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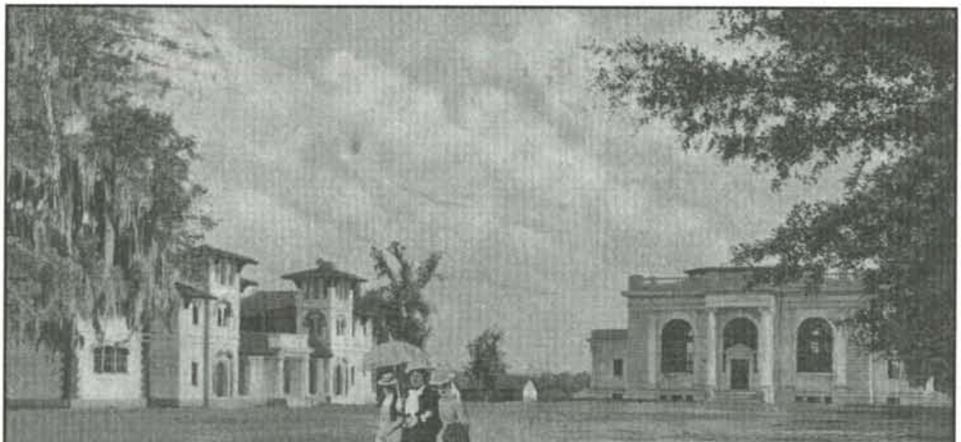
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Cover Illustration: Part of the University of Florida at Lake City. The Science Building (left) and Flagler Gymnasium were two of three buildings constructed between 1902 and 1905 before the campus was moved to Gainesville in 1906. In all, the state abandoned over $200,000 in fixed capital. Image courtesy of Florida Department of Special and Area Studies Collection, University of Florida.

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Florida's Sledd Affair: Andrew Sledd and the Fight for Higher Education in Florida

by Carl Van Ness

Andrew Sledd served only briefly as president of the University of Florida from 1904 to 1909. Under constant attack during his short tenure Sledd nonetheless managed to achieve more than many of his successors. The university has never acknowledged his contributions, and his presidency has been largely overshadowed by that of his rival and successor, Albert A. Murphree. Murphree, president from 1909 to 1927, achieved iconic status when a statue was raised in his honor in 1949. The imposing figure of Murphree in academic garb presides eternally in the campus historic district.

While Sledd's career at the University of Florida has been overlooked, the same cannot be said of his time at Emory University. Sledd is most often remembered for a racial controversy that engulfed him there in 1902. In an article penned for the *Atlantic Monthly* entitled "The Negro: Another View," Sledd condemned the lawlessness of the South and those who participated in racial vigilantism. "There is nothing," he asserted, "in a white skin *or a black* to nullify the essential rights of man as man." He went on to assert that the South had no prerogative on matters of race. "The negro question is a national one; as much so as the question of

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Carl Van Ness is University Archivist and University Historian at the University of Florida. He wishes to express his appreciation to colleague James Cusick for his much-needed editorial advice. He also wishes to acknowledge the privilege and honor of adding to the edifice built by the university's first historian, Samuel Proctor.

tariff," Sledd argued. As a white southerner, this was tantamount to treason. The article's attempt to create a unifying middle ground on the issue of race at a time when white supremacists dominated the debate was lost in the ensuing controversy.[1]

Sledd intended the article to be a springboard for societal mediation. But in an era described by Robert Wiebe as one in which "the mediator simply could not function" the article, instead, engendered a wave of white hostility and denunciation.[2] The Sledd Affair, as it came to be called, led to Sledd's forced resignation from Emory's faculty. His expulsion, in turn, exposed the lack of academic freedom in the South on matters of race and brought Emory and southern academe into disrepute among colleges outside the region.[3]

Historians' assessment of Sledd varies widely. He is perceived as both a liberal reformer and a conservative champion of old South values. His chief biographer, though, states that he "was neither a professional Southerner nor a professional liberal. He was something different. He was a dissenter."[4] He was also uncompromising. Colleagues called him both righteous and sanctimonious. A supporter referred to him as "a typical Virginian gentleman of the old school, high minded, frank and fearless."[5]

His fearlessness was rooted in his religious convictions. "Necessity requires no moral compromise," a student of his

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[1] Andrew Sledd, "The Negro: Another View," *The Atlantic Monthly*, July 1902, 65-73. The two quotes are from pages 71 and 65, respectively.

[2] Robert H. Wiebe. *The Search for Order, 1877-1920*. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1967), 97.

[3] For a full discussion of the article and its aftermath see Terry Lee Matthews, "The Emergence of a Prophet: Andrew Sledd and the 'Sledd Affair' of 1902" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1989.)

[4] Matthews, 9. For the conservative view, see Ralph Reed, "Emory College and the Sledd Affair of 1902: A Case Study in Southern Honor and Racial Attitudes," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 72 (Fall 1988): 463-492, and for the liberal interpretation see Henry Y. Warnock, "Andrew Sledd, Southern Methodists and the Negro: A Case History," *Journal of Southern History* 31, no. 3 (August 1965): 251-271. The Sledd Affair also appears in broader monographic studies by C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 445, James C. Cobb, *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 96-97, and, most notably, Bruce Clayton, *The Savage Ideal: Intolerance and Intellectual Leadership in the South, 1890-1914,* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), 78-84.

[5] William Franck to W. A. Carson, June 10, 1904, Box 1, Series P9, Andrew Sledd Papers, University of Florida Archives, Gainesville, Florida. Hereafter, Sledd Papers.

Sledd Family, ca. 1906. Andrew Sledd, his wife Florence Candler Sledd, and children (left to right) Andrew, Jr., Warren Candler and Frances Carey. *Image courtesy of University of Florida Department of Special and Area Studies Collections.*

remembered him saying: "A man never actually *has* to do but two things: die and face the judgment of a righteous God."[6] An ordained lay preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Sledd considered a missionary post to Cuba before choosing the lectern over the pulpit. At Emory, he married the daughter of Bishop Warren Candler, a trustee and former president of the college and one of the most influential figures in the Methodist Church. Sledd would return to Emory in 1914 as a New Testament scholar and inspired a generation of church reformers and social activists.

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[6] Matthews, 258.

Contrary to Bruce Clayton's assertion, the *Atlantic* article was not Sledd's "one outcry" nor did Sledd cease to be a social critic.[7] The article was to some extent though a diversion from his chosen crusade. He saw himself first and foremost as a teacher and as an advocate for educational improvement. "The fundamental problem that confronts the South" he wrote "is an educational one." In regards to higher education, Sledd lamented the poverty of southern colleges, their weak academic standards, and their intellectual dishonesty. He prayed that "some college. . . brave and wise . . . would break with its environment" and set a higher standard for the others to follow. By the "sturdy maintenance of the right ideal" this college would, he said, "slowly and painfully, but very surely, work out the intellectual regeneration of the South."[8]

Sledd's passion for education and its redemptive character mirrored the sentiment of other southern education reformers. Like Sledd, John Spencer Bassett of Trinity College and Charles Lee Coon of North Carolina were moderates on the race issue and were also savaged in the press for their beliefs. Most reformers, however, either embraced white supremacist views or accommodated themselves to the dominant racial message of the early 20th century. [9] But all were united in the belief that education was the key to the South's ultimate transformation.

In his analysis of four early 20th century southern university presidents, Michael Dennis states that they each expressed a commitment to social service and believed education to be "the linchpin of regional economic rejuvenation." [10] Progressive university administrators, according to Dennis, eschewed the traditional liberal arts curriculum in favor of a more business-oriented practical education. Dennis nevertheless acknowledges "that the field of ideas about southern education was a contested terrain" and that other southern administrators stressed academic standards rather than social relevance as the only measurable means of determining educational advancement.[11] Earlier interpretations by Clayton and C. Vann Woodward argued that the education reform movement had as much to do with moral and political regeneration as economic revitalization.[12]

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[7] Clayton, 102.

[8] Matthews, 110-118.

[9] Michael Dennis, *Lessons in Progress: State Universities and Progressivism in the New South, 1880-1920,* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 2001), 9. Dennis notes that Sledd and Bassett held exceptional views on the race question, Dennis, 33.

[10] Dennis, 1-3.

Of the four presidents profiled by Dennis, Sledd's tenure at the University of Florida bears some similarity to that of Samuel Chiles Mitchell at the University of South Carolina. Both men were proponents of the Social Gospel and both were vocal opponents of lynching. Both presidents enjoyed the support of progressive governors only to clash with their successors. But, while Sledd's actions and writings clearly place him in the same - reformist milieu as Mitchell, there is little to suggest that Sledd subscribed to the "progressive creed of bureaucratic efficiency."[13] Unlike Dennis's subjects, Sledd refused to compromise education standards for the sake of vocational and technical training. Rather, he sought parity between the literary and technical fields in the curriculum and stressed the importance of standards for both admission and graduation.

Roger Geiger's description of southern academia in the early 20th century reveals the paradox that confronted southern education progressives. Geiger points to two "eccentricities" in southern higher education. First, he notes that the transformations sweeping education elsewhere in the nation were still incipient in the South. "Fundamental disagreement about the form and the value of education," he argues, served as a brake on educational progress. The second eccentricity was "the deep involvement of government and politics in setting the parameters and possibilities of education institutions."[14] Consequently, progressive educators who put themselves in the service of the state could find themselves at odds with the entity they served. In Florida, Sledd became embroiled in a struggle between the Board of Control, which supervised public higher education, and the Board of Education, which oversaw all public education. The struggle had little to do with the core mission of the university but everything to do with the question of who would govern it.

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[11] Ibid., 35-37.

[12] Woodward, 396-406; Clayton, 107-130.

[13] Dennis, 3. For his discussion of Mitchell see pages 161-216. The Social Gospel was a Protestant movement of the late 1800s and early 1900s that emphasized the application of Christian ethics to society's problems.

[14] Roger L. Geiger, "Editor's Introduction" in *History of Higher Education Annual* (Vol. 19), *Southern Higher Education in the 20th Century*, (The Pennsylvania State University: 1999), 8.

Sledd's selection as the University of Florida's president was initiated by a letter from his father-in-law to university trustee C. A. Carson in May 1904. This was followed by a series of letters between Sledd and the trustees in which the *Atlantic* article became the focus of discussion. Sledd convinced the board members that his views were not heretical and accepted the position on June 7, 1904.[15]

The University of Florida and higher education in Florida were both in disarray in 1904. The university, then in Lake City, opened in 1884 as the Florida Agricultural College. It was the state's Morrill Act institution and also its first public college. The school was fraught with difficulty and controversy during its twenty year existence, and it subsisted almost exclusively through federal funding until 1900. Although there was greater political support for a state university, Florida lacked the financial resources to support one.[16]

Matters improved somewhat after the election of William S. Jennings as governor in 1900. The state increased funding for both capital and operating expenses, the campus was enlarged, and the male student body, heretofore subjected to a military code of conduct, was demilitarized. A new president, Thomas Taliaferro, was appointed in 1901 and, in 1903, the Florida Agricultural College became the University of Florida. The name change was accompanied by changes in the course catalog and the formation of colleges.

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[15] Bishop Warren Candler to C. A. Carson, May 1904, Carson to Sledd and Sledd's response, May 24 and May 27, and Sledd to F. W. Simonton, June 27, Box 1, Sledd Papers. There is also a letter of support from Nathan Bryan to Carson, June 28. Carson and Bryan were related and both were Emory graduates.

[16] The Morrill Act of 1862 granted each state lands to sell with proceeds being invested in a perpetual endowment to support instruction in the agricultural and mechanical sciences. The Morrill Act of 1890 provided cash to the land grant colleges. Florida and other southern states were required to designate a school for African-Americans and to distribute an equal share of the second Morrill Act funds to that school. The Hatch Act of 1887 provided federal funds for agricultural experiment stations. The Florida Agricultural Experiment Station was founded at Lake City in 1888.

A tenth grade education was the sole admission requirement. This fell below the minimum requirement for accreditation by the Southern Association of Preparatory Schools and Colleges but was in line with other agricultural and mechanical colleges. However, other southern state universities and the better private colleges in the region required eleven years of education. Outside the South, the twelfth grade had become the standard for admission to public and private universities.[17]

The faculty body fared as poorly as the student body. In 1903, the university employed only two professors with doctoral degrees, five with master's, and four with only a bachelor's. Conflicts between faculty and administration were common. A dispute between President Taliaferro and the faculty, in part stemming from Taliferro's attempt to transform the agricultural college into a state university, culminated in a showdown in April 1904 and the resignation of Taliaferro and five faculty members. Sledd, upon assuming the presidency, "found the institution in a chaotic condition, consequent upon one of its periodic upheavals." [18]

In short, Sledd arrived to a nominal university with little political support, a weak and fractious faculty, and students ill-prepared for college. With missionary zeal, Sledd quickly addressed these problems and embarked on a radical transformation of the university.

Shortly after his arrival, Sledd received permission from the trustees to raise admission requirements to roughly the 11th grade. The decision would eventually compel local school districts to expand their high school curricula. In the interim, though, there was a dearth of eligible enrollees.[19]

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[17] The grade equivalents are an approximation of the high school units required for admission. One semester of coursework equaled a half unit and 3.5 academic units constituted one year. By Sledd's estimate the university required eight academic units in 1904 or one unit more than the tenth year. Under Sledd, the standard was raised to ten units, a half unit lower than the eleventh grade.

[18] Andrew Sledd, "Autobiography," 123. This unfinished manuscript is found in the Andrew Sledd Papers. It ends, regrettably, in 1905.

[19] Annual report to the Board of Control, March 6, 1909, Box 3, Series P3, Administrative Records of University President Andrew Sledd, University of Florida Archives. (Hereafter, Sledd Records).

Enrollments also fell as Sledd demanded a higher level of discipline and morality as well as academics from his students. Sledd adopted as a motto for the University "Sound morals, the basis of good citizenship" and clamped down on disruptive students. The student body tested his resolve early in his administration with a mass hazing of the freshmen class. At a morning assembly, the freshmen appeared with shorn heads and the letter R for Rats, the pejorative term for freshmen, dyed on their scalps. Sledd responded to numerous letters from outraged parents and negotiated a collective guarantee from his students that no future abuses would occur.[20] Not all of his actions received the same positive response from the student body. When Sledd cancelled the 1905 football season because the players had fallen behind in their studies, several players left school in protest.[21]

Sledd also responded to the poor instruction offered at the university. In this case, a unique circumstance allowed Sledd to radically alter the faculty culture. Six positions were open when he took office. To save money on salaries, Sledd looked to younger professors with limited classroom experience. He was also careful to avoid denominational preferences. He proudly reported that his selection included two Congregationalists, a Lutheran, a Friend, an Episcopalian, but only one Methodist.[22] Although he preferred regional candidates, none were Floridians or had any personal or political ties with Florida. In his autobiography he commented, "Judging from my experience on that occasion and since the principle of selection seems to have been a novel one, and not altogether approved in the State . . ."[23]

The political repercussions of his selection process soon became evident. One of the applicants snubbed by Sledd was Superintendent of Public Instruction William Sheats. After losing to William Holloway in the 1904 Democratic primary, Sheats demanded that Sledd appoint him Professor of Mathematics. Sledd demurred and Sheats made political threats. Afterwards,

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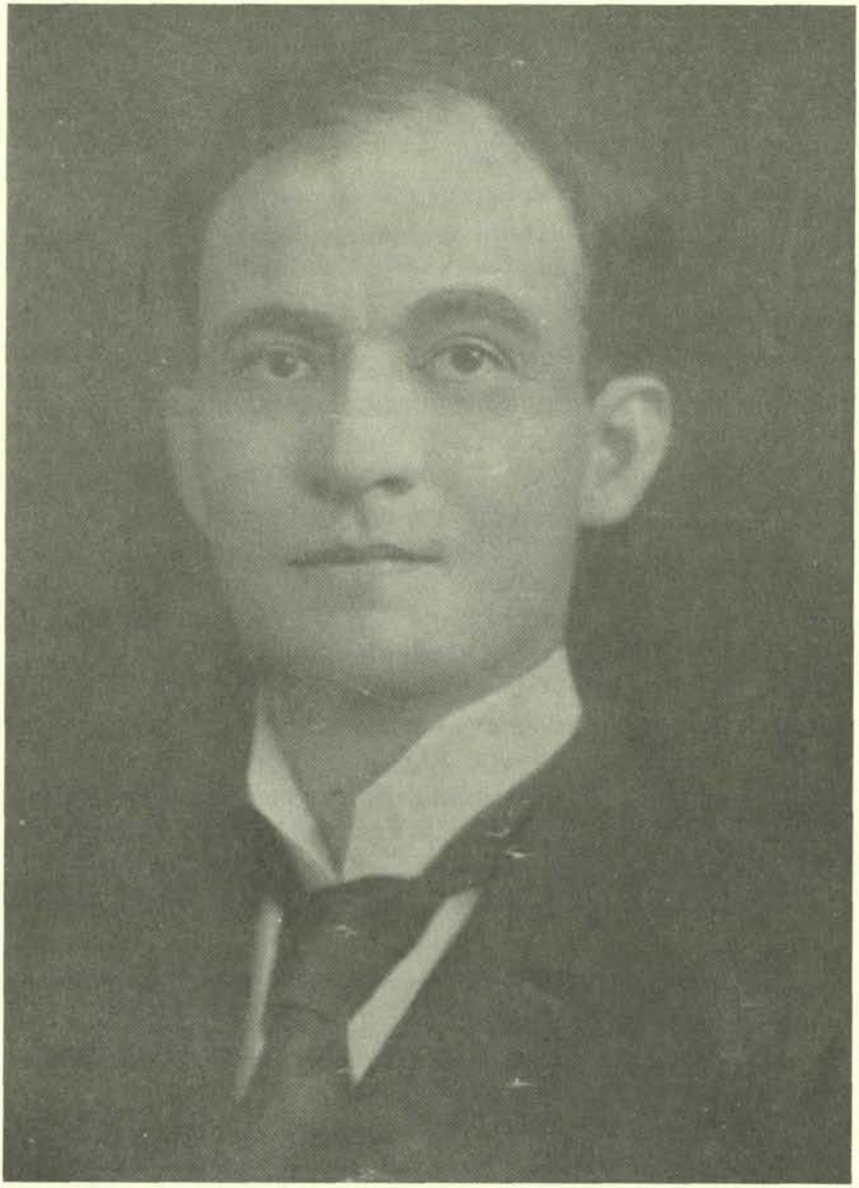
[20] Sledd to S. P. Mays, September 24, 1904, Sledd to W. A. B. Hobbs, September 28, 1904, Sledd to P. H. Cason, October 2, 1904, and other letters to parents in a similar vein, Letterbook 1, Sledd Records.

[21] Tom McEwen, *The Gators: A Story of Florida Football* (Huntsville, Alabama: The Strode Publishers, 1974), 36. The resignations are documented in the margins of the Records of Scholarship, Series 169, University of Florida Archives.

[22] Sledd to Carson, August 9, 1904, Box 1, Sledd Records.

[23] "Autobiography," 124.



Nathan P. Bryan, appointed by Governor Napoleon Bonaparte Broward to serve as the chair of the Florida Board of Control, 1905. *Image courtesy of the University of Florida Department of Special and Area Studies Collections.*

Sledd called upon Governor-elect Napoleon Bonaparte Broward at his home in Jacksonville and requested his support. Broward assured Sledd that the university would be politically independent under his administration and encouraged him to hire the best men available. This meeting also marked the beginning of Sledd's association and collaboration with Nathan P. Bryan on matters of educational policy. Bryan and his brother William were Broward's closest political advisors and Nathan would be the chief architect of Broward's education reforms.[24]

The personal conflict between Sledd and Sheats was ironic as they shared many of the same values. For many years, Sheats had been a rare voice in Tallahassee for educational progress. He was also a moderate on the race question. In fact, his racial views contributed significantly to his defeat in 1904. This had not escaped the notice of Sledd, who remarked that Sheat's defeat was "brought about largely by the malicious and mendacious agitation of the 'negro question', and the usual frantic assertion that Mr. Sheats was unorthodox in this particular."[25] The conflict between Sledd and Sheats would play a role in Sledd's resignation in 1909.

By academic year 1905-1906, the University of Florida's teaching faculty numbered thirteen and ten had earned their doctorates. It was, by any standard of the day, an excellent faculty, one that compared favorably with northern schools. Sledd would rightly claim that the percentage of Ph.D.s on his faculty exceeded that of the other state universities in the Gulf region.[26] Among those Sledd recruited were several who would have long careers at Florida including Thomas Benton in engineering, Peter Henry Rolfs in agriculture, and Edward Flint in chemistry. English professor James Marion Farr, a Taliaferro hire who was not involved in the faculty revolt, had already resigned before Sledd arrived.

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[24] "Autobiography," 128. William. J. Bryan to Sledd, July 30, 1904, and Sledd's undated reply to Bryan, Box 1, Sledd Records. Sheats' stated qualification for the position was that mathematics had been his "strong point in college." He also admitted that he not been in a classroom for over twenty years. Sheats to Sledd, undated, 1904, Box 1, Sledd Records.

[25] "Autobiography," 125. For a brief discussion of Sheat's career and his views on race see, Arthur O. White, "State Leadership and Public Education in Florida: The Evolution of a System," in White and Ronald K. Goodenow, ed., *Education and the Rise of the New South,* (Boston: G. K. Hall and Co.: 1981), 239-241.

[26] The Educational Situation in Florida,"attachment to letter from Andrew Sledd to Wallace Buttrick, January 11, 1906, folder 311, reel 27, General Education Board archives. Series 1, Appropriations. Subseries 1, The early southern program, (Wilmington, DE : Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1993.) Hereafter, GEB. In a letter to the parent of a prospective student who was considering the University of Georgia, Sledd noted that Florida had nine Ph.D.s and Georgia only four. Sledd to Judge Francis B. Carter, undated, 1905, Letterbook 4, Sledd Records.

Sledd persuaded him to stay and then made him vice president. Farr would serve in that capacity for over 30 years.

Within the space of a few months, Sledd had radically altered the academic culture of the university. There was little he could do, however, about Florida's political culture. The biggest political issue facing higher education in Florida at the turn of the century was the diffusion of revenues to several state schools engaged in secondary rather than tertiary education. These included the East Florida Seminary in Gainesville and the South Florida Military College in Bartow.[27] The Florida State College in Tallahassee, formerly the West Florida Seminary, provided both high school and college courses to a coeducational student body but its students, too, were mostly of a secondary grade.[28] The state also supported several normal schools. The state schools were geographically dispersed, enjoyed strong local support, and, until the advent of the 20th century, had little political opposition. Sentiment for reform increased, though, as the state schools began to compete for both students and dollars with an emerging system of local high schools.

The election of Broward set the stage for the transformation of public higher education in Florida. The political culmination of Broward's reforms was the Buckman Act of 1905, one of the most enduring reform acts of Florida's Progressive Era. Sledd played a role in the creation of the Buckman Act, perhaps a significant one, but what exactly that role entailed is unclear. Samuel Proctor traced the origins of the Buckman Act to a series of meetings between Sledd, Jere Pound—Principal of the East Florida Seminary—and Nathan Bryan. Proctor also noted that Broward sought Sledd's input on educational policy for his inauguration address.[29] What transpired during those initial meetings and what, if any, subsequent role either Pound or Sledd had is debatable. In his memoir, Farr named Sledd as the behind-the-scenes author of the act and himself as Sledd's secret courier to the legislators. Sledd's correspondence, however, does not reveal a central role in the crafting of the bill. To the contrary, on the eve of its passage, Sledd claimed to have no knowledge of what was in the bill and to have lost interest in it.[30]

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[27] In 1903, the South Florida Military Institute, an all male public prep school, was granted permission to award bachelor's degrees to its graduates even though three of its five faculty members did not possess that very degree. This type of educational absurdity, endemic to the region, was the focus of Sledd's critique of southern higher education.

[28] Florida State had a college enrollment of 118 and 153 students in its preparatory department. There were also 46 normal students. Florida State College, *Catalogue, 1903-04* (Tallahassee: I. B. Hilson), 156.

[29] Samuel Proctor, "The University of Florida: Its Early Years, 1853-1906," (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1958), 472-474.

The Buckman Act was often referred to as a revolution in Florida's system of higher education. The act certainly reshaped the state's academic landscape. Gone were the state secondary schools and in their stead were an all male state university and a college for women. A Board of Control, subservient to the Board of Education but appointed by the governor, would govern the two schools as well as the existing Negro Normal and Industrial School and the School for the Deaf and Blind. Sledd thought the Buckman Act "represent[ed] a revolt, amounting to almost a revolution, from the previous educational situation and policy of the State."[31] Like all revolutions this one was accompanied by a certain amount of chaos. It fell upon Sledd and the new governing board, led by Nathan Bryan, to deal with the myriad consequences of the upheaval and to bear the burden of its impact. Oddly, the Buckman Act, which he supported if not authored, would be the source of most of Sledd's political troubles.

For one, the act did not stipulate where the two new schools would be located or who would preside over them. Those decisions were to be resolved at meetings of the Board of Education and the Board of Control held on July 7, 1905. In the case of the university, Gainesville and Sledd were the winners. But Sledd's victory was also a foreshadowing of his ultimate fate. The Board of Control met in the morning and elected Sledd president of the university and Murphree president of the women's college. The

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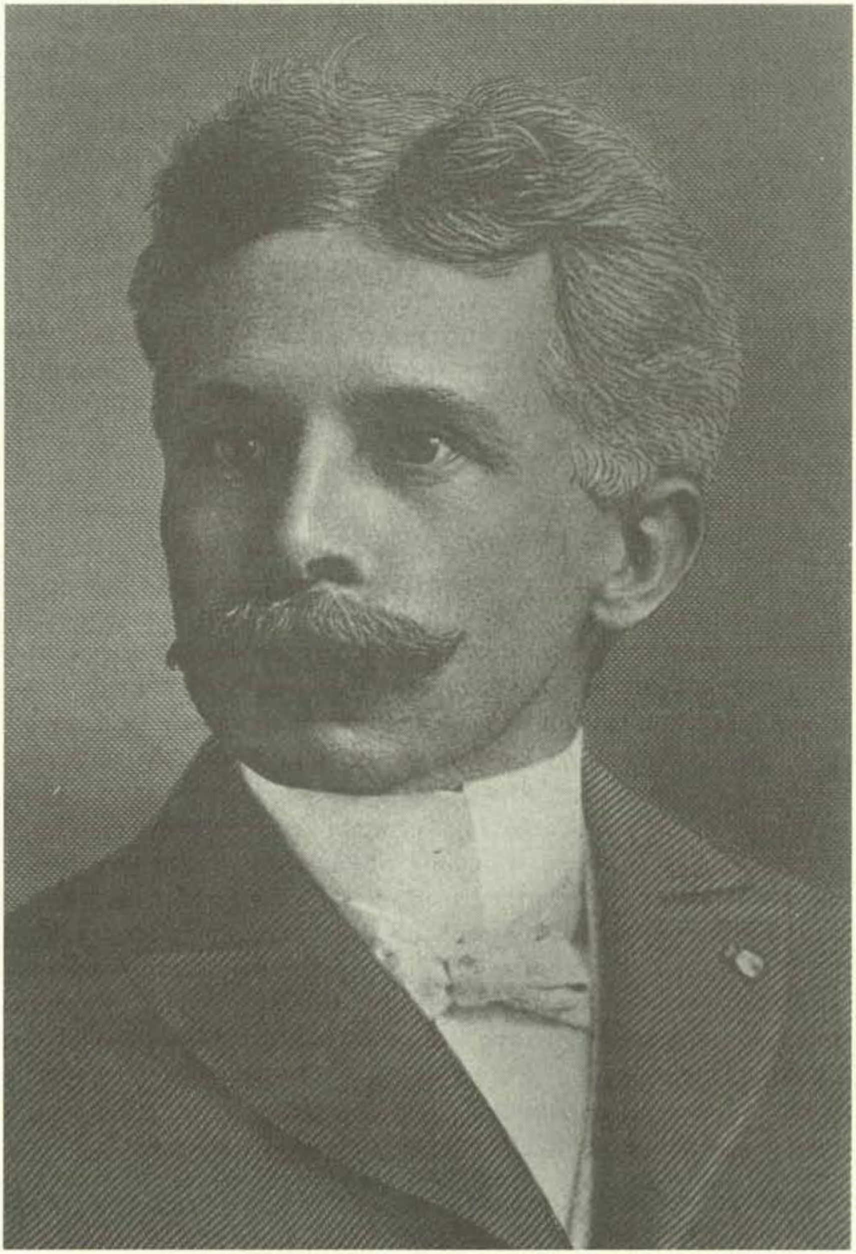
30. James M. Farr, "The Making of a University," 39-42, James Marion Farr Manuscripts, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida. Sledd to Judge E. B Beggs, May 15, 1905; Sledd to Frank Harris, June 8, 1905, Letterbook 3, Sledd Records. Sledd's autobiography does not mention a role in the events leading up to the Buckman Act. Pound, too, was out of the legislative loop and was pessimistic about the bill's eventual content. Jere Pound to Sledd, May 17, 1905, Box 2, Sledd Records. Proctor relied heavily on Farr's memory to fill in the gaps left by the absence of archival documents. Farr, it should be noted, wrote his memoir after leaving UF under an ethics cloud and may have been overly conscious of his place in the university's history.

31. Andrew Sledd, "The University of the State of Florida," reprint of *Royal Palm Magazine*, March 1906, found in Box 1, Sledd Papers.



State Representative Henry Buckman of Jacksonville. The Buckman Act created present day Florida State University and the University of Florida as well as a governing board for public higher education in Florida. *Image courtesy of University of Florida Department of Special and Area Studies Collections.*

Board of Education met separately and elected Murphree president of the university. The two boards met in secret session that afternoon and a resolution was passed whereby the Board of Education agreed not to "claim or exercise any supervision over the Board of Control in the selection of Presidents." According to Farr, Governor Broward, who served as chair of the Board of Education, interceded on behalf of Sledd and Bryan and convinced the Board of Education to withdraw its claim to authority.[32]

Murphree, the preferred candidate of the Board of Education, had been president of the Florida State College. He joined that school's faculty in 1895 when it was still the West Florida Seminary and was appointed president two years later. Under his leadership, the school added college courses and was elevated to college status in 1901. He was married to the daughter of Colonel John A. Henderson, a school trustee and an influential political and business figure, and he was popular in the social and political circles of the capital. His candidacy was also aided by a salacious legislative report on conditions at the University of Florida that suggested incompetence and perhaps malfeasance at the university's helm.

The report was issued while Henry Buckman's bill was still in the House Education Committee and its censure appears to be targeted at the university and its trustees rather than Sledd. As university president for less than a year when the legislative visiting team appeared on campus, Sledd, in this case, seems to have been simply a victim of circumstances. The only criticism aimed directly at Sledd was that he had hired younger professors who lacked the maturity to maintain discipline in the school. That he had managed to recruit a faculty with higher credentials than any university in the Gulf South apparently escaped the attention of the visitation team. Most of the report focused on the "filthy" and "dilapidated" condition of the buildings and grounds, accusations that the agricultural research plots had been mismanaged, and charges that the university's trustees had diverted federal funds "contrary to national law."[33]

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[32] Florida. Board of Control. Minutes, July 7, 1905, morning and afternoon sessions. Farr, 45. See also Proctor, 516. Broward declined to give his support publicly to Sledd feeling that "it would be a great delicacy in urging any particular candidate." Broward to Sledd, June 24, 1905, Box 2, Sledd Records. The Board of Education consisted of the governor, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, and the State Treasurer.

[33] *Senate Journal*, 1905 "Special Committee to visit the University of Florida at Lake City," 1078-1085.

Sledd remarked that the legislative report was "as vicious a collection of falsehoods as could have been put forth under the semblance of the truth." He later confided that the attack "had affected him physically and mentally."[34] Fortunately for Sledd and the trustees, the accusations of malfeasance were contradicted by a timely and clean federal audit. And, while members of the legislative committee were attacking the university's agricultural program, Sledd was already instituting reforms that would dramatically improve agricultural research.

There were grains of truth in the report regarding the management of the agricultural station. Established in 1888, the Florida Agricultural Experiment Station had been hampered by conflicts between the college and station administrations over the use of Hatch Act funds and station staff. Until Sledd's administration, the university president also served as the director of the station and station researchers were required to teach agriculture and, occasionally, science classes. Sledd put an end to both practices in 1905 by appointing Peter Henry Rolfs, an acknowledged expert in tropical agriculture, as the station director and by freeing the station personnel of classroom duties. In doing so, he reasserted the mission of the 1887 Hatch Act and laid the foundation for the station's emergence as one of the nation's largest and most successful agricultural research and demonstration programs.

Columbia County's two House representatives, A. J. P. Julian and E. G. Persons, and disgruntled former faculty were the reputed sources for much of the report's information and misinformation. While the investigators' ulterior motives may have been directed at the university, local opposition was aimed squarely at Sledd. Town-Gown relations in Lake City had been difficult from the school's start and Sledd was not the first president to incur the wrath of community leaders. Referring to local rancor, Frank Harris, editor of the *Ocala Banner* and a university trustee, remarked that all of the university presidents, "Kost, Kern, DePass, Clute, Yocum, Taliaferro, Sledd, like Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego . . .in turn had to pass through the furnace."[35] Sledd, however, added fuel to the furnace when it became known he was promoting Jacksonville as an alternative site for the university. This prompted a condemnation from the floor of the House by representative Persons, who linked Sledd's betrayal of Lake City—"an act smacking of Judas Iscariot"—to Sledd's disloyalty to the white race.[36]

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[34] Sledd to Frank Harris, May 28 and June 9, 1905, Letterbook 3, Sledd Records. Proctor, 513-516.

[35] "Autobiography," 146. *Ocala Banner*, 10 June 1905.

The attacks and the legislative report did nothing to sway Broward's men on the Board of Control and Murphree remained at Florida State for the time being. Ironically, and perhaps justly, the report may have been a decisive factor in Lake City losing the university. Gainesville backers used the report as proof of Lake City's failure to support the university. When Lake City protested the selection of Gainesville, the *Tampa Herald* cited the damaging report and put the loss squarely on the shoulders of Julian and Persons. In a private report to the Rockefeller Foundation's General Education Board, Sledd also put the onus for the loss on local sentiment.[37]

The university remained in Lake City for one year while the Gainesville campus was being constructed. Sledd had to contend with the tremendous difficulty of moving people and equipment to a new campus while overseeing the construction of the same. That the architects of the Buckman Act did not anticipate a move is evident by their failure to provide funds for either transportation or for new buildings. To complicate matters, Sledd was forced to grapple with a serious attack from the state's most obscure cabinet member, the State Comptroller.

Initially, the dispute concerned surplus funds from the pre-Buckman institutions. Despite ambiguous wording in the Buckman Act to the contrary, Comptroller A. C. Croom ruled that the surplus funds could not be used for expenses of the new institutions. This fell particularly hard on Sledd as the money might have been used for the move to Gainesville.[38] It soon became clear, however, that Croom's resistance extended to other expenses of the university including payrolls and several unpaid professors threatened to resign. This prompted an angry and ill-considered tirade from Sledd to Croom:

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[36] *Jacksonville Metropolis,* 1 June 1905. Referring to this attack, Sledd lamented: "I stand an innocent man accused of all these things upon the official records of the State of Florida, because, as I understand it, all political and personal spite with which I had nothing to do, and of the shadow of the Negro question which writes its dark lines continually upon my career." Representative Julian, a local doctor, had been denied the position of University Physician and was said to have posted a copy of Sledd's article at his pharmacy. "Autobiography," 148.

[37] *Florida Times-Union,* 24 June 1905, Letter to the editor from A SOUTH FLORIDIAN. The *Tampa Herald* article was reprinted in the *Florida Times-Union,* 10 July 1909. "The Educational Situation in Florida." The General Education Board was the largest of several philanthropic organizations that funded educational improvements in the South.

> I requested [Bryan] as Chairman of the Board of Control to institute proceedings against you to compel you to settle these accounts; and I told him that if he . . . . were unwilling thus to protect the force of the University from your intolerable treatment, that I, as President of the University, would institute court proceedings against you in behalf of myself and the rest of the force, who have suffered and are still suffering under your treatment, which you may find it hard to justify and explain before a court either of law or the people.[39]

Croom was unimpressed by Sledd's outburst, as he knew that Sledd had no legal recourse. "I beg further to say," Croom replied "that as 'President of the University' that you are at liberty at any time to institute legal proceedings to see if you can compel me to pay any account I do not consider a just account against the State of Florida." Sledd sought a legal opinion and was surprised to learn that the Florida Supreme Court had determined in 1850 that the Comptroller was the sole arbiter of what constituted a just account.[40]

Matters reached a crisis in August 1905. An agricultural chemist and the university stenographer were on the verge of resignation and African-American field hands at the Agricultural

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[38] Florida. Board of Control, *Report of the Board of Control of the State Educational Institutions for Period Beginning June 5, 1905 and Ending January 1, 1907* (Tallahassee: Capitol Publishing Company), 15. The finances of the new schools were also complicated by a shortfall in the money promised by the City of Gainesville to acquire the university and a lawsuit involving Florida State's Westcott endowment. The Westcott lawsuit was finally resolved in the Florida Supreme Court in favor of the state. The case determined that the Florida State College for Women was the legal successor to the West Florida Seminary.

[39] Sledd to Croom, August 10, 1905, Letterbook 4, Sledd Records.

[40] Croom to Sledd, August 11, 1905, Box 2, Sledd Records. Sledd to Bryan, October 16, 1905, Letterbook 5, Sledd Records.

Station threatened to quit. "To save a strike," Sledd borrowed $300 on a personal note from the local bank and paid his workers.[41] Sledd's personal loans were only a stopgap measure and the pressures mounted. In December, he contemplated resignation. In a heartrending letter, Sledd begged Bryan and the Board of Control to intervene:

> It is now the first of December, our men have worked for more than two months and have not received a cent of compensation. . . I am actually ashamed to look the men in the face realising the situation. Ashamed for myself who brought them here; ashamed for the Board and the State which permits and perpetuates such gross and inexcusable injustice.

After asking the Board to take some action, Sledd seemed consigned to ultimate defeat:

> Personally I have been seriously contemplating a resignation from the position whose natural difficulties are so accentuated by artificial problems and embarrassments which have no ground either in the nature of the present case or any fairness or reason for their existence.[42]

Sledd stayed on, but Croom continued to be a thorn in his side until the end of his presidency.[43] Sledd would continue to borrow money from local banks to pay university bills even though he was heavily in debt to his father-in-law. Within a year after moving to Gainesville, his family had to leave the house they rented in town to take up residence in an apartment created for them in Thomas Hall. His poverty became a source of embarrassment and a blow to his honor and prestige.[44]

Croom's reluctance to pay legitimate expenses covered by the university's budget only attenuated the dire financial condition that otherwise prevailed. Proponents of the Buckman Act had

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[41] Sledd to Bryan, August 25, 1905, Letterbook 5, Sledd Records.

[42] Sledd to Bryan, December 1, 1905, Letterbook 5, Sledd Records.

[43] See, for example, letters from Sledd to Bryan on August 13, 23 and 27, 1907, Box 2, Sledd Records, and Sledd to E. L. Wartmann, July 23, 1908, Box 3, Sledd Records. Sledd refers to Croom as the Czar.

[44] Sledd to Candler, January 15 and June 15, 1907, Box 1, Sledd Papers. Sledd even admits to "a temptation to steal."

The University of Florida in 1906. Thomas Hall (foreground) and Buckman Hall were the only buildings available in Gainesville during Sledd's presidency. Both were built with the $70,000 donation by the City of Gainesville to acquire the university. *Image courtesy of the University of Florida Department of Special and Area Studies Collections.*

argued that consolidation would redirect state money to fewer schools. However, the potential cost savings created by the Buckman Act did not result in higher budgets for the university while Sledd was president. To the contrary, the University of Florida received less money for operating expenses in fiscal year 1906-07 than in the previous year. Of the $39,000 in the university's budget for 1906-07, only $9000 came from state funds as compared to $12000 in 1905-06. Sledd drove home the point in his report to the Board of Control: "These figures are very significant; they show THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS EXPENDING TWO OR THREE TIMES AS MUCH FOR THE RUNNING EXPENSES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF FLORIDA AS THE STATE ITSELF IS EXPENDING."[45] In a letter to state senator E. S. Crill, Sledd also noted that the city of Gainesville underwrote the construction of new buildings with a $70,000 donation to the state as an inducement to acquire the university. In short, the State of Florida had appropriated almost nothing to support or build the university.[46]

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[45] Report to the Board of Control, March 6, 1907, Box 3, Sledd Records.

[46] Sledd to E. S. Crill, April 13, 1907, Letterbook 10, Sledd Records. Crill was part of a 1907 legislative visitation team. Its favorable report—"Everything to commend, nothing to condemn"—was a marked contrast with the 1905 report. *Senate Journal*, 1907, "Report of the Joint Committee to visit and inspect the State schools," 830-839. The committee recommended funds to build three additional buildings but none were built during Sledd's administration.

There is no direct evidence to indicate that the state legislature intentionally withheld funds from the university or that Croom's refusal to pay expenses was politically motivated. But, it was perceived to be at the time and circumstantial evidence would indicate that it was. Writing decades later, Professor of Modern Languages Charles Langley Crow commented that Sledd "was not beloved by the members of the Governor's Cabinet" and, consequently, "state warrants went unpaid." He went on to add, "it was also said, perhaps mistakenly, that the professors at the Florida Female College had not been subjected to the same inconveniences . . ."[47]

A visit from Wallace Buttrick, Secretary for the General Education Board, in January 1906 provided Sledd a brief respite and some hope for improvement. Faced with the prospect of building a new campus with only $70,000 in hand, Sledd had been prompted by the Board of Control to request a construction grant from the General Education Board. The request was sent in August 1905 and Buttrick asked for additional information on Florida's prospects. Sledd responded with a document entitled "The Educational Situation in Florida." The report described the Buckman Act as "an attempt at wise and genuine reform," honestly depicted the circumstances surrounding the university's departure from Lake City, and painted an optimistic picture of Florida's potential for educational progress.[48]

The matter took an odd turn after Buttrick's visit to Gainesville. Sledd's conversations with Buttrick left him with the impression that Buttrick was willing to lead a campaign among Florida's businessmen and northern philanthropists to endow a major university in Florida. "I could have wept Tuesday at your reception, - no not your reception, but the reception of the great idea you were presenting," Sledd wrote after Buttrick's departure. Sledd hurriedly composed another version of "The Educational Situation in Florida" this time offering a utopian vision for a new flagship university. Sledd's cover letter to the report clearly stated that this was not an official proposal from him, but a suggestion of what Buttrick might propose to Florida's "first men" as a prelude to a capital campaign to raise $750,000.[49]

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[47] Charles Langley Crow, "History of the University of Florida through 1908/09," unpublished manuscript in the University of Florida Archives. Croom was still Comptroller when Murphree arrived at the university and there is no evidence of trouble between the two. Capital and operating allocations also increased significantly under Murphree.

[48] Sledd to GEB, August 30, 1905, folder 311, roll 26, GEB. The report was received on October 18, 1905.

The revised report provides a glimpse into a progressive southern educator's concept of the ideal university. The first part of the revised report covers the same territory as the earlier version but with greater details on the Buckman Act and the transfer to Gainesville and additional information on the achievements accomplished during Sledd's first two years. After nine pages of background material, Sledd arrives at the heart of the matter: "WHAT THEN WOULD CONSTITUTE FAVORABLE CIRCUMSTANCES FOR THE GROWTH AND PROSPERITY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA? Primarily a FAVORABLE LOCATION: not a passable or tolerable site, but the BEST site in the State. This is Jacksonville." [50]

"The day of the rural University is gone," Sledd argued. Only by placing the university in Jacksonville would it "catch the stream of the Nation's progress, while located elsewhere it would be in the slow eddy or the stagnant pool that backwashes from the great stream of progress and prosperity." Location was everything. Not only would an urban university feed off the vitality of Jacksonville's prosperity and growth, it would also draw its students and faculty into the real world laboratory of industry and commerce. Fine art students, too, would benefit from "the aesthetic culture of the City." The urban university would, in a sense, be the ultimate manifestation of the progressive educational creed.[51]

Sledd went on to condemn Florida's "arbitrary" division of the sexes and recommended the existing campuses in Tallahassee, Gainesville and Lake City be respectively transformed into a junior college, an agricultural high school and a normal school.[52] Sledd's assessment of Buttrick's abilities and intentions were undoubtedly unrealistic, and Buttrick must have sensed the despair that propelled this unusual document. His reply was as brief as the report was long. "Let us not utterly lose hope over the situation," he wrote "Just now we cannot see the way out, but if we watch closely I feel hopeful that a way will appear."[53]

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[49] Sledd to Buttrick, January 11, 1906, folder 311, roll 26, GEB. Report attached. The letter explains that these leading men would work quietly in the background for a long period of time.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid.

Most of Sledd's energy in academic year 1905-06 was spent on the move from Lake City to Gainesville. By the end of July 1906, Sledd could report that the last of the equipment had arrived and had been unloaded. Sledd complained to Bryan that he "had not only to superintend the work over here, but got down and worked with the other 'niggers.'"[54] He requested three week's leave and retired to his father-in-law's home in Atlanta before returning to Gainesville to prepare for the opening of the new campus. For the remaining three years of his tenure, Sledd continued to advance the university's standing.

Perhaps Sledd's most enduring achievement in the post-Buckman Act period was the work he accomplished with Florida's emerging system of public high schools. Before his arrival, there was little interaction and considerable competition between the state colleges and the high schools. The fact that the two state colleges operated their own preparatory departments gave them little incentive to work with the public schools. This changed dramatically under Sledd. In addition to raising the admission requirement one year, Sledd reduced the university's preparatory curriculum to a single year.[55] He also worked with the Florida Education Association to foster cooperation between the state colleges and the local high schools and to improve instruction for college bound students.

In March 1906, the Florida Education Association organized a Committee on the Revision of the High School Curriculum with Sledd as its chair. The committee included Murphree and three high school principals. The group met in April and proposed a standard four-year course with math, science, English and social sciences being taught in each grade.[56] The final report of the committee was sent to the legislature and was incorporated into a bill formulated by Henry Buckman entitled "An Act to prescribe the course of study for public high schools in the State of Florida." The bill, however, never made it out of committee. In a letter concerning the bill to Joseph Byrne Lockey, then Principal of Pensacola High School, Sledd remarked that the public school men were better suited to write educational policy for the state than Holloway and the Board of Education. Lockey suggested that the University of Florida inspect and oversee high school curriculum, but Sledd thought the time was "not yet ripe for the University to assume this natural and proper relation." Yet, he confided, he had submitted a grant proposal to the General Education Board to support a Professor of Secondary Education who would also serve as high school inspector. The grant was funded in 1908.[57]

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[53] Buttrick to Sledd, January 17, 1906, folder 311, roll 26, GEB.

[54] Sledd to Bryan, July 28, 1906, letterbook 7, Sledd Records.

[55] Andrew Sledd, "The University of the State of Florida." See also Annual Report to the Board of Control, 1909, Box 3, Sledd Records. By comparison, Florida State maintained a three year pre-college program in academic year 1903-04. Florida State College, 107.

[56] Sledd to Murphree, J. W. McClung, J. A. Ormond, W. W. Hall, March 31, 1906; Sledd to Murphree, April 16 and July 4, 1906, letterbook 8, Sledd Records.

The first southern university to appoint a high school inspector was the University of Georgia in 1903. Supported by a grant from philanthropist George Foster Peabody, the Georgia inspector proved a tremendous success and other states in the region sought funds as well. Beginning with Virginia in 1905, the General Education Board awarded grants for high school inspectors in all the southern states, with Florida the last to be funded.[58] Under the terms of the grant, the position was to be a faculty appointment at the University of Florida. As such, Sledd would make the nomination to the Board of Control and its decision would be subject to final review by the Board of Education.

On February 6, 1908, Sledd informed Wallace Buttrick of his desire to nominate Lockey.[59] Several days later, Sledd was surprised and outraged to read a letter from Buttrick that the General Education Board had, upon the recommendation of the Board of Education, already accepted William Sheats for the position.[60] In two letters to Buttrick, Sledd protested this blatant political intrusion into the affairs of the university and asked him to rescind Sheats' appointment. Sledd did not receive an official notice from Holloway until the 13th of February and it noted Buttrick's confirmation of Sheats. Sledd's reply to Holloway was calm and restrained informing him that he had not received an application from Sheats and that the appointment would be made by the president and the Board of Control. In the meantime, Buttrick had telegrammed Holloway that his earlier acceptance of Sheats was "written under misapprehension" and that he was awaiting word from the Board of Control.[61]

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[57] Lockey to Sledd, April 4, 1907, box 2, and Sledd's reply, April 6, 1907, letterbook 9, Sledd Records. Under the direction of the high school inspector, a standard high school curriculum was finally adopted in 1912. *High School Manual for Florida,* (Gainesville, Fla.: Pepper Publishing & Printing Company, 1912) published as part of the *University Record,* University of Florida, Vol. 7, No. 3.

[58] J. Patrick McCarthy, "The articulation of secondary and higher education: Four historical models at the University of Gerogia,"in *History of Higher Education Annual* (Vol. 19), 42-43. Peabody served as treasurer to the GEB.

[59] Sledd to Wallace Buttrick, February 6, 1908, Box 3, Sledd Records.

[60] Buttrick to Sledd, February 7, 1908. The motion passed by the Board of Education was a recommendation to appoint Sheats pending the Board of Control's approval. Buttrick probably assumed that approval was fait accompli, but later diplomatically stated that he had carelessly read the document.

Holloway's motivation to appoint his political rival was thought to have been an attempt to keep Sheats out of the 1908 election. Bryan advised Sledd to hire Sheats and warned him that refusing the Board of Education's recommendation could injure his position. Sledd acknowledged Sheats' qualifications for the position, but was distressed by Bryan's motivations. "Bryan's attitude troubles me most," he wrote his father-in-law. "He agrees with me that it is purely a political move, said as much; and yet he says 'We want to make all the friends we can.'" He quoted Bryan again in a letter to Board of Control member Philip K. Yonge and added that ". . .he never felt it wise to make friends at a sacrifice of principle or a jeopardizing of the cause."[62]

Sledd eventually withdrew Lockey's name and Holloway retreated on his desire to appoint Sheats. Discussion between Sledd, Bryan and Holloway revolved around the possible nomination of George Lynch, a former faculty member of the East Florida Seminary, and a consensus was apparently reached in mid-March. Once again, Holloway preempted Sledd and the Board of Control and announced to Buttrick that all parties had agreed on Lynch's appointment. This time, Sledd lost all semblance of decorum. Farr describes Sledd's response to Holloway as "a masterpiece of vituperative denunciation" and he urged Sledd not to mail the letter.[63] Tempers soon calmed and a series of apologetic letters between Sledd, Holloway and Buttrick were exchanged. Lynch was formally nominated by Sledd in April and the appointment was approved by both boards.[64]

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[61] Sledd to Buttrick, February 10 and 19; Buttrick to Holloway, copy of telegram, February 20; Holloway to Sledd, February 13, and Sledd to Holloway, February 14, Box 3, Sledd Records.

[62] Sledd to Warren Candler, February 12, 1908, Box 1, Sledd Papers. Bryan to Sledd, February 4 and 8, 1908; Sledd to Bryan, February 15, March 3 and 20, 1908; Sledd to W. L. Wartmann, February 16, 1908, Box 3, Sledd Records. Sledd to Yonge, February 13, 1908, Box , Philip K. Yonge Collection (hereafter Yonge Collection), University of Florida.

The high school inspector appointment proved to be a dress rehearsal for Holloway's final showdown with Sledd and the Board of Control over university governance. The incident presented Sledd with an opportunity to compromise and build bridges to his political adversaries. But his unwillingness to consider even a competent political appointment underscores the contradiction between his idealism and the harsh political realities he faced and why, ultimately, he was defeated. Sledd's political support came almost exclusively from within the Broward administration and as long as he enjoyed the backing of the governor and the Board of Control any attempt to remove him would be risky. The election of Albert Gilchrist as governor in 1908, however, eliminated Sledd's main political support. Another change to the cabinet and the Board of Education was the election of Park Trammell as Attorney General. Both Trammell and Gilchrist quickly joined Holloway in a campaign to oust Sledd.

Gilchrist was inaugurated on January 5, 1909. On January 30, the new Board of Education met and passed a resolution calling for a joint meeting with the Board of Control in March to discuss the power to appoint college presidents and directing the Board of Control to tender no new contracts until the boards could meet. The board's resolution was backed by an opinion from Attorney General Trammell—himself a member of the same board—stating the Buckman Act gave the Board of Education the ultimate authority to approve any decision by the Board of Control.[65] Bryan attended the meeting and informed Sledd that, "Mr. Holloway is after you and has prejudiced some of the other members I am satisfied. I corrected some of his misstatements, and at one time he became quite angry." He went on to add, "If you have any present row with Holloway, please postpone it until after our March meeting." He also asked Sledd to rush his biennial report to counter arguments raised by Holloway that Sledd's policies were the principle cause of low enrollment in the university.[66]

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[63] Farr, 60. A copy of Sledd's angry letter to Holloway does not exist. Farr only mentions the Lynch appointment and seems unaware of the earlier and more serious attempt to appoint Sheats. As in the Buckman legislation, Farr also assigns a role for himself that is not indicated in the archival record. Farr considered the matter "a petty quarrel."

[64] Buttrick to Sledd, March 18, 1908; Sledd to Buttrick, March 20; Sledd to Holloway, March 20; Buttrick to Sledd, March 25; Holloway to Sledd and Sledd's reply of the same day, April 6, Box 3, Sledd Records.

[65] Bryan to Yonge, February 3, 1909, Box 1, Yonge Collection. A copy of the resolution appears in the Minutes of the Florida Board of Control for February 8, 1909.

Sledd's 1909 biennial report to the Board of Control was both a history of his administration and a justification of his policies. The report began with a list of successes: tightened requirements for admission, more professional faculty, the separation of agricultural research and teaching, and the addition of courses in education and civil and electrical engineering. Repeatedly, he stressed the need for the university not to compete with the high schools and rather than defend his admissions policies, he enthusiastically embraced the drop in enrollment: "The results of this choice were in general foreseen but have been more gratifying than might have been anticipated." Noting there were 225 men enrolled at the old university, as opposed to slightly over 100 in 1908, he remarked, "The policy then adopted . . . and since consistently adhered to, threw most of this number back upon the local high schools." He went on to state that the primary cause of low enrollment was the poor state of secondary education in Florida. In 1908, there were only 161 white male students enrolled in the 11th grade and 91 in the 12th grade. This represented the available pool of possible applicants to the university. Under these circumstances, Sledd remarked, "any professed large enrollment in the higher institutions [will] be the object of suspicion and probable prima facie evidence of educational chicanery and fraud to any intelligent citizen acquainted with all the facts."[67]

While the boards pondered their next steps, the *Pensacola Evening News* launched an attack on Sledd. The paper's president and manager was William Bloxham Crawford, son of Florida Secretary of State and Board of Education member Henry Clay Crawford. The Crawford family moved to Tallahassee in 1889 and William Crawford attended the West Florida Seminary. Correspondence between Crawford and Murphree indicates the two were close and suggests Murphree had a role in Sledd's ouster. Crawford's first letter to Murphree recounted a meeting between

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[66] Bryan to Sledd, February 1, 1909, Box 1, Sledd Papers.

[67] Report to the Board of Control for the Biennium Ending 1909, Box 3, Sledd Records.

Crawford and fellow Pensacolan Philip K. Yonge. When Crawford "put the direct question" to Yonge that Murphree should be president of the university, Yonge deflected him by asking who would replace Murphree at Tallahassee if Murphree were to replace Sledd. "We must land you this time and now is the time to get busy," Crawford wrote to Murphree.[68]

The initial focus of Crawford's campaign was the Board of Control and he relied on his family's connections to pressure individual board members. "I am working wire on Baisden, John is looking after his law partner, and Papa ought to handle King. I am also writing John to get after Wartman," he informed Murphree.[69] In response, Murphree denied any desire to replace Sledd at Gainesville. He expressed gratitude that the Board of Education supported his appointment, but, as a sitting college president who reported to the Board of Control, he could not take any steps to secure the position.[70]

The first of the *Pensacola Evening News* articles appeared on March 6th, the same day that the Board of Control was scheduled to meet. The article was addressed specifically to the board members and it was not so much an attack on Sledd as it was a paean to Murphree. Crawford even took Murphree's primary weakness, his lack of academic credentials, and made it an asset. Florida, he said, did not need a man with "a string of degrees backing his name" but someone with "executive ability and good common sense."[71]

At its March 6th meeting, the Board of Control declined the Board of Education's request for a joint meeting to discuss appointments.[72] Crawford met with Yonge again on March 12 and Yonge gave him a copy of Sledd's report. Crawford asked Murphree for detailed information that would refute Sledd's arguments and pledged total confidentiality: "You know me too well for me to reiterate my pledge of secrecy as to source of information."[73]

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[68] William Crawford to Albert Murphree, March 3, 1909, Box 14, Records of University President Albert A. Murphree, Series P4, University of Florida Archives. (Hereafter Murphree Records).

[69] Ibid. The members of the board were Bryan, Yonge, Josiah C. Baisden of Live Oak, Thomas B. King of Arcadia, and E. L. Wartmann of Citra. William Crawford's brother John was partner in the law firm of Bryan & Bryan.

[70] Murphree to Crawford, March 8, 1909, Box 14, Murphree Records. There are four letters from Crawford to Murphree, but this is the only reply.

[71] *Penscola Evening News*, 6 March 1909. Murphree had a master's from the University of Nashville. Sledd received his master's from Harvard and a Ph.D. from Yale.

[72] Board of Control. Minutes, 6 March 1909. The minutes of the Board of Control state that the two boards met briefly that same day but no actions are recorded.

A second *Pensacola Evening News* article, this time directly attacking Sledd, was published on March 23 and there were additional attacks in the *Tallahassee Democrat* and the *Gainesville Sun.*[74] The attack focused on low enrollment and made unfavorable comparisons with the State College for Women. In a lengthy rebuttal printed in the *Gainesville Sun,* Bryan noted the misleading comparisons with Murphree's college and charged that college enrollment was actually lower there. Female enrollment in non-college programs at Florida State elevated the overall numbers and obscured the lower male enrollment. Most significant were the large number of female teachers enrolled in normal courses, then considered sub-collegiate, and the comparatively small number of male normal students enrolled at the university.[75]

The presence of normal students at both institutions resulted from the state's failure to provide for a new normal school after the Buckman Act abolished the main school for white teachers in De Funiak Springs and smaller departments at the East Florida Seminary, the Florida State College, and what is now St. Petersburg High School. The act gave the governing boards permission to install a coeducational normal school at the otherwise all-male state university but the Board of Education vetoed the idea. Sledd offered several solutions including one to relocate the normal school to the vacated Lake City campus. In the end, though, both colleges would offer normal degrees with the University of Florida also awarding a bachelor's degree in pedagogy, the first of its kind in Florida. However, the bulk of teacher education was inevitably done at the State College for Women.[76]

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[73] Crawford to Murphree, March 12, 1909, Box 14, Murphree Records.

[74] *Penscola Evening News,* 23 March 1909. *Gainesville Sun,* 14 March 1909. *Tallahassee True Democrat,* 19 March 1909. Subsequent revelations that construction projects were being delayed until Sledd was removed may have been a factor in the *Sun's* editorial.

[75] *Gainesville Sun,* 23 March 1909.

[76] Sledd's response to the termination of the state's normal school is found in his Report to the Board of Control for the Biennium ending 1907. Similarly, the state failed to replace the predominantly male business school that had been located at Lake City. In the same report, Sledd advocated practical training in engineering and agriculture leading to professional certification rather than a college degree. However, given his constant battle to fund the college courses mandated at the university it was impossible to add such programs.

In response to Crawford and the anti-Sledd press, several newspapers came out in support of Sledd. Among them was the *Suwanee Democrat* of Live Oak, which printed a lengthy article by a former faculty member of the university. Another supporter, the *Tampa Tribune*, cynically opined that Sledd's "high character" and "gifts as an educator" were a detriment to success in Florida. Frank Harris of the *Ocala Banner*, considered one of the state's most conservative newspapers, continued to back Sledd and attributed the attacks to "overzealous friends of Prof. Murphree."[77] However, most newspapers stayed out of the fray. When a comparison of the pro- and anti-Sledd newspapers is made, it is difficult to sustain Crawford's assertion that the media campaign was instrumental in Sledd's removal.[78] At best, it provided a cover for the Board of Education.

In a letter written after his resignation, Sledd commented, "It is a peculiarly difficult matter to get at the exact truth in such a case as this."[79] While Crawford's and Holloway's intentions seem clear, the motivation of others in the anti-Sledd campaign is sometimes difficult to interpret. Sledd, himself, was mystified at the intensity of the attacks and at one point he suggested the campaign might have been fueled by a temperance speech he gave.[80] Prohibition was the major issue in the 1908 Democratic gubernatorial primary. His benefactor Broward backed John Stockton who favored statewide prohibition while Gilchrist favored local options. A Methodist-led Ministerial Alliance gave its support to Stockton and Sledd's temperance talk may have been a political gesture or at least perceived to be one by Gilchrist.[81]

The *Atlantic* article appears to have played only a minor role in 1909 and the occasional reference to the 1902 Sledd Affair seems more of an afterthought than a motivating factor.[82] In the final analysis, as in 1905, the campaign had more to do with the conflict between the governing boards, or as one Sledd supporter referred to them, "our unheard-of dual board control," than actual animus towards Sledd.[83]

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[77] *Suwanee Democrat*, 2 April 1909. *Tampa Tribune*, 31 March 1909. *Ocala Banner*, 2 April 1909.

[78] Crawford to Murphree, April 26, 1909, Box 14, Murphree Records. The letter begins with "Your epitaph has been writ."

[79] Sledd to Henry Pritchett, April 26, 1909, Box 3, Sledd Records.

[80] Sledd to L. E. Roberson, April 21, 1909, Box 3, Sledd Records.

[81] Sister Mary Evangelista Staid, S.S.J., "Albert Waller Gilchrist, Florida's Middle of the Road Governor," (Master's thesis: University of Florida, 1950): 40 and 44. See also Ric A. Kabat, "'Everybody votes for Gilchrist:' The Florida Gubernatorial Campaign of 1908." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 67 (1988): 184-203.

[82] *Bartow Courier Informant*, March 18, 1909. The *Courier Informant* had also printed a lengthy article on the 1902 Sledd Affair in 1905.

By late March, both Sledd and the Board of Control were consigned to defeat. "It would, in fact, be a relief to me personally to get out but I cannot look without distress upon the probable overthrow of honesty by fraud, of educational policy by political schemes," Sledd confided to Lockey.[84] He also declined an offer of aid from Wallace Buttrick. "They would," he argued "add to the charge never silenced of 'nigger lover', the further item of 'sold out to the yankees and the money power."[85] Meanwhile, Bryan and Yonge tried to preempt the Murphree camp by offering the position to William Blackman, President of Rollins College. Blackman, though, would only accept a nomination if the Board of Control's jurisdiction over appointments and budgets was settled beforehand. Blackman also referred to Sledd as one of "the very few distinctively 'University men' of the South" and his possible departure as "a great, if not irreparable, loss to the educational forces of the state."[86] The two boards appeared to be headed for a showdown at a joint meeting scheduled for April 10. Sledd, however, defused the situation by resigning on April 9.

Still, the meeting on April 10 was not without drama. The Board of Control held its regularly scheduled meeting in the morning and Sledd's resignation letter was entered into the minutes. His parting comments gave no solace to his opponents as he publicly accused Holloway of orchestrating the attacks and once again defended his position on admissions. "I am only a school man," he said, "I must conduct an educational enterprise along lines of sound educational policy as I understand it. I cannot do more; I will not do less." He ended by asking the board to make the details of his resignation public. The board accepted his resignation with "profound regret" and a lengthy commendation of his tenure was entered into the minutes. The board elected Murphree as Sledd's replacement before it adjourned for the morning.[87]

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[83] W. B. Hare to Sledd, May 25, 1909, Box 3, Sledd Records.

[84] Sledd to Lockey, April 5, 1909, Box 3, Sledd Records.

[85] Sledd to Buttrick, February 15, 1909, GEB, Folder 311, roll 26.

[86] William Blackman to Bryan, March 24, 1909; Bryan to Yonge, April 1, 1909, Box 1, Yonge Collection.

[87] Board of Control, Minutes, April 10, 1909, morning session.

The Board of Control met again in the afternoon with the Board of Education present and adopted an omnibus resolution on the Sledd affair. In it, the Board of Control disputed the Board of Education's claim of ultimate authority in matters of appointments and noted that this claim contradicted the joint resolution of July 7, 1905. The resolution further stated that only Sledd's willingness to step down prevented the Board of Control's own resignation and that the board had "submitted to the present situation against our personal inclination to refuse to submit to what appears to us to be a practical dictation by a majority of the Board of Education." Arguing it would be "unreasonable to expect that a man suited to be president of the University would accept employment by the Board of Control, subject to be discharged at any time by the Board of Education," the Board of Control asked the state legislature to give it "supreme" power to select all presidents and faculty.[88]

The resolution dropped an additional bombshell when it accused Holloway of bullying the City of Gainesville with the threat of a construction halt at the university unless Sledd left. Bryan knew this to be a fact as he had read Holloway's threatening letter in Mayor William R. Thomas's office. Thomas, however, refused to give Bryan a copy. According to a report in the *Pensacola Journal*, Bryan challenged Holloway at the meeting to produce the letter.[89]

The Board of Control's resolution was submitted to the legislature, but nothing came of it. Even Henry Buckman, who had until then supported Bryan's education initiatives, refused to get involved. Governor Gilchrist delivered a rebuttal to the Board of Control on April 19, and, while he struck a defiant note on the supervisory power of the Board of Education, he also mollified his tone when he claimed that only extraordinary circumstances compelled the Board of Education's intervention.[90]

Sledd's final weeks as university president bear testimony to his character and will. Sledd rose above the circumstances of his departure and worked closely with Murphree to implement a smooth transition. When Murphree questioned the wisdom of establishing a law school at the university, Sledd wisely counseled him that this was for the good.[91] For his part, Murphree was also conciliatory. His first act upon accepting the presidency was to reappoint Sledd's entire faculty, allaying the fears of the Board of Control of a mass faculty departure. Publically, and somewhat hypocritically, he defended Sledd's position on enrollment. To the *Savannah Morning News* he wrote, "I shall not cater to the peoples' whim for numbers, but shall maintain the same high standards of scholarship upheld by Dr. Sledd and his able faculty." True to his word, Murphree did not lower standards and implemented a twelve grade requirement in 1912.[92]

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[88] Board of Control, Minutes, April 10, 1909, afternoon session.

[89] Ibid. *Pensacola Journal*, 11 April 1909.

[90] Henry Buckman to Yonge, April 13, 1909, Box 1, Yonge Collection. *Senate Journal*, 1909, "Message from Governor Albert Gilchrist," April 19, 1909: 222-224.

Sledd made one final improvement to the university's curriculum before his departure. Male students at land grant colleges were compelled to engage in military training, but the training usually amounted to little more than parade drilling. In a proposal to President Theodore Roosevelt, Sledd argued that the land grant colleges should be expected to do more than "turn out private soldiers." Instead, Sledd maintained, "the course in Military Science should be raised to a level in its dignity and effectiveness in its purpose with the other courses of the institution."[93] With the cooperation of a new commandant at Florida, Sledd approved a military curriculum that provided not only elective credits in military history and engineering but also the possibility of a commission upon graduation. In one of his last letters to the Board of Control, Sledd boasted, "I regard this innovation as one of the best and most progressive of my administration."[94]

The spring 1909 commencement was Sledd's final public act as university president. Sledd made a brief address to the graduates and before he could conclude the ceremony Vice President

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[91] Murphree to Sledd, June 5, 1909 and Sledd to Murphree, June 7, 1909, Box 3, Sledd Records.

[92] Board of Control, Minutes, April 10, 1909, afternoon session. Bryan to Yonge, April 17, 1909, Box 1, Yonge Collection. Murphree to *Savannah Morning News*, 16 April 1909, Box 14, Murphree Records. Enrollments steadily increased after Sledd left, but this had more to do with the addition of professional colleges and improvements in secondary education than any significant changes to admissions practices.

[93] Sledd to Theodore Roosevelt, January 30, 1909, Box 3, Sledd Records.

[94] Sledd to Yonge, June 7, 1909, Box 1, Yonge Collection. Under the National Defense Act of 1916 the university received one of the nation's inaugural ROTC programs.

Farr rose, paid tribute to Sledd, and bestowed upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. The recommendation for the degree, the first honorary degree awarded by the university, came from Bryan and was conferred by the faculty the night before. The faculty had expressed some discomfort with this decision, but they later awarded Sledd with something more useful and appropriate. Upon his departure, the faculty gave him a walking cane "to accompany him thru a long and honorable career in his chosen field of battle—the fight of Truth and Enlightenment against Prejudice and Ignorance."[95]

With courage and faith, Andrew Sledd pursued a progressive agenda that transformed Florida's system of higher education. Although he fell far short of the vanguard university he envisioned, his achievements at the University of Florida were both substantive and permanent. Higher standards for matriculation and graduation, a qualified and competent faculty, and support for applied research were the major accomplishments of his administration. They were achieved in the context of internal strife between competing political factions that eventually brought his tenure to a premature and abrupt end.

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[95] Minutes of the General Assembly of Faculty, May 24, 1909, Series 81, University of Florida Archives. "Resolution of the Faculty," undated, Box 1, Sledd Papers.

"Every Right to be Where She Was": The Legal Reconstruction of Black Self-Defense in Jim Crow Florida

by Chris Bray

On a weekend night in Tampa in the late summer of 1919, a twenty-three year-old black woman opened a knife and slashed at the face of an eighteen year-old white man who had pinned her to the floor of a streetcar with a hand around her throat. Hattie Wright and Pierce Harwell were fighting over a seat on the segregated car, but the details of the confrontation fit poorly into the usual narrative of the long movement for civil rights: Wright was fighting to defend her segregated space at the back of the streetcar, refusing Harwell's demand that she abandon the seat next to him. Rather than locate other seating, she told him to move to the section reserved for white passengers. Her demand, and the resulting fight, quickly led to Wright's arrest. The trial and legal appeal that followed left an extraordinarily rich documentary record and painted a detailed picture of several intersecting social worlds.[1] In particular, the case of *Wright v. State* reveals the "hege-

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[1] In a 1995 essay on earlier racial violence in Tampa, Jeffrey S. Adler discussed the problem of sources regarding that topic: "Relatively few sources provide

monic function of the law," places the uniquely multiethnic social structure of the Tampa Bay region in its southern context, illustrates the conflict between overlapping systems of white supremacy, and shines a remarkable light on the daily choices of ordinary people as they navigated a segregated landscape.[2]

During the last fifteen years, historians have reconceptualized a narrative in which the Civil Rights movement was the product of a black "awakening" in the 1950s that then led to organized nonviolence. Such scholars as Robin D.G. Kelly, Timothy Tyson, and Charles Payne have shown the long roots of black resistance to white supremacy, foregrounding ordinary resistance and noting the significance of violent self-defense. Focusing on the other side of that narrative, legal historians Robert Cottrol and Raymond Diamond have examined state efforts to facilitate white supremacist violence by disarming black citizens and rendering them defenseless. "Jim Crow," they write, "was sustained by private violence, often with public assistance."[3] More recently, Paul Ortiz focused on black responses to racist political violence in Florida; in that state as elsewhere, Ortiz writes, "the period after the fall of Reconstruction was not characterized primarily by black acquiescence to Jim Crow or legal segregation, but rather by open struggles to fight racial oppression," including "acts of armed self-defense against white supremacist violence."[4] In the newly

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detailed information on violent behavior. Coroner's records contain data on homicides, though murder was—and is—an unusual and relatively infrequent outcome of violent behavior...Police reports provide information on arrests for low-level violence, but, typically, police blotters merely list names and offenses. Similarly, court records often identify only the name of the defendant and the verdict..." See Adler's "Black Violence in the New South: Patterns of Conflict in Late-Nineteenth-Century Tampa," in David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers, eds., *The African American Heritage of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), 209. A partial solution to this very real problem is found in the records of the Florida Supreme Court. The file for each case heard on appeal generally contains a complete trial transcript and a full record of memoranda filed by lawyers. Judging by the condition of the files and their absence from footnotes in histories of Florida violence, they are a little-used resource.

[2] Eugene Genovese described the "hegemonic function of the law" in *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976), pgs. 25 to 49.

[3] Robert T. Cottrol and Raymond T. Diamond, "The Second Amendment: Toward an Afro-Americanist Reconsideration." *Georgetown Law Journal* (Dec. 1991): 318-19.

[4] Paul Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), xv.

dominant narrative established by these historians, black resistance to white supremacy appeared in organized and individual forms, violently and nonviolently, over a period of more than a century following the end of chattel slavery in the United States. Meanwhile, white-run legal institutions recognized the threat to white power and worked to limit armed black self-defense.[5]

While these historiographic interventions were badly needed, they leave a sizable explanatory lacuna, and miss a significant complication in the legal and social arenas. African American resistance to domination and injustice was persistent, widespread, aggressive, and broadly reflective of the values of black communities, but it was also substantially contained for a full century by the system of white supremacy. Although containment was in significant part the product of mob violence, repressive laws, and white control of the raw coercive power of the state, another significant dynamic was also at work: the legal system in southern states was able on some occasions to contain black resistance by accommodating it within a framework that significantly narrowed or subverted its meaning. Hegemony existed alongside power; black resistance was not simply crushed, but could also be suffocated in the formal embrace of the state and the social embrace of paternalist white elites. Challenged, white supremacist social and political regimes utilized a range of available responses, and could attack, deflect, or absorb threats to the Jim Crow order. In particular, the criminal justice system in southern states sometimes directly validated armed black self-defense, arriving at formal conclusions that were helpful to state purposes. One particularly significant conclusion posited that black citizens had a moral right to violently defend segregated space against white intrusion. Wright's case offers a revealing example of this argument at work.

The record of Wright's trial and appeal also suggests the social richness of the legal process, painting a vivid local picture and placing that local reality in a larger context. Several groups spoke: First, during the trial, black and white witnesses – including Wright and Harwell – told markedly different stories about the same events, illuminating some of the daily realities of race in Tampa and its surrounding communities. Second, as the state moved to send Wright to prison, government officers were obliged to explain their intent in ways that revealed their harshly repressive personal views regarding race relations. Finally, Wright's defense lawyers explained their own views of race relations, which were premised on a significantly different ideology of white supremacy. Informal social assumptions came to light in the formal setting of the legal justice system, as they were rendered explicit in appellate memoranda, courtroom oratory, and legal outcomes.

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[5] The latter part of this narrative reflects conclusions about southern courts that Gunnar Myrdal famously reached more than sixty years ago. See chapters 24-26 in *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), particularly the first pages of chapter 26.

An examination of Wright's journey through the legal system leads to several conclusions that will be of interest to scholars of Florida's social history. First, while the Tampa Bay region is often seen as a southern community with exceptional race relations due to the ethnic diversity of the cigarmaking industry, the record of Wright's trial suggests the presence of some very familiar racial dynamics. Tampa was an exceptional southern community, but it remained a southern community; the social division into stark categories of black and white could sometimes be a significant part of lived experience. Many of the things that happened on a Tampa streetcar in 1919 reflect events on Birmingham buses in the 1940s, for example, and can be examined in the context of Robin D.G. Kelley's scholarship on that subject. Second, the prevailing narrative about African Americans in early twentieth century Tampa focuses on a rising class of black professionals and activists, arguing that they "would strive to build in their city a southern center for resistance to the encroachments of Jim Crow racial discrimination."[6] In this narrative, "feisty Black women joined husbands, sons, and brothers in protest against white streetcar conductors, police, and politicians."[7] Wright, a young woman who worked as a laundress, lived outside these middle class networks of social activism and community organization. In a remarkably complex set of actions, she entered into an escalating public confrontation with a white man, fought for her rights to public space, defended herself against racist violence, and protected the Jim Crow seating arrangement. Her choices complicate the story historians tell about her time and place.[8]

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[6] Canter Brown, Jr. and Larry Eugene Rivers, "'The Negroes are there to stay': The Development of Tampa's African-American Community, 1891-1916," *Sunland Tribune*, No. 29 (2003), 59-60.

[7] Nancy A. Hewitt, *Southern Discomfort: Women's Activism in Tampa, Florida, 1880s-1920s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001). 142.

The complexity of Wright's choices also caused consternation within the Jim Crow regime. For the white lawyers who argued in favor of Wright's imprisonment on an overdrawn criminal charge, the significant fact of the case was that a black defendant had injured a white victim in an act of violence. Their idea of white supremacy was founded on a premise of frank and direct repression, and violence was supposed to flow in only one direction. For the prominent white lawyers who took Wright's side, on the other hand, the significant facts of the case were that Pierce Harwell had crossed the color line to sit in the wrong part of a streetcar, and that Wright had been attacked after identifying the violation to him.[9] Their idea of white supremacy was founded in a distinctly paternalistic notion of racial obligation. In legal briefs and courtroom argument, an irony emerges: Defending herself against violent attack and personal degradation, Hattie Wright had policed a racial boundary, a fact her white defenders would distort and celebrate while asserting her legal right to self-defense. Harwell, the reasoning went, had interfered with the unfettered segregation that black citizens like Wright were entitled to enjoy in peace, however much whites might wish to intrude upon it.

While the facts of Hattie Wright's fight and arrest were sharply contested, it is possible to outline the event reliably. On a September night late in the Red Summer of 1919, Wright boarded a Tampa streetcar. She carried a few dollars in cash and a folded pocket knife, both rolled inside a handkerchief. Wright took one of the two seats available to her on the segregated car, an outside seat in the second row from the back. The inside seat next to her was already occupied by Pierce Harwell, an eighteen year-old white man, who immediately told Wright to stand up and move elsewhere. She refused, and told him to "go up front where he belonged," to one of the seats reserved for white passengers. Following that exchange, Harwell probably threatened Wright, and he may have drawn a knife. But he certainly pushed her, knocking Wright to the floor in the aisle. Defiant, she stood and returned to her seat. Harwell again pushed her out of the seat, and she again tried to return to it. Harwell pushed Wright a third time; this time, however, he followed her to the floor, beating her in the face with a clenched fist and choking her with his other hand. At that point, pinned to the floor and afraid that she would be killed, Hattie Wright shook the knife out of her handkerchief and opened the blade. She cut Harwell, as he would later tell a jury, "four times on the face and once over the heart and three times on the shoulder," stopping only when he was dragged free by the streetcar driver.[10]

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[8] While Wright's actions present only a single example, her fight with Harwell also complicates our understanding of race and gender in Jim Crow Tampa. In his essay on an earlier period, Adler concludes that violence "committed by black women" against men "rarely crossed racial lines." See Adler's "Black Violence in the New South," 223. One other partially comparable example is available: A 1905 incident in which a black woman on a streetcar took a seat a white man had given up "to accommodate some white women who had just gotten on the car." The man struck the woman in the face, and was later fined five dollars for doing so. The woman was fined $2.50. See, e.g., Kyle S. Van Landingham, *In Pursuit of Justice: Law and Lawyers in Hillsborough County, 1846-1996* (Tampa: Hillsborough County Bar Association, 1996), 41-2. This case differs significantly from Wright's, as the woman involved in the altercation was not fighting to maintain segregated space. For a brief and useful outline of segregation on Tampa streetcars, as well as African American resistance to that segregation, see Hewitt's *Southern Discomfort*, 142-47.

[9] I will discuss the exceptionally significant identity of Wright's lawyers later in this paper.

Beyond this broad outline, the incident between Wright and Harwell is impossible to reconstruct precisely, as the details changed with every telling. A newspaper account first presented it as a knife fight, with Wright cut "slightly on the hand" and Harwell taken to the hospital to receive "seventy-five stitches" to wounds that were "long and ugly but not serious." Harwell's unnamed father denied that his son had used a knife, and claimed in an interview that Wright had cut the young man on the face suddenly and without provocation. Wright was taken to the city jail by a motorcycle officer while Harwell was taken to the hospital, but both were initially charged with crimes. According to the *Morning Tribune*, "The woman is charged with assault with a deadly weapon and the man with fighting."[11] The next day the local newspaper reported that both Harwell and Wright had been "turned over to the state" after a brief hearing in police court, though "Harwell was released from custody, and the woman's bond was placed at $250, the case to be tried at the next term of the county criminal court."[12] A fight had become an assault.[13]

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[10] *Hattie Wright v. State of Florida*, "Transcript of Record," Florida State Archives (Series 49, Box 3086), 39 and 5. The order of parties in the case name reflects Wright's position as appellant; the case in the trial court was *State v. Wright*. The *Tampa Daily Times* would report on Monday that Harwell had appeared in court with his face "so covered with bandages and surgeon's tape that only his eyes and part of a cheek was visible." See "Boy is Badly Cut by Woman," 8 September 1919, pg. 7.

It is also difficult to determine precisely when the fight took place.[14] Filing charges with the clerk of the Hillsborough County Court, prosecutor Robert E. Lee Chancey—a future three-term Tampa mayor—alleged that Wright had attacked Harwell "on the sixth day of September," a Saturday night.[15] But the state's first witness, Harwell, told the jury that he was attacked on September 9—a Tuesday, and the day the second story on the streetcar fight appeared.[16] During cross-examination, Harwell said he was attacked on a Sunday night, which would have been September 7.[17] Other witnesses all identified the night of the incident as September 6, but local newspapers reported on Monday, September 8 that the fight had occurred "last night."[18]

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[11] "Negress Cuts White Man Several Times in Street Car Fight," *Daily Times*, 8 September 1919, 4.

[12] "Negress Held Under a $250 Bond for Fight," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, 9 September 1919, 5. The case remained an item of minor interest in the *Tribune*; see the second and third paragraphs of the story titled "Not Guilty Verdict in the Puleo Trial," on page 5 of the 25 October 1919 edition, and "Jury Finds Wright Girl Guilty but New Trial Will be Sought," on page 5B of the 26 October 1919 edition.

[13] Harwell's knife would reappear only in Wright's courtroom testimony. No other witness testified that he had possessed or used a knife. Asked if he had "anything to cut her with," Harwell said no. Wright's testimony about Harwell's knife is dubious, starting with the unlikely claim that she saw him open the blade in his seat before she attempted to sit down next to her again. Then, she said, he began to punch her with the hand that held the knife. Asked, for clarification, if Harwell was hitting her with the hand that held the knife, Wright responded weakly, "He had the knife, but what become of the knife I don't know." See *Wright v. State*, "Transcript of Record," 38-40 and 46.

[14] The arrest report would clarify the answer, but is not available. Email message to author from Linda Giguere, records supervisor, Tampa Police Department, 5 September 2008.

[15] *Wright v. State*, "Transcript of Record," 1.

[16] Ibid, 5.

[17] Ibid, 6 and 10.

[18] Ibid, see the testimony of Hazel Mason on 22, the testimony of Phillip Montana on 26, the testimony of Mangeline McCray on 29, the testimony of Miles Johnson on 34, and the testimony of Hattie Wright on 38. The newspaper stories, Op. cit., were "Negress Cuts White Man," *Morning Tribune*, and "Boy is Badly Cut by Woman," *Daily Times*. The sloppy *Daily Times* coverage is

Since the charge, and most witness testimony, put the fight on the night of Saturday, September 6, that seems most likely to be the correct date.[19]

The date matters because of the context it creates. For Harwell, a dairy worker, and Wright, a laundress, Saturday night would likely have been a highly charged social moment before a day off from work.[20] In his examination of Birmingham's public transportation system during World War II, Robin Kelley notes that "racial conflicts on Friday and Saturday nights were common."[21] Harwell testified that he was on the streetcar after spending the evening "talking to some boys" for a couple of hours. Wright testified that a friend had been visiting her, and she was returning home after riding to her friend's house to keep her company on the trip. The witnesses who were asked about their activities told much the same stories about the evening. W.B. Crowbory, a cigar maker, was on the streetcar because he "just took a ride." Mangeline McCray was visiting her sister-in-law, who was sick.[22] It was, in short, a social weekend night, one of the moments in which spontaneous racial conflict was most likely to occur.[23]

If a Saturday night was one of the most likely moments for sudden racial violence to occur, the summer of 1919 was one of the most likely historical moments for such a conflict. In the

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of limited use to historians; that newspaper identified the defendant as "Mattie Wright, middle aged negress."

[19] In *Wright v. State*, "Transcript of Record," see the testimony of Pierce Harwell, 6 and 10. No other witnesses were asked to specify the time of the fight, but testimony consistently described it as having taken place at night. See, for example, the testimony of W.E. Crowbory on page 12.

[20] Regarding Wright's employment, see her testimony, *Wright v. State*, 39. Harwell was not asked in court to identify his occupation or employer, but the *Morning Tribune* identified him as an employee of the Tampa Dairy Company. See "Negress Cuts White Man," Op. cit.

[21] Robin D.G. Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (New York: Free Press, 1996), 49.

[22] *Wright v. State*, "Transcript of Record," see Harwell's testimony, 10. Also see Wright's testimony, 44, Crowbory's testimony, 18, and McCray's testimony, 34.

[23] Curiously, only one witness at the trial, W.B. Crowbory, was asked if he had been drinking. See *Wright v. State*, 18. Florida was legally a dry state by 1918, but the prohibition of alcohol worked as well there as it did in most places. See John J. Guthrie, Jr., *Keepers of the Spirits: The Judicial Response to Prohibition Enforcement in Florida, 1885-1935* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998), especially chapter one.

days surrounding the fight between Wright and Harwell, the pages of the *Tampa Morning Tribune* routinely carried matter-of-fact reports of racial violence, with headlines that yawned at extraordinary brutality. "Negro Lynched for the Usual Cause" was the headline on a one-paragraph report from Louisiana, buried under the commodity prices on page fifteen of the Sunday paper.[24] A front-page story from Jacksonville on September 8, "Negroes Lynched and Their Bodies Dragged Through City Streets," was followed by a short piece on page two the next day, "Jacksonville Quiet after its Lynching."[25] The first page of the same issue reported on an incident in Memphis in which two men were almost murdered by a mob. The mob tried to lynch a black man who had struck four white children with his car before a white bystander interfered, and begged the crowd to let the criminal justice system do its job. As reported by the Tampa newspaper, "The crowd's anger turned against the white man, and when the police arrived, they say, the rope was being transferred to his neck."[26] Racial violence stood in the social foreground, with places and roles sharply prescribed.[27]

It is within this context that Hattie Wright boarded a Tampa streetcar at the corner of Nebraska Avenue and Henderson Avenue, walking to the back and sitting next to Pierce Harwell. At trial, Wright testified that Harwell told her to "get up from by me," then followed up with, "God Dam [sic] you, didn't I tell you to get up from by me." Pushed to the floor, she returned, and told Harwell, "you know these two seats are for colored people, and there is plenty in front for you to sit in." As Wright recalled,

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[24] "Negro Lynched for the Usual Cause," *Morning Tribune*, 7 September 1919, 15.

[25] "Negroes Lynched and Their Bodies Dragged Through City Streets," 8 September1919, 1, and "Jacksonville Quiet after its Lynching," 9 September 1919, 2 in *Morning Tribune*.

[26] "Memphis Crowd Tries to Lynch Pair after Auto Hits Children," *Morning Tribune*, 9 September 1919, 1.

[27] A brief outline of daily living conditions for black Tampa residents in this period may be found in Walter T. Howard and Virginia M. Howard, "Family, Religion, and Education: A Profile of African-American Life in Tampa, Florida, 1900-1930," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 71, No. 1 (Winter, 1994), 1-17. See also Canter Brown and Larry Eugene Rivers, "The negroes are there to stay."

Harwell responded with, "God Dam [sic] you, if you don't get up I will bloody your face."[28] Under cross-examination by one of Wright's lawyers, Harwell remembered the exchange far differently, directly denying that he had threatened to "bloody" her. The total number of threats he had directed against her, he insisted, had been "None at all."[29] But Harwell agreed that Wright had told him to move to the section of the car reserved for white passengers: "I asked her to move and she said 'move yourself to the front of the car where you belong' and she swore at me." Harwell did not concede that Wright had pointed out a clear rationale for her demand, "there is a vacant seat you can take and I can't."[30] In testimony, the defendant and her purported victim shared only the recollection that she had insisted upon her right to a seat in the "colored" section, and had tried to direct Harwell to the section reserved for white passengers. While Wright's choice demands careful examination, the significance of their testimony was clear. Both agreed that she had defended the color line.

Testimony from other passengers on the streetcar fit the rough outline of the story told by Wright and Harwell, but the differences are much more telling than the similarities. The seat across the aisle from Harwell was also occupied by a white man, W.B. Crowbory, who had a close view of the entire fight.[31] In Crowbory's telling, Harwell asked Wright to move, then told her he would push her if she did not. She responded to his request with, "these seats are for colored people," and then responded to his threat by telling him to go ahead and push. Harwell did just that. He further recalled that Wright first cut Harwell while she was standing, not after she was on the ground with Harwell on top of her. As he put it, she was pushed three times, and that was "when she come back. The third time she come back cutting."[32] Wright ended up on the floor, and Harwell ended up on top of her, although Crowbory "didn't notice whether he hit her or not," and would allow only that Harwell "got out in the aisle some kind of way."[33]

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[28] *Wright v. State*, "Transcript of Record," 38. Spelling is as it appears in excerpts from the trial transcript.

[29] Ibid, 8.

[30] *Wright v. State*, "Transcript of Record," 8.

[31] Regarding Crowbory, see the testimony of Hazel Mason in *Wright v. State*, 24. See also Crowbory's statements about his position on pages 18 and 19.

[32] Ibid, 14-15.

Remarkably, Crowbory insisted that Harwell had done nothing while atop Wright in the aisle. Wright's lawyer, incredulous, pursued the question at great length during Crowbory's cross-examination. He repeatedly asked the same question in varying forms ("You are positive of that?"), and the witness denied eight times that Harwell had ever grabbed Wright by the throat. Despite his untenable testimony, the trial transcript presents Crowbory as a sympathetic figure placed in circumstances he would have wished to avoid. Asked why he had not intervened to stop Wright's supposed attack on Harwell, for example, he sensibly answered, "I don't grab no knife." [34] Significantly, Harwell himself contradicted Crowbory with regard to one point. While maintaining that he had not hit Wright until she cut him, he nevertheless acknowledged that he had grabbed her by the throat.[35]

Black witnesses called by the defense presented an entirely different set of details. Phillip Montana was standing at the back of the streetcar when he saw Wright "fussing with this white boy." As Montana recalled, Wright told Harwell that there were "plenty of white folks seats up there." That observation drew the response, "you damned nigger if you set down here I am going to punch you in the face."[36] Other witnesses from the back of the streetcar caught only pieces of the exchange, hearing everything but Harwell's most serious threat to strike or bloody the woman seated next to him. Mangeline McCray heard Wright tell Harwell that the seats up front "were the proper seats for him," heard her tell him to "go up in front where the white folks belonged," and heard Harwell say that he would push her. But during the rest of the exchange, she only recalled that Harwell "kept mumbling something."[37] Miles Johnson, who was seated directly behind Harwell and Wright, testified that the two "went to talking," but added that he "couldn't tell what they said."[38] The personal conflict the individual witnesses experienced is palpable. They heard everything but the most critical parts, suggesting the reluctance of people dragged into someone else's fight—particularly given the fact that it was an interracial fight.

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[33] Ibid, 19.

[34] Ibid, 19-20.

[35] Ibid, 9.

[36] Ibid, 26.

[37] Ibid, 30.

[38] Ibid, 35.

The one thing noticed by every one of the black witnesses, however, was that Harwell had been cut only after attacking Wright. Mason testified that "he hit her and she hit him with her fist, and he grabbed her by the throat and threw her across the seat and down between the seats and got on top of her and was choking her," after which "she had a knife in her hand and I saw the blood coming over his face."[39] McCray testified that "he fell over her and had her by the throat and with his other hand he hit her, and she commenced hitting up in his face and the blood was coming."[40] Asked when he had first seen blood, Johnson replied, "When he had her down and had his hand on her throat and was beating her with the other hand, and then I saw her hand come up and then I saw the blood."[41] Questioned by her lawyer, Wright herself repeatedly explained her decision to use the knife, saying that she cut him "To keep him from choking me to death."

A few moments later, Wright and her lawyer returned to the question in a brief and plain exchange:

> Q. When was the first time you cut him?
> A. When he had me down on the floor and was choking me.
> Q. What was your position when you cut at him from the floor?
> A. I was flat on my back and he was on top of me beating me in the face and choking me.[42]

Denied only by Crowbory but acknowledged finally by Harwell himself, the fact is beyond dispute: Wright used her knife in a fight with a man who put his hand around her throat.

Beyond the basic facts of the fight, two extraordinarily vivid details emerge in the testimony, both touching on the realities of race and gender not only in Tampa but also more broadly in the Jim Crow South. First, events on the streetcar demonstrated the oftentimes gendered nature of conflict on public transportation.

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[39] Ibid, 22-3.

[40] Ibid, 30. See also 32: "Q. He had her with one hand by the throat? A. Yes sir."

[41] Ibid, 35.

[42] Ibid, 38-9.

In a cogent chapter describing racial animus on Birmingham's public carriers during the 1940s, Robin Kelley shows that black women's resistance to unfair or degrading behavior on city buses "tended to be profane and militant," while "fights between black women and white passengers were also fairly common."[43] While black women were the most likely passengers to resist racist practices on public transportation, white men were the most likely passengers to police social boundaries, and "a trangressive act frequently led to violence."[44] This dynamic between black women and white men is, with considerable irony, at the center of the conflict between Wright and Harwell. Testimony in the case clearly established that white men occupied both sides of an entire row in a two-row section for black passengers.[45] Both had empty seats next to them. One of the black passengers, Phillip Montana, testified that he boarded the streetcar behind Hattie Wright, then "went to the back part and stood up."[46] Whereas Wright took a seat next to a white man and fought to keep it, Montana passed an empty seat next to another white man in order to stand at the back. Another black passenger, Miles Johnson, was unable to describe the aftermath of the fight, testifying that he left the streetcar at the first possible moment: "As soon as it stopped I got off."[47] Montana and Johnson were anxious to avoid conflict, while Wright met conflict and escalated it. Black men generally faced far higher stakes in conflicts with white men, although Harwell's response to Wright demonstrates that resistance was also dangerous for black women. The testimony paints a stark picture of racial conflict: the sudden shock of violence with a black woman at the center of the circle of strife, while around the edges of the circle, black men urgently break free from the threat that they might be pulled into the fight.[48] The threat to Wright was spontaneous violence; the more serious threat to Montana and Johnson was the organized violence that could have followed their involvement in a fight with a white man.

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[43] Kelley, *Race Rebels*, 68. The phrase "congested terrain" is the title of Kelley's chapter on public transportation. See also Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed*, 119-25, for a discussion of organized streetcar boycotts that ends with a few instances of individual resistance. Significantly, the individual acts of resistance on streetcars described by Ortiz all involved black women. Compare these historical conclusions to that of Jeffrey Adler, footnote 8. It should be noted that timing may explain the difference between conclusions, as Adler was discussing an earlier period.

[44] Kelley, *Race Rebels*, 58.

[45] See e.g. *Wright v. State*, "Transcript of Record," 19 and 24.

[46] Ibid, 26.

[47] Ibid, 37.

Wright's lawyer defended his client by trying to turn the tables, effectively bringing Harwell to trial on a social charge of crossing the color line. For the state, Harwell's choices were never an issue, and the prosecution's questions suggest a sense of entitlement and indulgence expected for white men. After the usual opening questions about name, age, and place of residence, Prosecutor Robert E. Lee Chancey lobbed this statement at Harwell in the form of a question: "She is charged on having made an assault on you with a knife. Go ahead and tell the jury all you know about it?"[49] The cross-examination of Harwell by the defense, on the other hand, quickly focused on his overlapping identities as a Tampa resident and a southern man. Wright's lawyer asked Harwell how long he had lived in Tampa and where he had lived previously, before he got to the real point: "Where were you raised?" Eliciting the response that Harwell had been raised in Alabama, the defense circled back to ask again about the year he had lived in Tampa, and the ten years he had lived in Florida. His purpose is clear: to establish for the jury that Harwell was born and raised in the South, would have been familiar with southern customs, and has lived in Florida long enough to know the local variations on regional social rules.

Having established his familiarity with regional customs, Wright's lawyer asked Harwell if he was "accustomed to riding in street cars in Tampa," and Harwell conceded that he was. Asked repeatedly if he knew "the rule in Tampa that the two rear seats in street cars are reserved for colored people," however, Harwell responded with an answer that surely impugned his credibility before a jury of other white men: "I do not know the rules." Wright's lawyer hammered at the point, and Harwell quickly offered a tacit admission that he had lied. Question: "Don't you know it is a rule or custom in Tampa that negroes [sic] are not permitted to sit anywhere except on the rear two seats?"[50] Answer: "Yes sir." With that concession, the defense asked Harwell where he had been sitting. His testimony crumbling, Harwell answered weakly that he had been seated in the "second or third seat from the back."[51] His cross-examination ended a very short time later.

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[48] While both white men and black men were lynched in Tampa in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century, women were not among the local victims of that deadly act. See Robert P. Ingalls, "Lynching and Establishment Violence in Tampa, 1858-1935," *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. LIII, No. 4 (Nov. 1987), 613, *passim*; see also Ingalls' *Urban Vigilantes in the New South: Tampa, 1882-1936* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1988), 183-84, *passim*.

[49] *Wright v. State*, "Transcript of Record," 4.

A great deal has happened here that warrants examination. Harwell, established to be a lifelong southerner, is led into the transparently absurd claim that he does not "know the rules" about race. A moment later, he gives up that untenable claim, acknowledging with a simple "yes sir" that he actually does. Trapped, he sees the significance of the next question and makes a weak attempt to dodge it with his purported inability to recall whether he was sitting in the second row from the back or in the third row. A southern white man in front of a jury of southern white men in 1919, he claims to have forgotten his choice of seating in relation to the color line. The transcript is sadly mute on the reaction in the courtroom. In any event, the next witness—Crowbory, a white man testifying on behalf of the state—remembered Harwell's place for him. Asked by the prosecutor for Harwell's location on the streetcar, Crowbory answered simply that he had been in "the second seat from the rear on the right hand side."[52] Before the state had finished making its case, Harwell was revealed to have transgressed the color line. Worse, the jury had watched him try to talk his way around having done so.

With the victim and principal witness in his case discredited, the prosecutor turned in his closing statement to a reframing of the issues before the court. Chancey had accused Wright of launching an attack with a "premeditated design to effect the death of one Pierce Harwell," filing charges of "Assault with intent to commit murder in the first degree."[53] The charge required the state to prove that Wright had previously hatched a plan to kill Harwell and sought him out in order to bring her plan to fruition. Having filed that charge, Chancey made a closing statement that entirely undercut it, presenting Wright's actions as an instance of self-defense that she had no right to undertake. Wright had taken a seat next to Harwell, he said, and Harwell had told her to move. In those circumstances, Chancey concluded, "he had a right to make her get up." Wright's lawyer objected to Chancey's statement, and the judge responded only that he would "instruct the jury as to the law governing the case." Permitted to continue, Chancey finished his point. "I argue as law," he said, "that if he was sitting down there and she come and sit by him and he objected to it; that she is not free of fault and can't invoke the law of self-defense."[54] Wright's lawyer again noted his objection to that line of argument, again without a response from the judge. And so the state, having charged Wright with making a premeditated attack, finished by telling the jury that she had not possessed a legal right to defend herself, because she had caused Harwell to attack her. The case against Wright had dissolved into a puddle of contradiction and dishonesty.

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[50] Florida streetcars were segregated by state law, not merely by "custom" or streetcar rules. See August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, "The Boycott Movement Against Jim Crow Streetcars in the South, 1900-1906, *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 55, No. 4 (Mar., 1969), pg. 757, *passim.*

[51] *Wright v. State*, "Transcript of Record," 6-7. Wright's lawyer returned to the question of the color line with other witnesses. See e.g. the testimony of Hazel Mason on 23.

[52] Ibid, 13.

[53] Ibid, 1 and 4.

Judge William S. Graham read out a long and sober set of instructions to the jury, describing a range of charges on which they could convict. While Wright was charged with assault with intent to commit murder in the first degree, jurors were advised that they could convict Wright on that charge or any one of six others, ranging down to simple assault. The judge also explained they could acquit Wright on the grounds that she had cut Harwell in an act of justifiable self-defense: "If you find from the evidence, beyond a reasonable doubt, that this defendant cut this man, but at the time she did so she was acting in self-defense…it will be your duty to acquit her." Underlining the absurdity of the charge were the jury instructions proposed by Wright's lawyer and read aloud by the judge. Addressing the clash between the state's premise that Wright had a premeditated intent to murder Harwell and the prosecutor's argument that she had undertaken an act of self-defense only in response to an attack she had provoked, the second of the instructions explained that "no person can unintentionally do an intentional act." The court also read an instruction proposed by the defense that described the right to "oppose force by force" as "founded upon the law of nature" and "as old as our system of law." [55]

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[54] Ibid, 48.

Finally, and most significantly, the jury instructions propounded by the defense put Harwell's actions at the center of any deliberations about Wright's guilt or innocence. If Wright took her seat in the section of the car reserved for "negro passengers," they were told, and did so in a "quiet and orderly manner, the court instructs you that she was acting within her rights." The restriction of black passengers to the back section of a streetcar had become a "right" to occupy segregated space. The violation of such a right, then, would make Harwell's action at least socially transgressive. If he was in the section for black passengers, the court explained, "then the said Pierce Harwell was where he had no business to be," and an attempt to push Wright out of a seat would mean that "he was the aggressor." In short, the judge concluded, "It is the duty of white people to sit in their own department, and it is the duty of the negroes to sit in their department, and even if this negro woman sit down by this white man under those conditions, it would give him no right to shove her out of the seat."[56] Segregation had been discursively molded into an equal obligation upon, and an equal burden to, white and black citizens; whites had a duty to submit to segregation. The court ascended on the rhetorical stage to the position of a neutral arbiter, a white judge and twelve white jurors tasked with the responsibility to protect a black woman from a white man who had trespassed upon her right to a segregated seating area.[57]

Presented with a hopelessly muddled series of arguments, the jury deliberated briefly before finding Wright guilty of a lesser crime, assault with intent to commit murder in the second degree.[58] Graham sentenced Wright to one year at hard labor in state prison, and denied a motion from her lawyers for a new trial.[59] Notified by the defense that they planned an appeal,

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[55] Ibid, 49-61. Quotes are from 51, 55, and 57.

[56] Ibid, 9 and 61.

[57] While racial obligation forms the text of this argument, gender arguments form the subtext. As later appellate argument will show, participants in the trial also saw Harwell as a man who hit a woman.

[58] *Wright v. State*, "Transcript of Record," 61.

[59] Ibid, 61-3. Wright signed the motion with her mark. See page 72 for the sentence.

Graham released her from custody "pending the final disposition" of the case.[60] Hattie Wright had been convicted of a felony, sentenced to prison, and sent home.

The following year, the conflict between white lawyers over the meaning of Wright's actions moved to the state level, in an exchange of legal briefs between her defense counsel and the Attorney General's office. Here the identity of Wright's lawyers becomes especially relevant, and the legal world of the period is illuminated.

I have avoided naming Wright's lawyer or lawyers up to this point, and it is difficult to do so with certainty. While the trial transcript, legal briefs, and several news stories identify the law firm that defended Wright, the Tampa firm of Macfarlane & Macfarlane, the lawyer handling the case is identified throughout all of these documents only as "Mr. Macfarlane." There were, obviously, two lawyers named Mr. Macfarlane at that firm.

Whichever Macfarlane took the lead in Hattie Wright's defense, however, the presence of the Macfarlane name significantly changes the social gravity of her defense. While the prosecutor who brought charges against Wright was a future Tampa mayor, Macfarlane & Macfarlane founder Hugh C. Macfarlane was in 1919 one of the most formidable men in the state, a former Tampa city attorney and the founder of the then-independent City of West Tampa.[61] Hugh Macfarlane was also a transplanted southerner arguing for southern customs. He was born in Scotland in 1850 and admitted to the bar in Massachusetts after studying law at Boston University in the 1870s. His son, Howard P. Macfarlane, was educated at Princeton and the law school at Washington & Lee University before joining his father's practice in 1924. Howard Macfarlane was West Tampa's city attorney from 1913 to 1925, and served as an infantry lieutenant during World War I.[62] It appears that Howard was not the other Macfarlane in the family firm during Wright's trial and appeal, as he was at the time—in addition to being West Tampa's city attorney—a partner in the law firm of Macfarlane and Pettingill.[63] The other Macfarlane in Macfarlane & Macfarlane was almost certainly Matthew B. Macfarlane, Hugh Macfarlane's brother. Tying the relationships together, Matthew Macfarlane was the former law partner of Hattie Wright's prosecutor, R.E.L. Chancey, while the Pettingill in Howard Macfarlane's law firm of Macfarlane and Pettingill had also been the law partner of Howard's father, Hugh.[64] In a small legal community built around overlapping roles and relationships, the prosecutor had practiced law with one of the defense lawyers. Moreover, in the same month that Wright was on trial, the *Tampa Morning Tribune* reported that the family of a murder victim had hired Macfarlane & Macfarlane to assist Chancey with the prosecution of the alleged murderer.[65] Wright's prosecutor and defense lawyer were simultaneously on opposing sides and the same side.

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[60] Ibid, 68.

[61] Karl H. Grismer, *A History of the City of Tampa and the Tampa Bay Region of Florida* (St. Petersburg: The St. Petersburg Printing Company, 1950), 340-41. In 1919 and 1920, Hugh Macfarlane was also the superintendent of public works for the City of West Tampa. See the list of public officials in Armando Mendez, *Ciudad de Cigars: West Tampa* (Cocoa: Florida Historical Society, 1994), 188-89.

[62] *Bench and Bar of Florida: A Pictorial and Biographical Directory of the Members of the Bench and Bar of Florida, Vol. 1* (Tallahassee: Horace Evans, 1935), 118.

While no records show how Macfarlane & Macfarlane came to represent Wright, or describe their personal views on Wright's defense, their involvement gave her the most influential advocates she could have hoped to obtain.[66] It also provided her with conservative representatives, men who were well settled at the center of their local community and the state's legal community. In addition to being a former city attorney, Hugh Macfarlane was a

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[63] Grismer, *A History of the City of Tampa and the Tampa Bay Region of Florida*, 341.

[64] Ibid, 340, 196.

[65] "Chancey Takes Action against J.B. Figueredo," *Morning Tribune*, 29 October 1919, 5.

[66] Two avenues of research have proven futile in my attempt to answer this question. First, the successor firm to Macfarlane & Macfarlane remains a part of Tampa's legal landscape, under a different name. In private correspondence with lawyers at that firm, I have learned that it does not have records from its predecessor firm for the year 1919. Second, the extensive files of the NAACP, and what was at the time its Tampa branch, contain no reference to Hattie Wright or Macfarlane & Macfarlane. Those files are available at the Library of Congress. Wright's case is also unmentioned in the pages of *The Crisis*. I suspect that Wright, as a laundress, was more likely to have obtained the legal assistance of prominent white lawyers through the intercession of a prominent white client, but I have found no evidence that resolves the question. Recent scholarship suggests the possibility that the NAACP would have looked upon Wright and her case with deep distaste, due to class issues and that organization's view on violence. Though Timothy Tyson writes about a later period, his book about Robert F. Williams speaks to these organizational characteristics; see his *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

Shriner and an Elk, and would go on to serve on the Grievance Committee of the State Bar.[67] Most significantly, Hugh Macfarlane was substantially invested in local stability, having built his personal fortune through investments in land and the development of the local cigar industry.[68] Macfarlane and other local boosters had sold cigar makers on greater Tampa as a respite from labor strife in other centers of cigar production, and the continuing prosperity of the local economy depended on peace and order. This concern for calm would have been especially strong after a disastrous series of events in 1918: a six-week labor strike in the spring, an enormous fire in West Tampa on April 8, and local manifestations of a deadly flu epidemic toward the end of the year.[69] What's more, the elder Macfarlane would have had a special concern for the preservation of order on the local streetcars, some of which crossed land he had donated for the streetcar right-of-way.[70] Hugh Macfarlane had amply demonstrated his view of attacks on local stability with his response to a massive labor strike by cigar makers in 1910. After a shot fired from a crowd of strikers killed a cigar company bookkeeper, he led an armed mob in a raid on the local Labor Temple, "driving workers out of it, smashing chairs, tables, and other furniture, and seizing all the union's records and papers."[71]

The Macfarlane family and the law firm of Macfarlane & Macfarlane were not opposed to the social, political, economic, and legal establishment; they were at the center of that establishment, heavily invested in a kind of social stability that could not accommodate Pierce Harwell's transgressions of racial boundaries and the resulting violence. It is not unreasonable to speculate that

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[67] *Bench and Bar of Florida*, 118. Regarding Hugh Macfarlane's service on the Grievance Committee, see the *Florida State Bar Law Association Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Aug., 1927), 12. The same issue lists R.E.L. Chancey as president of the Hillsborough County Bar Association; see page 14. Regarding Howard Macfarlane's publication in the state bar law journal, see his article, "How Evidence of Truth or Falsity of Communications Which Affect Defendant's Mental Condition May be Rebutted," in Vol. 1, No. 4 (Nov., 1927), 8-10.

[68] Many sources describe Hugh Macfarlane's role as a local developer and businessman. See Mendez, *Ciudad de Cigars*, especially chapters one and two; page four includes a brief discussion of the Macfarlane Investment Company.

[69] Ibid, 132-33.

[70] Ibid, 39.

[71] Gene M. Burnett, *Florida's Past: People & Events That Shaped the State, Vol. 1* (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1986), 235-39. The incident involving Macfarlane appears on 239.

Hugh Macfarlane was personally offended or threatened by Harwell's disorderly behavior.[72] Still, this context of multiethnic labor unrest and an elite yearning for order to protect commercial interests remains no more than a subtext in the available record, probably present but never directly in evidence.

The appellate brief Macfarlane & Macfarlane filed with the Supreme Court perfectly reflects a conservative, rules-based, paternalistic form of socially elite white supremacy. While the twenty-three page document examines in detail the laws regarding self-defense and assault with intent to murder, and carefully addresses the prosecutor's mangling of that law in his closing statement, the social heart of the brief is an argument about racial characteristics and the duties of white men. "In our state white men make the law—and enforce the law," the lawyers wrote. "It is eminently right and proper that they do so, but it is equally right and proper that the rights of the weak, the poor, the lowly, the negro, should be protected by the white man." Blacks are punished for racial transgressions, the brief argues, but whites should face the same burden of punishment. The remarkable language of the argument is all the more striking given that it appears in a legal document focused on events from the summer of 1919: "If a white man oversteps the bounds and through pride of race attempts oppression and imposition, he should also be dealt with—that is the obligation which the stronger race owes to the weaker."[73] While the trial had turned on a right for black passengers to enjoy a segregated compartment, the defendant's appeal in the case asserted a legal duty for the courts to intervene if whites *attempted oppression* against blacks in Jim Crow Florida. Two pages later, the brief returned to the same theme. "Fair dealing and justice demand that when a white man goes out of his way to bully and oppress the negro, that the negro be afforded the same privilege of self-protection afforded the white man. In the eyes of the law he has it."[74] Racial boundaries exist to protect black citizens from white oppression.

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[72] An obvious question would be whether or not Hugh Macfarlane, or any of the Macfarlanes, would have viewed Pierce Harwell through the lens of social and economic class. I have found nothing in the trial records or news reports that would support an analysis based on social and economic class, which is not to say that no such dynamic was at work.

[73] Macfarlane and Macfarlane, "Brief of Plaintiff in Error," Feb. 27, 1920, *Wright v. State*, 9. This brief may be found in the same box and file as the "Transcript of Record" for the case in the Florida State Archives (Series 49, Box 3086).

[74] Ibid, 11.

In a few short paragraphs, Macfarlane & Macfarlane had reconstructed the history of the Red Summer: In some aberrant instances, whites have overstepped their bounds and attempted to oppress blacks, but the law stands as a stable barrier to their success. Revising history, they revise the subject of that history. The Jim Crow regime is premised on mutuality, shared restraint, and the discipline of duty; it is not oppressive, but is instead a reasoned system for creating order. It is, in short, a system that mirrors masculine virtues, and requires sturdy commitment from its keepers. Gender values underlie racial obligations.

These assumptions about gender become very clear in the same document. Arguing for a view of events premised on racial roles and boundaries, Macfarlane & Macfarlane returned to the reversal of behaviors they had identified in the trial court. Pierce Harwell had taken up a pair of seats in a section of a streetcar reserved for black passengers, they wrote. "He had carried this insistence to the point of committing an assault and battery upon a woman, who, although her skin was black, had conducted herself with more dignity and regard for the rights of others than he had, who had every right to be where she was while he was where he had no right to be."[75] Wright's lawyers then directed an acid remark at Harwell's manly sturdiness: "It would have been well for all concerned had his delicacy of taste as to association with negroes kept him out of the negro section of the car. Since it did not, he was in no situation to manifest his fastidiousness upon this question."[76] A bully and a racial trespasser, Harwell was delicate and fastidious; he was womanly, lashing out in weakness against an actual woman who, "although her skin was black," had a superior reserve of dignity and judgment. This argument was no longer about the law. Harwell had failed as a white man, in both elements of that identity. He had unmanned himself with poor racial discipline.

The Attorney General's office responded with a brief that walked the same ground, as they argued the legal points but also took up the topic of the white man's responsibility. To believe that Wright's guilty verdict was the product of racial prejudice, wrote Attorney General Van C. Swearingen and Assistant Attorney General D. Stuart Gillis, "would be a poor compliment to our white citizenship." To bolster their position, the attorneys point to commonly-held beliefs among whites that: "negroes are at this day and time becoming more and more arrogant—carrying chips on their shoulders so to speak."[77] Locating a chip on Hattie Wright's shoulder, the state declined to take up the question of Pierce Harwell's delicate manhood.

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[75] Ibid, 9.

[76] Ibid, 11.

The denouement is a narrative anticlimax for historians, but was the best possible outcome for Wright. Like Macfarlane & Macfarlane, the justice who authored the court's opinion, Chief Justice Jefferson Beale Browne, embodied the social and procedural conservatism of prominent men. A former federal marshal, federal court clerk, member of the Florida House of Representatives, state senator and Senate president, Key West postmaster, collector of customs, chairman of the state Railroad Commission, and state bar president, Browne lived much of his life at the highest levels of the state Democratic Party. A fierce opponent of expansive federal power despite his many years as a beneficiary of federal patronage jobs, he warned that a strong central government might prevent Florida from "keeping our white citizens free from mixture with the African race." Also like Hugh Macfarlane, however, Browne was educated outside the South, earning his law degree at the University of Iowa. And Browne, like Macfarlane, had shown a willingness to provide legal defense to people at the wrong end of the social spectrum: In 1891, he had unsuccessfully defended three Cuban cigar workers accused of murder during a period of labor unrest. A judicial conservative and a stern property rights advocate, Browne had also aligned with the reform wing of the Democratic Party in the last decade of the nineteenth century.[78]

Browne's personal complexity was absent from the opinion he authored in the case of Hattie Wright. In a unanimous decision, the Supreme Court reversed Wright's conviction on the narrow grounds that the prosecutor had been permitted to improperly characterize the law to the jury in his closing statement. Chancey, it will be recalled, had asserted that Wright gave up the right to self-defense by provocatively sitting next to Harwell. The court faulted the judge for failing to intervene. "The statements by the County Solicitor were not proper matters of argument, and not a correct statement of the law," Browne wrote, in an opinion joined by every one of the justices. They did not return the case to the lower court for retrial.[79] Hattie Wright was, mercifully and appropriately, free to go. And she was free to go because of the skilled efforts of Macfarlane & Macfarlane.[80]

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[77] "Brief on Behalf of State," Undated, Wright v. State, 5. This brief may be found in the same box and file as the "Transcript of Record" and "Brief of Plaintiff in Error" for the case in the Florida State Archives (Series 49, Box 3086).

[78] Walter M. Manley II and Canter Brown Jr., *The Supreme Court of Florida, 1917-1972* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 31-6; quote is from 35.

Despite her legal victory, Wright had also served the purposes of a conservative legal and social order. Her case had provided the stage for a performance in which prominent white defenders of the racial *status quo* could present segregation as a system that served the interests of a black citizen—so much so that the black citizen in question had fought to protect it, earning the support of what was notionally the stronger race. In legal discourse, racial interests coincided; there were, in Florida during the summer of 1919, no real racial conflicts, only a few aberrational moments of thoughtless trespass. Working to overturn Wright's conviction, participants in the criminal justice system had defended "the weak, the poor, the lowly, the negro," significantly linking those categories in the telling. The performance privileged a white-run legal and social order as fair and just, demonstrating that "if a white man…attempts oppression," the "stronger race" would step in to prevent him from succeeding. For a case born in the Red Summer, the rhetorical coupling is extraordinary: There is a stronger race, but it is not oppressive. The legal discourse in Hattie Wright's assault case suggests the limits of armed self-defense against racial oppression. It was much easier to lash out at a Pierce Harwell than it was to escape from a legal hall of mirrors in which self-defense became self-negating. Hattie Wright sat next to a white man, and told him to move only as a response to his own demand. She apparently did not mind sitting next to a white man. There is no evidence at all that she intended a defense of segregation, yet her act of assertiveness had precisely that effect.

Remembering Wright's actions, and pursuing the legal trail that followed her arrest, we can both confirm the findings of prevailing scholarship and add another dimension to those findings. As Kelley has argued, "the study of black resistance to segregated public space remains one of the least developed areas of inquiry" in the examination of desegregation.[81] Even less developed is the study of African American utilization of segregated public space as a site of respite, collective shelter, or an arena of black control. Kelley describes activity within this arena as "congregation," writing that segregated space "gave African Americans a place to hide, a place to plan."[82] Hattie Wright was a laundry worker who, in Jacqueline Jones's formulation, lacked full control over her "own productive energies and material resources."[83] In her conflict with Harwell, she met aggression by securing public space marked as "colored," preventing a white intruder from seizing control of that space. Appearing in a historiographic narrative organized around constant white imposition of segregation and steadily emerging black resistance to segregated space, this event forces us to consider other possibilities.[84] The act of fighting back took many forms.

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[79] There is no record in the Supreme Court's files indicating that the court heard oral argument in the case, and the court frequently resolved the cases before it without hearing such argument. For a discussion of the court's system for disposing of cases in this period, and for a general discussion of the political backgrounds of the justices, see the address given by Chief Justice Rivers Henderson Buford to the annual meeting of the Florida State Bar in 1932. The text of the address is available in the *Florida State Bar Association Law Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 1-2 (May-June, 1932), pages 29 to 35.

[80] Eight years later, the court would endorse a solution to the problem of racial conflict on public transportation, ruling unanimously that a Daytona Beach streetcar line for only white passengers did not represent "unjust and unreasonable discrimination between the white and negro races." See Sanders and Tubell v. City of Daytona Beach et al (95 Fla. 279).

An unfortunate corollary to this argument is that spontaneous individual defiance, as opposed to politically coherent organized resistance, was more easily absorbed by the multilayered legal and social system of white supremacy. There were many overlapping Jim Crow regimes; grouped broadly under two categories, they may be described as a brittle system of control based on direct domination and physical brutality, and a more subtle system of control based on law and social custom. This second system had softness, flexibility, "give." It could absorb and incorporate resistance without breaking, turning defiant acts toward the service of the *status quo.* The more brittle form generally occurred outside the aegis of the state, while the other was found in formats derived from state power. This pairing of opposites is complicated by the overlap between the two, as prominent advocates of law and order often led acts of mob violence. The significance of the later Civil Rights Movement is not that it was new; the significance of the later Civil Rights Movement is that it was the culmination of a long act of organization.

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[81] Kelley, *Race Rebels,* 56.

[82] Ibid, 51.

[83] Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work and the Family, from Slavery to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 7. This is not to say that Wright would have lacked any control over her productive energies. As Nancy Hewitt has shown, African American women in Tampa had by the early twentieth century asserted considerable autonomy as laborers, particularly demanding the right to "live out." See Hewitt's *Southern Discomfort,* 148.

[84] Also useful in any discussion about black control of segregated space are the instances, described by Kelley in his "Congested Terrain" chapter, in which black passengers moved the color boards on Birmingham buses to claim more space from whites while remaining within the boundaries of segregation. See Kelley, *Race Rebels,* 60-1.

The bitter irony of the Jim Crow era is that white authorities sometimes embraced armed black resistance and self-defense when that choice paradoxically served the premises of white supremacy. By the performance of legal process, *ad hoc* acts of individual self-assertion and self-defense by African Americans could be bent to the service of racial segregation and white power. This argument reflects the ability of an oppressive system to distort and redirect opposition, using the strength of that opposition for its own purposes. In this sense, the system of Jim Crow could paradoxically rely upon the actions of its victims, who could themselves reinforce segregationist customs even in the act of challenging racist violence. In some contexts, then, self-assertion may become self-negating; embraced and recoded by hegemonic state systems, attacks on oppression by the oppressed may reinforce oppression.[85]

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[85] There is promising material for future research on these questions, as the Florida Supreme Court heard a number of other cases in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in which black defendants appealed convictions that followed exchanges of violence with white men. In a March, 1918, for example, the court considered a confrontation in which a black defendant named Erman Presley shot and killed a white deputy sheriff. A white witness, D.G. Nelson, testified that Presley had approached him and the deputy with a gun in his hand, and then began to fire as the deputy reached into a pocket for his own gun. But a doctor testified that Presley had a gunshot wound that entered the inside of his wrist and exited at the bottom of his little finger. He had, in other words, been shot with his hands in the air. While we have the court's opinion in the case, I have been unable to locate the case file in the Florida State Archives. Three years later, the court took up the case of Will Tillman, a black man who shot a white sheriff's deputy through the hat, narrowly missing his head. Tillman had been walking down a dark Manatee County road with a jug under his arm when Deputy C.D. Blackwelder tried to wrestle the jug away, believing it contained illegal liquor. But Blackwelder had not identified himself, and Tillman, believing that he was being robbed, opened fire. The court overturned convictions in both cases. Finally, an important comparison can be made to the 1885 case of Enoch Carter, a black bartender convicted on a charge of murdering a white Orlando police officer. Testimony in the case established that Officer L.D. Beasley had repeatedly struck Carter with a club, including a vicious blow to the head, on the pretense that he was keeping the sidewalks clear for ladies. Carter responded by drawing a gun and shooting him. The shooting took place on December 24; Carter was tried and convicted by January 4, 1886. After the Supreme Court upheld his conviction, he was hanged a year later, in January of 1887. For the Supreme Court's opinion, see *Carter v. State* (22 Fla. 553). In the Florida State Archives, see the case file in Series 49, Box 0767. Carter's death warrant is also available at the Florida State Archives, Series 12, Box 2.

The life and crimes of Harry Sitamore, New York "Prince of Thieves" and the "Raffles" of Miami

by Vivien Miller

In March 1933 the Miami, Florida, police department considered that it had achieved a major coup with the arrest of 38-year-old jewel thief Harry Sitamore at his rented Miami Beach bungalow where he lived with his wife Mildred, 5-year-old son, and several other relatives. The dawn raid on the bungalow was a joint New York-Miami operation involving two New York City police detectives, four Miami detectives, uniformed officers, and representatives of the Noel Scaffa and Pinkerton Detective Agencies. At 4 a.m. they rapped on the door and were greeted by Sitamore's wife and son who attempted to prevent their entry. When officers broke down the door, they found Sitamore hastily destroying papers and other evidence in the bathroom. No immediate police search of the premises took place but after seven hours of questioning, Sitamore told Miami Beach Detective Eugene E. "Gene" Bryant "you have got the right man." He offered to recover the proceeds of his many jobs if the detectives allowed him to return home to change into his "smart sports attire." Back at the bungalow he told Mayor A. Frank Katzentine he would fill a "tin box" full of jewels, and proceeded to recover various "glittering gems" under shoes, clothes

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and furnishings, and from closets, trunks and furniture. When the tin box was full, Sitamore declared, "It's the best collection in the country."[1] Over 110 pieces of jewelry with an estimated worth between $250,000 and $500,000 were found; this comprised only part of Sitamore's entire Spring 1933 haul.[2] Among the items recovered was a $60,000 necklace stolen from opera singer, movie star, and "Tennessee Nightingale" Grace Moore. Like most of the other burglary victims, she had been staying at an exclusive beach hotel, and had been at a local nightclub when the burglary took place.[3]

Sitamore was a career criminal who left a trail of victims from New York to Kansas City to Washington D.C. to Miami during the 1920s and early 1930s. His many aliases included Charles Kramer, Harry Sitner, Sidmor, Sidmore, Sitomer, Fisher, Dobson, Victor, Harris and Seyman (he will be referred to here as "Harry Sitamore"). During the 1920s, arrest warrants had been issued for pick pocketing, breaking and entering, and burglary of private homes, as well as jewelry store hold-ups, and robbery of furriers as his long and impressive "rap sheet" demonstrated.[4] Described as

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[1] "$500,000 In Stolen Gems Is Recovered," *Miami Herald*, 16 March 1933, 1, 2. Hereafter cited as *Herald*. Noel Scaffa operated a private investigator service for insurance companies.

[2] While Sitamore estimated the worth of his haul to be $500,000, Miami police and insurance company adjusters used a more conservative figure of $225,000 to $300,000. See "Yacht Is Accused As Sidmor Accomplice," *Herald*, 18 March 1933, 23.

[3] "Gem Thief Trapped With $500,000 Loot," *New York Times*, 16 March1933, 1, 18 (hereafter cites as *Times*); "Habeas Corpus Writ May Free Harry Sidmore," *Miami Daily News*, 16 March 1933, 1, 19 (herafter cited as *Daily News*).

[4] For example, Sitamore had been indicted for the 1923 robbery of Mrs. Mildred Ford in her apartment on West 57th Street, New York City, and for aiding Harry "The Hawk" Behan/Lesser/Jackson in the assault and robbery of the wife of lyricist and composer Howard Johnson in a suite at the Hotel Almanac after a party in February 1924. Jewellery worth $9,000 was stolen from Mrs. Edna Johnson who had been "slugged" and "nearly garroted" during the robbery for which Behan received a prison sentence of twenty years. A *New York Times* report from November 1925 linked Sitamore to the 1923 murder of a music student, Louise Lawson, also in New York City. It was alleged that he had provided detectives with information on two men serving long sentences (including Behan) at Sing Sing who were connected to the unsolved Lawson murder. "Playwright's Wife Lured And Robbed," 14 May 1924, 1; "Gem Robber Linked With Two Murders," 15 May 1924, 1; "20 Years For Behan For Robbing Woman," 22 November 1924, 1; "Girl Music Student Smothered In Bed By Jewel Robbers," 9 February 1924, 1, 4; "Get Clue in Murder of Louise Lawson," 10 November 1925, 1, 6; and "Held on Charged Made by Sitamore's Wife," 23 March 1926, 3 in *New York Times*. He was later accused of committing a forgery in the amount of $6,000 in Daytona Beach in 1927. See "Sidmor Is Accused In Datyona Beach," *Herald*, 24 March 1933, 3.

"an exceptionally clever thief" by the Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, he was a person of interest to agency informants and investigators from 1925.[5] Over a period of eleven years he took up residence during the winter and early spring months in the burgeoning southern resort of Miami Beach to commit burglaries and jewel thefts against wealthy visitors.

In the view of New York and Miami police forces, Sitamore was as infamous as the widely-written-about organized crime figures of the Prohibition-era Northeast and the Midwestern bandits and bank robbers that spurred the 1933-1936 federal "War on Crime." His crimes are now long forgotten or have been reduced to a colorful vignette in the history of crime and punishment in Florida but, during the early 1930s, Sitamore was a self- and media-styled celebrity criminal hero, who executed specific types of property crime in the lavish environs of a developing leisure resort designed to cater to elite and wealthy Americans during the booming Prohibition period and the early Depression years. There has been greater scholarly interest in crime and policing in Miami in the later twentieth century and several important studies of the earlier twentieth century have examined the African American community's frustrations with the city's all-white police department and the court system, and the city's murder, suicide and accidental death rates. However, other aspects of Miami's criminal past, particularly the rise of resort crime, remain relatively unexplored.[6] Further, as a professional criminal operating in the racially-segregated urban South, Sitamore's career challenges some of the assumptions about elite jewel thieves in existing studies of professional crime.

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[5] Report of Asst. Supt. W. F. W., February 3, 1923 on Sitamore's indictment for the Johnson robbery; J. J. Grange [St. Louis, MO] to Mr. C. P. O'Brien [Hot Springs, AK], February 23, 1925, and various correspondences in Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, *Criminal Case Files, 1861-1992*, Box 169, Folder 8, MSS36301, Manuscript Reading Room, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

[6] For example, see Marvin Dunn, *Black Miami in the Twentieth Century*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997); Paul S. George, "The Evolution of Miami and Dade County's Judiciary, 1896-1930," *Tequesta* 36 (1976): 28-42; idem., "Policing Miami's Black Community, 1896-1930," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 57/4 (April 1979): 434-450; idem., "Bootleggers, Prohibitionists and Police: The Temperance Movement in Miami, 1896-1920," *Tequesta* 39 (1979): 34-41; Al Goodman (ed), *Metro Dade Police Department, 1836-1986*, (Miami: Dade County Police Benevolent Association, 1988); William Wilbanks, *Murder in Miami: An Analysis of Homicide Patterns and Trends in Dade County (Miami) Florida, 1917-1983*, (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984).

This article looks first at how the development of Miami Beach as an elite resort created lucrative opportunities for the criminal classes, and thieves in particular. It then focuses on Harry Sitamore's activities in Spring 1933, his arrest and imprisonment, and briefly on his return to Miami Beach in the early 1950s. The Kefauver Crime Commission investigations into organized gambling in Florida in 1950 identified Miami as both a popular vacation retreat for northern mobsters, and a vital economic part of their racketeering empires.[7] The Pinkerton's Detective Agency records suggest that Sitamore was one of a highly mobile group of professional thieves in the 1920s and 1930s. With established connections in several cities, including Miami Beach, New Orleans, and Kansas City, the thieves traveled extensively throughout the U.S. using multiple aliases, and gathering arrest warrants for a range of property and deception offenses.[8] Miami Beach was an integral cog in the expanding intercity criminal networks organized around turf, track and other such pursuits which sustained a range of supporting financial, legal, and political connections and services in the decades prior to Kefauver's inquiries.[9]

The transport revolutions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the growth of winter vacations and tourism, and burgeoning commercialized leisure markets enabled the southern section of Florida to reinvent itself as an exotic playground for socialites and the leisured elites, a resort for the managerial and middle classes, and a source of employment for the working classes and hoi polloi. Miami Beach was a man-made paradise dredged from Biscayne Bay and reclaimed mangrove swamp lands. The formerly desolate peninsula had been transformed into "miles of palm-fringed beach, bathed by tropical waters of deepest blue" designed to "lure visitors from their snow-imprisoned homes to turn winter into summer."[10] The completion of interstate highways and state roads, some constructed by striped-suited convict laborers, brought northern tourists closer to paradise in Daytona Beach, Palm Beach, Miami Beach and other emergent resorts on Florida's Atlantic coast.[11] Good roads advocates even enlisted the support of investigative journalist and Progressive-era "muckraker" Ida M. Tarbell who declared, "I have succumbed to Florida" which she called the "garden of America."[12]

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[7] Final Report of the U. S. Senate Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce, August 31, 1951, (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1951), 73-74; Estes Kefauver, "Miami: Polluted Playground," in Kefauver, *Crime in America,* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1952), 96-113.

[8] See Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, *Administrative File, 1857-1999,* Box 26, Folder 4: Criminal Rosters; Hotel prowlers and thieves, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. These rosters and other files suggest that white males predominated in the persons of interest to the Agency as well as in their listings of "Residence Thief," "Hotel Prowler" and "Hotel Thief" but there were female and African American male hotel burglars who successfully stole thousands of dollars of jewels, clothes, furs and cash.

[9] David R. Johnson, "The Origins and Structure of Intercity Criminal Activity 1840-1920: An Interpretation," *Journal of Social History* 15/4 (Summer 1982): 593-605.

By the early twentieth century, New York's Coney Island had become a largely proletarian pleasure resort, an ethnic and working-class seaside town for day- and evening-trippers who utilized the five-cent subway line to reach the roller coasters, sideshows and mechanical rides.[13] By contrast, Indianapolis developer Carl

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[10] J. N. Lummus, *The Miracle of Miami Beach*, (Miami: The Miami Post Publishing Company, 1940): 31-33; Photograph Caption: "The Most Beautiful Beach in the World," *The Society Pictorial* 5/1 (January 1933), 3; Eric Jarvis, "Florida's Forgotten Ethnic Culture: Patterns of Canadian Immigration, Tourism, and Investment Since 1920," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 81/2 (Fall 2002): 186-197.

[11] Vivien Miller, "Back on the Southern Chain Gang Lite," in Clive Emsley, (ed.), *The Persistent Prison: Problems, Images and Alternatives*, (London: Francis Boutle Publishers, 2005), 144-173; Larry R. Youngs, "The Sporting Set Winters in Florida: Fertile Ground for the Leisure Revolution," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 84/1 (Summer 2005), [57-78] 68; Robert E. Snyder, "Daytona Beach: A Closed Society," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 81/2 (Fall 2002), [155-185] 155-161.

[12] Ida M. Tarbell, "Bubbles? No! A Rainbow," *Florida Highways*, 3/6 (June 1926), 10-11; Howard Lawrence Preston, *Dirt Roads to Dixie: Accessibility and Modernization in the South, 1885-1935*, (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 116, 124-126.

[13] See John F. Kasson, *Amusing the Million: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century*, (New York: Hill & Wang, 1978); Kathy L. Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986); and Michael Immerso, *Coney Island: The People's Playground*, (New Brunswick, NJ and London: Rutgers University Press, 2002), especially Chapter 7: "The Nickel Empire," 124-147. Economic salvation for a rather inconsequential depression-hit desert-town called Las Vegas came in the form of the construction of the massive Boulder Dam in the 1930s. Gambling was legalized in 1931 and the inevitable proliferation of bars and casinos accompanied the influx of construction workers. Thus the socio-economic profile of visitors to Las Vegas was also markedly different to that of Miami Beach. See Sally Denton and Roger Morris, *The Money And The Power: The Making of Las Vegas and its Hold on America, 1947-2000*, (London: Pimlico, 2002), 96-99; and Dennis N. Griffin, *Policing Las Vegas: A History of Law Enforcement in Southern Nevada*, (Las Vegas: Huntingdon Press, 2005).

Fisher's vision for Miami Beach was of an exclusive, upper-class, genteel, gentile resort and residential community to rival Palm Beach, and as such it boasted a series of luxury hotels such as the King Cole, Floridian, Boulevard, Fleetwood, and Deauville.[14] The Roney Plaza, named after another Yankee investor, opened in 1925 and "immediately caught the fancy of the best patronage" eager to try out the new "cabanas," which also became the regular setting for fashion shows and bathing beauty contests.[15] The near-by Roman Pools was another popular attraction for wealthy visitors as well as the hordes of middle-class investors and tourists. Fisher's "personal relationships with nationally known celebrities and wealthy automagnets" ensured they and their followers enjoyed the winter tourist season in South Florida.[16]

In his many articles for the Washington *Saturday Evening Post* (1922-1926) and popular books, Kenneth Lewis Roberts wrote of the opportunities for easy riches in Florida real estate, celebrated the ingenuity of the "sun-hunters" who loaded up their automobiles and came south in search of sunshine at the first sign of snow in their home states, and noted also that many social climbers anxious to break into New York society did so more quickly and cheaply in South Florida during the "season." He mocked the pretensions of the "time-killers" identified by "their jewel-lariats and their acres of white trousers: with their flask-trimmed tea-dances and their hard-boiled social aspirations and their refined gambling houses, and their trick whisky-canes" who hung around the big hotels in Florida's eastern beach resorts desperately hoping to breathe "the same air" as "the leading millionaires and society pets."[17]

In the mid-1920s the mayors of Miami, Miami Beach, Hialeah, and Coral Gables issued a joint proclamation boasting that Dade County was "the most Richly Blessed Community of the Most

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[14] Howard Kleinberg, *Woggles and Cheese Holes: The History of Miami Beach's Hotels*, (Miami Beach, FL: The Greater Miami & The Beaches Hotel Association, 2005), 27-29; Paul S. George, Passage to Eden: Tourism in Miami From Flagler Through Everest G. Sewell," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 59/4 (April 1981): 440-463.

[15] Lummus, *The Miracle of Miami Beach*, 91.

[16] Gregory W. Bush, "'Playground of the USA': Miami and the Promotion of Spectacle," *The Pacific Historical Review* 68/2 (May 1999): [153-172] 160.

[17] Kenneth Lewis Roberts, *Sun hunting: adventures and observations among the native and migratory tribes of Florida, including the stoical time-killers of Palm Beach, the gentle and gregarious tin-canners of the remote interior, and the vivacious and semi-violent peoples of Miami and its purlieus*, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1922), 47-49, 82-83, 138-142.

Bountifully Endowed State of the most Highly Enterprising People of the Universe."[18] Among these highly enterprising people were numerous grifters, confidence men and women, gamblers, pickpockets, thieves (such as Sitamore), bootleggers and gangsters (including Al Capone). This ensured that Florida maintained its early nineteenth-century reputation as a "rogue's paradise," and together with the state's proximity to liquor supplies in the Bahamas, cemented its early-twentieth-century position as a smuggler's paradise during national Prohibition.[19] Sun-hunters and ordinary real-estate investors were of little interest to Sitamore but they constituted a useful distraction particularly as burgeoning seaside resorts and boomtowns offered distinct challenges for policing and the maintenance of public order. If Miami Beach's bad-tempered policemen were overburdened with traffic duties, property disputes, and disorderly "binders" they would have less time and resources to track down a clever and resourceful professional thief.[20]

Sitamore first arrived in South Florida in the early 1920s just as it was experiencing a unique but temporary economic boom in real estate and building construction.[21] A constant theme of fear of disorder, crime, and violence from "outsiders" ran through Florida prison officials' reports in the first half of the twentieth century. Criminal activities giving cause for concern in the Miami area from the early 1920s were "illegitimate get-rich-quick schemes," and "organized bands of bookmakers, automobile thieves, and bank and highway robbers, composed almost wholly of white people" and, by implication, from other states.[22]

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[18] Quoted in Michael Gannon, *Florida: A Short History*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 79.

[19] Capone arrived in Miami in the early winter of 1927 and rented both a beach bungalow and a top-floor suite in the downtown Hotel Ponce De Leon, prior to his purchase and remodeling of a private house on Palm Island. See John Kobler, *Capone: The Life and World of Al Capone*, (Cambridge, Mass: Da Capo Press, 2003), 212-213, 216; Alfred Jackson Hanna and Kathryn Abbey Hanna, *Florida's Golden Sands*, (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1950): 346-358; Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida*. 3rd. edition. (Coral Gables, F.L.: University of Miami Press, 1991), 390-391; Kobler, *Ardent Spirits*, 256-262; Goodman, *Metro Dade Police Department, 1836-1986*, 50; Stephen C. Bousquet, "The Gangster In Our Midst: Al Capone In South Florida, 1930-1947," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 76/3 (Winter 1998): 297-309.

[20] The City of Miami police force grew from forty officers in 1921 to 350 in 1926 and traffic management was the main preoccupation. See Paul S. George, "Brokers, Binders, and Builders: Great Miami's Boom of the Mid-1920s," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 65/1 (July 1986): [27-51] 43. Weigall had nothing complimentary to say about Miami police officers who routinely "plastered" motorists with handcuffs for violating parking ordinances. He declared "they were so remarkably free with their language and their actions, and so extraordinarily unpopular with every section of the community, that it was impossible to believe that there was not something seriously wrong with them. As a matter of fact there was practically nothing to be said in their favor, except that their job was an impossible one." T. H. Weigall, *Boom In Paradise*, (New York: Alfred H. King, 1932), 173-174.

As Suzanne Karstedt and John Walton have demonstrated, the transport, leisure and tourism revolutions radicalized the core parameters of social control in modernizing societies not least because they created new types of public space in which levels of informal controls were markedly reduced or altered. These new public spaces demanded and created changes in mentalities and habits; they also contributed to the greater anonymity and the volatility of social contacts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[23] Travelers and tourists met as strangers at railway stations, in train compartments, at gas stations and auto camps, in hotels and holiday apartments, by the hotel pool and on the beaches, in restaurants and nightclubs, at the casino and the racetrack, and at cultural and charity events. In a resort setting, visitors and residents had "to forge transient but considerate and polite relationships" which demanded new cultural patterns of generalized trust which could be exploited by the criminal classes.[24]

Similarly, modern tourism created an environment that simultaneously increased anonymisation and individual isolation as it created new forms of integration and interaction, all of which were exploited by the conman/woman and trickster. In an editorial for Miami Beach's *Society Pictorial*, Clayton Cooper remarked, "In a small city like Miami Beach, made up largely of people of many different sections of our country, the matter of human relationships becomes more important than in big northern cities. Down here, it is a big family at play, rather than a city engaged in business." He advised, "Many of the hard and fast rules of social etiquette, the formal calls and stilted amenities, have little place down here where people get acquainted easily, call each other by their first names after brief acquaintance, and like it. Most every real person is "approachable" here in South Florida from the social point of view, and this makes for a family city. Strangers feel it at once."[25] Such conditions provided essential camouflage for the professional criminal.

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[21] Hanna and Hanna, *Florida's Golden Sands*, 339-342; Gannon, *Florida*, 80-84; George, "Brokers, Binders, and Builders, 27-51; Gary W. Donogh (ed), *The Florida Negro: A Federal Writers' Project Legacy*, (Jackson and London: University Press of Mississippi, 1993), 40; Robert Mykle, *Killer 'Cane: The Deadly Hurricane of 1928*, (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2002), 188-213.

[22] Florida Department of Agriculture, *Seventeenth Biennial Prison Report, 1921-1922*, 12, Florida State Library, Tallahassee, Florida.

[23] See Suzanne Karstedt, "Strangers, mobilisation and the production of weak ties: railway traffic and violence in nineteenth-century South-West Germany," in Barry S. Godfrey, Clive Emsley, Graeme Dunstall, (eds.), *Comparative Histories of Crime*, (Cullompton: Willan Publishing, 2003), 89-109, and John K. Walton, "Policing the seaside holiday: Blackpool and San Sebastian, from the 1870s to the 1930s," in the same volume, 145-158.

[24] Karstedt, "Strangers, mobilisation," 95.

As Walton observes, in the context of the leisure town or seaside resort the "working definition of 'policing' goes beyond the deployment and policies of formally constituted police forces to embrace the control of behaviour through internalised consensus and senses of propriety and decorum, and the impact of cultural awareness of the limits of relaxed but acceptable standards in a liminal setting."[26] Conceptions of propriety, order, good taste, respectability and appropriate behavior were constantly being challenged and reshaped. It was often impossible to separate the "real" person from the trickster. Criminologist Edwin Sutherland described the "cold-blooded" intimacy of the social contacts forged by the professional thief with "persons in legitimate society."[27] Police descriptions of Sitamore included the terms "affable disposition" and "smartly dressed."[28] For years, Sitamore's jaunty appearance and casual manner had enabled him to successfully pass himself off as "a typical Miami Beach winter visitor" when in reality he was engaged in surveillance and reconnaissance, and the careful selection of his victims.[29] Celebrity gazers and social climbers were therefore not the only ones following the millionaires.

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[25] Clayton Sedgwick Cooper (editorial), "Getting Along With Others," *The Society Pictorial* 5/1 (January 1933), 2, Research Center, Historical Museum of South Florida, Miami.

[26] Walton, "Policing the seaside holiday," 146.

[27] Edwin H. Sutherland, *The Professional Thief*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937), 208.

[28] Robert T. Teaney and Joseph Faus, "Harry Sidmore, Master Thief," *True Detective Mysteries*, September 1933, [15-18, 80-82] 16, cutting in Pinkerton Administrative Files, Box 138, file 3.

[29] "Miami Beach Society Thief Makes Escape," *Herald*, June 3, 1933, 1, 9.

Despite a stagnant real estate market from 1926 and the many economic difficulties during the early 1930s, South Florida's climate, beaches, entertainments and cultural activities continued to attract winter visitors. The legalization of pari-mutuel wagering at dog and horse tracks in 1931 also provided an important economic lifeline.[30] A number of smaller hotels opened in Miami Beach in the early thirties. The 1933 City Directory listed resort accommodations of seventy-five hotels and 270 apartment buildings for 25,000 persons, and noted that "Miami Beach has 1,265 private residences, many winter homes of national celebrities and retired capitalists; nine casinos and bath pavilions; four polo fields; three 18-hole golf courses and one 9-hole golf course; an amusement pier; one dog-racing track; thirteen club tennis courts and ten municipal, two ocean-front parks and two other in the city limits, and a public library under construction. There are two movie theatres in operation." The permanent population of 10,000 was supplemented by a winter one of 40,000.[31] An economic depression heralded many irritants for the professional thief. As "merchandise and pocketbooks decline[d] in value," overheads continued to rise as "the costs of the coppers, fixers and lawyers" did not decrease, and fines remained "as heavy as in boom years." [32] Yet, Sitamore claimed an annual haul, including the profits from the winter "seasons" in Miami Beach, in excess of $250,000.[33] These lucrative connections, particularly during a period of severe economic dislocation (and possible family links), must have been what tied Sitamore to Miami Beach.

Sitamore identified himself as a "jewel thief," a professional criminal from a small and elite group who targeted specific privileged and high profile individuals for their diamonds, emeralds, sapphires and other precious stones, or the most ostentatious symbols of these individual's wealth. Professional thieves drew important distinctions between their *modus operandi* and status and those of "common" burglars who stole a range of items which might include jewellery. The standard criminological work remains *The Professional Thief*, Edwin H. Sutherland's 1937 study based largely on the experiences of one Chicago thief from 1905 to 1925. Sutherland's aim was to understand the culture of the professional thief as a group way of life and social institution with discrete techniques, codes, status, traditions, consensus, organization and language.[34] Later criminologists have argued that it is the level of skill and success that distinguishes the professional thief from the amateur rather than a specific code or argot. Subsequent studies include Howard Abadinsky's *The Criminal Elite* (1983) which focuses on the relationship of the professional jewel thief to the secretive world of organized crime in the period after World War II, and Neil Shover's 1996 study of persistent thieves and hustlers in the twentieth century.[35]

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[30] Ruthmary Bauer, "Sarasota: Hardship and Tourism in the 1930s," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 76/2 (Fall 1997): [135-151], 137.

[31] *Polk's Miami City Directory 1933* (Jacksonville, FL: R. L. Polk & Co, 1933), 33, University of Miami Richter Library, Special Collections Division, Coral Gables, Miami.

[32] Sutherland, *The Professional Thief*, 145.

[33] Robert T. Teaney and Joseph Faus, "Harry Sidmore, Master Thief," *True Detective Mysteries*, September 1933, [15-18, 80-82] 82, cutting in Pinkerton's Administrative Files, Box 138, File 3.

Sutherland argued that to become a professional thief, one had to be tutored in the skills of theft (in shoplifting, burglary, and safe-cracking – depending on the specialism of the tutor). Tutelage in the codes, argot, and attitudes that distinguished the professional thief from the rest of society might be conducted by a family member, cellmate, or gang member; few successful professional thieves were self-taught. This is challenged however by later accounts.[36] There is little surviving information on whether Sitamore was tutored or self-taught or both, or on his personal background. He told Miami Beach police chief Robert Teaney that he came from "a typical American family." His father had been "a manufacturer on a small scale" and prior to World War I, Sitamore had been "a hard-working public accountant." He claimed that service with the 18th U.S. Infantry in France had unsettled him, and led him to reject the "drab monotony of civilian life" after demobilization. He subsequently took up burglary "to get some adventure out of living, some romance and glamour. And it wasn't such a tough racket at that."[37]

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[34] Sutherland, *The Professional Thief*, x.

[35] See Howard Abadinsky, *The Criminal Elite: Professional and Organized Crime*, (Westport and London: Greenwood Press, 1983); Neil Shover, *Great Pretenders: Pursuits and Careers Of Persistent Thieves*, (Boulder: Westview Press, Inc., 1996). Autobiographical and biographical works include Jack Black, *You Can't Win*, (Edinburgh: AK Press/Nabat, 2000, originally published 1926) and Ernest Booth, *Stealing Through Life*, (New York and London: A. A. Knopf, 1929).

[36] Sutherland, *The Professional Thief*, x, 21, 173, 207; Bill Mason with Lee Gruenfeld, *Confessions Of A Master Jewel Thief*, (New York: Villard, 2005); John Kobler, *Ardent Spirits: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition*, (New York: Da Capo Pres, 1993), 245. Kobler identified Morris "Red" Rudensky as the "best box man in the United States" who had been apprenticed to a master locksmith before he became a "gonif" or thief and swindler.

Scholars argue that the status of self-made career criminals who graduated from amateur street crimes and burglary offenses to skilled heists and robberies was defined by race, class, and gender. Sutherland identified only one known professional "Negro" thief who operated with whites in Chicago, and a handful of others working in all-black mobs or outfits. There were of course "gun molls" or female pickpockets and professional thieves, deemed to come from the ranks of prostitutes, waitresses, cashiers, and hotel employees.[38] Persistent thieves tended to be working class or African American, engaged largely in unskilled burglaries with little financial return, and often graduating from petty street crime to armed robbery (with a different skills set).[39] Hustling was characterized as a historically and predominately African-American form, transplanted from the rural South to northern urban communities by migrating blacks.[40] Shover notes that African Americans were denied tutoring in technically complex crime skills by white professional thieves, and thus found it difficult to employ such techniques, and consequently were limited to less remunerative crimes committed close to home.[41]

Greater citizen and police scrutiny meant African Americans could not move freely in white residential neighborhoods, but many worked in the segregated hotel and vacation resorts with the most lucrative targets. Jim Crow ordinances, white supremacist terror tactics, and systematic harassment, intimidation, and brutalization by the all-white city police force ensured the African-American population of Miami and the majority of black-on-black crime was confined to "Colored Town." However, crimes of larceny, robbery, burglary, breaking and entering, and theft were committed in all areas of Dade County. Surviving police records and newspaper reports suggest there were distinct geographic differences in the socio-economic status of those targeted and in the value of goods stolen in different areas of the county.[42] Further, while black Miamians resided in "Colored Town," many crossed the bay to their places of work and occupations as chauffeurs, hotel porters, maids, domestics, waitresses, entertainers and so on. Miami Beach was a "white" resort and curfews were used to regulate African American access and behavior, but black and lower-class white hotel prowls, sneak thieves, and other opportunists were not necessarily limited to less remunerative crimes committed close to home.[43] Further, the notion that women and black men lacked the organizational, technical, and verbal abilities required of the elite professional thief is challenged by surviving criminal rosters in the Pinkerton files. At the same time, Sitamore's race or whiteness and gender offered obvious advantages. For example, he encountered his targets as part of a wider "social set" rather than in an employer-employee context.

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[37] Teaney and Faus, "Harry Sidmore, Master Thief," 82. In March 1933, Sitamore may have considered that any reference to a tutor would have diminished his reputation as an "exceptionally clever thief."

[38] Sutherland, *The Professional Thief*, 23.

[39] Shover, *Great Pretenders*, 1-10.

[40] See John Irwin, *The Felon*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Sam L. Grisham, "Mississippi Red," *African-American Review* 27/2 (Summer 1993): 221-225.

[41] Shover, *Great Pretenders*, 81. See also Richard T. Wright and Scott H. Decker, *Burglars on the Job: Streetlife and Residential Break-ins*, (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1994).

All of Sitamore's known victims during the winter of 1932-1933 were wealthy vacationers from New York City, upstate New York or Chicago, and staying at either Miami Beach's exclusive hotels or in upmarket apartment buildings. Police Chief Teaney believed Sitamore had an accomplice in New York City who supplied crucial information on wealthy vacationers, their jewels, and their travel itineries in South Florida.[44] March was the "party month in Miami Beach" and an array of jewels would be on display at the musical evenings, concerts, operatic performances, popular musical evenings, piano recitals, and dances.[45] Society columns in the *Miami Daily News* and *Miami Herald* newspapers and the *Sunday Pictorial* magazine included the vacation plans and itineries of lucrative targets including the DuPonts, Vanderbilts, and Grace Moore. Details of where they were staying, whether hotels, rented bungalows or permanent homes, were widely available along with pictures and ariel views of private estates. Such details underline the extent to which the leisured classes were under media and public surveillance. Society columns publicized events and the comings and goings at the Indian Creek Club on Biscayne Bay Island, the Miami Beach Kennel Club, and the Surf Club off Collins Avenue which was reputed to be the venue for many "gay, informal parties," as well as the racing schedules for Hialeah Park.[46]

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[42] For example, see Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company, Canal Office, Miami Springs, Police and fire calls log, 1931-1937, Research Center, Historical Museum of South Florida, Miami, Florida. See also *Biennial Reports of the Prison Division of the Department of Agriculture, 1919-1938*, Florida State Library, Tallahassee, Florida.

[43] Paul S. George, "Colored Town: Miami's Black Community, 1896-1930," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 56/4 (April 1978): 432-447; idem., "Policing Miami's Black Community, 1896-1930," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 57/4 (April 1979): 434-450.

[44] Teaney and Faus, "Harry Sidmore, Master Thief," 16.

[45] "Under Southern Skies" in *The Sunday Pictorial* 4/11 (13 March 1932), 2 (hereafter cited as *Pictorial*). Albie Baker, a Jewish jewel thief from the Bronx, active in the 1940s and 1950s, who claimed credit for innovating the daytime

From late January 1933, Miami Beach police had been puzzled by a series of burglaries of wealthy tourists, and by mid-February were convinced that Sitamore was the perpetrator. A formal request was then made to the New York City Police Department for detectives who could positively identify him to come to South Florida to assist in a surveillance operation.[47] Lieutenant Michael McNamara and Detective Thomas Fitzgerald arrived days later. Teaney recalled, "The New York men, McNamara and Fitzgerald, roamed among the gay throngs on the walks and beaches, at race tracks and theaters, in clubs and hotels, peering surreptitiously at countless faces for one that might cause them to exclaim in triumph to themselves. But all to no avail."[48] Then, on March 13, 72-year-old Mrs. Bertha Glemby Keller's "jewelry consisting of bracelets, rings, brooches, pins, diamonds, emeralds and sapphires" was taken from her empty Miami Beach hotel room when she was attending a prize fight

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jewel theft, recalled that he would read the society pages looking for potential victims. Whenever he arrived in a particular city he would purchase a street map and the latest issues of *Town and Country*, *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*, and would check the gossip columns of the local newspapers. See Albie Baker, *Stolen Sweets*, 1973, 32, 124-125, 132, in Abadinsky, *The Criminal Elite*, 73.

[46] Katherine McIntosh, "Pipes of Pan," *Pictorial* 4/1 (3 January 1932), 23. See other columns entitled "Topics of the Tropics," "Following the Sun Trail," "Where Society Plays," "Sea Dreams," (by Elizabeth Cooper), in *The Sunday Pictorial* Volume 4 (1932), Research Center, Historical Museum of South Florida, Miami.

[47] "Gem Thief Trapped With $500,000 Loot," *Times*, 16 March 1933, 1, 18.

[48] Teaney and Faus, "Harry Sidmore, Master Thief," 80.

with her son in downtown Miami. She informed police that $268,000 in cash was missing also.[49]

Suspicion fell immediately on Charles Yacht, a golf professional employed by the Kellar's beach hotel. A known associate of Sitamore, he had taken Mrs. Kellar's niece, Miss Sophia Glemby, to the greyhound races that evening. Acting as Sitamore's "finger man," Yacht had gained the confidence of Keller and her family and passed information to Sitamore as to when the hotel suite would be unoccupied.[50] Sitamore always claimed to work alone, but when Yacht made a later tearful guilty plea to the Keller burglary, a financial connection between him, a Sing Sing inmate, and Sitamore was established. Yacht also provided police with Sitamore's bungalow address, and officers scrambled to organize their dawn raid before Sitamore learned of Yacht's arrest and made his getaway.[51]

At the time of his arrest, Sitamore struck the pose of gentleman burglar that was familiar to the reading public on both sides of the Atlantic in the form of E. R. Hornung's "Raffle's" stories.[52] A photograph of an immaculately dressed and relaxed-looking "Sidmor" seated alongside Mayor Katzentine, and in front of law enforcement and other officials appeared on the front page of the *Miami Daily News* the day after his arrest.[53] As Miami police and detectives fielded celebratory calls of congratulation from public well-wishers and local politicians, and were besieged by genuine and unlikely jewel theft victims, Sitamore relaxed in the Miami

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[49] "Suspect Is Arrested In Theft Of Jewelry," *Herald*, 15 March 1933, 2; "Attorney Seeks to Free Sitamore," *Times*, 17 March 1933, 22; Teaney and Faus, "Harry Sidmore, Master Thief," 80-81. One news report mentioned the theft of a $1,400 diamond ring and a $650 diamond and sapphire brooch from a Chicago visitor spending the winter in a Miami Beach apartment which had been accessed with a pass key. Other reported burglaries of clothing from two wealthy visitors were included in the same article, but it seemed unlikely that the same thief or thieves was responsible. See "Diamonds Stolen From Trunk In Apartment," *Herald*, 15 March 1933, 2.

[50] "$500,000 In Stolen Gems Is Recovered," *Herald*, 16 March 1933, 1. Sitamore's brother-in-law Herman Victor had also been arrested on suspicion of being an accomplice but had been quickly released without charge.

[51] "Yacht Is Accused As Sidmor Accomplice," *Herald*, 18 March 1933, 23; "Golf 'Pro' Seized As Sitamore Aide," *Times*, 18 March 1933, 30; "Sidmor Is Accused in Daytona Beach," *Herald*, 24 March 1933, 3; Teaney and Faus, "Harry Sidmore, Master Thief," 81.

[52] Clive Bloom, "Introduction," in E. W. Hornung, *The Collected Raffles Stories*, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), xii.

[53] "Master Jewel Thief And His Captors," *Daily News*, 15 March 1933, 1.

Beach city jail, "having shaved carefully this morning" and attired in "spotless" white flannel trousers.[54] Sitamore's arrest brought praise and commendation for the Miami Beach police department and its chief, and deflected attention from the scandals involving political corruption, gambling rackets, and kickback schemes surrounding the police and Dade County sheriff's departments.[55]

Like many professional thieves Sitamore believed he was superior in intelligence to most policemen, routinely stereotyped as dumb Irish cops or ignorant southern hicks. He boasted to police interrogators of his exploits, and emerged as vain, arrogant and prone to self-aggrandizement. When police told him he had risked being shot if apprehended during a burglary, Sitamore retorted that they would have needed a "miracle" to catch him "red handed."[56] A prison term for automobile theft and common burglary served in France during World War I (when he was supposedly absent without leave from his regiment) enabled Sitamore to claim the title "international jewel thief" for the rest of his life. Other titles either given him or claimed by him included those of "confessed society burglar," "daring jewel thief," "jewel thief extraordinaire, golfer and man about town," and "Prince of Jewel Thieves."[57] However, Sitamore had relinquished to Miami Beach detectives a set of 150 stolen keys that he had amassed over ten years and which "would unlock anything." The envy of both federal and local police, the keys enabled him to pick any lock, walk into a hotel room, steal valuables, and leave without arousing suspicion. Their existence, together with Sitamore's reliance on Yacht, suggests that he was less the athletic and acrobatic jewel thief of folklore, and a rather more pedestrian "hotel prowl" who targeted guests and their rooms with information and assistance purchased from bellboys, maids, clerks and other employees.[58] Further, after eleven successful years in Miami Beach, Sitamore had grown increasingly careless as he robbed the same victims several times, left foot and fingerprints at crime scenes, and failed to off load his haul, while large rewards for his capture produced valuable leads for the police.

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[54] "Habeas Corpus Writ May Free Harry Sidmore," *Daily News*, 16 March 1933, 9; "Attorney Seeks to Free Sitamore," *Times*, 17 March 1933, 22.

[55] Despite the pronouncement in December 1932 of controversial sheriff, Dan Hardie, that "Organized Crime in Dade county is doomed," it continued to flourish in the form of illegal gambling, bookie joints, hotel and nightclubs, prostitution and the outlawed liquor trade. "Katzentine Praised In Sidmor Capture," *Herald*, 18 March 1933, 23; Goodman, *Metro Dade Police Department*, 58-60.

[56] "$500,000 In Stolen Gems Is Recovered," *Herald*, 16 March 1933, 2.

[57] For example, see "The Prince of Jewel Thieves," in Stanley Forbes, *True Detective Stories*, (New York: Cupples & Leon Company, 1934), 46-65.

In explaining his crimes, Sitamore also utilized tropes characteristic of white-collar offenders in the representation of his criminal activities as "victimless" because the property owners had been absent from their hotel rooms or apartments, they had not been physically harmed, they were sufficiently wealthy to withstand the financial loss of the goods, and the insurance companies would compensate them for those monetary losses.[59] His "Robin Hood" type pronouncements in March 1933 that he robbed only the wealthy, the well-insured, or those who could afford to be relieved of their riches, and to have given "plenty away" were calculated to strike a chord with many Americans struggling to survive a the height of the depression, and to resonate with widely-held suspicions of banks and insurance companies, and their corporate owners.[60] The Florida state prison superintendent later recalled, "[Sitamore] said to me once, 'I never stole except from the rich, and they always had insurance so none of them lost everything. My stealing ain't wrong. No, nothing wrong about it'."[61]

On March 18, Sitamore was charged with breaking and entering with intent to commit a felony, and three charges of grand larceny in the Dade County Criminal Court. Following rumors of a possible jail break, he and his wardrobe were transferred on March 19 to the more secure, overcrowded, and much dirtier Dade

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[58] See Ludwig F. Grimstad, "Hotel-Room Prowlers, Connivers, and Sneak Thieves," *Saturday Evening Post*, CCVI (June 30, 1934), 30, in New York Public Library, New York City. Sitamore's profile as a "hotel prowl" is underlined also in his reported statements to police and reporters: "Professing scorn for all locks, he explained that after learning of wealthy visitors' arrival in town and ascertaining when they would be out of their quarters, he merely opened a door with one of his keys, walked in and helped himself." "Gem Thief Trapped With $500,000 Loot," *Times*, 16 March 1933, 18.

[59] Leonard F. Chapman, "The Florida Prison - - And I," Unpublished Manuscript, 43, in Leonard F. Chapman, *Papers, 1933-1956*, Record Group 900000, M94-2, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, Florida; Sutherland, *The Professional Thief*, 44-45; Abadinsky, *The Criminal Elite*, 61.

[60] "Habeas Corpus Writ May Free Harry Sidmore," *Daily News*, 16 March 1933, 9.

[61] Chapman, "The Florida Prison," 43.

County jail in downtown Miami, in preparation for his trial.[62] Meanwhile, another of Sitamore's associates, New York jeweler and diamond merchant, Ralph Krakower, also reputed to be Sitamore's "fence," had been arrested following a tip-off to the Dade County Sheriff's criminal division.[63]

The relationship between professional thieves and "organized crime" was complex. Abadinsky found that jewel thieves were not part of a criminal organization per se; they had important contacts in the "criminal underworld" but operated alone. At the same time, organized crime associations furnished valuable information about local police and law enforcement personnel, "connections" in the event of arrest, and outlets for stolen goods, financial assistance, and arbitration services in the event of disputes with other criminals. The most obvious association was through the "fence," often the owner of a legitimate business enterprise, who provided disposal services to a varied criminal clientele.[64] A criminal receiver could make enormous profits from a jewel thief like Sitamore, but as Abadinsky observed, "The jewel thief, as opposed to the pickpocket or armed robber (or any other criminal dealing with cash), is dependent on the fence without whom he could not operate."[65] However, the recovery of over one hundred pieces of jewelry from Sitamore's bungalow suggests either a lackadaisical approach to the disposal of stolen goods on the part of Sitamore, or that there were difficulties in his business relationships with his fence(s). In the initial reports of his arrest, police allegedly told journalists that Sitamore had treated the proceeds of his robberies "with the same carelessness with which his victims had left valuables in their hotel and apartment rooms before he robbed them."[66] Krakower was cleared by police of being directly involved in the robberies (Sitamore had repeatedly told them he was not involved). However, the jeweler committed suicide by poison in his New York City apartment on March 30, unable to live with the shame of his association with Sitamore whom he called the "arch-thief" in his suicide note.[67]

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[62] "Sidmore Moved To County Jail," *Herald*, 20 March 1933, 2.

[63] *Daily News*, 16 March 1933, 9; "Yacht Is Accused As Sidmor Accomplice," *Herald*, 18 March 1933, 23.

[64] See Carl B. Klockars, *The Professional Fence*, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1974); Marilyn E. Walsh, *The Fence: A new look at the world of property theft*, (Westport, CN and London: Greenwood Press, 1977).

[65] Abadinsky, *The Criminal Elite*, 75. In the 1960s and 1970s, Pete Salerno told Abadinsky that with the exception of "Goldberger" in Florida, all of the fences that he dealt with were connected to New York crime families. See Abadinsky, 69.

[66] "$500,000 In Stolen Gems Is Recovered," *Herald*, 16 March 1933, 1, 2.

Sitamore's most important associate was probably his wife. Thieves who grifted winter resorts generally took their wives or girlfriends with them and established a home there for the winter. Wives provided crucial assistance in business transactions such as obtaining money for bail bonds and lawyers, in reconnaissance, and in gathering information on politicians and police.[68] In addition, as wife and homemaker they maintained a heterosexual, seemingly patriarchal, domestic world that provided unobtrusive and critical cover for the husband's illegal activities and a realistic front to evade surveillance and counter some of the effects of the fugitive life. Mildred Sitamore shares some similarities with the gun molls identified in Claire Bond Potter's study of the Dillinger, Barrow and Barker-Karpis gangs from 1932-1935. Like bandit women, she profited financially and materially from her partnership with Sitamore and she may also have "acquired the illusion of class mobility through minor celebrity status, leisure, and luxury goods." Her relationship with Sitamore, the thief, the felon, and the fugitive, may have been based on duty, love, choice, coercion, exploitation, material self-interest, economic profit, and/or the pursuit of danger or adventure, all or none of the above. As a legal spouse, Mildred had greater claims of ownership to her husband's property (as compared to many bandit women), and possibly a greater degree of economic security for herself and son in the event of capture and conviction.[69]

Initially, Sitamore's lawyer had indicated his client would plead guilty to charges of breaking and entering and grand larceny, but at his arraignment on March 24 Sitamore appeared without a lawyer and pled "not guilty" to all charges.[70] However, on

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[67] "Freed in Sitamore Case," 19 March 1933, 7; "Jeweler, Victim of Thief, Ends Life," 30 March 1933, 38; and "Not Linked With Robberies," 30 March 1933, 38 in *New York Times*; "Gem Thief 'Fence' Ends Own Life," *Herald*, 30 March 1933, 1, 4.

[68] Sutherland, *The Professional Thief*, 155; Claire Bond Potter, "'I'll Go the Limit and Then Some': Gun Molls, Desire, and Danger in the 1930s," *Feminist Studies* 21/1 (Spring 1995): [41-66] 50; John Landesco, "The Woman and the Underworld," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 26/6 (March 1936): 891-902.

[69] Potter, "I'll Go to the Limit," 50-54, 60-61.

[70] "Sitamore Now Pleads Not Guilty," *Times*, 25 March 1933, 11; Harry Sidmor Enters Plea Of Not Guilty," *Herald*, 25 March 1933, 20.

April 1, he reverted to a guilty plea and asked Judge Collins for leniency as he had "played fair with the officers and told them the truth" about the whereabouts of the jewelry.[71] This suggests that a deal had been struck but Sitamore may also have anticipated that his case would soon be "fixed." Fixing was a financial transaction in which a pre-negotiated fee secured the thief's release from custody via a range of methods including bribery, blackmail, extortion, and/or physical violence. In a criminal justice system soaked in corruption, the most common route was though the police or the complaining witness but any politician, lawyer or judge could be used to fix a case. If the case went to trial, the composition of the jury was also important. Sutherland believed professional thieves sought "a jury composed either of 'slaves' or hard-working laborers, artisans, or truck drivers who have little regard for the law or a blue-ribbon jury or highly intelligent jury willing to split hairs over the evidence. An in-between jury composed of small businessmen and minor officials will convict."[72] Despite its transient population and "tourist season" South Florida's criminal networks were mature enough to have "a complete system of privilege, license and fix, organized and functioning perfectly" two decades prior to the Kefauver hearings which cemented Miami's reputation as a leading center of organized and Mafia crime.[73]

However, on April 1, Collins sentenced Sitamore to three concurrent sentences of twenty years, and an additional twenty years to begin at the expiration of the first.[74] The sentence of forty years seemed excessive to many, particularly following the guilty plea. Sitamore was incandescent with rage at the duplicity of state officials who he believed had reneged on a deal where in return for revealing the whereabouts of the jewels he would receive a three-to-five year prison sentence. The fact that the search of the bungalow was made after the first interrogation seems to back this up, together with remarks by the state prison superintendent.[75] Columnist Westbrook Pegler later declared, "It appeared that someone was over-anxious to get rid of Sidmore, and his friends insist that he kicked back money and jewels to certain public authorities personally, on their promise that he would get no more than five years."[76]

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[71] "Trial Of Sidmor Set For Monday," *Herald*, 31 March 1933, 2; "Sitamore Sentenced to 40 Years in Prison," *Times*, 2 April 1933, 32.

[72] Sutherland, *The Professional Thief*, 132-133.

[73] Ibid., 110-111, 122.

[74] "Attorney Seeks to Free Sitamore," 17 March 1933, 22; and "Sitamore Sentenced to 40 Years in Prison," 2 April 1933, 32 in *New York Times*. Yacht was sentenced to five years imprisonment on the same day.

In April 1933 Sitamore's luck ran out and he found himself in a position that simply could not be fixed. He was the focus of a joint-jurisdictional operation in a period when the Miami police department was under intense scrutiny. Questions over the efficiency of the force and public safety followed the attempted assassination of president-elect Franklin Delano Roosevelt at Bayfront Park in downtown Miami on February 15. Roosevelt was unhurt, but his companion, Mayor Anton Cermak of Chicago was shot; he died three weeks later from gunshot wounds. The assassin Giuseppe Zangara had been executed on March 20, 1933 at the Florida State Prison amid intense media, popular, and political enquiry.[77] Hotel operators and insurance companies exerted enormous pressure to ensure Sitamore was out of action. Sutherland's assertion that an honest judge who was well aware of the corrupt bargains agreed between victims, police, and prosecutors could get angry "but can't do much about it" did not extend to the unyielding Judge Collins.[78] He seemed to relish the opportunity to sentence a troublesome Yankee criminal who had long blighted Miami Beach's reputation as a safe, orderly and relatively carefree resort. He may have believed also that the severity of the sentence would serve as an effective deterrent to other professional thieves.

Sitamore's arrest, conviction and sentence in March-April 1933 were important for police morale, public reassurances on safety, and the Miami Beach tourist economy, but they had little impact on criminal activity in the resort. For example, two days after Sitamore's arrest, it was reported that burglars had stolen cash and other items from Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney's yacht while it was moored at the Municipal docks.[79] Few "lightfingered gentry," grifters, and other opportunists headed the warnings of Chief Teaney to "Keep away from the beach or spend the winter in jail." Nor was the promised "maximum protection" of wealthy clients' valuables effective.[80] In a March 1939 raid on the hotel safety deposit boxes at the exclusive Blackstone Hotel, six masked "bandits" armed with submachine guns and pistols netted between $150,000 and $200,000 in money and jewels.[81]

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[75] In a luncheon speech to the Jacksonville Advertising Club in December 1935, Florida State Prison Superintendent Chapman criticized law enforcement officials for making promises to prisoners without court or judicial approval, and for falsely promising shorter prison terms if they confessed. "He said that was not justice, that prisoners realized it, and became hardened members of Raiford." See "Prison Life is Described," *Jacksonville Journal*, 18 December 1935, in *Chapman Papers*, M94-2, Newspaper Clippings, 1933-1935.

[76] Westbrook Pegler, "Fair Enough," no date, M94-2, Scrapbook #2; reprinted in *Daytona Beach News Journal*, 27 May 1937, in *Chapman Papers*, M94-2, Newspaper Clippings, 1936-1938.

[77] "Cermak Killer Dies In Chair," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 21 March 1933, 1; "Zangara Asks For Pictures Of His Death," *Florida Times Union*, 21 March 1933, 1-2.

[78] Sutherland, *The Professional Thief*, 96-97.

Sitamore was dispatched to the Florida State Prison in "sunbaked isolated Raiford," an 18,000-acre penal farm in the northeastern section of the state in early April 1933.[82] Two months later, early in the morning of June 2, he and two other inmates escaped from the state prison farm in a prison truck, with Sitamore concealed under the hood. They were picked up on the road to Lawtey by outside accomplice, Mandel Scoby, a Tampa bail bondsman who drove them to Jacksonville "in a high powered automobile" where they split up.[83] Sitamore's escape was an acute embarrassment for prison authorities. Miami Beach Mayor Katzentine demanded Governor Dave Sholtz order an immediate investigation and prison officials engaged the services of Pinkerton's detectives in Atlanta, Georgia, to locate Sitamore.[84] Five months later, Sitamore "dressed as sprucely as a Wall Street brower, strolled into the arms of a Pinkerton agent on Canal St." in New Orleans.[85] He was extradited to Florida, duly returned to the state prison, and placed in solitary confinement. Further escape attempts were thwarted in 1934 and 1935.[86]

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[79] "Burglars Sneak Aboard Yacht, *Herald*, 17 March 1933, 2.

[80] "Criminals Unwelcome," *Bradford County Telegraph*, 23 November 1934, 6. Herafter cited as *Telegraph*.

[81] "Bandits Rob Hotel," *Telegraph*, 10 March 1939, 6.

[82] D. T. Green to H. S. Mosher, November 7, 1933, Pinkerton's Criminal Case File, 1861-1992, Box 169, Folder 9.

[83] "Miami Beach Society Thief Makes Escape," *Herald*, 3 June 1933, 1, 9; "Sitamore, Gem Thief, Flees Prison," *Times*, 3 June 1933, 5.

[84] "At compensation of $15.00 per day for the operative and actual expenses not to exceed ten days time without additional authority." Florida, Board of Commissioners of State Institutions, *Minute Books*, Volume 13 or L: (October 19, 1932 – May 29, 1935): 162 (June 1933), Series 431, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, Florida; "Harry Sidmor Is Caught In New Orleans" and "State Moves Quickly To Return Fugitive," *Herald*, 5 November 1933, 1, 10; "Sitamore Is Recaptured," *Times*, 5 November 1933, N1. Correspondence relating to the Pinkerton's pursuit of Sitamore is located in the Records of Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, 1853-1999, in Criminal Case Files, Box 169: Sitamore, Harry, Crimes, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

During 1936, he relied on his wife to protest his indefinite solitary confinement, to pursue an unsuccessful legal battle for his release, and to complain of cruel treatment by prison officials.[87] Florida's prison superintendent denied Sitamore was being starved or cruelly treated or beaten with rubber hoses and characterized him as a liar who had no respect for authority or prison rules and constituted a permanent flight risk.[88] In his memoirs, Chapman declared, "It took five years of punishment and discipline to convince Sidmore that he was not bigger than the state of Florida. He had even attempted to bribe the Honorable Nathan Mayo, head of the prison system in the state, with an offer of $10,000 to secure his release by pardon or otherwise. His wife told Governor Sholtz that I was holding Sidmore in solitary because she would not pay me $2000." But, "Sidmore finally concluded that he was just another prisoner. When he was released from the detention building, he starting making a perfect record at the state farm working in the

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85. D. T. Green to H. S. Mosher, Pinkerton's Criminal Case Files, Box 169, Folder 9. In November 1933 Warren Doyle of New Orleans received five hundred dollars "covering professional services and expenses incurred in the case of Harry Sitamore." See Florida, Board of Commissioners of State Institutions, *Minute Books*, Vol. 13, 254 (November 23, 1933); "Criminal Cases Will Be Tried In Court Monday," 11 May 1934, 1; "Scoby On Trial; Ear-biter Draws 3-Year Sentence," 16 November 1934, 1; and "Guard Arrested In Second Attempt To Free Sitamore," 30 November 1934 in *Telegraph*. Driggers and Stanley told the jury they had been kept at the "flat top" solitary confinement building for ten months following their first testimony in the case in Fall 1933. See "Scoby's Jury Again Agrees to Disagree," *Telegraph*, 23 November 1934, 1. The State of Florida tried three times to convict Scoby of aiding the escape of Harry Sitamore but failed to convince Union County jurors.

86. "Block Sitamore Escape," 29 November 1934, 3; and "Guard Arrested In Second Attempt To Free Sitamore," 30 November 1934, 1 in *Telegraph*; Chapman, "The Florida Prison," 43; "Larkin Sentence Deferred By Judge," *Telegraph*, 7 December 1934, 1.

87. "Convict Attacks Life At Raiford," *St. Augustine Record*, 3 August 1936; "Wife Tries To Get Sidmore Out of Solitary," *Daytona Beach News Journal*, 2 August 1936; "State Convict Is Mistreated, Wife Declares," *Florida Times Union*, 2 August 1936, in *Chapman Papers*, M94-2, Newspaper Clippings, 1936-1938.

88. See "Florida Prison Farm Gives Men and Women New Start," *Jacksonville Journal*, 12 December 1936, in *Chapman Papers*, M94-2, Newspaper Clippings, 1936-1938.

tobacco factory."[89] He was released from the state prison farm in 1947 but in December 1953, the 58-year-old "internationally known jewel thief" was back in the Miami Beach municipal court on a charge of disorderly conduct.[90]

While Sitamore labored in the prison tobacco factory, the development of Miami Beach continued. In 1935 at least twenty-four new hotels appeared as "those who could afford it still were vacationing."[91] American and Eastern Airlines began operating passenger services to and from the city in the early 1930s, and then Pan American commenced services to and from Latin America.[92] Thousands of military personnel and their families arrived in South Florida during World War II and all the South Florida resort cities reaped the economic rewards. Miami Beach continued to attract wealthy visitors throughout the 1940s and 1950s, and held the greatest appeal for New York business owners and executives.[93] It was therefore hardly surprising that a seasoned jewel thief such as Sitamore would return, but the late 1930s and 1940s transformations probably changed the socio-economic status of his targets.

During his long career, Sitamore, the dandy, the man of many aliases, the swindler, confidence man, and daring gem thief, stole millions of dollars of property. He seems to have been defined not by a code or argot but by his skills and the monetary value of the jewels he stole, and the wealthy clientele of Miami Beach ultimately played a key role in this success.[94] Kooistra notes that offenders "who capture the ideal American virtues of individuality, success, cleverness, or courage may become American heroes regardless of the content of their actions," but glorification was a highly selective process. Sitamore failed to achieve lasting heroic and cultural status, similar to that of John Dillinger, "Baby Face" Nelson and Alvin Karpis, in large part because that identity was appropriated by and conferred on the Midwestern bank robbers and bandits and their assaults on the banks, the purveyors of economic misery and social injustice. The depression years generated a large sympathetic audience that newspaper editors quickly realized were eager to consume details of criminals' exploits and Sitamore certainly benefitted from this. However, he failed to achieve "supercriminal" status as he was identified in Spring 1933 with a particular southern resort city more than interstate criminal activity, and had the misfortune to be apprehended by local law enforcement figures rather than the glorified federal "G-Men."[95] Nevertheless, Sitamore's relationship to the developing resort city of Miami Beach was both symbiotic and symbolic. One profited financially; both gained in reputation and status. The monetary value of Sitamore's crimes underlined that Fisher's vision of Miami Beach as a mecca for wealth and leisured elites was fulfilled; it cemented Sitamore's status as an *elite* jewel thief and underlined Miami Beach's status as a modern leisure capital and part of a new cultural order with fluctuating codes of behavior and social interaction.

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[89] Chapman, "The Florida Prison," 159-160. Another northern inmate serving an extraordinarily long sentence for property offenses in Tampa and St. Petersburg, Al House, asserted that "Harry Sidmore" was kept in solitary confinement for five years. He also accused Chapman of having taken bribes from Sitamore in the form of jewels which ensured that Sitamore "would never get out in case he told the whole story to press." Albert Ross Brown (Al House), *Freedom From Florida Chains Illustrated* (New York: Carlton Press, Inc., 1968), 186.

[90] "Jewel Thief Back In Court," *Daily News*, 10 December 1953, 2A.

[91] Kleinberg, *Woggles and Cheese Holes*, 31; "Tourist Traffic Is Increasing," *Telegraph*, 12 October 1934, 1.

[92] Bauer, "Sarasota," 143.

[93] James J. Carney, "Population Growth in Miami and Dade County, Florida," *Tequesta* 6 (1946): 50-55. A survey conducted by the Miami Beach Hotel Owners' Association found that New Yorkers accounted for 48 percent of visitors in the late 1940s, and they listed sunbathing and swimming as their main forms of amusement. See Victor W. Bennett, *A Survey of the Tourist Industry of Greater Miami, 1949*, (Miami: University of Miami, 1949).

[94] Abadinsky, *The Criminal Elite*, 31.

In Alfred Hitchcock's *To Catch A Thief* (1955),[96] the likeable John Robie (played by Cary Grant), an aging and retired American cat burglar, lived on French Riviera on the proceeds of his many jewelry thefts. Robie's retirement contrasted greatly with the fates of professional thieves described by Sutherland. Aside from death and dotage, "some became fixers in resort cities, some became big shots in gambling, vice, junk, or booze rackets, some get 'the big one' [the highly lucrative crime that would enable one to retire permanently from crime and acquire a legitimate business] and some settle down in legitimate occupations [in detective agencies, cab companies, cigar stores, hotels, farming, manufacturing, and the movies] without getting the 'big one'."[97] Some never retired.

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[95] Paul Kooistra, *Criminals As Heroes: Structure, Power & Identity*, (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1989), 11, 22-23, 31, 120, 126-128, 139.

[96] *To Catch A Thief*, dir. Alfred Hitchcock, Paramount Pictures, August 5, 1955.

[97] Sutherland, *The Professional Thief*, 25, 25n10.

In addition to Sitamore's 1953 arrest for disorderly conduct, there were other burglary arrests and possibly short prison sentences. A mug shot from the Los Angeles Police Department suggests he had been arrested in that jurisdiction in November 1957.[98] In the late 1950s, Sitamore came to police attention in Surfside at the north end of Miami Beach and was placed under surveillance for three weeks during which he was observed casing the new Americana Hotel (on 96th Street and Collins Ave) with Ted Rinehart, recently released from a fifteen-year term for burglary and armed robbery which he had served at the Florida State Prison. Rinehart and Sitamore were found in possession of a set of hotel pass keys and had been observed following some of the wealthy guests.[99] Was Rinehart being tutored in the skills of jewel theft by the aging Sitamore? In June 1959 Sitamore was identified as the lone "sweater man" casing a Coral Gables jewelry store which was later robbed.[100] Miami Beach boomed into the early 1960s and it seemed that only infirmity or death would halt the "prince of thieves," as the 64-year-old Sitamore had no intention of quietly retiring to the French (or any other) Riviera.

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[98] Miami News Collection – Criminals – Harry Sitamore – Nov 22, 1957, Ref: 1989-011-24770, Research Center, Historical Museum of South Florida, Miami.

[99] According to an internet blog, Sitamore had been recognized by a retired NYPD lieutenant who was serving as the Surfside Chief of Police in 1956 as suspect "Harry Muffin" from a late 1940s New York City line-up. See Andy Murcia, "Best plans of men & mugs oft get messed up by law," The Columnists.com – http://www.thecolumnists.com/murcia/murcia17.html. Accessed April 8, 2008. Murcia dates Sitamore's arrest to 1956 and includes an image of a news clipping "Sitamore Planned Americana Haul?" from the *Miami Daily News*. The original article could not be located in the microfilm newspaper collections at the University of Miami Library. However, the date on one of the original photographs which accompanies this story is December 10, 1958. See Miami News Collection – Criminals – Harry Sitamore – News – Dec 10, 1958, Ref: 1989-001-24767, Research Center, Historical Museum of South Florida, Miami. The second photograph of Sitamore and Rinehart is not dated but Sitamore appears to be wearing the same clothes in both shots.

[100] 272 F. 2d 889 (1959) *Jewelers Mutual insurance Company v. Balogh and Balogh*, U.S. Court of Appeals Fifth Circuit.

Savage Foes, Noble Warriors, and Frail Remnants: Florida Seminoles in the White Imagination, 1865-1934

by Mikaëla M. Adams

In 1930, special agent Roy Nash entered the swamps of the Everglades and came face-to-face with a Seminole Indian. Sent by the United States government to conduct a survey of Florida's indigenous population, Nash traveled for nine hours "through mud and moonlight" in search of a Seminole village. In the opening page of his report to Congress, Nash painted a vivid portrait of Florida's remaining Indians. Standing with a poised spear in a dugout canoe, Nash's archetypal Seminole was an "astounding anachronism," "a primitive hunter 30 miles from a center of industrial civilization." Clothed in a brightly-colored, knee-length shirt, belted at the waist, this Seminole was "a man apart." [1]

For Nash and other Anglo-Americans of his time, the Seminole Indians of Florida held many meanings. Living in an age of industrial development, whites saw isolated Indian populations as relics of a distant time. Whether they portrayed the Natives in a

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[1] U.S. Congress. Senate. *A Survey of the Seminole Indians of Florida.* Report by Roy Nash. (71st Cong., 3rd Sess., 1931. Doc. 314.), 3-4.

favorable light or saw them as savage remnants that needed to be eliminated or brought into the fold of civilization depended largely on their intentions towards the Indians. This article examines Anglo-American responses to the Seminoles of Florida in the decades between the end of the Civil War and the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934. As whites wrote about the Seminoles in government reports, missionary tracts, novels, plays, and newspapers, they constructed an identity for these Natives in the Anglo-American imagination. This identity was not one that the Seminoles themselves necessarily embraced, yet the imagined character of the Seminoles influenced American policy towards the Indians, ultimately helping to shape the future of the Florida Seminoles. Over time, ideas about the Seminoles shifted from their supposed "savagery" to portrayals of Florida's Natives as a noble, yet pitiful people in need of Anglo-American assistance. These shifting representations reflect how attitudes towards American Indians changed as the United States frontiers closed and as the nation entered the Progressive Era. As whites imagined new roles for Native Americans, their interpretations of Seminole identity also reflected their own anxieties about a rapidly modernizing world.

In the years between 1865 and 1934, Anglo-American attitudes towards Indian people underwent many changes. Even before the last Indian "battle" at Wounded Knee in 1890, Americans began to search for ways to solve the supposed "Indian Problem" by incorporating Natives into mainstream society. The General Allotment Act of 1887 intended to break up many tribal communities and to force Native people to live as yeoman farmers, isolated from the kinship networks and community ties that had long sustained them. Missionaries and educators flooded into Indian settlements, hoping at the very least to bring Native children to the "enlightenment" of Anglo-American religion and civilization. Indians, for Anglo-Americans of the time, were a "dying race," destined to meld into modern society or perish to make way for the manifest destiny of a supposedly "superior" people.[2]

Rejecting "civilization," the Seminoles of Florida remained largely isolated from white society well into the twentieth century.

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[2] See Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001).

As the survivors of three wars with the United States, these Indians had grown suspicious of American infiltration. Although they did not go untouched by the rapid influx of settlers to Florida or by the dramatic effects of Everglades drainage and railroad construction, the Florida Seminoles held on tightly to their traditional life ways, making a living in the swamplands through hunting, trapping, and small-scale agricultural production. The Florida Seminoles also resisted missionary efforts, so that by the 1930s very few had been baptized. Moreover, they overwhelmingly refused American education, preferring instead to instruct their children through traditional means.[3] For whites, the Seminoles were both intriguing and frustrating. They represented a strong challenge to Anglo-American cultural values that supposed that any logical individual would choose "civilization" over "savagery."

As the western frontiers closed in the decades following the Civil War, the marshlands of the Florida peninsula continued as an unbound wilderness. In the imaginations of many Americans, the Seminoles were a part of this wasteland. Skulking in the pinewoods and canoeing through the sawgrass swamps, these Natives seemed as dangerous as the landscape they inhabited. The Seminoles, who had rejected formal ties with the United States government, appeared mysterious and untamable, just like "the bears, deer and alligators that [were] found in those dark recesses."[4] In particular, a dearth of reliable information about these Indians plus memories of the Second and Third Seminole Wars fueled the fears of settlers. Terrified of renewed hostilities, these whites fostered a "savage" impression of Florida's Natives, which carried through in the public imagination into the early twentieth century. Although newspaper reports and government surveys slowly altered public perception of the Seminoles, writers of dime novels and Indian-fighter memoirs continued to draw upon ideas of Seminole savagery well into the 1930s to capture the attention of their audiences and to create a foil for imagined white bravery and racial "superiority."

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[3] For a full discussion of the Seminoles' economic pursuits and interactions with white traders during the period between 1870 and 1930, see Harry A. Kersey, Jr., *Pelts, Plumes, and Hides: White Traders among the Seminole Indians, 1870-1930* (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1975).

[4] "The Florida Indians," *The Atlanta Constitution*, 1 November 1885, 4. Accessed through ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Hereinafter cited as *Constitution* and ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

The year 1858 marked the end of the United States' final conflict with the Seminoles of Florida and in mid-February, 1859, seventy-five Indians under the command of Billy Bowlegs reluctantly left Florida to join their relatives west of the Mississippi.[5] Despite this American military victory, many Seminoles remained scattered across the peninsula, isolated in the wetlands of the Ten Thousand Islands, the Everglades, and the Big Cypress Swamp. The question of just how many Indians provoked concern among Florida's settlers. Some whites regarded the Seminoles' continued existence in Florida as "purely mythical," while others gave estimates of "fifty or sixty warriors."[6] Although most observers hovered at a count of around three hundred Seminoles, some suggested that as many as seven hundred or even fifteen hundred Indians occupied the Everglades.[7] Without knowing an exact number, Florida's settlers gave free rein to their imaginations. Noting that it was "impossible for them all to be seen, and much less to be counted," many insisted that the Seminoles were increasing in numbers.[8] They seemed destined to "reoccupy Southern Florida sooner or later" and displace whites who were not as well-suited to the landscape as the

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[5] James W. Covington, *The Seminoles of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 144.

[6] Frederick A. Ober, "Ten Days with the Seminoles," *Appletons' Journal of Literature, Science and Art* 14, no. 332 (Jul. 31, 1875): 142. Accessed through the American Periodical Series Online (hereinafter cited as American Periodical Series); "The Seminole Indian," *Constitution*, 14 March 1882, 2. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[7] For estimates of between 200 and 600 remaining Seminoles see "Article 10," *Prairie Farmer* 44, no. 9 (1 March 1873): 72. American Periodical Series; Fred Beverly, "Wild Life in Florida," *Forest and Stream; A Journal of Outdoor Life, Travel, Nature Study, Shooting, Fishing, Yachting* 1, no. 13 (6 November 1873): 193. American Periodical Series; S. C. Clarke, "Among the Alligators," *Lippincott's Magazine of Popular Literature and Science* 13 (February 1874): 220. American Periodical Series; "Are the Indians Dying Out!" *Friends' Review; A Religious, Literary and Miscellaneous Journal* 31, no. 20 (29 December1877): 307. American Periodical Series; "The Florida Seminoles," *Friends' Review; A Religious, Literary and Miscellaneous Journal* 33, no. 4 (Philadelphia: 6 September 1879): 54. American Periodical Series; "The Everglades," *Forest and Stream; A Journal of Outdoor Life, Travel, Nature Study, Shooting, Fishing, Yachting* 61, no. 3 (New York: 18 July 1903): 49. American Periodical Series. For estimates of between 700 and 1,500 see J. W. Stranahan, "The Sportsman Tourist: Among the Seminoles," *Forest and Stream; A Journal of Outdoor Life, Travel, Nature Study, Shooting, Fishing, Yachting* 48, no. 11 (New York: 13 March1897): 202. American Periodical Series; "The Green Corn Dance," *The Atlanta Constitution*, 29 June 1896, 3. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[8] "The Florida Indians," *Constitution*, 1 November 1885, 4. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Seminoles' "roving hunter[s]."[9] Confusion about Seminole numbers contributed to a tense atmosphere along the Florida frontier. The Seminoles' invisibility intensified their menace in the imaginations of white settlers.

Fearful of the unknown and resentful that part of "their" territory could not be settled due to "the presence of a people who may at any time, and upon any real or fancied provocation, be driven to acts of hostility," whites invented scenarios of Seminole uprisings.[10] They imagined with grim fascination the devastation that might be wrought if the Seminoles could muster as many as "five thousand fighters" and go on the "warpath."[11] Titling newspaper articles with dramatic headings such as "Ready to Fight" and "Seminoles Run Amuck," reporters speculated about the massacres that might follow the escalation of "bad feeling" between the Seminoles and settlers.[12] Although Anglo-Americans based some of their fears on actual incidents, such as the killing of Seminole livestock by cowboys, they exaggerated Seminole hostility by emphasizing the war dances performed by the Seminole "bucks" who supposedly dressed in "paint and feathers" to ready themselves for battle. In one instance, a journalist even made the wild assertion that Seminole hostility in the Everglades would spread to Fort Marion in St. Augustine, where the United States held a group of western Indians as prisoners in the late 1880s. While acknowledging that escape for these captured Apaches would be "difficult if not impossible," the author connected Seminole antagonism to fears that these other Natives would become "dangerously restive," thereby tying the Seminole presence in Florida to broader public fears of Indian hostilities in the West.[13]

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[9] S. C. Clarke, "Among the Alligators," *Lippincott's Magazine of Popular Literature and Science* 13 (Feb. 1874): 220. American Periodical Series.

[10] U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Military Affairs. *Seminole Indians: Message from the President of the United States, in reference to the Indians remaining in Florida.* (32nd Cong., 2nd Sess., 1853. H. exdoc. 19).

[11] "Ready to Fight," *Constitution*, 10 December 1886, 1. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[12] "Ready to Fight," 10 December 1886, 1; and "Seminoles Run Amuck," 13 August 1909, 2, *Constitutuion.* ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[13] "Ready to Fight," *Constitution*, 10 December 1886, 1. ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Public attention to Indians in the West during this period far outpaced attention to the Florida Seminoles. A search on the ProQuest Historical *New York Times* database revealed that 7,732 articles mentioned "Apaches" in the period between 1865 and 1935, while 16,169 mentioned "Sioux" and 5,191 mentioned "Comanches." By contrast, only 1,510

Anglo-American memories of the Second and Third Seminole Wars compounded fears of Seminole hostility. In the decades following the Civil War, veterans of Florida's Indian wars gained public attention through demands for government pensions for their service. In 1884, for example, a congressional bill proposed paying each of the approximately 3,270 surviving veterans from the Creek, Seminole, and Black Hawk wars a pension of eight dollars a month. Averaging seventy-three years in age at that time, these veterans began dying in the 1880s and 1890s.[14] Obituaries reported their passing, along with accounts of their deeds in the Indian wars. For instance, General James Hughes, who died in December, 1890, had become a First Lieutenant for his services against the Seminoles and "continued to take active part in the Indians disturbances" for the rest of his career.[15] Brigadier General Benjamin Alvord, who died in October 1884, had fought in the 1835-37 campaigns against the Seminoles as well as in the later expedition against Billy Bowlegs in the Big Cypress Swamp.[16] Perhaps most astonishing of all, reporters claimed that George W. Bromley, "a soldier of the Mexican war" who died in August, 1883, had "killed the Seminole's chief Osceola in the Florida Indians war," an impossibility since the Seminole leader died imprisoned in Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, in 1838.[17] Accurate or not, these reports kept the Seminoles in the public eye and contributed to a sense that the Indians who remained in Florida were as "savage" as their unconquered ancestors.

In celebrating the lives of veterans of the Indian wars, Americans hoped to memorialize the sacrifices made by United States soldiers who had braved the Seminoles to capture Florida.

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mentioned both "Florida" and "Seminoles" (these terms being used together to distinguish the Florida Seminoles from their Oklahoma counterparts). These numbers highlight why authors were anxious to tie their descriptions of the Florida Seminoles to more widely-known concerns about Indians in the West. By placing the Florida Seminoles in a broader context of Indian hostility, these writers emphasized the imagined danger posed by remaining Indians east of the Mississippi.

[14] "Bounties," *Constitution,* 16 February 1884, 4. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[15] "Obituary," *New York Times,* 28 December 1890, 5. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[16] "The Death List of a Day," *New York Times,* 18 October 1884, 5. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[17] "Burial of an Old Soldier," *New York Times,* 20 August 1883, 1. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Particularly popular in these decades of post-Civil War patriotism were tales of Dade's Massacre, an American defeat incurred during the Second Seminole War. Portraying Brevet Major Francis Dade and his men as "gallant martyrs," tales of the massacre emphasized both Indian and African-American treachery. Supposedly, the Seminoles attacked "without a moment's warning" and with "bloodcurdling yell[s]" struck the soldiers with "terror and dismay." Despite the alleged bravery of the white troops against "more than a thousand Seminole Indians and a hundred negroes," an exaggeration, only a single man survived the attack.[18] When a black man appeared in Jacksonville, Florida in 1892 claiming also to have been present at the battle and challenging the accounts of Dade's courage, journalists suspected that he was a traitor who had "betrayed Dade and his soldiers to the Indians."[19] Calls for a memorial to the massacre provided a means to celebrate the bravery of Americans while emphasizing the duplicity of Florida's Natives.[20]

Even after most of the veterans of the Seminole wars had died, tales of Indian savagery continued to circulate. Focusing on the most grisly aspects of Indian warfare, such stories painted the Seminoles as bloodthirsty murderers, not only of soldiers, but also of innocent women and children. In 1874, for example, journalist S. C. Clarke reported a conversation with the son of an Indian fighter who asserted that "the Indians were right savage against [his] father for guiding the regulars into their country…a party of them came up from the Everglades and murdered a family at the Musquito Lagoon, thinking that it was [his] father's house and family."[21] John Akins, an Indian scout, whose story was recorded by John Orlando Parrish in the early 1930s, also reflected on the supposedly cruel nature of Seminole warriors. According to Akins, Seminole men murdered and mutilated the twin babies of a frontier family, driving their young mother to death from heartbreak.[22] By positioning himself as the rescuer of the remainder of the family, and as the slayer of the "savages," Akins, through Parrish, emphasized the perceived contrast between white chivalry and Indian depravity. In this context, the imagined nature of the Seminoles provided a foil for showcasing the heroism of whites.

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[18] "Dade and His Command," *New York Times*, 24 December 1894, 9. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[19] "Another Version of the Dade Massacre," 27 November 1892, 18; and "Was at the Dade Massacre," 11 January 1895, 3, *Constitution*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[20] U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Printing. *Story of the massacre by Indians of detachments of the First and Second Regiments of Artillery and Fourth Regiment of Infantry, United States Army, under the command of Major Francis L. Dade, on December 28, 1935*. Report by Frederick Cubberly (67th Cong., 1st Sess., 1921. S. Doc. 33).

[21] S.C. Clarke, "Among the Alligators," *Lippincott's Magazine of Popular Literature and Science* 13 (Feb., 1874): 220. American Periodical Series.

Pulp fiction writers at the turn-of-the-century also used the Seminoles as villainous foils for white heroes. In magazines targeted at adolescent boys, men, and even occasionally women, authors of tales of adventure, mystery, war, and the Wild West used formulaic storylines and twisting plots to draw mass readership.[23] In double-columned, monthly installments, these writers provided an outlet for Americans in the modernizing world of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to imagine themselves in heroic roles, straddling the fine line between "savagery" and "civilization" in the comfort of their own living rooms. Young boys could read accounts of cowboys and Indians and tap into their "primitive" longings while maintaining a safe sense of their ultimate "superiority" as whites. For late nineteenth-century thinkers who feared that "over-civilization" endangered American manhood, these tales were believed to serve as a kind of inoculation that would allow boys to enjoy savage desires while they were young and in the process prepare them for a "civilized" manhood as they reached maturity.[24]

One popular series, the *Buffalo Bill Stories*, drew inspiration from Bill Cody's famous Wild West Show and offered tales of "Buffalo Bill's" exploits fighting Indians. Claiming to record a true account of Colonel William F. Cody's adventures as a scout, this series supplied its readers lessons in "Border History."[25] In a 1905 installment, Buffalo Bill left the western frontier for the wilds of

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[22] John Orlando Parrish, *Battling the Seminoles, Featuring John Akins,* Scout (Lakeland, FL: Southern Print Co., 1930), p. 30-33.

[23] John F. Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man: The White Male Body and the Challenge of Modernity in America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001), 167.

[24] See Gail Bederman's discussion of G. Stanley Hall in *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 97.

[25] Prentiss Ingraham, *Buffalo Bill's Florida Foes, or, Hunting Down the Seminoles* (New York: Street & Smith, 1905), 1.

Florida, again illustrating that in the imaginations of Americans, Florida's wetlands were as perilous as the West. Drawing inspiration from nineteenth-century captivity narratives, formulaic cowboy-and-Indian tales, and particularly savage portrayals of Seminoles found in newspapers, this issue painted a vile portrait of Florida's remaining Seminoles. The author took advantage of the Florida landscape to add to the tale's drama by offering descriptions of the Seminoles' imagined savage rites of sacrifice, which included feeding prisoners to alligators.[26] This particular anecdote likely found inspiration in an 1897 newspaper article which used similarly colorful language to recount the supposed execution by alligators of two Seminole lovers. These unfortunate individuals were "literally eaten alive" and "pulled apart" by "a roaring mass of saurians."[27] Such tales served to quench readers' bloodlust while safely showing the Indians as separate from and "inferior" to American whites.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries marked a time of hardening racial lines across America, and Florida was no exception. Florida's harsh Black Codes, passed in 1866, foreshadowed the equally repressive Jim Crow laws enacted beginning in 1887 to ensure that African Americans in the state were subjected to a status of social, if not complete legal, bondage.[28] Perpetuators of racial violence remained active across the peninsula, and Florida led the country in lynchings per capita with twice the rates of Mississippi, Georgia, and Louisiana.[29] Florida's Natives did not escape this racial prejudice, and the Buffalo Bill story accordingly used racial language to create boundaries between the Indians and their white counterparts. According to the tale, the Seminoles "hate[d] whites like poison" and were "about the worst redskins on the continent."[30] Not only did they resort to trickery in their efforts to kill the story's hero, but they also yelled "like madmen" and retreated "like frightened rabbits" when they realized they would have no easy victory against Buffalo Bill in a gunfight.[31] In a partic-

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[26] Ibid, 16.

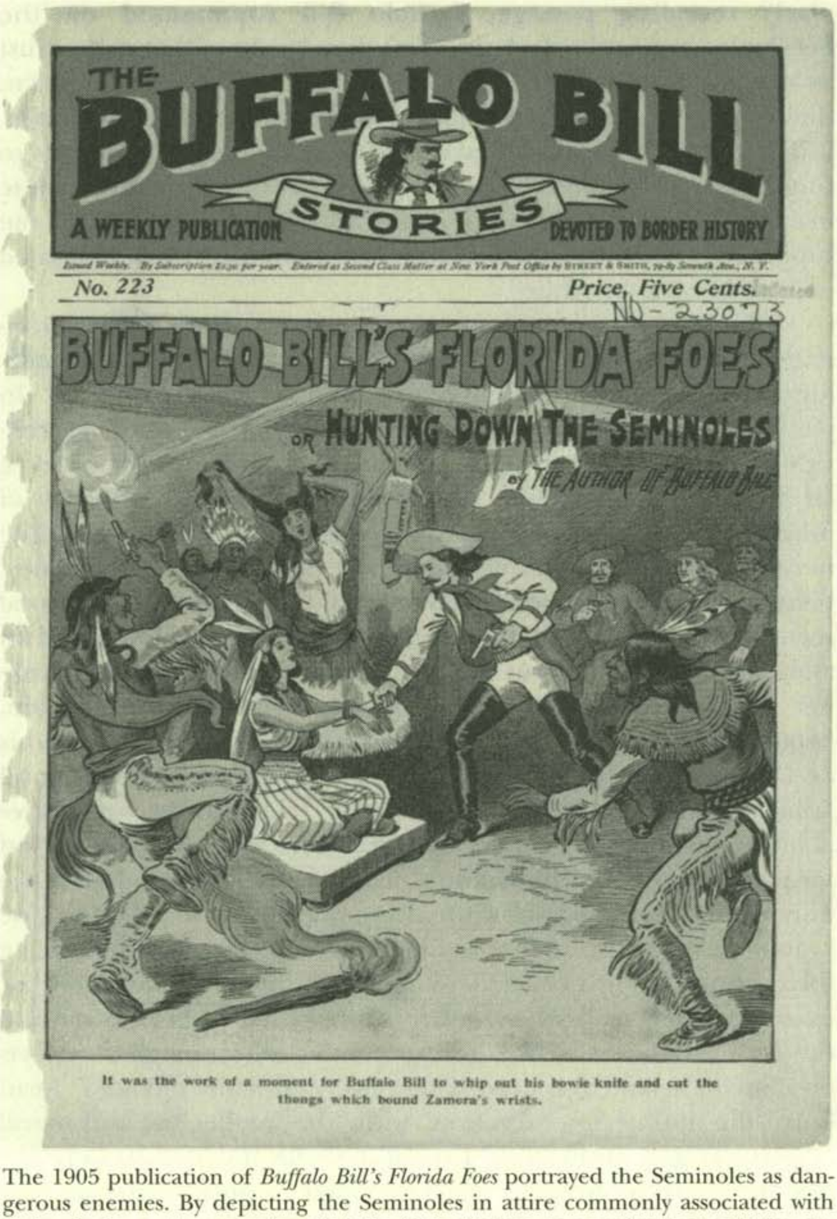
[27] "Eaten by Alligators," *Constitution*, 23 August 1897, 5A. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[28] Michael Gannon, *Florida: A Short History* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 48.

[29] Ibid, 86.

[30] Ingraham, *Buffalo Bill's Florida Foes*, 4.

[31] Ibid, 11.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BUFFALO BILL'S FLORIDA FOES
OR HUNTING DOWN THE SEMINOLES
BY THE AUTHOR OF BUFFALO BILL

It was the work of a moment for Buffalo Bill to whip out his bowie knife and cut the thongs which bound Zamora's wrists.

The 1905 publication of *Buffalo Bill's Florida Foes* portrayed the Seminoles as dangerous enemies. By depicting the Seminoles in attire commonly associated with Plains Indians, the magazine tied Florida's Natives to popular fears of Western Indian "savagery" and racial "otherness." *Buffalo Bill's Florida Foes, or, Hunting Down the Seminoles* by Ingraham Prentiss. New York: Street & Smith, 1905. *Courtesy of the Hess Collection at the University of Minnesota.*

ularly revealing passage, Buffalo Bill commented on the Seminoles' retreat by declaring that they "acted in that matter just as any other Indian would have done...if they had been white men, they would have rushed in at any cost."[32] Similarly, in his memoirs, Indian-fighter John Akins described the Seminoles as "not given to single deeds of daring…no Seminole has the nerve to enter a white man's camp."[33] For the authors and readers of these stories, the supposed cowardice of the Seminoles showcased their imagined racial inferiority to whites.

Whites' obsession with racial categories took on a pseudo-scientific aura in this period as anthropological studies purportedly identified inherent qualities of people based on their blood. In particular, the field of phrenology asserted that the shape of individuals' skulls reflected their personality, character, and level of civilization. Stories of the Seminoles mirrored this ideology of inherent racial traits. For example, the Buffalo Bill story's white heroine, Zamora, a girl raised by the Seminoles since infancy, became dramatically aware of her racial "superiority" in a pivotal scene when she realized that she was "living among a lower and an alien race."[34] Throughout the tale, Zamora's white heritage made her sympathetic to the cause of peace, while the story's villain, Seminole Ned, remained a cheat, robber, and murderer due to his descent from an Indian grandmother: "He comes of a very good family, except from the Seminole blood."[35] In a similar way, stories about the Seminole chief Osceola that were written in the period frequently attributed his bravery, stamina, and compassion to the notion that his father was white. Even authors who wished to give a good impression of the Seminoles could not always extricate themselves from this racial ideology. According to one account, for example, Osceola "had too much white blood in him to yield to the cowardly offers of the government."[36] Phrenological reports on Osceola's skull also argued that his "eminently elevated" head bore "the outline of civilization" with "the intellectual and moral organs…largely developed." Even if these favorable traits were not due to his white heritage, the researchers argued, "warring with the white men alone gave more character to [the Seminoles] as a tribe."[37] Thus, any noble quality that appeared in Seminole individuals was attributed to white heritage or influence, while any savage attribute came directly from their Indian blood.

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Parrish, *Battling the Seminoles*, 98.

[34] Ingraham, *Buffalo Bill's Florida Foes*, 20.

[35] Ibid, 3.

[36] Minnie Moore-Willson, *The Seminoles of Florida* (New York: Moffat, Yard, and Company, 1911), 23.

Whites' descriptions of Seminole women also expressed popular notions of Seminole "savagery" and imagined racial inferiority. A commonly-held belief at the turn-of-the-century was that extreme gender difference marked advanced evolution in a society. Although suffragists fought against this assumption, masculinist proponents of civilization insisted that sexual difference and racial difference were directly related—in short, that as civilized races advanced, they grew more unlike their racial inferiors and their women grew more unlike their men.[38] Thus, remarks about Seminole women's "drudgery" in their villages showed the Seminoles as racial inferiors who had not yet learned to fully separate male and female roles.[39] In addition, in repeating long-held beliefs in the ease of Native women's birthing, commentators like government agent Roy Nash committed the fallacy of assuming that childbirth was "no such ordeal of prolonged agony as with white women."[40] Because in the European tradition, painful childbirth was associated with the Judeo-Christian telling of the story of Eve and considered a natural part of motherhood, women who did not experience "prolonged agony" were assumed to be somehow inferior and less womanlike.[41] Anglo-Americans further emphasized Seminole women's imagined masculine attributes in accounts of their abilities to "hitch up a yoke of oxen" and walk "45 miles" to a trading post, "unaccompanied by man."[42] Rather than praise Seminole women's hard work and independence, such descriptions criticized Seminole men and showed the Indians as racial inferiors.

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[37] "On Ethnology," *American Phrenological Journal* 47, no. 1(January 1868): 20. American Periodical Series Online.

[38] Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization,* 160, 139.

[39] James Lowther Berkebile, *Musa Isle: Stories about the Seminoles, Alligators, and Florida's Most Noted Indian Trading Post* (Augusta, GA: Phoenix Printing Co., 1926), 5-7.

[40] U.S. Congress. Senate. *A Survey of the Seminole Indians of Florida.* Report by Roy Nash (71st Cong., 3rd Sess., 1931. Doc. 314), 7.

[41] Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 35.

[42] U.S. Congress. Senate. *A Survey of the Seminole Indians of Florida.* Report by Roy Nash (71st Cong., 3rd Sess., 1931. Doc. 314), 8.

Although attitudes about white racial superiority continued well into the twentieth century, over time the most negative impressions of the Seminoles began to wane. As war veterans passed away and as railroad construction and Everglade drainage opened Florida to settlement, some of the fear targeted towards the Seminoles subsided. Indeed, some people even looked back regretfully at the frontier days, nostalgic for a time when frontiersmen "helped to wrest [their] state from the Indians and lived to enjoy the blessings of a family amid the usual frontier homes of the woods."[43] In 1893, the historian Frederick Jackson Turner presented his famous frontier thesis in Chicago, arguing that the "perennial rebirth along a continually advancing frontier line" had made Americans distinct from all other nations of people.[44] Turner's discussion of the close of the American frontier created the sense that a stage of the United States' national development had ended. New concerns over rapid societal change in the wake of American modernization gradually replaced old anxieties about Indian attacks.

In the American South, concerns over modernization encouraged nostalgia for pre-Civil War lifestyles. Pride for the "Lost Cause" led some southerners to sympathize with Natives who had suffered from the 1830 Removal Act: both groups had lost their land and freedom due to the actions of the federal government.[45] Along with their commiseration for a people who had suffered under the hands of the federal government was a mixed sense of admiration and envy that the remaining Seminoles in Florida had managed to preserve so many of their traditional life ways in the state's isolated swamps. The Seminoles, for these southerners, became a model of continued resistance.

Of particular interest to individuals nostalgic for the antebellum South were persistent rumors that the Seminoles continued to own slaves. Although actual reports from government agents who surveyed Seminole villages contradicted these rumors, newspapers described the ongoing enslavement of Seminole blacks in covetous rather than disapproving tones.[46] An 1889 article published in the

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[43] Parrish, *Battling the Seminoles,* 27.

[44] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Holt, 1947), cited in Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 34.

[45] Dr. Theda Perdue, personal communication, UNC Chapel Hill, March 2008.

[46] In his 1884 report, government agent Clay MacCauley argued that he saw "nothing and could not hear of anything to justify [the] statement" that the

Atlanta Constitution reported that two white men had "the pleasure of meeting the only genuine slaveholder in the land of the free, namely the Hon. Cypress Tiger, of the Everglade Seminoles."[47] Rather than respond in shock to such tales, the "country laughed over the story," clearly enjoying that the "impertinent meddling" of "government interference" had not yet reached this stretch of the Everglades.[48] Indeed, some whites even saw continued slavery among the Seminoles as an opportunity to carry on pre-Civil War practices themselves. According to another article, Florida cowboys recommended that visitors to the Seminoles bring an African American with them because one could "sell the negro to the Indians for enough to pay all of [one's] expenses." Such rumors were so persistent, the author argued with evident glee, "that a stranger cannot get a darky to accompany him in a journey to the Everglades...they are suspicious of one at once when asked to make such a trip."[49] These stories fed into southern hopes that their "peculiar institution" was not irrevocably lost.

Ironically, some Anglo-Americans in this period also glorified the Seminoles as freedom fighters who had bravely resisted the advances of a corrupt antebellum America. Although northerners also often romanticized the South's "Lost Cause" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, abolitionist rhetoric of years past continued to influence white conceptions of Seminole history. Of particular renown was the figure of Osceola, who became a symbol of devotion to freedom and detestation of slavery. Repeating rumors that abolitionists circulated prior to the Civil War, numerous authors argued that the Seminole leader had married a black woman who the Americans then unjustly enslaved.[50]

Seminoles continued to own slaves. See Clay MacCauley, *The Seminole Indians of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 526. Originally published in U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology, Fifth Annual Report, 1883-1884.

[47] "A Holdover Slaveholder," *Constitution,* Jun. 27, 1889, 4. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[48] "A Holdover Slaveholder,"27 June 1889, 4; and I M'Queen Auld, "The Seminole Indians," 27 February 1885, 5, *Constitution.* ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[49] "The Florida Everglades," *New York Times,* 10 March 1889, 10. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[50] Joshua R. Giddings recorded this story prior to the Civil War in his book *The Exiles of Florida: The Crimes Committed by Our Government Against the Maroons, Who Fled from South Carolina and Other Slave States, Seeking Protection Under Spanish Laws* (Columbus, OH: Follett, Foster, and Company, 1858), 99.

According to the legend, this act of treachery instigated the Second Seminole War. Comparing Osceola's fight to that of Americans during the Revolution, one writer declared, "How can we blame him and his brother chiefs for fighting against such outrages while we glorify Gen. Washington for resisting unto blood a stamp on paper and a tax on tea?"[51] By conflating Osceola's fight for his imagined black bride with colonial America's battle for liberty, these whites also indirectly connected the Civil War with the American Revolution.

Living in a time of change with burgeoning industries, cities, and a rapid influx of foreign-born immigrants, Americans looked to Osceola's story as evidence for a type of patriotism that they hoped to build in their diversifying nation. In this estimation, the Seminoles had done "just what any other brave and liberty loving people would do under similar circumstances—they vigorously opposed all who would drive them from their last foothold on Florida soil."[52] As patriots with an "intense love of home, and determination to remain in their native land," the Florida Seminoles provided a model for "patriotism and fidelity the most deep-rooted of all."[53] Americans struggled in this period to formulate a national identity, and Anglo-Americans felt particularly vulnerable as immigrants from eastern and southern Europe poured into the country.[54] By using the Seminoles as symbols of American bravery, whites constructed a national distinctiveness designed to protect American identity from foreign influence. In this context, Osceola became an enduring national hero: "His fame will never die; centuries will come and go, but the name of Osceola will remain as long as the earth is peopled."[55] Even the Seminole leader's grave became a fetishized site of American legend.

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[51] L. M. Child, "Indian Civilization," *The Independent...Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts* 21, no. 1054 (11 Febraury 1869): 1. American Periodical Series Online. See also "A Romance of the Seminoles," *New York Times*, 3 August 1887, 8, ProQuest Historical Newspapers and Mary F. Dickinson, *Seminoles of South Florida* (N.p.: n.p., 1930), 7-9.

[52] Harriet Randolph Parkhill, *The Mission to the Seminoles in the Everglades of Florida* (Orlando: Sentinel Print, 1909), 5.

[53] Charles H. Coe, *Red Patriots: The Story of the Seminoles* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1974), 222. Originally published in Cincinnati: Editor Pub. Co., 1898.

[54] Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha*, xv.

[55] Coe, *Red Patriots*, 118.

According to one account, the grave alone remained untouched when Fort Moultrie was bombarded during the Civil War: "Everything round it had been knocked to pieces by our shells, but not one had touched it, or even clipped the flowers around his grave."[56] Osceola and his descendents in the Everglades became symbols of American identity.

Although whites appropriated Indian identity to create a national character, they also maintained a distinct set of racial lines. The Seminoles served as symbols of national pride, yet these Indians were somehow "different" from other "savages" of their race. Champion of the Seminoles Charles H. Coe in his book, *Red Patriots*, described Osceola as distinctive "not for that inhuman cruelty such as characterized most of our Western tribes, but for true patriotism." He further quoted a white settler in Florida who argued that "the fiendish instinct which led the wild tribes of the West to prolong the death of a captive over a slow fire, was totally lacking in the red men of Florida."[57] Similarly, one of the founders of the "Friends of the Florida Seminoles" organization, Minnie Moore-Willson, argued that "the caustic remark that the only good Indian is a dead Indian might apply to the savage Apache," but not to the Seminoles.[58] Indeed, Moore-Willson even went on to argue that the Seminoles were of a "superior" stock than Western Indians: they were descendents of the Aztecs who in turn were connected to the Ancient Egyptians. For evidence, she pointed to the "resemblance of the present Seminole to the ancient Egyptian" and "old Israelites."[59] Neither of these writers argued with general assumptions about the "inferior" natures of Indian peoples, but only declared that the Seminoles were somehow an exception. Thus, both were able to use the Seminoles as symbols of American identity while maintaining popular notions of white superiority.

Whites also appropriated the physical bodies of Seminole individuals as they created an ideal of American masculine identity. The turn-of-the-century was a time of anxiety for Anglo-American men, who saw the close of the frontier as a threat to traditional notions of masculinity.[60] Indeed, medical doctors feared that a disease caused by over-civilization, "neurasthenia," was spreading through the middle class due to excessive brainwork and nervous strain.[61] In order to combat this perceived "softening" of Anglo-American men, whites developed images of "perfect men" who embodied both civilized manhood and "primitive" masculinity. Bodybuilder Eugene Sandow, escape-artist Harry Houdini, and the fictional character of Tarzan became household names that inspired American men to attain their level of physical male perfection. White men also looked to the darker bodies of African and Native American men with the hope of seizing the "primitive" strength, freedom, wildness, and eroticism they manifested to fortify themselves against civilized life.[62]

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[56] "The People of Fredericksburg," *Liberator* 35, no. 13 (31 March 1865): 51. American Periodical Series. Poems, stories, theatrical productions, and pageants also celebrated Osceola. See Renn Cary Sheffield, *Osceola, Chief of the Seminoles, A Pageant* (Winter Park: Rollins Press, 1926).

[57] Coe, *Red Patriots*, 117, 67-68.

[58] Moore-Willson, *The Seminoles of Florida*, 79.

[59] Ibid, 121.

As increasing numbers of government agents, traders, journalists, and missionaries encountered the Seminole Indians in the Everglades, a common thread that ran through their reports was the close attention they paid to the bodies of Seminole men. Although these Americans also commented on the "regular and uncommonly attractive" features of Seminole women, their most detailed descriptions focused on the male form.[63] Observers remarked upon men's "attractive" and "well built" bodies, noting their "perfectly formed limbs, jet black hair, a piercing eye of an eagle, aquiline nose, and prominent cheek bones."[64] They also commented on the Seminoles' "erect" posture, height, and "self-confident bearing," further emphasizing their manliness through descriptions of their "squareness" of face and "widened and protruding under-jawbone."[65] Whites even described older Seminole men as retaining their masculine strength. According to reporter Fred Beverly, "Tiger," a man of about seventy years of age, was

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[60] Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man*, 10.

[61] Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 14.

[62] Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man*, 7, 10.

[63] Coe, *Red Patriots*, 243.

[64] Irenaeus Trout, W.J. Goddon, and Harriet M. Beddell, *Among the Seminole Indians of Southern Florida* (Hartford, CN: Church Missions Publishing Co., 1908), 3, 6; U.S. Department of the Interior. Office of Indian Affairs. *Letter of the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Senator Duncan U. Fletcher transmitting a copy of a partial report by Lucien A. Spencer, Special Commissioner to the Florida Seminoles, on conditions existing among the Seminole Indians in Florida* (63rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1913. S. Doc. 42), 3.

[65] Coe, *Red Patriots*, 241-243; MacCauley, *The Seminole Indians of Florida*, 481.

"rather above the medium height, broad shouldered, massive arms, and legs like mahogany pillars, worn smooth and polished by many a brush with thicket and briar."[66] So enamored were white observers of these "magnificent specimen[s] of manhood" that some did more than simply gaze upon Seminole men: government agent Clay MacCauley reported that "two of the warriors permitted [him] to manipulate the muscles of their bodies…under [his] touch these were more like rubber than flesh."[67]

Fascinated by these perfect male bodies, whites who encountered the Seminoles hypothesized about the conditions that allowed these Indians to reach physical perfection. Some suggested that "the wars of their ancestors" had made the Seminoles the "brave and proud people that they are," keeping them from becoming "indolent and effeminate."[68] Others argued that the Seminoles' lifestyle kept them fit: "As a result of the favorable diet and uniform activity of life, combined with good descent, the Seminole Indian is in personal appearance the finest specimen of the American Indian now extant."[69] Still others saw the environment of the Everglades as responsible for the Seminoles' physiology: "Physically they are an exceptionally fine race, as is apt to be the case with a natural people whose environment is such as to afford them abundant and healthful nutrition, with a climate that permits free and symmetrical development of the body."[70] For these observers, the Seminoles' physical perfection offered lessons to Anglo-American males. To be masculine men, they should emulate the "wild and free yet highly moral life of these children of the Everglades" through regimes of physical activity, good nutrition, and forays into wild environments that did not soften men like the urban centers of civilization.[71]

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[66] Fred Beverly, "Wild Life in Florida," *Forest and Stream: A Journal of Outdoor Life, Travel, Nature Study, Shooting, Fishing, Yachting* 1, no. 13 (6 November 1873): 193. American Periodical Series.

[67] U.S. Department of the Interior. Office of Indian Affairs. *Letter of the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Senator Duncan U. Fletcher transmitting a copy of a partial report by Lucien A. Spencer, Special Commissioner to the Florida Seminoles, on conditions existing among the Seminole Indians in Florida* (63rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1913. S. Doc. 42), 3; MacCauley, *The Seminole Indians of Florida*, 482.

[68] MacCauley, 530.

[69] Leonora Beck Ellis, "The Seminoles of Florida," *Gunton's Magazine* 25, no. 6 (New York: Dec. 1903): 25. American Periodical Series.

[70] Sylvester Baxter, "The Bureau of Ethnology's Fifth Annual Report, I-III," *The American Architect and Building News* 28, no. 751 (17 May1890): 99.American Periodical Series.

[71] Coe, *Red Patriots*, 242-243.

As if eager to take their own recommendations on attaining masculine perfection, many white men who visited the Seminoles dwelled upon the difficulties they overcame as they journeyed to the Indians' Everglade homes. By describing voyages "through cypress swamps, saw-grass ponds, palm hummocks and muck plains" these men showed off their masculine prowess as conquerors of the wilderness.[72] In these accounts, whites emphasized dangers ranging from rattlesnakes, alligators, and panthers to quicksand which could "suddenly sink beneath one's feet and land you in a living grave."[73] Stressing their personal bravery at undertaking such risks, these men also made comparisons between their own voyages and the contemporaneous expeditions of European colonists in Africa. Such trips loomed large in the public imagination, especially following former President Theodore Roosevelt's publicized African tour and the launch of the Tarzan stories.[74] Making these comparisons, one writer declared that the Everglades were as unknown as "the interior of the Dark Continent beyond the path of Stanley," while another argued that only those who had "explored the interior of Africa [could] appreciate the difficulties of this semi-tropical jungle."[75] For Americans, the Everglades, like Africa, remained one of the last wild places on earth, an area where American men could still find adventure and literally go where no white man had gone before.

In the accounts written by white men who journeyed to the Seminoles' homelands, another popular theme was the uselessness of modern technology in Florida's wilderness. In government agent Roy Nash's 1930 report, for instance, the author relayed a tale of multiple stops and starts in a Ford truck, during which he constantly had to jump from his vehicle to push it across "half a mile of water and mud." Eventually, this task proved so daunting that he was forced to abandon the Ford and transfer all perishable goods to a Seminole bull cart.[76] Facing "starvation in a trackless wilderness" if their voyages failed, white men not only needed "nerve and muscle" to reach the Seminole camps, but also the ingenuity to find solutions when technology failed them.[77] In 1925, for example, journalist Charles Smith and his companions managed to keep their car's engine running "by wrapping the distributor in pieces of inner tubes to keep out the water."[78] A better solution still was to adopt the Seminoles' traditional means of transport: in 1910, anthropologist Alanson Skinner reached Everglade camps by an ox-team and canoes.[79] By emphasizing the failures of modern technology in the depths of the Everglades, writers not only showcased their masculine abilities to adapt to "primitive" landscapes, but also gave a subtle criticism of the modern world's reliance on machines. Although industrialization had made America dependent on modern technology, in certain cases only old-fashioned manpower could take Americans where they needed to go.

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[72] Charles W. Smith, "Osceola's Seminoles Make Their Last Stand," *New York Times*, 26 April 1925, SM14. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[73] "The Florida Everglades," *The New York Times*, 10 March 1889, 10. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[74] Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man*, 184.

[75] "The Florida Everglades," *New York Times*, 10 March 1889, 10. ProQuest Historical Newspapers; "Our Florida Expedition," *Forest and Stream; A Journal of Outdoor Life, Travel, Nature Study, Shooting, Fishing, Yachting* 2, no. 11 (New York: 23 April 1874): 168. American Periodical Series.

[76] U.S. Congress. Senate. *A Survey of the Seminole Indians of Florida*. Report by Roy Nash. (71st Cong., 3rd Sess., 1931. Doc. 314.), 3-4.

Observers also used the Seminoles to criticize modern society in other ways. With the late-nineteenth-century publications of Clay MacCauley's survey, Minnie-Moore Willson's *The Seminoles of Florida,* and Charles H. Coe's *Red Patriots,* public interest in these Indians intensified and the Seminoles gained a much more favorable reputation.[80] These discussions entered a discourse of discontent with modern life, industrial corruption, and urban decay that found expression in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century America through popular uprisings like the Populist Movement and in the voices of social reformers during the Progressive Era. Not only did these authors and others like them praise the Seminoles as patriots, but they also commented on their industry, honesty, and morality, insisting that Florida's Natives were "morally our equals if not superiors." Through descriptions of the supposedly untainted and genial natures of these "simple children of nature," white Americans created fantasies of an idyllic life unspoiled by corrupt modernity. [81]

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77. "The Florida Everglades," *New York Times,* 10 March 1889, 10. ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Moore-Willson, *The Seminoles of Florida,* 100.
78. Charles W. Smith, "Osceola's Seminoles Make Their Last Stand," *New York Times,* 26 April 1925, SM14. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
79. Alanson Skinner, "Notes on the Florida Seminole," *American Anthropologist* 15, no. 1 (Jan.-Mar., 1913): 63-77.
80. Kersey, *Pelts, Plumes, and Hides,* 24.
81. Coe, *Red Patriots,* 225, 235.

"Noble" depictions of Florida Seminoles frequently focused on their home life in the Everglades, much in the same way as authors looking to understand Seminole male "perfection" turned to environmental explanations. According to anthropologist Alanson Skinner,

> Life in the camps is cool, clean, and pleasant. The breezes sweep through the lodges beneath the thatched roofs, and the camps are usually as neat as possible. Often in the morning the Indians may be seen raking the village square clean. Little refuse is to be seen about, for while the Seminole throw the bones and scraps from their meals about promiscuously, the wandering dogs and pigs soon make away with them.[82]

This healthful home offered a sharp contrast to America's urban dwellings, which at the turn-of-the-century were often dirty and disease-ridden, especially in the working-class slums. Discussions of pre-Removal Seminoles' "humble villages of log houses surrounded by tilled fields" further alerted Americans to the decay of their own cityscapes. Through describing the "clean, airy quarters" of the Seminoles, writers provided an alternative vision of "home," one that matched more closely with idealized notions of an American agrarian past.[83]

In addition to describing clean homes, writers also emphasized the morality of the Seminoles they encountered. Whites observed that "from earliest infancy, they are disciplined in the moral codes of their tribe." "High-minded" Indians, they believed, "could teach the white man much along the lines of honesty, truthfulness, virtue, and love for each other."[84] According to their reports, the Seminoles never stole, nor did they cheat or lie. They felt safe leaving their personal belongings in open-air chickees without fear of theft because, as Minnie Moore-Willson put it, ostensibly in the dialect of her Seminole informant, "Indian no steal."[85] If Seminoles broke white laws out of ignorance, "no second case of violation [was] ever recorded against them." Within their own communities, rules were strict and faithfully obeyed: "if one is violated the erring one accepts the penalty, even though it be death itself, without a protest."[86] For whites fearful of increased crime in urban centers inhabited by competing immigrant communities, Seminole honesty shone as a bright example.

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[82] Skinner, "Notes on the Florida Seminole," 67-68.

[83] Elizabeth W. Champney, *The Florida Seminoles* (Jacksonville, FL: n.p., 1891), 2; U.S. Congress. Senate. *A Survey of the Seminole Indians of Florida*. Report by Roy Nash. (71st Cong., 3rd Sess., 1931. Doc. 314.), 35.

[84] Berkebile, *Musa Isle*, 23; U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Indian Affairs. *Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States. Part 15: Oklahoma. The Florida Seminole*. Report by W. Stanley Hanson (71st Cong., 3rd Sess., 1930. S. Doc. 26 465).

[85] Moore-Willson, *The Seminoles of Florida*, 109.

Whites also looked to the Seminoles for examples of the kind self-reliance that had long been a part of the "American dream." Industrial monopolies and corporate corruption threatened this fantasy, but Americans held onto their Horatio Alger hopes of success through hard work. Whites remarked that the Seminoles were "industrious and frugal," which led to "comparative prosperity." Although their industry, in Anglo-American estimations, was not "the persistent and rapid labor of the white man of a northern community," nonetheless, they were "workers" and not "loafers."[87] "Self-supporting" through hunting and raising crops, they were "an independent race" who remained "contented and happy in their simple life as though they never had heard of the white man's ways of living."[88] For Anglo-Americans, the self-reliance of the Seminoles was admirable, but persistent assumptions of white racial and cultural superiority also made Seminole industry appear unfinished: "Dull must be the man who can not read from such signs the possibilities of great development inherent in this race."[89] If the Seminoles were truly to rise from rags to riches, they would need the help of an "enlightened" and "progressive" people.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw rapid growth in the white population of Florida. Between 1860 and 1880, the number of American inhabitants in the state increased by ninety percent and by 1900, the non-Indian population of Florida exceeded 528,000. Land grants and railroad construction attracted many of these residents and by the turn of the century over 3,500 miles of railroad opened Florida to thousands of tourists as well as new settlers. Everglade drainage projects commenced in 1905 and by 1921, sixteen settlements with more than two hundred inhabitants existed in the once "uninhabitable" Lake Okeechobee region.[90] As one commentator put it, "that great hitherto unproductive territory will be made to yield latent riches for the benefit of man."[91] Long gone were the days when settlers feared that the Seminoles would rise and retake the peninsula. Instead, some lamented that the Seminoles had been "driven into the last ditch, and that last ditch is being drained by our people."[92] Mixed with accounts of Seminole nobility were new concerns that the Seminoles were dying out, piteously disappearing unless whites made efforts to "save" them.

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[86] U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Printing. *Special Report of the Florida Seminole Agency*. Report by Lucien A. Spencer (67th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1921. S. Doc. 102).

[87] MacCauley, *The Seminole Indians of Florida*, 472, 503.

[88] Coe, *Red Patriots*, 224; Berkebile, *Musa Isle*, 5.

[89] Leonora Beck Ellis, "The Seminoles of Florida," *Gunton's Magazine* 25, no. 6 (New York: Dec. 1903): 25. American Periodical Series.

The old trope of the "vanishing race" had been a part of Anglo-American discourse on Native people for years. Early nineteenth-century novels like James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* popularized the notion that "noble savages" would inevitably disappear to make way for the "manifest destiny" of Americans. By the turn-of-the-century, ideas of the "dying Indian" took on a wistful quality, especially for those Americans who believed that societal change had come too rapidly.[93] For whites who encountered Florida's Seminole Indians, their "passing" appeared particularly tragic. Imagined as a "pristine" example of America's indigenous past, the projected demise of these Natives became a heartrending end to a chapter in American history.

In their reports on the Seminoles, Americans frequently commented on the cultural continuance of a people who lived "just as they lived hundreds of years ago before their white brethren set out to conquer the Everglades and develop Florida."[94] For them, the Seminole Indians were a perfect example of Natives who had remained in "splendid isolation" from the corruptions of modern America.[95] Yet as the white population of Florida grew, these Indians, according to observers, devolved to "only a frail remnant of that powerful tribe of Osceola's day." Seeing them as "a race whose destiny says extinction," whites lamented that "soon they will have vanished from the earth."[96] Anglo-Americans even taught their children to follow this line of thought. In a book written "to meet the ever growing demand for simple but interesting supplementary reading for the children of the primary grades," author Margaret Fairlie included a poem about Seminole Indians that ended with the troubling lines, "Two little Seminoles cleaned out a gun, /Off went the trigger, and then there was one. /One little Seminole played in the sun /Till he was hungry, and then there was none."[97] This poem predicted a self-inflicted end as a result of Anglo-American "civilization," the gun, and Native profligacy, play instead of labor. Certain that the Seminoles were soon to disappear, Americans comforted themselves with the thought that "they will have gone with heads held high, conscious that they have never been conquered."[98]

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[90] Gannon, *Florida: A Short History*, 53, 60, 65, 70.

[91] Fisher Ames, "The 'Four Corners,'" *The Youth's Companion* 97, no. 31 (2 August 1923): 456. American Periodical Series.

[92] A.W. Dimock, "A Despoiled People," *Outlook* 97, no. 4 (28 January 1911): 201. American Periodical Series.

[93] Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha*, 197.

[94] Berkebile, *Musa Isle*, 5.

[95] Cecil Rhea Warren, *Florida's Seminoles: An Eye-Witness Story of Indian Want and Privation as Published by the Miami Daily News* (Miami: Miami Daily News, 1934), 3.

Attributing much of the Seminoles' perceived decline to contact with whites, Americans squabbled over who was to blame for their piteous end. Missionaries, who had made several, largely-unsuccessful attempts to Christianize the Seminoles, blamed traders who allegedly corrupted the Seminoles with lax morals and liquor. Not only did these whites steal the Seminoles' "pigs and provisions," but they also took their homes "again and again" until the Seminoles grew "grave" and distrustful of all whites.[99] According to Charles Coe,

> The distrust of the Indians was intensified by the malicious stories of white traders and whiskey peddlers, who for years had been buying their deer hides and other skins, and selling them an inferior grade of goods, including the vilest whiskey, at prices far above the actual value. This class of robbers—for they deserve no better name—realized that missionary work among the Indians would expose their own nefarious dealings, and cut off their

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[96] Moore-Willson, *The Seminoles of Florida*, 6; Charles W. Smith, "Osceola's Seminoles Make Their Last Stand," *New York Times*, 26 April 1925, SM14. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[97] Margaret C. Fairlie, *Stories of the Seminoles* (New York: Rand McNally & Company, 1930), 9, 52.

[98] Charles W. Smith, "Osceola's Seminoles Make Their Last Stand," *New York Times*, 26 April 1925, SM14. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[99] Warren, *Florida's Seminoles*, 6; Parkhill, *The Mission to the Seminoles in the Everglades of Florida*, 3-5.

> highly remunerative trade. For this reason these unprincipled traders did their utmost to prejudice the red men against the mission and Government work.[100]

Missionaries saw alcohol as particularly destructive to the tribe. According to one writer, the Seminoles were "downright stupid when under the influence of liquor." Not only did access to alcohol increase Seminole crime, but in some cases "fifty percent of the Indians' total income goes for whiskey." [101] Hoping to reduce the toxic effects of alcohol on Seminole culture, some observers called for the strict "enforcement of the laws against selling liquor to these child-like people."[102]

For their part, traders agreed that "contact with civilization is of no benefit to the Indians, either materially or morally," but argued that "the Indian agents, sent by the United States Government, have done more harm than good."[103] The "civilized savage called white men" had taught the Seminoles "to curse and swear, drink and cheat" and the Indians' homes were "exploited by great companies...speculators, promoters, and agents" who "wax fat on the sale of his lands."[104] In a particularly damning report, one journalist argued that in the attitudes of Americans, "the Seminole of Florida stands in the path of our people, who covet his land, but we can brush him aside as easily as an automobile can run over a baby."[105] American greed and modern corruption, according to these reports, were responsible for the destruction of the Seminole people. As with so many accounts of the Seminoles, these reactions reflected general discontent with the modernizing world.

Of particular concern to observers of the Seminoles was the perceived health crisis that threatened the tribe. According to one journalist, the Indians faced "extinction in Florida unless the diseases are properly controlled."[106] Although earlier reports had extolled the health and hygiene of these Natives, arguing that there was "very little sickness and at present no known case of tuberculosis or trachoma" among them, later accounts described Seminole health in alarming terms.[107] Apparently, "disease [was] rampant among them, partially caused by their own insanitary [sic] habits, but mostly by their contact with the white man's civilization." Their now "filthy" camp sites, combined with both medical and surgical neglect, led to conditions "which would shame a civilization far less advanced than Florida's." [108] Their "constant sickness" and their "thin, emaciated bodies" showcased their society's disintegration.[109] Moreover, their alleged "drift toward promiscuity with its attendant evils of venereal diseases" suggested that the Seminoles suffered from moral as well as physical decay.[110] Seeing the Seminoles as partly to blame for their poor health, whites called for programs to educate them about the benefits of "proper scientific treatment:" "Seminoles need to be taught to seek aid of the white men when they are sick and to be provided with care they need."[111] In this context, Americans simultaneously blamed "civilization" for the Seminoles' health crisis while they suggested that only modern medicine could save them.

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[100] Coe, *Red Patriots*, 233.

[101] Dickinson, *Seminoles of South Florida*, 27, 11.

[102] Moore-Willson, *The Seminoles of Florida*, 113.

[103] Quoting a conversation with Indian trader Major Brickell, C. H. Howard, "A Remnant of the Seminoles," *New York Evangelist* 67, no. 10 (New York: Mar. 11, 1897): 9. American Periodical Series.

[104] "The Seminoles of Florida," *Friends' Intelligencer* 53, no. 34 (Philadelphia: 22 August 1896): 557. American Periodical Series; A.W. Dimock, "A Despoiled People," *Outlook* 97, no. 4 (28 January 1911): 201. American Periodical Series.

[105] A.W. Dimock, "A Despoiled People," *Outlook* 97, no. 4 (28 January 1911): 201. American Periodical Series.

[106] Warren, *Florida's Seminoles*, 3.

Programs designed to "save" the Seminole Indians began in the late nineteenth century with the establishment of organizations such as the "Friends of the Florida Seminoles." Women often led these groups and drew upon Victorian claims of female moral authority to legitimize their involvement in this "public sphere."[112] In addition, church groups had long been interested in Florida's Natives with an eye to bringing them into the Christian flock and giving them a "Heavenly Home which can never be taken from them."[113] Many of these groups employed the rhetoric of making up for past United States injustices against the Seminoles.

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[107] U.S. Department of the Interior. Office of Indian Affairs. *Letter of the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Senator Duncan U. Fletcher transmitting a copy of a partial report by Lucien A. Spencer, Special Commissioner to the Florida Seminoles, on conditions existing among the Seminole Indians in Florida* (63rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1913. S. Doc. 42), 3.

[108] Warren, *Florida's Seminoles*, 3.

[109] Veronica E. Huss, *Life Among the Seminoles* (N.p.: n.p., 1930), 4-5.

[110] Dickinson, *Seminoles of South Florida*, 29-30.

[111] Warren, *Florida's Seminoles*, 3.

[112] See Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

[113] Parkhill, *The Mission to the Seminoles in the Everglades of Florida*, 3-4.

Anguished by thoughts of "a chapter in history so black that we can only hang our heads in shame for our race and for our Government," whites hoped that through "the sympathy and action on the part of our better citizens that we may in part atone for the past."[114] Making amends for past wrongs showed the progressive improvement of civilization. Even if America had wronged the Seminoles historically, turning over a new leaf could complete "the last chapter" of the United States' dealings with the Seminoles "with honor to the Nation and the State."[115]

Convinced that the Seminoles were doomed to extinction if action was not immediately taken, many reformers decided that the best solution to the Seminole "problem" was assimilation. In 1884, for example, government agent Clay MacCauley argued that ultimately the Seminoles would either "perish in the futile attempt" to resist encroachment, or "submit to a civilization which, until now, they have been able to repel."[116] Older generations of Seminole people were "shy and suspicious" of Americans, but "a better feeling toward the Government on the part of the younger Seminoles, many of whom are anxious for instruction and advancement" would provide "a chance to do much good, provided care, good judgment, and honest interest is shown in them."[117] Early twentieth-century Progressive ideals of reform promised that by showing Florida's Indians some of the advantages of American society that these Natives would become "good neighbor[s] and an asset to modern civilization."[118]

Government agents, women's associations, and missionaries made efforts to "teach the Indians useful, homely arts" and in the 1890s, the Episcopalians established a mission to the Seminoles thirty-five miles from Fort Myers. Named Immokalee, which meant "home" in the Mikasuki language, this mission included houses for both missionaries and the Indians they hoped would settle there.[119] Despite the Seminoles' opposition to "all efforts to teach them English, or to instruct them in the rudiments of learning or of the Christian religion," missionaries felt encouraged when Natives came to Immokalee and its accompanying hospital, Glade Cross, for medical treatment.[120] Doctor J.E. Breckt and Reverend Henry Gibbs made trips to the Seminoles' Everglade homes in the hopes that "by living with and among these people they could gain a greater influence over them."[121] In particular, they wished to minister to Seminole women and children, who they assumed would be easier to sway than the men. By gradually gaining the Seminoles' confidence, missionaries hoped to bring them into the fold of modern civilization, to "domesticate" them, and to protect them from their perceived path to extinction.[122]

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[114] Parkhill, 1; W. Stanley Hanson to The Friends of the Florida Seminoles, Sept. 9, 1933, *Hanson Talks on Seminoles* (Fort Myers, FL: n.p., 1933).

[115] Coe, *Red Patriots*, 258.

[116] MacCauley, *The Seminole Indians of Florida*, 530.

[117] U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Indian Affairs. *Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States. Part 15: Oklahoma. The Florida Seminole.* Report by W. Stanley Hanson (71st Cong., 3rd Sess., 1930. S. Doc. 26 465).

[118] Warren, *Florida's Seminoles*, 28.

[119] "Seminole Indians of Florida," *New York Times*, Jul. 7, 1896, 3. ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Moore-Willson, *The Seminoles of Florida*, 66.

Reflecting national debates that surrounded government involvement in Progressive reforms, people interested in "helping" the Seminoles argued over what such programs might entail. Although most agreed that some sort of aid was necessary, several commentators rejected the notion of giving the Indians direct monetary support. "Don't pauperize them with pensions," warned W. Stanley Hanson, secretary of the Seminole Association of Florida.[123] Similarly, Seminole agent Lucien A. Spencer advised Congress not to make the Indians "an object of charity," but rather to help them maintain their "independence and self-respect." Accepting the American ideal of the self-made man, these individuals sincerely believed that the Seminoles would best be served through "proper instruction" in farming so they could become self-sufficient. [124] Such plans backfired when starving Seminoles were denied aid they desperately needed. In 1934, reporter Cecil Rhea Warren argued that efforts to keep the Seminoles off a "dole" system resulted in "actual hunger among them" when charitable aid was cut off "upon instructions of the agent."[125] These discussions revealed some of the ideological conflicts between progressives and conservatives that determined public policy both on national and local levels.

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[120] Trout et al., *Among the Seminole Indians of Southern Florida*, 10.

[121] Ibid, 9.

[122] Parkhill, *The Mission to the Seminoles in the Everglades of Florida*, 20.

[123] Warren, *Florida's Seminoles*, 30.

[124] U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Printing. *Special Report of the Florida Seminole Agency*. Report by Lucien A. Spencer (67th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1921. S. Doc. 102).

[125] Warren, *Florida's Seminoles*, 25.

In contrast to assimilationists, other Americans believed that these Indians should be preserved in their "natural" state. New ideas about environmental conservation emerged at the turn-of-the-century, partly as a result of American concerns that they would lose their distinctiveness with the close of the frontier.[126] President Theodore Roosevelt championed the development of the United States' first national parks and encouraged efforts across the country to identify and protect endangered habitats and creatures. Florida was no exception, and observers fretfully commented on declining populations of alligators and waterfowl, noting that the "wonderland of the Everglades" was swiftly becoming "a scene of tragedy." [127]

Some of the same individuals who sought to protect the Seminoles also threw themselves into conservation projects for Florida wildlife. For example, in 1925 Minnie Moore-Willson, "an authority on Southern bird life and on the Seminole Indians," urged that the Everglades be set aside as a bird sanctuary.[128] These individuals frequently conflated the Seminoles' future with that of endangered animals. Moore-Willson drew this comparison when she demanded of her readers, "While we protect the deer and the alligator, the quail and the fish, shall we leave our brother in bronze a prey to the lawless and a helpless victim of every loafer?" Similarly, government agent Roy Nash insisted that "the Seminole and his culture are akin to the snowcapped mountain and the roseate spoonbill…Let him be an Indian so long as he may."[129] For these writers, assimilation was not the key to the Seminoles' survival. Instead, they urged that the "only way to protect these wards of Florida is to buy a reservation, and hold it in trust for them—forever."[130] Eventually the pressures put on the government by such individuals led to both the establishment of Seminole reservations at Dania, Brighton, and Big Cypress and to Congress's approval of the Everglades as a national park in 1934.[131]

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[126] Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man,* 10.

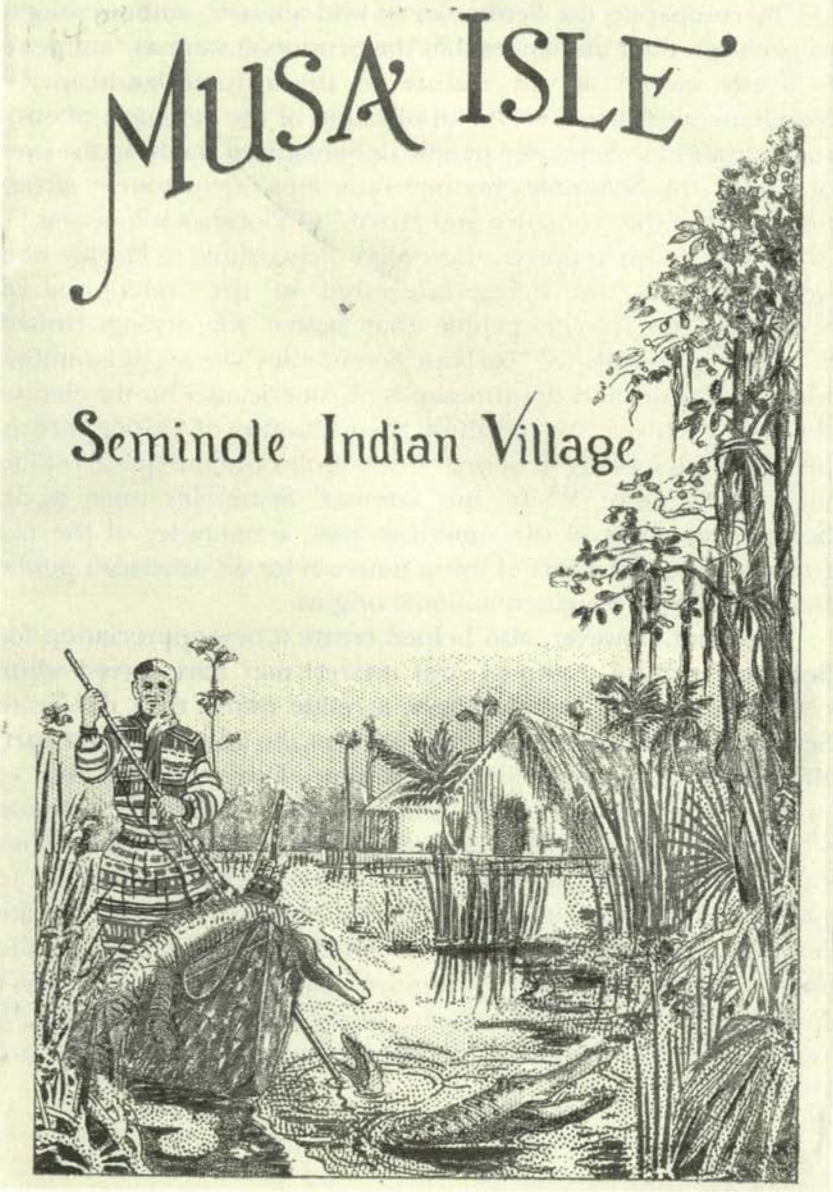
[127] "Alligators are Getting Scarce," 12 July 1903, 28; and "Urges Everglades as Bird Sanctuary,"Sept. 16, 1925, 14, *New York Times.* ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[128] "Urges Everglades as Bird Sanctuary," *New York Times,* Sept. 16, 1925, 14. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[129] Moore-Willson, *The Seminoles of Florida,* 70; U.S. Congress. Senate. *A Survey of the Seminole Indians of Florida*. Report by Roy Nash (71st Cong., 3rd Sess., 1931. Doc. 314), 76.

[130] Moore-Willson, *The Seminoles of Florida,* 70.

[131] Covington, *The Seminoles of Florida,* 209; "New Everglades National Park Will Open Tropical Wonderland," *New York Times,* 1 July 1934, E7. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.



The cover of a 1926 brochure from the Seminole tourist camp of Musa Isle depicted Florida's Natives as part of the natural environment of the state. Inspired by the growing environmental conservation movement, many Anglo-Americans in the early twentieth century perceived the Seminoles as being in need of the same protection as endangered flora and fauna. *Musa Isle: Stories about the Seminoles, Alligators, and Florida's Most Noted Indian Trading Post* by James Lowther Berkebile. Augusta, GA: Phoenix Printing Co., 1926. *From the collection of the University of Arizona Library.*

By comparing the Seminoles to wild animals, authors sought to persuade their audiences that the Seminoles were as "eminently worth saving" as any feature in the natural landscape.[132] Simultaneously, however, the application of the language of environmentalism to Seminole people dehumanized them. In the eyes of whites, the Seminoles became little more than tourist attractions, part of the "romance and charm" of Florida's wilderness.[133] According to one reporter, there were "few visitors to Florida who would confess not being interested in the 'unconquered Seminole,' the savage people that bested the strong United States."[134] The Indians' "barbaric ceremonies" attracted countless white spectators and the thousands of Americans who traveled to the state each year "would think their itinerary of Florida incomplete without looking in upon the Seminoles and the species of life maintained there."[135] In this context, Seminoles once again became remnants of the American past, a reminder of the old frontier days, and a sort of living museum for an American public fascinated by its imagined national origins.

Tourism, however, also helped create a new appreciation for Seminole culture. Although this interest may have served white economic goals, it led Floridians to value rather than denigrate Seminole communities and their place in the state. For their part, the Seminoles at times took advantage of this assigned role to make a living for themselves. Along the Tamiami Trail, Seminole women sold "home-made trinkets" to winter visitors while other Indians went to live in tourist camps where they earned money to practice traditional customs.[136] Thus, despite the unfortunate implications of the Seminoles' perceived link to wild animals, the natural landscape, and a "primitive" past in the white public's imagination, the Native people themselves could occasionally manipulate their exoticized image to support their families and traditions.

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[132] Warren, *Florida's Seminoles*, 4.

[133] Berkebile, *Musa Isle*, 21.

[134] Warren, *Florida's Seminoles*, 31.

[135] "Seminole Chief Marries," *New York Times*, 4 June 1926, 7. ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Berkebile, *Musa Isle*, 5.

[136] Huss, *Life among the Seminoles*, 5; Hanson, *Hanson Talks on Seminoles*; for a full discussion of Seminole involvement in the tourist industry see Patsy West, *The Enduring Seminoles: From Alligator Wrestling to Ecotourism* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998).

In the years between the Civil War and the 1930s, the American public's perception of the Seminoles Indians of Florida reflected their own changing ideas about their dynamic society. In the early years, lingering frontier fears served to demonize Florida's indigenous people, who, in the eyes of whites, remained formidable foes to settlements on the edge of a wilderness. Lacking confidence in their own domination of a land that seemed so impenetrable, whites transformed their personal insecurities to denunciations of the people they imagined threatened their preeminence. As America underwent its enormous turn-of-the-century changes towards industrialization, however, whites no longer feared their society would flounder, but instead worried over what direction it would take. In this context, Natives served as symbols of the kind of society Anglo-Americans longed for. The Seminoles became symbolic of a romanticized past, an America free from the corruptions of modernity. They also provided models for an idealized American identity at a time when Anglo-Americans struggled to preserve their national distinctiveness from the influences of foreign-born immigrants.

These more noble impressions of Florida's indigenous people were later challenged as Americans grew comfortable with their modernizing world. Confident that their society was progressing forward to a higher plane of civilization through reforms, whites sought to "fix" past wrongs and uplift the Seminoles, whom they now perceived as piteously frail and backward. At times, the Seminoles were able to use white images to benefit themselves. Whites who viewed the Seminoles as part of nature helped the Indians to secure reservation lands, and Florida's growing tourist industry led commercially-minded whites to value traditional Seminole culture, if only for their own economic interests. Overall, however, perceptions of the Florida Seminoles revealed much more about American society and anxieties than they did about the Indians they described. Rather than enlighten Congress about Florida's remaining population of Natives, Roy Nash's colorful "anachronism" showcased American desires to reconcile their idealized past with their rapidly changing future.

Book Reviews

Firebrand of Liberty: The Story of Two Black Regiments that Changed the Course of the Civil War. By Stephen V. Ash. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2008. Acknowledgements, preface, maps, prologue, epilogue, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. Pp.ix-282. $25.95 cloth).

Each year, publishers unveil dozens of new titles destined for large bookstores and book clubs. Civil War historians are lucky to write on a topic that draws this sort of interest. But because of Florida's small wartime population (barely 140,000 total residents in 1860, less than 10 percent the size of Virginia and less than 4 percent of New York's population) and its geographical remoteness from the major theaters of fighting, few scholars accord it much space in traditional narratives of the war. Stephen Ash's new book upsets this tradition, carving out for Florida a space at the center of the conflict. He argues for the importance of Florida's experience as the site of the first major action by black soldiers during the war and one directly focused on ending slavery in the region. Ash's book thus fits perfectly within the emerging body of literature that identifies emancipation as the most meaningful aspect of the Civil War.

The "firebrand" of the title are the 1st and 2nd South Carolina regiments, two black units recruited by Union forces from the sea islands and coastal reaches of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. The change to which the second half of the title refers comes in early 1863, when Union Colonel and leading abolitionist Thomas Wentworth Higginson led the regiments on an invasion of northeast Florida. The troops occupied Jacksonville, conducted raids up the St. John's River as far as Palatka, and were set to embark on an audacious movement into the interior of Florida.

The express purpose of the raid, and indeed the whole invasion of Florida, was to attack slavery. Higginson and his units hoped to draw slaves away from their masters who had retreated into the interior of the state. Jacksonville would then serve as a gateway out of which enslaved people could escape, weakening Confederate Florida and adding manpower to Union forces in the Deep South. Higginson never had the chance to enact the plan because his forces were recalled to Beaufort, South Carolina (the headquarters of the Union's Department of the South) to augment the troops needed for a more high-profile attack on Charleston. That effort failed, and Charleston would not be captured until February 1865, when troops attacked the vulnerable inland side of the city.

At first blush, the outcome in Florida would seem to confirm the wisdom of previous historians - the "invasion" was small in scale (not more than 2,500 soldier at its height), short in duration, and did relatively little damage to Confederate forces in the area. But Ash is not a traditional historian. In addition to having a rare gift for narrative, he sees the significance of events and processes that other historians overlook. In previous books, he has brought much needed clarity to the issue of Union occupation of the South and to the pivotal year of 1865. In this case, Ash argues that the success of Higginson's mission, though limited, was enough to convince Abraham Lincoln to push ahead with plans for wide-scale recruitment and enlistment of black men into the Union Army. Within days of news reports about the occupation of Jacksonville, the administration had shifted policy and embarked on what would eventually be the creation of the United States Colored Troops, a 180,000 man force of black soldiers within the regular army that provided the Union with a crucial manpower edge late in the war. Although Ash has no smoking gun that links the Florida expedition to Lincoln directly, his circumstantial case is persuasive.

Higginson left the best private records of the event. He was a writer before the war and in addition to his journals left a memoir that remains a Civil War classic. Ash draws heavily from Higginson but his footnotes reveal exhaustive research in all the relevant collections. Because the expedition was cut short before it reached its major objective, personalities must carry a lot of the narrative interest and here Ash excels. He gives concise descriptions and carries forward the stories of a wide array of individuals involved in the campaign, from white abolitionists to black soldiers to unscrupulous Treasury Department agents to Jacksonville Unionists. The region's Confederates do not have much of a voice in this account because Ash's focus is on the significance of the event for the northern war effort. He is surely right that the campaign risked a great deal—failure would have weakened the case for the enlistment of black soldiers and perhaps set back the Union's enthusiasm for carrying emancipation forward. In the event, the campaign succeeded just enough to ensure that emancipation became a permanent Union policy. Just as Florida has emerged in recent years as one of the most important places to study in order to understand Colonial America, *Firebrand of Liberty* puts Florida at the center of the Civil War narrative.

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The Florida Life of Thomas Edison. By Michelle Wehrwein Albion. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008. Acknowledgements, illustrations, maps, notes, index. Pp. xix, 239. $34.95 cloth.)

The *Florida Life of Thomas Edison* delivers what it promises: a brief, well-illustrated, and engaging survey of the inventor's experiences at his Fort Myers winter home. Author Michelle Wehrwein Albion, a former curator at the Edison and Ford Winter Estates and author of several articles on Edison's career and south Florida history, presents the inventor as a human being, a humble and charming member of his new community, and someone genuinely interested in the natural environment, friendships, and solitude that southwest Florida offered.

When Edison first arrived in Fort Myers in 1885, it was little more than the end of a cattle trail; even the finest hotel lacked electricity, gas, or indoor plumbing. Edison was attracted nevertheless, and on his second day there purchased thirteen acres along the Caloosahatchee River for under $3000. As with his hundreds of patents and inventions, the "Wizard of Menlo Park" proved wise despite his lack of formal education.

Edison soon constructed a new home, later dubbed Seminole Lodge, and eventually added laboratories, a swimming pool, a pier, and other amenities. Although his visits were intermittent at first, Edison's Fort Myers winters eventually became an (almost) annual event and an increasingly central part of his life. Albion focuses mainly on the inventor's daily experiences, including fishing expeditions, camping trips, home renovations, and host to famous visitors. Guests included John Harvey Kellogg, President Herbert Hoover, the Philadelphia Athletics baseball team, and most significantly, Henry Ford, who in 1916 bought property that soon became his own winter home, The Mangoes, just a few hundred feet from Edison's.

Edison did not do much research or experimentation in Fort Myers until his later years, when he became obsessed with the search for a domestic source of natural rubber. By 1927, Edison had turned the Fort Myers property into a serious research facility, testing thousands of plant varieties for rubber content, conducting laboratory tests on rubber solvents, and straining to improve rubber yields, before eventually settling on a species of goldenrod as the most promising possibility. Although the inventor fell short of his goal, he could not have been more accurate about the threat of a wartime rubber emergency, and descendants of his goldenrod plants became an important part of the nation's massive response to the rubber crisis of World War II.

Albion gives considerable attention to Edison's second wife, Mina. Daughter of a prominent Ohio family, Mina Miller Edison was appalled on her honeymoon to find Fort Myers a backward village, her winter home unfinished (and lacking electricity), and her new husband more devoted to work and business than to family affairs. Nevertheless, she remained a devoted wife and eventually became a dedicated ambassador for the city. In many ways, she worked to preserve the region's natural beauty, to control the town's development, and to promote education and community improvement. As her husband aged, she also worked hard to protect him from tourists, the media, and other distractions. Her activism in community affairs continued well after the inventor died in 1931, and she participated in efforts to protect Seminole lands in the Everglades and to reduce racial barriers in the segregated city. Just months before her death in 1947, she deeded Seminole Lodge to the city of Fort Myers for the price of one dollar. It was the first step in the preservation of this famous winter home and research facility.

Although this is not a scholarly book in the traditional sense, it is well researched. Albion relied especially on Fort Myers newspapers and other periodicals, which are supplemented with archival correspondence and oral histories with local residents.

The text also includes a very fine collection of nearly fifty photographs, as well as dozens of pull-out boxes that add anecdotal and incidental color to the story. On the other hand, because she had little intent to engage or challenge what scholars have written on Edison, South Florida's development, race relations, or other topics, Albion tends to lift Fort Myers history, Edison's career, his research on rubber, and Mina's activism in local affairs out of their historical context. The emphasis on daily activities captures the flavor of the Edisons' Florida experiences, although details on boat repairs, bird sightings, meals served at the local hotel, and tales of the fish that got away do limit the book's overall significance.

The Florida Life of Thomas Edison fits a fairly small niche in the extensive literature on the nation's most famous inventor, but it succeeds as a rich and interesting portrayal of Thomas and Mina Edison's work, recreation, and community activism in the Sunshine State.

Mark R. Finlay *Armstrong Atlantic State University*

***A Journey into Florida Railroad History*.** By Gregg M. Turner. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, b/w photographs, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. 304. $27.50.)

With this latest book, Gregg M. Turner has cemented his credentials as one of the leading, and most prolific, authorities on Florida railroads writing today. Former national director of the Railway & Locomotive Historical Society at Harvard Business School and co-author of *Connecticut Railroads: An Illustrated History* (1988), Turner began his forays in Florida history from his Southwest Florida base at Fort Myers with *Railroads of Southwest Florida* (2000), *Venice in the 1920s* (2000), and *Fort Myers* (2001) co-authored with Stan Milford. Methodically and with diligence, he expanded his interests in Florida railroads and followed with *A Short History of Florida Railroads* (2003), *A Milestone Celebration: The Seaboard Railway to Naples and Miami* (2004), *The Plant System of Railroads, Steamships and Hotels: The South's First Great Industrial Enterprise* (2004) co-authored with Seth Bramson, and *Florida Railroads in the 1920s* (2006) with the thematic detour *Fort Myers in Vintage Postcards* (2005) squeezed in between. He now delights us with *A Journey into Florida Railroad History (2008).*

Turner realizes the enormity of the task facing any historian attempting to thoroughly cover Florida railroad history. In the 2003 introduction to his *A Short History of Florida Railroads,* he wrote: "For at least one generation, perhaps more than one, the story of Florida railroading will be something of a surprise" (11). That he perceptively entitled his latest work *A Journey into Florida Railroad History* is an expression of his hope that future journeys into Florida railroad history will follow. That said, Turner's journey, if more a synthesis than an exhaustive study, is an exciting and informative one for both amateur and professional historians alike.

The first chapter of the book, "A Railway Primer," is destined to become a standard introduction to the story of Florida's railroads. Basic concepts such as the role of railroad promoters, the mechanics of state charters, financing and construction costs, the issuance of corporate bonds (so crucial in Florida's railroad history), sources of labor, contractors and subcontractors, the laying of rails, the gauges of tracks, the acquisition of equipment, station construction, and personnel hiring and operations are succinctly and entertainingly presented and lay the foundation for his journey in future chapters.

The next seven chapters cover almost 100 years of Florida railroad history from the first operational line in 1836 to the period just before the Great Depression of the 1930s. These were, undoubtedly, the glory years of Florida's railroads in terms of scope, drama, and personalities. The difficult task of recounting the multiple short early lines and their tortuous path to regional consolidation is admirably covered in the first three of the seven chapters. The main personalities and the railroads involved in territorial Florida during what Turner calls an early "era of private enterprise"—General Richard Keith Call and the Tallahassee Railroad, Benjamin Chaires and the St. Joseph Railroad, the short-lived Arcadia Railroad Company, and Captain William Chase and the Alabama, Florida, and Georgia Railroad Company—are dutifully chronicled. With statehood in 1845, federal and state land grants increasingly became incentives for railroad building as Congressman Edward C. Cabell and his Pensacola and Georgia railroad, Dr. Abel Seymour Baldwin and the Florida Atlantic and Gulf Central Railroad, Captain William Chase and a re-chartered Alabama and Florida Railroad, Dr. John Westcott and the St. John's Railroad, and Senator David Yulee and his Florida Railroad took advantage of the passage of the Internal Improvement Fund Act in 1855. Turner closes this era of private enterprise by summarizing the decline and virtual collapse of Florida's early rail lines during the Civil War, the lack of progress during Reconstruction, and the swindle by General Milton Littlefield and North Carolina banker George Swepson of innocent Dutch investors in the Jacksonville, Pensacola & Mobile Railroad fiasco.

Turner ushers the reader into what he labels "the era of consolidation and system building" in the book's next two chapters. In the first of these chapters he discusses the role played by Governor William Bloxham and Philadelphia entrepreneur Hamilton Disston in reviving the Internal Improvement Fund in 1881 with the famous or infamous state land sale of four million acres for one million dollars which freed the fund from its debts and resulted in the renewal of land grants and railroad construction in Florida. The work of William D. Chipley and the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, English capitalist Sir Edward Reed and what would eventually become the Florida Central & Peninsular Railroad, Henry B. Plant and his Plant System of railroads, and Henry M. Flagler and the Florida East Coast Railway are, again, dutifully covered. The second of the two chapters covers the expansion into the state of the Seaboard Air Line Railway, the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad and the Southern Railway at the turn of the twentieth century to join the Louisville & Nashville railroad with only the Florida East Coast Railway remaining as an independent major railroad in the state. The impact of federal government intervention during World War I in Florida's and the nation's railroads is also covered. Turner closes the era in the last two chapters of this series which chronicle a period of further line consolidations and the railroad construction boom in Florida during the 1920s.

The book's last three chapters compress Turner's last two eras of Florida railroad history– the "era of decline and competition" and the "era of megamergers and short lines." In these chapters he chronicles the receivership of the Florida East Coast Railway in 1931 and bondholders' protracted fight for control of the railroad, the 1935 hurricane and the end of the FEC rail line to Key West, the impact of World War II, Ed Ball and his battle with the Atlantic Coast Line for control of the FEC, the merger between the Seaboard Air Line and the Atlantic Coast Line in 1967 to create the Seaboard Coast Line, and that line's subsequent merger in

1980 with the Chessie System of railroads to create CSX Corporation. The last chapter closes with a listing and brief discussion of the three large railroads currently operating in Florida (the CSX Corporation, the Norfolk Southern Corporation, and the Florida East Coast Railway) and the number of short lines also in operation which are remarkably reminiscent of those similar early short lines almost two centuries before.

In a volume edited under The Florida History and Culture Series of the University of Florida Press which aims for a broad audience among academics and non-academics alike and with, probably, book-length constraints, there are, inevitably, omissions. For the non-specialist, the absence of detailed maps of Florida to piece together the multitude of short lines, especially during the earlier periods, is a major shortcoming of the book not entirely compensated by the ample use of illustrations. For the specialist, more space and analysis should have been devoted to the intricacies of the political context of railroad construction in Florida. The glossing over of the Reconstruction period and the absence of any discussion of the role of Governor Harrison Reed and his Great Southern Railroad Company project in the early 1870s as a southern trunk line linking the Northeast to the Caribbean and points further south through Florida is a glaring omission. The same goes for no mention of General John B. Gordon's projected International Railroad and Steamship Company in the 1880s with goals similar to the Great Southern project. For the Progressive Era, Senator Wilkinson Call and his antagonistic views of railroads deserve greater coverage than the brief one paragraph assigned to him. Economic historians will lament the scant coverage given to the issue of the historical manipulation of rates (both passenger and freight) by railroads as well as the competition between rail and water transport and its impact on decisions rendered by the House Committee on Rivers and Harbors in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Finally, the almost circuitous nature of Turner's railroad journey which has brought his readers to a discussion of short rail lines in Florida early in the twenty-first century—a discussion with striking similarities to events almost 200 years before—elicits no comment from the author. Academicians will, however, find comfort in Turner's research and the wealth of documentation found in his numerous endnotes.

A Journey into Florida Railroad History by Gregg M. Turner is, in short, a well-written, highly entertaining, and well-documented synthesis of the chronology of Florida's railroads which general readers will thoroughly enjoy and which academic specialists most certainly welcome as the journey into Florida railroad history continues.

Jesus Mendez *Barry University*

Cuba in the American Imagination: Metaphor and the Imperial Ethos. By Louis A Pérez, Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, political cartoons, notes, index. Pp. xi, 33. $34.95 Cloth.)

Throughout his career, Louis A. Pérez, Jr., Carlyle Setterson Professor of History and director of the Institute for the Study of the Americas at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, has excelled as one of the foremost scholars of United States—Cuban relations. In this superbly written book, Pérez uses Cuba as metaphor to explore United States—Cuban relations during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

After a thoroughly convincing introduction describing how Cuba became the laboratory for American global imperialism, the book's first chapter examines the importance of the use of the metaphor throughout history. In explaining the metaphor from a historical perspective, the author relies on the works of renowned historians, linguists, sociologists, philosophers and psychologists. As a result, the reader realizes how instrumental the metaphor was to American empire-building.

In the second chapter, Pérez—aided by newspaper illustrations, cartoons, editorials, travel accounts, and quotations from journalists, historians, and politicians—presents a detailed analysis of Cuba, in the view of nineteenth century American policymakers, as essential to the security, welfare, and destiny of the United States.

Although the chapter concentrates on the Spanish-American War, it offers invaluable insights into the northern republic's obsession in acquiring the Spanish-held island by reason or by force. As evidenced by the author's use of cartoons, illustrations, and other images, the reader will notice how the metaphor as a mode of persuasion changed throughout the nineteenth century. Prior to the outbreak of the Cuban War for Independence in 1895, the most commonly employed metaphor was that of Cuba as a ripe fruit ready to be picked by Uncle Sam's friendly hand. Once the

Independence War started, the metaphor switched to invoke moral suasion as Cuba was depicted as a neighborly damsel in distress, begging to be rescued from the abusive Spanish master. Through Pérez's craftsmanship in combining all of his sources, the reader realizes that while there was an altruistic component to the Spanish-American War, the United States also acted out of self-interest.

The next three chapters concentrate on United States relations with post-independent Cuba. During the first years of the Cuban republic, the metaphor changed from the damsel in distress to a Black child in need of discipline. Cuba was depicted as a primitive, immature unruly child in a school setting with other unruly classmates (Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines) under Uncle Sam's tutelage.

As the book progresses, there are new metaphors revealing the Americans' sense of entitlement as Cuba is depicted as a tropical playground, a saloon, a cabaret, a casino, or even a brothel. The author is at his best in portraying the Cubans' grievances towards the Americans' paternalistic, arrogant and jingoistic attitude. Pérez, however, avoids the trap of his book becoming another anti-Yankee diatribe. Instead of sermonizing and pontificating, he relies on the works of Cubans intellectuals of the 1920s and 1930s such as Eduardo Abril Amores, Rafael A. Cisneros, and Jorge Mañach. According to them, the United States' forced establishment of a dependency system for Cuba, crushed the Cuban sentiment of self-determination and prevented Cubans from realizing their own destinies.

After Fidel Castro's rise to power in 1959 and his subsequent nationalization of American properties, the Cuban-as-child metaphor reappeared as Castro was often portrayed as a brat in need of punishment. As Cuba became a Communist island only 90 miles away from the United States, the prevailing metaphor was that of a cancer ready to spread all over Latin America.

In explaining Castro's vitriolic attitude and hate towards the United States, Pérez accurately points out that the Cuban leader became the embodiment of his countrymen's grievances against the United States. However, in this reviewer's opinion, Castro paid a very high price for this "independence," for in order to survive, he had no other alternative than to depend on a more nefarious imperialist power, the former Soviet Union.

The last chapter is a recapitulation of the previous ones, but Pérez admonishes that if changes were to take place in Cuba, that planning for its future should be left to the Cubans on the island,

and American policymakers must avoid the arrogance and mistakes of their predecessors in a post-Castro Cuba.

In summary, Pérez, with balance and authority, has done a magnificent job in depicting nineteenth and twentieth-century United States-Cuban relations. The book is highly recommended for those interested in United States-Latin American relations and is a must read for American policymakers.

José B. Fernández *University of Central Florida*

Coming Through: Voices of a South Carolina Gullah Community from WPA Oral Histories. Edited by Kincaid Mills, Genevieve C. Peterkin, and Aaron McCullough. (Columbia: SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2008). Acknowledgements, foreward, introduction, illustrations, appendices, index. Pp. 384. $29.95 cloth.)

*Coming Through is a*n edited collection of interviews that Genevieve Willcox Chandler conducted with 49 members of the Gullah community along the east side of the Waccamaw River in South Carolina, for the Federal Writers Project (FWP). Although the book is a challenging read for those of us who are not fluent in the cadences of Gullah speech, it is nonetheless worth the effort. With patience, the rhythms of the remarkable stories become familiar. *Coming Through* will entrance readers who are interested in Gullah life and culture, in slavery and the coming of freedom, and in folklore.

Chandler, an educated middle class white woman, grew up in the local community and understood Gullah. More important, the local African-American people knew and trusted her, making the stories she collected more vivid and detailed than many of those that African Americans told white New Deal-era interviewers. Widowed in middle age with five children to support, she turned to teaching and work with the FWP to support her family. Chandler taught local white children during the day and began a night school for adults. Because segregation laws prevented her from conducting night classes for African-Americans in the white school building, she offered them lessons in her own home, a progressive move in the Jim Crow South, and one that earned her the respect of local blacks. Chandler's brother was a local doctor much beloved for his work among local blacks.

Between May 1936 and October 1938, Chandler collected thousands of pages of interviews. She framed her earliest interviews in a highly stylized literary fashion, but over time, she moved more and more toward letting informants tell their stories without any narrative framing. Although she was not trained in folklore or linguistics, she endeavored to record both the Gullah tales and the Gullah dialect in an accurate and respectful manner. In those days that pre-dated portable recording technology, she developed her own short-hand to take down the stories verbatim.

Coming Through is the product of a decade and a half of work by Chandler's daughter, Genevieve Chandler Perterkin, Kincaid Mills, and Aaron McCullough. The editors combed several archives, including the South Caroliniana Library and the Library of Congress, to assemble copies of all of Chandler's interviews. What they found was a diverse collection of songs, folklore, slave narratives, and life histories. Their goal was to make Chandler's interviews available to a broad readership in a format that offered an organized account of the Waccamaw River Gullah community's history.

Historian Charles W. Joyner's Foreword is a warm recollection of his own long acquaintance of Genevieve Chandler. The introduction offers a brief history of the FWP and its "unprecedented narrative recording effort" as well as an overview of Chandler's life and work (xviii). Four appendices reprint various directives from FWP officials to guide the gathering of ex-slave narratives and folktales. Three maps of the Waccamaw community geographically orient the reader.

Each chapter contains the narratives on a single informant. Stunning photographs of many of the informants by North Carolina photographer Bayard Wooten accompany the text. A single interview constitutes some chapters; others contain the result of dozens of encounters between Chandler and her subjects. Trickster stories and accounts of folk medicine are interwoven with stories about slavery times and references to contemporary community events. Chandler's interviewees ranged from ditch diggers to oyster men, from domestic workers and farmers, to rice plantation hands, and carpenters; many owned their land while others were landless. Some were children; the oldest was more than 100; most had been young at the time of emancipation. Typical was Hagar Brown, a midwife seen as a matriarch in the community. Brown frequently visited Chandler to obtain milk and produce, and she shared many conjure stories as well as tales about slavery times and about her experiences as a midwife and folk healer. She lived with her family on a small farm that she inherited from her husband who died in prison after being falsely convicted of stealing a pig. Like many of the narrators, she spoke at length about the value of work and land. She told Chandler "Land a good thing to look after. I work till I loney (looney) in the field" (23).

The orientation of the Waccamaw Gullah people was profoundly local. They marked time by births and deaths, the earthquake of 1886, and the hurricane of 1893. Most important of all, they marked time by the year that freedom came. One narrator explained that Lee had surrendered to Grant nearby, a distortion that the editors believe reflected his profoundly personal identification with the end of the Civil War. Many narrators shared vivid tales of life during slavery and of the passage of Yankee gunboats up the Waccamaw River. William Oliver explained that slaves on the plantation where he grew up enjoyed secret reading lessons at night away from the master's eyes. Ben Horry told how his father went to war with his white master and worked as a ditchdigger for the Confederates. Mariah Heywood recalled that slaves on her plantation spent the war years praying for freedom: " Four years of the war been hold prayer meeting" (79). Of the arrival of freedom, she said, " I know when Lincoln shoot the chain of slavery off my neck. And I hear the gun" (76).

Although the editors used footnotes to explain much of the social and historical context of various stories and to define some Gullah terms, a glossary of common Gullah terms would have made the book more user-friendly. This is, however, a minor quibble. The poetic Gullah storytellers offer a richly textured picture of nineteenth century life on the Waccamaw rice plantations from the perspective of its African-Americans.

Melissa Walker *Converse College*

A Revolution Down on the Farm: The Transformation of American Agriculture Since 1929. By Paul K. Conkin. (Lexington, Ky.: The University of Kentucky Press, 2008. List of Illustrations, Preface, Acknowledgements, Afterword, Notes, Index. Pp. 240. Cloth, $29.95.)

Recently, the editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and I visited Hydro Harvest Farms in Ruskin, Florida. There, on barely half an acre, hundreds of plastic containers full of plants sat on tarmac being fed via tubes from vats of water. This operation, a family farm for the twenty-first century, embodies many of the changes described in Paul Conkin's book, *A Revolution Down on the Farm.* For Conkin, long-time professor of history at Vanderbilt University, this work represents a reflective, retrospective journey through both his personal and professional life. In it, he analyzes the changes in American agriculture and rural life from his birth in 1929 to the present day. The book is designed to appeal to the lay reader who has an interest in America's agricultural past, but it would also serve as an overview text for a class on agricultural or rural history.

Although Conkin constructs his book chronologically, he has four main themes: the survival of the family farm, the increasing efficiency of agriculture, federal intervention, and the depopulation of the countryside. Over much of the twentieth century politicians and others indulged in considerable handwringing about the loss of the family farm. They claimed this institution was disappearing in the face of agribusiness, Jeffersonian yeomen giving out to corporations. Hopefully, Conkin's book will finally put this myth to rest. He clearly demonstrates the continuing existence of the family farm. Most usually these operations survived by increasing both in size and efficiency. In effect, these farms become agribusinesses run by a single family.

The *Revolution* of Conkin's title is one of production. He shows how a combination of innovations in farm machinery, scientific advances in fertilizers, pesticides, herbicides, and animal and plant genetics dramatically improved agricultural production in the United States. In 1900, for example, "it took 147 hours of labor to grow 100 bushels of wheat . . . by 1990 . . . only 6" (98). The per-acre productivity of the land also grew. In 1900 one acre produced 25 bushels of corn; by 2000 one acre generated more than 120 bushels (99). Similar growth figures can be seen in most animal and field crops—fruits and vegetables also gained but not as dramatically.

Much of this revolution was funded by government subsidies. From the Great Depression on, the federal government has provided significant financial aid to farmers to ensure a continuous affordable food supply at a reasonable rate of return for the farmer. Conkin rightly points out two fundamental tenets of these subsidies that sculpted the dimensions of twenty-first century agriculture. First, they always favored larger-scale farmers, allowing them to expand and prosper, often at the expense of their smaller neighbors. Second, the government has maintained a contradictory approach to farming. On the one hand, it has worked steadily, with the exception of the period during the World Wars, to reduce farm production—paying farmers to remove land from cultivation. On the other hand, it financed the scientific research that has enabled these farmers to generate ever-increasing harvests on reduced acreage.

Hand-in-hand with the increasing efficiency of agriculture has been the depopulation of the countryside, as laborers and farmers left the countryside for work in the cities. There is considerable controversy over this mass migration, as Conkin rightly points out. Many people regret the loss of a life lived close to the land, while others point to the low wages and poor conditions of farm work. As we move into this century, this rural-urban divide is blurring as suburbs spread into the countryside, hobby farms proliferate, and many farm owners gain income from off-farm employment.

Conkin does not avoid controversy. He discusses the environmental, racial, economic, and social problems engendered by contemporary American agriculture. And he devotes a chapter to alternative perspectives of rural life from the communal farming of the Hutterites to the wide-ranging critiques of Wendell Berry. He does not take sides in any of the debates, exploring their complexities with admirable evenhandedness.

All in all, Conkin is to be commended for this overview of modern American agriculture. I particularly liked his two personal chapters—the first offering a snapshot of farm life the year he was born in his particular community in Tennessee, the second continuing the story through World War II to the 1970s. I was frustrated by the scarcity of endnotes; many times I wanted more information on a subject, only to find no sources cited. Despite this, many readers will enjoy *A Revolution Down on the Farm* and, like me, will find it illuminating their visits to farmers' markets, pumpkin patches, and hydroponic farms.

Claire Strom *Rollins College*

Historic Pensacola. Edited by John J. Clune, Jr., and Margo S. Stringfield. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009. Series Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, color images, maps, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. 200. $27.00 cloth.)

Historic Pensacola is the inaugural volume in the series *Colonial Towns and Cities of the Atlantic World*, edited by John J. Clune, Jr.

(University of West Florida) and Gregory Waselkov (University of South Alabama), and if this volume is an indication of things to come, fans of colonial Florida, the Gulf Coast, and the Atlantic seaboard are in for future treats. This particular volume, focused on colonial Pensacola, is authored by John J. Clune, Jr., and Margo S. Stringfield. Clune is chair of the University of West Florida History Department and Stringfield is an archaeologist with the University of West Florida Archaeology Institute. What makes this book enjoyable is the readable synthesis between the disciplines of history and archaeology.

Pensacola was Florida's largest city when the United States acquired the territory from Spain in 1821. Its colonial history goes back to 1559, when the Spanish first attempted a settlement at Pensacola Bay (the Pensacola 450th Anniversary Committee aided in the publication of this volume). The authors divide the book into five chapters, reflecting the five stages of Pensacola's colonial existence—"First Settlement, 1559-1561," "First Pensacola, 1698-1719," "Storms and High Tides, 1722-1763," "British Pensacola, 1763-1781," and "Second Spanish Period, 1781-1821." Using the latest historical and archaeological research and discoveries, Clune and Stringfield weave the rich tapestry that defined this colonial town. Especially well covered is the first settlement attempt by Tristan de Luna from 1559-1561, including the many diverse reasons behind Spain's interest in Florida. Unfortunately a hurricane struck the large expedition (1500 persons) only a short time after they had landed, and after searching for elusive food the colony began to fall part, finally being abandoned in 1561, and allowing St. Augustine to claim the honor of Florida first settlement four years later. Underwater archaeologists have discovered two of Luna's ill-fated ships in Pensacola Bay, and the artifacts have revealed much information about this first colonizing attempt.

It would not be until 1698 that Pensacola would be permanently settled, and once again archaeological investigations at that first site of Pensacola have revealed rich details about life in the very primitive outpost. After a brief French interlude, the Spanish moved their colony to the hurricane prone shores of Santa Rosa Island from the 1720s to the 1750s, before finally relocating it to the mainland where the modern city of Pensacola sits. But because of geopolitics, Spain lost Florida to the British, 1763-1781, but regained it and held the city until the United States acquisition in 1821. Each of these episodes is treated, being enriched by new documents and numerous archaeological investigations that have shed light on each of these eras and sites.

This is the beauty of the work; it shows the promise and opportunities when historians and archaeologists work together. Too many times the fields of history and archaeology do not intersect, and the valuable knowledge from both disciplines is not shared and key information is lost. By wedding the historical documents and the archaeological record Clune and Stringfield are able to present the most balanced and thorough analysis of Pensacola's colonial past. The artifacts of the past add new dimensions to the economic, geopolitical, and cultural web that comprises the past, and the historiography and original documents illuminate the context in which those artifacts came to be. Numerous full color photographs shine a light on these artifacts and illustrate how they have helped add to our understanding of the city's past. Historic maps are included which also provide readers with a geographical understanding of Pensacola, and its place on the bay, and on the Gulf Coast. Illustrations blend historic and archaeological discoveries into a visual window to the colonial world.

Historic Pensacola is intended for the general audience, but the full color photos, illustrations, and excellent maps make it a treat for any serious student of Florida history. Each chapter also concludes with a historic recipe reflective of the colonial era of the chapter. For those desirous of more in-depth scholarship, the authors have included excellent sources and an extensive bibliography with the most significant works chronicling colonial Pensacola. In summation, this is an attractive, readable, and affordable book that distills the basics of colonial Pensacola with an engaging and colorful text. It is a volume that will appeal to both neophytes and experts. What a wonderful book to highlight the 450th celebration of Florida's historic city of Pensacola.

Brian R. Rucker *Pensacola Junior College*

Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress. By Alice Yang Murray. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008. List of Figures, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xv, 590. $65 cloth.)

Historians of comparative reparations and historical justice routinely cite America's 1988 Civil Liberties Act as landmark legislation in the quest for redress for past discrimination. This act provided a national apology for the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II and awarded $20,000 to each survivor. Between 1941 and 1946 the U.S. government violated the civil rights of as many as 110,000 persons of Japanese heritage, two-thirds of whom were born in America. The Civil Liberties Act inspired a new age of apologies for historic wrongs throughout the world.

Historian Alice Yang Murray's deep research, especially utilizing oral history interviews with almost eighty former internees and redress activists, complicates the story of how over six decades Japanese Americans remembered their past, sought collective justice, and campaigned for the Civil Liberties Act. Rather than a unified mass movement to obtain redress from the U.S. government, different groups acted independently, often clashing in terms of goals, tactics, and strategy. They premised their campaigns on how their constituencies reconstructed what happened during the war, the effect of internment on Japanese Americans, the efficacy of different strategies to achieve redress, and the broad meaning of internment for all Americans.

Murray's gracefully written and well organized book examines the campaigns for redress launched by three rival groups: the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), the National Council of Japanese American Redress (NCJAR), and the National Coalition for Redress/Reparations (NCRR). As Murray explains, some activists belonged to more than one organization. And not every member of each group shared the same historical memory of the Japanese American experience. "Yet," she maintains, "almost all of the activists associated each organization with a particular history of internment" (p. 3). Beyond this, Murray notes that though the three groups differed about the meaning of internment and specific redress goals and strategies, they concurred that the forced evacuation was unjust and that the former internees deserved financial compensation. "Moreover, all reinforced the right of Japanese Americans to define their own history of internment as well as their right to challenge depictions by the architects of the decision, by the administrators of the camps, and even by sympathetic academics" (p. 322).

Members of the JACL identified with a history of wartime cooperation and military service by Japanese Americans. Interviewees considered those Japanese Americans who served in the American military as the true heroes of their community.

Backers of the JACL stressed the wartime loyalty and patriotism of Japanese Americans internees as their foremost weapon in combating the racism and intolerance that led to their internment in the first place. They cited with special pride the distinguished service of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, a Japanese-American fighting unit, as justification for the redress legislation in 1988.

Backers of the NCJAR espoused a radically different history of Japanese Americans during World War II. They described the suffering of internees, branded as collaborators those persons of Japanese descent who supported the U.S. military effort, and celebrated those who protested against the government, refusing to sign loyalty questionnaires or to comply with selective service procedures. NCJAR leaders accused the JACL of accommodating with the U.S. government both during the war and during the redress campaign of the postwar years.

In contrast, many NCRR supporters, born after 1945, revered Japanese-American internees irregardless of their stance on military service or to the loyalty questionnaires. Unlike the JACL or the NCJAR, however, members of the NCRR interpreted the mass incarceration of Japanese-Americans within the broad context of group discrimination against minorities in American history. They drew a parallel between the confinement of Japanese Americans during World War II and the enslavement of African Americans, the neo-slavery of Jim Crow, the consignment of Native Americans to reservations, and the economic exploitation of Asian Americans. NCRR activists urged Japanese Americans to make common cause with other ethnic and racial minorities and to launch grassroots campaigns against injustice and towards redress.

After establishing that the internment of Japanese Americans for so-called "military necessity" resulted from both overt and subtle racism, "twisted logic, unsubstantiated facts, and deliberate lies," Murray details the competing histories of the internment (p. 45). The War Relocation Authority, the civilian government agency responsible for administering it, publicized internment as a benign "relocation" that enabled Japanese Americans to prove their loyalty and faith in democracy. While the JACL, which constructed and promoted this historical memory, "helped repeal decades of anti-Japanese legislation, it concealed a history of internee suffering, protest, and bitterness" (p. 139).

The NCJAR presented a revisionist history of internment, interpreting and popularizing the mass incarceration of Japanese

Americans as "America's Concentration Camps." It challenged the JACL for leadership of the redress movement and, according to Murray, the group's aggressive national legal campaign in the 1980s "helped to sustain an American tradition of protesting government tyranny and defending individual rights from government abuse" (p. 313).

Like the NCJAR the NCRR also challenged the JACL's redress project, mobilizing ordinary Japanese Americans in demonstrating "Third World solidarity" with other victims of racism and condemning the U.S. government's long history of repression. Celebrating their ethnic heritage, participating in political demonstrations, and urging former internees to testify at hearings, NCRR members emphasized the government's racist motivation for the internment, government betrayal of its loyal citizens, and the suffering internees experienced during the war. Contextualizing the internment of Japanese Americans within America's long history of racial profiling and marginalizing, the NCRR promoted allegiances among people of color.

By unraveling the multiple interpretations of Japanese American history, especially assimilation and the meaning of internment, Murray offers a critically important look at communal conflict and internecine battles over historical memory and the construction and representation of history within what she terms "memory arenas." In doing so Murray underscores the tensions between official and vernacular memories of the past and their meaning for the present in art, exhibits, film, media, monuments, and the Internet. Her book is essential for scholars studying the history of public apologies, reparations, historical justice, and the shaping of competing historical narratives over time and place.

John David Smith *University of North Carolina at Charlotte*

MUSEUM EXHIBIT REVIEW: "From Kin to Kant: The Culture of Turpentine." Dr. Robert Cassanello, curator; Katherine Parry and Marianne McClain Popkins, associate curators; and William A. Gura, exhibit designer and fabricator. Presented by the Winter Park Historical Association in partnership with the UCF Department of History at the Association's museum in the north end of the historic Winter Park Farmer's Market at 200 West New England Avenue, Winter Park. (407.647 8180) The exhibit will close, briefly, on February 20, and a smaller version will be displayed through May at the Winter Park Chamber of Commerce's Galloway Gallery at 151 West Lyman Avenue, Winter Park, FL 32789 (407.644.8281). Reopening in June at the museum, the exhibit will remain through the summer.

Turpentine is like dice, to shoot you up on the loose
Turpentine is just like dice, to shoot you up on the loose
That's the reason why, I've got those turpentine blues

From Tampa Red's "Turpentine Blues," recorded in Chicago on May 7, 1932.

A 19th century food critic suggested a few drops of turpentine in one's chamber pot to eliminate the mal odor of asparagus. But then you have to smell turpentine!

That's not exactly the scholarly wisdom found elsewhere on these pages. Still, it is among the responses from visitors to a Winter Park museum's exhibit of artifacts from an abandoned turpentine still on the wooded northern edge of the University of Central Florida. And, it validates the concept of public history education by completing a circle that began when a jogger showed two scholars a hidden treasure and those professors turned not only to their colleagues but to the public to enlighten a dark recess of Florida's history.

The food critic's remedy came from Marianne McClain Popkins, the executive director of the Winter Park Historical Association, in a whimsical email to friends. One of those who responded — apparently — saw no great improvement in smells.

Visitors also have been surprised to learn that turpentine from Florida's first-growth, long-leaf yellow pines was a base used in perfumes and that frontier Floridians turned to turpentine-based home remedies for snake bites, cuts and wounds. Vicks VapoRub® is just one example of the pharmaceutical and cosmetic uses of turpentine to this day.

That's just a little whiff of the atmosphere at the "From Kin to Kant: The Culture of Turpentine" exhibit created as a public history project by professors and master's students at the University of Central Florida. The title comes from turpentine workers' description of their sun-up to sun-down working hours — from the time they "kin" see to the time they "kant" see.

The response, however, reveals the connection to history that draws non-historians to participate in a shared wisdom that is expanding the meaning of public history, accessible history. Few people other than history scholars may have read Jeffrey A. Drobney's "Where Palm and Pine Are Blowing: Convict Labor in the North Florida Turpentine Industry,1877-1923," (*Florida Historical Quarterly*, Volume LXXII, Number 4, April 1994). Nevertheless, the turpentine exhibit draws on that research to rekindle public curiosity, even among people who hated high school history books. All it takes is one little sliver of historical fact that makes them pause and say to themselves, "I didn't know that!" These exclamations leap out around every corner of the exhibit's panels, display cases and staged scenes.

The exhibit's curator, Dr. Robert Cassanello, who teaches Florida history, concedes he knew little about the turpentine era when a Siemens engineer took him to the distilling site. And, he credits the enthusiasm of that engineer and others contributing to an email and blog dialogue that not only helped identify turpentine artifacts – including a worn-down curry comb used to scrape the inside of barrels — but inspired an unexpected passion for a time lost. Cassanello said his biggest surprise in leading the exhibition planning was discovering "the passion people have for turpentine specifically for its material culture and social history." He elaborated, "it surprised me that people were actively handing down this turpentine culture to anyone willing to listen and learn. I learned more from these lay people preserving this past than many of the academic sources because the professional historians were really interested in a narrow question and could help me learn a depth of knowledge, but these people passionate about turpentine really could help me with the broad picture as well as giving me ideas about some of the specific materials we found and could not catalog."

The exhibit's genesis came in 2005 when Bob Putnam, the engineer whose office is near UCF, took one of his many jogs through the pines near the border between Seminole and Orange counties. Putnam's trail led to a grassy opening where he found broken glass, rusting iron and old wooden posts. He later shared his finding with Dr. Connie Lester, another UCF history professor. Joined by Cassanello and Joel Slingerland, a public history graduate student, they made other research and artifact discoveries, including a dried black chunk of tar, know as "drought," the residue skimmed off while distilling turpentine.

Putnam provided UCF professors and graduate students an opportunity to combine scholarship and entertainment "to make the past useful to the public," in the words of the National Council of Public History. The exhibit — a rediscovery of an era of Florida history fading from memory — sheds light on the sun-up to sundown laborers and their after-hours distractions from their hard life. A Zora Neale Hurston-inspired exploration of turpentine culture's ties to juke joint blues lauds Florida musicians who took their tunes from the piney woods to the recording studios of Chicago, including Hudson "Tampa Red" Whittaker, born Hudson Woodbridge, and Arthur "Blind" Blake, Jacksonville's rag and blues guitarist whose dance music was a favorite at juke joints. Slide guitarist Tampa Red wrote "Turpentine Blues" about the adversities faced the workers. Blues greats Muddy Waters and Eric Clapton would interpret his tunes. Hurston's Depression-era research for the Federal Writers' Project as well two of her books, *Mules and Men* and *Dust Tracks on a Road*, documented the brutality of Florida turpentine industry and the songs laborers inspired.

Visitors also learn of the dark underside of the state's turpentine heritage that brought cruel treatment of state and county prisoners consigned to labor camps. Just a few miles from the UCF campus is the former farm community of Gabriella and Camp Road. Exhibit researchers found journalist Marc Goodnow's 1912 exposé on abuse at convict camps. The camp captain at Gabriella made shoeless men run the eight miles to and from work, setting the pace riding horseback. State inspectors "found the men's feet splintered and swollen from the leaves of the saw-palmettos they encountered on their daily runs. Untreated, the lacerations produced intense inflammation, sometimes blood-poisoning, and even death." Not all of the camps used convict labor. Still, life at an isolated turpentine camps was miserable.

Katharine Parry, a recent graduate of UCF's public history track, became an associate curator for the exhibit while interning at the Winter Park Historical Association. "This project was a student's dream - to be in on the ground floor and create text and find artifacts and put together the final exhibit," Parry said of her experience, which included researching the sites of old turpentine shacks near her Oviedo home. "It is truly part of the lost history of Florida - once so important, now unknown. The story of 'finding' this history through a jogger on a campus, to interested faculty and then to an interested local museum is amazing. I liked the way our exhibit embraced rather that smoothed over the labor of African Americans and their exploitation." Summing up the exhibit and the work of public historians, she added, "I believe the scholarship on a topic remains dusty with only a small audience without Public History's attempts to present it in an entertaining, engaging manner to a wider public audience."

Jim Robison *Orlando, Florida*

End Notes

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

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

Florida Frontiers began airing in January 2009, with the first few programs including a discussion with Patrick Smith about his novel *A Land Remembered*, a look at Florida's role in the Cuban Missile Crisis, a remembrance of Florida folk singer Bobby Hicks, a feature on Judy Lindquist's new historical novel *Saving Home*, and an exploration of Florida's frog leg industry of the 1920s and 1930s. People who remembered manufacturing and distributing moonshine whisky in Florida during Prohibition were interviewed, listeners were taken to the home of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, the Cape Florida Lighthouse was discussed, oral histories from the 1970s were rediscovered and renowned poet Maya Angelou reflected on the importance of Florida writer Zora Neale Hurston.

Florida Historical Society Executive Director Ben Brotemarkle is producer and host of *Florida Frontiers*, with weekly contributions from assistant producers Janie Gould and Bill Dudley. From 1992-2000, Brotemarkle was creator, producer, and host of the hour-long weekly radio magazine *The Arts Connection* on 90.7 WMFE in Orlando. In 2005, Gould became Oral History Specialist at 88.9 WQCS in Ft. Pierce. Since 1993, Dudley has been producing an ongoing series of radio reports for the Florida Humanities Council.

The program is currently broadcast on 90.7 WMFE Orlando, Thursdays at 6:30 p.m.; 88.1 WUWF Pensacola, Thursdays at 5:30 p.m.; 89.5 WFIT Melbourne, Sundays at 7:00 a.m.; and 88.9 WQCS (HD2) Ft. Pierce, Sundays at 7:00 a.m. Additional public radio stations are expected to add *Florida Frontiers* to their schedules later in 2009. The program is archived on the Florida Historical Society web site and accessible any time at www.myfloridahistory.org.

Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society is made possible in part by the Florida Humanities Council and the National Endowment for the Humanities; the Jessie Ball duPont Fund; and by the Brevard County Board of Commissioners through the Brevard Cultural Alliance, Inc.

ANNUAL MEETING: FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The 2009 Annual Meeting of the Florida Historical Society will be held in Pensacola, Florida, May 20-23. In keeping with the city's celebration, the theme of the 2009 meeting is "From Tristán de Luna to the Twenty First Century: 450 Years of Florida's History." The Hampton Inn-Pensacola Airport will be the meeting site. Room rates for the event are $109 per night, plus tax. Reservations can be made by phone (850-478-1123) or fax (850-478-8519). Please identify the Florida Historical Society Meeting when calling to reserve a room. The hotel is located at 2187 Airport Road, Pensacola, 32504.

The Catherine Prescott Memorial Lecturer will be Jacksonian Scholar Daniel Feller, who is the editor of the Jackson Papers at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. The Jillian Prescott Memorial Lecturer will be Pensacola Historian and novelist John Appleyard.

Award Committee Appointments for the 2009 Annual Meeting
Florida Historical Society

Florida Historical Society President Sam Boldrick has announced the following appointments for the 2009 Annual Meeting:

Rembert Patrick Book Award (Academic Book):
James Cusick, Chair; Manie Gould, Robert Snyder, members

Charlton Tebeau Book Award (Best General Audience Book):
Ted Burrows, Chair; Harold Cardwell, Virginia Dixon, Stuart Ferguson, members

Harry T. and Harriette V. Moore Award:
Len Lempel, Chair; Lee Bailey, Tom McFarland, members

Stetson Kennedy Award:
Ben Brotemarkle, Chair; Stetson Kennedy, Stuart Ferguson, members

Samuel Proctor Award:
Bob Snyder, Chair; Harold Cardwell, Ted Burrows, members

Patrick D. Smith Award (Best Florida Fiction):
Janie Gould, Chair; John Shipley, Patti Bartlett, members

James J. Horgan Best Florida Book for Youths:
Judy Duda, Chair; Dorothy Smiljanich, Emily Lisska, members

Arthur W. Thompson Award (Best Article in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*):
Connie L. Lester, Chair: Paul Ortiz, Andrew Frank, members

GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSIONS TO THE *FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY*

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

- Authors should submit three copies of the manuscript to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Department of History, CNH 551, University of Central Florida, Orlando, Florida 32816-1350.
- Manuscripts should be typed and double-spaced (excluding footnotes, block quotes, or tabular matter).
- The first page should be headed by the title without the author's name. Author identification should be avoided throughout the manuscript. On a separate sheet of paper, please provide the author's name, institutional title or connection, or place of residence, and acknowledgements. Citations should be single-spaced footnotes, numbered consecutively, and in accordance with the *Chicago Manual of Style.*
- Tables and illustrations should be created on separate pages, with positions in the manuscript indicated.
- In a cover letter, the author should provide contact information that includes phone numbers, fax number, email address, and mailing address. The author should provide a statement of the substance and significance of the work and identify anyone who has already critiqued the manuscript.
- Illustrations must meet the following guidelines: pictures should be 5x7 or 8x10 black and white glossy prints; prints will be returned after publication. Images may be submitted in EPS or PDF electronic format at 300 dpi or higher. Xeroxed images cannot be accepted. All illustrations should include full citations and credit lines. Authors should retain letters of permission from institutions or individuals owning the originals.
- Questions regarding submissions should be directed to Connie L. Lester, editor, at the address above, or by email at clester@mail.ucf.edu or by phone at 407-823-0261.

The Florida Historical Society

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

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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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 ⟨www.myfloridahistory.org.⟩