted as moderator, asking questions on such practical issues as the grade level at which integration should begin and how adults could prepare for school integration. She allowed each student to answer in turn. Perry's daughter maintained that parents delayed integration by teaching their children prejudice. After the Supreme Court's ruling on the implementation of *Brown* in 1955 (commonly referred to as *Brown II*), Perry made periodic progress reports on the effects of the ruling and the status of school integration. In her last reports, she echoed her daughter's view—and unknowingly predicted a national crisis by saying that the "largest part of the adjustment [to school integration would] have to be made not by children, but by their *elders* [emphasis added]."⁴²

A few days later, her words came true in a way that must have sickened her. As law enforcement officials watched, a screaming white mob, composed mostly of adults, tried to stop nine African-American children from entering Little Rock's Central High School.⁴³ In a matter of hours, the students, known as the Little Rock Nine, and the Arkansas city in which they lived became the crucible of American democracy, and a turning point in the life of Perry. The calm, intellectual voice that had characterized her radio broadcasts on the *Brown* decisions proved inadequate to convey her emotions in the Little Rock crisis. Her weekly NAACP column, "Along Freedom's Road," reflected the challenges she had faced in the time between *Brown* and Little Rock—personal

41. Perry, 22 August 1954 Broadcast.

42. Perry, 10 October 1954 Broadcast; "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 7 September 1957.

43. Relman Morin, "Violence at Central High," in *Reporting Civil Rights*, (New York, 2003), 373-377; James L. Hicks, "We Were Kicked, Beaten," in *Reporting Civil Rights*, 378-381; Melba Patillo Bealls, *Warriors Don't Cry: A Searing Memoir of the Battle to Integrate Little Rock's Central High*, (New York, 1994), 112-114.

threats, a Johns Committee hearing, an assassination plot, and an attempt at economic reprisal. She also had confronted the real possibility of a jail sentence when she refused to relinquish the NAACP records. Furthermore, integrated education increasingly became less theoretical for Perry since her only child was the same age as three of the Little Rock Nine students.⁴⁴

Perry's first column on the violence at Little Rock was the most passionate of her career. In her September 14, 1957 column, one emotion dominated: pure outrage. Perry made her indignation clear from the outset, saying that Governor Orval Faubus had created "one of the most disgraceful incidents in recent American history" when he refused to obey a court order to desegregate and called out the Arkansas National Guard to enforce his defiance. Clearly, hers was no longer the voice of the dispassionate librarian merely conveying information. She now appealed to her readers' emotions more than to their intellect and to their sense of justice more than their sense of reason. Halfway through the same column, her anger evolved into a sarcastic tone as she discussed states' rights. Claiming that most people believe each state to be one portion of the whole union of states, Perry launched another salvo at Faubus: "This fact isn't clear to Governor Faubus apparently." Never had she been so direct in her criticism of one person. However, with the exception of Charley Johns, no one had ever infuriated her more than Faubus.⁴⁵

The Little Rock crisis itself must have been sickeningly familiar to Perry: it echoed the Klan violence that killed Harry Moore and the abuse of power that characterized Charley Johns' reign of terror. Ultimately, the core of her outrage toward Faubus lay in one simple fact: in disobeying a U.S. district court order to desegregate, he had defied the legitimacy of the federal government and thus the cornerstone of American law, the Constitution.

Perry's respect for the Constitution was no mere lip service. She had joined the NAACP because, as she told a fellow-reporter, she was "interested in the Constitutional rights of everyone."⁴⁶ She

44. FLIC records, RG 940, box 4, "25 February 1957 Miami Transcripts" file.

45. Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 14 September 1957; Caroline Perry-Kilburg, interview by author, 31 August 2002. Perry's criticisms of Johns became more direct and frequent after the 1958 Johns Committee hearings.

46. Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 14 September 1957; York, "A Witness," Perry Papers; Perry, "Preliminary Statement," 26 February 1958, Perry Papers.

had risked her life and her freedom during the Johns Committee's witch-hunts because of her belief in the Constitution, particularly the Fourteenth Amendment's guarantee of due process and freedom of association. The same amendment was central to her defense (as well as that of her fellow-NAACP officers) in the Johns Committee hearings. Even in the midst of her outrage, her emotions sprang from an intellectual base: the Constitution and her respect for it as the law of the land.

Two weeks after her initial column on Little Rock, Perry's criticisms of Faubus remained highly charged, but she attempted to return to her intellectual voice by placing the governor's actions within the context of the Cold War. She reported an incident at the United Nations: after a dark-skinned Ceylonese representative condemned the Soviet Union's aggression in Hungary, he was told by the Bulgarian delegate, "Something worse could happen to you if you go to Little Rock." By the time Perry was writing her next column, federal troops were in Little Rock, and her voice of outrage returned in full force. She lambasted Faubus again, saying that the crisis was "brought about by ... a demagogue" who had defied federal authority set forth in the Constitution.⁴⁷ Almost a year later, even after the circuit court of appeals ordered integration in Little Rock to proceed, Perry's indignant voice persisted. Describing segregation as a "festering sore on the body politic of America," she implied that she felt the same way about Faubus, whom she compared to the Roman emperor Nero.⁴⁸ Clearly an appeal to emotions over intellect dominated these columns.

By the summer of 1959, as progress became more apparent in Little Rock, Perry offered a more analytical response to the crisis. With the advantage of hindsight, she noted that the battle over Little Rock and the eventual victory of law and order over demagoguery proved that the "U.S. Constitution is more than a document—it is the embodiment of our democratic way of life." By setting the crisis within its Constitutional context, Perry appealed to her readers' respect for the law and their sense of reason, thus counterbalancing the irate voice of her previous columns. However, Perry's anger at Faubus himself never dissipated. Even after the court had ordered integration to begin in Little Rock, she

47. Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 28 September 1957; 5 October 1957.

48. *Ibid.*, 6 September 1958.

maintained that he was the best example of "undisciplined, selfish demagoguery [that she had] ever seen." In her last salvo at Faubus, she described him as a "purveyor of hate and prejudice" and compared him to Adolf Hitler.⁴⁹

In her columns on the Freedom Rides, the next civil rights event that she covered, Perry found some balance between intellect and emotion. In a dual-topic column, Perry's last words on Little Rock were also her first column on the Freedom Riders, interracial groups of travelers who challenged segregation on interstate buses. In May of 1961, after the Freedom Riders had been attacked by the Klan in Anniston, Alabama, as well as Birmingham and Montgomery, Attorney General Robert Kennedy dispatched 600 U.S. marshals to Montgomery; Governor John Patterson responded by calling out the Alabama National Guard. Perry, admitting that such news made her angry, praised Kennedy's decision to send marshals rather than troops, saying, "We all remember the bitterness engendered in Little Rock by the arrival of such troops." She described Patterson as another state official who tried to "defy, nullify, and fight the US government" and incited violence with his inflammatory speeches. Less outraged than in her columns on Faubus and Little Rock, she described the situation in Patterson's state and his actions rather than his character or personality. Unlike her characterizations of Faubus, Perry never referred to Patterson as a demagogue or compared him to such despots as Nero or Hitler.⁵⁰

By 1961 Perry's life had also become less stressful. She had survived two additional Johns Committee inquisitions and the threat of a jail sentence when she was cited for contempt by the Committee for refusing to relinquish chapter records. However, the numerous threats (both economic and physical), the assassination attempt, and the earlier hearing were in the past. She also celebrated the progress of the NAACP's case against the Johns Committee. Just a few days before the first Freedom Riders were attacked in Anniston, chapter president Gibson was granted a hearing by the U.S. Supreme Court. Such success would certainly have affected the tone of Perry's columns on the Freedom Rides.

49. Ibid., 13 June 1959; 6 September 1958; 20 August 1960.

50. Ibid., 27 May 1961.

51. FLIC Records, RG 940, box 4, "27 February 1958 Miami Transcripts" file; "RR Depots Hit by NAACP," *Miami Herald*, 2 June 1961, Perry Papers.

In addition, the Miami chapter responded proactively to the crisis in Alabama by surveying South Florida's bus and rail depots. After finding that most of the depots remained segregated, chapter attorney Graves told reporters that the NAACP was considering submitting a report to the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC).⁵¹ As the survey results began to be reported by the local press, Perry's coverage of the Freedom Rides took on a tone less like her Little Rock columns and more like her *Brown* broadcasts and columns. In approaching a balance between emotion and intellect, she began to find her mature voice as a journalist.

In her June 3, 1961 column, Perry did not cite the Miami chapter's survey results directly, but she provided background information about new ICC regulations on integrated travel. In the remainder of the column, her analysis became more sophisticated as she focused on the Freedom Rides. After noting that national columnists and broadcasters were divided on the issue of the Freedom Rides, Perry defended direct action campaigns for a segment of the American population that had been denied their rights for so long. She concluded in a cerebral tone, saying that the "aims [of the Freedom Riders were] American and just. . . [and that it was] not democratic forces that [were] holding them back but prejudiced and intolerant people."⁵² Perry appealed to her audience's intellect and respect for the law and set the Freedom Riders' struggle within the context of the rights guaranteed to all citizens by the Constitution, a theme from her previous broadcasts and columns.

Six months later, when violence against the Freedom Riders erupted again, this time in McComb, Mississippi, Perry's voice of indignation returned briefly. In a sarcastic tone, she first asserted that Mississippi apparently viewed itself as part of the Confederacy and not the Union. Returning to her use of Cold War rhetoric, she warned that the negative international publicity from the racial violence against the Freedom Riders could be far-reaching.⁵³

In January of 1962, with the advantage of hindsight, Perry wrote her last column on the Freedom Rides, focusing on one participant, the Reverend William Sloane Coffin, Jr. Because he was neither a well-known civil rights leader nor an elected official, Coffin was in many ways an average person who acted on the courage of his convictions (much like Perry herself). The nephew

52. Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 3 June 1961.

53. *Ibid.*, 9 December 1961.

of the theologian Henry Sloane Coffin, as well as the Yale University chaplain, Coffin was one of a group of white professors and African-American students who, as Freedom Riders, were jailed in Montgomery. Perry saw his participation in the Freedom Rides from primarily a philosophical perspective. Emphasizing the Freedom Rides as acts of civic conscience, she explained that Coffin believed that one could not be "an American and good Christian without doing something about discrimination" and segregation.⁵⁴

Portraying Coffin as a Christian activist allowed Perry not only to appeal to her readers' religious backgrounds but also to balance some of the moral outrage and emotional power of her Little Rock columns with her more philosophical analysis of the Freedom Rides. In featuring Coffin, she was showing her audience what a Freedom Rider was as much as telling them, for the whole lesson of Coffin's example was that his actions matched his beliefs. Although she had noted Governor Patterson's irresponsible actions more than his personality, she now emphasized Coffin's activism in order to reveal his character. In writing about his character only in terms of his deeds, Perry also achieved a more dispassionate, analytical voice, which furthered her growth as a journalist.

After late 1961 Perry's columns appeared less frequently because of her increasing professional responsibilities and travel.⁵⁵ In her continually evolving style, Perry spoke with irritation, not anger. She transcended her outrage over Little Rock and her intermittent sarcasm in reporting on the Freedom Rides, and her last nine columns on civil rights events focused on Governor Ross Barnett and/or the University of Mississippi riots. In the fall of 1961, a reporter asked Barnett if he planned to observe United Nations Day in Mississippi. The governor responded that he would not observe any day that honored an organization run by Africans. In her column on the incident, Perry showed her readers Barnett's racism and anticipated the crisis that would soon overwhelm the state. At the same time she gave her readers another positive portrait by featuring a leader from one of

54. Ibid., 27 January 1962. Coffin, from a wealthy New York family and married to the daughter of famous pianist, Arthur Rubenstein, was also involved later in demonstrations at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham. He was inspired to become a Freedom Rider after seeing a news photo of John Lewis bleeding as he lay in a Montgomery street (Diane McWhorter, *Carry Me Home: Birmingham, Alabama—the Climactic Battle of the Civil Rights Revolution* (New York, 2001), 239, 404, and 411).

55. Perry, "Along Freedom's Road," *Miami Times*, 7 July 1962; 1 September 1962.

the African nations that Barnett had maligned: John Luthuli, the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize winner from South Africa. Presenting Luthuli as one who had long been able to see beyond his own provincial concerns, she ended her column with a tone of tolerance, saying that she hoped that someday Barnett would "see beyond the confines of the state of Mississippi."⁵⁶

A year later, Perry's hopes for progress in Mississippi were crushed when Barnett and school officials denied James Meredith's admission to the University of Mississippi in defiance of court orders. Although Barnett defied the law of the land much as Faubus and Patterson had done, Perry chose to respond differently. Rather than drawing another tempting parallel, as she had with Little Rock and the Freedom Rides, Perry avoided all comparisons. She also made no references to dictators or despots as she had with Faubus. Writing after the riots ended at the university, Perry spoke with an emotional distance and maturity that her Little Rock columns had lacked. She had expended the last of her sarcasm in her columns on the Freedom Riders and now turned to irony as she spoke of Mississippi's future: "Someday Mississippi will join the Union." However, her chief concern over Barnett and the riots centered on the importance of the Constitution. For her, Meredith's fight to attend the University of Mississippi was just because his right as an American citizen to attend any public university was sanctioned by the Constitution. That Barnett chose to ignore this cornerstone concept of American government left Perry neither outraged (as she had been with Faubus) nor indignant (as she had been with Patterson) but philosophical. Having consistently appealed to her readers' respect for the Constitution, she ended this column by appealing to their sense of optimism and couched her appeal in the form of a prediction. Just as she had promised her readers that the Miami NAACP would prevail during the Johns Committee witch-hunts, she now offered a broader promise for Mississippi. Concluding her column with a tone of hope for the future, she wrote, "Even in Mississippi, justice will triumph because the spirit of man is upward and not down."⁵⁷

Perry's postscript on the University of Mississippi riots achieved equilibrium of intellect and emotion and synthesized many of the themes and analyses of previous columns. After noting that it had

56. *Ibid.*, 4 November 1961.

57. *Ibid.*, 13 October 1962.

cost American taxpayers millions of dollars to maintain protection for James Meredith at the university, Perry took a broader view of the price of segregation and racial hatred. Returning to her concern for constitutional principles, she asserted that the “democratic structure of [the U.S.] suffer[ed] whenever there [arose] a situation such as ... the University of Mississippi [because of] the breaking down of democratic ideals.” Perry included an appeal to her readers’ better natures, in this case encouraging them to view their struggle for civil rights within the larger context of human rights.⁵⁸ She ended her last column on a civil rights event by reminding her audience that “one human being keep[ing] another human being from enjoying his rights and privileges ... [was] unnecessary and ... evil.”⁵⁹ Other than a brief reference to James Meredith, there was no mention of Ross Barnett or any other individual in Perry’s last column on the University of Mississippi riots.⁶⁰ Her focus was no longer on one person but on the common humanity of all people. She had found her voice.

By 1963, Perry had not only found her voice as a journalist but had also seen her work as an activist justified. The Miami chapter had won its US Supreme Court case against the Johns Committee and would never be forced to surrender any Florida records. That victory, in turn, had generated the branch’s largest growth in membership. As membership increased into the mid-1960s, Perry became less involved in chapter affairs. No one knows for certain why she became less active, but Perry’s daughter offers the simplest and most plausible explanation: Perry had helped the chapter and her colleagues survive their most difficult years, and she felt that they—and the next generation of activists—had the necessary resources to continue the chapter’s work. With a major legal victory and a growing membership list, she believed the Miami chapter would thrive.⁶¹ Whatever the reason for her reduced involvement, it is clear that Ruth Perry was no armchair activist. Working on the front lines and at the grassroots level in the 1950s and early 1960s, very little about the civil rights movement was theoretical to her. Thus, while Perry did not hesitate to raise her voice as an activist, she also worked to elevate that voice as a journalist. In the end, the activist and the journalist spoke as one.

58. Ibid., 12 January 1963.

59. This excludes her announcement of the NAACP’s victory in the Gibson case.

60. Perry, “Along Freedom’s Road,” *Miami Times*, 12 January 1963.

61. Perry-Kilburg, interview by author, 31 August 2002

Florida Room: Battle for St. Augustine 1964: Public Record and Personal Recollection

By Claudia S. Slate

To the casual observer—the tourist—St. Augustine of the 1960s seemed more like a tropical paradise than a racial battleground. This unique city of 15,000, the first permanent settlement in the United States, prided itself on its quaint streets, historic buildings, and pristine Atlantic Ocean beaches. Not surprisingly, it depended on tourists for much of its economy. Black buggy drivers chauffeured tourists through the downtown, past the Old Slave Market where blacks and whites congregated on benches to chat. Although most outsiders would not have considered Florida part of the Deep South, paradoxically, beneath St. Augustine's façade hid "the vilest kind of racism."¹ Because of this contrast, one journalist described the town as "schizophrenia by the sea."² Whites, conditioned to view blacks as inferior, paternalistically kept them in their place economically and socially. Historian David Colburn noted that Jim Crow segregation denied the city's black residents (approximately 23 percent of the city's population) "full and equal access to the railroad station, bus depot, restrooms, drinking fountains, public schools, city hospital, and library." Segregation resulted in a complete shutout of blacks

Claudia Slate is a professor of English at Florida Southern College and the daughter of John Herbers.

1. John Herbers, *The Lost Priority: What Happened to the Civil Rights Movement in America?* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1970), 69.
2. Paul Good, *The Trouble I've Seen* (Washington, D.C: Howard U. Press, 1975), 75.

from "any role in local political and economic affairs,"³ but race relations were characterized by civility as long as blacks deferred to whites. Content with their situation, whites remained unaware of emerging racial discontent.

Blacks' acceptance of their lot in St. Augustine shifted in the 1960s. Not only was the climate beginning to change all over the South with Martin Luther King's efforts, but a new leader had moved into town: Dr. Robert B. Hayling. Hayling, dissatisfied with conditions in St. Augustine and bolstered by civil rights advances elsewhere, joined the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which at the time had no more than twenty or thirty active members.⁴

Under the leadership of Hayling, the St. Augustine NAACP chapter grew and began exerting pressure for desegregation of the community. The perfect opportunity for action came in 1963. In the city's preparation for its 400-year anniversary in 1965, municipal officials intended to showcase only the "acceptable" history, wherein "social structure had been defined by the traditions of the past, and segregation was a central element in that heritage." Genealogy provided a source of pride for whites and, in essence, "black heritage did not count." When city leaders excluded blacks from the Quadcentennial Celebration preparations, the local NAACP chapter wrote a letter to Vice President Lyndon Johnson, asking him to cancel his planned March 1963 visit to St. Augustine to dedicate a Spanish landmark. The chapter informed him that no black citizens had been invited to the affair and that city leaders had refused to meet with them or to establish a biracial committee.⁵

St. Augustine blacks thought the national government had heard them at last when Johnson responded that he would not attend a segregated event and that he would have his press secretary meet with local black leaders and the city commission. Ten local blacks were invited to the dinner for Johnson and were seated at a separate table, but their hopes were dashed when neither Washington observers nor city commissioners attended a follow-up meeting. Only the city manager and his secretary met with the black leaders, who were asked to reveal names and addresses of

3. David Colburn, *Racial Change and Community Crisis: St. Augustine, Florida, 1877-1980* (New York: Columbia U. Press, 1985), 16, 20.

4. Ibid, 30-31.

5. Colburn, *Racial Change*, 26, 32.

NAACP members.⁶ The NAACP refused to give up this information and responded to the demand by writing President John F. Kennedy, asking him to oppose the city leaders' federal grant request for the Quadra-centennial Celebration, arguing that with its widespread segregation St. Augustine should not be considered a showcase of democracy.⁷

Blacks continued negotiations with the city, but officials stonewalled and frustrated their efforts. When Hayling warned that he could not control local blacks unless city commissioners made efforts to end segregation, they finally agreed to meet with black leaders. However, city leaders were angry about Hayling's outspokenness and the NAACP efforts to block the federal grant. When city commissioners failed to establish a biracial committee or to desegregate public facilities, they lost an opportunity to negotiate a resolution of the conflict.⁸

The men, women, and children drawn into the vortex of the St. Augustine campaign were unlikely participants. Blacks with little previous experience in mass protest and white southerners like my own family took part in, reported on, and provided support for this civil rights initiative.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was responsible for making the stand necessary to pull all these participants into St. Augustine. Community leader Hayling called on the SCLC and its head, Martin Luther King, Jr., who viewed St. Augustine as a potential "nonviolent battleground."⁹ The SCLC saw this campaign as advantageous for several reasons. First, the SCLC could build on the local movement already begun by Dr. Hayling and other black residents. Second, the local white leadership showed no signs of compromising. Third, the importance of tourism to St. Augustine's economy, meant a boycott would have maximum impact. Finally, the national publicity that St. Augustine was receiving on the eve of its 400th anniversary "was particularly crucial to SCLC's effort to win support for the impending civil rights bill."¹⁰

6. Robert Saunders, *Bridging the Gap*. (Tampa: University of Tampa Press, 2000), 232.

7. Colburn, *Racial Change*, 33-34.

8. Ibid, 35-36.

9. Barry G. Golson, ed. *The Playboy Interview*, "Martin Luther King: January 1965, Alex Haley Interviewer" (Wideview Books, 1981), 119.

10. David Colburn, "The Push for Equality: All Eyes on Florida." *Forum* 18.1 (Winter 1994/1995), 25

Once signed by President Johnson, the Civil Rights Act would give the federal government the power to end segregation of public facilities and public schools, enforce the constitutional right to vote, and require employers to provide equal employment opportunities.

From the first demonstration in St. Augustine through the most contentious part of 1964, the aims of those seeking equal opportunity for all citizens and those who wanted no change in race relations clashed. With civil rights activists in Arkansas, Alabama, and Mississippi tackling the hot button issues—school desegregation and voter registration—SCLC leaders thought the aims of the St. Augustine movement to be “quite modest”: “desegregation of public facilities [restaurants, hotels and motels, theatres, beaches], the hiring of black policemen and firemen, and the establishment of a biracial commission to work out a plan for further desegregation of the city.”¹¹ Modest as the local goals may have seemed, the intransigence of the white power structure made them difficult to achieve.

The SCLC saw far greater potential for this campaign than the acquisition of the limited local goals. St. Augustine provided the stage for the successful testing of the strategy of nonviolence in the pursuit of the passage of the Civil Rights Act. As he established his headquarters in St. Augustine, Martin Luther King, Jr. explained the critical role of the local activities: “The summer campaign model needed a purifying prelude in the sense of having a movement where Negroes remained completely nonviolent.” With civil rights demonstrators departing from their nonviolent policy in Jacksonville, Nashville, and Atlanta, St. Augustine was “a critical test, not only of King’s ability to hold the imagination and allegiance of millions of Negroes but also of the nonviolent method.”¹²

The segregationist goal was to maintain the status quo, racially and socially, thwarting any change. Their power structure was evident: the mayor, city commissioners, and county attorney were strengthened by “a militant redneck class” and “a more sophisticated, white collar group, affiliated with the John Birch Society.” The white leadership “controlled the instruments of oppression through the government, courts, police, and business.”¹³

11. Andrew Young, *An Easy Burden: The Civil Rights Movement and Transformation of America* (Harper Collins, 1996), 294.

12. John Herbers, “Critical Test for the Nonviolent Way,” *The New York Times Magazine* July 5, 1964:5

13. Colburn, *Racial Change*, 213.

Segregationists viewed themselves as victims, forced to defend their way of life. They saw the civil rights movement as analogous to communism.¹⁴ Florida Senator Verle Pope said of St. Augustine, "We find ourselves beset by outside forces. . . when we had thought our race relations were among the finest."¹⁵

As it turned out, both sides of the conflict underestimated their opponent's strength and resolve. Once negotiation failed, the two sides of the St. Augustine conflict adopted very different tactics for victory. The civil rights activists practiced an unconventional war strategy—civil disobedience—rather than aggression. They defied the Jim Crow laws of segregation and accepted arrest and jail time, if necessary. Appropriately enough, King cited Saint Augustine, the city's namesake, when he said an "unjust law" is "no law at all," a "morally null and void." King argued that such a law must be defied.¹⁶ Most of the civil rights workers underwent training in nonviolent resistance since segregationists often responded to civil disobedience with violence. In one of the most effective training exercises, activists learned to curl into a ball to protect their vital organs, rather than instinctively defending themselves when attacked.

In St. Augustine, the SCLC organized dime store counter and restaurant sit-ins, swim-ins at local pools or beaches, and marches around the town square, the old slave market. They hoped that the mass demonstrations would incite segregationists to retaliate with violence and the arrest of demonstrators, thus filling up the jails as they had done in Birmingham. In *Why We Can't Wait*, Martin Luther King, Jr. spoke to this strategy:

The Negro was willing to risk martyrdom in order to move and stir the social conscience of his community and the nation . . . he would force his oppressor to commit his brutality openly, with the rest of the world looking on . . . Nonviolent resistance paralyzed and confused the power structure against which it was directed.¹⁷

When activists met violence with nonviolence, they would be revealed as "a people of great dignity, courage, and purpose, while

14. Herbers, *The Lost Priority*, 69.

15. Good, *The Trouble I've Seen*, 102.

16. Golson, 123.

17. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Why We Can't Wait* (New York: Mentor, 1964), 37.

the decadence of the white community, which had hidden behind a façade of official protection, was thrown open to public view.”¹⁸

As on other civil rights battlegrounds, activists depended on the media for publicity of the demonstrations, to bring their plight to the rest of the nation. Television and newspaper coverage provided necessary disclosure. John Lewis, one of the Freedom Riders, emphasized the importance of the media when he said, “Without the media, the Civil Rights Movement would have been like a bird without wings.”¹⁹ According to my father, John Herbers, a correspondent in St. Augustine for *The New York Times*, Hayling and SCLC leaders frequently called the press to inform them of events they wanted covered.

While the civil rights activists practiced nonviolent tactics, white militants concentrated on frightening their enemies, often resorting to direct violence against the demonstrators. They also used violence to punish whites in the community who dared to deviate from the status quo. For example, when one restaurant manager desegregated for a day, segregationists smashed his windows and threatened his life.²⁰ Pat Watters, a journalist who covered the St. Augustine demonstrations, documented the fear of white moderates:

In St. Augustine the white moderates were literally, physically afraid—afraid not only to speak out in favor of a sane solution to the city’s dragging-on crisis (which had proved ruinous to the summer’s tourist trade), but also afraid, as people were said to be in Nazi Germany, of not showing support for those ruinous racist policies being pursued by the city. They feared social and business ostracism, and they feared violence from the same sources doing violence to the Negroes.²¹

Non-militant segregationists used indirect methods, exerting economic and legal pressure to affect an end to the demonstrations: “While rednecks and Klan elements often appeared on the front lines to do battle with civil rights activists, civic leaders manip-

18. Herbers, *Lost Priority*, 70.

19. John Lewis, Civil Rights and the Press Symposium Address, Syracuse University, April 24, 2004.

20. Good, *The Trouble I’ve Seen*, 78.

21. Pat Watters, *Down to Now: Reflections on the Southern Civil Rights Movement* (Athens: U. of Georgia Press, 1993), 285.

ulated events behind the scenes to block racial progress.”²² For example, Sheriff L. O. Davis notified employers when their employees were arrested for marching; often those named would be fired as a result. Local judges levied fines of \$100 or jail sentences of forty-five days for each violation, creating a financial hardship in many poor black families.²³

In their fight for equality, civil rights activists used less traditional weapons than their opponents did. King considered nonviolent direct action itself a “powerful as well as a just weapon” in its “ability to dramatize, in the world’s eyes, an oppressed peoples’ struggle for injustice.”²⁴ The unconventional weapons of spiritual rhetoric and freedom songs also gave civil rights workers courage and resolve, and they often met in local churches to be encouraged by their leaders. At one meeting, Martin Luther King gave hope to a group of St. Augustine demonstrators: “You are proving to be the creative spiritual anvils that will wear out many a physical hammer.”²⁵ Andrew Young took up the microphone and encouraged them: “If anyone says any kind of mean word to you, I want you to pray for them. If anybody should throw anything at you, I don’t even want you to look evil at them. Okay?”²⁶

As it did elsewhere in the movement, singing also bolstered the St. Augustine activists:

Because of the grandeur of congregational singing in black culture, there has never been a protest movement as rich in song as was the civil rights movement. The outpouring of freedom songs went to the core of the struggle and expressed, as nothing else was able, the hope, belief, desire, passion, dreams, and anguish of the conflict.²⁷

Andrew Young, an ordained minister and King’s personal assistant, was the principal leader of the St. Augustine marches. He rallied the troops by alluding to the words of a freedom song: “Tonight we have to decide whether to stand back and give in to fear, or whether we really mean the words that we sing, ‘Before I’d

22. Colburn, *Racial Change*, 213.

23. Ibid, 43.

24. Golson, *The Playboy Interview*, 118.

25. Good, 76.

26. Ibid, 77.

27. Mary King, *Freedom Song: A Personal Story of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement* (New York: William Morrow, 1987), 92.

be a slave I'd be buried in my grave, and go home to my Lord and be free."²⁸ As a teenager in St. Augustine that summer with my family, I remember demonstrators marching around the town square and singing, "We love everybody in our hearts." The only physical objects activists carried were signs reading, "I am an American Also," "My Father Died Defending This County Too," "Segregation Must Go," "Don't Buy in Segregated St. John County," and "The City Won't Talk To Us."²⁹

The segregationists used more traditional weapons—fists, black jacks, pipes, chains, burned crosses, and guns—to accomplish their purpose, but they also relied on rhetoric to strike fear in the community and to bolster their own resolve. A minister at a Klan rally outside of town shouted to "whoops and cheers," "the Klan is on the move again, and it is not going to let the niggers and Jews take over the country."³⁰ J. B. Stoner, an Atlanta lawyer and head of the National States Rights Party, came to St. Augustine and spoke in the town square:

"We're not gonna be put in chains by no Civil Rights Bill now or any other time.... There's nothing in the U.S. Constitution that gives Congress the authority to tell us that we've got to eat with niggers, that we've got to go in swimming with 'em, go to school with them or anything like that."³¹

The Klan also burned crosses and conducted armed drives through black neighborhoods. Like the activists, the segregationists expressed their sentiments with signs, such as "Kill the Niggers" and a banner of a raccoon with a photo of King over its face, captioned "Martin Luther Coon/ And All His Little Coons/ Are Going Down."³²

In St. Augustine, both sides relied on volunteer armies that included some unlikely participants. The leaders of the civil rights activists were, in the main, young southern black men, but the foot

28. Good, *The Trouble I've Seen*, 83.

29. Taylor Branch, *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years, 1963-65* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998), AP Wide World Photos; *The New York Times*, June 11, 1964, Associated Press Wirephoto.

30. Good, *The Trouble I've Seen*, 79.

31. *Ibid.*, 96.

32. Good, *The Trouble I've Seen*, 79, 96; Colburn, *Racial Change*, 5; Branch, *Pillar of Fire*, 377.

soldiers could claim diversity: black and white, old and young, male and female, rich and poor, southern and northern.

The principal local leader on the civil rights side was Robert Hayling, the black dentist who galvanized the local NAACP, recruited local teens for demonstrations, and ultimately convinced the SCLC to make St. Augustine their project. Other St. Augustine leaders who provided leadership and risked their lives included Reverend Goldie Eubanks of the First Church of God, who was clubbed by police during a demonstration; officers of the local NAACP chapter, like Fannie Fullerwood and Mrs. Elizabeth Hawthorne; and the town's black clergy—including Eubanks, Reverend Thomas Wright of St. Mary's Baptist Church and Reverend Charles D. Dixon of St. Paul's A.M.E. Church—who opened their sanctuaries for mass meetings before marches and as a retreat from violent beatings afterwards.

SCLC leaders—Martin Luther King, Hosea Williams, and Andrew Young—all black southerners, came from out of state to lead the bulk of the civil rights marches in 1964. Clergymen, such as Reverend C.T. Vivian and Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth of the SCLC, proved to be very active in the demonstrations, at one point participating in a “wade-in” at the public beach. Sixteen Reform rabbis from eight different states came to demonstrate, and a few of them ended up in jail after kneeling with blacks civil rights workers at the segregated Monson's Motor Lodge. In their cell the rabbis composed a “common testament” that Rabbi Eugene Borowitz wrote on the back of a Ku Klux Klan (KKK) pamphlet: “We shall not forget the people with whom we drove, prayed, marched, slept, ate, demonstrated and were arrested.”³³

Young people, both black and white, many from out-of-town, filled the ranks of the St. Augustine movement: “Most of the participants in SCLC's demonstrations were teenagers from St. Augustine, college students from Florida Memorial and northern schools, and clergy and other sympathizers from throughout the nation.”³⁴ They depended on those in the black community with the courage to house the out-of-town demonstrators, who would not have been welcome in local motels.

Barbara Barnes Allen, a young mother in her late twenties, was one of those out-of-towners: she came from New York to St.

33. Branch, *Pillar of Fire*, 354-356.

34. Colburn, *Racial Change*, 80.



Dr. Robert B. Hayling and Len Murray, SCLC member, St. Augustine, Florida.
Photograph courtesy of the Florida Department of Archive

Augustine in spring 1964 to participate in the sit-ins. Unlike many other out-of-state demonstrators, Allen's familiarity with the city prompted her trip. Born in St. Augustine, raised in New York, and educated as a young black woman at Florida A& M in Tallahassee, she had spent her summers with family in St. Augustine and had worked in Dr. Hayling's dental office. Arriving in town ahead of King and many of the other SNCC protestors, Allen resolved to be a model for the young black women in town, who were not yet demonstrating. When she saw that Hayling needed help, she joined a black man and sat down at the St. George Pharmacy. She was immediately arrested and placed in the back seat of a police car with a snarling dog. She remained in jail only a short time, but her arrest record—which included charges of "inciting a riot and illegal entry" and "conspiracy to overthrow the American government"—followed her North and plagued her for about fifteen years. Why did she risk her life and livelihood? Allen explained, "[I]t's not that I've always been such a radical, but I've always felt

that I had rights. I'm an American, I was born here. And there are certain things that are not supposed to be a certain way."³⁵

Two other women also felt strongly about the Movement. In their 70s, Altha Louise Green and Mary Peabody, qualified as unconventional civil rights combatants. They could have considered themselves exempt from active participation in the movement by virtue of their race, age, and social status. Instead, Green, a white teacher of children's literature at a local black college, marched with the civil rights activists and refused aid when struck by a brick.³⁶ Mrs. Malcolm Peabody, who was white, the wife of an Episcopal bishop, the mother of the governor of Massachusetts, and grandmother of seven, traveled from Boston, joined a sit-in at a St. Augustine restaurant, and was jailed. Her arrest set off a media blitz: "Fifty reporters clamored outside for jail interviews. Within two hours of the booking, their news bulletins stimulated demands for briefings by the Justice Department and the FBI from U.S. senators concerned about Peabody's welfare." *The New York Times* ran a front page photo of Mary Peabody in custody with the sheriff next to her holding a cattle prod and smoking a cigar. Once out of jail, she appeared on NBC's *Today* show, claiming that "St. Augustine was a town festering in violence and hate."³⁷

Hattie and James White, local St. Augustine residents, were an extraordinary black couple who participated in the movement. In 1963 their fourteen-year-old son was among sixteen young blacks, including six other juveniles, arrested and jailed for a sit-in at a local pharmacy. Five days later, County Judge Mathis told the parents of the juveniles that he would release their children only if they agreed to prohibit them from joining future demonstrations, keep them on probation until they reached 21 years of age, report to him twice a month, and enforce a curfew. Four of the parents bravely refused these conditions. Hattie Lee White was one of those parents. In her son's defense, she sent a handwritten letter to Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP explaining the situation and asking for his advice and help:

35. Bruce Hartford, *Civil Rights Movement Veterans*, "Our Stories," <http://www.crmvet.org/>.

36. Snow, James (a.k.a. Stetson Kennedy), "Seeing St. Aug. Proves Exciting," *Reporting Civil Rights: Part Two, American Journalism, 1963-1973* (New York: The Library of America, 2003), 127

37. Branch, *Pillar of Fire*, 281, 282; Colburn, *Racial Change*, 152.

Maybe you have heard about the trouble we are having here in St. Augustine, concerning the racial problems. But I feel it will be more understandable to you if I explained it more thoroughly.

My name is Mrs. Hattie Lee White. And I am the mother of one of the boys that were sent to reform school for peaceful picketing and demonstrating. My son and 15 other children were arrested for peaceful picketing and demonstrating. The older children were released on bonds when fines were paid. But the Court would not accept bonds from the juveniles (which were from the ages of 14 and 16). So they were lodged in the County jail where the boys stayed 23 days before being sent to reform school. They have been at the reform school for one week. The girls are still in county jail awaiting disposition to a girls' school. I've never heard of any child being taken away from their parents for wanting his freedom. Have you? We have no Justice in this town what so ever there is no law here for the Negro. . . .

Surely I think we should be able to get some one to help us in this fight in St. Augustine, Fla. Please Mr. Wilkins if there is any way possible get some one down here to help us. We mothers would not sign our children's freedom away until they are 21 years of age as the Judge wanted. The Judge wanted us take our children out on probation until they are 21. He wanted us to agree to not let them picket or demonstrate and he wanted us to have them home at a certain hour every evening. And he wanted them to report to him twice a month. So I am sure you understand why we wouldn't. Be cause [sic] the children did not break any laws or committed any type of crime all they did was sit down and asked to be served. My husband fought for this country in World War II and he won the Purple Heart, 2 Bronze Stars and other medals. Now it seems a pity that our son has to go to reform school because he wants his freedom. Mr. Wilkins try to help us parents of these children We are very sick from worry. Please answer as soon as you can. Sincerely, Mrs. Hattie Lee White.³⁸

38. NAACP papers, Part 27: Selected Branch Files, 1956-1965, Series A: The South, August 16, 1963.

Hattie White and the other parents remained steadfast in their efforts to uphold what they believed to be right, even at the expense of their children's immediate welfare; their unyielding spirit epitomized the unsung heroes of the movement. Despite White's efforts, and only after spending six months in a reform school 270 miles from home, the children were released by order of Florida Governor Farris Bryant, but they were classified as delinquents and forbid further demonstrating.³⁹ The Whites experienced other losses because they dared to speak out; their home was firebombed and Hattie was fired from her job as a clothes presser. Nevertheless, the two persisted and, following in their son's footsteps, they joined St. Augustine sit-ins and demonstrations. As a result they were beaten and arrested a total of six times.⁴⁰

While the civil rights participants were both black and white, the army of segregationists appeared, at least racially, much more homogeneous. Most of the segregationist leaders were white Floridians, both rich and poor, while the rank and file included white locals, with a similar range of economic means. The town leaders tended to be more moderate, while the militants resorted to violence; even so, common goals between the right wing upper class and racist white lower class linked the two.⁴¹

The civic leaders of St. Augustine—Mayor Joseph Shelley, his fellow commissioners, Judge Charles Mathis, and County Attorney Robert Andreu—comprised the city's power structure. Shelley remained consistent in his opposition to a biracial committee or to any compromise with civil rights advocates, and he persuaded the other commissioners to support his position. Shelley, a physician, served in World War II and was an avid anti-communist. Even though Shelley treated blacks in his practice and claimed to be "very sympathetic to blacks," he also believed blacks were inferior to whites and was convinced that the civil rights movement had communist roots.⁴²

While the city officials functioned as the brains behind the segregationist cause, the white militants supplied the brawn. The spokesman for the local militant white faction was pig farmer and

39. Colburn, *Racial Change*, 42.

40. Hartford, *Civil Rights Movement Veterans*, "Our Stories,"

41. Watters, *Down to Now*, 59

42. Colburn, *Racial Change*, 213, 37, 38.

convicted bootlegger, 45 year-old Holstead R. "Hoss" Manucy. He headed the two-year-old Ancient City Hunting Club, also known as Manucy's Raiders, a Klan-like organization which claimed 1,486 members. He and his vigilantes converged from across the county to patrol the streets of St. Augustine and harass marchers. Instead of a Klan robe, Manucy's trademark was his battered black cowboy hat. The rumor persisted that the Klan had denied admission to the Catholic Manucy, who had formed his own racist group. Manucy's racism trumped his self interest, preventing him from seeing the irony in this. He also appeared unaware of being used by townspeople to do their dirty work: "Manucy was a cipher raised to the value of substance by his social and intellectual betters. The people of Saint Augustine, who wouldn't let a Hoss Manucy in their front door, allowed him to run their city."⁴³

The St. Augustine upheaval attracted white supremacist leaders from outside the area as well. When the Atlanta segregationist J. B. Stoner espoused beliefs too extreme for the Klans of America, he had "assumed the role of Imperial Wizard of the new, more militant Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan." Of medium height, stocky, with curly black hair, Stoner appeared in downtown St. Augustine to lead white demonstrations in the black section of town, and spew venom at Klan gatherings: "The nigger is not a human Being. He is somewhere between the white man and ape. . . . We don't believe in getting along with our enemy, and the nigger is our enemy."⁴⁴

Connie Lynch, "the modern Klan's most notorious evangelist," outdid even Stoner, a friend of his, when it came to stirring white audiences to action. Though Lynch had a California address, he was a Texas native, member of the Florida KKK, and a seasoned traveler, driving 75,000 miles a year "in his coral-pink Cadillac, decked out in a string tie and vest stitched from a Confederate battle flag." On June 25, 1964, at the St. Augustine slave market, Lynch addressed an audience of 800 Klansmen: "'There's gonna be a bloody race riot all over this county. The stage is set for the earth to get a bloodbath. When the smoke clears, there ain't gonna be nothing left except white faces.'"⁴⁵

43. Colburn, *Racial Change*, 231; Young, *An Easy Burden*, 291; Good, *The Trouble I've Seen*, 78, 92.

44. Colburn, *Racial Change*, 6.

45. Michael Newton, *The Invisible Empire* (Gainesville: U. Press of Florida, 2001), 161, 170.

Those in the ranks carried out the will of their segregationist leaders and included many white men and women from St. Augustine and surrounding communities. A police officer said about the mob that “eighty or ninety percent of them are either members of the Klan, or are here because the Klan called them out”⁴⁶

White moderates, who either stayed in their homes and did nothing or allowed racist hotheads to silence them, could not really be considered combatants, but their lack of response made them complicit. As one of the journalists covering St. Augustine wrote, “The most sinister, lethal element included the many whites in the town and in all of America who were incapable of any response at all to the movement. . . . incapable of responding to its appeals to conscience and justice.”⁴⁷

St. Augustine’s white churches—Protestant, Episcopal, and Catholic—ignored the racial strife, and, by remaining aloof, failed to take advantage of their influence in the community. No strong ministerial alliance existed between the white churches or between the white and black churches; St. Augustine proved King’s adage that “the most segregated hour of Christian America is eleven o’clock on Sunday morning.”⁴⁸ The Catholic Church, in particular, missed a unique opportunity because “Catholicism had been intimately connected with the history of the community and commanded the religious loyalties of the greatest number of people.” St. Augustine was the only Florida city with a majority Catholic population; thus, “early on, King deemed Catholic support crucial.” That support was not forthcoming; in particular, Archbishop Joseph Hurley of St. Augustine encouraged the church’s lack of leadership and involvement. According to one observer, Hurley literally hid behind a pillar at the Jacksonville airport to avoid discussing St. Augustine’s racial problems with King, when he accidentally encountered the civil rights leader.⁴⁹

Other St. Augustine churches proved to be equally ineffectual. When racially mixed groups attempted to integrate several local

46. Ibid, 170.

47. Watters, *Down to Now*, 259.

48. Folder VI, 33, National Press Club Address, Washington D.C., July 19, 1962. Martin Luther King, Jr. Papers, Boston University, Boston.

49. Colburn, *Racial Change*, 159, 162; Charles R. Gallagher, “The Catholic Church, Martin Luther King Jr., and the March in St. Augustine. *The Florida Quarterly* 83.2 (2004), 153.

churches on Easter Sunday 1964, most of them were not allowed to worship. One exception occurred at Memorial Presbyterian Church, where Reverend Howard W. Lee Flagler served as pastor; he was removed by his congregation for opening the church doors to demonstrators. Reverend John Gill, minister of Grace Methodist Church, admitted blacks to his church on the Sunday after Easter.⁵⁰ The church's board disapproved of Gill's actions and issued the following "Statement of Policy" four days later:

Grace Methodist Church, founded in 1888, has traditionally, historically and by precedent administered to the religious requirement of those Caucasian Methodists who chose to be affiliated with said Church. The official body of Grace Church does not choose to integrate its members with those of the Negro race, nor to admit racial demonstrators within any facility of said Church. Let us look to the future now and exert our full efforts to work together, with confidence that we can solve all of our problems if we trust in God and love one another.⁵¹

Such repercussions made other ministers think twice about supporting desegregation.

The most publicized closed door slammed on March 30, 1964, when Mrs. Peabody, the wife of an Episcopal Bishop, led a large group of young blacks to worship at St. Augustine's Trinity Episcopal Church. This shutout generated national publicity and widespread criticism but only fortified the segregationist stand of Trinity Church and other white St. Augustine churches.⁵²

Local police had the authority to arrest those who broke the Jim Crow segregation laws and the law that required a city-sanctioned permit for marching, and St. Augustine's Sheriff Davis diligently supervised the arrest of hundreds of civil rights workers. He also deputized many local citizens not trained in law enforcement to aid in this effort, handing out badges "to anyone who asked for one." However, Davis and Police Chief Virgil Stuart consistently failed to arrest whites who violently attacked peaceful demonstrators: "Sheriff Davis and his deputies did little short of preventing

50. UPI, *Jacksonville Journal*, 6 April 1964.

51. R.C. Neat, Chairman of the Board, to People of Grace Methodist Church, 9 April 1964.

52. Colburn, *Racial Change*, 163, 165.

actual lynchings to control the widespread Klan-like activity in the area." My father, who covered the demonstrations, remarked about the failure of St. Augustine law enforcement: "I don't know anywhere in the South where the dereliction of duty among law enforcement officers was so blatant. It was one of the disgraceful operations among the many other ones I covered throughout the South." Not only did Davis and his deputies fail to provide protection for the demonstrators, but often they used excessive violence—police dogs and cattle prods—when arresting them.⁵³

Though Davis was not a Klansman himself, he and Manucy were good friends, and Davis "appeared at rallies, permitted klavern meetings in the county jail, loaned official cars to visiting out-of-town knights, and employed at least four members of Jacksonville's militant Klan as full-time deputies." Convinced that King and his associates were communists, Davis often worked as an intermediary between city officials and Klan leaders to block SCLC efforts and those of local blacks.⁵⁴

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) should have been closely monitoring wrongdoing in St. Augustine; instead, FBI agents actually encouraged NAACP members to act as informants about their own organization, thus promoting conflict within the movement. Also, the FBI repeatedly disclosed movement plans to local law enforcement and thwarted SNCC efforts: "Although no evidence exists to suggest that the FBI deliberately sought to undermine the civil rights movement in St. Augustine, the conclusion is inescapable that the FBI aided the forces of resistance."⁵⁵

In recording the action in St. Augustine, newspaper and television reporters, press photographers, and television camera crews played an important role. Though not aligned with either side in the struggle, these recorders risked their lives daily so that the rest of the world could experience the struggle firsthand through printed and oral accounts, photographs, and videos.

Those with cameras were easily identifiable, and white militants, angry at anyone who dared to document the upheaval, vented their fury on them. Cameramen were especially vulnerable because their attention was directed on filming, not always on their

53. Newton, *The Invisible Empire*, 168; Young, *An Easy Burden*, 288; Interview with John Herbers, April 15, 2000; Colburn, *Racial Change*, 66.

54. Newton, *The Invisible Empire*, 163; Colburn, *Racial Change*, 213.

55. Colburn, *Racial Change*, 85.

approaching attackers. Paul Good, an ABC correspondent, recalled that during one nighttime march white militants smashed his tape recorder and stole his cameraman's equipment, worth \$1,000: "The mob was noisy, yelling insults, spitting on the marchers but concentrating on the press rather than on the Negroes. . . Then rebel yells broke, punches sailed, a shot was fired, and cameras began being smashed with crystalline shatter and glassy tinkle in the dark."⁵⁶ During that same march, "A man with a bicycle chain flayed open the neck of NBC cameraman Irving Gans, sending him to Flagler Hospital" and "Associated Press photographer James Kerlin was kicked and beaten to the ground, losing his cameras." On one of the last marches, *Newsweek* correspondent Marshall Frady was kicked by whites as he tried to help a wounded demonstrator, a little girl, hiding in the bushes.⁵⁷ Andrew Young recounted the clubbing of a Danish cameraman into unconsciousness and the beating of Nelson Benton, a CBS reporter.⁵⁸

Pat Watters, who covered St. Augustine for the Southern Regional Council, also chronicled violence against the media and recounted how law enforcement officers not only failed to protect members of the press but even joined in the beatings. Even so, Watters expressed a sense of purpose in being a part of this struggle, the "exhilaration, the joy that welled up" inside of him for, as he wrote, "This is the place to be, I said; this is where I belong."⁵⁹

Another newspaper correspondent, my father, John Herbers of *The New York Times*, said of the importance of media presence, "justice is more likely to prevail in the light of publicity."⁶⁰ Under great duress he managed to get out a story almost every day about the demonstrations and arrests in St. Augustine. He recalled one day, just at deadline, he was taken to the police station and fined for running a stop sign that the police had motioned him through. Shortly thereafter, several local white militants threatened Dad, accusing him of being with the FBI, which Dad found humorous since the FBI was not exactly antagonistic to the militant cause. When pursued by the men, Dad appealed to several state troopers

56. Good, *The Trouble I've Seen*, 94, 88.

57. Branch, *Pillar of Fire*, 324, 378.

58. Young, *Easy Burden*, 293.

59. Watters, *Down to Now*, 283. 7.

60. John Herbers, "Racial Conflict, North and South: All is Not Black and White." *The Working Press*. Ruth Adler, ed. (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1949), 138.

in a nearby car. They escorted him to his motel and told him they could not protect him further. Fearing for his life, he checked out of the motel. As he drove away, he heard an announcer on the local radio station bragging that a *New York Times* reporter was run out of town.⁶¹

Several weeks before my father left town, I, as a fifteen-year-old, joined him and became a recorder of sorts in St. Augustine for six eventful June days. Unlike my father, I logged my observations into a small diary rather than onto a portable typewriter, and my chronicle was for my eyes only, not for the world. I came to the racial conflict with a unique perspective for a southerner. Dad and Mom raised my three younger sisters and me in segregated Jackson, Mississippi, with the tenet that all individuals, regardless of color, were to be treated with respect and dignity. That is not what I saw practiced around me in Mississippi with its segregated schools and pools, nor did it appear to be the case in Atlanta, where we moved in 1963. While on assignment, Dad allowed me to accompany him to a daytime KKK rally held in Atlanta's Piedmont Park; I will never forget seeing young children decked out in white robes and peaked hats, clasping their parents' hands.

My entire family was very much aware of the civil rights movement because it necessitated Dad's frequent trips to Mississippi and Alabama, covering violence in Oxford and marches in Birmingham. I also remember frequent discussions at home about the injustices and atrocities occurring throughout the South. As informed as I thought I was, I was unprepared for what I experienced during our 1964 family trip to St. Augustine, Florida. To me, Florida was not really southern: it was a place for fun and frolic, for tourists, not permanent residents. Besides, I assumed that beaches couldn't be closed and exclusive, the way the pools in Jackson had been. Little did I know how much Florida was the South.

The week that my family and I traveled to St. Augustine turned out to be a particularly significant one for the civil rights struggle. On June 7, Martin Luther King's beach cottage was ransacked and burned for the second time. A white mob stoned four hundred marchers in St. Augustine, and highway patrolmen quelled the violence with tear gas. Just two days later *The New York Times* called my

61. Ibid, 240; Interview with John Herbers, July 15, 2004.



St. Augustine, June 1964: in front of the St. Augustine Motel. In the foreground, Claudia Herbers Slate on the left and her friend Frances McDowall on the right. Betty Herbers (mother) and Anne, Jill, and Mary (sisters). *Photograph supplied by the author.*

father to St. Augustine. My diary entry for June 9, 1964, reads, "We were going to Panama City (Laguna Beach) but there are riots in St. Augustine, oldest U.S. City, and Dad has to go there so gladly we too will go."⁶²

Though Dad would be working, the rest of us considered this a family vacation, and Frances McDowall, my childhood friend from Jackson, had taken the bus to Atlanta to accompany us to Florida. I have a theory that my mother, who had spent weeks as a single parent while Dad traveled, refused to have our much-needed vacation disrupted—demonstrations or not. Dad now says that,

62. Diary of Claudia Herbers, 1964, in possession of the author.

before we left, he was unaware of how dangerous the city had really become. I wrote that leaving at 5:00 A.M. on June 10, "we rode and rode, and finally going through Jacksonville, we appeared at a beautiful Howard Johnsons in St. Augustine. We swam in the motel pool that night." Little did I know that had we been black we would not have been welcome at the motel or on the beach.⁶³

Frances and I spent our first full day, June 11, as typical white tourists, sightseeing and enjoying the beach. My diary entry reports that we rode in "a \$2.50 carriage with one horse (Travler) [sic] and a funny Negro driver, Ulysses, that showed us the town!" We were unaware as we viewed the Fountain of Youth and later swam in the ocean "with the roughest waves we saw the whole time!"⁶⁴ that only a few blocks away Dad was taking notes about the arrest of Martin Luther King and Ralph Abernathy for presenting themselves for lunch at Monson's Motor Lodge. We were immune to the politics involved, the SCLC pressure on the federal government to intervene in St. Augustine, or the increasing furor of the white community. Our first-hand involvement was yet to come.

The eventful day was June 12, Friday. In the afternoon Frances and I went shopping by ourselves at the downtown Woolworth's and then stood outside on the sidewalk facing the town square—the old slave market—as black and white demonstrators marched, carrying signs mounted on poster board. I remember how calm and determined they appeared, how tall they stood. The weather was hot and humid, but none of the marchers dressed in shorts: the men wore long pants and the women wore skirts. For some reason, I remember many of them wearing glaringly white shirts, maybe because the sun was so bright, maybe because the white contrasted with the dark skin of many of them. Suddenly, several large white men came from a drugstore on the corner to our left and, after momentarily pausing on the sidewalk, rushed a few of the demonstrators, throwing them to the ground in front of a church. They tore the sticks from the placards and began beating the demonstrators, who attempted to curl in fetal positions, about the head and shoulders. Blood splattered onto their clean white shirts.

I had never seen anything like it. The hatred in the white men's eyes and in their blows was unmistakable and, to me,

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

incomprehensible. I panned the square to see if anyone there could help and spotted a local police officer outside the drugstore. I fully expected that he would come to the aid of the victims, but to my shock, he stood planted, with his feet shoulder-length apart and his arms crossed over his broad belly. He stoically watched as the men continued their beating. Then something miraculous occurred, something I now appreciate as the miracle of passive resistance. The demonstrators were honoring the code: "Nonviolent direct action is a way of overcoming injustice without becoming unjust yourself."⁶⁵ Since the demonstrators did not return blow for blow, the thugs who had perpetrated the violence gained no satisfaction from their actions. Sweaty and frustrated, they grunted and as a unit pulled themselves away the demonstrators and reentered the drugstore. The demonstrators sought aid from their comrades, who bore them up and walked with them down a nearby side street.

As distressing as that event was, the next few days brought reactions against the movement right to our doorstep. On Saturday, June 13, Mom and we five girls visited the Old Jail, a rather tacky tourist attraction that still stands. As we were buying tickets, Mom chatted with the woman in the booth about why we were in town, unknowingly blowing Dad's cover. The woman motioned to some white men nearby, and they circled the back of our car, a turquoise Ford. I wrote in my diary that KKK members had taken our license plate number. That observation proved to be correct, and by this identification Manucy and his men located us.

Two days later I made my next, and last, diary entry: "Daddy took us in the car through colored town to see if they were going to march. A trooper stopped him and asked us nicely to clear out, so clear out we did."⁶⁶ That night we experienced a much more frightening warning that Dad was unwelcome.

We were fast asleep in the motel. I shared a bed with Frances, with my sisters in a bed beside us and Mom and Dad in an adjoining room. We were startled awake by roaring car and truck engines and then by gunshots. As I lay trembling, holding onto my friend, I could tell that the vehicles were circling the motel and firing shots each time they approached our room. I do not know how long they continued or how long before I realized that they were

65. Colburn, *Racial Change*, 79.

66. Diary of Claudia Herbers, 1964.

not going to storm our room or fire through the window. The world seemed to stand still.

As vividly as I remember this event and the next day's flight from the area, I did not report it in my diary. I do not know why. I can only speculate that, as with any other nightmare, once vanquished by daylight, I did not want to revive it on paper. However, our St. Augustine trip is forever recorded in my memory—I will never forget the terror that I felt nor the empathy it engendered for the black citizens of St. Augustine.

The one demonstration that I witnessed was not the only confrontation and actually occurred towards the end of the St. Augustine campaign. Rather than one clash, the battle for St. Augustine consisted of numerous skirmishes. As early as 1961, Henry Thomas, a gifted local black student, trained in civil disobedience at Howard University, requested service at the St. Augustine Woolworth's lunch counter. As a result, he was first taken to jail and then to the hospital in an effort to declare him insane and commit him; however, due to his good reputation in town and a good word from the white family doctor of Thomas's childhood, he was released. Thomas would go on to become a Freedom Rider, while the doctor, Joseph Shelley, would be elected major of St. Augustine.⁶⁷ Reactions to this early attempt at segregation clearly showed how the powers that be in St. Augustine viewed racial chaos.

Not until two years later, when negotiations between the local NAACP and the city leaders of St. Augustine failed, did organized demonstrations begin. Local teens, recruited by Hayling, made up the first wave on the St. Augustine battleground. In July 1963 the fourteen-year-old son of James and Hattie Smith was among those arrested for attempting to segregate the local drugstore.

During the fall of 1963, racial conflict in St. Augustine began to heat up in earnest. Hayling and 26 others were arrested while marching with 100 other black men around the town's old slave market with placards, and an elderly black man, accused of dating white women, was kidnapped and beaten by the KKK. The most egregious act to date, however, occurred on the night of September 18, 1963 at a KKK rally outside of St. Augustine. The Jacksonville Klan, which numbered 1,000 members, came to the

67. Branch, *Pillar of Fire*, 36-37.

aid of white supremacists in St. Augustine. A gigantic burning cross stood at the center of a crowd of 300 and was saluted (with stiff left hands) by dozens of white robbed klansmen and klanswomen. The crowd applauded Connie Lynch as he alternately praised those who had bombed a church and killed four children three days previously and denounced Hayling, calling for his death.⁶⁸

Hayling, who had notified the media about the rally, went with three other blacks to observe the gathering from the highway. Klansmen discovered the four men and forced them at gunpoint to join the meeting. Two white men beat the blacks with their fists as klanswomen called for the men's castration and death. Hayling lost consciousness at one point but revived in time to see that he and his three friends were to be burned. Reverend Irwin Cheney, associate director of the Florida Human Relations Council, had infiltrated the Klan and was an eyewitness to the event. Cheney called Sheriff Davis, who arrived in time to stop the violence and send the blacks to the hospital with cuts, broken bones, and deep scalp injuries. Though Davis arrested four klansmen, their cases were dismissed when none of the four blacks could identify their attackers. Ironically, the all-white jury of six found Hayling guilty of assault. The judge did not sentence Hayling to jail time but fined him \$100.⁶⁹

Race tension reached its 1963 peak in October with the murder of William Kincaid. At the time of his death, Kincaid was riding in a car driven by his friend, Hoss Manucy's son, through the black section of St. Augustine with a shotgun at his side. Several shots were fired from the shadows of a home, and Kincaid was hit in the head and died immediately; Reverend Eubanks and his son were arrested for the murder. Though neither man was ever brought to trial, and the murder was never solved, the incident increased the animosity between blacks and whites and made any reconciliation or compromise impossible.⁷⁰

The year 1964 began with a flurry of violent attacks against blacks. Michael Newton in *The Invisible Empire: The KKK in Florida* described what he called St. Augustine's "descent into terror" by listing incident after incident of violence: "the first black man to

68. Ibid, 51-52.

69. Ibid, 53.

70. Ibid, 54.

enroll in adult education courses . . . beaten one night on his way home from class;" the burning of the garage of a pastor whose church had hosted a civil rights meeting; a shooting into the home of Dr. Hayling, a black dentist, killing the family dog.⁷¹

In the spring of 1964, the SCLC sent out a call encouraging New England college students to spend their spring break in St. Augustine protesting segregation.⁷² The major battle for St. Augustine began in earnest with demonstrators from all over the country marching in downtown St. Augustine after dark at the site of the old slave market. The marches produced scores of arrests, including that of Mrs. Peabody. City jail conditions were appalling: 66 men housed in a cage built for 16; 57 women in a cell with four bunks; and both sexes penned together in outdoor corrals exposed to the broiling Florida sun, with a hole in the ground for a toilet.⁷³

By May violence against civil rights activists had escalated even further. KKK members shot into King's beach cottage (which they burned a week later) and issued death threats against the civil rights leader. King informed the White House "all semblance of law and order has broken down."⁷⁴ No federal help was forthcoming. Andrew Young of SCLC described his brutal attack during a march on June 9: as he walked over to "defuse the situation" by talking with Manucy and his followers "someone hit me in head from the rear with a blackjack, and I don't remember anything after that." When Young regained consciousness and resumed his march, he was attacked again, this time with kicks as well as blackjack beatings.⁷⁵ Policemen sat in a car in sight of the violence but did not intervene.⁷⁶ This was the first time that Young had been beaten during a march. Afterwards he sobbed behind St. Mary's Church, more resolved than ever to continue the fight: "It wasn't that I was personally vindictive, but I saw firsthand the courage of St. Augustine's black citizens in the face of the viciousness of the Klan. I felt it wouldn't be right to abandon those people to the Klan and the sheriff."⁷⁷

71. Newton, *The Invisible Empire*, 166-167.

72. Colburn, *Racial Change*, 61-63.

73. Newton, *The Invisible Empire*, 167.

74. David Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, (New York: Quill, 1986), 327.

75. Young, *EasyBurden*, 292.

76. Colburn, *Racial Change*, 90.

77. Young, *EasyBurden*, 293.

This new outbreak of violence prompted Florida Governor Bryant to order additional highway patrolmen and conservation officers and to place all law enforcement officers under the command of Major John Jourdan rather than Sheriff Davis.⁷⁸ Bryant's efforts proved to be too little and too late.

King, who had judiciously avoided participation in any of the previous demonstrations because of the death threats, hoped to pressure city officials by forcing his arrest. On June 11 King and Ralph Abernathy sought service at the whites-only Monson Motor Lodge and were arrested in front of a horde of news reporters and cameramen, who had been tipped off by SCLC officials.⁷⁹ King remained in jail only two days, but publicity resulting from his arrest pressured state authorities towards action. Almost one hundred demonstrators remained in jail after King's release.⁸⁰

On June 16, the SCLC further coerced outside intervention with a series of events guaranteed to garner public attention. Jackie Robinson, the first black athlete to break professional baseball color boundaries, came to St. Augustine to bolster troop morale. At the same time demonstrators staged wade-ins at the previously segregated beach with violence only narrowly avoided. Finally activists organized the now infamous swim-in at the Monson's Motor Lodge pool. Two white guests of the motel and five blacks jumped into the pool. Furious, the owner of the motel reacted by pouring muriatic acid into the pool, and an off duty policeman leaped in and began beating one of the swimmers. All seven swimmers were arrested for trespassing, as were sixteen rabbis who had knelt to pray at the lodge. An Associated Press photo of an off duty police officer jumping into the pool appeared on the front pages of newspapers around the world.⁸¹

With the world looking on critically, the St. Augustine battle appeared to be abating: "peace seemed genuinely at hand."⁸² On June 30 Governor Bryant appointed a biracial commission with several anonymous whites. Segregationists who had claimed they would never yield seemed to do so:

78. Colburn, *Racial Change*, 90.

79. *Ibid.*, 91.

80. John Herbers, *The New York Times*, June 14, 1964.

81. Colburn, *Racial Change*, 99-100.

82. *Ibid.*, 100.

Many St. Augustine businessmen [who had experienced a decline in tourism] pledged themselves to comply with the civil rights bill once it became law, ending segregation in public accommodations, and a bi-racial committee was scheduled to begin functioning later in the summer to hear Negro grievances.⁸³

Once President Lyndon Johnson signed the civil rights bill into law on July 2, the town's business committee voted to desegregate. Local black leaders reacted favorably, and the SCLC began to extricate itself from the field.⁸⁴

The battle appeared to be over with significant concessions made to the civil rights effort. Unfortunately, that did not prove to be the case. With the SCLC army gone, the Klan reveled: on the Fourth of July over 200 men, women, and children marched through St. Augustine to protest the Civil Rights Act, and white militants, led by Manucy, picketed in front of desegregated establishments. The Klan bombed the Monson Motor Lodge the day after it desegregated and continued to beat blacks who dared to seek service at local motels and restaurants. The biracial committee never met because, of the five whites appointed to the committee, only one agreed to serve. Communication between local white and black leaders broke down completely, and "white residents blamed local blacks for the failure of the 400th anniversary celebration, the community's one opportunity to revitalize its image and to recoup the economic losses of 1964." Whites remained so bitter that they resisted school integration until mandated to do so by the federal courts in 1970. Racial tensions did not ease until the early '70s, and by then many former civil rights leaders, like Dr. Hayling, had been forced to leave.⁸⁵

Was St. Augustine a case of losing the battle but winning the war? Actually, the war's end was in sight: the Civil Rights Movement continued to fight for equality with voting registration of blacks in Mississippi and Alabama, resulting in deaths of civil rights workers but also the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. St. Augustine provided momentum for the movement in several ways. The demonstrations sorely tested the strategy of civil

83. John Herbers, "Critical Test for the Nonviolent Way," *The New York Times Magazine* July 5, 1964: 31.

84. Colburn, *Racial Change*, 110.

85. *Ibid.*, 112, 114, 210.

disobedience, succeeding in impressing the nation and the world, if not the city of St. Augustine. Andrew Young argued that St. Augustine, "SCLC'S most violent and bloody campaign," paved the way for political reform: "[I]t may be that we would not have a Civil Rights Act without St. Augustine. We will never know whether the Senate filibuster would have been defeated if St. Augustine hadn't provided a vivid reminder of the injustices the bill was designed to address."⁸⁶ King agreed that communities like St. Augustine "had to bear the cross" with events that expedited the passage of the Civil Rights Act and had a far-reaching effect throughout the South for positive change and lasting reform. King also noted at the height of the demonstrations that movements like St. Augustine's provided intangible results outside the community, generating self-respect and courage in blacks not a part of the movement.⁸⁷

I know that witnessing just a small part of one of the battles of the civil rights movement had a lasting effect upon me. Over forty years later, I am a college professor only a few hours' drive from St. Augustine in Central Florida, a state where I once believed people only visited, never stayed. Fortunately, I have never again witnessed a police officer ignoring acts of violence, nor have gun-toting vigilantes awakened me in the middle of the night. Yet, in my classes I rarely pass up the opportunity to talk about Florida's racial strife and my 1964 childhood memories. My old war story and accounts of mandatory segregation shock my students. Their disbelief gives me hope that the brave struggle of civil rights combatants was not in vain and thus bears repeating, again and again.

86. Young, *Easy Burden*, 297.

87. Herbers, *Lost Priority*, 70.

Book Reviews

The Key West Lighthouse: A Light in Paradise. By Thomas W. Taylor.
(West Conshohocken, PA: Infinity Publishing.com, 2004.
Dedication and acknowledgments, illustrations, map, diagrams.
Pp. 141. \$19.95 paper.)

In keeping with the broad public interest in historic lighthouses that has burgeoned over the past three decades, the late Tom Taylor – the author passed away shortly before the publication of this book – has offered the lighthouse world a history one of the nation's more recognized historic lighthouses, Florida's Key West Lighthouse. Taylor is no latecomer to the legion of lighthouse connoisseurs and preservationists. The author was founder and former president of the Florida Lighthouse Association, and the Key West lighthouse story is the second book in the author's "Florida Lighthouse Series." Taylor's first book, originally published in 1993, focused on the history of another notable Florida light, the Ponce de Leon Lighthouse, and his third book, published this year, recalled the lore of the Florida Key's reef lights. He has also written three previous books on Florida lighthouses and their history.

The title of the book under review is actually misleading. Early in the text, the author states his intention to include the history of the City of Key West in order to show the "social and cultural influences which surrounded the lighthouse." Taylor does delve into the social, cultural, political, and military history of Key West, from its founding, through its rapid rise as a major port community in Florida and the Gulf Coast, to the present day. In addition, the story goes beyond the Key West light and briefly relates the history of all the aids to navigation throughout the Keys, even mentioning the other light stations along Florida's Atlantic coastline. Many times it

seems that the subject – the Key West lighthouse – is forgotten, as other stories are told, and the reader may wonder how the particular tale he or she is reading is related to the history of the lighthouse.

Despite this shortcoming, the book can be quite captivating. Instead of narrating a bland story of the erection of a light station and the governmental impulses behind the action, Taylor brings the light station to life by telling the story of the figures directly and indirectly related to the historic structure. We read vivid tales of the lighthouse keepers and their families, and their work at the station. The stories range from the mundane to the extraordinary, and from the tranquil to the tragic. The tales told by the keepers and their families as hurricanes tear through southern Florida are especially gripping. The book succeeds in its objective of showing how a simple structure possesses a rich heritage and quickly becomes a living, integral part of a community.

The many editorial flaws are the greatest weaknesses of the book—a shortcoming that can be attributed to the publisher more than to the author. The numerous editorial faults include one-sentence paragraphs, irregular capitalization and indentation of quotations, inconsistent italicization and numbering for dates, spaces between paragraphs, spelling errors, unnecessary use of exclamation points, and a blatant incomplete sentence. Scholars will find the lack of citations a serious drawback, although a bibliography containing adequate primary and secondary sources is included. The book is wonderfully illustrated, but a map pinpointing all the aids to navigation to which the author refers would be a useful addition. Readers unfamiliar with lighthouse terminology will find the passages about the operation, the upkeep and maintenance, and the various engineering and structural aspects of a light station confusing.

There are distractions that must be attributed to the author. Taylor is frequently repetitive, at times repeating a phrase from the previous paragraph. Some historical errors are made in the cause of adding panache to the writing style. For example, the author declares that the sinking of the *Maine* in Havana Harbor “aroused Americans as nothing had since the Battle of the Alamo.” “Remember the Alamo” was a Texan, not American slogan, as Texas was fighting for its independence from Mexico. The Alamo debacle may have stirred Americans in the Old Southwest, but it did not rouse the United States to war. Finally, the flow of the book unnecessarily creates problems for readers. While well-

organized in its solid chronological approach, the choppy, disjointed inclusion of details that have no bearing on the Key West Lighthouse makes for difficult reading.

In the end, the book will satisfy the audience for which it is intended—lighthouse lovers. For those curious about lighthouse lore or interested in visiting historic light stations, this book will provide hours of delightful reading. For those interested in the history and the development of the aids to navigation in the Florida Keys, or in the overall history of aids to navigation around the country, this book provides a contribution to secondary lighthouse scholarship. However, students and scholars of maritime history will find other studies and monographs more valuable for their research. Still, after reading Taylor's book, you will want to visit the Keys and its famous lighthouse.

Steve Belko

University of West Florida

Self-Taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom. By Heather Andrea Williams. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005. xiii, 304 pp. Acknowledgements, introduction, epilogue, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

This study of African American educational efforts during and immediately after the Civil War makes contributions beyond the author's stated goal of documenting the agency of blacks in acquiring literacy. That goal is important enough in itself, as it provides a more complete picture of the dynamics of change (and stasis) in what was arguably the most tumultuous period in southern history. As Williams explains, since black literacy was subversive of the social order in slavery as well as in freedom, the initiative of slaves and freedpeople in seeking educational opportunity inevitably affected the course of white policy. Slaves pursued literacy in defiance of owners' paternalist claims of black inferiority, and freedpeople's conventions called for educational opportunity as a first step towards equality. Literacy could facilitate self-determination by giving African Americans the means to analyze and define their place in society, and it could enable them to claim a common identity with white Americans by giving them the vocabulary and ideals of a common intellectual culture. From the southern white perspective,

black literacy also threatened to disturb white racial solidarity by elevating African Americans above poor whites, thus encouraging the latter to agitate for class-based reforms. Some whites responded to these threats to white supremacy by embracing the establishment of white public schools, while others exhibited a reactionary opposition to all public education because of its benefits to blacks.

Black efforts at self-education began during slavery and continued after emancipation due to southern white hostility and limited resources. African Americans were self-taught in two senses: individuals taught themselves, and they taught one another. Slaves who were able to acquire basic reading and writing skills through self-study or clandestine lessons taught other slaves. During the Civil War, black Union soldiers sought instruction from chaplains, officers' wives, and missionaries, and the literate held classes for fellow soldiers in hospitals and encampments. Soldiers also contributed money and labor for the establishment of black schools and acted as spokespersons for their communities after returning home. Freedpeople began organizing their own school systems at the end of the war, and many local blacks became teachers despite the financial hardship and physical dangers involved. Whether educated in independent schools or those funded by benevolent groups such as the American Missionary Association, students went back to their homes and communities and passed their knowledge to others. As Williams notes in her last chapter, this tradition of self-help became even more critical toward the end of the century, when local white control of newly-established public school systems resulted in the exclusion of blacks from most benefits.

One strength of Williams' study lies in its ability to remain focused on freedpeople while also providing an even-handed and sophisticated analysis of the motivations and roles of other groups. By carefully extracting the voices and stories of blacks from the records of missionary groups, the Freedmen's Bureau, autobiographies, and other sources, she brings to life the human drama of emancipation in a way that analysis alone cannot. Moreover, she provides an account of all participants in that drama that rings true in its complexities. For example, some northern white missionaries had their own paternalist notions of asserting control over a child-like race and did not appreciate blacks' view of education as a tool of self-determination. Others, however, openly opposed discriminatory policies such as segregated schools and the creation of textbooks especially for freedpeople. Quakers admired and sup-

ported black efforts at self-reliance and were most likely to work as partners with freedpeople. Similarly, white southerners exhibited diverse responses to black initiative, especially in the early years following the war. Williams presents surprising evidence of poor whites sending their children to freedpeople's schools and procuring tutoring services from black children. Even if many white southerners responded to black educational aspirations with violence, others appear to have regarded freedpeople's strategies for upward mobility as worthy of emulation. This connection between the politics of race and southern attitudes towards education is worthy of much more exploration than it heretofore has received. While Williams' work compliments and builds upon that of James D. Anderson in this sense, it also highlights the dearth of other studies in the field.

Even though the whites and blacks in Williams' study realized that knowledge is power, the full historical significance of that realization too often is overlooked by American historians. Because the implications of restricted access are most profound for marginalized groups whose voices are slower to be incorporated into the historical narrative, black and feminist scholars have led the way in analysis of the connections between education and hierarchy. By placing education at the center of a rich social history narrative, Williams provides a useful model for how to elucidate relations of power while also explaining their significance for larger historical developments. Hopefully, her success will inspire other historians to pursue similar work, especially local studies that can further explain the dynamics of intellect, conflict, and change. This pursuit seems particularly critical to any understanding of the continued connections between the politics of race and public education in the South, and perhaps in the nation as well.

Rebecca Montgomery

Texas State University-San Marcos

Dwelling Place: A Plantation Epic. By Erskine Clarke. (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2005. Preface, illustrations, maps, notes, appendices, index. xiii, 601 pp. \$35.00 cloth.)

In *Dwelling Place: A Plantation Epic*, Erskine Clarke, professor of American religious history at Columbia Theological Seminary, presents a history of masters and slaves in Liberty County on the

Georgia coast. Despite the cultural gulf that separated the region's white and black inhabitants, Clarke relates their stories as a single narrative because "their lives were linked and interwoven in innumerable and often intimate ways" (ix). Still, the dramatically different experiences of the owners and the owned make *Dwelling Place* "necessarily two histories of one place and one time" (ix).

Dwelling Place is centered upon the family members and servants of the well-known Presbyterian minister Charles Colcock Jones, who, in addition to his ministerial duties, owned three plantations, managed three more, and oversaw the labor of more than 160 slaves. Beginning with the death of Jones' father in 1805 and continuing through the death of his widow and first cousin Mary in 1869, Clarke follows the daily experience, the joys, and the sorrows of the family through four generations. As elite white southerners, Jones and his relatives maintained a strong devotion to Liberty County while living off the profits from the sale of the rice and cotton produced on their property. Charles and Mary in particular constructed a sentimental, romantic image of their home based upon evangelical piety and paternal responsibility for their servants. At the same time, their slaves developed an equally profound attachment to the African-American Gullah community that extended beyond the boundaries of any particular plantation. Kinship ties, marriage unions recognized by local whites, and, in the settlements, general isolation from constant white oversight allowed African-Americans to create a world that helped to protect them from the dehumanizing effects of human bondage. Thus, while deferential toward whites, Jones' slaves, Clarke concludes, never fully internalized their masters' understanding of slavery as the natural and providential order between the races. And, while Jones did try to keep slave families together, the community always faced the threat of division in the event of a white person's death, marriage, or decision to relocate.

The irony, of course, is that Jones enjoyed a national reputation as the "Apostle to the Negro Slave" (251). While studying for the ministry at Andover and Princeton, Jones wrestled with the morality of slavery. He concluded that, since immediate abolition was impractical, slaves could best be helped through mission work. Christian teaching, he believed, would provide the civilizing influence necessary to move slaves toward their eventual—though long-distant—freedom. To gain support from other planters, he avoided comments on emancipation while he founded churches

among the slaves, preached regularly in the community, and frequently visited the quarters to encourage their spiritual well-being. In one sense, his efforts proved a success, for hundreds of slaves voluntarily attended his services. Clarke shows, however, that they did not accept Jones' orderly, harmonious, and hierarchical gospel. Instead, they grafted his evangelical message onto their own African and Christian traditions and relied upon their faith to give them hope and protection. Jones gained a glimpse into this role for the slaves' religion when congregants openly challenged a sermon condemning runaways. Such responses taught him to stress Christian ethics in his teaching instead of "'harping' on the duties of slaves to master" (139). Economic interest and his growing stature in the South meanwhile pulled the one-time friend of Catherine Beecher and Benjamin Lundy away from his earlier doubts about the institution. Eventually, he came to accept the sale of a troublesome family and the need to dissolve black unions when white needs required. His heart "hardened in regard to slavery" (356), Jones' benevolent intentions ultimately served primarily to "legitimiz[e] the power and wealth of those who lived in the plantation houses" (124).

Long before Jones' death in 1863, the relative stability of the slave community had begun to break down. Many of Jones' relations and neighbors took their slaves with them when they moved from Liberty County to more promising cotton lands on the Georgia frontier. The disruption of the traditional shelter from slavery's oppression produced more frequent "direct attacks of sabotage and resistance" (271), which in turn produced swift and violent white retaliation. Jones and his family accepted secession, but the threat of Union invasion revealed how far his idealized vision of plantation life was removed from reality. Slaves living in the most isolated settlements proved to be the most loyal, while several trusted servants ran away even before federal forces appeared in the area. After the war, most of Mary Jones' relatives and many of her former slaves abandoned Liberty County. Mary herself spent her final years in New Orleans. Meanwhile, many African-Americans who had been forced to leave returned to try to recreate their community in what they hoped was "a new world of freedom being born" (451).

Clarke's research is based heavily upon the Jones family papers. Acknowledging the scarcity of African-American sources, he judiciously combines what few are available with white

observations to present a fascinating account of two peoples living worlds apart in the same location. Moreover, he writes with an engaging style that allows him to move easily from daily concerns, such as food, clothing, and education, to the larger significance of less-regular occurrences like epidemics, extramarital sexual activity, and even infanticide. Readers might get lost in the myriad of names and locations, but genealogical charts and summaries of principal characters and plantations are provided to help keep the details straight. Overall, *Dwelling Place* is an impressive accomplishment. Scholars will find it an essential source on a prominent Southerner and a fascinating account of the contradictions inherent in a pro-slavery Christianity. For general readers, this book offers a compelling narrative and a realistic portrait of what it must have been like to live in a slave society.

Jonathan M. Atkins

Berry College

Hell's Broke Loose in Georgia: Survival in a Civil War Regiment. By Scott Walker. (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 2005. Illustrations, maps, preface, acknowledgements, epilogue, afterword, notes, bibliography, index. xix, 311 pp. \$39.99 cloth.)

The Fifty-seventh Georgia Infantry, like many of its contemporaries, saw its share of victories, defeats, boredom, and excitement. Its soldiers, like other Civil War combatants and the warriors of various conflicts, developed a sense of brotherhood out of their collective experience. If that was the extent of its story, this book might be a typical regimental history, but it is not. Scott Walker's examination of the Fifty-seventh Georgia attempts to explain the dynamic within the unit by using the dual themes of localism and kinship.

Walker's Georgians fought the war in almost as many different settings as possible at the time. They started their experience in the guerrilla-ridden mountains of East Tennessee and eastern Kentucky, in the vicinity of Cumberland Gap. From there, they made their way west, arriving in time for Ulysses Grant's assault on Mississippi. Surrendering at Vicksburg, the paroled men marched east toward Jackson, Mississippi, in search of transportation home; they marched to Enterprise, Alabama, before they found a train.

From there, the Georgians returned to their home state where they became part of the guard at the Confederate prison at Andersonville. With the Confederacy reeling, the men of the Fifty-seventh were dispatched to northeast Georgia to defend against the Federal onslaught. Fighting at Kennesaw Mountain and then at Atlanta, they were pulled into Middle Tennessee in a vain effort to slow the Union advance. The Georgians made their final stand with Joseph Johnston at Bentonville, North Carolina. In four years, they had visited at least six states and fought in some of the war's most decisive battles.

This book and the technique used to research and write it presents a significant problem for scholars. In his introduction, Walker states that because of the lack of primary source documents, he "had to construct a scene to describe a known event" and that "sometime . . . I describe thoughts or emotions that he probably had but are not made explicit by a primary source." (xvi) This practice of mixing documented history with fiction will remind readers of the controversy surrounding the Ronald Reagan biography *Dutch* (1999). Early in the text, the author provides an example of this methodology. In a simple, yet troubling, passage Walker explains that two of his subjects "saw bushwhackers in every shadow. They had heard gruesome tales of what these fierce mountain men would do to captured Confederates" (37). First, this passage illustrates the author's lack of understanding of the Appalachian Civil War. Sharp divisions characterized the region, but the reactions of soldiers to individual encounters would have varied from place to place. Second, it smacks of typical Appalachian barbarian stereotypes that have been popularly perpetuated throughout the years. Third, since the author offers no citation for the information, readers must assume that this is a fictional passage—a fictional passage that contains interesting, yet untrue, information valuable to the scholar and the author's own antiquated assumptions about the nature of mountain people.

A second issue regarding methodology deals with the author's use of oral history interviews. In many historical settings, personal interviews are reliable sources that speak to the personal nature of history and how historical events impact those segments of society least likely to appear in the public record—however, the Civil War is not one of them. Walker conducted several oral history interviews, most of them during the late 1990s, and while he harvested many interesting stories, more than 130 years serves to change or

create new and more exciting, stories. While the techniques of oral history are reliable and invaluable for subjects contemporary to the interviewee, allowing stories that have passed through three or four generations to be told as documented fact appears intellectually dangerous.

Readers should respect Scott Walker's love for his subject and familial responsibility of telling the story of the Fifty-seventh Georgia, the unit of his grandfather. His work seeks to cast light on the inner feelings of the soldiers and the dynamic of a close knit group torn apart by war. However, his methodology undermines the usefulness of the book. While amateur historians will probably make good use of the text and glean valuable information from it, academics should approach it with skepticism because of Walker's unclear mixing of fact with fiction.

Brian D. McKnight

The University of Virginia's College at Wise

Southern Ladies, New Women: Race, Region, and Clubwomen in South Carolina, 1890-1930. By Joan Marie Johnson (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004. xv, 282 pp. List of illustrations, series forward, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$59.95 cloth.)

Rather than comparing southern clubwomen to northern women, Joan Marie Johnson offers a refreshing perspective on African American and white southern clubwomen by taking them at their word that their work was in fact different from northern clubwomen. Within the tensions between tradition and modernity, Johnson argues that southern clubwomen used their distinctive identity as southern women to construct their reform agenda. In so doing, clubwomen struggled to define and contest history, womanhood, and the color line according to their race.

Using the records from the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), the South Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs (SCFWC), and the South Carolina Federation of Colored Women's Clubs (SCFCWC), Johnson is among the latest group of historians of southern women to combine an analysis of African American and white women's reform work in the South. This allows Johnson to tell a fascinating story of constant renegotiation of agendas, identity, and womanhood between black and

white women. Though sharing similar goals of reshaping gendered constructions of citizenship and reforms, such as temperance, associated with the Progressive Era with black clubwomen, white clubwomen cast reform in a conservative mode. The SCFWC legitimized white supremacy by promoting the UDC's construction of history in the Lost Cause. SCFWC members like Louisa Poppenheim, the most influential member, ensured that libraries carried UDC-approved books and tracts that extolled states' rights and romanticized slavery. In turn, Marion Wilkinson and other SCFCWC members promoted race pride and black literature and history in black schools and consistently battled white supremacists' stereotypes of African Americans in culture and society.

Johnson skillfully parallels the lives and work of Louisa Poppenheim and Marion Wilkinson who worked for similar reforms like improved education and temperance for different ends. As Poppenheim carried the message of African American inferiority across South Carolina, Wilkinson pushed for racial equality and cooperation between the races. Receiving more support from South Carolina black women than white women, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation advocated common work from blacks and whites for health and education reforms. The SCFWC showed little interest. Undaunted, Wilkinson continued efforts for equality as she became part of the vast network of African American women across the South who supported and advised each other on state and community work for racial uplift including women like Lugenia Burns Hope, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Charlotte Hawkins Brown. Among the most significant of their efforts was raising funds for black schools which were appallingly neglected by white southern legislators. In itself, this was no small accomplishment. Without black clubwomen's efforts, countless African American schools would have closed. Southern black women nonetheless had to remind the National Association of Colored Women of the persistent oppression they faced and the need for more funds from northern black and white women.

In contrast to black women's supportive networks, Louisa Poppenheim and other members of the SCFWC pushed the national organizations like the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC) to choose between recognizing African American women's clubs and national reconciliation that would combine all

white clubwomen. Following an effort from northern black women to desegregate the GFWC, the SCFWC maneuvered for continued segregation and won. Promoting social equality was intolerable to white southern clubwomen because they feared it would promote interracial marriage. Yet the SCFWC also fought national reforms for white children like restrictions on child labor. As beneficiaries of the New South economy, white clubwomen promoted industrialization. "Reluctant reformers," they advocated compulsory school attendance rather than limiting children's labor in textile mills because of the family connections between members of the SCFWC and industrialists and legislators (145). Even though compulsory school attendance laws were passed in 1915, they remained poorly enforced through the 1930s as children still worked in the mills to help support their families.

Johnson's comparative analysis of black and white clubwomen is a notable addition to anyone interested in Progressive Era reforms, not simply southern reform. Yet her most significant contribution is her effort to redefine the New Woman, a term that increasingly lacks a specific historic meaning. White southern women pushed for reforms while attempting to encourage industrialization while northern white women were working to alleviate its harshest consequences. The "New Woman" has been used to define educated women reformers of the Progressive Era and young, single women in the 1920s. In the South, and possibly other regions, any definition must be measured against social, cultural, and economic conditions. In this respect, Johnson raises a warning to all who use the term "New Woman."

Ann Short Chirhart

Indiana State University

Politics and Religion in the White South. Edited by Glenn Feldman. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005. Tables, acknowledgments, selected bibliography, contributors, index. xiii, 386 pp. \$55 cloth.)

Although the relationship between religion and Southern politics has been a much studied topic, Glenn Feldman has assembled twelve essays, most of them authored by distinguished scholars, that shed new light on the topic. The collection as a whole addresses the question of whether religion determines culture, or

vice versa. The editor draws no definitive conclusion, but the evidence he presents suggests that the more conservative the *white* South became in its politics, the more conservative it became in religion. In the post Civil War era, just as African Americans and some liberal whites claimed religious motivation for their belief in civil rights and racial equality, politically conservative whites also used the argument of religion to maintain the status quo.

The chapters that deal with ethnic groups and women explore less known aspects of religion in the South and should be of major interest. Mark Bauman's essay on German Jews in Atlanta from the Civil War through the Progressive Era demonstrates what an impact Jews had on the rise of that distinctively southern city. If true of Atlanta, he speculates, it could be true of Memphis, New Orleans, Savannah, and other cities as well. The similarities between Jewish influence on northern and southern cities may actually bind the nation together in ways previously overlooked.

The diverse role that women played in religion, politics, and society is explored in two chapters. Feldman's fascinating account of women and the Ku Klux Klan explores that topic from every angle, using Alabama as the example. Women influenced the attitudes of male Klansmen and also joined the organization themselves. Both black and white women fell victim to Klan violence. The KKK punished female sinners who divorced and then attempted to remarry, or who were suspected guilty of adultery or prostitution. Some women fought back, taking up arms against Klansmen, whereas others, in the name of temperance or anti Roman Catholicism, joined up. Women listened to their preachers, and preachers „usually associated with fundamentalist and Holiness Pentecostal sects,“ as well as some Baptists, defended the Klan (85). A very different kettle of fish was Mrs. M. E. Tilly of Atlanta, who, according to Andrew M. Manis, used her faith and skills to drive Methodist women into goading their church to change its attitude toward blacks and take a stand in the forefront of the civil rights movement.

At least three essays deal with the Southern Baptists, the Southern Baptist Convention, and that denomination's famous international evangelist Billy Graham. Fred Arthur Bailey explores how Southern Baptist ministers, 1890-1920, preached that racial segregation was divinely ordered, and that degenerate blacks should not be allowed to infiltrate the white power

structure. James L. Guth argues convincingly that the Southern Baptist Convention has always influenced politics in the region. In the late twentieth century, Southern Baptist clergyman played a significant role in leading the South to abandon the liberal Democratic party in favor of the more socially conservative Republicans. Despite the statistics he uses to prove his point, he hopefully concludes that such change is not necessarily permanent for the South. Evangelist Billy Graham, arguably "the fourth most influential Southerner of the twentieth century, behind Martin Luther King, Jr., William Faulkner, and Elvis Presley" (157), according to Steven P. Miller, subtly endorsed civil rights but preferred to preach salvation. His views moderated with the progression of time until they correlated with a rising urban middle class who became increasingly Republican. Despite a strong intellectual bond with Democratic President Lyndon Johnson, Graham seemed more at home with the Republican presidents whose administrations he blessed.

Four essays deal with the rise of the Religious Right and its impact upon southern politics. Those authors argue that as race became less volatile an issue in the post civil rights South, the religious right demanded a conservative stand on every issue except race. Ted Ownby chronicles for those who want to know it the rise of the flamboyant Donald Wildmon of Tupelo, Mississippi, and his activist, "confrontational" media ministry. Other authors deal with its impact on specific states, especially Virginia and Alabama.

In his introduction and concluding chapter, the editor attempts to bring the essays together in a logical unit. He concludes that "the essence of Southern distinctiveness" does not center upon a single central theme but a number of factors more emotional than rational. Those factors include racism, militarism, and "religious chauvinism." If the book has a central theme, it seems to be the gloomy one that the South's emotional approach to religion and politics "shows no sign of abetting, only of substituting new subjects that generate emotional fuel" (325). If the South retains a dark side to its history, the religion and politics of the white South is where to find it. The book might have been enhanced had more attention been paid to key specific politicians and at least one essay devoted to liberal whites whose religion is more rational than emotional. Typical of a collection of essays, some are more informative and original than others, but all make a useful contribution to scholarship. This valuable book as a whole

suggests that the South may be less distinctive from the rest of the nation than it once was, but, alas, it has lumbered into the twenty first century under a political system yet leaden with religious burdens.

E. Stanly Godbold, Jr.

Mississippi State University

Go Sound the Trumpet: Selections in Florida's African American History.

Edited by David H. Jackson, Jr. and Canter Brown, Jr. (Tampa: University: University of Tampa Press, 2005. Preface, illustrations, photographs, graphs, notes, index, list of contributors. ix, 353 pp. Paperback, \$28.95.)

With the recent publication of *Go Sound the Trumpet: Selections in Florida's African American History*, undergraduates and high school students now have easy access to a compilation of scholarly essays, primary documents, poetry, and photographs illustrating African Americans' historical role in the Sunshine State. Edited by Florida A&M professors, David H. Jackson, Jr. and Canter Brown, Jr., this comprehensive reader reminds students, as well as scholars, of the important but often overlooked role African Americans have played throughout the history of this state. Jackson and Brown also emphasize Florida's homegrown national figures, such as A. Philip Randolph and James Weldon Johnson. The message of this reader is clear: Florida history has overlooked the contributions of African Americans and *Go Sound the Trumpet* corrects this historical imbalance.

Published for the Florida A&M Department of History, Political Science/Public Administration, Geography, and African American Studies, the voices of Florida A&M scholars dominate this reader, with all but one of the contributions coming from its professors and recent graduate students. Organized chronologically, Jackson and Brown provide brief introductions to each of the reader's six sections. Scholarly essays follow, and each section closes with primary documents from the time period. Photographs, sketches, and graphs are also included throughout this compilation.

The opening section, "Spanish Florida," is quite brief. Brown and Jackson suggest that during this period there was more fluidity in race relations, but this theme is not fully supported by the

short selection from Jane Landers' *Black Society in Seventeenth Century Florida* (1999). Instead, Landers' work introduces students to the important role black labor played in creating a productive colony for the Spanish Crown. The theme of racial fluidity and flexibility is developed in Canter Brown, Jr.'s essay, "Tales from Angola." Brown revisits his earlier work on black maroon communities, arguing that Angola, an overlooked maroon community, functioned as a link between Florida and the larger Atlantic World, and also extended Florida's reputation as a haven for runaway slaves after other well-known communities, such as Fort Mose, had disappeared. The editors close this section with a reprint of Anna Kinsley's Manumission document, illustrating the complexity of race relations and slavery during this time.

The following section, "Antebellum Florida," illustrates the hardening of racial boundaries during territorial and early statehood days, and African Americans' responses to this rigidity. Historian Larry Eugene Rivers writes about the intricate relationship between masters and slaves in his well-written essay, "A Troublesome Property: Master-Slave Relations in Florida, 1821-1865." Rivers' study of slavery in Middle Florida suggests that the primary sources of conflict between the two were religion, family, and labor. This essay is an excellent portrait of the complexity of slavery—slaves had little control over their public and private lives, but they could and did control the speed and intensity of their own work. Thus, labor, argues Rivers, became the primary way for slaves to resist their masters' control. In turn, masters had to adopt a variety of techniques to combat this resistance. Sylvester Cohen, Jr. aptly explains how such slaveowners justified their use of slave labor as abolitionism emerged in the 1830s and gained momentum in the years leading up to the Civil War. Students are sure to understand the rationale behind the pro-slavery argument. The editors close this section with two newspaper articles, one from a free black and another from an abolitionist. Both articulate a rejection of pro-slavery arguments.

The Civil War and Reconstruction are next considered and John Wallace's poem on freedom and emancipation sets the tone for the selections in this group. Rivers contributes another essay, this time on well-known, but misunderstood minister James Page to discuss the alternate ways that African Americans dealt with freedom. Page gained fame in Leon County, Florida, first as a conservative slave preacher, and later in Reconstruction politics.

Through Page's life, Rivers challenges the binary account of black leadership. Historian Tameka Bradley Hobbs provides an excellent overview of lynching in the South, reminding readers that freedom had its limits in the decades following the end of Reconstruction. Hobbs succinctly covers the historiography of the subject while also emphasizing the role that local law enforcement officers had in its practice. This essay straddles three time periods, and its placement here reveals the limits of using chronology to organize the reader. Closing the section are the voices of two prominent Reconstruction politicians in Florida: Josiah T. Walls and Johnathan Gibbs. Both men reflect the middle class faith in education to bring to fruition the promises of emancipation.

Most of the anthology's attention focuses on the years between 1877-1914, with nine pieces covering a variety of topics and most touching upon issues of black leadership and education. Three essays acquaint students with the lives of notable, but long-overlooked black Floridians. Jonathan Hutchins' essay on Dr. William J. Gunn, the first formally trained doctor in Leon County, Florida, reveals how a few African Americans were able to supercede the limits of Jim Crow. The women of Edward Waters College in Jacksonville, covered by Shirletta Kinchen, illustrate the role that black middle class women played in resisting white racism. Reginald Ellis' work on Nathan B. Young, the second president of Florida A&M is an engaging discussion of the precarious position faced by black college presidents. David H. Jackson continues the examination of black leadership with his discussion of Booker T. Washington's tour of Florida in 1912. Both Ellis and Jackson suggest a dual identity taken on by black leaders in order to survive in a period of increasing white racism. These two essays, along with Rivers' earlier work on Page, would provide rich discussion material for instructors wishing to tackle the issue of black leadership in the classroom.

Chronology loosely binds the essays of the following section, "The Era of the World Wars." Titus Brown demonstrates the effect World War One had on the employment options of African American women, showing how the war opened up the doors of industry, yet these women remained constrained by their race and gender. In "Faith-Filled Legacies," Murell Dawson introduces students to the important contributions of four African American women. While most students are familiar with the work of Mary McLeod Bethune, probably few have heard of Eartha White, Clara

Frye, or Blanche Armwood. Dawson's essay is almost a corrective of this corrective history, for until this section, African American men dominate the pages of *Go Sound the Trumpet*. Another overlooked group in this loose confederation of texts is the black working class. Excerpts from interviews with African American farmers, Ruby Holmes Martin and James Palmer, are the few voices students hear from this group. This is perhaps less the fault of the editors, but more reflective of the limits of our historical resources—the lives of the undereducated and impoverished are rarely captured in newspapers or journals.

The final section, "The Post-War World and the Civil Rights Struggle," continues the earlier themes of freedom and resistance. English professor Rick Campbell's moving poem, "Morrison's, 1968," reminds students that freedom had still not been fully realized more than a century after emancipation. Theodore Hemmingway's discussion of student activism and geographers Juanita Gaston and Darryl K. Clarke's documentation of the decline of residential segregation provide evidence of ecological factors such as the liberalizing presence of two universities in Tallahassee's civil rights movement. Willie Butler's thorough discussion of Pan-Africanism shows students the global dimensions of the civil rights movement. The primary documents in this section are particularly rich for instructors can show students the variety of goals of the movement through the writings of activists Harry T. Moore, Robert Saunders, and Rev. Charles Kenzie Steele. Jackson and Brown end their anthology on a poignant note. Florida's own congresswoman Carrie P. Meek's speech to the House of Representatives following the 2000 presidential election reveals that the right to vote, the essential measure of freedom in our country, remains elusive for some African Americans in Florida.

It would be impossible to do justice to the nearly forty documents, essays, songs, and poems that fill this 300 plus page reader. The beauty of a reader is that it is rarely read in one sitting and instructors can use it to complement their own curriculum and course goals. *Go Sound the Trumpet* is a welcome tool for the college or high school instructor. While the compilation of essays makes recent historiography on blacks in Florida accessible, the inclusion of a rich collection of primary documents is an opportunity to make history come alive in the classroom.

Before His Time: The Untold Story of Harry T. Moore, America's First Civil Rights Martyr. By Ben Green. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005. Contents, preface, illustrations, notes, acknowledgements, index. xii, 310 pp. \$19.95 paper.)

Prior to the 1999 publication of Ben Green's *Before His Time*, few outside a limited number of scholars and an aging group of black Floridians had ever heard of Harry T. Moore. As Green notes in his introduction to the University Press of Florida's new paperback edition, that has changed over the past few years: "There are now a book, a film, a song, a painting, and a play about Harry T. Moore" (xi), and in April 2004, the Moore Cultural Center opened in Mims, replete with a museum and learning center. The book has also generated renewed interest in the murder of Harry Moore and his wife, Harriette. The couple died after a bomb detonated under their house in Mims on Christmas night, 1951. In December 2004, Florida's Attorney General re-opened the case, and a \$25,000 reward has been offered for information leading to the capture of the murderer(s). Green deserves the lion's share of the credit for generating public awareness of Harry Moore's pioneering contributions to the modern civil rights movement, and of the tragic, unsolved murder of the Moores over a half century ago.

Green vividly describes Florida's oppressive racial climate and Harry Moore's heroic crusade against racism during the first half of the twentieth century. In 1925, Moore settled in the small town of Mims and began teaching at a local colored school. He insisted on instructing his ninth graders on how to vote, even though political participation for African Americans at that time was but a dream in Brevard County. However, Moore was not content to act as a singular agent of change. He joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1933, and the following year organized the Brevard County NAACP. A relentless letter writer, Moore lobbied the NAACP's national office to allow him to establish local branches throughout the state. In 1937, he also acquired the backing of the national office in suing Brevard County for refusing to pay black and white teachers equal salaries. Although the legal action proved unsuccessful, ten years and a dozen lawsuits later the battle for equal teacher salaries in Florida was won.

In 1941 Moore convinced the national office to establish its first statewide organization, the Florida State Conference of the NAACP, and to name him as president. Under Moore's leadership

Florida's NAACP grew from nine to 53 branches, and from a few hundred members to ten thousand by the end of 1945. Besides increasing NAACP membership, Moore drew attention to the rampant racial violence that afflicted Florida during the wartime years. Sixty-one lynchings took place there between 1921 and 1945, more than in any other state except Mississippi. Moore wrote impassioned letters to Florida's public officials demanding that the perpetrators of such heinous crimes be brought to justice, and when those failed to elicit adequate responses, he appealed to federal authorities.

Although Moore's activism and organizational skills earned him the admiration of national civil rights leaders as well as Florida's long-suffering black citizenry, he also acquired the reputation as a "troublemaker" among influential whites, a characterization that cost him and Harriette their teaching jobs in 1946. This financial blow to the Moore household was cushioned when the national office of the NAACP rewarded Harry for his achievements by making him in 1946 the first salaried executive secretary of a state conference. No longer distracted by school responsibilities, Moore now devoted virtually all his energy to the fight for racial injustice.

As World War II drew to a close, Harry Moore increasingly focused on voting as a means of empowering black Floridians. In 1944, the Supreme Court's *Smith v. Allwright* decision sounded the death knell of the white primary, a device used throughout the South to disfranchise blacks by denying them participation in the all-important Democratic primary elections. That year Moore helped found the Progressive Voters' League (PVL), whose primary goal was to register blacks in the Democratic Party. He worked tirelessly until his death in pursuit of this goal, and succeeded to an astonishing degree. The number of black registered voters in Florida increased six-fold between 1944 and 1950, and by 1950, 31% of those blacks eligible to vote were registered, 50% more than in any other southern state.

In addition to his activities on behalf of the PVL, Moore continued his herculean efforts to expand Florida's NAACP and to challenge instances of blatant racial injustice. Green details Moore's involvement in the Groveland affair, where three young blacks were convicted of rape in a sensational trial that made a mockery of justice. Moore's methodical research of the case put him on a collision course with Lake County Sheriff Willis McCall,

a notorious bigot. Green speculates that the Moores were killed because of Harry's persistence in the Groveland case and/or his success in registering black voters.

Just weeks before his murder, the NAACP abolished Moore's executive secretary position and demoted him to the status of unpaid state coordinator. Green asserts that the national office was "determined to get rid of Harry Moore" because of "politics and money" (158), concluding that his efforts on behalf of the PVL to register blacks as Democrats conflicted with the nonpartisan standing of the NAACP, and that his fundraising for the state conference diverted funds from the national office. According to Green, the NAACP's shoddy treatment of Moore while he was alive contrasted mightily with the hero status it conferred upon him after his death. The organization moved quickly to capitalize on the enormous fundraising opportunities of his martyrdom, and Green harshly concludes that, "Ultimately, Harry Moore proved to be worth more money to the NAACP dead than alive" (188). Green portrays Moore as a victim of both white supremacy and of the controlling, overly cautious, vindictive, petty, and stingy NAACP.

Historian Caroline Emmons, who has done considerable research on the NAACP and Harry T. Moore, indicates that legitimate concerns, not vindictiveness, were responsible for the elimination of Moore's executive secretary position by the NAACP's national office. The correspondence Emmons cites suggests that the NAACP did not object to Moore's activities with the Progressive Voters' League but did request that he not represent the two organizations together in his communications. Despite repeated warnings not to, Moore continued writing position letters that he signed as executive secretary of both the PVL and NAACP. Emmons also notes that the abolition of Moore's executive secretary position "appears to have been partly fueled by concerns over [his] fundraising and membership recruitment abilities" (Caroline Emmons, *Journal of Negro History*, 1997).

Ben Green has written an engaging book that succeeds in bringing attention to a significant but largely forgotten leader of the modern civil rights movement. However, *Before His Time* is flawed in one important respect. Close to half of the book dwells on the bombing of the Moores' home, speculation over the identity of the perpetrators, and the efforts made to track them

down. To honor the memory of Harry Moore and for society to reap the benefits of his work, it is his life and legacy that deserve close scrutiny, not his death or the hunt for his assassins.

Leonard R. Lempel

Daytona Beach Community College

Zora Neale Hurston and a History of Southern Life. By Tiffany Ruby Patterson. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005. Acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, index. Pp. ix, 229. \$22.95 paper.)

Novelist, playwright, and folklorist Zora Neale Hurston has always been something of a difficult figure for scholars of the Harlem Renaissance, just as she was for her fellow African American intellectuals during the 1920s and 1930s. Critics have disparaged and/or dismissed her works for not emphasizing the plight of African Americans in the post-Reconstruction South. Indeed, much of her work seemed to ignore, or at best minimize, the exploitation, oppression, and violence that confronted African Americans during the era of Jim Crow, a fact that leads many critics to dismiss her work as overly sentimental and idealized. Her contemporaries in the Harlem Renaissance were also uncomfortable with her fascination with the culture of "the Negro farthest down," working class black southerners. Hurston's poor black characters seemed to belie the "best-foot-forward" image that many Harlem intellectuals wanted to present to their white patrons as the stereotype of contemporary African American life.

Historian Tiffany Ruby Patterson, in her intriguing study *Zora Neale Hurston and a History of Southern Life*, answers both of these critical points of view. Patterson argues that Hurston holds a vital place in the study of black life in the Jim Crow era for the very reasons that her detractors dismiss her. Patterson stresses that for Hurston, black life and culture did not exist solely in the areas where it came into contact with white life and culture, be that contact violence and oppression or white patronage. Hurston refused to accept oppression and victimhood. She studied the lives of black people on their own terms. "Hurston's literary and ethnographic work focused more on what black people were doing for themselves than on what their white oppressors and tormentors were doing to them" making African Americans the subject of her

work, "a place reserved for white people in the dominant race-relations paradigm in African American history and thought" (6). Hurston was an adherent of black self-determination. She stressed the central importance of the culture of an oppressed people, not the oppressors of that culture. Hurston saw beauty in the aspects of southern African American life that black intellectuals viewed as primitive and counterproductive to the image they wanted to portray to white America. Hurston's favorite subject was the vibrant and diverse African American life of the all-black towns and the turpentine, sawmill, and phosphate labor camps of Florida. By presenting a clear and unbiased portrait of the beauty of the folk songs, hoodoo culture, and black religion, as well as the bad, black on black and sexual violence and other indiscretions, Hurston was not creating a negative picture of black life, she was presenting a clear and accurate account of a people living their everyday lives to suite their own wants, needs, and desires. According to Patterson, "What Steinbeck did for poor white Okies, Hurston did for these southern blacks" (158).

The reader should carefully note the title. Patterson is not providing a biography of Zora Neale Hurston. She is instead presenting a study of African American life in the all-black towns like Eatonville and the Florida labor camps as presented in Hurston's writings. Patterson focuses upon a selection of Hurston's fictional works, including the well-known novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, the play *Polk County*, an unpublished short story, "Black Death," and "The Eatonville Anthology," as well as her folklore study *Mules and Men* and her autobiography *Dust Tracks on a Road*. Patterson uses these works as source material to provide a fuller study of the everyday life of the people about whom Hurston wrote. Patterson makes a strong argument for historians to look to literature for historical sources. Writers delineate their time and place. In the same way that an individual could read William Faulkner's Snopes trilogy or T. S. Stribling's Vaiden trilogy to get a clear understanding of how the sharecropping economy developed in the New South, or read the novels of Ellen Glasgow as social histories of Virginia, or read Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men* to gain an understanding of the rise and fall of Huey P. Long, the works of Zora Neale Hurston are an important source for historians concerned about black life during the time of Jim Crow, without focusing on Jim Crow's effects on the black community. Patterson makes a compelling argument for the use of Hurston's works for historical

study, but she does encounter the same problems confronting literary historians. As she said of one Hurston's vignettes, "This story was probably true because Hurston returns to it again and again" (208). While Patterson probably is correct, the historian can never accept such a story as a true primary source. Such a source must always be pointed out as probable, but not conclusive. Fictional works are an important source that historians frequently underutilize, but such items should be used circumspectly, as they are ultimately works of an imagination.

In addition to readers interested in Zora Neale Hurston, southern literature, and the Harlem Renaissance, Patterson's book will appeal to any reader interested in the history of all-black towns in Florida or in the turpentine, lumber, or phosphate industries in Florida. She provides excellent chapter length studies of how each of these industries developed as well as the impact they played upon the lives of the laborers who made their living working in them.

Kenneth W. Vickers

Martin Methodist College

Toxic Drift: Pesticides and Health in the Post-World War II South. By Pete Daniel. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press in conjunction with the National Museum of American History, 2005. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, index. xii, 224 pp. \$26.95 cloth.)

Toxic Drift is a simple story of greed and stupidity. It identifies chemical companies and agricultural experts seeking to maximize their profits and influence respectively as villains, persons who deliberately worked to market their products domestically. By consciously advocating the cavalier application of pesticides to southern farmland, these people were guilty, according to Daniel, of one of two things. They either decided to sicken the nation's population to increase their corporation's bottom lines or were irresponsible in advocating the widespread application of chemicals that had not yet undergone the scrutiny necessary to guarantee safety.

It is not always clear which of these two positions Daniel is arguing. Part of the situation revolves around how one evaluates what happened in the past. Daniel apparently approaches his analysis from the perspective of today. What is understood today must have antecedents in the past. Within that context, then, peo-

ple who were right—people who had objected to pesticide use no matter the reason or the justification—emerge as heroes of Daniel's book because they positively connect the past to the present. Persons in authority less concerned about the hazardous possibilities of pesticides are reviled, while those outside authority are victims. To make his case, Daniel relies on vignettes to set emotional boundaries. Stories of heroic suffering and death presumably caused by pesticides as well as lone voices crying out against soulless international megacorporations provide just the right impression of poignancy. In this sense, the undercurrent of the interpretation reminds me of nothing so much as an updated version of the classic rural paranoia that vast international conspiracies were at work to end the agrarian way of life.

Historical figures who did not agree with Daniel's presentist analysis are the bad guys and girls of his drama, their motives willfully discredited. Daniel brooks no disagreement in his rigidly Manichean world. Land-Grant college experts are dismissed as creatures of agroindustry as are employees of the USDA's Agricultural Research Service. Ironically, the National Academy of Sciences, the members of whom were definitely not from the ranks of the land-grant colleges, also were captives of agrichemistry. This part of Daniel's story explicitly favors anti-professionalism. Knowledge and power are corrupt and corrupting, making those who possess them beholden to those who granted them authority.

This notion of knowledge and power has its own limits. Traditionally, professionals, especially scientists, became pillars of government because of their purported ability to resolve questions of public health and other pressing issues. But what happens when they lack the skills to do so? Again, what happens if their pronouncements on an issue are at odds with those seeking their adjudication, the very persons who placed their faith in these experts? Where does the rule of law enter in? Certainly it is subservient to the idea of protection of the commonweal, but who in lieu of the rule of law determines if the commonweal is being abridged and that a particular phenomenon is the cause?

That would be a very complicated story. But those issues are not issues touched on in any meaningful way by Daniel. He fails to consider then current practice, substituting Reaganesque vignette as assertion of his fundamental contention. But there is also a potent subtext to his argument. It seems as if he believes that pesticides whether safe or not were not only unnecessary but undesirable. Even

if they were completely toxic free and did nothing to upset ecological balance, pesticides would still have been an anathema. For this last point, the explanation was quite simple. Daniel sees the application of chemical inputs as part and parcel of the shift to industrial agriculture and the destruction of traditional virtuous, thriving agrarian life. For this affront, Daniel would never forgive chemical companies and the people sponsoring industrial agriculture.

That view of agriculture is in measures both nostalgic and naïve, of course. It is even more surprising that Daniel sees the ultimate good guy as the national government. As small scale agriculture ceased to exist, self-reliance and local authority gave way to a science- and medicine-based national regulatory bureaucracy. A strange parallelism asserted itself. National government secured the authority to tackle the multinational corporation. *Toxic Drift* is in large part a history of that effort. It is not about real people struggling. It is about Washington, federal authority, how things are negotiated in the nation's capital. It is a plea for federal responsibility and for the use of federal power.

Daniel is an impassioned writer. His book is chock full of stories and fact, people and places. In that sense, this work, like other works of Daniel, is always valuable. Whether you agree with his premise or his arguments, you will find copious material that provides food for intellectual thought. That is no small feat. And it makes the book valuable not only as a manual to raise consciousness but also as a careful, interesting study of how a situation came to be, its consequences and the manner in which it was resolved. It deserves careful reading and a place on the shelves of all persons interested in the emergence of the federal bureaucracy.

Alan I Marcus

Mississippi State University

Florida's Miracle Strip: From Redneck Riviera to Emerald Coast.

By Tim Hollis. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2004. xiii, 217 pp. Introduction, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$25.00 paper.)

Florida's Miracle Strip consists of materials on Florida's Panhandle which Tim Hollis, a public relations man in Birmingham, Alabama, could not fit into *Dixie Before Disney: 100 Years of Roadside Fun* [1999]. His earlier book covered eleven

southern states, led to a PBS documentary—"Greetings from Forgotten Florida"[2000]—and renewed interest in tourist institutions and their impact on the state's development. Hollis was introduced to roadside attractions in the mid-1960's, when his parents began taking the three year old on automobile trips. He developed a fascination in the history behind early resorts, travel, and leisure, and became an avid collector of vintage images and publicity items. He relies on his memories, personal interviews and correspondence, and published accounts to tell a nostalgic story. The text is filled with down-home aphorisms, like "beaches are the first to forget their past." (3) He supplements his own collection of snapshots, postcards, brochures, pennants, and other souvenirs of beaches, hotels, motels, roads, and rides with ephemera from the Bay County Library, Florida State Archives, and private collections.

In the mid-1920's, W. T. Sharpless built a resort at Long Beach, and revealed how much of a frontier, geographically and psychology, the Panhandle was. Sharpless was murdered in 1931 for trying to charge 50 cents to use his beach. In the 1930's, Gideon Thomas began Panama City Beach. „I'm not growing vegetables out here," Gid Thomas told skeptics. "I'm growing people"(9). Since many of the early visitors were cost conscious residents from nearby Mississippi and Alabama, the area acquired the nickname of the "Redneck Riviera," and a blue collar reputation.

Hollis introduces readers to seminal figures in the rise and fall of "mom-and-pop" establishments, and the "oddball" attractions the area came to be noted for. J. E. Churchwell offered visitors more than sun and sand when as part of his Long Beach Resort complex he opened Mystery House. Snake-A-Torium, Castle Dracula, Noah's Ark became companion attractions along U. S. 98. Garnet Carter of Lookout Mountain, Tennessee, is commonly credited with introducing miniature golf, "the feeblest outdoor activity this side of waiting for a bus," [xi] at his Fairyland Inn. He patented his Lilliputian recreational concept as "Tom Thumb Golf" in the late-1920's, and helped formulate the franchise business. But Lee Koplin became the impresario of "goofy golf." Relying on his skill as a welder, and work with cement on the Hoover Dam, Koplin crafted larger than life figures, and brightly colored statutes and structures, that came to symbolize the tackiness and escapism of the diversion. In the mid-1950's, Walter and Max Anderson filled another niche by opening Captain Anderson's restaurant and marina. With a motif that gave the impression of being in the hold

of a ship, Captain Anderson's grew to a 225 seat institution. In the mid-1960's, Vincent E. Valentine, who had worked for Max Fleischer's animation studios in Miami, and as a graphic designer for tourist attractions in central Florida, made Panama City Beach his home base, and added his creative genius to the eclectic mix. "Val," as he was fondly known, renamed Ross Allen's menagerie Jungle Land, built an artificial smoke-puffing volcano as a roadside lure, had scantily clad young ladies guide patrons on "journeys to the center of the earth," [159] and encouraged visitors to activate special effects. Newspaperman Claude Jenkins coined the term "miracle strip" to encapsulate the Panhandle's rapid commercial growth and varied leisure opportunities.

Florida's Miracle Strip will grow in importance as more-and-more of the natural environment and „old time“ attractions are destroyed. As chain stores, like Wal-Mart, uproot oaks and plow under palmettos for parking lots, home developers replace the natural vegetation with cement slabs and imported palms, high-rise condominiums ascend from the rubble of motels, and hurricanes wipe out both natural and man-made features, a distinctive and important part of Florida's heritage is lost, and imitations of other impersonal tourist meccas replace it. A few Panhandle institutions, like Gulfarium [1955] and Gulf World [1969], with their sealife, animal, and bird shows, were on the cutting edge of what would develop into sophisticated aquarium and apiary attractions in urban environments, and still fight for life. In recent years, the Department of Commerce has used the term "Emerald Coast" to refer to the area, promote a more polished existence, and attract a more upscale clientele and businesses. The new urbanism gave birth to Seaside, a utopian home-away-from home for yuppies from Atlanta and Birmingham. Yet shark attacks, spiraling real estate costs, and pollution have clouded the picture. In *Sunshine State* [2002], John Sayles placed on film the story of voracious development and its threat to people and places, and communicated messages of destruction and loss to audiences Hollis's book won't reach. The video series "Girls Gone Wild" captured a Spring Break reputation that Fort Lauderdale escaped and many in the Panhandle want to live down. *Florida's Miracle Strip* salvages memories of old time fun-and-sun spots, and reminds us of the costs of vacationland status.

The Florida Historical Quarterly

Index to Volume 84
Compiled by Christopher Beats

A

- All According to God's Plan: Southern Baptist Missions and Race, 1945-1970*, by Alan Scot Willis, reviewed, 160.
- The American South in a Global World*, edited by James L. Peacock, Harry L. Watson, and Carrie R. Matthews, reviewed, 172.
- Anderson, S. Willoughby, review by, 170.
- Armitage, David, and Michael J. Braddick, editors, *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, reviewed, 140.
- The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel*, edited by Peter Coclanis, reviewed, 449.

B

- "Battle for St. Augustine 1964: Public Record and Personal Recollection," by Claudia S. Slate, 479.
- Before Brown: Civil Rights and White Backlash in the Modern South*, by Glenn Feldman, reviewed, 170.
- Before His Time: The Untold Story of Harry T. Moore, America's First Civil Rights Martyr*, by Ben Green, reviewed, 587.
- Belko, Steve, review by, 569.

- Bennett, Michael, *Union Jacks: Yankee Sailors in the Civil War*, reviewed, 454.
- Billingsley, Carolyn Earle, *Communities of Kinship: Antebellum Families and the Settlement of the Cotton Frontier*, reviewed, 147.
- Block, Mary, review by, 151.
- Boles, John B., ed., *Shapers of Southern History: Autobiographical Reflections*, reviewed, 291.
- Brackett, John M., "Wrongful Defeat: The 1934 Florida Senatorial Democratic Primary Between Claude Pepper and Park Trammell," 205.
- "Britain's 1814 Occupation of Pensacola and America's Response: An Episode of the War of 1812 in the Southeastern Borderland," by Nathaniel Millet, 229.
- The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, edited by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, reviewed, 140.
- Brothers One and All: Esprit de Corps in a Civil War Regiment*, by Mark Dunkelman, reviewed, 153.
- Brown, Canter, Jr., and Larry Eugene Rivers, *For a Great and Grand Purpose: The Beginnings of the AMEZ Church in Florida*, reviewed, 279; *None Can Have Richer Memories: Polk County, Florida, 1840-2000*, reviewed, 288.
- Bruce, Susannah U., review by, 454.
- Brundage, W. Fitzhugh, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory*, reviewed, 471.
- Buckner, Timothy R., review by, 142.

C

- Caldwell, Ann, review by, 157.
- Carey, Anthony, review by, 271.
- Carson, James Taylor, review by, 134.
- Cassanello, Robert, reviews by, 275, 463.
- Cassanello, Robert, and Daniel S. Murphree, "The Epic of Greater Florida: Florida's Global Past," 1.
- Castillo, Thomas, "Commentaries," 100.
- Chirhart, Ann Short, *Torches of Light: Georgia Teachers and the Coming of the Modern South*, reviewed, 466; review by 000.
- Clavin, Matt, review by, 447.
- "Clever Men and Cool Brains: Rethinking the Mind of the Old South," by John Mayfield, 256.

- Clune, Jay, "Commentaries," 100.
- Coclanis, Peter, editor, *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel*, reviewed, 449.
- A Colonial Complex: South Carolina's Frontier in the Era of the Yamasee War, 1680-1730*, by Steven Oates, reviewed, 264.
- "Coming North to the South: Migration, Labor, and Community-Building in Twentieth-Century Miami," by Melanie Shell-Weiss, 79.
- "Commentaries" by Jack E. Davis with Thomas Castillo, Jay Clune, James M. Denham, Russell D. James, Alex Lichenstein, Dave Nelson, Joshua Parker, and Lee L. Willis III, 100.
- Communities of Kinship: Antebellum Families and the Settlement of the Cotton Frontier*, by Carolyn Earle Billingsley, reviewed, 147.
- Crooks, James B., *Jacksonville: The Consolidation Story, From Civil Rights to the Jaguars*, reviewed, 162; review by, 286.
- Crowther, Edward R., review by, 284.
- Cusick, James, review by, 451.

D

- Daniel, Pete, *Toxic Drift: Pesticides and Health in the Post-World War Two South*, reviewed, 592.
- Davis, Jack E., "Commentaries," 100.
- Davis, Jack E., Raymond Arsenault, editors, *Paradise Lost? The Environmental History of Florida*, reviewed, 473.
- Denham, James M., "Commentaries," 100.
- Denham, James M., and Keith L. Huneycutt, editors, *Echoes from a Distant Frontier: The Brown Sisters' Correspondence from Antebellum Florida*, reviewed, 157.
- Dibble, Ernest, *Joseph Mills White: Anti-Jacksonian Floridian*, reviewed, 451.
- Divided Mastery: Slave Hiring in the American South*, by Jonathon D. Martin, reviewed, 155.
- Documentation of the Indians of the Florida Keys & Miami, 1514-1765*, edited by Gail Swanson, reviewed, 443.
- Dunkelman, Mark H., *Brothers One and All: Esprit de Corps in a Civil War Regiment*, reviewed, 153.

E

Eacott, Jonathon, review by, 140.

Echoes from a Distant Frontier: The Brown Sisters' Correspondence from Antebellum Florida, edited by James Denham and Keith L. Huneycutt, reviewed, 157.

Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920, by Paul Ortiz, reviewed, 463

"The Epic of Greater Florida: Florida's Global Past," by Robert Cassanello and Daniel S. Murphree, 1.

Escott, Paul, review by, 456.

F

Feldman, Glenn, *Before Brown: Civil Rights and White Backlash in the Modern South*, reviewed, 170.

Feldman, Glenn, ed., *Politics and Religion in the White South*, reviewed, 580.

A Fierce and Fractious Frontier: The Curious Development of Louisiana's Florida Parishes, 1699-2000, edited by Samuel C. Hyde Jr., reviewed, 142.

"Florida History Directory: The 2005 Blue Book" by Tom Muir, 295.

Florida's Lost Tribes, by Theodore Morris, reviewed, 136

Florida's Miracle Strip: From Redneck Riviera to Emerald Coast, by Tim Hollis, reviewed 594.

Fogelson, Raymond D., *The Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 14, Southeast*, reviewed, 443.

Fogelsong, Richard, review by, 167.

For a Great and Grand Purpose: The Beginnings of the AMEZ Church in Florida, by Canter Brown, Jr. and Larry Eugene Rivers, reviewed, 279.

Frank, Andrew K., "Taking the State Out: Seminoles and Creeks in Late Eighteenth Century Florida," 10; review by, 443,

Freedom's Coming: Religious Culture and the Shaping of the South from the Civil War through Civil Right's Era, by Paul Harvey, reviewed, 284.

G

- Ginzl, David J., *Stein Mart: An American Story of Roots, Family, and Building a Greater Dream*, reviewed, 286.
- Glover, Lorri, review by, 149.
- Go Sound the Trumpet! Selections in Florida's African-American History*, edited by David H. Jackson, Jr. and Canter Brown, Jr., reviewed, 582.
- Godbold, Stanly, review by, 580.
- Godshalk, David Fort, *Veiled Visions: The 1906 Atlanta Race Riot and the Reshaping of American Race Relations*, reviewed, 461.
- Grady, Timothy, review by, 264.
- Grander in Her Daughters: Florida's Women During the Civil War*, by Tracy J. Revels, reviewed, 275.
- Green, Ben, *Before His Time: The Untold Story of Harry T. Moore, America's First Civil Rights Martyr*, reviewed, 597.
- Green, Elna C., "Hidden in Plain View: Eugene Poulnot and the History of Southern Radicalism," 349.
- Green, Michael D., review by, 132.

H

- Hahn, Steven C., *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763*, reviewed, 134.
- Hall, Gwendolyn Midlo, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links*, reviewed, 447.
- Halls of Honor: College Men in the Old South*, by Robert Pace reviewed, 149.
- Halpin, Dennis, review by, 269.
- The Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 14, Southeast*, by Raymond D. Fogelson, reviewed, 443.
- Harper, Matt J. Zacharias, review by, 279.
- Harvey, Paul, *Freedom's Coming: Religious Culture and the Shaping of the South from the Civil War through Civil Right's Era*, reviewed, 284.
- Hawkins, Timothy, *Jose de Bustamante and Central American Independence: Colonial Administration in an Age of Imperial Crisis*, reviewed, 269.
- Hell's Broke Loose in Georgia: Survival in a Civil War Regiment*, by Scott Walker, reviewed, 576.
- Henry Adams and the Southern Question* by Michael O'Brien, reviewed 456.

- Henry Plant: Pioneer Empire Builder* by Kelly Reynolds, reviewed 458.
 "Hidden in Plain View: Eugene Poulnot and the History of Southern Radicalism," by Elna C. Green, 349.
 Hobson, Fred, review by, 174.
 Hollis, Tim, *Florida's Miracle Strip: From Redneck Riviera to Emerald Coast*, reviewed, 594.
Hunted Like a Wolf: The Story of the Seminole War, by Milton Meltzer reviewed, 144.
 Hyde, Samuel C., Jr., editor, *A Fierce and Fractious Frontier: The Curious Development of Louisiana's Florida Parishes, 1699-2000*, reviewed, 142.
The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763, by Steven C. Hahn, reviewed, 134.

I

J

- Jackson, David H., Jr., and Canter Brown, Jr., editors, *Go Sound the Trumpet: Selections in Florida's African-American History*, reviewed, 583.
Jacksonville: The Consolidation Story, From Civil Rights to the Jaguars, by James C. Crooks, reviewed, 162.
 James, Russell D., "Commentaries," 100.
 Jarvis, Eric, review by, 165.
 Johnson, Joan, review by, 466.
 Johnson, Joan Marie, *Southern Ladies, New Women: Race, Region, and Clubwomen in South Carolina, 1890-1930*, reviewed, 578.
 Johnson, Sherry, "The St. Augustine Hurricane of 1811: Disaster and the Question of Political Unrest on the Florida Frontier," 28.
Jose de Bustamante and Central American Independence: Colonial Administration in an Age of Imperial Crisis, by Timothy Hawkins, reviewed, 269.
Joseph Mills White: Anti-Jacksonian Floridian, by Ernest Dibble, reviewed, 451.

K

- Kerstein, Robert, review by, 162; *Politics and Growth in Twentieth-Century Tampa*, reviewed, 167.
The Key West Lighthouse: A Light in Paradise, by Thomas W. Taylor, reviewed 569.
Keyes, Carl, review by, 449.
Kilbride, Daniel, review by, 147.
Kirby, Jack Temple, review by, 473.

L

- Lichtenstein, Alex, "Commentaries," 100.
Lempel, Leonard, review by, 587.
Levin, Kevin N., review by, 273.
Look Away: The U.S. South in New World Studies, by Jon Smith and Deborah Cohn, reviewed, 174.
Luca, Francis X., review by, 136.

M

- Marcus, Alan I., review by, 592
Martin, Jonathon D., *Divided Mastery: Slave Hiring in the American South*, reviewed, 155.
Masterful Women: Slaveholding Widows from the American Revolution through the Civil War, by Kirsten E. Wood, reviewed, 151.
Mayfield, John, "Clever Men and Cool Brains: Rethinking the Mind of the Old South," 256.
McDonough, James Lee, *Nashville: The Western Confederacy's Final Gamble*, reviewed, 273.
McKnight, Brian D., review by, 576.
Meltzer, Milton, *Hunted Like a Wolf: The Story of the Seminole War*, reviewed, 144.
Miller, Randall M., review by, 155.
Millett, Nathaniel, "Britain's 1814 Occupation of Pensacola and America's Response: An Episode of the War of 1812 in the Southeastern Borderland," 229.
Montgomery, Rebecca, review by, 571.
"More Courage Than Discretion': Charles M. Hamilton in Reconstruction-Era Florida," by Daniel R. Weinfeld.
Morgan, Chad, review by, 153.

Morris, Theodore, *Florida's Lost Tribes*, reviewed, 136.

The Mosquito Wars: A History Mosquito Control in Florida, by Gordon Patterson, reviewed, 165.

Muir, Tom, "Florida History Directory: The 2005 Blue Book," 295.

Murphree, Dan, review by, 266.

"Mythic Landscapes of the Boom and Bust Weedon Island, Florida," by Sheila K. Stewart, 383.

N

Nashville: The Western Confederacy's Final Gamble, by James Lee McDonough, reviewed, 273.

Negotiating for Georgia: British-Creek Relations in the Trustee Era, 1733-1752, by Julie Anne Sweet, reviewed, 266.

Nelson, David, "Commentaries," 100; "A New Deal for Welfare: Governor Fred Cone and the Florida State Welfare Board," 185.

"A New Deal for Welfare: Governor Fred Cone and the Florida State Welfare Board," by David Nelson, 185.

None Can Have Richer Memories: Polk County, Florida, 1840-2000, by Canter Brown, Jr., reviewed, 288.

O

Oatis, Steven, *A Colonial Complex: South Carolina's Frontier in the Era of the Yamasee War, 1680-1730*, reviewed, 264.

O'Brien, Michael, *Henry Adams and the Southern Question*, reviewed, 456.

Okfuskee: A Creek Town in Colonial America, by Joshua Piker, reviewed, 132

Origins of the Southern Middle Class, 1800-1861, by Jonathan Daniel Wells, reviewed, 271.

Ortiz, Paul, *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920*, reviewed, 463.

P

Pace, Robert, *Halls of Honor: College Men in the Old South*, reviewed, 149.

Palmer, Tom, review by, 288.

Paradise Lost? The Environmental History of Florida, edited by Jack E. Davis and Raymond Arsenault, reviewed, 473.

Parker, Joshua, "Commentaries," 100.

- Patterson, Gordon, *The Mosquito Wars: A History of Mosquito Control in Florida*, reviewed, 165.
- Patterson, Tiffany Ruby, *Zora Neale Hurston and a History of Southern Life*, reviewed, 590.
- Peacock, James L., Harry L. Watson, and Carrie R. Matthews, editors, *The American South in a Global World*, reviewed, 172.
- Piker, Joshua, *Okfuskee: A Creek Town in Colonial America*, reviewed, 132.
- The Plant System of Rail Roads, Steamships, and Hotels: The South's First Great Industrial Enterprise*, by Greg Turner and Seth Bramson, reviewed, 458.
- Politics and Growth in Twentieth-Century Tampa* by Robert Kerstein, reviewed, 167.
- Politics and Religion in the White South*, by Glenn Feldman, editor, reviewed 580.
- Poucher, Judith G., "Raising Her Voice: Ruth Perry, Activist and Journalist for the Miami NAACP," 517.
- Preface to Peasantry: A Tale of Two Black Belt Counties*, by Arthur Raper, reviewed, 468.

Q

R

- "Raising Her Voice: Ruth Perry, Activist and Journalist for the Miami NAACP," by Judith G. Poucher, 517.
- Raper, Arthur F., *Preface to Peasantry: A Tale of Two Black Belt Counties*, reviewed, 468.
- Real Women of Tampa and Hillsborough County From Prehistory to the Millennium*, by Doris Weatherford, reviewed, 275.
- The Reconstruction of Southern Debtors: Bankruptcy after the Civil War*, by Elizabeth Lee Thompson, reviewed, 282.
- Revels, Tracy J., *Grander in Her Daughters: Florida's Women During the Civil War*, reviewed, 275.
- Reynolds, Kelly, *Henry Plant: Pioneer Empire Builder*, reviewed, 458.
- Roady-Lawson, Jennifer, review by, 583.

S

- Saunders, Robert, Jr., review by, 291.
- Self-Taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom*, by Heather Andrea Williams, reviewed, 571.

- Shapers of Southern History: Autobiographical Reflections*, by John B. Boles, ed., reviewed, 291.
- Shell-Weiss, Melanie, "Coming North to the South: Migration, Labor, and Community-Building in Twentieth-Century Miami," 79; review by 172.
- Slate, Claudia S., "Battle for St. Augustine 1964: Public Record and Personal Recollection," 541.
- Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links*, by Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, reviewed, 447.
- Smith, Fred, review by, 468.
- Smith, Jon, and Deborah Cohn, *Look Away: The U.S. South in New World Studies*, reviewed, 174.
- Snyder, Robert E., review by, 594.
- Southern Ladies, New Women: Race, Region, and Clubwomen in South Carolina, 1890-1930*, by Joan Marie Johnson, reviewed, 578.
- The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory*, W. Fitzhugh Brundage, reviewed, 471.
- "A Splendid Idea in China Turned Sour in Florida: The Rise and Fall of Florida Splendid China," by Wenxian Zhang, 411.
- "The Sporting Set Winters in Florida: Fertile Ground for the Leisure Revolution, 1970-1930," by Larry R. Youngs, 57.
- "The St. Augustine Hurricane of 1811: Disaster and the Question of Political Unrest on the Florida Frontier," by Sherry Johnson, 28.
- Stein Mart: An American Story of Roots, Family, and Building a Greater Dream*, by David J. Ginzl, reviewed, 286.
- Stewart, Bruce E., review by, 282.
- Stewart, Sheila K., "Mythic Landscapes of the Boom and Bust Weedon Island, Florida," 383.
- Swanson, Gail, editor, *Documentation of the Indians of the Florida Keys & Miami, 1514-1765*, reviewed, 443.
- Sweet, Julie Anne, *Negotiating for Georgia: British-Creek Relations in the Trustee Era, 1733-1752*, reviewed, 266.

T

- "Taking the State Out: Seminoles and Creeks in Late Eighteenth Century Florida," by Andrew K. Frank, 10.
- Taylor, Thomas W., *The Key West Lighthouse: A Light in Paradise*, reviewed 569.

- Thompson, Elizabeth Lee, *The Reconstruction of Southern Debtors: Bankruptcy after the Civil War*, reviewed, 282.
- Toney, Jared G., review by, 160.
- Torches of Light: Georgia Teachers and the Coming of the Modern South*, by Ann Chirhart, reviewed, 466.
- Toxic Drift: Pesticides and Health in the Post-World War Two South*, by Pete Daniel, reviewed, 592
- Turner, Greg and Seth Bramson, *The Plant System of Rail Roads, Steamships, and Hotels: The South's First Great Industrial Enterprise*, reviewed, 458.

U

- Union Jacks: Yankee Sailors in the Civil War*, by Michael Bennet, reviewed, 454
- Upchurch, Thomas A., review by, 461.

V

- Veiled Visions: The 1906 Atlanta Race Riot and the Reshaping of American Race Relations*, by David Fort Godshalk, reviewed, 461
- Vickers, Kenneth W., review by, 590.

W

- Waldrep, Christopher, review by, 471.
- Walker, Scott, *Hell's Broke Loose in Georgia: Survival in a Civil War Regiment*, reviewed, 576.
- Watson, Samuel, review by, 144.
- Weatherford, Doris, *Real Women of Tampa and Hillsborough County From Prehistory to the Millennium*, reviewed, 275.
- Weinfeld, Daniel R., "More Courage Than Discretion': Charles M. Hamilton in Reconstruction-Era Florida," 479.
- Wells, Jonathan Daniel, *Origins of the Southern Middle Class, 1800-1861*, reviewed, 271.
- Williams, Heather Andrea, *Self-Taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom*, reviewed, 571.
- Willis, Alan Scot, *All According to God's Plan: Southern Baptist Missions and Race, 1945-1970*, reviewed, 160.
- Willis, Lee L., III, "Commentaries," 100.
- Wood, Kirsten E., *Masterful Women: Slaveholding Widows from the American Revolution through the Civil War*, reviewed 151.

"Wrongful Defeat: The 1934 Florida Senatorial Democratic Primary Between Claude Pepper and Park Trammell," by John M. Brackett, 205.

X

Y

Youngs, Larry, "The Sporting Set Winters in Florida: Fertile Ground for the Leisure Revolution, 1970-1930," 57; review by, 458.

Z

Zhang, Wenxian, "A Splendid Idea in China Turned Sour in Florida: The Rise and Fall of Florida Splendid China," 411.

Zora Neale Hurston and a History of Southern Life, by Tiffany Ruby Patterson, reviewed, 590.

Florida Plantation Records from the Papers of George Noble Jones

Edited by Ulrich Bonnell Phillips and James David Glunt

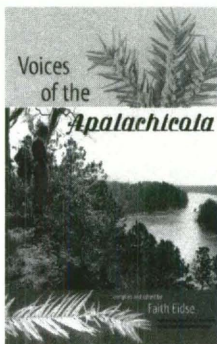
"John David Smith's introduction is an absolutely essential companion to the original text. . . it illuminates the conditions of life on El Destino and Chemonie in ways that the original editors were incapable of doing, shows readers how the papers came to survive and be published, and provides a balanced account of U.B. Phillips' own changing response to the documents of enslaved people's captivity."—Ed Baptist, Cornell University
Cloth \$55.00

The Native American World Beyond Apalachee *West Florida and the Chattahoochee Valley*

John H. Hann

"An outstanding source of new documentation on the emergence of the Creeks, as well as the smaller tribes of Spanish Florida's hinterlands."—Vernon James Knight, University of Alabama
Cloth \$55.00

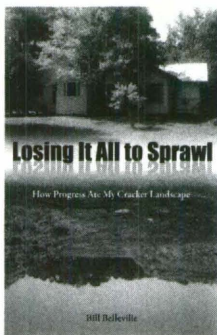
Order through full-service booksellers, at www.upf.com, or with VISA, MC, or American Express, toll free: 1-800-226-3822



Voices of the Apalachicola

Compiled and Edited by Faith Eidse

"An eloquent memory of an entity that cannot speak for itself."—Gail Fishman, author of *Journeys Through Paradise*
Cloth \$29.95



Losing It All to Sprawl

How Progress Ate My Cracker Landscape

Bill Belleville

"An important book in the personal history of a fast-changing state."—John Lane, author of *Waist Deep in Black Water*
Paper \$17.95

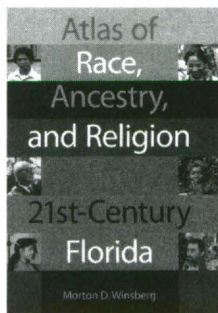
UNIVERSITY PRESS OF



Laboring in the Fields of the Lord *Spanish Missions and Southeastern Indians*

Jerald T. Milanich

"Should be the first book read by anybody wishing to learn more about Spanish Florida."—*Journal of Social History*
Paper \$24.95



Atlas of Race, Ancestry, and Religion in 21st-Century Florida

Morton D. Winsberg

"The first-ever study of Florida's religious bodies in the contexts of race and ancestry."—Michael Gannon, University of Florida
Cloth \$29.95

Visit our Website Sale:
www.upf.com!

The Florida Historical Society

The Historical Society of Florida, 1856
The Florida Historical Society, successor, 1902
The Florida Historical Society, incorporated, 1905



OFFICERS

Robert A. Taylor, *President*
Samuel J. Boldrick, *Vice-President*
Theodore Van Itallie, *Immediate Past President*

José B. Fernández, *President-Elect*
Patricia Bartlett, *Secretary*

DIRECTORS

Benjamin Brotemarkle, Titusville
Celeste DeRouche, Vero
Ted Burrows, Fort Pierce
Harold Cardwell, Daytona Beach
Don Gaby, Datona Beach
Judy Duda, Slavia
Leonard Lempel, Daytona Beach

Tom McFarland, Merritt Island
Charles E. McPherson, The Villages
Jean McNary, Dade City
Debi Murray, Palm Beach Gardens
Richard Moorhead, Winter Park
Richard S. Prescott, Fort Myers
Larry E. Rivers, Tallahassee
Robert E. Snyder, Lutz

ex-officio

David Paterno, Florida Historical Library Foundation
Perry D. West, Rossetter House Foundation

STAFF

Lewis N. Wynne, *Executive Director*
Barbara West, *Associate Director*
Debra T. Wynne, *Archivist*
Robert R. Gross, *Membership Manager*

Dating its origins to St. Augustine in 1856, the Florida Historical Society is the oldest existing cultural organization in Florida and serves as the only statewide historical society. The Society is dedicated to the preservation of Florida's past through the collection, archival maintenance, and publication of historical documents and photographs; to scholarly research and publication through the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, and a variety of awards for the researching and publishing of Florida history; and to public history, historic preservation, and youth education through *Journeys for the Junior Historian*, the Society's annual meeting, awards recognizing the teaching of Florida history, and the Print Shoppe—a book and gift store offering over five hundred texts in Florida history.

The Society's official headquarters and the Field Library of Florida History are located in Cocoa's historic United States Post Office, built in 1939. The Society's research library houses over eight hundred rare maps, six thousand volumes of *Floridiana*, and an extensive collection of documents relating to Florida history and genealogy. Further information about the Florida Historical Society may be found on the internet at (<http://www.florida-historical-soc.org>).

77

77