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Cover Illustration: Gondola named "Florida" crossing the lagoon at the Chicago "Century of Progress" World's Fair, 1933. *Photograph courtesy of the Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Library and Archives, Tallahassee.*

Book Reviews

When Modern Tourism Was Born: Florida at the World Fairs and on the World Stage in the 1930s

By David Nelson

More than any other moment in Florida's history, the debut of the state's exhibit at Chicago's Century of Progress world's fair in 1933 marked the beginning of modern Florida tourism. From this point until the end of the 20th century and beyond, Florida promoted and depended upon tourism more than upon any other industry. This proved to be the moment Florida ceased to be southern in the popular mind and assumed the image of a racially-and regionally-neutral land of sunshine, fun, and endless opportunity. It was at Chicago in 1933 that Florida became genuinely and definitively exotic and tropic in the public's eye. And as presented at the fair, Florida emerged as a playground devoid of class, race, unemployment lines, labor disputes, or foreign immigration. That image transformation marked a revolution from above, a civic-elite revolution—quiet and subtle, but revolutionary nonetheless—with far-reaching consequences for the state's economic, political, and social future.

The 1930s was also the start of a brief period wherein the state government and its public officials controlled the message of state advertising; the state bureaucracy was responsible for creating Florida's modern image as a natural paradise and the nation's

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playground. By the end of the decade when Florida presented its second major exhibit at the 1939 New York World's Fair, the private sector had begun to assume control over how the state was marketed and sold, both through commercial outlets (e.g., local media, roadside attractions, hotels, and private corporations) as well as private citizens contesting the newly created state image. Even as Florida government officials managed the state's image in the earlier period, they recognized that good advertising and clever fair exhibits were not enough to maintain tourist enthusiasm. Florida needed unique attractions to promote and sell, especially if it wanted visitors to return year after year—as did the farm crops that still dominated the state's economy in 1933. And in 1933 and 1934, there were few bona fide tourist attractions or other selling points. Over the next several years, Floridians involved in the Century of Progress exhibit worked toward the goal of increasing the number of tourist attractions in order to sell the state to the world. By 1939, the Florida Exhibit at the New York World's Fair sold more than image as exhibitors highlighted a thriving citrus industry, hundreds of hotels, newly-built roads and airports, and dozens of prospering roadside attractions. As the Florida State Planning Board announced in 1940: "The tourist industry is Florida's greatest source of revenue. . .greater than the total net income from agriculture and industry combined."[1]

The first tourist attractions in the decades before 1933 were modest affairs that exploited Florida's exotic image. The upper middle classes comprised the primary target audience because few others could afford the luxury of leisure trips. The first attractions included alligator and ostrich farms, fountains of youth (which were usually simple artesian wells), horse and automobile races, fresh-water spring sanatoriums, and military forts. In addition, coastal areas developed grand resorts and hotels that catered to the elite visitors. Surprisingly, the beach itself was rarely used other than for scenic value. As Lena Lancek and Gideon Bosker have argued in their study of beaches in human culture, American (and European) elites were heliophobic during the period before World War I. "Medical science held that heat and sunshine dried up the body's necessary fluids. . .and [left the body] prone to ail-

1. State Planning Board Minutes, 13 June 1940, Box 192, folder: "Official Minutes," Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, Florida.

ments."[2] And, of course, as much of the nation was agrarian and working class, "only elites could boast of perfectly pallid complexions. . .an instant body of superiority."[3] Vacations to Florida were usually long-term excursions, often lasting entire winters. And unlike other southern states, wherein, according to Fitzhugh Brundage, "the struggle to cultivate and perpetuate historical memory in the South was incorporated into the commerce of tourism," and where "the tourist South became a stage on which southerners presented the South both as they wanted to see it and as they imagined tourists wanted," Florida boosters and promoters offered a new, regionally-neutral tropical image, closer in spirit and advertisements to the French Riviera or the Mediterranean than the romanticized Old South of Charleston or Richmond.[4]

By the 1920s, the makeup and activities of Florida tourists began to change. While the upper crust still ventured south to Florida, so did upper middle class families, who took advantage of the nation's newly found prosperity and affordable assembly line produced automobiles. Labeled "tin can tourists" by natives for the canned food they brought with them, these mobile vacationers changed forever the state's physical and economic landscape, and in doing so, altered the nature of Florida tourism.[5]

Commenting in the 1930s on modern tourists, one Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) planner said, "A generation ago, vacationers still sat on their front porches of resort hotels all summer long and enjoyed a static holiday. Today they move, they investigate, they mingle."[6] This new breed of active, impatient tourist required new facilities. Unable to afford the large resorts and hotels that marked the Flagler era, tin can tourists demanded cheaper lodgings. Large campgrounds, "tent cities" that offered running water and sanitation facilities for tin canners, developed early in St. Petersburg, on the west coast's Hillsborough County.[7] Before

2. Lena Lancek, and Gideon Basker, *The Beach: The History of Paradise on Earth* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1998), 200.
3. Ibid.
4. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 184.
5. See Nick Wynne's *Tin Can Tourists in Florida, 1900-1970* (Charleston: Arcadia Press, 1999). A second theory holds that the visitors acquired their name from the metal trailers that they towed behind their cars.
6. Phoebe Cutler, *Public Landscape of the New Deal* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 84.
7. Raymond Arsenault, *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream, 1888-1950* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 189.

long, motels and motor lodges replaced most of the tourist campgrounds. Miami also began catering to this new addition to the leisure class. Often the children of immigrants, these travelers exhibited tastes strikingly different from their Gilded Age counterparts. In Miami, many of the new hotels—today hailed as icons of the Art Deco movement—were located between 5th Street and 23rd Street, painted in hues of sea foam green, flamingo pink, and sunshine yellow.[8] In a trend that would come to fruition in the 1930s, these hotels were uniquely Florida in style, color, and effect. By 1939, there were over 300 art deco hotels in Miami alone.

The new federal highways that facilitated the movement of the tin canners provided the most profound changes. Before the 1950s, many visitors to Florida complained of cattle and other animals that roamed the poorly-maintained and primarily dirt roads.[9] And indeed, Florida did not enact its first fence law until 1949.[10] In an oral interview conducted in 1986, shrimper Albert Gufford claimed that a 1910 automobile trip from Brunswick, Georgia, (on the Florida border) to Maitland in Central Florida required seventeen days to negotiate. "The only paved road that was in this area at all was part of Main Street in Jacksonville," he stated. ". . .[driving] down the coast, you'd come to a little town and maybe you'd have about two blocks of pavement. And the rest of it was rutted roads."[11] As late as 1929, Edward Ball reported to his boss, Alfred DuPont, on a fact-finding mission in North Florida that, after leaving Live Oak, "the next paved highway was nine miles outside of Pensacola, 320 miles distant. . .the Old Spanish Trail (US 90) was about as the Spanish had left it."[12]

Until Florida developed a State Road Department in 1915, counties assumed the sole responsibility for maintaining roads.

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8. Lancek and Bosker, *The Beach*, 207-208.
9. Lorena Hickock wrote to Harry Hopkins in 1934 that Florida roads were full of cattle. See Richard Lowitt and Maurine H. Beasley, *One Third of a Nation: Lorena Hickok Reports on the Great Depression* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 167.
10. William Rogers, "The Paradoxical Twenties," in Michael Gannon, ed., *New History of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 299; Ken Breslauer, *Roadside Paradise: The Golden Age of Florida's Tourist Attractions, 1929-1971* (St. Petersburg, Fla.: RetroFlorida, 2000), 24.
11. Interview with Albert Gufford by folklorist David Taylor, 8 August 1986, Maritime Heritage Survey files, 1986-1987, Box 7, Tape 16, Side A, Florida State Archive.
12. Marquis James, *Alfred I. DuPont: The Family Rebel* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1941), 399.

Even after its implementation, the new state agency initially only advised counties about road construction and repair. In 1917, in order to meet the requirements of the Federal Road Act, the state began building state highways.[13] By the 1920s, roads had become big politics, and each town vied to boast that it had the best roads in the state. For instance, Marion County billed itself as the "Good Roads County of Florida."[14] An ad for Deland invited visitors to "Come, ride around our streets and learn why competent authorities have stated that this is the best-paved city per capita in the U.S."[15] Building a road in one's district was a major coup for Florida politicians, but it was the federal government that provided the state with its best roads.

In 1923, US Highway 90 opened between Jacksonville and Lake City, Florida's first paved highway.[16] Next came US 1, the so-called Atlantic Highway, which connected New York with Miami and intersected with the "Dixie Highway" that ran from Chicago to Miami.[17] This was followed in quick succession by US 27, the "Orange Blossom Trail" through Central Florida; US 441, the "Uncle Remus Route"; US 41; and US 17, the St. Johns River Trail from Jacksonville to Miami.[18] Linking the east and west coasts of South Florida required more than thirteen years to accomplish as developers struggled with lack of funding for the project and environmental concerns. The funding constraints were overcome by millionaire Baron Collier who assumed the costs in exchange for the creation of Collier County. In 1928, the Tamiami Trail opened to much fanfare and heightened expectations for the economic development that would surely follow the cross-Everglades road.[19] By the end of the 1920s the majority of Florida tourists arrived by car along one of these new federal highways. Land boom observer T. H. Weigell described traffic on the Dixie Highway in 1926 as "an incredible assortment of humanity that in Fords and Rolls-Royces,

13. Rogers, "Paradoxical Twenties," 293; Breslauer, *Roadside Paradise*, 23.
14. Breslauer, 24.
15. Ibid.
16. Rogers, "Paradoxical Twenties," 293.
17. Brundage, *The Southern Past*, 191.
18. Breslauer, *Roadside Paradise*, 25-26; Tim Hollis, *Dixie Before Disney: 100 years of Roadside Fun* (Jackson, Miss.: University Press of Mississippi, 1999), 7; Rogers, "Paradoxical Twenties," 293.
19. Gary Garrett, "Blasting Through Paradise: The Cost and consequence of the Tamiami Trail," in Jack E. Davis, ed., *Paradise Lost?: The Environmental History of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 261, 268.

on bicycle and on foot was pouring towards Miami. . . [and] most of these equipages had the family goods roped on to the rear: camp beds, washing stands. . ."[20] Indeed, by 1925, over 500,000 cars drove over the new roads every year as they made their way South.[21]

The sudden end of the Florida land boom, and the subsequent stock market crash of 1929, placed a damper on tourism, but did not end it. In fact, the golden age of Florida attractions began in 1929 with the opening of Bok Tower Gardens.[22] Sarasota, one of the three key destinations for winter tourists in the 1920s (along with Miami and St. Petersburg), successfully shifted its advertising by appealing to the financial concerns of potential visitors. "Cancel your coal bill—and cold bills—by substituting the glorious climate of Sunny Sarasota for those bleak winter months" suggested the Sarasota Chamber of Commerce 1931 visitor guide.[23] Observers who considered Miami the barometer for Florida tourism reported the city's apparent success amidst economic depression. As editor Oswald Garrison Villard observed in the *Nation* in the 1930s, "If one were to judge Florida by the appearance of Miami, one would have to say that the depression is over in this state. The streets are thronged with tourists."[24] Lorena Hickok echoed the same sentiment in one of her letters to Harry Hopkins.[25] In his Master's thesis on Miami during the Depression, historian Vernon Leslie argued that tourism eased the city through the economic crisis. Moreover, post-1929 tourism was marked by an increase in the number of middle class (tin can) tourists, a trend that some entrepreneurs also noticed.[26]

By the early 1930s, some businessmen embraced tourism's promise, including owners of gas stations, fruit stands, and souvenir shops.[27] As Stuckey's founder William Stuckey only half-jok-

20. T. H. Weigall, *Boom in Paradise* (New York: A. H. King, 1932), 27-28.
21. Brundage, *The Southern Past*, 192.
22. Hollis, *Dixie Before Disney*, 132; Breslauer, *Roadside Paradise*, 6.
23. Ruthmary Bauer, "Sarasota: Hardships and Tourism in the 1930s," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 76, no. 2 (Fall 1997), 138.
24. Merlin Cox, "David Sholtz: New Deal Governor of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (Fall 1964), 150.
25. Hickok to Hopkins, 31 January 1934, in Lowett and Beasley, ed, *One Third of a Nation*, 167-8.
26. Vernon Leslie, "The Great Depression in Miami Beach," (Florida Atlantic University, MA Thesis, 1980).
27. Mark Derr, *Some Kind of Paradise: A Chronicle of Man and the Land in Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida 1998), 318.

ingly said in the 1930s, "Thank God the North won the war. It would have been awful if there hadn't been any Yankees to sell to."[28] But most observers believed that Florida tourism was not realizing its full potential, and was, indeed, facing serious problems. In 1925, Florida hosted almost two million tourists; by 1932 the number had dropped to fewer than 500,000.[29] The success of the Century of Progress was most encouraging, but its full impact would not be realized until after the 1934-1935 season. And, as many would state throughout the decade, "Florida is within 48 hours of 90% of the people of the United States."[30] Therefore, although tourism did not disappear, it clearly needed assistance to attract the 90 percent of Americans within traveling distance of the state. Some state officials, including several of those behind the Florida exhibit at the Chicago fair, were prepared to provide the necessary boost.

In the spring of 1933, Governor Sholtz was still awkwardly transforming himself from the champion of no taxes and smaller government to a full-fledged New Dealer. Then, an informational request set him, and Florida, on a path towards national and international aspirations. On May 3, 1933, first-time legislator Ben Wand of Duval County wrote Sholtz asking him "to secure and transmit. . .figures concerning certain expenditures of the Dept. of Agriculture. . .for the payment of advertising, the printing of booklets or pamphlets, and a breakdown of amounts advanced for the account of the Committee on the Century of Progress Exposition."[31] The existence of such advertising funds or Florida's involvement in the upcoming Chicago World's Fair was news to the governor. He immediately wrote to both Agricultural Commissioner Nathan Mayo and State Auditor Bryan Willis for the desired information.[32] Mayo responded the following day with a

28. Hollis, *Dixie Before Disney*, 21.
29. Rogers, "Paradoxical Twenties," 292 (1925 figure); William Rogers, "The Great Depression," in Michael Gannon ed., *New History of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 319 (1932 figure).
30. This claim could be found in much of the literature about Florida during the Depression. This quote came from a speech by L.M. Rhodes (Florida Marketing Bureau) to the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Polk County, Davenport, Florida, 15 February 1937, Governor Fred Cone Papers, Box 57, folder: "Marketing Bureau, 1937," FSA.
31. Wand to Sholtz, 3 May 1933, Sholtz papers, box 2, folder: "Agriculture, Dept. of," FSA.
32. Sholtz to Wand, 3 May 1933; Sholtz to Mayo, 3 May 1933; Sholtz to Willis, 3 May 1933, Sholtz papers, box 2, folder: "Agriculture, Dept. of."

copy of his department's biennial report for 1930 to 1932.[33] Again, with speed rare for a governor, Sholtz wrote to the commissioner that "this report. . .does not show the information requested [and] I have not record of any other report covering the full operation of your office."[34] Finally, following additional requests for the information by Sholtz and Wand, Mayo relented. He revealed to Sholtz his rather substantial, and rarely publicized, advertising fund and the large plans for its use that summer.

Traditionally, the Florida Department of Agriculture has been the state's largest agency, and its commissioner among its most powerful politicians. Elected independently of the governor, commissioners faced no term limits. Indeed, Nathan Mayo, agricultural commissioner since 1923 (appointed by Governor Cary Hardee when W.A. McRae retired from office and was then subsequently first elected in 1924) would serve in that office until his death in April 1960, becoming the state's longest serving public officer.[35] His successor, Doyle Connor, would serve another thirty years, from 1960 to 1990.) Born in Whitaker, North Carolina, in 1876, Mayo and his family moved to Marion County, Florida, in 1887.[36] By 1923, Mayo was widely recognized as an ambitious civic and economic leader; he counted among his many interests a general store, two saw mills, a cotton gin, a citrus nursery, and a turpentine still.[37] As commissioner in a state in which the economy was dominated by agriculture, Mayo enjoyed extensive patronage power. Moreover, powerful individuals—from citrus growers to cattle ranchers and tobacco and cotton planters—attempted to curry favor. In 1925, Mayo expanded the power of his office further.

Within the department's vast bureaucracy, the small Bureau of Immigration remained largely unnoticed. A relic of the nineteenth century when sparsely-populated Florida desperately needed residents to develop and cultivate its untamed forests, sand hills, prairies, and wetlands, the bureau was charged with attract-

33. Mayo to Sholtz, 4 May 1933, Sholtz papers, box 2, folder: "Agriculture, Dept of."
34. Sholtz to Mayo, 4 May 1935, Sholtz papers, box 2, folder: "Agriculture, Dept. of."
35. Martin M. LaGodna, "Agriculture and Advertising: Florida State Bureau of Immigration, 1923-1960," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (January 1968), 197; David R. Colburn and Lance deHaven-Smith, *Government in the Sunshine State* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida 1999), 86.
36. *Marion County Historical Bulletin* (December 1963).
37. Ibid.

ing potential farmers to the state. By 1925, during the peak of the Florida land boom, luring farmers to the state was no longer a priority. Mayo used the forgotten bureau to gain 1925 legislative support to create an advertising fund for "the varied resources and possibilities of our entire State."[38] The original legislation included a $25,000 budget. In what may seem a surprising move, Mayo successfully sought 1927 legislative approval to cancel the appropriation, remove the department's excess inspection fees from the General Revenue Fund, and transfer the revenues to the advertising fund. [39] In making the change, Mayo had provided far more extensively for the advertising department. Such an expansion had been called for at the April 1926 "Florida Takes Inventory" meeting of the Florida Chamber of Commerce. [40] The inspection fees were collected by department officials "for inspection services on gasoline, kerosene, signal oil, fertilizer, stock feed, citrus fruit, and fees collected from milk dealers" as well as poultry, packaged food, and drug stores. In 1934, inspection fees ran to more than $300,000—an amount that exceeded the necessary operating expenses of the Inspection Bureau.[41] And that surplus would otherwise be turned over to the General Fund. Therefore, funding the advertising department with inspection fees removed the advertising budget from gubernatorial and legislative regulation, as well as keeping those funds within the control of Mayo's department.[42] In essence, Mayo enjoyed a private fund to use however he saw fit. As Sholtz (and Ben Wand) discovered in 1933, while the department's advertising activities were outlined, this fund was not reported in the Department of Agriculture's biennial report (although it would be reported in later years).

Setting aside Sholtz' and Wand's fears for the potential for abuse the presence of the fund suggested, by 1933 the Bureau of Immigration had published well over one hundred brochures,

38. Chapter 10029 (a copy of the law was included in Mayo's 11 May 1933 letter to Sholtz, Sholtz papers, box 2, folder: "Agriculture, Dept. of," FSA); *Laws of Florida*, 1925.
39. In his 1968 article on the Dept. of Agriculture's advertising activities, LaGodna mentions that Mayo made the suggestion "because of the collapse of the [land] boom." LaGodna, "Agriculture and Advertising," 200.
40. LaGodna, "Agriculture and Advertising," 200.
41. Florida Dept. of Agriculture, *24th Biennial Report of the Dept. of Agriculture from July 1, 1934 to June 30, 1936* (Tallahassee, 1937), 44.
42. Mayo to Sholtz, 12 May 1933, Sholtz papers, box 2, folder: "Agriculture, Dept. of," FSA. Lagodna, "Agriculture and Advertising," 200.

pamphlets and posters, as well as fair exhibits and programs. The publications and presentations discussed everything from Florida's agricultural and natural resources to its weather and real estate development potential. In the summer of 1933, however, the advertising fund was utilized to undertake the state's largest outreach project to date—a project that would awaken many, including David Sholtz, to the state's economic potential. That project was Chicago's Century of Progress Exposition.

Two days after Christmas, 1930, then governor Doyle Carlton received an invitation from Rufus Dawes, whose brother was vice president under Calvin Coolidge. In the letter Dawes described an event to "celebrate the 100th anniversary of [Chicago's] organization into a municipality." The celebration would center on an international exposition to focus on "the progress which has been achieved by mankind within the century by the use of science." Dawes intended his letter to serve as a "cordial invitation [to] Florida to participate. . ."[43] The Chicago fair would be the first American-sponsored world's fair since the end of the Great War in 1919. Prior to the war, world's fairs had been a semi-regular occurrence in Europe and the United States. Usually created to "measure [nations'] supposed wealth and economic output," the phenomenon started in earnest in 1851 with England's Crystal Palace Exposition in London's Hyde Park. Over the next fifty years, France and the United States (with their industrial fairs), along with England, Italy, Germany, and Spain (primarily focused on colonial possessions and wealth), sponsored numerous fairs and expositions. Present-day icons such as the Eiffel Tower (1889), the Statue of Liberty (1876), and the Ferris Wheel (1893) began as world's fair exhibits. (Although in the case if the Statue of Liberty, only the hand holding the torch was displayed at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, as the statue was not finished until 1886.) The 1889 Industrial Exposition in Paris attracted 28 million visitors, while the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis topped 50 million. Perhaps the most famous and influential fair in the United States was the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Its White City launched a new age in urban planning and Frederick Jackson Turner's presentation tied the fair with the symbolic closing of the frontier. Forty

43. Dawes to Carlton, 27 December 1930, Doyle Carlton papers, box 14, folder: "Century of Progress," FSA.

Members of the Florida National Exhibits, the organization that created exhibits for the 1933 Century of Progress world's fair and the 1939 New York World's Fair. Left to right: Lorenzo Wilson, Agricultural Commissioner Nathan Mayo, Edward Ball, Harold Colee, Senator William C. Hodges, and unidentified (Charles Plastow?). *Image courtesy of the Florida State Library and Archives, Tallahassee.*

years later, planners designed an even larger fair on the same site.[44]

Carlton's initial reaction to Dawe's invitation was lukewarm: "Our state shall look forward with interest to this exposition."[45] However, as Chicago publicized the extent of its fair—over 640 acres with exhibits by the nation's top corporations, a world showcase, plus a midway area and an expected attendance of 70 million—Floridians became excited about the possible repercussions of participation in the event. In the spring of 1931, the legislature created

44. For a more complete history of world's fairs, see Udo Kulterman's "Anticipating the Future: The Origins and History of World's Fairs" in Andrew Garn, ed., *Exit to Tomorrow: World's Fair Architecture, Design, Fashion, 1933-2006* (New York, 2007), 9-27; and Robert W. Rydell, *World of Fairs: The Century of Progress Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

45. Carlton to Dawes, 7 January 1931, Carlton papers, box 14, folder: "Century of Progress."

a Century of Progress (COP) commission.[46] State Senator William C. Hodges, who often supported Florida promotional efforts and who personally led the initial efforts to create the COP Commission, explained to Carlton that "this [participation] is important because this is Florida's opportunity to again put itself in the eyes of the Nation in those months just immediately preceding Florida's winter season."[47] When the commission met at Hodge's Goodwood Plantation, those in attendance included the State Forester Henry Lee Baker, who would put this experience to use later.[48]

The initial plans for Florida's participation stressed agriculture, history, government, and manufacturing. The potential for tourism barely registered except for a brief mention of an exhibit on "amusements."[49] But by late fall, led in part by William Hodges and Nathan Mayo, attitudes had changed. This re-evaluation was fueled, in part, as other states, especially California, revealed their plans. Long considered a rival of Florida, California possessed similar attributes (a productive citrus industry, a dependably sunny climate, extensive sandy beaches, and a romanticized colonial Spanish past), but proved more effective in advertising its wares than the eastern Sunshine State. In fact, many Floridians argued that their state, home to the oldest European settlement in the nation, site of the famous Suwannee River, the nation's only subtropical region with its native orchids, mangroves, palm trees, and the Everglades, the largest producer of oranges and other citrus fruit in the nation, and the site of hundreds of natural springs, actually surpassed California in most respects. As one of the first press releases by the Century of Progress (COP) Commission stated, "our greatest competitor is California...Already it has recognized the magnitude and importance of the World's Fair [and] will tend to draw people to enjoy 'our unequalled climate'..."[50] Another release stated more plainly, "We must do something finer than [the other 35 states with fair exhibits], especially to fabricate and maintain a more alluring exhibit than our only competitor,

46. Senate Concurrent Resolution #9, C. Van Deventer to Carlton, 9 June 1931, Carlton Papers, box 14, folder: "Century of Progress."
47. Hodges to Carlton, 10 August 1931, Carlton Papers, box 14, flolder: "Century of Progress."
48. Commission Minutes, 29 August 1931, Carlton Papers, box 14, folder: "Century of Progress."
49. Ibid.
50. Commission Minutes, 29 August 1931, Carlton papers, box 14, folder: "Century of Progress."

California, which is expending $1 million."[51] The COP continued to issue weekly, even at times daily, press releases designed to sell both the exposition and a full-fledged return to the promotion of Florida to a skeptical public.

After the crash of the 1920s land boom, many Floridians believed the combination of greed and a loss of the state's agrarian focus led to the financial disaster. Some interpreted the natural disasters that followed the crash—hurricanes, a drought, and the med fly infestation—as divine retribution for the state's rampant capitalistic pursuits. A return to those heady days was viewed with concern and wariness by many. Hodges, in a letter to one critic addressed this while maintaining the competitive theme, argued that the COP "will show that the State will no longer take criticism or undervaluation lying down but having shown its inherent strength by recovery from the harmful features of the boom, has come back and is ready to invite residents, investors and visitors to participate in its further development."[52]

In the early 1930s, Florida was still very much a rural state in which agricultural cultivation and resource extraction dominated the economy. As a result, the COP strove to convince reluctant farmers and assuage potential rural and urban critics of the merits of the project through press releases and personal correspondence. One press release utilized agricultural imagery to connect rural readers with the potential economic impact of tourism: "Roger Babson [famed entrepreneur and founder of Webber College in Babson Park, Florida] states that the tourist crop is worth six times that of the citrus crop."[53] In a letter Hodges wrote to a critic of the project, he stated that "the idea is not new to you and it bears repeating—the more men and women living in Florida the better for every profession, every seller and every grower or producer...We are an empty state. Please regard the Century of Progress Commission as therefore directly aimed at bringing a larger dependable population into the State."[54]

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51. Press release, COP Commission, January 1932, box 14, folder : "Century of Progress."
52. Hodges to R.G. Patterson (president, N.W. Florida Assn., Pensacola), 21 March 1933, Carlton papers, box 14, folder: "Century of Progress."
53. Press release, COP Commission, January 1932, Carlton papers, box 14, folder: "Century of Progress,"
54. Hodges to Paul Eddy (Punta Gorda), 22 March 1932, Carlton papers, box 14, folder: "Century of Progress"

In the meantime, Nathan Mayo and banker-railroad magnate Edward Ball teamed up to form the not-for-profit, quasi-governmental Florida National Exhibits (FNE). Based in Deland, Florida, and funded through private donations, a legislative appropriation, and Mayo's aforementioned advertising fund, the FNE was created to plan and construct the state's ever-growing exhibit. Earl W. Brown, Deland's mayor and former resident of Milford, Pennsylvania, was hired to oversee daily operations.[55] Exhibit plans became increasingly elaborate as Brown *et al* attempted to recreate that impression of the tropical paradise that newcomers had of the state on their first visit. As environmental historian Jack Davis has noted, "Florida is an imagined place. It has long been so, with outsiders historically acting as the creators of its image."[56] Few places offer better opportunities for creating imagined landscapes than a world's fair, which one scholar has characterized as "like a good sci-fi movie...a plausible fantasy."[57] FNE spared no expense in creating the exhibit; the total cost exceeded $250,000, not including donated services such a free shipping, supplies, and volunteer hours.[58] More than $100,000 came from public funds, including state revenues from the state gasoline tax, the tobacco tax and taxes on bottled drinks, and direct legislative appropriations.[59] As Earl Brown argued, "We must give the visitor beauty, color, the strange, the exotic, light, water, music, a veritable Arabian Night fairyland that will draw them again and never cease to charm and fire the imagination of the dullest. It must be the talk of the hotel lounges, vast spaces of the Fair...It must be made an outstanding attraction of the tens of thousands of attractions."[60] The COP promised that "Florida is not going to Chicago with a mediocre exhibit of fruits and flowers and fish, cabbages and cauliflower—that is only inci-

55. *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, Volume 36 (Clifton, New Jersey: J.T. White), 306-308.
56. Jack E. Davis, "Alligators and Plume Birds: The Despoliation of Florida's Living Aesthetic," in Davis, ed., *Paradise Lost? The Environmental History of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 235.
57. Paola Antonelli, " Of Imagination and Concrete Fantasies," in Andrew Garn, *Exit to Tomorrow: World's Fair Architecture, Design, Fashion, 1933-2006* (New York: Universe Publishing, 2007), 6.
58. Mayo to Sholtz, 11 May 1933, Sholtz papers, box 2, folder: Agriculture Dept. of," FSA. Unfortunately no financial or budgetary records survive for FNE or COP.
59. Earl Brown (COP circular letter), "To Newspaper and Magazine Editors of Florida," Carlton papers, box 1, folder: "Century of Progress."
60. Ibid.

dental. It will dramatize Florida to the world—Florida in all its glamour of romance, in its dignity and majesty."[61]

Completed in May 1935, the exhibit exceeded anything other states presented. The exhibit was housed in the Court of States, which was described as one "immense building, shaped like an inverted U with a Federal building in the center." Florida's prime location was evident: "The approach to the Court of States is by a main entrance...and leads directly to the Florida exhibit, the first of the state's exhibits."[62] In keeping with the exposition theme of scientific and technological progress, Florida claimed the state pioneered the "science of showmanship" with its innovative diorama exhibits. According to Brown, "the diorama is the latest science of showmanship. The whole technique of exhibiting has been revolutionized by it. Dull and monotonous displays are, as if by magic, made highly dramatic and fascinating...gives depth and color and animation to backgrounds, akin to looking through an old fashioned stereoscope."[63] Charles E. Plastow of Rollins College made sixteen dioramas for the exhibit. Each diorama was 5 feet by 9 feet and two feet deep. The Bok Tower diorama featured a reproduction of the chimes that could be heard each hour. As one press release explained, "Lighting effects will further attract the people and the fidelity of details will be truly marvelous."[64] Another release, continuing the scientific theme, explained that a "diorama is a pictorial representation in three dimensions: width, height, and depth. You have a feeling of looking into the far distance...People are beginning to realize what a tremendous psychological effect color and form have upon the well-being of the individual and how it is possible to obtain certain reactions thru [sic] the medium of the eye...All these points have a direct bearing on the making and showing of the diorama—the new science of showmanship."[65] Exhibit promoters assured Floridians that once the Chicago fair closed, the dioramas would be placed on exhibit in Tallahassee and would be used for future exhibits to promote the state.[66]

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61. COP press release, n.d. [1931], Carlton papers, box 14, folder: "Century of Progress."
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. COP press release, 1 December 1931, Carlton papers, box 1, folder : "Century of Progress."
65. COP press release, n.d. [November 1931], Carlton papers, box 1, folder: "Century of Progress."
66. Ibid.

Stephen Foster's "Way Down Upon the Suwanee River" diorama created for the Century of Progress fair and later housed at the Foster Memorial in White Springs, Florida. *Image courtesy of the Florida State Library and Archives, Tallahassee.*

The dramatization of Stephen Foster's "Old Folks at Home" (otherwise known as "Way Down Upon the Suwannee River") was a popular diorama. As publicity for the exhibit claimed: "The diorama has been animated or humanized to the extent that by the use of mechanical devices instrumental and vocal renditions of the song...and the figures of negroes [sic] gathered around the old

cabin home"[67] evoke the history of the region. (Today this diorama is on display at the Stephen Foster Memorial State Park.) Other dioramas included a turpentine camp, tropical fruit, Ybor City cigar makers, Silver Springs, St. Augustine, "Playground of the Nation (beach fishing), sea food, a citrus grove, and "Year 'Round Sports" (hunting).[68]

Once the concept of science showmanship was established, the FNE proceeded to create a huge advertisement for Florida tourism. FNE divided the two-level exhibit into six sections. Each section illustrated the new focus of Florida's efforts to attract middle class tourists to Florida for summer and winter vacations. The first section, Land of Romance, featured Spanish discovery and colonization and included George E. Ganiere's Ponce De Leon to welcome the exhibit's visitors. In a shift from earlier images (aside from the Foster diorama), Florida's Southern past was nowhere in sight, replaced by the more exotic and popular Spanish past. The next section, Land of Sport, drove home the state's interest in expanding the tourist season with the following text: "Florida has been termed the 'winter playground of the nation.' The term should be changed by elimination of the word 'winter.' Florida is the all-year playground." Attracting tourists year-round meant more than expanding the season; visitors had to perceive the state as welcoming to all classes. The third section, Land of Sport, addressed that issue head-on. "An erroneous idea prevails," visitors read, "that Florida is only for those possessed of great wealth." As the previous sections suggested the state possessed attractions for the interest of all, and the exhibit continued with two additional areas labeled Land of Health and Land of Agriculture and Industry. The focus of the last two sections included citrus, strawberries, seafood, and sponge fisheries, significant contributors to the state's economy that could also become sites for tourism. The rich and exotic nature of Florida was everywhere: a live citrus grove was created on the fair grounds, Everglades muck was brought in for an exhibit of the River of Grass, and Florida fish were displayed in an aquarium.

67. COP press release, 2 November 1932, Carlton papers, box 13, folder: "Century of Progress."
68. COP, "Florida in the Court of States" (brochure), Deland, n.d. [a933]. Available in the State Library of Florida's Florida Room, FLA 606 F636c., Tallahassee, Florida.

In addition, mural paintings, statuary, an exotic lily pond, and an organic juice bar graced the Florida exhibit site.[69]

Will Rogers wrote on Florida's exhibit: "If you only have one day at the COP, there are two things you must be sure to see—one is the General Motors building...and the other is the Florida Hall." In the ongoing rivalry with California, Rogers awarded this round to Florida: "If you want real oranges, get them at the Florida exhibit, if you want wax oranges get them in the California hall."[70] In 1933, with perhaps the exception of President Franklin Roosevelt, Florida could not have asked for a better recommendation.

Because the Florida exhibit was housed in the Hall of States, the language focused on specific Florida features, a shift from 1920s advertising that associated the state with the Mediterranean and the French Riviera. The general public embraced this new focus and fueled the tropical, exotic image of Florida. Alligators, hammocks, springs, citrus, Seminoles, and Spanish conquistadors moved from background decorations for ostentatious resorts and themed nightclubs to become the central attractions for the state. Florida itself was an attraction, not the architecture of hotels. This realization spurred the rise in roadside attractions that included springs, alligator wrestling shows, marine aquariums, citrus fruit stands, and Spanish mission sites.

The full extent of the effect of Florida's Chicago exhibit upon the state's economy and socio-political culture would not become apparent until the end of the 1934-1935 winter season (and not even completely then). Conservative estimates indicated that 23 million people visited the fair during the first summer, with 9 million of those touring the Florida exhibit.[71] The 1935 version of the Fair attracted even larger crowds, with 13 million visitors to the Florida Hall.[72] As early as January 1935, many observers could already detect a tangible increase in the state's visitations, the highest since 1925.[73] *Business Week* magazine reported on 17 February

69. COP press release, n.d. [November 1931], Carlton papers, box 1, folder: "Century of Progress," FSA; COP, "Florida in the Court of States" (brochure), (Deland, n.d. [1933]). Available in the State Library of Florida, Florida Room: FLA 606F636c, *A Century of Progress: Florida's Part in the International Exposition* (Tallahassee, 1933).
70. Lorenzo Wilson, "Florida at the Century of Progress Exposition," *Proceedings of the 47th Annual Meeting of the Florida Horticultural Society* (Deland, 1934), 60.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
73. Dunn, *New Deal & Florida Politics*, 171. Unbelievably, Dunn in his recounting of tourists, never mentioned the Century of Progress, and does not offer any other rationale for the increase in tourism revenue.

1934 that"for the first time in years, hotels were overbooked and not accepting any reservations, railroad traffic neared the peak years of 1926 and 1927 and bus lines showed a 50% increase in business."[74] The following year the same journal reported that tourists spent $500 million in the state.[75] The State Road Department estimated that motor tourists in 1934 exceeded 1.4 million, spending well over $90 million (averaging $2.50 per day).[76] Inquiries to both state chambers of commerce and the Florida Department of Agriculture's Bureau of Immigration were the highest ever to date. The *New Republic* reported in March 1934 that "Florida was the first state to witness the full effect of the return of a 'feeling of optimism'."[77] And most tellingly in regard to the fair, the sale of citrus fruit to Chicago alone rose 26 percent, while sales to the surrounding Mid-West skyrocketed.[78]

The high profits earned at the fair in 1933 encouraged Florida leaders to extend the state's exhibit at the Century of Progress Exposition for a second year. After two years in Chicago, the exhibit was displayed, with minor changes, at the Rockefeller Center in New York City during the winter of 1935 and the Great Lakes Exposition in Cleveland, Ohio, in the summer of 1936. The *New York Times* gave both events extensive coverage. President Franklin Roosevelt commented favorably on Florida's exhibit during his visit to the Cleveland Exposition, noting the large crowds attending the exposition and the "fine building" erected by the State of Florida.[79] Sensing that the exhibit's popularity had potential for his own career—he was already making plans for a run for the U.S. Senate—Governor Dave Sholtz decided to "up the ante."

On 11 July 1935, Sholtz arranged a statewide conference at Jacksonville, to which he invited two hundred civic and business leaders; he used the occasion to call for the organization of an "All-Florida Advertising Campaign."[80] Sholtz played on the ongoing

74. Ibid.
75. Dunn, 172.
76. Press release, 26 June 1935, Florida State Chamber of Commerce, Sholtz papers, box 4, folder 4: "Advertising," FSA.
77. Ibid.
78. Earl W. Brown to Sholtz, 19 September 1935, Sholtz papers, box 44, folder: "Florida National Exhibits," FSA.
79. *New York Times*, 10 October, 2 December, 3 December 1935. Remarks by FDR at the Great Lakes Exposition, 14 August 1936, in John T. Wooley and Gerhard Peters, *The American Presidency Project* (Santa Barbara: University of California) http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws?pid=15332

rivalry with the other land of sunshine, California.[81] As he pointed out, Floridians were spending nearly $900,000 annually on tourism advertising.[82] In his invitation letter, Sholtz claimed one of the reasons behind his idea for a Florida campaign was "the renewed activity on the part of California and its business interests" in promoting that state to the nation.[83] At the meeting, Sholtz stated his goal of $500,000 to be raised for the campaign.[84] He urged "all sectional, inter-community and personal jealousies and prejudices be laid aside in the common effort...to advertise Florida nationally."[85] Of course those who harbored reservations and hostilities toward such a campaign—farmers, ranchers, turpentiners—were not part of this venture. The men present at the Jacksonville event, however, were thrilled with the plan, and it was agreed at a second, smaller meeting in Tallahassee in July that "all money raised shall be spent in recognized national advertising media outside of the State of Florida, and that all monies raised shall be spent for this purpose and for no other."[86] The campaign would target hotels, rail, ship and bus lines, realtors, banks, and the national media. Sholtz became chairman of the advertising committee, Charles Overman (Association of County Commissioners of Florida) was chosen as vice-chair, and Robert Grassfield (Florida Chamber of Commerce) was secretary.

Taking a page from Commissioner of Agriculture Nathan Mayo's playbook, Sholtz funded this new campaign with the "breaks" from the State Racing Commission. Created by the legislature in 1931—the same year that pari-mutuel betting was made

80. "Reaping Rich Harvest," *Southern Advertising and Publishing* (March 1936), 17.
81. American studies scholar Stephen J. Whitfield once wrote that considering its envy and imitative efforts regarding California, the State of Florida made an apt choice when it named the mockingbird as its state bird in 1927. Whitfield, "Florida's Fudged Identity," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, vol. 71, no. 4 (April 1993), 416.
82. Handout for the 11 July 1935 meeting, Sholtz papers, box 4, folder: "All Florida Advertising Committee Misc.," FSA.
83. For example, see Sholtz to R.J. Binnecker (of Tampa), 25 July 1935, Sholtz papers, box 2, folder: "Advertising Campaign," FSA.
84. "A Meeting of an Organization Committee Appointed by Governor Sholtz to Discuss Plans for Raising an Advertising Fund," 11 July 1935, Sholtz papers, box 4, folder: "All Florida Advertising Campaign."
85. Ibid.
86. 22 July 1935 Minutes, All-Florida Advertising Campaign, Tallahassee, Florida, Sholtz papers, box 4, folder: "All Florida Advertising Committee—Misc.," FSA.

legal—the Racing Commission regulated the state's popular horse and dog tracks, most of which were located in South Florida.[87] As a way to sell the gambling idea to all counties, the law required tracks to pay the state ten percent of the winnings, which were distributed equally to all 67 counties. By 1939, this amounted to roughly $29,000 per county and was generally used to fund education.[88] The funds were derived by rounding down—and never up—a winning to the closest dime. The leftover, odd cents were called "breaks" and were also sent to the state coffers. It was these breaks, in addition to contributions by the County Boards of Commissioners, that Sholtz used to fund his advertising campaign. And as with the Agriculture Department's inspection fees, the race "breaks" were neither regulated nor subject to biennial legislative approval. The fund could not have come at a better time, as Mayo discovered his own advertising stash depleted: "For the past two years, the major part of this fund has gone toward keeping the Florida Exhibit at the Century of Progress and we still owe several thousand dollars..." [89] His department was also "depleted of booklets, bulletins, etc."[90]

By fall 1935 the All Florida Advertising Campaign was already showing signs of progress. In its first steps the committee hired a New York advertising firm, the Eastman, Scott & Company.[91] Vying for such potentially lucrative business during the midst of a national depression, letters from media outlets poured into Sholtz's office, including the *New York Law Journal, The New Yorker, Brooklyn Daily Eagle, New York Daily News, Dynamic Pictures, Christian Science Monitor, New York Times,* General Outdoor Advertising Company, National Sportsmens, Inc, and numerous hotels and rail lines.[92] Newspapers, hoping for future advertising sales, published complimentary stories about Florida and its promotion campaign. One such story appeared in *Town & Country* in December 1935

87. Susan Hamburger, "And They're Off! The Development of the Horse Racing Industry in Florida" (Ph.D. Dissertation: Florida State University, 1994), 114.
88. Ibid., 140, 143.
89. Mayo to G.C. Blume (of Jacksonville), n.d. [1935] Sholtz papers, box 2, folder: "Agriculture Dept. of."
90. Mayo to Sholtz, 18 June 1935, Sholtz papers, box 2, folder: "Agriculture, Dept. of."
91. "Reaping Rich Harvest," 18.
92. Many of the inquiries can be found in Sholtz papers, box 5, folder: "All Florida Advertising Campaign."

and another in the *Christian Science Monitor* in February 1936.[93] Just the idea of promoting Florida appeared to be news in 1935. Many interpreted the campaign as a sign of impending economic recovery.

With $67,000 "actually on hand" by October 1935, the committee began purchasing ad space.[94] By December, Florida advertisements could be found in all the major newspapers on the East Coast.[95] Even the popular daily comic strip *Dick Tracy* mentioned Florida. In the 1 March 1936 cartoon, a young boy gives Tracy three tickets to Florida and exclaims, "Dick! Think of it! Bright sunshine, bathing in the ocean, deep sea fishing." An adult in the next panel adds, "Look at these pamphlets, Tracy. Palm trees, a southern moonsoft sea breeze—" In the third panel the hero interrupts, "Stop! I'm licked! I surrender! I give in!"[96] By early 1936, even the nation's top crime fighter was choosing sunny Florida over sunny California.

Florida's traditional tourist season ran from November to a peak in January and February before tapering off in early March. In an effort to convince travelers to extend their stay, the committee placed ads in the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune.* As late as mid-March, ads appeared in the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune.* Committee advertising executive R. H. Scott was pleased that articles on President Roosevelt's upcoming Florida fishing trip appeared in the same issues. "The President is actually doing what we are urging thousands to do in the full-page ad, and probably because he realizes just the facts we are trying to get across..."[97] he wrote to Sholtz. Florida's inside man at the *New York Times,* Harris Sims, a Stetson University graduate and avid promoter of the state, made sure many of the committee's achievements and goals made their way into the paper. One article

93. Alvin P. Dearing (Eastman, Scott & Company) to Sholtz, 12 December, 1935; Sylvan Cox (*Christian Science Monitor*) to Sholtz, 17 February 1936, Sholtz papers, box 5, folder: "All Florida Advertising Committee."
94. The figure is quoted on Dearing to Sholtz, 26 October 1935, Sholtz papers, box 5, folder: "All Florida Advertising Committee."
95. See Dearning to Newell, 26 October, 1935 and R.H. Scott (Eastman, Scott) to Sholtz, 22 November 1935, Sholtz papers, box 5, folder: "All Florida Advertising Committee."
96. Cartoon found in *New York News,* 1 March 1936; clipping in Sholtz papers, box 5, folder: "All Florida Advertising Committee."
97. Scott to Sholtz, 21 March 1936, Sholtz papers, box 5, folder: "All Florida Advertising Committee."

quoted Sholtz as proclaiming that "Florida is lovelier in March than at any other time and because of the fact that mortality rates from pneumonia are higher in March in the cold Northern areas, practical-minded vacationists will...escape into sunshine."[98]

In addition to season lengthening, the committee hoped to convince people to vacation in Florida during the summer months (a tough sell in the years before widespread air conditioning and the invention of DDT), expand the number of visitors, and increase agricultural sales (although aside from citrus, always a strong selling point, this last goal was not actively pursued).[99] In 1936 the committee announced, through an internal document, that it had achieved most of its goals in some measure, and declared that "Florida is having the best summer in its entire history," with thousands of tourists traveling to the state.[100] The committee measured the success of its summer campaign through the redemption of cut-out coupons provided by the Florida Chamber of Commerce.[101] Over 13,000 had been received by summer 1936.[102] To handle the coupon redemptions as well as the more than 21,000 inquiries about Florida tourism, the committee received federal assistance through the Professional Service Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Relief workers created a synopsis of each inquiry that included name, address, and nature of the question or concern to produce a list of potential customers similar to modern, computer generated databases. Each person on the list received a brochure, "Florida—The March of Progress," and a letter of welcome signed (facsimile) by Governor Sholtz.[103] The winter campaign cost approximately $30,000, while the committee risked less on the summer effort, $5,000.[104]

98. "Florida's Season Lengthens," *New York Times*, 22 March 1936.
99. "Summary of Objectives and Results of Governor's All Florida Advertising Campaign," n. d. [1936], Sholtz papers, box 3, folder: "Advertising," FSA.
100. Ibid.
101. William Wilson (Acting Director, Florida Professional Service Projects, WPA, Jacksonville) to Ralph Nicholson (All Florida Advertising Committee), 13 July 1936, Sholtz papers, box 3, folder: "Florida All State Advertising Committee."
102. Wilson to Sholtz, 13 July 1936, Sholtz papers, box 3, folder: Florida All State Advertising Committee."
103. Memorandum, 20 December 1935, Sholtz papers, box 4, folder: "All Florida Advertising Committee."
104. 102. C. H. Overman to H. L. Flowers, 16 July 1936, Sholtz papers, box 3, folder: "All Florida Advertising Committee."

Historian Kristie Lindenmeyer argues that the Great Depression witnessed a transformation of consumer culture in which film studios, candy bar makers, toy companies, and book publishers advertised directly to the recently identified youth market. If Florida was moving in new directions in promoting year-round tourism, the state remained more conservative in targeting parents and other adults.[105] With the possible exception of *Dick Tracy*, read by children and adults alike, promotional efforts focused on adult publications such as newspapers, news magazines, industrial journals, posters and ads on subways and buses, department store windows, newsreels, and radio programs. Hotels, citrus groves, and roadside attractions had little appeal for children. Florida advertisers believed that parents made all the travel decisions. By 1955 when Disneyland premiered, pop culture historian Kirse Granat May argues that California had solidified its status as the national symbol and geographic location for American youth.[106] Florida would not come close to capturing that market until October 1971, when the Walt Disney Company opened its revised and expanded version of Disneyland in Orlando. Although Florida's failure to tap the youth market caused the state's tourism industry to fall behind its western rival during the post-war boom, its future problems were not evident in the 1930s as tourism prospects soared.

With three years of national fairs under their belts and thousands of tourists responding, Sholtz and his staff decided to take their campaign international. In the fall of 1936, with the assistance of the New York advertising firm of W.H. Ranking, Florida launched a second effort to attract European tourists. One plan called for a major passenger ship, such as the luxurious *Queen Mary*, to dock at Port Everglades near Ft. Lauderdale, allowing passengers several days to motor around the state. Rankin believed the transoceanic transport of passengers and cars would be attractive to European visitors, and noted in a letter to Sholtz that "This year the Queen Mary brought 32 British motor cars with their owners to New York,"[107] Perhaps unaware of the distances and roads

105. Lindenmeyer, *The Greatest Generation Grows Up: American Childhood in the 1930s* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 156-205.

106 Kirse Granat May, *Golden State, Golden Youth: The California Image in Popular Culture, 1955-1966* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

107. Rankin to Sholtz, 17 September 1936, Sholtz papers, box 2, folder: "Advertising."

between Florida cities, Rankin suggested that passengers might bring bicycles and "ride from Ft. Lauderdale, Miami, Tampa, Lakeland, Orlando, Tallahassee and thence over to Jacksonville, from there take the Clyde Line Steamer to New York and return to London via the regular Cunard White State Liners."[108]

The new advertising campaign presented Florida as the "New World Riviera."[109] It was a calculated shift from the middle-class, family-oriented advertising Florida had advanced since 1933. For Rankin, one of the promotional architects of the Florida land boom, it was an attempt to "recapture the glory days of the 1920s."[110] Oblivious to world events, Rankin convinced Sholtz that they "could not only bring tourists by the shipload from Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Holland, Sweden and Denmark to Florida," they could also get them to visit in summer when Europeans usually traveled.[111] Sholtz bombarded European travel agencies, major newspapers in London, Paris, Rome and New York and all the major steam ship companies with letters outlining his tourism plans. Recipients of his letters included the *Washington Post, New York Sun, Boston Herald,* the *Christian Science Monitor, London Times, London Daily Telegraph,* London's Advertising World, the London Press Exchange, and the Victoria Hotel.[112] As Sholtz explained to one travel authority, "as soon as the Europeans know what we have to offer...they are sure to come in thousands." More grandiosely, he suggested that the tourist trade might even promote "world Peace."[113]

In both visitation and world peace, the plan failed miserably. The first snag came with Rankin's discovery that "on account of the laws, there is no chance to have foreign ships go direct to Port Everglades." In addition, he realized that "Port Everglades could not harbor ships of the size we intended...a large ship cannot turn around in the harbor but must back out."[114] Moreover, the free

108. Ibid. The Cunard White Star Line was a British passenger ship company most famous for the *Titanic.*
109. See Sholtz to Cooks Jones, 12 December 1936, Sholtz papers, box 2, folder: "Advertising."
110. Rankin to Sholtz, 17 September 1936, Sholtz papers, box 2, folder: "Advertising."
111. Ibid.
112. Sholtz papers, box 2, folder: "Advertising."
113. Sholtz to Jones, 12 December 1936, Sholtz papers, box 2, folder: "Advertising."
114. Rankin to Sholtz, 20 November 1936, Sholtz papers, box 2, folder: "Advertising."

advertising through press releases that had worked so well with the All-Florida campaign was beginning to wear thin, and major publications, tired of providing the state with free publicity, pointedly suggested that Florida buy advertising. Although the Cunard White Star Line placed ads in British newspapers using the line "Come to the New World's Riviera, only a "half dozen" people "call[ed] the Cunard office" in response to the effort.[115] One steamship agent offered Sholtz and company an insight into the limitations of their understanding of European travelers: "To sell Florida to the European," he wrote to Sholtz, "will require a little more than the cooperation of steamship lines, newspapers, etc. Today the German stays in Germany because he is not allowed to take any money out of Germany. The Italians have none. The French have but they are not spenders and they do not travel to any extent. The Russians are too busy with their 5-year plans..."[116] A London journalist explained that English tourists traveled to well-established resorts in the Canaries and South Africa. Moreover, cruise liners had no incentive to work with Florida's tourism campaign. The purpose of a cruise was to "get people to pass as much time as possible on the boat and to spend their money there," he wrote. "You want to get the people ashore and spending their money in the State of Florida." In addition to the disincentive for cruise ships to go along with the Florida scheme, the journalist asserted, "attractions in Florida are only known here amongst a very small circle of rather wealthy people."[117] The solution to attracting European tourists was to offer more than warm climate and sunny beaches. Although American tourists had been lured to Florida through advertising and successful fair exhibits, the European campaign fiasco illustrated the need for Florida and Floridians to build and promote attractions that would lure travelers south year-round.

From 1935 through 1938 roadside attractions popped up across the state. Monkey Jungle (Goulds), Ravine Gardens (Palatka), Eagle's Nest Gardens (Bellaire) and Sunken Gardens (St. Petersburg) opened in 1935. The following year brought Floating Islands (Orange Lake), Lewis Plantation (Brooksville), Parrott Jungle (Miami), Weeki Wachee

115. Rankin to Jim Newell, 7 December 1936, Sholtz papers, box 2, folder: "Advertising."
116. W.J. Walker (Walker & Company, New York) to Sholtz, 18 December 1936 Sholtz papers, box 2, folder: "Advertising."
117. Fred Lawson (London's *Daily Telegraph*) to Sholtz, 12 November 1936, Sholtz papers, box 2, folder: "Advertising."

(Brooksville), and Cypress Gardens (Winter Haven). The peak year for new attractions was 1937, with Everglades Wonder Gardens (Bonita Springs), Famous Trees Botanical Gardens (Miami), Florida Wild Animal Ranch (St. Petersburg), Jungle Gardens (Brooksville), Moon Lake Gardens (Enellon), Rare Bird Farm (Miami), and Wakulla Springs (near Tallahassee). Rounding out the decade were Orchid Gardens (Ft. Myers), Homosassa Springs (Homosassa Springs), Rattlesnake Headquarters (Kendall), Tropical Hobbyland (Miami) and Marineland Studios (south of St. Augustine).

While local entrepreneurs developed roadside sites to attract tourist dollars, state leaders continued their promotion efforts at national and international expositions. In conjunction with the 150th anniversary of the inauguration of George Washington, New York opened a World's Fair in 1939. The fair, which focused on the world of the future, was designed with seven themed areas—transportation, food, government, amusements, industry, communication, and community. The individual areas were tied together at the theme center, which featured a statue of George Washington and the fair's architecture trademark, the Trylon and Perisphere. [Interestingly, as it involved a future Florida attraction, Walt Disney, who participated in the 1939 fair, was influenced by its layout when he designed both Disneyland in California and Disney World in Florida. Epcot, which opened in Orlando in 1983, was modeled even closer upon both the New York World's Fair and the Century of Progress fair in presentation and content.] Located in Flushing Meadows in Queens, the exposition proved to be one of the world's largest and most influential fairs. Over 44 million visitors passed through its gates, where they witnessed such wonders as the public premier of television, a robot who could count to five, the 36,000 square foot Futurama exhibit, and the Aquacade water show. Although designed to be educational in nature, the Amusement area was by far the most popular feature. And that was where the Florida Pavilion was located. Fair administrator Dennis Nolan wrote New York Representative A.E. MacKinnon that "we must and will have Florida...They have been key features at the [Cleveland] show and in matter of attendance of exhibits they have smashed all records, as they did at Chicago, even beating out Ford and GM presentations."[118]

118. Joel M. Hoffman, "From Augustine to Tangerine: Florida at the U.S. World's Fairs," *Journal of Design and Propaganda Arts*, Florida Theme Issue, 23 (1998) 71. The original records of the 1939 New York World's Fair are housed at the New York Public Library.

After two international fairs and a stint at the Rockefeller Center, the Florida National Exhibits were becoming quite adept at pulling off major exhibitions. For the 1939 New York World's Fair, they created their largest exhibit yet, with three levels that housed over 350,000 square feet of exhibit space and required over one hundred train car loads of materials. While recycling much of the previous exhibit material—Gaunier's "Ponce De. Leon" and the "Spirit of Florida" statues, most of the dioramas, another live citrus grove (again designed by Foster Barnes—they also added much more. Most importantly, they created their own building. Located in the Amusements Zone on the shores of Fountain Lake, the exhibit conveyed the message that Florida was an attraction and not merely a state. The theme, "Florida: Where Dreams Come True," was presented in a variety of ways.[119] FNE created a faux Spanish Mission (albeit one based on the grander 18th century style found in California, not the waddle-and daub version of 17th century Florida) in order to "convert" fair visitors to the state. For the mission's bell tower, the FNE installed what was billed as the world's largest carillon with 75 bells. Created by J.C. Deagan Company of Chicago, the carillon was scheduled to be installed at the Stephen Foster Memorial upon the fair's completion. At the fair, it played a record number of 14,167 times in six months.[120] The Aquacade show, featuring Johnny Weismuller and other stars, was located nearby. At the conclusion of each performance, the carillon played a Stephen Foster tune and attracted a large portion of the audience. The Florida exhibit also featured a 71-foot orange juice bar made of "Georgia marble with twenty attendants serving Florida orange juice, orange sherbet and canned grapefruit juice." Six additional juice bars were scattered throughout the park, one in each zone.[121] As an added attraction, "each of the new [juice] concessions...consist[ed] of a juice bar, painting, and dioramas for Florida, and a comfortably furnished lounge," for a total of 5,000 square feet.[122] To complete the sense

119. State of Florida, *Florida: Florida State Exhibit, New York World's Fair* (Tallahassee: 1940), 5. This was a souvenir booklet sold at the fair.
120. FNE Press release, 14 October and 18 March 1939, Cone papers, box 63, folder: "New York Fair," FSA.
121. Hoffman, "From Augustine to Tangerine," 75; FNE press release, 4 August 1939, Cone papers, box 63, folder: "New York Fair," FSA; *Proceedings of the 52nd Meeting of the Florida State Horticultural Society* (Tamps, 1939), 131.
122. FNE press release, 4 August 1939, Cone papers, box 63, folder: "New York Fair."

Florida's Spanish Mission Exhibit Center at the New York World's Fair, 1939. *Image courtesy of the Florida State Library and Archives, Tallahassee.*

of exotic luxury, the scent of orange blossoms wafted throughout the entire exhibit.

The new dioramas included one of Tampa and its Gasparilla festival, a view of Daytona's hotels and beach, and a citrus farm scene (with 10,000 handmade oranges and blossoms). The most impressive diorama (referred to as a "spectorama" by the FNE) was a life-size fishing boat in Tarpon Springs. *The Great Outdoors* magazine described the scene: "Looking through the open doorway of the cruiser the spectator sees a tarpon leap from the water nine feet in perspective while the fisherman reels in the slack of the line. The boat rocks on the waves. Boat, figures, and all equipment are life size. A Florida sunset with drifting purple clouds brightens the scene."[123] Another new diorama, titled "Florida Seen through a Windshield," was described by the *Citrus Grower.* In the diorama, the visitor has the perspective of a traveler who views a citrus grove through the windshield of an automobile. "The spectator appears to be sitting in the car. On the right a packing house shows workers in action. Every few minutes rain beats against the windshield to illustrate the fact that Florida oranges contain more juices because of frequent summer showers."[124] The Wakulla Springs diorama "faithfully reproduces the color and flow of water of the world's largest spring while onlookers can see, through panels, underwater scenes such as 'Henry the pole-vaulting black bass.'"[125]

123. Clipping can be found in Cone papers, box 63, folder: "New York Fair," FSA.
124. Ibid.
125. FNE press release, 30 April 1939, Cone papers, box 63, folder: "New York Fair."

Florida Highways wrote of the entire exhibit, "The visitor walks beneath moss-hung oaks, among orange trees hung with ripe fruit and looking upon vistas of Florida. All around him in movement and animation, dioramas, spectoramas, and rotoramas depict scenes in Florida...Such oddities as live parrots and macaws who say 'Come to Florida,' Henry the Pole Vaulting black bass of Wakulla Springs, the catfish parade and a mechanical mocking bird."[126]

In April 1939 FNE president Earl Brown announced that Florida's African American population would be provided with "free exhibit space...including exhibit cases for Florida A&M College and the Negro citizens of the state in which to display samples of manufactured articles...made from native materials...including hook rug weaving, tables and chair bottoms."[127] Despite these assurances, African American representation differed little from earlier incarnations, with depictions of the "happy slave" imagery in both the Suwannee River and turpentine displays. Whistling Willie Williams, who served as janitor for the Sanford exhibit, quickly achieved his own celebrity. The *New York Times* published a feature story on Williams and his ability to imitate more than thirty bird calls. According to the reporter, who referred to him as "a shrimp-sized edition of Stepin Fetchit," Williams' talent had been discovered when he was found in the tropical garden section of the Florida exhibit giving voice to the unexpectedly mute parrots.[128] [A related—and probably fictional—press story concerned a parrot named "Cracker," who once said "Hello Cracker" to a passerby. The woman reportedly responded, "I know I am from the backwoods of Florida but I didn't think even the birds would notice." [129]] By the end of the fair, Williams was featured in his own shows, imitating birds, rattlesnakes, and other Florida animals. As usual, however, Florida promoters chose to ignore Africans Americans for the most part, lest their presence bother white, middle class tourists and brand Florida as "too southern" with all the social baggage that entailed.

Probably the toughest hurtle for the FNE was not controlling racial views but keeping Governor Fred Cone on board. When

126. Quoted in Hoffman, "From Augustine to Tangerine," 60.
127. FNE press release, 1 April 1939, Cone papers, box 63, folder: "New York Fair."
128. "Willie Save Face of Surly Parrots," *New York Times*, 12 July 1939.
129. FNE press release, 4 August 1939, Cone papers, box 63, folder: "New York Fair."

Cone first entered office, he essentially ended the All-Florida Advertising Campaign. Cone felt that while advertising "should continually and constructively tell the world of our agricultural, industrial and tourist possibilities...the Legislature was wise in their refusal to appropriate a fund for advertising."[130] He told the committee to "stop this advertisement matter" and ordered it "not to spend any of this money and to make no contracts to spend it."[131] A year later, when the legislature passed an appropriations bill with $250,000 designated for FNE and its exhibit for the New York World's Fair, it became law without Cone's signature.[132] The committee quickly discovered that the best way to achieve their goals was to play upon the governor's ego—a healthy component of any politician's makeup. The committee members dreamed up "Governor Fred Cone Day" for the Florida Exhibit during the 1937 Great Lakes Exposition in Cleveland. Banker and FNE vice-president Ed Ball explained to Cone that the events of the day would be broadcast on national radio. "It is essential that at one of the great halls of the Florida Exhibit building we have a portrait of you," he encouraged. The portrait, which now hangs in the State Legislature as Cone's official portrait, would be painted by a prominent artist, Ball assured the governor.[133] The committee also printed a brochure with portraits of both Cone and President Roosevelt. In March 1937, FNE made Cone an honorary chairman of the committee.[134] As a result, Cone, who made a special trip to the fair, wrote a letter of introduction to the director of the 1939 New York Fair, Grover Whalen, on behalf of Earl Brown and the FNE, beaming that "You will find him a master showman and Florida is proud of his many accomplishments."[135]

Two years later, a second Fred Cone Day (29 August 1939) was devised during the FNE's greatest accomplishment—a "Florida

130. Cone to Chair of State County Commissioners Association, 16 July 1937, Cone papers, box 3, folder: "All-Florida Advertising Committee."
131. Cone to Harold Colee (President, State Chamber of Commerce) 30 August 1937, Box 3, folder: "All-Florida Advertising Committee."
132. Branch Cone to E.J. L'Engle (Jacksonville), 29 June 1939, Cone papers, box 63, folder: "New York Fair," FSA. Branch was Governor Cone's brother and his Executive Secretary.
133. Ball to Cone, 28 December 1936, Cone papers, box 33, folder: "Florida National Exhibits," FSA.
134. Earl Brown to Cone, 27 March 1937, Cone papers, box 33, folder: "Florida National Exhibits."
135. Cone to Whalen, 25 September 1937, Cone papers, box 33, folder: "Florida National Exhibits."

Week" at the New York World's Fair (27 August to 2 September).[136] No other state was similarly honored at the fair. In early summer, Cone began inviting his North Florida friends to attend the fair with him. The Florida party would be riding the Seaboard Air Line Railway, which offered a special rate so that any citizen could "ride with the governor" to New York. Brochures promised that the passenger trains "will be air conditioned, deluxe, reclining seat coaches," with prices ranging from $23.15 for coach to $59 for lower berth, Pullman class.[137] Although the press releases declared that everyone would pay his own way, FNE official Ed Ball sent Cone and his wife two free tickets.[138] Plans for Cone's appearance at the fair included a military guard review, lunch with fair president Grover Whalen, an inspection of the Florida exhibit, dedication of the Florida Building with Ed Ball, and a special fireworks presentation.[139] NBC Radio would cover the afternoon presentation of the Florida Exhibit.[140] Unfortunately, after he arrived in New York, Cone fell ill—his health plagued him throughout his gubernatorial term—and never left his hotel room.[141] Even without the Governor, the Florida Exhibit attracted 230,000 visitors that day, while several newsreel and radio programs covered the Florida Week in their weekly presentations.[142]

By the end of the New York World's Fair on 31 October 1939, Florida promotional efforts were at a peak that would not be reached again until the 1950s. By 6 August 1939 four million visitors had passed through the exhibit, with another three million expected before the fair ended in October (the fair itself recorded a total of 26 million visitors).[143] Florida was invited to exhibit

136. Cone to Co. Cecil Harris (Live Oak), 19 July 1939, Cone papers, box 63, folder: "New York Fair."
137. The trains left Jacksonville at 5:10 pm on Sunday, 27 August and arrived at Penn Station in New York at 8 pm the following day. Earl Brown to Cone, 1 August 1939; Seaboard Air Line Railway advertisement, Cone papers, box 63, folder: "New York Fair."
138. Ball to Cone, 25 August 1939, Cone papers, box 63, folder: "New York Fair."
139. Press release, 17 August 1939, Cone papers, box 63, folder: "New York Fair."
140. Brown to Cone, 17 August 1939, Cone papers, box 63, folder: "New York Fair."
141. Brown to Cone, 4 September 1939, Cone to Brown, 11 September 1939, Cone papers, box 63, folder: "New York Fair."
142. Brown to Cone, 4 September 1939, Cone papers, box 63, folder: "New York Fair."
143. FNE press release, 6 August 1939, Cone papers, box 63, folder: "New York Fair;"Harry Seifert, "The World of Tomorrow: An Account of the 1939 New York World's Fair" (MA thesis, FSAU, 1974), 21.

in the 1940 version of the fair and news coverage of the state's exhibit could be found in *Time*, *New York Times*, *New York Herald Tribune*, several radio programs, and in newspapers in Pennsylvania, California, New Jersey, Connecticut, and of course, Florida.[144]

By 1940, priorities in Florida had changed. Assisted by another year at the New York World's Fair, plus a specially designed "Florida Exhibits Highlights " that toured the Midwest, including Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Milwaukie, Florida was increasingly dependent upon tourism.[145] Throughout 1939 and 1940, no doubt as a by-product of the fair, the *New York Times* ran numerous stories on Florida travel and attractions.[146] George Gross of the Florida State Planning Board announced at the Southeastern Regional Planning Commission in Atlanta that Florida's tourist industry had reached $350,000,000 per year, "a sum greater than the total farm and forestry production."[147] Florida was the only state at the conference to mention tourism. Something had changed, and Florida was no longer economically and culturally confined to the American South.

Scholars engage in lengthy debates over the role of Florida in the South and argue whether or not the state should be considered "Southern." If the state's history had ended in the 1920s, these debates would not take place. The 1930s, more than any other decade, transformed the outward appearance of Florida, both physically and metaphorically. While much of the essence of the state—its people and their private culture and economic status, its racism, conservative politics, and even most of its industries—remained unchanged, Florida appeared differently in the eyes of its own citizens and the rest of the nation by 1940. Numerous histories of Florida have described the state prior to World War II as a "sleepy backwater." As recently as 2002, Gary

144. See Cone papers, box 63, folder: "New York Fair."
145. Hoffman, "From Augustine to Tangerine," 75.
146. "Florida Rounds Out Pioneering Epic," 16 January 1939; "Seven Floridas Welcome the Tourists," 10 December 1939; "Its More Than Miami," 21 January 1940; "Big Days in Florida," 18 February 1940; "Florida Lures Summer Host," 30 June 1940; "Florida Awaits Tourist Host," 10 November 1940, *New York Times*.
147. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Southeastern Regional Planning Commission" (8 October 1940), 7, Cone papers, box 71, folder: "Planning Board, State 1940,"FSA.

Mattson summed up his scholarly evaluation of Florida in a characteristic misperception: "A snapshot taken in 1940 of a Florida town would simply be a 'mirror image' of a typical Bourbon-era town...The major technological change, besides electricity, was the automobile or pickup parked in front of the seed store."[148] But as we have seen here, Florida was not the same place in 1940 as it had been in 1930.

148. Gary Armes Mattson, *Small Town, Sprawl, and the Politics of Policy Choices: The Florida Experience* (New York: University Press of America, 2002), 40.

From Desegregation to Integration: Race, Football, and "Dixie" at the University of Florida

by Derrick E. White

On a chilly December day in 1962 just before the New Year's holiday, the University of Florida (UF) Gators football team played the Penn State Nittany Lions in the eighteenth annual Gator Bowl. Penn State entered the game a heavy favorite. The media and coaches ranked the Nittany Lions ninth in the country, and the Eastern College Athletic Conference awarded the team the Lambert Trophy as the best team in the East. The game was Penn State's second consecutive Gator Bowl appearance. The Nittany Lions made history the previous season as the first desegregated team to play in the Gator Bowl, when they defeated Georgia Tech 30 - 15. Led by their All-American African American (wide receiver or tight end) Dave

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Robinson, Penn State looked for a repeat bowl victory over the lightly regarded Gators.[1]

The Gator Bowl committee's controversial decision to invite Florida occurred because Duke University (8-2) declined an invitation to play in the game, suspecting that the Gator Bowl committee wanted the Gators all along.[2] In addition, the committee ignored pleas from the Oregon State Beavers' athletic department to play in the game. The Beavers, who featured Heisman Trophy winner Terry Baker, believed playing in the Gator Bowl would provide added publicity to the school and its star player. The Gator Bowl committee did not choose Oregon State for economic reasons, assuming an Oregon State - Penn State game would generate little interest in the southeast. The committee was aware that Baker did not finish in the top five on southern ballots for the Heisman Trophy, suggesting little regional support for him.[3] Thus, the committee's concern about profits was genuine. With the game's economic considerations paramount, the Gator Bowl committee selected the University of Florida to play in the game.[4]

The committee obviously believed that the University of Florida's proximity, rather than a stellar record, would increase the likelihood of a sell out crowd. The Gators finished the 1962 season 6 - 4 with a season-ending loss to in-state rival University of Miami. Moreover, a Florida - Penn State game played up a regional (North v. South) and racial (desegregated v. segregated teams) subplot that had worked well, evidenced by the previous year's record crowd. The two teams played the 1962 game amid a growing civil rights movement and at a moment when southern universities began to desegregate. In addition, the game occurred on the eve of the centennial of the Civil War. The Gator Bowl committee

1. "Florida Chosen to Play Penn State in Gator Bowl at Jacksonville," *New York Times*, 4 December 1962, 54. Michael MacCambridge, ed. *ESPN College Football Encyclopedia: The Complete History of the Game* (New York: ESPN Books, 2005), 1265-66.
2. Jimmy Mann, "Who Else for Jax?," *St. Petersburg Evening Independent*, 19 December 1962, 12A.
3. The Heisman Trophy Winners. http://www.heisman.com/winners/t-baker62.php Accessed 27 October 2009.
4. "Florida Chosen to Play Penn State in Gator Bowl at Jacksonville." Tom Kelly, "Caught Short," *St. Petersburg Times*, 30 December 1962, 2C. Lonnie Burt, "Record 50,000 See Hall Pass Jackets Dizzy," *St. Petersburg Times*, 31 December 1961, 1C. See also: Charles H. Martin, "Integrating New Year's Day: The Racial Politics of College Bowl Games in the American South," *Journal of Sport History* 24, no. 3 (1997): 358-77.

believed the racial turmoil added regional and national interest to an already intriguing intersectional game.

As one of the few games that featured northern and southern teams during the 1962 - 1963 bowl season, the Gator Bowl committee cast the University of Florida football team as a symbol for an embattled South under siege by the growing civil rights movement. As southern universities reluctantly desegregated in the months before the 1962 Gator Bowl game, students, alumni, and boosters often blurred the lines between school spirit, team support, and racist opposition to desegregation. At the University of Georgia in 1961, for example, students transformed frustrations over a basketball game loss to rival Georgia Tech into an excuse to intimidate Charlayne Hunter, one of the first black students at the school. Students returned from the game chanting "Two, four, six, eight, we don't want to integrate . . . One, two, three, four, we don't want no nigger whore."[5] School authorities turned away the student mob with fire hoses and tear gas. At the University of Mississippi, James Meredith's attempt to register for classes sparked a student riot on campus in which two people died. Days before the riot, Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett riled up the students, alumni, and fans at a football game when he declared his love for the state and its customs.[6] Although the University of Florida had prided itself on "integration without incident," when the Gator Bowl cast the team as a substitute for the embattled South, the team exceeded expectations in fulfilling the role.[7]

The University of Florida embraced the game as one for Southern honor. Coaches framed media characterization of the selection as the "lowliest bowl team of them all" as criticism of the entire region. Head coach Ray Graves also saw an opportunity to gain a psychological and emotional advantage over Penn State and its leading receiver Dave Robinson. He ordered a Confederate Battle Flag patch sewn on the team uniforms and replaced the Gators' traditional block numbers on the helmets with a Confederate flag. On game day, the marching band played "Dixie"

5. Robert A. Pratt, *We Shall Not Be Moved: The Desegregation of the University of Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002), 94.
6. William Doyle, *An American Insurrection: James Meredith and the Battle of Oxford, Mississippi, 1962* (New York: Anchor Books, 2001).
7. Dr. J. Wayne Reitz, interviewed by Samuel Proctor, December 20 - 21, 1987, January 7, 1989, Samuel Proctor Oral History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

1962 Gator Bowl: University of Florida v. Penn State University. UF Helmet with Confederate Battle Flag Emblem. *Courtesy of: Johnston Photograph Collection, University of Florida Archives, Dept. of Special Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida.*

and waved a Confederate flag as it led the team onto the field.. After the Gators defeated Penn State 17 – 7, the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* captured the game's symbolism and outcome with a headline that read "Rebel Flag, 'Dixie' Music Give Gators Teeth." Coach Graves reiterated the game's importance to white identity in his postgame interview: "We sorta [felt] that we're upholding the honor of southern football." The game symbolized more than football. It was a contest between the South's racial past and its future, and on this day it seemed that the past won.[8]

8. Don Pride, "Something to Prove," *St. Petersburg Times*, 4 December 1962, 1C. Tom Kelly, "A Near Perfect Afternoon," *St. Petersburg Times*, 31 December 1962. Tom Kelly, "The South Rose Again," *St. Petersburg Times*, 30 December 1962. "Rebel Flag, 'Dixie' Music Give Gators Teeth: Florida Chewed up State Made Critics Eat Words," *Pittsburgh Post Gazette*, 31 December 1962, 13. Gator Bowl 1963, Audio Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

The Florida - Penn State game and the associated pageantry offer an opportunity to explore integration and race in 1960s college football. First, although Florida claimed to have integrated its campus, there is a substantive difference between desegregation and integration. Martin Luther King, Jr. made this point in his speech, "The Ethical Demands of Integration." King recognized that the terms are used "interchangeably," but suggested that there was "a great deal of difference between the two." He described desegregation as "negative, for it simply removes [the] legal and social prohibitions [of segregation]," While integration was the "positive acceptance of desegregation," and the "welcomed participation of Negroes into the total range of human activities." According to the civil rights leader's definition, the simple desegregation of a community occurred "where men are physically desegregated and spiritually segregated, where elbows are together and hearts are apart." King's nuanced understanding of the differences between segregation and integration is significant in examining the desegregation of southern universities.[9]

Second, using King's insights as a guide, any examination of the desegregation of southern colleges must include athletics, especially football. Football was essential to developing what scholar J. Douglas Toma calls the "collegiate ideal." Toma describes the collegiate ideal as "the combination of community and campus culture associated with the traditional American small college."[10] Toma asserts that the non-academic features of a university - landscaping, dormitories, student activities, and sports - are essential in developing a university's identity. For Toma, "Football highlights the unique culture through which particular institutions express the collegiate idea."[11] The University of Florida, like other southern colleges, used football and its concomitant all-white teams as a representation of what historian Andrew Doyle describes as the invented tradition of the Old South, a faith in material progress, and the ideology of White supremacy. Doyle concluded that the University of Alabama's 1926 Rose Bowl victory illuminates how

9. Martin Luther King, Jr. "The Ethical Demands of Integration," in *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of and Speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, ed. James M. Washington, (New York: Harper Collins, 1986), 118.
10. J. Douglas Toma, *Football U.: Spectator Sports in the Life of the American University* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 5.
11. Ibid., 8.

southern college football "helped to ease the cultural transition to modernity by providing false reassurance that a reconciliation of progress and tradition was possible."[12]

Finally, the marching band plays a role similar to that of the football team in constructing the collegiate ideal. Can one imagine a University of Notre Dame football game without its band playing its fight song "The Victory March, " or, the University of Michigan without thinking of "Hail to the Victors?" Bands are essential to the athletic and collegiate spirit. Therefore, the southern colleges' marching bands playing of "Dixie" and the unfurling of a Confederate flag were extensions of the collegiate ideal projected by a segregated university, its football team, and its student culture.

The scholarship on the desegregation of southern universities has illuminated the trials and tribulations of the first black students in the classrooms, on the fields, and on the courts. Nonetheless, two major flaws exist in the scholarship. First, scholars often failed to differentiate between desegregation and integration, using the terms indiscriminately. Sport historian Charles H. Martin masterfully analyzed the desegregation of college athletics, but described this process as "integration."[13] Don Yaeger in his examination of the 1970 University of Alabama – University of Southern California game, which spurred desegregation at Alabama, asserts that prior to the game the "integration of the universities came in waves."[14] Most sports historians have described the desegregation of athletics as integration. Scholars who have examined the student desegregation at southern colleges have been divided in their

12. Andew Doyle, "'Causes Won, Not Lost': College Football and the Modernization of the American South," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 11, no. 2 (1994): 231-51. Doyle's reference to invented traditions comes from: Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

13. Charles H. Martin, "Jim Crow in the Gymnasium: The Integration of College Basketball in the American South," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 10, no. 1 (April 1993): 68-86; Martin, "Integrating New Year's Day: The Racial Politics of College Bowl Games in the American South," *Journal of Sport History* 24, no. 3 (1997): 358-77; Martin,"The Rise and Fall of Jim Crow in Southern College Sports: The Case of the Atlantic Coast Conference," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 76, no. 3 (1999): 253-84; Martin, "Hold That (Color) Line!: Black Exclusion and Southeastern Conference Football," in *Higher Education and the Civil Rights Movement: White Supremacy, Black Southerners, and College Campuses*, Peter Wallenstein, ed. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008), 166-98.

14. Don Yaeger and with Sam Cunningham and John Papadakis, *Turning of the Tide: How One Game Changed the South* (New York: Center Street, 2006), 29.

descriptions of the process as desegregation or integration.[15] Robert A. Pratt, for example, describes desegregation of the University of Georgia; while, Charles W. Eagles explains James Meredith's ordeal at Ole Miss as integration.[16] Most scholars have used the terms interchangeably, without tremendous consideration of the differences between the two terms.[17]

Second, scholars of collegiate desegregation often minimize the extracurricular activities of college life that form student and university culture. The examination of the ordeals of James Meredith at Ole Miss or Charlayne Hunter at the University of Georgia should be understood in context with the "collegiate ideal" or the image a university produces through its football team and marching band. On the other hand, sports historians have narrowly focused on the fields and courts, and have not paid enough attention to the classrooms or to the stands. This essay provides a comprehensive examination of desegregation at the University of Florida through an examination of the field, the stands, and the classrooms. This analysis reveals that black students were merely tolerated, not integrated in the initial process of desegregating southern universities.[18] Integration required southern universities to desegregate football teams and alter student culture to change the Southern college ideal.

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15. Richard Pennington, *Breaking the Ice: The Racial Integration of Southwest Conference Football* (Jefferson: McFarland, 1987). Ronald Marcello, "The Integration of Intercollegiate Athletics in Texas: North Texas State College as a Test Case, 1956," *Journal of Sport History* 14, no. 3 (1987): 286-316. Frank Fitzpatrick, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down: Kentucky, Texas Western, and the Game That Changed American Sports* (New York: Simon & Shuster, 1999). Kurt Edward Kemper, "The Smell of Roses and the Color of the Players: College Football and the Expansion of the Civil Rights Movement in the West," *Journal of Sport History* 31, no. 3 (2004): 317-39. Lane Demas, "Beyond Jackie Robinson: Racial Integration in American College Football and New Directions in Sport History," *History Compass* 5, no. 2 (2007): 675-90.
16. Robert A. Pratt, *We Shall Not Be Moved.* Charles W. Eagles, *The Price of Defiance: James Meredith and the Integration of Ole Miss* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009). E. Culpepper Clark, *The Schoolhouse Door: Segregation's Last Stand at the University of Alabama* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).
17. Scholars of pro sports seem to use "desegregation" more than scholars of intercollegiate athletics. See Thomas G. Smith, "Civil Rights on the Gridiron: The Kennedy Administration and the Desegregation of the Washington Redskins," *Journal of Sport History* 14, no. 2 (1987): 189-209. And Jack E. Davis, "Baseball's Reluctant Challenge: Desegregating Major League Spring Training Sites, 1961-1964," *Journal of Sport History* 19, no. 2 (1992): 144-62. Still these scholars use the two terms interchangeably.
18. Pratt, *We Shall Not Be Moved,* 11-129. Pratt reaches a similar conclusion about Black students at University of Georgia.

In order for black students to be integrated into UF, the school had to alter its collegiate identity. This required more than enrolling black students; it meant UF had to integrate black students into its community and a campus culture that centered on football. The Southern collegiate ideal was an all-white affair until the late sixties, when southern colleges moved to desegregate their football teams. At the University of Florida, the school's athletic desegregation coincided with a debate over the marching band's use of the song "Dixie." An examination of how Florida approached the playing of "Dixie" reveals an intense debate between students, alumni, and the administration over the school's identity. It was clear that the Southern collegiate ideal based on the invented tradition of the Old South, faith in material progress, and white supremacy could not withstand the sixties. The debate over "Dixie" in student and local newspapers provides a window into the moment of crisis over UF's identity.

In many ways the song "Dixie" exemplified America's tortured racial history from the antebellum era through the 1960s, serving as the soundtrack to America's racism. Ohioan Daniel Decatur Emmett (1815 - 1904) claimed authorship of the song. Recently, however, scholars have challenged Emmett's authorship of "Dixie" arguing that black performers taught him the song. Nevertheless, Emmett, a performer with the Virginia Minstrels, entertained in shows in which he blackened his skin with burnt cork and sang, danced, and joked. The minstrel performance was designed to dehumanize blacks, justify antebellum slavery, and negate the idea of black equality after the Civil War. The song, originally titled "I wish I was in the Dixie's Land," debuted in April 1859 and quickly became a part of minstrel stage and musical performances nationwide. Minstrel shows appealed to northern and southern audiences, and to upper and lower classes. The shows and song allowed whites to paper over cleavages surrounding class and ethnicity, thus solidifying white identity. "Dixie's" association with white supremacy remained strong from the Civil War to the 1960s.[19]

19. Hans Nathan, "Dixie," *The Musical Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (1949): 60-84. Howard L. Sacks and Judith Rose Sacks, *Way up North in Dixie: A Black Family's Claim to the Confederate Anthem* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993, 2003). Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988). Michael Rogin, *Blackface, White Noise: Jewish Immigrants in the Hollywood Melting Pot* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

During the Civil War, Reconstruction, and the subsequent reconciliation between the white North and the white South under Jim Crow segregation, "Dixie" was transformed from a minstrel show ditty, to a white supremacist anthem. The Confederacy appropriated "Dixie" as its national anthem and battle hymn. A brass band played the song during Jefferson Davis' inauguration, as the secessionist leader approached the podium. Despite the song's use by the Confederacy, "Dixie" was also a favorite of many northern troops, signifying its vast popularity. The song was a particular favorite of President Lincoln, who declared at the war's end, "This tune is now federal property" and described it as "one of the best tunes I have ever heard."[20] Although President Lincoln reclaimed the song for the nation, it was clear that it represented Southern pride and, implicitly, the Southern racial order. In the post Civil War landscape, "Dixie" was the song that accompanied northern and southern reconciliation at the expense of black equality. This was clearly demonstrated at the 1895 Atlanta Cotton Exposition. "Dixie" was the introductory music that preceded Booker T. Washington's speech of compromise with the Southern racial order.[21] The Baltimore *Afro-American* captured the song's national association with white supremacy, noting "there is hardly a theater audience from Maine to Florida that does not applaud the orchestra when it plays 'Dixie,' and the intensity of the applause increases to an uproar as you pass the Mason and Dixon's line going South."[22] Given this history, it was logical that "Dixie" was revered as part of the white southern football tradition and experience.

As Southerners grew enamored with college football in the late nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century, they merged their zeal for the game with the region's obsession with the "Lost Cause" of the Civil War. While college football began in the Northeast in the 1860s and 1870s, the game in the South quick-

20. David Herbert Donald, *Lincoln* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), 580-81.
21. Robert J. Branham and Stephen J. Hartnett, *Sweet Freedom's Song: "My Country 'Tis of Thee" And Democracy in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 129-30. David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2001), 267, 325.
22. Quoted in: Melvyn Stokes, *D. W. Griffith's the Birth of a Nation: A History Of "The Most Controversial Motion Picture of All Time"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 161.

ly became a passion for fans in a region lacking professional sports teams. As football grew in popularity in the South, intersectional games between northern and southern teams took on added significance. Southern victories, such as Alabama's 1926 Rose Bowl win, raised the echoes of the Lost Cause. In 1935, the Southeastern Conference (SEC) defied amateur rules of the era and became the first athletic conference to allow athletic scholarships. Scholars viewed this disregard of the amateur rules created by northern colleges as "the white South's way of restoring its pride so badly damaged by the Civil War, Reconstruction, and the chronic hard times that dogged much of the South well into the twentieth century."[23] Southern universities' decision to issue athletic scholarships avoided the hypocrisy surrounding amateurism that plagued northern schools, and provided a distinct advantage in intersectional contests that could reverse the outcome of the Civil War, at least on Saturday afternoons. David G. Sansing captures the interplay between football and Confederate culture: "The lost cause of the Civil War has never really gotten out of our souls . . . . Football, with all of its battle-related language, has long been an expression of our Southern militarism. To some, football elevates war to a higher art with its marching bands and the large crowds. It's like sitting hillside looking down on the battle of Gettysburg."[24] If football represents Southern militarism, as Sansing suggests, then the marching band playing "Dixie" was the battle hymn.[25]

Although it is unclear when the University of Florida began playing "Dixie," by the 1950s and 1960s UF and other predominately white colleges across the South had made the song an essential part of the band and football experience. When the UF band played at the Rockefeller Center in New York in 1951, its performance included "The Swanee River," the official state song, "We Are the Boys from Old Florida," the school's pep song, and "Dixie."[26] In commemoration of the 1958 World's Fair in Belgium, UF band

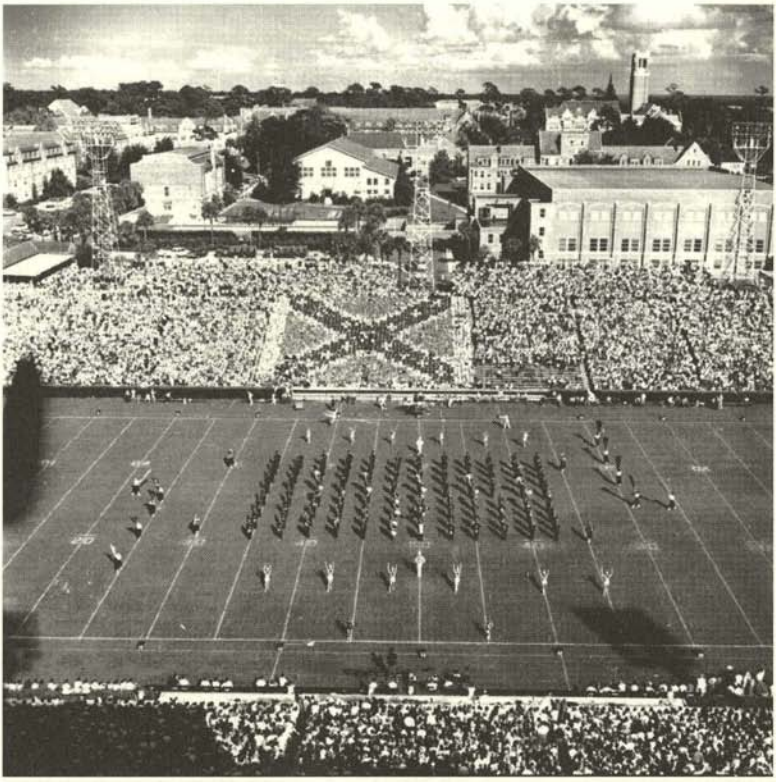
23. John Sayle Watterson, *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2000), 183.
24. Quoted in: Tony Barnhart, *Southern Fried Football: The History, Passion, and Glory of the Great Southern Game* (Chicago: Triumph Books, 2000), 7.
25. Doyle, "'Causes Won, Not Lost': College Football and the Modernization of the American South." Michael Oriard, *King Football: Sport and Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio and Newsreels, Movies and Magazines, the Weekly and the Daily Press* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2001), 65-100.
26. "Florida University Band Gives Concert at Center," *New York Times*, 29 August 1951, 3.

sent a record of its renditions of "The Swanee River," "Dixie," and "The Star Spangled Banner."[27] Given that "Dixie" was a central part of the UF band's playlist at national and international events, one can assume that it was played regularly at football games. Other southern colleges made "Dixie" a component of student and football culture, as well. At the University of Mississippi, a new mascot, Colonel Reb, the Confederate flag, and "Dixie" became integral parts of the game day experience in 1948, the school's centennial. The band's uniforms were gray, invoking the Confederate soldiers. At the University of Georgia, the band was known as the "Dixie Redcoat Band." The Citadel (South Carolina) band played "Dixie" after scoring a touchdown in a 1968 game against Army.[28] The Alabama legislature, threatened by desegregation, passed a law requiring the University of Alabama band to play "Dixie" and to fly the Confederate flag at all home football games.[29]

"Dixie" was one of three songs, along with "The Star Spangled Banner" and the school alma mater that students, alumni, and fans treated with respect. When "Dixie" was played at halftime or at game's end, the crowd stood at attention.

As southern universities desegregated in the 1960s, student and university reverence for "Dixie" served as a reminder to newly enrolled black students that they were not fully accepted at the schools. Between 1950 and 1970, black student enrollment at predominately white schools in the South grew from zero to nearly 100,000.[30] The increasing black enrollment at southern white schools put black students and the schools' reverence for "Dixie" at odds. A 1966 *Mademosille* article about black students at Ole Miss captured the song's importance to white students, and the song's affect on blacks. "The most traumatic moment on these occasions is when the band blares out 'Dixie.' Can you imagine what its like,'

27. Ann Bixler, "Gator Band 'Goes' To World's Fair," *Miami Times*, 11 May 1958, 8D.
28. Nadine Cohodas, *The Band Played Dixie: Race and the Liberal Conscience at Ole Miss* (New York: The Free Press, 1997), 161-70. "Georgia U. Band Drops 'Dixie' from Its Name," *New York Times*, 31 October 1971, 79. Steve Cady, "Army Eleven Routs the Citadel, 34 - 14," *New York Times*, 22 September 1968, 193.
29. "Alabama Rushes School Race Bills," *New York Times*, 27 August 1967, 65.
30. James R. Mingle, "The Opening of White Colleges and Universities to Black Students," in *Black Students in Higher Education: Conditions and Experiences in the 1970s*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981), 11-17.



University of Florida Marching Band performance with Confederate Battle Flag in card section, circa 1950s. *Courtesy of University of Florida Archives, Dept. of Special Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida.*

asks Irvin [Walker], 'to have these white people stand up around you for the song . . .?' 'It's like the alma mater here . . . it's really the school song . . . .'"[31] More often than not, the song (when played upbeat) was the unofficial fight song and evoked feelings similar to those engendered by the alma mater when played at a slower tempo. The tradition of respect for "Dixie" evinced at the University of Florida mirrored the all-white sports teams and the playing of "Dixie" elsewhere in the South and signaled a collegiate ideal that venerated the Old South and its racism.

The University of Florida football team's use of the Confederate flag helmet emblem during the 1962 Gator Bowl visually represent-

31. Quoted in: Sacks and Sacks, *Way up North in Dixie*, 155.

ed the region's reaction to desegregation. By the time of the December 1962 game, legal challenges to segregated higher education had produced a number of changes at the University of Florida. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense Fund initiated desegregation of higher education at the graduate and professional school level with three lawsuits - *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* (1938), *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), and *McLaurin v. Oklahoma* (1950). These three cases desegregated graduate and professional schools in states where the segregated options were patently inferior or nonexistent. In *Gaines*, the NAACP overturned Missouri's use of out-of-state tuition grants, which were used as a means to avoid desegregating graduate and professional schools. The grants covered tuition, but did not include travel and living expenses, thus creating added financial burdens for black students who left their home states. According to legal scholar, Michael J. Klarman, "*Gaines* did not challenge segregation, as it required only that blacks be segregated within, not without, state boundaries." In *Sweatt*, the NAACP challenged the University of Texas Law School's rejection of Herman Sweatt, arguing that no law school for blacks existed in the state. Although Texas established a hastily organized law school for blacks in the basement of the university and then set up a permanent one at Texas Southern University, the Supreme Court ruled both the temporary and segregated law schools were inferior. In *McLaurin,* the Supreme Court ruled that the University of Oklahoma could not segregate George McLaurin in the classroom, the library, or the cafeteria, after admitting him into the university.[32] In *Sweatt* and *McLaurin*, the Supreme Court applied a stringent definition of equality, thus eroding legal segregation, but not ending it. Although these cases were critical in desegregating higher education, the lawsuits also reveal a flaw in the strategy. By arguing that segregated institutions were unequal, and therefore in violation of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), the NAACP was forced to win desegregation suits on a case-by-case basis. This weakness was exposed when courts determined that segregated institutions were equal. This was the case in Virgil Hawkins's lawsuit for admission into the University of Florida Law School.[33]

32. Michael J. Klarman, *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights: The Supreme Court and the Struggle for Racial Equality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 152.
33. Ibid., 204-12. Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice: The History of Brown V. Board of Education* (New York: Vintage Press, 1975), 287-314.

Virgil Hawkins's lawsuit opened the door for desegregation in Florida's colleges and universities. On the basis of the *Gaines* decision, Hawkins should have been admitted when he applied to the University of Florida Law School in 1949. However, the State Board of Control, which set policy at Florida's public universities, violated the ruling by offering Hawkins out-of-state tuition in order to maintain segregation. When he refused to leave the state to attend school, the Board of Control denied Hawkins admission to the Law School. After he and five other applicants filed a lawsuit in 1949, the state, in an attempt to evade desegregating the University of Florida, agreed to build a law school at Florida A & M College (now University). While awaiting the completion of construction,, the state Supreme Court ruled that Hawkins could temporarily enter the University of Florida Law School. In defiance of the ruling, the State Board of Control refused to admit Hawkins, even on a temporary basis. In theory, Hawkins should have been admitted based on *Sweatt and McLaurin* after 1950, but the state again refused his application. Another lawsuit ensued and the Florida Supreme Court ruled that Florida A & M's new law school was equal to the University of Florida. In 1954, the U. S. Supreme Court asked the state court to review the case in consideration of the recent ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), which had declared separate education inherently unequal and overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson*. The state Supreme Court used *Brown II* (1955), which stated desegregation should occur at "all deliberate speed" and left implementation to local school districts, to again deny Hawkins entry into the law school. After another series of lawsuits, Hawkins was again denied admission. This time the state argued that he did not qualify for entry based on his Law School Aptitude Test (LSAT) score. The LSAT was not required for admission when Hawkins applied in 1949 and had only been used since February 1958. Nonetheless, the NAACP realized that it had gained considerable leverage when a district court declared that qualified black students would be admitted into the University of Florida Law School. NAACP lawyer, Constant Motley believed the "bizarre ruling" would allow black students to enroll in the law school. Hawkins agreed to drop the lawsuit. The first black student, George Allen, Jr. enrolled at the University of Florida Law School in fall 1958.[34]

34. Algia R. Cooper, "Brown V. Board of Education and Virgil Darnell Hawkins Twenty-Eight Years and Six Petitions to Justice," *The Journal of Negro History* 64, no. 1 (1979): 1-20. Deirdre Cobb-Roberts and Barbara Shircliffe, "The Legacy

Desegregation of graduate and professional schools did not immediately cause Florida's universities to desegregate their undergraduate programs. The University of Miami was the first school to enroll black undergraduate students in the summer and fall of 1961. According to school president, Jay F. W. Person, "We all recognized that sooner or later we would integrate. Some said it ought to begin at the graduate level, but some of us said, "Why do it in steps? If you believe it's right, you do it and get it over with."[35] The process was somewhat easier for Miami because it had admitted students from Central and South America since the school's inception in 1926, making the exclusion of African Americans an "awkward" situation.[36] The University of Florida and Florida State University followed Miami's lead, desegregating their undergraduate programs the next year. The decision to desegregate undergraduate students forced all southern colleges to rethink their collegiate ideal. The presence of black undergraduate students meant that southern colleges' Old South identity with its ingrained racism would be confronted on a daily basis.[37]

The first black undergraduates at the University of Florida described their reception by white students as forbidding. When Stephan Mickle enrolled at the University of Florida in the fall of 1962, he remembered being virtually ignored by his white classmates. "It was like you were a piece of furniture, you did not exist,"[38] he explained. Confederate campus culture exacerbated black students' loneliness and exclusion. Mickle recalled that students viewed Kappa Alpha fraternity as the "Ku Klux Klan" of college life.[39] During homecoming, fraternity members dressed as Confederate soldiers and rode horses across campus. When assessed with the

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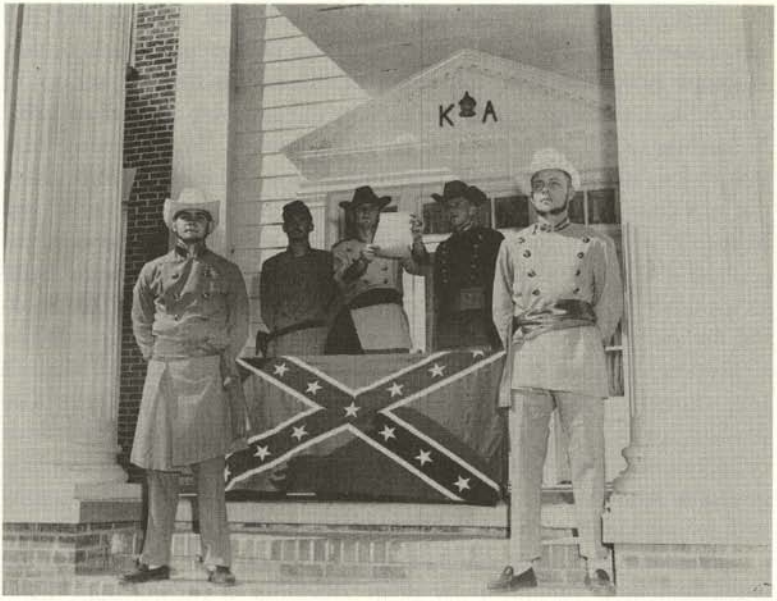
of Desegregation in Florida," in *Education Reform in Florida*, ed. Kathryn M. Borman and Sherman Dorn (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 19-51. Amy Sasscer, "Justice Delayed Is Justice Denied: Florida's 'Public Mischief' Defense and Virgil Hawkins's Protracted Legal Struggle for Racial Equality," in *Old South, New South, or Down South?: Florida and the Modern Civil Rights Movement*, ed. Irvin D. S. Winsboro (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2009), 134-154; "'Leaning on the Everlasting Arms': Virgil Darnell Hawkins's Early Life and Entry into the Civil Rights Struggle," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, vol. 86, no. 2 (Winter 2008): 279-308.

35. "Education: Growing up in Miami," *Time*, 23 June 1961.
36. Ibid.
37. "Despite Pickets and Protests Integration Goes Ahead," *St. Petersburg Times*, 5 September 1962, 2A.
38. Julian M. Pleasants, *Gator Tales: An Oral History of the University of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 341.
39. Charlayne Hunter at the University of Georgia offers a similar assessment of the Kappa Alpha fraternity. Pratt, *We Shall Not Be Moved*, 115.



Kappa Alpha Fraternity at University of Florida, 1961. *Courtesy of University of Florida Archives, Dept. of Special Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida.*

football team's use of Confederate symbols and the game-day playing of "Dixie," fraternity activities reinforced Old South ideology as something inherent to the college experience. Mickle asserted that racism played a central role in student culture at UF and other predominantly white universities and undermined the quality of education. As a result, he believed that blacks who attended these schools had an inferior experience compared to that available at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). Mickle and other black students in the first few classes at Florida in the late sixties were tolerated, but not integrated. If integration, rather than simple desegregation, was to occur black students needed be on the athletic fields and incorporated into the student culture.

Months after the Florida's 1962 Gator Bowl victory, the barriers of segregated southern football teams began to fall. The University of Maryland announced that Daryl Hill intended to transfer from the Naval Academy to become the first black player in the Atlantic Coast Conference (ACC). Wake Forest University announced that it would begin to actively recruit black football players. In Florida, there were reports that the University of Miami was recruiting a

black player. Despite these efforts, the State Board of Control simply stated, "the question [of athletic integration] is not before us at this time."[40] Other schools in the SEC insisted on maintaining segregation. Vanderbilt University football coach Jack Green asserted, "We don't anticipate any change in our recruiting."[41] For University of Florida, the University of Kentucky's decision to sign two black players in 1966 meant the desegregation of SEC (South Eastern Conference) football the following year.[42] The same year desegregation arrived in the SEC, it arrived in the state of Florida. The University of Miami's decision to sign Ray Bellamy to an athletic scholarship pressured the University of Florida, as the state's flagship institution, to desegregate football as well.[43]

The University of Florida's administration and coaches cooperated to desegregate football in 1968. UF president Dr. J. Wayne Reitz oversaw the desegregation of the law school in 1958 and the undergraduate college in 1962. Reitz was by no means a leader in desegregation in the South, having only desegregated the law school under a court order. In 1967 Reitz resigned as president. He was replaced by Stephen O'Connell, another racial conservative. O'Connell was a University of Florida graduate, class of 1940, who before being selected to lead University of Florida was a member and briefly chief of the Florida Supreme Court. Appointed to the state's high court in 1955, O'Connell ruled against Virgil Hawkins's admission to the law school citing his LSAT scores. In 1966 The Florida Law Review deemed O'Connell the second most conservative judge on Florida's Supreme Court. Despite this conservatism, civil rights and desegregation had enough momentum by 1967 that no college president could stop desegregation. Thus, O'Connell encouraged the coaching staff to recruit black players.[44]

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40. "As Wake Forest, Maryland Brake Down Dixie Barrier . . . 'Canes May Field State's First Integrated Team," *St. Petersburg Times*, 1 February 1963, 1-C.
41. Will Grimsley, "SEC 'Cool' But . . . Other Schools May Follow Terps' Lead," *St. Petersburg Times*, 1 February 1963, 6-C.
42. Freshmen athletes were prohibited from playing per NCAA regulations until 1972.
43. Alexander Wolff, "Ground Breakers," *Sports Illustrated* 2005, 58-62, 64, 66-67. Charles H. Martin, "The Rise and Fall of Jim Crow in Southern College Sports: The Case of the Atlantic Coast Conference," 253-84.
44. UF 186 - Stephen O'Connell, interviewed by Samuel Proctor, September 13, 1991. Samuel Proctor Oral History, University of Florida. 88-89. Pleasants, *Gator Tales*, 107-11. Patrick Brown and William A. Hadad, "Judicial Decision-Making on the Florida Supreme Court: An Introductory Behavioral Study," *University of Florida Law Review* 19 (1966 - 67): 566-90.

Ray Graves, Florida's head football coach from 1960 - 1969 and athletic director from 1960 - 1979, reversed his views on recruiting black players over the course of the sixties. Graves surely was uninterested in recruiting black players in 1962 when he placed the Confederate flag as the helmet emblem in the Gator Bowl. Ray Bellamy, who became the first black football player at a white college in Florida when he accepted a scholarship from the University of Miami in 1967, recalls that Graves stated that he would not recruit black players. Graves's assertions about recruiting black players made Bellamy a lifelong "Gator hater."[45] Graves's initial views on desegregating football aside, by the late sixties segregation in athletic departments and specifically on the football field was untenable. Protests erupted in athletic departments across the country from Iowa to Wyoming.[46] Black athletes threatened to boycott the 1968 Olympic games in Mexico City; at the games the lasting image was Tommie Smith and John Carlos's famous Black Power salute on the medal stand.[47] In this environment, Graves's position on segregation quickly became antiquated. The University of Florida track team led athletic desegregation in the fall 1968, signing Ron Coleman to a scholarship and including Johnnie Brown on the cross-country team.[48] This was an important first step, but like the desegregation of graduate schools in the fifties, it did not address the heart of athletic segregation and the center of the collegiate ideal - football.

Soon Graves and his assistant coaches were actively seeking black football players to recruit. Assistant coaches mailed letters to high school football coaches announcing Florida's new policy of "recruiting athletes regardless of race" and stating that the football team needed "to recruit the best athletes possible from the state."[49]

45. Alexander Wolff, "Viewpoint: Breaking Down Barriers," SportsIllustrated.com, November 5, 2005. http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/2005/writers/alexander_wolff/11/02/wolff.1102/index.html Accessed 5 November 2009.
46. David K. Wiggins, "'The Future of College Athletics Is at Stake': Black Athletes and Racial Turmoil on Three Predominately White University Campuses, 1968 - 1972," *Journal of Sport History* 15, no. 3 (1988): 304-33.
47. Amy Bass, *Not the Triumph but the Struggle: The 1968 Olympics and the Making of the Black Athlete* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2002). Harry Edwards, *The Revolt of the Black Athlete* (New York: Free Press, 1969).
48. Van McKenzie, "Ron Coleman Made Right Decision a Year Ago," *Ocala Star-Banner*, 19 June 1969, 1C.
49. "Letter from W.A. "Bubba" McGowan, Assistant Coach University of Florida football team to Lambert Reed head coach of Miami Killian." February 28, 1968. University of Florida Archives Presidential Collection, Series P12, Office of the President: Stephen O'Connell, Box 25, folder "Athletics, Intercollegiate, Recruiting Negro Athletes" Henceforth the Stephen O'Connell Presidential Papers.

Based on the limited evidence surrounding the recruiting process, it appears that UF sought the "right" players to become racial pioneers. First, Graves wanted black players who would qualify for admission into UF and be talented enough to play in the SEC. Educational scholar R. Scott Baker argues that southern school systems, including higher education, shifted to testing as a means to counter court mandated desegregation.[50] By using testing as the basis of admissions to state colleges, southern university officials believed that only token desegregation would occur, and the system of testing would provide a legally justifiable defense. As one member of Florida Governor Leroy Collins's committee on desegregation noted in 1956, "our sole effort and intention was to devise ways and means of preventing or slowing integration of our public schools."[51] During the sixties, UF and FSU (Florida State University) athletic departments agreed on academic standards for football recruits that required potential student athletes to score at least 300 on the Florida placement test on their first attempt and have a C average in academic courses or score 900 on the SAT. Both schools agreed to allow two exceptions for players who scored between 275 and 300 on the Florida placement test.[52] In a memo to Graves, Assistant coach Hobe Hooser wrote, "I had prospect questionnaires completed by Negro players in white schools but in all cases they could not meet our scholastic requirement or football ability requirement."[53] It is unclear whether Hooser's memo was a deliberate attempt to avoid desegregation or was an honest assessment of his good faith efforts. The legacy of segregated education and the effectiveness of academic testing meant there were some black athletes who could not make the grade. However, the assistant coach's remarks hint that there were no black players with the ability to play in the SEC. This implication belied the success of Florida A & M's football team (a historically black college). Under head coach Alonzo "Jake" Gaither, Florida A & M won

50. R. Scott Baker, "The Paradoxes of Desegregation: Race, Class, and Education, 1935 - 1975," *American Journal of Education*, 109, (May 2001): 320 -343.
51. Quoted in Baker, "Paradoxes of Desegregation," 329.
52. "Agreement between University of Florida and Florida State University on Athletic Recruiting," Stephen O'Connell Presidential Papers, Box 25, folder "Athletics, Intercollegiate, Recruiting, 1963 – 1972."
53. "Memo from Assistant coach Hobe Hooser to Ray Graves," January 29, 1969, Stephen O'Connell Presidential Papers, Box 25, folder Athletics, Intercollegiate, Recruiting Negro Athletes."

more than 200 games and 7 Black College national titles between 1945 and 1969. Clearly, UF football coaches could have found black players who were academically and athletically satisfactory, because Gaither in his twenty-five year career found more than two thousand players. Hooser's measured comments suggests that UF was looking for a black athlete with a very specific background.

Second, it appears that UF wanted to follow a Jackie Robinson model for desegregation, by seeking a black player who was middle class in background and who had prior experience on desegregated teams and in desegregated schools. Early black players were often middle class. As R. Scott Baker observes, "the standardized tests adopted to limit black access to colleges and universities . . . heightened class divisions among African Americans without reducing the significance of race."[54] The first two black players signed to football scholarships, Leonard George and Willie Jackson attended desegregated high schools. George graduated from Tampa Jesuit High School and Jackson attended desegregated Sarasota High School and graduated from Valley Forge Military Academy, a preparatory school in Pennsylvania.

In addition, President O'Connell took an active role in recruiting Jackson and other black players. O'Connell brought Jackson into his office and assured him that UF wanted to recruit black players.[55] Later O'Connell suggested names of black players that new head coach Doug Dickey (1970 – 1978) should recruit.[56] Although O'Connell and Graves were conservative on the prospects of athletic desegregation, their combined effort demonstrated that segregated sports had reached its limits.

The reaction to UF's decision to desegregate football was mixed. Graves recalled that there was little or no opposition to the signing of George and Jackson.[57] However, Dean Boggs, a Jacksonville lawyer, UF alum, and booster wrote two letters decrying the signing of black players. In the 1950s, Boggs had worked to keep segreation a part of the Florida state constitution.[58] In a let-

54. Baker, "Paradoxes of Desegregation," 322.
55. Pleasants, *Gator Tales*, 123.
56. "Stephen O'Connell letter to Doug Dickey" November 24, 1970; Stephen O'Connell letter to Doug Dickey," December 17, 1970, Stephen O'Connell Presidential Papers, Box 25, folder Athletics, Intercollegiate, Recruiting Negro Athletes."
57. Julian M. Pleasants, *Gator Tales*, 231.
58. "Constitution Hearings Nearing End," *Miami News*, 13 September 1956, 6A.

ter to Graves, Boggs was concerned that, "when the high school prospects for next year were introduced, there were several Negro high school players included." He understood that because *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) was the law of the land UF had to accept qualified black applicants, however he felt it was not "wise to actively recruit them." His opposition to desegregation was rooted in a perverse reading of Latin American history, in which miscegenation had "resulted in backward nations." He paternalistically concluded that, "All this experience has taught us is that segregation is really in the best interest of both races and is really desired by both races except for a few agitators. . . . I am opposed to any active effort to recruit Negro players at the University of Florida."[59] After UF announced the signing of George and Jackson, Boggs wrote a follow-up letter to President O'Connell, arguing "that there can be no doubt that Florida alumni and, in fact, people in general all over the country are opposed to integration in education."[60]

Boggs represented a small but vocal opposition to desegregation, although many Florida fans understood that the desegregation of athletic teams would inevitably come. By 1970, there were more than 40 black players in the SEC.[61] More shocking than football desegregation was the transformation of student culture, of which the playing of "Dixie" at games was prominent. University of Florida students and alumni quietly accepted football desegregation, but there was considerable debate on whether the school's band should stop playing "Dixie."

The push toward true integration was only two-thirds complete after the University of Florida began to recruit black football players. The most difficult task facing the University was transforming student culture and its infatuation with Confederate symbols. A key representation of Confederate culture was the marching band's playing of "Dixie" during sporting events. "Dixie" served as the soundtrack to white supremacy since its initial minstrel show per-

59. "Letter from Dean Boggs to Ray Graves," December 5, 1968, Stephen O'Connell Presidential Papers, Box 25, folder Athletics, Intercollegiate, Recruiting Negro Athletes."

60. "Letter from Dean Boggs to Stephen O'Connell," December 12, 1968, Stephen O'Connell Presidential Papers, Box 25, folder Athletics, Intercollegiate, Recruiting Negro Athletes."

61. Leon W. Lindsay, "Blacks in SEC," *Christian Science Monitor,* 1 September 1970, 11.

formance in 1859 and had become an essential component of the football game day tradition at southern universities. When black students and athletes arrived on southern campuses in the mid-to-late sixties school administrations faced the difficult challenge of how to handle this racist culture in a desegregated environment. After the desegregation spectacles at the University of Alabama, the University of Georgia, and the University of Mississippi in the early sixties, the nation watched in anticipation for racial tensions to erupt on additional southern campuses. A student culture imbued with a reverence for the Old South could and did transform into white student violence toward the outnumbered black students on newly desegregated campuses. In 1967 there were sixty-one black students out of a student population of nineteen thousand students at the University of Florida. If desegregating athletics or student culture resulted in increased white violence toward black students, the university would have been hard pressed to regain control in the case of a major incident. Creating a more inclusive collegiate ideal at the University of Florida was essential in protecting black students and implementing true integration.[62]

Like undergraduate and athletic desegregation, the first step toward altering student culture at Florida's universities came from the University of Miami. Days before Miami's first football game of the 1968 season against Northwestern University, Henry King Stanford, Miami's president, informed the marching band that it could no longer play "Dixie" at university sponsored events, including football games. During the game, a minority of Miami's student body chanted "We want Dixie" after the team scored a touchdown against Northwestern. When the band refused the crowd's request, they were hit with a cascade of boos and beer cans. Another student waved a large Confederate flag during the game. Stanford's attempt to change student culture was off to a difficult start.[63]

Stanford's decision to prohibit the band from playing "Dixie" was one based on paternalism, rather than principle. When the president's decision to end the playing of the song caused a minor consternation among some in the student body, he appealed to the students

62. Julian M. Pleasants, "Introduction to Gator Greats," in *Gator Tales: An Oral History of the University of Florida*, ed. Julian M. Pleasants (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 57.

63. "Whistling 'Dixie'," *The Hurricane*, 24 September 1968, 4. Roberto C. Fabricio, "You Can't Have Dixie," *The Hurricane*, 24 September 1968, 4.

as a fellow southerner to live up to the ideal of Southern honor. "Dixie," in Stanford's opinion, violated this honorable tradition. "[M]y Southern heritage . . . persuades me to believe that it is not honorable to force upon a minority group the symbols of the Confederacy which, rightly or wrongly, have become so distasteful to them, symbols which are associated in their minds with slavery, discrimination, and the degradation of the human personality, all conditions that are at complete variance with that part of Southern heritage that I prize so highly." Stanford recognized that since his arrival as president at the University of Miami in 1962 the school had "developed a curious attachment to the Confederate flag and 'Dixie,'" despite having students from forty-nine states and over seventy countries. Stanford claimed that his judgement was not the result of a request by any particular individual or organization; however, black students had occupied the president's office in May, demanding an increase in black student population and the addition of Black Studies courses to the curriculum. Moreover, the game against Northwestern was the first collegiate game for Ray Bellamy, the school's first black player. Stanford argued that the decision reflected the noblesse oblige, the noble and generous obligation of those of high rank or birth. "Members of a University community," Stanford wrote, "do occupy a 'high rank.' They should constitute a cast of intellect and character, which prompts us to practice honorable and generous behavior in our dealings with each other and fellow man."[64]

Students expressed their opposition to the president's decision in several editorials that argued "Dixie" was a reflection of southern pride, not bigotry. More students were concerned over Stanford's unilateral decision to ban the song. Student outrage only lasted a few weeks, because of Stanford's firm, albeit paternalistic, decision. His decision forced the University of Miami's student culture to adapt or face reprimand from the administration. Stanford's ability to ban the song reflected Miami's status as a private university and its diverse student population. The University of Miami's prohibition against playing "Dixie" highlighted the University of Florida's continuation of the practice.[65]

64. Henry King Stanford, "President's Letter: Confederate Flag, Dixie Are Banned," *The Hurricane*, 27 September 1968, 1-2.

65. Charlton W. Tebeau, *The University of Miami: A Golden Anniversary History, 1926 - 1976* (Coral Gables: The University of Miami Press, 1976), 236-57.

Faced with Stanford's ban against playing "Dixie" at the University of Miami, University of Florida president Stephen O'Connell allowed the practice to continue, setting off a storm of debate on the Florida campus. Displaying a conservatism that valued individualism over group identity, O'Connell believed that there were no racial overtones to "Dixie." In fact, he felt students could "play it, sing it, whistle it, or hum it" if they chose. Despite the president's position, the initial editorials in the student newspaper, *The Alligator*, suggested the school should eliminate the song and the associated Confederate culture. Student journalist David Miller claimed, "[T]he Confederate flag . . . [and] 'Dixie' are remnants of a diseased, inhumane regime."[66] Miller's article brought conversations that were occurring in classrooms, dormitories, and cafeterias on to the pages of the student newspaper. Many students supported the playing of "Dixie" arguing that the song reflected southern heritage.[67] Others voiced their opposition to the song, including two economics professors at the university. The professors argued that the "Southern heritage" defense of "Dixie" and the Confederate flag were insufficient in 1968 America. "Other Southern traditions including lynching, disenfranchisement of blacks, and riding in the back of buses have been reevaluated and found lacking in their social merits." As professors and alumni they believed the Confederate culture perpetuated the idea that the University of Florida was a racist institution and a "needless reminder of much that is wrong in the South."[68] In the weeks after Miami's announcement to prohibit "Dixie" and the University of Florida's decision to continue playing the song, the debate presented in the student newspaper was remarkably balanced. However, as the fall 1968 semester continued it was clear that University of Florida students and its administration were unwilling to change student culture.

The "Dixie" controversy remained a staple in the student press for the remainder of the semester. The *Alligator* staff determined to collect an accurate assessment of the students' thoughts on "Dixie." Although the earlier articles on "Dixie" presented a bal-

66. David Miller, "Speaking Out: The Dixie Mentality; a Paranoiac Prejudice," *The Alligator*, 2 October 1968, 7.
67. Ronald Clark, "Standing up for Dixie," *The Alligator*, 9 October 1968, 9. Brent Cox, "An Exchange of Hates," *The Alligator*, 9 October 1968, 9.
68. David T. Geithman and Jrederick Goodard, "Drop Dixie at UF," *The Alligator*, 9 October 1968, 9.

ance of opinions, the staff's research found that an overwhelming majority (83%) of Florida students wanted to continue playing the song.[69] Black students were the only campus population opposed to the song. The minority opinion on the issue confirmed that they were not a part of the collegiate ideal at the university. Black students' outsider status was reaffirmed throughout the semester. In a special playwright section of the newspaper, a four act minstrel show along with accompanying cartoons of blackface characters was advertised.[70] The homecoming parade included a float with a student in blackface wearing a UF band uniform.[71] At the end of the semester, emeritus band director Harold B. Bachman defended the band's right to play "Dixie."[72] In an interview with a newspaper reporter, one black student expressed the common opinion that blacks were tolerated, but not integrated into the culture of UF:,"I don't feel anything about 'Dixie' being played at games. I could care less because I am not really a part of the University. I don't do anything but go to classes."[73] With black football players not yet on the field and "Dixie" blaring from the stands, how could any black student really feel a part of the University of Florida?

O'Connell's decision to continue "Dixie" reflected the administration's tolerance for token desegregation, rather than integration of black students. In the late sixties and early seventies, the University of Florida did not envision black students as part of its collegiate ideal. O'Connell's conservative approach to the "Dixie" controversy stood in contrast to Henry Stanford's method. The University of Miami president recognized the difficulty of generating enough popular support to prohibit the band from playing "Dixie," and made a tough administrative decision to halt the use of the song. Moreover, Stanford talked to black community leaders who told him, "The symbols of the Confederacy evoke in us the same feelings that the swastika . . . conjures up to the Jew."[74] O'Connell's conservative principles meant he made no concerted effort to fully integrate black students. He believed that Southerners

69. Phyllis Brasch and Larry Jordan, "'Dixie' Issue in the Air," *The Alligator*, 16 October 1968, 11.
70. "Minstrel Show," *The Alligator*, 22 October 1968.
71. Gayle McElroy, "Drum Major Suspended," *The Alligator*, 6 November 1968, 1, 6.
72. Harold B. Bachman, "Why the Fuss over Dixie?," *The Alligator*, 26 November 1968, 5-7.
73. Brasch and Jordan, "'Dixie' Issue in the Air," 11.
74. Stanford, "President's Letter: Confederate Flag, Dixie Are Banned," 1-2.

had the right to continue their outdated traditions and he made little effort to talk to black students, faculty members, or community leaders. In contrast O'Connell's timid efforts at fully integrating black students makes his role in recruiting black football players border on exploitation, as Florida boosters, alumni, and politicians had made winning a football title a major goal.[75] Florida's history of football mediocrity paled in comparison to SEC powers such as the University of Alabama, which won national titles in 1961, 1964, 1965, and 1966) and compared unfavorably to Jake Gaither's Florida A & M University football team which won black college championships in 1947, 1953, 1957, 1959, 1961, 1962, and 1964.

By 1971, tired of waiting for substantive changes, black students took matters into their own hands. On April 15, sixty-six students burst in O'Connell's office and presented demands that the University increase the number of black students, faculty members, and staff members. The demands were an attempt to forcibly alter the collegiate ideal at University of Florida. O'Connell had the student protesters arrested. Followup protests occurred in which eight additional students were arrested. Some black students, faculty members, and staff along with white allies withdrew from school and resigned from their jobs. Over one-hundred and twenty people left the University of Florida in May 1971, including nearly one-half of the black students enrolled. Black athletes, such as Willie Jackson, considered withdrawing, but chose to stay in school and support the protesters. The University slowly responded to the demands hiring Thomas W. Cole as Assistant Dean of Academic Affairs and founding the Institute of Black Culture. By the time O'Connell retired in 1973, the black student population had grown to nearly six hundred fifty. True integration began when black students were included in the classroom, on the football field, and in the student culture.[76]

The University of Florida was desegregated in the late fifties, but was not integrated until the seventies. Integration required black students in classrooms, on football fields, and incorporated

75. "Warren Gives First Campaign Address," *The Palm Beach Post*, 31 January 1940, 5. As part of his campaign for governor, Fuller Warren, an UF alumni, guaranteed to put the football team in the Rose Bowl in four years.

76. Willie Jackson, Sr., interview by John Marsland, October 10, 2002. Samuel Proctor Oral History Program, Gainesville. Delphine Jackson, interview by John Marsland October 14, 2002, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program, Gainesville.

into student culture. Together these three factors constituted a change to Florida's collegiate ideal. True integration, rather than desegregation, meant the University could no longer project an image that venerated the Old South and its racist customs. Although black students appeared in the classrooms and on the athletic fields and courts at universities across the South in the late sixties and early seventies, the true shift to an integrated university required significant changes to university culture, such as the prohibition of "Dixie." Without this final and often protracted step, schools remained desegregated rather than integrated.

When did the University of Florida become an integrated institution, rather than simply a desegregated one? Evidence suggests that 1973 was the year that the University of Florida took its first major steps towards becoming an integrated institution. Florida's decision to stop playing "Dixie" was met with decidedly less fanfare or media coverage. Frank B. Wickes, former UF Band Director (1973 - 1980) recalled that "Dixie" was too controversial to play when he took over as director of the band in 1973.[77] In fall of 1973, Don Gaffney became the first starting black quarterback at Florida and in the SEC. Head coach Doug Dickey named Gaffney the starter after the team started the season 2 - 4. In Gaffney's first two starts, he broke a 14 game losing streak at Auburn's Jordan-Hare Stadium and he led an 11 - 10 come from behind victory over arch-rival University of Georgia. Gaffney won five consecutive games in 1973, before losing to Miami University of Ohio in the Tangerine Bowl. In terms of student culture, during the University's annual homecoming celebration, the school voted Cynthia Mays as the first black Homecoming Queen. Although Florida's campus was not a racial utopia, by 1973 the school took its first steps in projecting an integrated collegiate ideal.[78]

Other southern universities did not make the shift from desegregation to integration as quickly. The University of Georgia did not stop playing "Dixie" until 1975. Other schools struggled to shed their Confederate culture well into the twenty-first century. In 1997, the University of Mississippi head football coach Tommy Tuberville

77. Email correspondence between Frank B. Wickes and author. 11 November 2009.

78. Tom Duffy, "Hare-Raising Florida Shears Auburn," *St. Petersburg Times*, 4 November 1973, 1C. Patrick Zier, "Gators Beat 'Dogs with Two-Pointer," *Lakeland Ledger*, 11 November 1973, 1C. Buddy Martin, "UF Homecoming: Changed, but It's Still the Same," *St. Petersburg Times*, 19 November 1973, 3B.

asked students not to bring Confederate flags to a game. The students showed up at the game with thousands of flags. In 2007 Steve Spurrier, 1966 Heisman Trophy winner and former head coach at University of Florida (1990 – 2001), said he was, as the new head coach of the University of South Carolina, embarrassed by the Confederate flag over the state capitol and by fans waving it at games, especially behind the set of an ESPN pre-game show in 2007. In November 2009, one year after the election of Barack Obama as the first black president of the United States, new University of Mississippi chancellor, Dan Jones, prohibited the university's band from playing of "From Dixie With Love." Chancellor Jones wrote in a letter to the campus community, "We cannot even appear to support those outside our community who advocate a revival of racial segregation. We cannot fail to respond." These recent examples demonstrate that the shift to integration requires a change in the collegiate ideal that includes integrated classes, athletics, and student culture. Without this change, schools such as the University of Mississippi are perhaps best described as desegregated rather than integrated.[79]

The examination of UF's shift from desegregation to integration suggests careful use of language when examining university desegregation in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. By locating the transition from desegregation to integration in colleges, scholars can provide a more nuanced understanding of the process. Moreover, this detailed examination weakens the idea that integration has been achieved, and indicates that there is more work to be done in integrating students on some southern campuses. As evidenced by the contemporary crises at University of Mississippi and at the University of South Carolina, many schools have what Martin Luther King, Jr. described as "physical proximity without spiritual affinity."[80] We as scholars must comprehensively assess desegregation and integration by examining the classrooms, the athletic fields, and the student culture. University integration requires that all three be desegregated.

79. Bob Oates, "Southern Style: Every Saturday the South Rises Again; It's Time to Play Football," *Los Angeles Times*, 21 November 1975, E1. C. Richard King and Charles Fruehling Springwood, *Beyond the Cheers: Race as Spectacle in College Sport* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2001), 129-54. "Spurrier: Flag should come down from S.C. Statehouse," ESPN.com. http://sports.espn.go.com/ncf/news/story?id=2837735. Accessed 11 November 2009. Emily Wagster Pettus, "Ole Miss Head Wants Song Halted over South Chant," *Washington Post*, 10 November 2009.

80. King, "The Ethical Demands of Integration," 118

Military Slave Rentals, the Construction of Army Fortifications, and the Navy Yard in Pensacola, Florida, 1824-1863

by Thomas Hulse

In the first half of the nineteenth century, expansion of the abolitionist movement led to increasing pressure on the federal government to substantiate military labor policies in regard to the construction of defense installations and public works projects. The manifestation of this pressure resulted in the passage of a law in 1842 by Congress that required government agencies to account for the use of slave labor. As a result, a "resolution of the House of Representatives 1st instant" forced Navy Secretary A. P. Upshur to respond to questioning on August 10, 1842. When asked "what number of "colored" persons there were in the Navy," he replied, "There are no slaves in the navy, except only in a few cases, in which officers have been permitted to take their personal servants, instead of employing them from the crews." He continued by reminding the committee "there is a regulation of the Department against employment of slaves in the general service," but then cited another regulation, "that not more than one-twentieth part of the crew of any vessel is allowed to consist of Negroes. It is believed that the number is generally far within this proportion." Even though the Navy was hesitant to account for the use of slaves, a subsequent investigation revealed that the Treasury Department's revenue-boat service, which was under the jurisdiction of the Navy

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Department, used slave crewmen.[1] When questioning was complete, the Navy only "reluctantly disassociated itself" from the leasing of slave labor.[2]

Less than a week later, Secretary of War, J. C. Spencer, responded to the same resolution concerning the number of "colored" persons in the Army. In a letter dated August 16, 1842, Spencer claimed that "no blacks or colored persons were serving as soldiers; but neither regulation nor usage excludes them as mechanics, laborers, or servants, in any of the branches of service where such a force is required." The Army accounted for 687 slaves who were employed in the various departments of the army as coopers, carpenters, blacksmiths, boatmen, and common laborers; the majority were located in Florida. The Chief of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, Colonel J. J. Abert, defended the practice and stated that "we do not hesitate to employ them [slaves and free negroes] on any appropriate duty, when they [planters] offer to hire." The Army Quartermaster General Thomas Jessup (known as the Father of the modern Quartermaster Corps because of his impact and forty two years of service), said "I am not aware of any regulation forbidding the employment of persons of color in such labor as they are capable of performing. In the unhealthy climates of the South they are preferable to white men as laborers, deck hands, and cooks, and a regulation prohibiting their employment would be injurious to the service."[3] The language in Spencer's letter and the current labor practices used by the service left the door open for the continued government use of slaves. Use of slave labor by the military at a time when the national debate on slavery was focused on sectional compromise and limited expansion in the western territories raises a number of questions. However, the military labor practice remained unchanged and a system of slave usage remained the norm until the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863.

The historiography of slavery has largely focused on the association of the "peculiar institution" to the labor intensive planta-

1. Letter from the Secretary of the Navy (A. P. Upshur), "Colored Persons in the Navy of the U. S.," 27 Congress, 2 Session, House Document 282 (10 August 1842).
2. Robert S. Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 32.
3. Letter from the Secretary of War (J. C. Spencer), "Colored Persons in the Army," 27 Congress, 2 Session, House Document 286, (16 August 1842).

tion economy in the South. Slavery existed in many forms and in many different geographic regions of the country and continued to expand because the practice of using slave labor was profitable and Southerners were, in all respects, "agricultural capitalists." The practice of "slave rentals" was first explained by historian Ulrich B. Phillips, in *American Negro Slavery: A Survey of the Supply, Employment, and Control of Negro Labor as Determined by the Plantation Regime.* He argued that the slave-based plantation economies along the eastern seaboard experienced problems when the tobacco and cotton economies in the eastern seaboard states became less profitable and began to migrate south and westward towards Texas in search of new lands. The remaining plantation owners, motivated by profits engaged in the practice of "renting out" or "hiring" slaves to the military, a practice historians interpreted as a stop-gap measure in the cycle of the plantation economy. Slave hiring to the military provided proof that there were natural limits to the institution of slavery. In this view the geographic limits to cotton production forced the practice of slave "rentals" and reflected the decline of the slave institution as the traditional base of the plantation economy eroded. This interpretation of the military's labor practice of slave rentals became the norm and still has credibility among many historians.[4]

Slave hiring has attracted less scholastic analysis than other aspects of slavery, and the topic is usually included as a section of a book on the general topic of slaveholding. For the purpose of this article, the works deemed important on slave rentals will be connected to three main themes that form the core of this study's argument: the control and exploitation of labor, the unique attributes, characteristics, and profile associated with the practice of "slave rentals," and the use of hired slaves to enhance profits and encourage development in local economies.

Donald R. Wright, *African Americans in the Early Republic, 1789-1831* (1993), detailed the patterns of slave employment derived from the development of regional slave systems in the agricultural setting during the formative years of the American republic. Wright provided a foundation for an understanding of military

4. Ulrich B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery: A Survey of the Supply, Employment, and Control of Negro Labor as Determined by the Plantation Regime,* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1918). See also Larry Eugene Rivers, *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation,* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2009).

"slave rentals" by connecting the practice of slave hiring to the efforts surrounding the control and exploitation of labor, as well as the necessity of keeping slaves employed full time. He articulated a rationale for the industrial form of slavery through his analysis of the profitability associated with the "peculiar institution."[5]

Like other late twentieth century historians, Wright drew on the work of Kenneth M. Stampp. In his seminal work, *The Peculiar Institution,*[6] Stampp documented the reasons for slavery's existence, the differences within regional slave systems, the relationship between slaves and masters, the conflicts among slaves of different status, and the meaning of slavery to the society that developed in post-revolutionary America. Stampp stated that the views of slavery as a way to regulate race relations, as a "paternalistic" invention, and as "content" or "happy" people in the state of slavery, were incorrect.

He detailed the daily life of slaves, their resistance to bondage, their work performance, and their personal relationships and concluded that the institution of slavery was a practical system designed to exploit and control labor in the pursuit of profits. Stampp did not address the topic of slave rentals, but in his documentation of the social evolution of slavery, he provided a basis for understanding the military practice of slave rentals

Larry Eugene Rivers in *Slavery in Florida,* [7] provided the most recent and comprehensive study of the Middle Florida plantation frontier. His synthesis integrates old and new sources in an effort to document slave life in the traditional agricultural setting of the cotton growing economy. Rivers noted two important factors that are vital to this argument on "slave rentals." First, he made a definitive distinction between East and West Florida and Middle Florida both in population mix and geography. The Spanish tradition left behind in East and West Florida is reflected in the ethnic diversity of its inhabitants, which will become an important part of the discussion on "slave rentals" because it reflects the shifting political cultures in Pensacola in 1821. Secondly, he noted with meticulous research of the primary sources, the essence of the slave system

5. Donald R. Wright, *African Americans in the Early Republic, 1789-1831,* (New York: State University of New York, Harlan Davidson Inc., 1993).
6. Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Antebellum South,* (New York: Alfred A. Knoft, 1975).
7. Rivers, *Slavery in Florida.*

that developed around the plantation regime and the way in which the developing slave culture engulfed and permeated all aspects of Florida society, including the industrial sector of the economy.

The most important full length work on "slave rentals" was Robert S. Starobin's, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South,* in which he concluded that industry and government agencies used a large quantity of slave labor that ultimately contributed to the growth of the slave institution in the Southern states. While Starobin noted the efforts to control and exploit the Southern labor force, he also emphasized a higher return on slaves than was possible in the industrial sector. Starobin's evidence indicated that eighty percent of industrial slaves were directly owned by the manufacturing and industrial enterprises and twenty percent were "hired" for specific time periods. The industrial sector accounted for approximately five percent of slaves in the1850s. Starobin's research raised many important questions as to the significance and importance of the military practice of "slave rentals," work he left to future scholars. [8]

Ernest F. Dibble, *Antebellum Pensacola and the Military Presence,* continued the research on "slave rentals" with a focus on the military in Pensacola after the exchange of flags in 1821. He argued that the practice of slave hiring was extensive and significant, and connected the importance of the practice to the expansion of slavery and the economy in Pensacola. His interpretation refuted the traditionally accepted explanation presented by Phillips in 1918 that slaves were "hired" during the breaks in the harvest season. In his view slave "rentals" represented a viable practice that encouraged a system of slave usage by the military in remote Southern sections of the country.[9]

Alfred H. Conrad and John R. Myer first demonstrated the profitability of slavery in a seminal article published in the *Journal of Political Economy.* Thereafter the debate over slavery and profitability shifted to new questions about slave productivity and plantation efficiency. In 1974 Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman published a two-volume work on slave production that utilized new methods of computer-driven data analysis to study profitability and efficiency. Their book, *Time on the Cross* created a firestorm. Critics challenged the work on several points both in

8. Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South,* 19.
9. Ernest F. Dibble, *Antebellum Pensacola and the Military Presence,* (Pensacola: Mays Printing, 1974).

terms of history and methodology. One scholar quickly produced a book-length critique questioning a history by numbers. Nevertheless, as Peter Wood noted, Fogel and Engerman prepared the way for comparative labor studies that analyzed plantations as "experiments in mass production."[10]

The sequel by Robert William Fogel, *Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery,* is an updated attempt to address the plethora of criticisms directed to "Time on the Cross" with an inferred attempt to note the moral wrongs of the institution. Once again, the work provides a quantitative model that demonstrates the profitability and efficiency of Southern agriculture based on slavery. The profitability of slavery in Southern society explained the process of growth that subsequently occurred in the industrial sector of the Southern economy.[11]

In 1978, Gavin Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South,* refuted Fogel and Engerman with an argument that concluded that the key to the profitability of Southern agriculture was the extremely high demand for cotton and the successful way the South met those demands. He challenged the census figures used by Engerman and Fogel to underscore the efficiency of slavery, especially those of 1860, claiming that they reflect the unusually high demand for cotton and the period of peak cotton production. Wright concluded that cotton and slavery were culturally tied together and embedded in Southern society, which resulted in the permeation of the institution into the industrial sector of the Southern economy.[12]

Finally, Peter J. Parish, in *Slavery: History and Historians* (1989), argued that although slavery was profitable for most owners the key to profitability depended on the South's ability to meet the demand for cotton, something the region was able to do until 1860. The efficiency of slavery was based on the management of

10. Alfred H. Conrad and John R. Myer, "The Economics of Slavery in the Ante Bellum South," *Journal of Political* Economy, vol. 66, no. 2 (April 1958): 95-130; Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery,* (Boston: University Press of America, 1974); Herbert G. Gutman, *Slavery and the Numbers Game: A Critique of Time on the Cross* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975); Peter H. Wood, *American Historical Review,* vol. 80, no. 5 (Dec. 1975): 1394.
11. Robert William Fogel, *Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery,* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company Inc., 1989).
12. Gavin Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households, Markets, and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century,* (New York: Norton and Co., 1978).

the labor force and how much of the human resources could be allocated by the owner to the cash crop being cultivated, and was not the product of an equation that measured the output between Northern and Southern agriculture. Lastly, and perhaps more important for this study, Parish concluded that the business of slavery was affected by other enterprises because slavery was so central to Southern society.[13]

Two regional works that are particularly important to the continuation of the discussion on "slave rentals" are William Blair's, *Virginia's Private War, Feeding Body and Soul in the Confederacy,* and Clarence L. Mohr's, *On the Threshold of Freedom, Masters and Slaves in Civil War Georgia.* Blair and Mohr expose the institution of slavery under the duress of war to find a society rooted in a labor system that had spread into all sectors of Southern life. In Virginia and Georgia, slaves were employed not only in the agricultural sector of the economy, but large numbers of skilled slaves worked in the manufacturing industries, textile mills, mining, and ironworks. Unskilled slave labor was evident in transportation, hospitals, repair work, and railroad construction as well as local and state government agencies. These two works provide a wealth of background information on life in Virginia and Georgia, two states that were involved in the early evolution of the military practice of "slave rentals" (Fort Monroe, Virginia, and Augusta Arsenal, Georgia) that resulted from the successful exploitation and employment of the traditionally accepted Southern labor institution as part of the business of slavery.[14] The traditionally accepted explanation of "slave rentals" will be challenged and the historiography of "slave rentals" expanded with this study of Pensacola, Florida after 1821.

Pensacola offers historians a unique opportunity to study slave leasing in an area that possessed few natural resources,[15] and was

13. Peter J. Parish, *Slavery: History and Historians,* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1989), 49-50.
14. William Blair, *Virginia's Private War, Feeding Body and Soul in the Confederacy,* (London: Oxford University Press, 1998) and Clarence L. Mohr, *On the Threshold of Freedom, Masters and Slaves in Civil War Georgia,* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986).
15. Letter from Samuel Keepe to Lt. Cunningham, 3 November 1826, *Commandant's Letters,* this letter provides an excellent picture of the Escambia Bay area of Pensacola in the 1820s and describes the stone quarries, local stone, clay, pines, and other natural resources that could be of potential use to the Navy in the creation and expansion of industries that would support the construction of the Navy Yard.

not identified with a plantation system, a large-scale military presence, or a significant extractive or industrial economy. The evidence shows that the practice of "hiring-out," "renting," or the "leasing" of slave labor by the military contributed to the creation of a very significant military-industrial complex in Pensacola, which was reflected in the large-scale expansion of the local economy and the completion of construction projects associated with the Third Defense System. The changing cultural landscape of Pensacola provided a very conducive atmosphere for the military to expand its slave rental practices and resulted in the transformation of the frontier port from a state of economic decay to a period of "new" prosperity in Pensacola in the 1830s.[16]

After the War of 1812, the United States examined its national security in view of continued threats from Great Britain and Spain. A strategy born of that effort was designated the Third Defense System: a massive construction program of fortifications along the Gulf Coast from New Orleans to the Dry Tortugas. This plan marked the emergence of a "military slave system" characterized by indirect ownership in which planters retained legal possession of their bondsmen, while local military authorities utilized their labor for a fee that was paid to the owners. The use of a slave system in the construction of coastal forts developed in response to the lack of manufactured products, materials, and labor in the areas selected for these installations, which were primarily in remote and lightly populated southern sections of the country. Congressional appropriations served as the economic foundation upon which the military's labor practices inspired small slave owners and people who never previously owned slaves to purchase large numbers of slaves for no other reason than to lease them to the military. The army and navy systematically employed slave labor to expand local industries essential for the completion of military installations and public works projects.

The practice of "leasing" slave labor from surrounding plantations traditionally served as a stopgap measure by slave owners to ensure profitability and full employment of their bondsmen's time throughout the agricultural cycle. Extensive documentation confirms this practice and dates from the American Revolution when the military used slaves from surrounding plantations to build Fort

16. Dibble, *Antebellum Pensacola and the Military Presence.*

Moultrie and buildings near Charleston, S. C., as well as at other sites in Georgia.[17] Slave labor built the fortifications around New Orleans for Andrew Jackson's famous defense of the city in the War of 1812. Furthermore, slaves were "hired" by the federal government from plantations in 1817 to complete structures in New Orleans, Charleston S. C., and Fort Hawkins, Georgia.[18]

The military's labor practices began to change in the first half of the nineteenth century especially after experiencing severe labor shortages in remote, frontier regions of the country. The sources used in this study suggest that the relationship between the "peculiar institution" and the government was further developed with "the widespread use of industrial slaves by state and federal agencies that suggests not only the centrality of industrial slavery to the southern economy, but also the extent of southern control of the national political structure."[19] Slaves worked as stone-quarriers, common laborers, construction workers, dredge-boat operators, military installation workers, and government mail boat laborers. A visitor to the South reflected upon the use of slave labor in John McDonogh's New Orleans brick works and concluded "slaves are trained to every kind of manual labor. The blacksmith, cabinet-maker, carpenter, builder, wheel-right-all have one or more slaves laboring at their trades. The negro [sic] is a third arm to every working man, who can possibly save money to purchase one." [20]

The appearance and successful use of a military slave system completed the transition from a labor practice that sporadically used slaves from surrounding plantations to a slave system that was composed of bondsmen who were independent of the plantation regime, a transformation that largely solved the labor demands of the Third Defense System construction program. The economics of the leasing agreements, the basic components of the military slave system, induced slave ownership because of better than average returns on investment compared to the prevailing returns in the in

17. Laura Eliza Wilkes, "Missing Pages in American History, Revealing the Services of Negroes in the Early Wars of the United States of America, 1641-1819," in *The Negro Soldier: A Select Compilation,* (New York: H. Dayton, 1861), 52-53, 57-58.
18. "The Expenses of the Ordnance Department...," 17 Congress, 2 Session, House Executive Document 111 (6 January 1823).
19. Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South,* 12.
20. J. H. Ingraham, *The South-West,* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1835), 249.

the agricultural sector of the Southern economy.[21] Lastly, the use of a slave system provided the military with an efficient, mobile, and competent labor force under the supervision of white overseers.

The characteristics of the slave system employed by the military along the Gulf Coast can be found in other areas of the country as well. The Augusta Arsenal "hired" slaves in 1825, 1830, and 1831.[22] Fort Monroe, Virginia, "employed" a labor force of over one hundred slaves, some of whom were also sent to work at the Augusta Arsenal in 1839.[23] Additionally, slave labor was used at Mobile Point in Alabama to build Fort Morgan between 1818 and 1834.[24] In Pensacola, the Navy systematically used slave labor in the spasmodic construction of the Navy Yard and the Army Corps of Engineers successfully employed the military slave system in the construction of army fortifications (Forts Pickens, McRee, and Barrancas in Pensacola from 1829-1847)[25] and other public works projects.

The identifying characteristics of the military slave system were similar in all of the locations in which the system was used along the Gulf Coast. The government "leased" slaves through verbal "gentleman's agreements" with private contractors who owned a large force of skilled slaves. Such agreements or "leases" were for specific periods of time (sometimes for years) and compensation. Under these agreements, the military "hired" local unskilled slave labor that was supervised by the white contractor. With these agreements in place, the "lease" ensured the rights of the military

21. Fogel and Engerman, *Time on the Cross* and Fogel, *Without Consent or Contract.* These two works provide evidence on the control, exploitation, and profitability of labor, which are three important parts of the thesis argument of this article. Gavin Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South,* 1-15.

22. Record Group 156, Records of the Office of Chief of Ordnance, Augusta, Georgia Arsenal, Abstracts of Disbursements, 1839-1840, Old Army Section, National Archives Southeast Region, Atlanta, Georgia.

23. Record Group 77, Records of the Office of Chief of Engineers, Check-Roll of Laborers on Fortress Monroe (Virginia), 1821-1824, Old Army Section, Federal Records Center, Suitland, Maryland and letter from Capt. E. Harding to Col. H. Stanton [Quartermaster General], February 1, 1839, Augusta Arsenal, in Record Group 92, Records of the Quartermaster General, Consolidated Correspondence File, "Slaves," Old Army Section, National Archives, Washington D.C.

24. Record Group 77, Records of the Office of Engineers, Fort Morgan, Mobile, Alabama, Account Book, 1819-1834, Federal Records Center, Atlanta, Georgia.

25. Record Group 77, letters written by Captain William H. Chase, 1829-36, one bound mispaginated volume, Corps of Engineers Papers, Old Army Section, National Archives, Washington, D. C. (Copies in author's possession). Hereafter referred to as the *Chase Letters.*

as well as the slave owners and provided the military with a large, skilled, mobile labor force and the slave owner with a profitable venture. The expenses of food, clothing, shelter, and medical care remained the contractor's responsibility, a provision that made the arrangement profitable for the government. The military assumed responsibility for the purchase and delivery of materials used by the contractor, although the contractor took all risks in regard to the labor force and security of the materials.

An Act of Congress provided for the establishment of a temporary government in East and West Florida on March 3, 1821. On March 10, 1821, President James Monroe ordered General Andrew Jackson to accept the Floridas from Spain and to serve as interim governor of East and West Florida until a provisional government could be organized. On July 17, the formal exchange of flags took place and Jackson accepted Florida from Spain; he then created the city government of Pensacola on July 18, 1821. According to the Spanish census of 1820, the population grew from 695 people to approximately 4,000 people in the summer of 1820, one year prior to the American takeover of the territory. On October 7, 1821, Jackson returned to Tennessee, leaving George Walton as the acting governor. Jackson's departure and the transformation of government produced a migration of people who followed the general or the Spanish out of Pensacola. The remaining residents composed of those who were the extremely poor did not have any options for departure. Together, the political decision regarding the establishment of the Territorial capital far from Pensacola in Tallahassee, adverse natural phenomena, and the absence of an strong economic foundation reduced the city census to fewer than 715 people.[26]

The cultural atmosphere of Pensacola in the 1820s was greatly affected by outbreaks of disease and other natural phenomena that were regular visitors to the town. An 1818 frost in what remains one of the coldest springs on record adversely affected the town and region. A second heavy frost, which was described by Rachel Jackson, killed the infant fruit industry in 1822.[27]

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26. Herbert J. Dougherty, "Ante-bellum Pensacola: 1821-1860," *Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXVII,* Nos. 3 and 4, (January-April 1959), 342-343. Dougherty describes the population depletion between the years 1821-1825.
27. Letter, Mrs. Jackson to Mrs. Eliza Kingsley, "Pensacola, 23rd July, 1821, written on Andrew Jackson's third visit to Pensacola. Rachel Jackson describes an abundance of peach and orange trees, figs, grapes, and pomegranates, which was the beginning of an infant fruit industry.

Destructive summer storms reconfigured the coastline as sand bars drifted in the currents. The dreaded yellow fever appeared in 1822 and halted the activities of the Pensacola Council which was engaged in the process of deciding land ownership criteria from previous Spanish grants following the transfer of power to the American government. In an effort to escape, the Council moved to a ranch fifteen miles from Pensacola where meetings were held until adjournment September 18, 1822. The move was unsuccessful as Council member James Bronaugh contracted yellow fever and died September 2nd; the Clerk of the Council Joseph Coppinger died shortly thereafter.[28] In all, two hundred sixty four deaths were reported in Pensacola in 1822, a significant portion of the population.

Yellow fever appeared in waves that traveled across the continent during the summer months. The cause was unknown because medical doctors of the time were not focused on the mosquito as the carrier of the disease. Subsequent epidemics of yellow fever in Pensacola occurred in 1825 and 1827 (65 cases), 1828 (50-60 cases), 1831 (15 cases), 1834 (33 in Pensacola and 78 at the Navy Yard), 1839 (146 cases), and 1841 (156 cases).[29]

In 1827, John Lee Williams, a commissioner charged with the task of surveying West Florida, reported that the economic infrastructure of the town consisted of a number of public buildings that were dilapidated as well as "a court-house, church, market-house, custom-house, and a public store." [30] Williams described the ethnic diversity of the people of Pensacola, concluding that "The manners and customs of the Floridians are as different as their origins. The country having, at different periods, been conquered by the English, French, and Spaniards, the inhabitants of these countries were much intermixed in complexion, language, and manners."[31]

The degree of ethnic diversity in Pensacola in 1821 was evidenced by the existence of a significant class of "people of color"

28. Herbert J. Dougherty, "Andrew Jackson's Cronies in Florida Territorial Politics," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 34, no. 2, (October 1955), 142-158.
29. William M. Straight, "The Yellow Jacket," *Journal of the Florida Medical Association*, (August, 1971), 43-45 and *Keepe Family Papers 1810-1940*, this collection provides additional information on yellow fever in Pensacola, confirmation of the fears and perceptions residents possessed of the disease, and the number of recorded cases.
30. John Lee Williams, *View of West Florida*, (Philadelphia, 1827), 76-82.
31. Ibid, 77-78.

of predominantly Spanish blood who lived in the frontier town. They were a respected property owning class, all mulattos of Spanish, French, or African heritage, born on the Gulf Coast, Spanish or French in culture, and devoutly Roman Catholic in faith. During colonial times they served in the militia, and enjoyed educational opportunities as well as property and inheritance rights equivalent to the whites of Pensacola. They lived in integrated neighborhoods, voted, and pursued many of the same economic interests as their white counterparts. Under Spanish rule, slavery was a limited institution. In a few unusual cases individuals were both slave and property owners, worked as artisans, and enjoyed a comfortable economic and social status.

The mixed blood population soon experienced the effects of Spanish departure with the arrival of an American political culture in which racism and declining rights of citizenry became embedded in Pensacola. The dramatic shift in political cultures after 1821 resulted in an attempt by this population of mixed blood Spanish residents to highlight their distinctive attributes in an effort to distinguish themselves from free blacks and label themselves Creole Colored.[32] The shift in political cultures resulted in the practice of a racial ideology that included increasingly restrictive legislation towards "people of color," and included slavery as a culturally accepted labor institution that the government was willing to use in efforts to address national defense concerns. The Creole Colored feared a future of enslavement. Their fears were well founded. After the passage of increasingly restrictive laws that began after the arrival of the American military in 1821, the Creole Colored decided to leave Pensacola in 1857 for homes in Mexico and the Caribbean.[33] The experiences of the Creole Colored and free black population exemplified the importance of the American military's labor prac-

32. Diane Lee Shelley, "The Effects of Increasing Racism on the Creole Colored in Three Gulf Coast Cities Between 1808 and 1860," (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of West Florida). Shelley reflects usage of the term "Creole Colored" as an attempt by the mixed blood Spanish population of Pensacola to label themselves in efforts to distinguish themselves from people of pure African descent, all done in fear of slavery.

33. Ruth B. Barr and Modeste Harges, "The Voluntary Exile of Free Negroes of Pensacola," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* 17 no.1, (July, 1938), 1, Donald H. Bagnaw, "Loss of Identity on Pensacola's Past: A Creole Footnote," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 50, No. 4, (April, 1972), 414-418, and Jane Landers ,"Free and Slave" 167-183 and William S. Coker and Susan R. Parker, "The Second Spanish Period in the Two Floridas," 150-167, essays in Michael Gannon ed., *The New History of Florida,* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2009).

tices (slave "rentals"), which was the single most important influence affecting the expansion of slavery as the backbone of economic development that led to the "new" prosperity of the 1830s.[34]

After the exchange of flags in 1821, a vigorous and comprehensive examination of the nation's defense posture was conducted to address the concerns that were raised after the War of 1812. As a result of the findings, the military began to place a great deal of emphasis on the Gulf of Mexico. In an effort to secure a location for a Navy Yard along the Gulf Coast, Secretary Upshur noted that "the commerce of the Gulf of Mexico is much more valuable than that of any portion of our country of equal extent, a navy yard, by which the necessary means of protecting that commerce, may be supplied, is proportionally more important than a navy yard at any other place." [35] Congress authorized the building of a navy yard in 1824, and Secretary Upshur ordered a board composed of Captains Bainbridge, Lewis Warrington, and James Biddle to evaluate the Pensacola area for the yard; in November 1825, the city was chosen as the center of Gulf Coast defenses along the Gulf of Mexico and was designated as the main repair and supply center for the West Indies Squadron. Captain Lewis Warrington, who had distinguished himself in the Great Lakes Naval conflicts of the War of 1812, was named Commodore of the West Indies Squadron and the first Commandant of the newly designated Navy Yard. This marked the beginning of a very long relationship between the government and the industrial complex that has continued to grow and affect the economy of the port town to this day.

Warrington arrived off the coast of Pensacola on April 27, 1826. He lived aboard the *USS Constellation* while he searched for scarce materials and labor to use in the planned construction of eleven buildings. He relied on the local stone for some construction, but even though he noted the plentiful pines of the Pensacola Bay area, he had lumber shipped in from Boston for the buildings that were in various stages of completion. The practice continued until 1829.[36] Warrington observed the superior quality of the area clay

34. Landers, 167-183, and Ernest F. Dibble, *Antebellum Pensacola and the Military Presence,* 1-16.

35. United States Secretary of the Navy, "Report...establishing a navy-yard...upon the Gulf of Mexico," 27th Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Executive Document No. 98, 2.

36. Letter from Woolsey to Bainbridge, 6 April 1829, Record Group 45, Board of Navy Commissioners, Letters received from Commandants, Pensacola, 1826-1842, (17 Volumes), Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library, National Archives, (hereafter called *Commandant's Letters).*

and speculated on the possibility of expanding the small brick-making industry. In the end, the Navy chose to build with stone and three contracts were made with local suppliers in early November 1826, although the first stone deliveries did not occur until January 9, 1827 under yet another contract on materials.[37]

As a result of the shortage of both skilled and unskilled labor in Pensacola, the Navy obtained labor from outside the immediate area. Warrington inquired into the availability of skilled labor in other Navy Yard towns located all along the Gulf coast and Atlantic seaboard, including Mobile, and Tallahassee. He described the situation to his superiors in correspondence to Washington stating "Neither labourers nor mechanics are obtained here...A gentleman at Tallahassee (the capital of Florida) has seventy or eighty negroes [sic] which he wishes to hire out and would prefer to hire them to the government." Warrington believed that slaves were the answer to the labor problem "as they suit this climate better, are less liable to change, more temperate, and actually do more work."[38] Warrington began "renting" slaves for all unskilled labor in 1826 and this served as the example that all other Commandants would follow until the Civil War. Washington addressed the need for skilled labor through importation of specialized workers from Northern locations, creating both a transient and, to some degree, an unstable labor force.

After only six months (October 1826), Warrington left Pensacola to become President of the Navy Board of Commissioners and Lieutenant W. L. Cunningham was named the Acting Commandant of the Navy Yard; he decided to expand the labor practices used by Warrington. In 1826, a search for potential resources for construction began with a personnel appointment by Cunningham. He made Samuel Keepe the Building Superintendent and sent him on a fact-finding trip in the area around Escambia Bay with orders to report back on the land and natural resources that could be used by the Navy in the construction process and the possible expansion and creation of industries that would support the Navy's building program.[39]

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37. Letter Cunningham to Bainbridge, 10 June 1827. This letter details the first contracts given by the Navy. The specific names of the contractors were not provided in the letter.
38. Warrington to the President of the Board of Commissioners of the Navy, 26 April 1826, 27 April 1826, *Commandant's Letter.*
39. Letter Samuel Keepe to W. L. Cunningham, 3 November 1826, *Commandant's Letters.* This letter details the local stone quality and location of stone quarries for building purposes.

Cunningham not only solved the unskilled labor problems by "renting" local unskilled slave labor, but solved the skilled labor problems by importing "rented" or "leased" slaves from other areas. They were put under the supervision of a white overseer. After Keepe completed his exploratory trip around Escambia Bay, Cunningham proceeded to "hire a few negro labourers and put them under the inspection of Mr. Keepe with three or four of his best masons to instruct and superintend them."[40] The Pensacola projects now had assistants for masons, joiners, bricklayers, stone quarries, and other skilled craftsmen.

With a solution to the labor problems "a work in progress," the Navy proceeded to expand the local economy in a direction that resulted in a sharp focus on the supply needs of the Navy Yard. A small lumber industry was created and Cunningham subsequently explained to his superiors in Washington, D. C., that building delays had occurred because "of the slowness of the contractors in furnishing lumber, who state that the breaking in of their mill dams has occasioned the delay, but they will be in complete operation in a few days."[41] The Navy's use of the plentiful pines around Pensacola Bay supplemented the shipments from Mobile and the Boston until 1829 when the creation of the lumber industry was directly tied to the construction needs of the Navy. In addition, the availability of local stone, as described by Samuel Keepe on his exploration of the area in 1826, resulted in a number of new stone companies that furnished the stone for the wharfs at the Navy Yard. Suppliers of foodstuffs also began to appear in the area.

The use of a slave system by the Army Corps of Engineers, characterized by skilled labor from outside the area placed under the supervision of a private contractor, was already an effective practice employed by Lieutenant Ogden of the Army Corps of Engineers at Mobile Point in Alabama for the construction on Ft. Morgan. Captain M. T. Woolsey was appointed the second commandant of the Navy Yard in 1827 and reported in a letter to the

40. Cunningham, Acting Commandant, to Commissioners of the Navy, 8 November 1826, *Commandant's Letters* and *Keepe Family Papers 1810-1940*, University of West Florida, Special Collections, Pensacola, Florida, the collection contains detailed accounts of the building projects of the Navy Yard including the wharfs and the slave labor that was used by the Navy to accomplish those construction objectives.

41. Acting Commandant Lieutenant W. L. Cunningham to William Bainbridge, Esquire, President of the United States Navy Board, 10 June 1827, *Commandants Letters*.

Navy Commissioners in Washington that "Lieutenant Ogden of the Corps of Engineers and Superintendent of the works erecting at Mobile Point has lately been here and informs me...that the majority of his bricklayers are negro labourers who learned to lay bricks neatly and expeditiously under his direction."[42] Consequently, after that visit, he proceeded to hire forty additional slave laborers who were used as apprentices to the joiners and blacksmiths already employed. Convinced that slave labor was the only way to get the navy yard built in a reasonable amount of time, Woolsey stated to the Navy Commissioners on July 27, 1827, that "the labourers are all slaves."[43]

However, even with the use of slave labor, construction of the Navy Yard was sporadic between 1826 and 1853. In 1826, general appropriation funds were being used for construction since the "official" funds were not formally approved until the 1830s. The slowness of construction experienced in the building of the Navy Yard in Pensacola was to some degree a result of both the Navy's budget and the administration process connected to the Congressional appropriations. The succession of commandants and the system of reporting to a Board of Navy Commissioners was cumbersome at best. The agents who handled contracts came and went almost as quickly as commandants and sources of supplies. The result was smaller expenditures that were not immediately available for use and appropriations that ran out before projects were completed; by 1842, the Navy had spent $450,000 on construction of the installation. The realities of budget constraints caused construction delays and problems associated with the retention of slave labor.

Once again, Woolsey's solution to the Navy's budget obstacles followed the examples that were successfully used by the Army Corps of Engineers at Mobile Point in Alabama. Woolsey realized that the slaves were specifically leased to the military and the owners had no other use for them if they were discharged by the Navy due to lack of funds. He set up informal agreements with the slave owners. In a letter to Navy Commissioners written on August 4, 1828, he stated that "the owners of slaves or at least those who reside in the neighborhood, are willing that their hands should continue at work without receiving any pay for their wages until

42. Woolsey to Commissioners, 16 March 1827, *Commandant's Letters.*
43. Woolsey to Commissioners, 27 July 1827, *Commandant's Letters.*

Congress shall at their next session, make further appropriations for improvement of the Navy Yards." The use of slave labor became the norm at this point and slave owners were willing to wait for payment because it was an extremely profitable venture for both parties.[44]

The terms of the leasing agreements varied in regard to food, clothes, medical care, and shelter, but were also a result of the appropriation process. Lieutenant Ogden paid $12 per month at Mobile Point in addition to those non-cash contributions (food, clothing, shelter, and medical care) that Woolsey calculated actually doubled the monthly amount. Woolsey wanted to pay $15 per month plus food, which would save the government money. He hired the slaves for the construction of the eleven buildings in 1828 for $.56 per day.[45] Later, he realized he could pay $15 per month and include only medical care, using the doctor assigned to the Navy Yard Dr. Hulse. Woolsey requested an assistant for the doctor and received compensation for the extra work but the monthly amount paid still saved the government money. Woolsey detailed these accounting figures on a chart sent to the Navy Commissioners on January 25, 1828, comparing the rates at Mobile Point to those that he proposed to pay, realizing a savings of $28.19 on the annual rate paid.

The payrolls of the Pensacola project show that the government leased slaves from prominent members of Pensacola society. Slaves often took the owner's last name as illustrated in the use of multiple last names on the Records of the Bureau of Yards and Docks documents, which revealed the identity of individuals who was leasing slaves to the military. The payrolls list more than 200 slaves working at the Navy Yard each month, which included those leased to the Navy by well-known political leaders of antebellum Pensacola such as Moreno, Willis, Ahrens, Forsyth, Gonzales, Ingraham, Oldmixon, and Morton.[46] These individuals became involved with the navy in the creation of local industries and purposely obtained slaves to work in those enterprises, or to lease them to work on the unfinished Navy Yard. The following chart

44. Woolsey to Commissioners, 4 August 1828, *Commandant's Letters.*
45. Woolsey to Commissioners, 5 September 1828, *Commandants Letters.*
46. Payrolls for Pensacola, January, 1847-December, 1851, (2 Volumes), Record Group 71, Records of the Bureau of Yards and Docks, Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library, National Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.

compares the jobs of both ordinaries (free white and skilled slave labor),[47] and labourers (unskilled labor), who were slaves, at the Pensacola Navy Yard on October 6, 1837.[48]

Log of Yard, 1837
6 October

Distribution of the Ordinaries	Distribution of the Laborers
1 carpenters mate	10 teamsters hauling brick, etc
1 assisting carpenters mate	3 at the stables
1 painting	1 lamplighter
4 at the Commandants	1 cooper
2 at the Commanders	1 blacksmith's shop
1 cooking	2 live oak plantations
1 mail boat	2 sawing
1 attending officer	1 sick
1 sick	1 Navy store
7 ordinary yard duties	10 on the cistern
20	9 discharging brick
	23 at hospital
	73

The Navy success in use of local slave labor secured by unwritten "gentleman's agreements" encouraged the Army to use the same system with a similarly positive outcome.

Captain William H. Chase of the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers arrived on Santa Rosa Island in 1829, as the Superintending Engineer for the construction of Pensacola Harbor defenses beginning with Fort Pickens (1829-34). He was accompanied by slave workers he had employed on construction sites around New Orleans. Thus, Chase did not have the labor problems that existed when the Navy first arrived in Pensacola. While assigned to the works in Louisiana over the span of nine years (Fort Pike 1819-22, Forts Rigolets, Chef Menteur, and Bienvenue 1822-28), he established a close working relationship with Assistant Engineer Frederick Augustas Underhill and Second Lieutenant Jasper Strong, who were former classmates of Chase at

47. James Allen Knechtmann, Reference Librarian, Navy Department Library, Washington, D. C. (202-433-4132).

48. Log of the Pensacola Navy Yard, January-December, 1837, (2 Volumes), Record Group 45, Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library, National Archives, Washington. D.C.

West Point. Underhill learned the value of using slave labor in his duties as Assistant Engineer in the construction and repair of defenses on the Gulf of Mexico, especially in the New Orleans area from 1819-1823. Jasper Strong was also assigned to the fortifications in Louisiana from 1820-1823 and began to acquire and control a large labor force of 100 skilled slaves who worked under his supervision on defenses in and around New Orleans. Some of these slaves accompanied Chase on all his assignments.[49]

Two of the major obstacles that the military had to overcome in regard to the use of slave labor were mounting abolitionist pressures and the existence of an 1809 law that required bidding for contractual services. M. T. Woolsey (Navy) and Chase circumvented the second barrier through the use of verbal "gentleman's agreements" (Underhill and Strong). When confronted with questions on the military's adherence to the law in light of the use of a slave system through unwritten "gentleman's agreements" in the 1830s, Woolsey and Chase responded with an explanation that was developed in New Orleans and was first used by Lt. Barnard of the Army Corps of Engineers in 1821. Barnard stated "It is distinctly understood that there is to be no claim of any kind against the Government officer or any other future appropriations-it being only presumed on the part of those furnishing the slaves that if at any future period and appropriation should be made, that the Government will be willing to pay for work already done, as if it still remained to be done. All that is asked of us now is the mere permission to work on the fort in such a manner as we shall direct." [50] The non-contracutal "agreements" proved economically advantageous for the military as well as slave owners and contractors as construction of the Third Defense continued.

The evidence shows that Underhill and Strong resigned from the Army in 1823 to form a contracting company (Underhill and Strong) with encouragement from Chase. They accepted the con-

49. See Appendix C (Military Career Time Line of William H. Chase), Appendix D (Military Career Time Line of Jasper Strong) and Appendix E (Military Career Time Line of Frederick Augustas Underhill). Application papers for Chase, Underhill, and Strong from West Point are missing and all of the available sources on Chase have been utilized for this study and are listed in the footnotes.

50. Letter Lt. Barnard to General Totten, 27 July 1842, Record Group 77, Corps of Engineers Papers, Old Army Section, National Archives, Washington, D. C. Similar explanations were used by Woolsey (Navy) and Chase (Army Corps of Engineers) many times in the 1830s and 1840s.

tract to build Fort Pickens for $900,000 with the skilled slave labor at their disposal, which would provide Chase with a skilled and mobile labor force in his construction efforts at Pensacola and elsewhere. Chase explained the arrangement to General Charles Gratiot, Chief Engineer in Washington D. C., when he brought the contractors to Pensacola stating that "the large force of Black Mechanics and laborers which they have at their disposal gives them great advantages in the prosecution of operations of this kind, whilst those gentleman will realize by their exertions a fair renumeration for their trouble the government may calculate on certain results in a given time."[51]

In addition to the 100 skilled slaves owned by the firm of Underhill and Strong, Chase leased slave labor from the surrounding area and the combined workforce was put under the supervision of Jasper Strong. Chase ran an advertisement in the *Pensacola Gazette* on March 13, 1829 looking for about twenty "Negro" workers for the works on Santa Rosa Island.[52] Chase used the local unskilled slave labor to supplement the force of skilled mechanics owned by Underhill and Strong to create a mobile labor force.

Chase's contractual relationship with Underhill and Strong was based on verbal "gentleman's agreements" that allowed him to engage slave labor without inciting abolitionists. Although there is very little documentation on these unwritten lease agreements three letters written by Chase highlight the details and purpose of the efforts. In a letter and attached agreement dated May 12, 1829, Chase called for Underhill and Strong to execute the works at Santa Rosa Island for eight dollars fifty cents per cubic yard paid to them quarterly by the commanding engineer or Agent of Fortifications. Chase was responsible for the purchase and delivery of materials, which would be deducted at each quarterly settlement of their account. Underhill and Strong were responsible for providing all the labor and accepted all the risks in regard to natural phenomena. Lastly, they agreed to abide by the construction plans, which included strict inspections by the commanding Engineer or his representatives.[53] The contents of this letter are

51. Captain William H. Chase to Charles Gratiot, undated memorandum, early 1829, *Chase Letters*, 11.
52. *Pensacola Gazette*, 13 March 1829.
53. Chase to Gratiot, 12 May 1829, *Chase Letters*, 13. See Appendix A for the full text of the "gentleman's agreement."

repeated in subsequent correspondence in almost identical language indicating a normal and recurring process.

In a second letter to Gratiot in March of 1830, after Underhill's death, Chase indicated that Jasper Strong would carry the project through to completion.[54] The agreement used precisely the same language with identical provisions and these two letters offer a glimpse into the use of a slave system by the Army Corps of Engineers through the use of verbal agreements. It is also important to note that this was "business as usual" in the South and therefore, no one in Washington D. C. objected to the agreements.

A third letter to Gratiot, written on August 31, 1834, ironically included an explanation for his avoidance of written agreements. In this letter, Chase states "The verbal agreements hereafter made with Mr. Strong were never considered by him or me as the agent of the Government, in light of a contract." In an attempt to explain the "gentlemen's agreements," Chase confirmed the use of a military slave system and recommended its use on future construction projects. He concluded: "It is highly desirable that the services of Mr. Strong and his effective force should be continued; and that the system pursued in the construction of Fort Pickens should be adopted in the construction of the Fort on Foster's Bank."[55] Chase strived to promote the use of the "gentlemen's agreement" in this instance as well as in all future endeavors and concluded that, "Deeming it to the interest of the government both on the score of the vigorous prosecution of the works, and the economical administration of the same, I will continue to employ the force of Mr. Strong in their construction, with the understanding (without reducing it to writing) that he shall conform to the above provisions."[56]

The provisions agreement called for the Engineer Department to purchase in open market, at current prices, all the materials necessary for the construction of the fort. Jasper Strong agreed to the following: to execute the workmanship with his force of mechanics and laborers; to have the privilege to use the materials; to have the materials used deducted from his account on the quarterly settlement; to be responsible for the safe keeping of the materials and all risks in reference to those materials; to take all risks in regard to nat-

54. Chase to Gratiot, 25 March 1830, *Chase Letters*, 82.
55. Chase to Charles Gratiot, 31 August 1834, *Chase Letters*, 302.
56. Ibid. See Appendix B for the full text of the letter.

ural phenomena; and to be subject to strict inspection by the Superintending Engineer, assistants, and other engineer representatives.[57] The last provision of the agreement permitted Strong to construct housing and barracks for his use and that of the workers. [58]

Chase also continued to develop and expand the local economy, a process that was started by the Navy (lumber/foodstuff industries) and created enterprises tied to the needs of the army in ways that were also financially beneficial to Chase. He initially rejected military bricks and purchased them from Mobile (brick yards started by DeRussey and Ogden at Mobile Point in 1824), where the first navy commandant also had obtained bricks. Chase invited open competition by offering large contracts in an effort to force down the price of bricks. He paid the going rate in Mobile, ten dollars per one thousand of uneven quality, which were initially used to supply the building needs of the Army. Seeing how such an enterprise would be profitable, Chase started a brick factory with slave labor. When the Pensacola brick industry flourished, he discontinued the purchase of bricks from outside Pensacola. In June of 1829, Chase explained to Mobile brick-makers "the supply of bricks is now so abundant on this Bay, of good quality and the proper size, that I shall not be enabled to receive any more from your yard."[59] In 1829 alone, Chase purchased 4,500,000 bricks for the construction of Fort Pickens (1829-34), most of which were from the brick-yards he helped establish.[60]

Most of the individuals who entered into business in Pensacola during this time did so because of the market Chase had to offer. He never officially listed his brick suppliers until he wrote a memorandum on September 15, 1830, to eight brick makers instructing them "to call at the Engineers Office at this place on the 27th instant, to receive payment for bricks delivered to that time." The eight brick makers were: J de la Rua (Old Bonifay Plant), J Hunt and firm (Jasper Strong), J. Morton (Jackson Morton of Santa Rosa County), J. B. Bahan, Slayback (also Henry Slayback), Hale and Murrell, S. A. Carpenter (Carpenter and Adam in 1829), and L. C. Hubbell (Old Noriega Plant).[61]

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57. Ibid.
58. Chase to Colonel Rene E. DeRussey, 25 December 1859, in United States Secretary of War, "Letter of the Secretary of War...," 41 Congress, 3 Session, Senate Executive Document No. 103 (June, 1870).
59. Chase to Major E. Montgomery, Mobile bay, 26 June 1829, *Chase Letters*, 33.
60. *Pensacola Gazette/Florida Advertiser*, 14 November 1829.
61. Chase Memorandum to Brick makers, Pensacola, 15 September 1830, *Chase Letters*, 110.

Pensacola citizens Jackson Morton and Stephen R. Mallory would emerge to elevate the city of Pensacola to the national scene. Morton, who became one of the largest brick makers in the area, supplied more than one million, seven hundred sixty eight thousand, eight hundred bricks for the Fort on Foster's Bank (Fort McRee) by 1834 with a surplus amount stored in warehouses for future projects.[62] He later became a navy agent (contractor for supplies) and subsequently a United States Senator (1849-1855) who would wield his political influence to advocate a larger naval commitment and support the naval expansion program enacted during the administration of Franklin Pierce. Morton would become a national political spokesperson, and along with Chase, provide a direct link between the local businesses in Pensacola and the federal government in efforts to procure local contracts for the defense build-up.[63]

Stephen R. Mallory would become a United States Senator from Pensacola (1855-1861) and use his influence to further the connection between the national government and the industries and businesses tied to the needs of the military. As Chairman of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, he supported a military build-up and attempted to project Pensacola as a center of Gulf Coast shipbuilding projects. Mallory's success was highlighted by the completion of two ships that were launched in 1859, the USS Seminole and USS Pensacola, which signaled the beginning of a new public financed industry for Pensacola. However, while the history of the USS Seminole was considered that of a "normal" Navy ship, the USS Pensacola needed to be towed to the Navy Yard at Washington, D.C. because only the hull was made in Pensacola and the machinery needed to be fitted and installed elsewhere.

After his election to the U.S. Senate, Mallory was at the center of a controversy because he was also a slave owner who had "hired out" slaves to the Army Corps of Engineers at Fort Taylor in Key West, Florida. The slaves were released from the construction project by Captain George Dutton who received advice that the hiring of Mallory's slaves violated the 1809 law (bidding for contracts), which stipulated that federal officials were not permitted to be under contract (verbal or written) with the government and there-

62. Chase to Gratiot, 25 March 1830, 82, and Chase to Jackson Morton, 6 December 1834, 321, *Chase Letters.*

63. Brian R. Rucker, *Jackson Morton: West Florida's Soldier, Senator, and Secessionist,* (Milton, FL: Patagonia Press, 1990).

fore, forbidden to pursue the practice of renting slaves to the military. Mallory argued that no contract existed and that his slaves should remain under the employment of the Army Corps of Engineers. The dispute was put to rest by Chief of Engineers Colonel Totten, who disregarded the fact and ruled in favor of Mallory and the "gentleman's agreements" that formed the basis of the slave system. The slaves were subsequently "re-hired" and returned to the supervision of the Army Corps of Engineers.[64]

Morton, Mallory, and Chase used a variety of arguments to secure funding for military construction along the Gulf coast. Rising to power in the 1850s, Morton and Mallory primarily relied on King Cotton as a sectional argument to secure Congressional appropriations. The argument was based on an exaggerated belief that cotton dictated the terms of diplomacy with England and would subsequently provide aid to the South because England needed the cotton for their textile industry. Working in the 1840s, Chase had developed a full King Cotton and "threat of war" national argument to secure Congressional appropriations. At the time, Pensacola suffered from the effects of the national financial panic that resulted in the failure of the banking, real estate, and railroad ventures started by Chase. He argued that England and Mexico were threats because of the controversy over the Oregon country ("54-40 or fight") and the acquisition of Texas. In his view, the expansionist policy of the Polk administration required more fortifications in Pensacola and in other locations along the Gulf Coast to protect against potential attacks by Britain or Mexico. In the 1840s this argument was a national issue, not sectional, and it was not until much later that Chase interpreted the significance of cotton and Pensacola in terms of the Southern cause.

Chase was closely connected to many of the businesses that profited from coastal military construction. J Hunt and firm, the firm identified as Jasper Strong, became a leading supplier of bricks to the Army Corps of Engineers during the time Chase was the Superintending Engineer in Pensacola (1829-54). Strong, who continued to direct the slave labor force in Pensacola at the works on Santa Rosa Island, went into business with John Hunt producing bricks and purchasing ships, both of which Chase used in his

64. Letter Mallory to E. J. Phelps, 2nd Comptroller, 25 Dec. 1851, Record Group 77, National Archives, Washington, D. C. Phelps quoted the law that informal agreements were forbidden but Totten disregarded the fact.

projects. In a letter from Chase to Grotiot on May 11, 1829, Chase explained the purchase of a ship, the schooner *Eliza,* for the purpose of exploration of the coastline and surrounding areas.[65] In 1833, the schooner, on its way to New Orleans for bricks, became lost in a storm. Three years later Chase asked the Engineer Department for compensation for Hunt and Strong's ship.[66] Many questions are raised in regard to the purpose and cargo of the ship (slaves) and why it took three years to request the compensation.

Chase constantly searched for new markets and projects for the companies he helped create in Pensacola. With the completion of Fort Pickens in 1834, a surplus of over three million slave-made bricks (two million in Jackson Morton's plant) sat in storehouses and wharf facilities. In order to provide an outlet for surplus bricks, Chase made an appropriations request to begin work on the fort on Foster's Bank (McRee) and a project to dredge the channel in Pensacola Bay, which would allow warships of considerable size to navigate the waterway safely. According to soundings dating back to 1763, the sand bars had not changed positions and a quick decision was made on a site for the fort on Foster's Bank (McRee), However, contrary to the report, the area was characterized by shifting coastline and drifting sand and in hindsight a poor decision was made on the site. Chase stockpiled approximately six million bricks he estimated he would need prior to the beginning of construction. He then made an additional request for $50,000 for the construction of a new fort "at the site of the Old Spanish fort of Barrancas...and to repair it's [sic] water battery."[67] Pensacola bricks were also used in the construction of Fort Taylor in Key West, Florida in the 1840s. [68] As Superintending Engineer

65. Chase to Gratiot, 12 May 1829, *Chase Letters,* 14.
66. Chase to Gratiot, 6 January 1836, *Chase Letters,* 402. Chase asks for compensation for a ship (Schooner Eliza) owned by Jasper Strong and John Hunt in the amount of $4150.00. The Ship was lost on its way to New Orleans to transport bricks from their brick yards at a time when ten brick yard in Pensacola were in full operation with Chase beginning to stockpile bricks for the Fort on Foster's Bank (Chase Letters, p. 160). Subsequently this document raises many questions pertaining to both the cargo and purpose of the ship and why (partial) compensation was requested in 1836, three years after the ship was lost. See Appendix F for the full text of the letter.
67. Chase to Gratiot, 13 November 1835, *Chase Letters,* 398, and Clayton Dale Roth Jr., "The Military Utilization of Key West and the Dry Tortugas from 1822-1900," (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Miami, 1970), Chapter 3.
68. Mark A. Smith, "Engineering Slavery: The U. S. Army Corps of Engineers and Slavery at Key West," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 86, No. 4, (Spring 2008),

along the Gulf Coast for twenty five years, Chase was able to benefit from businesses he helped to create in Pensacola with the surplus funds that were realized from the use of slave labor.

Further developing the economy of the area and solidifying his power he invested in the development of banking institutions. There was no bank in Pensacola when Chase arrived in 1829. At first he used a bank in New Orleans,[69] and then one in Mobile,[70] for the deposit of federal funds from approved appropriations including monies that funded the "gentlemen's agreements." Chase provided investment capital for the first bank, The Bank of Pensacola, and became one of eight stockholders, each with one thousand six hundred twenty fives shares. Additionally, he was involved in many other businesses that provided an economic foundation from which the military was able to supply its needs. [71]

Chase had a vision of Pensacola's future as a crossroads to both the West and the East. Such ambitious plans were revealed in his yearly arguments for defense appropriations. In 1835 (one year into construction of Fort McRee), he founded the Alabama, Florida, and Georgia Railroad Company in which he became president of the Board of Directors. This company provided a railway link between Pensacola and Columbus, Georgia—the northernmost navigable point of the Chattahoochee River. With this link, "wagoned cotton" and other products could be shipped down the river for export furthering the economic horizons of Pensacola. With such potentially profitable ventures taking root, the national financial panic of 1837 (the year Fort McRee was completed) caused the Bank of Pensacola and the Alabama, Florida, and Georgia Railroad Company to fail. However by 1856, he was again president of a railroad company, the Alabama/Florida Railroad Company, which attempted to build a line from Pensacola to Montgomery, Alabama. The project received widespread media attention and a nationally known magazine noted that the railroad

498-526. Smith confirms the use of Pensacola bricks in the construction of Fort Taylor in Key West and provides a synthesis of the use of slave labor by the Army Corps of Engineers for the military construction in Key West.

69. Chase to Gratiot, 15 March 1829, *Chase Letters*, 3.

70. Chase to Gratiot, 12 May 1829, *Chase Letters*, 17, and Chase to Gratiot, 29 November 1829, *Chase Letters*, 59.

71. Clarence Edward Carter, *Territorial Papers of the United States*, Vol. XXVI, (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1934), 400.

"deserves a thought of mercantile enterprise."[72] The company hoped to redirect the flow of manufactured goods and raw materials, especially virgin pine, to the Florida port and become the vortex of east (Apalachicola) and west (Mobile) product movement, which would signal the start of another "new prosperity" for the city.[73] Groundbreaking occurred on May 26, 1856, but unfortunately, the antebellum railroad line was not completed before the Civil War erupted. Pensacola would remain dependent upon military budgets for the sustenance of any "new prosperity."[74]

Chase also became a large landowner and real estate promoter in the hopes that a population explosion would occur with the advent of Pensacola as a major railway center. He bought two lots in 1835 and became a trustee of a real estate venture called "New Town," which was envisioned as a suburb of Pensacola. He placed advertisements in northern newspapers and wrote pamphlets in efforts to attract buyers to the project. A land auction resulted in one million dollars worth of sales; the success of the first venture prompted a second sale. In the 1850s, Chase's correspondence was addressed from "Chasefield," which was located two miles west of Fort Barrancas.[75]

During the time that Chase was Superintending Engineer (1819-56) along the Gulf Coast, the military slave system served as the backbone of economic prosperity in Pensacola and in other locations along the Gulf Coast. The military slave system proved to be financially beneficial to Chase, the contractors Underhill and Strong, slave owners, and the government. As a result, Chase contributed to the expansion of the economic foundation of Pensacola, and over time, with the use of investment capital and the slave labor at his disposal, he created and expanded businesses that were tied to the needs of the military such as brickyards, stone quarries, banks, real estate ventures, and shipping.

Chase's activities raise a number of questions. How did he accumulate financial interests of such magnitude on a military

72. "Pensacola and Montgomery Railroad," *DeBow's Review*, No. 20, (June 1856), p. 748.
73. A. S. Pickett, "Letters from Pensacola, Descriptive and Historical," Montgomery, 1858.
74. William H. Chase, "Report of the President of the Florida and Alabama Railroad Company, Florida, to the stockholders in convention," 1 May 1858, at Pensacola.
75. Land Office Records, Pensacola, Florida. These records indicate that he bought two lots in 1835, one year into the construction of Fort McRee.

salary? Secondly, how was he able to supervise those interests when his duties as Superintending Engineer required extensive travel? The answer to the first question is mostly speculative, but Chase's use of a slave system based on "slave rentals" was certainly instrumental in the development of supporting industries in Pensacola. The answer to the second is very well documented and related in some cases to the climate of Pensacola. Chase and his wife left Pensacola on occasion to visit the fortifications under his jurisdiction and, in times of sickness, traveled to Virginia and other locations in the North to recuperate. Chase's brother, George Chase, a graduate of West Point and Bvt. Second Lieutenant of Artillery, was stationed in Pensacola. In the absence of his brother George Chase assumed William's supervisory duties related to the building of the forts and his business ventures in Pensacola.[76] In much the same manner as Underhill and Strong, George Chase resigned from the Army on August 31, 1836 to become a Civil Engineer in support of William in Pensacola. In addition to George, William also appointed P. G. T. Beauregard, the future Confederate general, as the Assistant in Charge at Santa Rosa Island in absences that were recorded in 1840, 1841, and 1848. George died on March 27, 1844 in Chasefield (grave marker at Chasefield cemetery) of undisclosed causes, at which point, Beauregard was the sole care-taker of Chase's responsibilities in Pensacola.

Over the years, Chase successfully argued against re-assignment from Pensacola, but on November 18, 1854, he received and reluctantly obeyed new orders to take charge of the construction at Fort Taylor and the Navy Coal Depot, an assignment that would last until February 1856. In the interim, he traveled to Pensacola from Key West as much as possible to supervise his economic enterprises and maintain his political influence there. Chase was recalled to Washington D.C. in February 1856 and he took nearly two months to arrive in Washington D. C. He was given orders to take over the prestigious command as Superintendent at the Military Academy at West Point. Chase did not want the appointment and ultimately convinced his superiors to allow him to return to Pensacola. He subsequently offered his resignation from the

76. Letter from Chase to Gratiot, 1 January1831, *Chase Letters*. Application Papers for George Mason Chase, U. S. Military Academy, West Point, N. Y. and Brevet Major George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, 1802-1890,*Third Edition, Boston and New York: The Riverside Press, 1891), 411.

Corps which was accepted on October, 30, 1856, an action that allowed him to concentrate on his Pensacola enterprises. Chase became President of the Board of Alderman one year after his retirement in 1857. In a letter written by Chase to Colonel DeRussey, Chief Engineer, on December 25, 1859, Chase confirmed the use of a slave labor system and stated, "It is known to your department, as being of record, that the Forts Pickens, McRae, Barrancas, and the barracks and the redoubt of Barrancas, were for the most part built by slave mechanics and laborers."[77]

From the beginning of the Civil War to the time of the Emancipation Proclamation (September 22, 1862), the Corps of Engineers continued to use a slave system by virtue of "gentleman's agreements." They contracted with Jasper Strong in New Orleans for the construction and repairs on Fort Livingston, Fort Jackson, and Fort St. Phillip until May 1862, when the slaves were "transferred" to nonpayment rolls whereby Strong agreed to relinquish any claim for services rendered.[78] In addition, the Corps systematically used slave labor at Fort Jefferson for some time after the Emancipation Proclamation up till January of 1863 when all slaves were also transferred to "non-payment" rolls.[79]

With the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, William H. Chase left retirement and assumed command of Confederate forces in Pensacola. He successfully obtained the peaceable surrender of the Navy Yard, Fort McRee, and Fort Barrancas. After sending a number of surrender requests to the commander of Fort Pickens that were ignored, Chase decided to personally make the demand for the fort's surrender to Lieutenant Adam J. Slemmer. When the request was denied, Chase informed Jefferson Davis of the casualties that would occur if he ordered his men to scale the walls of

77. Chase to Colonel Rene E. DeRussey, 25 December 1859, in United States Secretary of War, "Letter of the Secretary of War...," 41 Congress, 3 Session, Senate Executive Document No. 103 (June 1870).

78. Letter from Lieutenant Barnard to Colonel Totten, 22 October 1862, Record Group 77, Old Army Section, National Archives.

79. Records of the Office of Chief Engineers, Fort Jefferson Payment Rolls, 1862, 1863, Payroll Vouchers, 1860-1862, "Slave Roll for [month, year], Record Group 77, Old Army Section, National Archives and Thomas Reid, *America's Fortress: A History of Fort Jefferson, Dry Tortugas, Florida,* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006). Reid provides a summary of the wide array of labor used on the construction of the fort, which supports the thesis of this study that focuses on the military use of slave labor prior to and during the Civil War.

Fort Pickens. The decision was finally made to abort any planned attack on the fortification. Chase arrived in Pensacola during a time of economic decay, was responsible for creating a "new prosperity," and was instrumental in its finale. The ensuing chaos and uncertainty of war left Pensacola with fewer than twenty families.

The traditional explanation for "slave rentals" by historians marginalized the labor practice because it only occurred during the "break" in the harvest season of the plantation economy. The Pensacola evidence illustrates that the Third System of Fortifications served as a catalyst for the creation of a system of slave labor that was utilized in the completion of a construction program of military installations and other public works projects in the pursuit of national defense objectives. As a result of those efforts, the American military was the primary source for the expansion and growth of slavery in Pensacola, Florida. In a remote geographical area that was basically devoid of plantations, slave owners and people who had never before owned slaves bought them specifically to lease to the military for construction purposes or to work in the industries created by the military. The magnitude of the economic growth that resulted from the use of the military slave system in Pensacola, Florida, resulted in a period of "new prosperity" in the 1830s. The literature on "slave rentals" needs to be revised with an emphasis on the importance, significance, and impact of the practice on frontier towns like Pensacola.

The actions of Secretary of State William Seward shed a final light on the existence of a slave system based on "slave rentals" and provided both an explanation and the rationale behind the military's labor practice. He rendered a final ruling on a request by the Army Corps of Engineers regarding a situation that involved some Key West slave owners. After the fall of Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, a controversy arose between the Army Corps of Engineers and the Key West slave owners. Captain Meigs of the Army Corps of Engineers shipped twenty slaves from the Dry Tortugas to Pensacola to help reinforce the walls of Fort Pickens out of concern for an imminent attack by the Confederate commander William H. Chase. The Key West slave owners objected to the transfer and one of them, Dr. L'Engle, traveled to Pensacola "to obtain from Fort Pickens two negro[sic] men who had been improperly taken by Captain Meigs from the Tortugas."[80] Seward provided the

80. S. R. Mallory to Unknown, 27 May 1861, Perkins Library, Duke University.

rationale behind "slave rentals" and the military need for a competent and mobile labor force that operated under the legal auspices of the "gentleman's agreement." Seward's response in a letter dated May 7, 1861, acknowledged that slave owners in Key West "a long time ago" "rented" to public agents of the government "a number of slaves at very renumerative prices, to be employed as laborers in the fortifications of the United States for a term of years yet unexpired." He noted that "it is not complained in the papers before me that the masters are not paid or to be paid for the labor of the slaves and on the contrary Captain Meigs distinctly understands that the Quarter-Master is to pay their wages to the masters of the slaves at Key West as heretofore." He goes on to say that the Quarter-Master has not and will not violate any "contract." Seward said "it must be entirely immaterial to the master whether the slaves work at the Tortugas or whether they work at Fort Pickens." According to Secretary of State Seward, the slaves "are all alike safe under the government in both cases. Should the contract be broken by the public agents the President will take care to see that due redress is afforded. I am not able to understand what there is wrong or censurable in this matter."[81]

Secretary of the Navy A. P. Upshur profoundly illustrated the problem in coming to terms with the military's labor practices and provides some justification when he stated "neither regulation nor usage excludes them as mechanics, laborers, or servants in any branches of the service where such a force is required."[82] In terms of necessity and profitability, the Navy and the Army needed just such a force in Pensacola.

81. Letter Secretary of State William Seward to Corps of Engineers, 7 May 1861, Record Group 77, Corps of Engineers Papers, Old Army Section, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

82. Letter from the Secretary of the Navy (A. P. Upshur), "Colored Persons in the Navy of the U. S.," 27 Congress, 2 Session, House Document 282 (10 August 1842).

Appendix A
"Gentleman's Agreements"

Documentation on the verbal "gentlemen's agreements" that propelled the military slave system is scarce. The following two letters, written in 1829 and 1830, document agreements made between Captain William H. Chase and Underhill and Strong and were found in Record Group 77, Old Army Section, in the National Archives. They provide some insight into the largely verbal labor arrangements that Chase employed in the construction process. They were identical in their composition and content, which indicates a recurring practice.

The first letter is dated May 12, 1829, before the death of F. A. Underhill in November of 1829. The full text reads as follows:

"An agreement made between Capt. Wm. H. Chase on the part of the Engineer Department on Santa Rosa Island and Misters Underhill and Strong at Pensacola on May 12, 1829, in which Misters Underhill and Strong agreed to execute each and every item as set forth in the accompanying Estimate for the Brick masonry of the two water fronts of a fort to be constructed at St. Rosa Island conforming in every respect to the plans and details of the same and completing the same to the entire satisfaction of the Commanding Engineer. The said Underhill and Strong also agreed to hold their work not only subject to the strict inspection of the Commanding Engineer and his assistants but also to such inspections by the Board of Engineers and by their Engineer officers as are prescribed by the regulations of the Engineer Department and they further agreed that they will abide by such decisions as shall be made at each inspection above mentioned upon the quality of the workmanship [ ] and that they will change the same for the better if at any time it should be judged necessary."

"The said Underhill and Strong also agree to take all risques incident to the exposure of their operations to injury either by storm, overflows, or other acts of Providence; and they hereby declare that the only claim for service rendered by them in the construction of the aforesaid Masonry will be for the sum of eight dollars fifty cents per cubic yard to be paid them quarterly by the Commanding Engineer or Agent of Fortifications."

"In order to facilitate the operations and with a view to a strict inspection of all materials to be used in the construction of the

masonry it was agreed that Captain William H. Chase or the Commanding Engineer should purchase and cause to be delivered at the site of the public works at Santa Rosa Island all the materials necessary to the construction of the aforesaid Masonry the same to be used by Underhill and Strong and the value of the quantity used to be charged to them to be deducted at each quarterly settlement of their account."

"It was also agreed that Underhill and Strong should lay or cause to be laid all the Grillage of the foundations of the masonry, the same being composed of two layers of three-inch plank, for the sum of twenty dollars per one thousand feet of Board measure."

"(signed) Wm. H. Chase"

"This agreement was made in the presence" "Capt. Engineers"

"Of. A. H. Bowman" "Underhill and Strong"

"U. S. Engineers"

In the second letter, dated March 25, 1830, Chase uses the same verbal agreement (in writing) with Jasper Strong after the death of Underhill in November of 1829. The agreement reads:

"Memorandum of a verbal agreement made between Capt. Wm. H. Chase, on the part of the Engineer department, and Jasper Strong, surviving partner of Underhill and Strong, in which said Jasper Strong agreed to perform or cause to be performed all the Brick Masonry that may be required in the construction of the Fortification, at St. Rosa Island, under the appropriation for 1830, conforming in every respect to the plans and details of the same."

"The said Jasper Strong also agreed to perform or cause to be performed all the Excavations & Embankments that may be required in the construction of the Fortifications at St. Rosa Island under the appropriation for 1830, conforming in every respect to the plans and details of the said construction."

"The said Jasper Strong also agreed to lay or cause to be laid all the lumber necessary to the formation of a platform for the Brick Masonry of the Foundation of the Fort at St. Rosa Island."

"The said Jasper Strong also agreed to hold his operations, not only subject to the strict inspections of the Commanding Engineer & his assistants, but also to such inspections of the Board of Engineers and by other Engineer officers as are prescribed by the regulations of the Engineer Department and he also agreed to abide by such decisions as shall be made, at each inspection upon the quality of the workmanship & materials, and that he would

change the same for the better, if at any time it should be judged necessary."

"The said Jasper Strong also agreed to take all risques incident to the exposure of his operations to injury either by storm, overflow, or other acts of providence: and he hereby declared that the only claim for services rendered by him in the construction of the several parts of the work before stated, will be for the sum of eight dollars & fifty cents per Cubic Yard of Brick Masonry: for the sum of Eighteen dollars per thousand feet of Lumber placed in the Platforms of the Foundation, and for such a sum as shall be deemed a fair compensation for a Cubic Yard of Earth. The minimum of which compensation will not be less than ten cents per Cubic Yard. The maximum to be regulated by the greatest distance to which it may be necessary to remove the earth."

"In order to facilitate the operations, and with a view to a strict Inspection of all materials to be used in the construction of the Brick masonry, it was agreed that Capt. Wm. H. Chase or the Commanding Engineer should purchase and cause to be delivered at the site of the Public Works at St. Rosa Island all the materials necessary to the construction of the aforesaid masonry. The said materials to be used by Jasper Strong, and the value of the quantity used to be charged to him & deducted at each quarterly settlement of his accounts."

"This agreement, subject to the approval of the Engineer Department was made in the presence of Wash. Hood A. H. Bowman and is subscribed by"

"Wm. H. Chase"
"Capt. Engineers"
"Jasper Strong"

"Signed"

"St. Rosa Island 25 March 1830"

Appendix B
"Gentleman's Agreement"-August 31, 1834

The following letter, written by Captain William H. Chase to General Charles Gratiot on August 31, 1834, confirmed the provisions of two earlier letters written in 1829 and 1830 and offers additional explanations for the use of "gentleman's agreements" with Jasper Strong and his force of slave mechanics. The letter was found in Record Group 77, Chase Letters 1829-36, Old Army Section, Corps of Engineers Papers, in the National Archives. The full text is as follows:

"Chief Engineer, U. S."

"Sir,"

"I had the honor, on yesterday, to receive your letter of the 14th August, returning me the memorandum of a verbal agreement with Jasper Strong for the construction of the masonry embankment at Foster's Island in the harbour, in consequence of the acting Secretary of War, withholding approval to the same, on the ground, that as the agreement is reduced to writing it virtually becomes a contract, and that therefore unless it was made in conformity with the 5th Section of the Act of Congress of 1809, is not valid."

"The verbal agreements hereafter made with Mr. Strong were never considered by him, or by me as the agent of government, in the light of a contract. The object of reducing the verbal agreement to writing was that it might be attached to, and for my part of the projects of Operations Submittance, annually, to the Engineers Department for approval."

"Whenever it has been possible to avoid the contract System I have always done so. In reference to that System, I mean when advertisements are made for bids for the performance of certain work, and when the lowest bidder is entitled for bids for the performance of certain work, and when the lowest bidder is entitled to the privilege of the contract."

"I do not think it would be conducive to the interest of the Government to adopt that system in the construction of the Fort on Foster's Bank. It is highly desirable that the services of Mr. Strong and his effective force should be continued; and that the system pursued in the construction of Fort Pickens should be adopted in the construction of the Fort on Foster's Bank."

"The provisions of that System are:"

"1st. For the Engineer Department to purchase in open market at current price All the Materials etc. necessary for the said construction."

"2d. For Mr. Strong to execute the workmanship with his force of mechanics and laborers."

"3d. For Mr. Strong to have the privilege to use the materials."

"3d. For Mr. Strong to have the privilege to use the materials purchased by the Department, the same being charged this account when thus used."

"4th. For Mr. Strong to be responsible for the Safe Keeping of said materials, and take all (blame) of injury to them, incident to the site upon which they may be placed."

"5th. For Mr. Strong to urge no claim at any time for loss of materials or damage to the works occasioned by storms and overflows."

"6th. For the operations of Mr. Strong to be constantly subject to strict inspection by the Superintending Engineer and assistants, by Engineer officers appointed specially to inspecting the fort by the Board of Engineers."

"Deeming it to the interest of the Government both on the score of the vigorous prosecution of the works, and the economical administration of the same, I will continue to employ the force of Mr. Strong in their construction, with the understanding (without reducing it to writing) that he shall conform to the above provisions and that he should be paid no more than $8.60 per cubic yard of brick masonry and 12 cents per cubic yard for excavation of foundations over embankments of parade, under the appropriation of 1834."

"I have the honor to be, Sir"
"Very Respectfully"
"Yours"
"Wm. H. Chase"
"Pensacola Aug. 31, 1834"

Appendix C
Military Career Time Line
William H. Chase

Born in Massachusetts in 1798
Appointed to Military Academy at West Point on May 4, 1814
Graduated from the Academy on March 4, 1815 and commissioned as:

Date	Duty Station	Title	Responsibilities
Brevet Second Lieutenant, Corps of Engineers (March 4, 1815)			
1815	Brooklyn, New York	Assistant Engineer	Defenses
1816-17	Lake Champlain	Assistant Engineer	Surveys
1817-18	Fort Niagara	Assistant Engineer	Fort Repairs
Second Lieutenant, Corps of Engineers (April 15, 1818)			
1819-22	Fort Pike, La.	Assistant Engineer	Construction
First Lieutenant, Corps of Engineers (March 31, 1819)			
1822-24	Rigolets/Chef Menteur Passes, Louisiana	Superintending Engineer	Defenses
1823-24	Fort Jackson, Miss. River	Superintending engineer	Defenses
1824	Plymouth Beach, Mass.	Superintending Engineer	Preservation
1824-28	Rigolets, Chef Menteur Bienvenue, Bayou Dupree Passes, La.	Superintending Engineer	Construction
Captain, Corps of Engineers (January 1, 1825)			
1825	Ohio River Improvements	Superintending Engineer	Improvements
1828	Red River Raft	Superintending Engineer	Improvements
1829	Lake Pontchartrain, La. Mobile Bay, Al.	Superintending Engineer	Lighthouse sites
1828-54	Pensacola Harbor, Florida	Superintending Engineer	Construction
1829	Pascagoula River Mississippi River	Superintending Engineer	Improvements
1833-34	Escambia River	Superintending Engineer	Improvements
1834-37	Choctaw Pass Mobile Harbor	Superintending Engineer	Improvements
1835-41	Fort Jackson, La.	Superintending Engineer	Repairs
1836-39	Mississippi River	Superintending Engineer	Improvements

Major, Corps of Engineers (July 7, 1838)

1837	Mobile Bay Dog River Bar	Superintending Engineer	Deepening
1844-45	Florida Reef Board of Engineers	Superintending Engineer	Inspection
1845	Gulf Frontier Mississippi and Texas	Superintending Engineer	Examination
1851	Memphis Navy Yard	Superintending Engineer	Construction
1851	Pensacola Navy Yard	Superintending Engineer	Floating Dock
1851	New Orleans Custom House	Superintending Engineer	Construction
1851	Mississippi River Lake Pontchartrain, La.	Superintending Engineer	Improvements
1852	View of Improvements	Superintending Engineer	Construction

Chase was on Board of Engineers for the Atlantic Coast Defenses, March 13-September 13, 1848). He was the author of *Memoir on the Defence of the Gulf of Mexico and the Strategic (sic) principles Governing the national Defences* in which he documented the interrelation of the Atlantic and Gulf coast defenses.

1852-54	Choctaw Pass/Dog River Bar Mobile, Alabama	Superintending Engineer	Improvements
1854-56	Fort Taylor, Key West, Fl.	Superintending Engineer	Construction

Resigned from the Army on October 31, 1856
Confederate Officer from 1861 to 1865.
Chase died in Pensacola, February 8, 1870 at age 70.[83]

83. George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, N. Y. 1801-1890,* Third Edition, Vol. 1, Nos. 1-1000, (Boston/New York: Houghlin, Miflin, and Company, the Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1891).

Appendix D
Military Career Time Line
Jasper Strong

Jasper Strong was born May 5, 1798 in Hartford, Windsor County, Vermont.

He was appointed to the Military Academy at West Point, New York on August 11, 1814. He was a classmate of William H. Chase from August 11, 1814 to March 4, 1815. He graduated on July 1, 1819 and was commissioned in the Army as:

Second Lieutenant, Eighth Infantry

Date	Duty Station	Title	Responsibilities
1819-20	Recruiting Duties	Recruiter	Recruiting
1820	Petite Coquille (Fort Pike)	Infantry	Garrison duties
1820-23	Baton Rouge	Infantry	Garrison duties
1821	**Reorganization of the Army-Appointment changed to:**		
	Second Lieutenant, First Infantry (June 1, 1821)		

First Lieutenant, First Infantry (January 1, 1823)

1823	Recruiting Duties	Recruiter	Recruiting

December 1823-resigned from the Army

1824-accepted contract, along with F. A. Underhill, for the construction of fortifications on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico.

1824-1861	Planter-Pensacola, Florida	Owned one hundred middle aged slaves

Died on November 6, 1865 at Queechy, Vermont at the age of 68 where he returned after the end of the Civil War.[84]

84. George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, N. Y. 1801-1890,* Third Edition, Vol. 1, Nos. 1-1000, (Boston/New York: Houghlin, Miflin, and Company, the Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1891).

Appendix E
Military Career Time Line of
Frederick Augustas Underhill

Frederick Augustas Underhill was born in New York in 1800. He was appointed to the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York on October 25, 1814 and was a classmate of both William H. Chase and Jasper Strong. He graduated on July 1, 1819 and was commissioned in the Army as:

Second Lieutenant, Corps of Engineers

Date	Duty Station	Title	Responsibilities
1819-23	Gulf of Mexico	Assistant Engineer	Defenses of the Gulf Region

Underhill served under First Lieutenant William H. Chase from 1819-23

November 1, 1823-resigned from the Army.

1823-29 He was a civilian contractor, along with Jasper Strong, responsible for the labor in the construction of fortifications along the Gulf Coast.

1829 Died on Santa Rosa Island.[85]

85. George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, N. Y. 1801-1890,* Third Edition, Vol. 1, Nos. 1-1000, (Boston/New York: Houghlin, Miflin, and Company, the Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1891).

Appendix F
Letter from Chase to General Charles Gratiot, 1836

The following letter written by Captain William H. Chase to General Charles Gratiot in 1836 requests compensation for the schooner "Eliza" lost in a storm on its way to New Orleans in 1833. The ship was bought by Jasper Strong and John Hunt and was on an errand for Chase carrying a survey crew to Louisiana. Chase explained that this interrupted their business of picking up bricks from their brick yard in New Orleans, and therefore the government should compensate them. By 1833, eight Pensacola brick yards had over two million bricks lying unused in their yards. Most likely, Jasper Strong, who owned a large skilled slave labor force, used the ship, along with John Hunt, to transport slaves and bricks from New Orleans, where Strong began his association with Chase, back to Pensacola for the works on Fort Pickens and McRae. The full text is as follows:

"To General Charles Gratiot"
"Chief Engineer U. S. "

"Sir,"

"At the request of Mr. Strong and Mr. Hunt of Pensacola I have the honor to make the following statement towit:"

"That in August or September 1833, The Schooner, Eliza, then one year old, owned by the above named gentlemen was hired by the Esq. for the purpose of carrying to Grand Terre Barrataria in Louisiana Mr. Palmer the surveyor employed to make a survey of the land necessary to be purchased for the site of a fort at that point. He, on the arrival of this vessel off the bar of Barrataria, she was driven on shore and finally lost. That Misters Strong and Hunt had this vessel employed in transporting Bricks from their Brick Yard to the public works in the Harbour of Pensacola, and even—as it interrupted their business to prevent him to make the voyage to Barrataria especially as neither the Capt. nor the Crew had any knowledge of that part of the coast, but in consideration of the impossibility of obtaining a vessel in anything like seaworthy terms, and of the necessity that existed of making the survey of Grand Terre as soon as possible, they [ ] to him their refusing however any other compensation than the amount necessary to meet the Pay & provisions, after Captain and Crew during which time she remained in the employ of the Engineers Department."

"This vessel was about one year old and cost Misters Strong and Hunt upwards of $6500 having been built by them especially for the transportation of Bricks to the public works in Pensacola. About $500 over expenses by Misters Strong and Hunt in attempting to get her afloat, but without success."

"These gentleman now prefer a claim for compensation in the amount of which they have regulated by the sum offered to them by Capt. Then Lieutenant Ogden of the Engineers. This offer was $11,500 as shown by his letter dated Terre Haute Sept. 20th, 1835, herewith amended."

"The amt. of valuation put on the vessel alluding"
"To the above is 4500"
"Expenses in attempting to get her off 500"
$5000

"From which deducted estimated value"
"Of rigging be saved from this vessel 850"
"$4150"

"Misters Strong and Hunt respectfully request that this amount may be paid to them out of the appropriation for Fort Livingston Grand Terre Louisiana."

"In submitting this claim to the consideration of the department I would beg leave to recommend it's adjustment on their terms, above stated, in order that Misters Strong and Hunt may be compensated in part for their loss they have sustained. It is proper to state also, that Misters Strong and Hunt have assured me that no insurance whatever was effective on this vessel."

"I have the honor to be Sir"
"Very Respectfully Your Obt. Servt."
"Wm.H Chase Capt. Engineers"
"Philadelphia January 9th, 1836"

Book Reviews

Daniel Murphree, Book Review Editor

Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South. Edited by Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. x, 536. $35.00 cloth.)

Scholars have struggled to explain the period between the fall of the Mississippian chiefdoms and the rise of various Native confederacies across the South during the two centuries after European contact. Thanks to this collection, they have a new term to assist them. Editors Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall suggest the phrase "shatter zone" to describe the instability during this era and in this region and present a satisfactory case for its acceptance into mainstream academia. The combination of European colonialism, epidemic diseases, commercial trade in animal skins and Indian slaves, and intensified violence created a whirlwind that resulted in the demise of the great precontact Mississippian chiefdoms and the reconfiguration of more loosely organized Native polities brought together by circumstance and for survival. In a lengthy introduction, Ethridge defines important terms and presents a broad history of the Southeast that provides a useful foundation upon which readers can build their understanding of this concept and its application to the early South. Each author engages the shatter zone theory and relates it to their area of expertise allowing them to discuss the merits and flaws of the idea as well as offer highlights of their own work. This approach demonstrates the validity and diversity of the shatter

zone and offers a through-line that links these many different articles together in a logical, if not entirely coherent, narrative.

Ethridge admits in both her introduction and afterword that this volume is not a comprehensive survey but argues that the included studies serve as examples of the shatter zone theory and as reference points for future work. Most authors focus on a specific Native group, while a few choose to take on broader topics. For instance, Maureen Meyers and Eric E. Browne independently discuss the significant role the Westos played within the shatter zone because their slave raids throughout the South helped create and sustain regional instability among the Native population. Robin A. Beck, Jr., Mary Elizabeth Fitts, and Charles L. Heath all examine the Catawba and show how they coalesced into a separate and new entity in the wake of various shatter zone events, and Sheri Shuck-Hall does the same for the Alabama and Coushatta. Stephen Warren and Randolph Noe show how the Shawnee operated within the shatter zone and thrived because their nomadic heritage protected them from the cultural destruction experienced by more sedentary, and therefore less adaptable, peoples. In one of the more thorough articles, Ned J. Jenkins presents a detailed analysis of the historical origins of the Creeks through a meticulous study of ceramics found throughout present-day Alabama. Patricia Galloway and George Edward Milne look at the Choctaws and Natchez respectively and demonstrate how the consequences of the shatter zone affected polities living on its periphery. The Choctaws were able to resist full assimilation into the market economy and thus dictate their own terms for trade, while the Natchez used intermarriage and relied upon the diplomatic skills of their women to preserve their way of life.

Not all authors chose this individualized approach, however. Matthew H. Jennings emphasizes the important and complex role violence played in creating the shatter zone and explains how violence could be both destructive as well as reconstructive, depending on the circumstances. John E. Worth offers a new perspective on the history of early Florida and blames slave raids financed by English entrepreneurs and led by Westos and Yamasee for the demise of the Spanish mission system and its defenses, contributing factors to the end of Spanish dominance over the region. Paul Kelton links the spread of disease to slave raids because both microbes and slave catchers traveled the same routes, and he reminds readers to consider disease an important component of

the shatter zone and an underestimated factor in the Yamasee War. Marvin D. Jeter observes that the ripples of the shatter zone did not reach as far as the Lower Mississippi Valley, thus drawing a possible boundary for this particular experience. These authors therefore demonstrate how to apply this concept in ways other than the study of specific Native polities and thereby strengthen the argument for its adoption by academia.

Ethridge and Shuck-Hall do a remarkable job of bringing together a wide variety of scholars that includes archaeologists, ethnohistorians, and anthropologists and combining them in this innovative framework. To assist them, each author goes out of his or her way to comment upon the shatter zone concept and integrate it into their specialty. As a conclusion, Ethridge presents both an overview of the volume's achievements as well as a lengthy list of topics for future study and notes that further discussion and application of this theory still remains to be done. Perhaps one of the most useful aspects of this volume lies in the extensive footnotes at the end of every article. Each author offers a thorough postscript surveying past and recent literature on his or her topic and creating almost a second dialogue within the larger discussion of the shatter zone concept. Like all edited volumes, some articles are stronger than others, but taken together, this collection satisfies its objective of mapping at least the basic outlines of the Mississippian shatter zone.

Julie Anne Sweet *Baylor University*

Guardians of the Valley: Chickasaws in Colonial South Carolina and Georgia. By Edward J. Cashin. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2009. Preface, acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, Pp. ix, 196. $ 29.95 cloth.)

The Chickasaw peoples of what is now the southeastern United States have been the subject of several histories. The majority of these works have tended to reinforce the perception that the Chickasaws populated a good deal of the mid-lower South, often locating them in the area of present day Mississippi, Alabama, and western Tennessee. We tend not to think of the Chickasaws as peoples of the Atlantic coastal South. In his last book, *Guardians of the Valley: Chickasaws in Colonial South Carolina*

and Georgia, the late Edward J. Cashin offered a corrective for this sort of thinking. Cashin points out that the native peoples of the colonial southeast were for the most part, mobile when they chose to be. But alliances with Europeans, and preferential access to the trade goods they could provide, could also dictate, as in the case of the Chickasaw, where they would settle. European competition for empire in the coastal southeast prompted colonial governments' attempts to convince native peoples to remain (relatively) stationary to some degree so that they might provide a valuable, local, military asset for settlers in time of conflict.

Cashin's narrative centers on the military, diplomatic, and trade relationships between the Chickasaw and the English colonies of South Carolina and Georgia. He points out that some Chickasaw bands allied themselves with the English on the eastern seaboard where they helped to shield South Carolina and Georgia from Spanish excursions out of Florida and provided a buffer on the frontiers of the two colonies that helped secure them against the French in Louisiana and their native allies. The Chickasaw proved to be such valuable allies that the two colonies sometimes quarreled over "whose" Indians they were and who should form alliances. The Chickasaw also served as military proxies for the English, fighting their traditional Choctaw foes, who in turn acted as proxies for the French in Louisiana.

It is easy to forget that England's North American colonies often regarded each other as competitors rather than comrades. Since both South Carolina and Georgia needed protection on their respective frontiers, they both sought out the Chickasaw as allies, buffers between themselves and the French to the west, and in the late 1750s and early 1760s, as security against the Cherokees.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of Cashin's tome is his discussion of the personalities involved in relations between the English and Native Americans. Some years ago, James Merrell pointed out the importance of cross-cultural "go betweens" in colonial Pennsylvania who negotiated the space between native people and colonists. Cashin does likewise in his study, noting the activities of Mary Musgrove Bosomworth, who was a trader, landholder, and liaison between Georgia and the Chickasaws and Creeks. However, while Cashin often mentions Bosomworth's actions as an cultural intermediary, and notes her marriages (she once scandalized Augusta society by marrying the local minister) he tells us little about the woman herself; the reader is left to wonder if she was

English, native, or of mixed parentage. Nor does Cashin offer the reader a clue as to how or why she attained so much influence. We do not know if her power came through her marriages or by virtue of her birth into an important family, or if she was simply a dynamic individual with the skills and charisma to pull it off. Given that female go betweens were comparatively rare (but not unknown) on the frontier, this reader wishes that Cashin could have provided a bit more detail about Mary Bosomworth.

It is also interesting to note that leaders of the South Carolina colony engaged in a bit of historical revisionism concerning their past relations with Indians. In 1765, Cashin relates, Governor William Bull offered the Chickasaws protection and a refuge from their enemies, informing the common house that the colony also had offered them protection twenty-six years earlier. Bull's history was inaccurate. South Carolina had invited the Chickasaw to settle within the colony's borders forty-three years earlier, not in order for the colonists to protect the natives, but so that the natives would be able to protect the colony.

Overall, Edward J. Cashin's last book is a fitting end to a life and a career. I could see the book perhaps being used in upper-division and graduate level classes and seminars regarding southeastern Native American history or the history of the colonial Southeast.

Roger M. Carpenter *University of Louisiana at Monroe*

Material Culture in Anglo-America: Regional Identity and Urbanity in the Tidewater, Lowcountry, and Caribbean. David S. Shields, ed. (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2009. Acknowledgments, introduction, maps, images, drawings, tables, notes, contributors, index. Pp. 368. $59.95 cloth.)

This engaging and eclectic set of essays asks us to consider the local, regional, Atlantic and early national influences that defined material culture. They range geographically from Frederick, Maryland, to the British Caribbean, and chronologically from the late seventeenth century to the early nineteenth. Only one, an excellent survey by Paul Hoffman of archaeological work on the layout of early St. Augustine, specifically deals with Florida, but readers of this journal will still find much of value in these essays.

Essays by Carl Lounsbury (on Christ Church, Savannah), Louis Nelson (on Anglican churches in the southern colonies and Caribbean), Jeffrey Richards (on a dissenting church in South Carolina), and Roger Leech (on urban buildings in plantation settings), and Emma Hart (on the eighteenth-century expansion of Charleston) all raise parallel questions about the influences that local concerns and Atlantic contexts had on built environments. Other essays are provocative efforts to link material culture, cultural history, and power; Eric Klingelhofer's study of colonial "castles," Natalie Zacek's essay on elite rituals in the West Indies, and Benjamin Carp's work on the revolutionary movement in South Carolina, all have this general theme. A brief and very provocative essay by Bernard Herman on the multiple meanings and contexts of archaeological evidence is best read alongside Martha Zierden's study of Charleston ceramics and Maurie McInnis's interpretation of a Raphaelle Peale painting as a cultural artifact.

Perhaps a fuller sense of the volume can be achieved by surveying several of the essays more closely. In "Building for Disaster," Matthew Mulcahy asks what the settlers in South Carolina and the Caribbean learned about building from their experiences with hurricanes. Richard Dunn in *Sugar and Slaves* (1972), argued that English people initially refused to abandon their food, clothing, and building ways in the Caribbean, even when these became fatal conceits. Mulcahy shows that eventually they figured it out. Or did they? One generation learned to build for disaster, but several decades later, defenses forgotten, a powerful hurricane could flatten plantations and kill multitudes. The story Mulcahy tells is all the more fascinating because it is not a straight line from English practice to colonial adjustment to the environment.

Paula Stoner Reed presents an architectural account of a Haitian-French farmstead, the Hermitage, in Frederick County, Maryland. The farmstead, an architectural anomaly in the largely German and English settlement, was constructed by the Vincendiere family shortly after they arrived in 1793 and became a haven for refugees from the Haitian Revolution. The hip-roofed stone barn they constructed stands out as the most distinctive aspect of the farm complex. The leadership role taken by the family's teenaged daughter (her father settled in South Carolina and never rejoined the family) in guiding the family's successful resettlement may have made the family seem distinctive to others in

Frederick County. Reed also notes that the family ran into trouble with local authorities for their mistreatment of some of the many slaves they brought with them from Haiti. Perhaps the way Haitian whites punished enslaved people stood out in Maryland, even to local slaveowners, just as much as the unusual architectural constructions on the Hermitage.

R.C. Nash's essay, the longest in the collection, provides a comparative analysis of material culture and consumerism in South Carolina and other locations in the eighteenth-century British Atlantic. Adopting categories used by colonial Chesapeake scholars to analyze probate inventories allows Nash to make very explicit comparisons and point to the distinctive features of South Carolinians' accumulation of necessities, comforts and luxuries. Nash also examines trade records and store inventories to get a better sense of consumer expenditures on non-durable goods, especially on textiles and groceries, that leave less of a trace in probate inventories. He argues that Carolina consumers became attached to new consumer goods earlier than other colonists (modeling themselves on English urban culture) and that consumer expenditures, if not the value of consumer goods, went up sharply from mid-century on because people increasingly bought and replaced fashionable textiles.

Laura Croghan Kamoie brings together two seldom-connected strands in the early architectural history of Washington, D.C. and spells out their contradictory history. One was a public project to create a "new Rome," whose buildings symbolized the republic's virtues. The other was the creation of the Georgian plantation homes of Virginia and Maryland families who established residencies in the capital. At the heart of this contradiction, of course, was slavery. Kamoie displays not only the familiar images of the capitol and other public buildings, but also drawings and sketches of the walled enclosures that slaveowners erected around their miniature plantation complexes to recreate the order and control they had over enslaved people. How exactly enslaved people experienced this landscape invites further study.

David Shields' excellent introductory essay teases out common threads from these essays and assesses more generally the local and Atlantic factors that shaped late colonial and early national material culture in the region.

Paul G. E. Clemens *Rutgers University*

Nexus of Empire: Negotiating Loyalty and Identity in the Revolutionary Borderlands, 1760s-1820s. Gene Allen Smith and Sylvia L. Hilton, eds., (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009. Introduction, illustrations, maps, tables, notes, contributors, index. Pp. 375. $69.95 cloth.)

In this collection of fourteen original essays, editors Gene Allen Smith and Sylvia L. Hilton have reinvigorated the concept of the borderlands through the analysis of identity and loyalty in the Gulf South. The essays in *Nexus of Empire* explore personal and communal experiences that represent various social groups in the region. Essays explore people of French, Spanish, British, American, Creek, Caddo and various other national or tribal backgrounds; they examine free people of color and slaves, men and women, rich and poor, landed and landless. All of the essays demonstrate the remarkable fluidity that characterized identities on the borderlands, reminding us that nations and empires are built on the periphery, not the core. For readers interested in eighteenth-century Florida and borderlands in general, this collection of essays is a must-read.

Although the volume has a short introduction, the heart of the volume begins with a fascinating look at loyalty oaths in Spanish West Florida and *Luisiana* by Sylvia Hilton. This essay introduces readers to many of the issues that the other essays explore. Importantly, it highlights the ways that imperial nations struggled to obtain loyalty in the tumultuous decades that surrounded the American Revolution. Hilton distinguishes between Spanish loyalty and patriotism in West Florida and *Luisiana*—showing what Spain was willing and not willing to negotiate as it expanded its empire. Rather than blindly impose a preordained mandate of what constituted loyalty or expect instantaneous patriotism, Spain created policies that addressed the multiethnic and politically unstable region as well as the self-interest of the potential Spanish citizens themselves. In this examination, Hilton makes it clear that local perspectives and realities shaped imperial policies.

The rest of *Nexus of Empire* is divided into three sections. Kathryn E. Holland Braund, H. Sophie Burton, Erin M. Greenwald and F. Todd Smith contribute essays in "Dilemmas Among Native Americans and Free Blacks." The next section—"Building Fortunes through Family Connections and Local Communities"—includes essays by J. Edward Townes, Robin F. A. Fabel, Light

Townsend Cummins, Elizabeth Urban Alexander, and Betje Black Klier and Diane M. T. North. The final section—"Personal Ambition in Government and Military Service"—contains essays by Andrew McMichael, Gene Allen Smith, and Samuel Watson.

In addition to these topical perspectives, the volume makes several other important contributions to borderlands historiography. The limits of national identity and the importance of local and individual perspectives are perhaps best illuminated in McMichael's essay on the Florida frontier. In his examination of William Dunbar, William Claiborne, and Daniel Clark, McMichael demonstrates how "political nationalism... relied on local issues and the promise of prosperity rather than loyalty to any single political entity" (289). The contrasting and complex types of loyalty among these three prominent men—scientific, personal, institutional, and economic—should convince readers that national loyalties are neither inevitable nor easily explained.

Several of the essays explore the allegiances and alliances between Indians and Europeans. Braund's exploration of the Creek Indians—one of the few non-biographical essays—illustratively re-examines the contested struggle over diplomatic allegiances among the Lower South's most powerful Indian tribe. In the process, she complicates Creek factions by placing their imperial loyalties in local contexts. The fluidity of identities in the region requires scholars to use sources and define their terms very carefully. Some chapters are more effective than others in this regard. Din's essay on Louis LeClerc De Milford—also an examination of Creek society—struggles to get beyond Milford's own self-delusion of himself as a prominent chief. Din effectively demonstrates how Milford (frequently spelled Milfort by other scholars) played various roles in Creek society; he was a "Creek brave," "Spanish agent" and "French commissioner in charge of the native confederation" (63). Few would doubt Din's claims that Milford represented a unique personality on the southern frontier, one whose loyalty and identity frequently shifted. Without providing a careful explanation for why Natives allowed or encouraged him to shift identities, however, Din inadvertently misses an important source of national instability in the region.

Several other essays in *Nexus of Empire* demonstrate how the region's racial and ethnic diversity required diplomatic leaders who could carefully balance the conflicting needs and fears of their communities. Greenwald makes this clear in an exploration of New

Orleans, where the population was divided by "religion, politics, race, and language" (113). In this complex historical milieu, Greenwald demonstrates how political officials like William C. C. Claiborne needed to "diffuse repeatedly the potentially explosive animosity between incoming American settlers, Louisiana Creoles, and New Orleans's free colored community" (114).

As a whole, *Nexus of Empire* effectively demonstrates the inability of any of the imperial or tribal powers in the region to impose national identities on its inhabitants. Instead, several authors describe individuals as "chameleons." Some of the essays point to the conscious decisions and negotiations that individuals must have made in order to realign their loyalties; other essays point to the often-meaningless and ever-fleeting nature of national identities in the region. Similarly, the essays explore differences between the ever-mutable personal identities and loyalties of particular individuals and the necessarily fixed sense of identity and loyalty that allowed empires and nations to assert power and regulate the communities themselves. As the editors explain in the conclusion, "the constant pressures generated by imperial and national rivalries in the Gulf borderlands meant that identities and loyalties could change easily as long as the region remained in political flux" (353).

Readers and scholars will be well served to embrace this fluidity and the insights of the volume. Those interested in eighteenth-century Florida, in particular, may want to rethink the tendency to see the transfer of power from Spain to Britain to Spain as being milestones of the era and instead begin to imagine the era as one of fluidity where the meaning of these transfers are yet to be fully explored.

Andrew K. Frank *Florida State University*

A Faithful Account of the Race: African American Historical Writing in Nineteenth-Century America. By Stephen G. Hall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009. Acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xv, 352. $65 cloth, $22.95 paper.)

When discussing the growth and development of African American history as a field of study, many begin with its professionalization in the twentieth century, particularly Carter G. Woodson's creation of the Association for the Study of Negro Life

and History (ASNLH) in 1915 and the creation of the *Journal of Negro History* the following year. Some push the narrative back to include George Washington Williams and the publication of his two-volume, *History of the Negro Race* (1883), but most intellectual historians point to the post-1915 period to discuss the development of the field. August Meier and Elliott Rudwick's pioneering historiographical work, *Black History and the Historical Profession* (1986) followed this model of historiography, but in recent years a number of scholars have begun to "trouble the pages" of this narrative, including, among others, Mitch Kachum in *Festivals of Freedom* (2003), Elizabeth McHenry in *Forgotten Readers* (2002), and John Ernest in *Liberation Historiography* (2004). While these works are not all historiographical by design, each urged readers to seriously engage often ignored intellectual works of the nineteenth century, including historical based pamphlets, books, speeches, literary society productions and newspaper publications. With *A Faithful Account of the Race: African American Historical Writing in Nineteenth-Century America*, Stephen Hall takes the discussion a bit further by not just recognizing the works, but by discussing the ways in which they "informed subsequent production and the professionalization of the field" (13). Indeed, the "central purpose of" Hall's study, "is to chart the origins, meanings, methods, evolution, and maturation of African American historical writing from the period of the early republic to its professionalization in the twentieth century" (3-4).

A Faithful Account of the Race is divided into six chapters that chart and analyze the historical writing of African American intellectuals throughout the nineteenth century. Hall, using the works of Jacob Oson and Hosea Easton in his first chapter, attempts to move beyond the ordinary vindicationist or contributionist discussions of the influence of their works by providing more nuanced considerations that demonstrate that early black thinkers drew upon more mainstream "humanist paradigms" that "allowed African Americans to establish a historical genealogy whose beginnings transcended the narrow confines of the hold of slave ships" or the slave quarters and plantations of the American South (14, 47). The second chapter, "To Present a Just View of Our Origin," looks at how black writers "created a counternarrative to the dominant discourse on African Americans in the antebellum America" (83). Using the works of Martin Delany, James W. C. Pennington, Henry Highland Garnet, and others, Hall demonstrates how these authors used the

intellectual culture of the period to create a more humanistic image of the black community and the African past that transcended the present, slavery, Middle Passage, and "first ages of man" (14).

In the third chapter, "Destiny of the Colored People," Hall looks at the writings of William C. Nell, George Boyer Vashon, William Wells Brown, and James Theodore Holly, and argues that their work, "provided intellectual signposts that aimed to demonstrate black patriotism, argue for black citizenship, and prove the capacity of black people to govern themselves" (122). In the fourth chapter, "The Historical Mind of Emancipation," Hall focuses on the work of William Wells Brown and William Still, highlighting the shifting priorities of writers on the dawn of freedom. These writers "wrote, about heroism, self-sacrifice, and historical precedent to demonstrate what the race had achieved during its darkest hour as an indicator of what it could accomplish in freedom" (150). The fifth chapter, "Advancement in Numbers, Knowledge, and Power," examines the most commonly discussed pre-professionalization period of black history, 1883-1915, and links the publication of George Washington Williams' *History of the Negro Race* (1883) to the founding of the ASNLH in 1915. Hall, however, broadens the usual discussion by considering works, by Anna Julia Cooper, Frances Watkins Harper, John Cromwell, Daniel Barclay Williams, William Simmons, and Gertrude Mossell, among others. Building on the work of the early republic and antebellum authors, these writers, who published emancipation narratives, race textbooks, and collective biographies, created the bridge between the earlier century production of black history and the professionalization of the field in the post-1915 period. According to Hall, these works, along with those that preceded them, "continued to embody the aspirations of a people that understood the importance of giving their own faithful account of the race." "In a moment framed by tales of black degeneracy . . . black writers used history to tell and shape an alternative textual record of racial possibility " (186).

Overall, *A Faithful Account of the Race* is an insightful study of African American historical writing from the early republic to the creation of the ASNLH. Hall has done a wonderful job placing many of these works into historiographical context and explaining how these early works need to be taken seriously as historical writings and how they influenced or became the bedrock for the "professional" historians and scholars of the twentieth century and

beyond. There are some areas in the study, however, where one wishes for more detail or explanation. One such area is the basis for the selection and/or exclusion of particular works. Why, for example, did Hall select the texts that he discusses, and why has he ignored or only cursorily mentioned others? This brings this particular reader to one of the more curious aspects of the book, Hall's brief mention and relative dismissal of Booker T. Washington's *The Story of the Negro* (1909), the only book in the *A Faithful Account of the Race* called, a "quasi-historical study" (210). Why is Washington's study "quasi-historical" when none of the other books or pamphlets discussed are set aside in such a manner? *The Story of the Negro* became quite popular, as Hall acknowledges, after its initial publication and continued in its popularity as a source of African American history at least until the publication of John Hope Franklin's *From Slavery to Freedom* in 1947. Why then is it not given the same treatment as other works in the study or at least the same recognition as contemporary works such as John Cromwell's *The Negro in American History* (1914)? Such a glaring oversight with little to no explanation has left this reader confused and wanting more analysis of Washington's work and in the end, other works in the study as well. Such an exploration would have strengthened Hall's argument about the influence of these early works, or lack of influence in some cases. This criticism aside, *A Faithful Account of the Race* is a fascinating study of black historical writing from the period of the early republic to its professionalization in the twentieth century. All who are interested in African American history and the historiography of the field should read *A Faithful Account of the Race* as well as the original texts and materials that Hall has analyzed in this important study.

Shawn Leigh Alexander *University of Kansas*

Counterfeit Gentlemen: Manhood and Humor in the Old South. By John Mayfield. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009. Acknowledgements, notes, index, bibliography. Pp. ix, 173. $65 cloth.)

John Mayfield enters a new and exciting area of historical scholarship by exploring what it meant to be man in the Old South. Taking his cue from works such as Craig Friend and

Lorri Glover, eds., *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South* (2004), Stephen Berry, *All That Makes a Man: Love and Ambition in the Civil War South* (2003), and Joan Cashin, *A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier* (1991), this author brings a fresh approach to the subject. Mayfield uses humor as an analytical tool with which to examine representations of manhood in the Old South. The author argues that the ambiguities and incongruities found in works of fiction illuminate internal subversions which reflect the social and economic changes of the antebellum period. Mayfield argues that John Pendleton Kennedy's *Swallow Barn* (1832) was the model from which later authors spun their own variations on various aspects of the southern gentleman's nature and identity. The larger argument is that in the post Civil War era southern men were no longer able to laugh at themselves. A static manly ideal subsequently emerged in the portrayal of Robert E Lee, as one who displayed all the unambiguous qualities of southern manhood.

Swallow Barn was set in Virginia at a time when the tobacco market was volatile and a new restlessness was evident in the movement of southerners to the southwestern frontier. These economic shifts put the Virginia gentleman on the defensive as he was confronted with the choice of embracing the rapid changes of the market revolution or retreating into marginalization. The core characteristics of the Virginia planter were deeply rooted in harmonious domestic and localized relationships. This was an insulated world that was rapidly disintegrating in the face of Jacksonian democracy and increased social and economic mobility. The Virginia planter was in danger of being "relegated to a domesticated life of feminized passivity" denied the opportunity of "northern patricians" who could "reinvent themselves as captains of industry" (24). Mayfield demonstrates the irony that this static pastoral setting would provide the roots of the post civil war plantation mythologies that have proved so tenacious.

The early chapters examine the works of Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, Johnson Jones Hooper and Joseph Glover Baldwin and skillfully explore the negotiation and re-negotiation of male identities in a period of economic insecurity and rapid expansion. In a world where reputation was no longer based on family heritage but on business acumen, the characteristics of the planter gentleman proved to be weaknesses rather than

strengths. The organic relationships of Tidewater Virginia devolved into confrontational relationships between men struggling to prove their manhood. Here Mayfield exposes another irony in the development of the confidence man and his victim. These were both liminal figures, set loose from the constraints of family tradition and struggling with the transition between boyhood and manhood in a world that had yet to embrace social mobility as a positive. And yet, even while they failed to provide men with the tools to achieve the success they so desired, gentlemanly codes of behavior remained the ideal.

The subsequent chapters increasingly move away from historical context and the latter half of the book is more of a literary analysis. This is not a book for the uninitiated as it is heavily sprinkled with underdeveloped references to Shakespeare, Jane Austen and (even more challenging) Dostoevsky's "Underground Man." As Mayfield purports to be examining the specifics of antebellum southern life that made these quests for manhood so intriguing, the relevance of these comparisons is never clear. At this point the book also fails to reveal any sense of humor or wit in the literature examined and the later examples are more tragic than comic.

In the final chapter the author does succeed in showing how, even if he was ill suited to the world of the marketplace, the man of honor was a vital player in the war effort. And unsurprisingly the fiction of the immediate post war period reflected both disillusionment and humiliation in the wake of Confederate defeat. In the Epilogue Mayfield suggests an intriguing example of the way in which two overarching ideals of manhood, the man of honor and the man of enterprise, fought side by side in the Civil War. Robert E. Lee and Josiah Gorgas personified these models. But again, although most readers will be familiar with the characteristics associated with Lee, Gorgas remains an unexplored example of the professional man.

The greatest weakness in this book is its failure to explore paternalism. Although the author uses the term, he neglects the power of this ethos in shaping ideals of manhood and mastery in the old South. Also, although the author ends with a focus on slavery, there is no exploration of the centrality of the institution to concepts of manhood. Manhood was created, not only in negotiation between men of different classes, who embraced different economic imperatives, but also in terms of black men's

inability to share in a sense of manhood. Nevertheless this exploration into the complexities of manhood in the Old South suggests new and intriguing avenues for future scholars.

Jacqueline Glass Campbell *Francis Marion University*

The Problem of Emancipation: The Caribbean Roots of the American Civil War. By Edward Bartlett Rugemer. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008. Acknowledgements, Introduction, maps, epilogue, footnotes, bibliography, index. Pp. xiii, 342. $42.50 cloth.)

Embracing the scholarly agenda of Atlantic historians, Edward Bartlett Rugemer provides an international approach to one the most "American" of all events: The American Civil War. Rugemer's primary thesis is to chart the roots of the Civil War beyond an American context, demonstrating that even though America successfully captured its independence in the late eighteenth century, it remained wholly connected with the events of the West Indies and other occurrences in the "Anglo-Atlantic" world. Indeed, Rugemer's elegant prose and exhaustive research successfully argue that North America remained historically, culturally, and economically tied to the Caribbean throughout its early history.

Rugemer's book is a product of three diverse, but interconnected historiographies: the first is literature concerning the Civil War, the second emancipation/abolition, and the third is the relatively new Atlantic paradigm that seeks to place historical events within an international or "Atlantic" context. For Rugemer, these elements of the Civil War are best viewed as intellectual history. Rugemer effectively tracks the exchange of ideas across the Atlantic, beginning with the implications of the Haitian Revolution all the way to Caribbean inspired political discourses during Radical Reconstruction.

One of Rugemer's most novel approaches is his ability to connect individuals and events internationally. He convincingly demonstrates that early nineteenth century Americans were far more mobile than usually credited by scholars who frequently frame their analysis by focusing exclusively on the nation state. Rugemer also adds to the expanding literature concerning the international implications of Haiti's revolution and subsequent independence. Rugemer agrees that Haiti's Revolution contributed significantly to

American discourses concerning slavery and emancipation. He argues that the biased account of Haiti's rebellion by the Jamaican pro-slavery apologist Bryan Edwards in 1797 was frequently referenced and even plagiarized by US slaveholders throughout the antebellum period. Expanding beyond Haiti, however, Rugemer investigates the international connotations of certain events that many historians of the U.S. South continue to ignore, namely the 1816 Easter Rebellion in Barbados, the Denmark Vesey conspiracy in Charleston, South Carolina in 1822, and the Demerara rebellion of 1823 Each of these events had particular implications for both advocates and opponents of U.S. slavery. Additionally, Rugemer cites a variety of legislative and social actions that have specific Atlantic contexts. One such action was the Negro Seaman law, enacted in 1822 by the legislature of Charleston, South Carolina, in order to curtail the mobility of black sailors. Paranoid southern whites believed the mobility of these black sailors throughout the Atlantic enabled them to spread news of rebellion in the Caribbean and rumors of emancipation to restless U.S. slaves.

Much of Rugemer's argument rests upon analysis of the competing discourses and rhetoric used by both abolitionists and pro-slavery theorists as emancipation began sweeping throughout the British Atlantic. Rugemer uses a chronological format to demonstrate a chain of events that manacled U.S. slavery in the Atlantic World. For example, when Britain enacted its Act of Abolition in 1833, southern slaveholders and northern abolitionists both used the Caribbean example to demonstrate the pros and cons of emancipation. American pro-slavery apologists inherited the racist rhetoric of white Caribbean planters, and Northerners often traveled throughout the Caribbean studying the positive results of Britain's abolition.

Importantly, Rugemer provides evidence that the "Atlantic World" is not just an innovative framework historians are employing to reframe colonial and antebellum history, but was a reality for those who lived during this period of history. Rugemer creatively reviews the life of Unitarian minister William Ellery Channing who, despite residing on a Virginia plantation as a tutor for the planter's children, was not converted to the abolitionist cause until his visit to the sugar colony on the Dutch-controlled island of St. Croix. After witnessing the slave system on St. Croix, Channing frequently cited the Caribbean as evidence for his discourses against the U.S. slave system. Thus, the Caribbean's connection to Channing's abolitionism came from both physical *and* intellectual roots. Rugemer pro-

vides numerous other examples of the Caribbean connection to U.S. slavery and their accompanying debates as the Civil War approached, a list too lengthy to include in this review.

Rugemer's success is found not only in his engaging prose and thematic-chronological format, but also in his extensive use of a wide variety of primary source materials. Using various archives, Rugemer demonstrates that newspapers, government documents, personal narratives, and journals reveal an intense American interest in international events. While Rugemer's work is predominantly an "Anglo Atlantic" history, those interested in Caribbean history outside of the Anglophone colonies might find Chapter six of particular interest. Rugemer devotes a section of this chapter to the connection the slaveholding states held with the Spanish empire, as they were "only a stones throw from Cuba," according to pro-slavery advocate Robert Monroe Harrison (210).

In essence, Rugemer effectively accomplished what he set out to argue: that "the boundaries of the United States were permeable," and that "many Americans lived Atlantic lives that took them beyond the United States" (7). The book does, however, leave the reader with a few questions. One wonders if Rugemer's approach could go a step further. Scholars have demonstrated that African-American newspapers were read in Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America. Is it possible that African reports from the colonies of Sierra Leone and Liberia partially influenced both pro-slavery rhetoric and abolitionist thought in the United States prior to the Civil War? Did Southerners ever employ the examples of abolition that happened throughout continental Latin America? While finding answers to such questions was not Rugemer's objective, his book does extend the Atlantic model into the nineteenth century, and opens the field for further investigation for the international connotations of America's national problems. Rugemer's use of the Atlantic paradigm in analyzing the international roots of the Civil War is a much needed approach to a historiography that continually circumscribes this important event within the confines of U.S. borders. Rugemer provides an interesting and insightful piece that has potential to attract lay readers, individuals interested in revisionist histories, and professional scholars seeking new approaches to subjects with already substantial historiographies.

Tyler Parry *University of South Carolina*

Bluejackets & Contrabands: African Americans and the Union Navy. By Barbara B. Tomblin. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2009. Acknowledgments, illustrations, map, notes, index. Pp. viii, 400. $39.95 cloth.)

In this exhaustive study, Barbara Brooks Tomblin embarks on the unenviable task of adding significantly to the growing body of historical literature on the life of black sailors, pilots, and watermen during the Civil War era, imparted in such pioneering works as Jeffrey Bolster's *Blackjacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (1998), David Cecelski's *The Waterman's Song: Slavery and Freedom in Maritime North Carolina* (2001), and David Ramold's *Slaves, Sailors, Citizens: African Americans in the Union Navy* (2002). To accomplish this she charts a slightly different course, focusing her lens primarily on fugitive slaves—commonly referred to as contrabands—who enlisted during the Civil War and in various other ways contributed to the Union Navy's war effort. Limiting her examination to the North and South Atlantic Blockading Squadrons, she draws on the voluminous Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies as well as other standard maritime and military sources. It is prodigious research that makes it hard to believe so many once failed (and to some extent continue to fail) to acknowledge the contribution of enslaved people to the abolition of slavery in the United States.

Tomblin chronicles slaves' heroic attempts both to become free and to assist the Navy in defeating the Confederacy. In spite of the threat of physical punishment and death, bondpeople from the opening moments of the war went to extraordinary lengths to find refuge on naval ships and in the camps established by the Navy that dotted the rivers, creeks, and coastline of the southern Atlantic between Virginia and Florida. Once safe, their fidelity to the United States intensified. Contrabands donned the blue jackets of the Union navy and joined the battle to restore the Union and destroy slavery. William B. Gould, Robert Blake, and the well-known South Carolinian Robert Smalls are among the long list of bondmen described in these pages who undertook the radical transformation from slave to sailor and citizen. In addition to serving on the front lines of major engagements on both land and sea, contrabands made significant contributions to the Navy as guides, mechanics, laborers, and servants. Female contrabands contributed to the Navy by working as informants, nurses, laundresses,

and cooks. The music and dance provided by contrabands, so often dismissed by observers and historians alike, also added to the wartime experience of Navy officers and sailors, Tomblin argues. Throughout the course of the war, the Navy not only relied upon but also eventually anticipated contraband assistance and adjusted strategy accordingly.

The book makes several important additions to the academic conversation on the relationship between fugitive slaves and the United States military. First, contrabands often put an incredible strain on a Navy that already had its hands full with Confederates. Though offering sailors valuable services and goods, including vegetables, fresh meat, fish, and occasionally even "home-cooked meals" (147), contrabands' demands for food, shelter, and clothing placed a great burden on the Navy, which routinely assumed responsibility for their well-being. The Navy's efforts in this regard represent, Tomblin demonstrates clearly, a marked "expansion of the navy's original mission to blockade the southern coast" (77). Second, historians have largely ignored the extent to which free black southerners along the coast assisted the Union Navy. Though unbound before the war, these men and women enjoyed a standard of living that in many cases exceeded only slightly that of their enslaved neighbors. Thus, it is no surprise that when naval vessels appeared along the coast, free people like Archy Jenkins, Alonzo Jackson, Samuel Williams, and Mary Louveste joined contrabands in seeking refuge and, upon reaching safety, likewise offered their services to the military. Tomblin describes the prevalence of white refugees among the black exodus; however, she declines offering any theoretical comment.

This, and her unwillingness to provide an overarching analytical framework throughout the book, will disappoint some readers. Since the publication of Leon Litwack's Pulitzer Prize-winning *Been in the Storm so Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (1980) a cadre of historians have detailed slaves' contribution to the United States' victory over the Confederacy. What is needed now are studies that instead of simply cataloguing important events, explore the complex relationships that developed among slaves, soldiers, and both free black and white refugees and explain the significance of these relationships in the context of nineteenth-century American history. Joseph Glatthaar's *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers* (1991) is a rare but prime example. That being said, despite its derivativeness this is an encyclopedic work

with which any serious student of the remarkable alliance of fugitive slaves and the United States Navy must now contend.

Matt Clavin *University of West Florida*

Wars within a War: Controversy and Conflict over the American Civil War. Joan Waugh and Gary W. Gallagher, editors. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009. Introduction, notes, contributors, index. Pp ix, 292. $30.00 cloth.)

Current histories of the American Civil War tend to examine specific human experiences (death, terror, and memory to name a few), a trend that deviates from the traditional focus on military battles, politics, and personalities. Joan Waugh's and Gary Gallagher's anthology, *Wars within a War*, does an excellent job in continuing this movement by gathering an all-star cast of contributors to examine nonconventional conflicts that occurred during and after the Civil War. Some of the familiar names include Carol Reardon, Drew Gilpin Faust, and James McPherson. Topics that the contributors examine are easily grouped into five themes: the home front, military affairs, literature and the visual arts, care for the dead and veterans, and historical memory. With the topics and contributors combined, readers will find an excellent sampling of groundbreaking approaches to Civil War history.

Despite the overachieving nature of this book, some chapters stand out from others. Stephen McCurry does an excellent job reexamining Southern food riots by connecting them to the larger topic of the relationship between women and the government. Through the examination of Southern women's letters he is able to discover an unintended cultural movement that emerged in reaction to the war and sacrifices made at home, one that ultimately forged a new political identity for many involved. Another interesting chapter is Joseph Glatthaar's examination of resistance to Robert E. Lee taking command of the Army of Northern Virginia. He dispels the Lost Cause myth of the South's faith in Lee from the first moment. Additionally, he outlines how Lee overcame the initial distrust and how he altered the culture of the Southern army. Similarly, the Lost Cause is the focus of Gallagher's chapter on Civil War movies. He traces the presentation, retraction, and reemergence of the Lost Cause in the history of Hollywood from *Birth of a Nation* to *Gods and*

Generals. Though over time historians have been able to influence the movie industry to shy away from the myth, it still has a presence in modern films such as *Riding with the Devil.* Unfortunately *The Outlaw Josey Wales* was not mentioned, which would have strengthened his thesis by including Native Americans in the Lost Cause mythos of Hollywood. Perception of how aging and impoverished veterans were viewed by their countrymen and its impact on their own self image is another interesting topic covered. James Marten examines these aspects in his chapter on soldier homes and pensions. Conflict arose within the nation as to what should be done to support its veterans. Should the country provide a pension and housing with medical benefits? How much should be provided and to whom? These questions created conflict amongst the veterans. Many saw accepting charity from the government as embarrassing, causing many to question their manhood in doing so. While some men adjusted to the situation, others did not. Finally, the age-old exam question of who is buried in Grant's tomb is pushed aside by Joan Waugh to ask, why is Grant's tomb where it is? Waugh reveals the controversies and clashes that erupted over the placement of Grant's tomb in New York City. Former soldiers felt it appropriate that he be interred in Washington, D.C. while powerful leaders were able to raise the funds and build the tomb in New York.

This anthology contributes significantly to current trends in Civil War history. It succeeds in combining personal, political, social, cultural, racial, and history and memory approaches between two covers. Additionally, the editors provide a well-balanced and organized work that addresses the topic throughout. This book will prove useful for any scholar researching these aspects of the Civil War experience while still appealing to the common reader.

Charles D. Grear *Prairie View A&M University*

U.S. Grant: American Hero, American Myth. By Joan Waugh. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009. Acknowledgements, illustrations, maps, notes, index. Pp. 384. $30.00 cloth.)

The maxim Mark Antony immortalized when eulogizing Julius Caesar, "the evil men do lives after them; the good is oft interred

with their bones" found an exception in the case of Civil War hero and former U.S. president Ulysses S. Grant. After Grant stepped into the spotlight following impressive military victories in the western theater of the Civil War, his flame as a celebrity fluctuated between raging inferno and smoldering ember, but was never fully extinguished. Yet, as Joan Waugh explains in her new book, Grant's popularity became inextricably linked with that of the Civil War itself, and as historians began to question the war and loss of human life, some disparaged Grant and suggested that he was a war criminal (7).

In its effort to reestablish Grant's importance in history, Waugh's book is one of many recent studies that, as she explains, focus on the Union cause to balance scholarship on Confederate identity. While she places emphasis on commemoration, Waugh carefully guides the reader through the evolution of Grant's celebrity, from his early life and relative obscurity through his military successes, presidency, and rise to almost mythic status. The Grant that Waugh reveals achieved greatness despite personal setbacks, financial insecurity, and a grounded, realistic perspective on his abilities.

The biography successfully demonstrates what Grant meant to contemporaries. Although he had notable critics, Americans willingly overlooked or forgave Grant for incurring high numbers of casualties at the Battle of Shiloh in 1862, the shocking carnage that resulted from pursuing Robert E. Lee through the Wilderness in 1864, and presiding over one of the most corrupt presidential administrations in the nation's history. Each loss made the Union victory more crucial and contributed to Grant's General Order No. 60, denying guerillas the same treatment accorded uniformed prisoners of war, and his decision to wage "total war" on the South. But as Waugh indicates, because of his conciliatory terms at Appomattox, Grant personified the Union cause and reunification. In several chapters the theme that "Appomattox" was "a sacred symbol of a peaceful reunion after a long and bitter war," connects Grant to the survival of the Union (100).

Enthusiasts will enjoy the chapters dealing with Grant's post-presidential personal life, death, and commemoration. Recounting Grant's reception when traveling around the world and the important part his memoir played in forever articulating the causes and objectives of the Civil War, Waugh explains why Americans grouped Grant with George Washington and mourned him, but not Lincoln, in every part of the nation. According to Waugh, the year 1885, fol-

lowing the election of the first Democrat, to the presidency since the Civil War, "was the perfect time for U.S. Grant, that symbol of a hard northern victory and a hard northern peace to die..." (258).

Waugh's discussion of Grant's monument is among the book's most important contributions. Following its dedication in 1897, the monument became a "sacred pilgrimage spot for Union veterans and their families from all over the country" (262-263). It remained the most visited monument until the mid-twentieth century when the neighborhood in which it was located declined, the monument fell into disrepair and defacement, and the number of visitors dwindled. Waugh celebrates the renewed interest in "Grant's Tomb" sparked by recent scholarship that corrects unfavorable interpretations of Grant's military service and presidency. Moreover, based on the importance she places on his personal accounts, Waugh will doubtless direct newer and younger readers to Grant's *Personal Memoirs* for his firsthand account of the Civil War. This alone, is an important reason to recommend the book.

The book follows a chronological path through Grant's life that works well. It combines iconography with historiography, but in some areas, especially the early chapters, the book's tone is reminiscent of biographical works targeting a preteen audience. Happily, there are few editorial problems. There is one statistical discrepancy regarding the Battle at Shiloh, however. The author contends that the battle resulted in 23,000 casualties, but lists only 1,745 Union and 1,723 Confederate deaths. Overall, however, the book is nicely packaged and well-chosen illustrations show Grant's status as a nineteenth century hero.

While most readers will appreciate the book's endeavors to convey the complexities of Grant's upbringing, wartime exploits, and Gilded Age politics in a readable monograph, scholars will likely look more closely at, and take issue with, Waugh's assertions that issues such as tariffs, civil service reform, Native-Americans, and almost anything but the failure of Reconstruction and race relations were symbols of national healing. In fact, it will be difficult for the book to escape criticism for its overt romanticism, in addition to what may be perceived as serious lapses of objectivity. For example, when attempting to place Grant in the antislavery camp, Waugh presents scant evidence to substantiate her claims. Explaining his "unstinting support for emancipation" when African-American soldiers were recruited by Union forces, Waugh quotes Grant's assurance to President Lincoln, "Whether the arming of the Negro

seemed to be a wise policy or not, because it is an order that I am bound to obey and I do not feel that in my position I have a right to question any policy of the Government" (72). Following orders is hardly a ringing endorsement of the policy, and although Grant cast his first vote against antislavery Republican candidate John C. Fremont in 1856, for most of the book Waugh brandishes "Grant's contempt for the southern cause of slavery" (45, 212).

More disturbing to academic scholars will be Waugh's inability to combine Grant's memory into a narrative that avoids creating a white and black America, and her assertion that "accuracy is irrelevant" when larger truths are involved (204). While the book attempts to address Grant's memory in a multilayered culture, it never deals with the reality that reuniting the nation on an emotional and sentimental basis in order to reconcile southern and northern whites, hardly made the nation whole or fulfilled the ideals that led to Union victory. As the race riots of the early twentieth century and related violence and bloodshed throughout the eighty years after Grant's death demonstrated, the Civil War was not over. Despite Waugh's efforts to convince readers that Grant's funeral was a "benchmark event for sectional reconciliation," the nation was not healed (218). Grant's memory and image will be better served through honest appraisal than filiopietistic praise. Perhaps we should suggest that Grant's death represented the first phase of achieving ideals his generation had only just begun. Nonetheless, this is a good time to recapture Grant's importance in our collective historic memory and Waugh tells us much about Grant to sustain the scholarly conversation.

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The Varieties of Women's Experiences: Portraits of Southern Women in the Post-Civil War Century. Edited by Larry Eugene Rivers and Canter Brown Jr. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xvi, 432. $69.95 cloth.)

This informative volume contains chapter-length biographical essays about fourteen southern women, primarily from Florida and Georgia, whose careers flourished in the century following the American Civil War. Inspired by the work of southern women's histo-

rians such as Anne Firor Scott, Kriste Lindenmeyer, and Joan Johnson, editors Rivers and Brown set out to show that the longstanding image of the southern woman as confined primarily to domestic pursuits still prevails in the historiography of the Deep South not because it accurately reflects women's experiences but rather because so little attention has been paid to researching and telling women's stories. To help fill this gap, the editors and contributors to this volume selected subjects whose lives collectively reveal how women in the post-Civil War South created or responded to opportunities to improve themselves and their families and in the process made a difference in the quality of life in their communities, state, and nation. By including women of diverse backgrounds and fields of endeavor, the editors hope to dispel the view that there was such a thing as a typical southern woman, contending that "women who defied the stereotypes of the times proliferated at most every hand" (xiv). They also seek to understand the dynamics of change over time by including women of different generations. The subjects featured in this volume were born between 1823 and 1879 and died between 1897 and 1974.

The editors express a desire to highlight the experiences of ordinary women rather than famous women achievers, and to a large extent the examples they chose fit that description. Still, several of the volume's subjects came from backgrounds that were more privileged than commonplace, and they achieved a degree of public recognition in their day that set them apart. Ellen Call Long, for example, was the daughter of one of Florida's territorial governors. After the Civil War she became a celebrated good will ambassador for Florida, a vocal advocate of sectional and racial healing, and a noted writer. Mary Barr Munroe, daughter of the highly successful romance novelist Amelia Barr, became one of South Florida's most active community leaders and conservationists and was recognized in her day for her efforts in establishing Royal Palm State Park, the precursor of today's Everglades National Park. Adella Hunt Logan, one of eight children born to a free mulatto woman and a white planter, considered her upbringing to have been much more fortunate than that of most African Americans living in central Georgia in the 1860s and 1870s. As a result, she was able to graduate from normal school and become an instructor at Tuskeegee Normal and Industrial Institute, a prominent clubwoman and suffragist, and a close friend of W.E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington.

Most of the essays, however, shed light on the lives of women who were not known outside their circle of activity and whose stories have

not been told elsewhere. The volume includes, for example, women such as María Valdés de Gutsens, a Cuban émigré, who galvanized support in Key West to establish a charity hospital for the community's primarily Cuban and African American poor, many of whom had no access to medical care. For more than thirty years, she kept the *Casa del Pobre*, or Mercedes Hospital as it was also known, open through her indefatigable fund-raising efforts. Gertrude Dzialynski Corbet, one of Florida's first female lawyers, was active in Duval County Democratic politics before passage of the Nineteenth Amendment and founded several important women's organizations in Jacksonville as well as the Florida League of Women Voters in 1921. Jerenia Valentine Dial Reid, Florida's first registered African American nurse, worked through the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses to improve professional opportunities for black nurses while she held important positions at hospitals in Florida, North Carolina, Missouri, and elsewhere.

The fourteen essays focus not only on the public accomplishments of the women highlighted in the volume but also describe their private lives and the individual approach that each of the women took in fulfilling their aspirations while balancing their public and private worlds. Well researched and thoroughly grounded in surviving primary sources, these essays reveal that Florida and Georgia women's experiences in the century following the Civil War were similar to many of their counterparts in other southern states who have received much more attention from historians. While this volume alone does not provide us with a new interpretation of women in the period, it does offer rich examples of the variety of women's contributions that should inform studies of the Gilded Age and Progressive-era South and encourage future study of Florida's vibrant women's history.

Sandra Gioia Treadway *Library of Virginia*

Pursuit of Unity: A Political History of the American South. By Michael Perman (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009. Acknowledgements, illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index, Pp. xiv, 408. $35.00 cloth.)

Michael Perman, having written several books on politics in the post-Civil War South, has now produced a synthesis of southern politics from the era of Jefferson to Clinton. Focusing on the

eleven states that comprised the Confederacy, the author surveys both internal southern politics and the region's unique political relations with the rest of the country, connecting these dual strata with a normally realized but occasionally frustrated goal of unity among the region's white population. For the better part of two hundred years, there has been no substantial opposition party to the dominant regimes in southern politics—the two exceptions of significant duration occurring in the life of the second party system from the mid-1830s through the early 1850s and in contemporary America. *Pursuit of Unity* addresses the impact of the South's unique political experience, one based on the drive for racial domination, on both southern and national politics.

Much of the basic narrative thrust of the book has been told before, whether it concerns the dominance of the Virginia dynasty in the early years of the Republic, the South's role in the second party system of Whigs and Democrats, the drive toward secession, the southern reaction to Reconstruction, the threats to the Redeemer regime posed by the Populists and other dissenters, disfranchisement and the development of the one-party South, the role of demagogues, the South's conditional acceptance of Wilson's and then Franklin Roosevelt's policies, resistance to the Civil Rights movement, and southern influence in national politics since the 1970s.

What makes Perman's analysis new and refreshing are the longitudinal and institutional perspectives he brings to this rather well-tread terrain. For example, unlike James McPherson, who has argued that southerners and northern allies dominated the federal government through the 1850s, Perman makes much of the differential quality in southern influence between the first and second party systems, arguing that never again would southerners dominate national politics as they did between 1800 and 1824. He also partially disagrees with Eric McKitrick's contention that the lack of a two-party system hindered the Confederate government, arguing that Jefferson Davis pretty much got what he wanted in terms of legislation. Indeed, for Perman, the Confederate Constitution's impediments to party development were consistent with the Calhounite pursuit of unity that southern whites struggled to achieve.

He also finds intriguing long-term similarities in southern reactions to external threats—whether it was the attack on slavery in the Missouri crisis, the relatively modest demands of the Andrew

Johnson administration at the beginning of Reconstruction, and the anti-lynching campaigns of the early and mid twentieth century. The need to nip every threat in the bud was, in Perman's view, only one part of the political equation. In some ways, southerners hoped that by resisting even modest demands for reform they would force their opponents to make greater demands, and thus weaken the latter's credibility even among their own initial supporters. Thus, northern wariness of radical Reconstruction found a parallel in northern support for George Wallace in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The author also points to the advent and then elimination of certain "rules of the game" in explaining oscillations in the influence southern whites exerted in politics. The development of the two-thirds rule for nominating Democratic presidential candidates in 1836, along with its repeal a century later, were critical, as was, in 1975, the reduction of the requirement of 67 votes to 60 votes to end filibusters in the Senate. Like V.O. Key, Perman sees disfranchisement and the development of the white primary as solidifying a disorganized form of what Key called "no-party" politics within the South, in which an institutionally weak Democratic party served as something akin to a "holding company" for various factions, even as that party functioned as, essentially, a state department in combating external threats to the region's ruling order in Congress and in presidential nominating conventions.

For Perman, the Supreme Court's annulment of the white primary played a critical role in shattering the solid South. And while emphasizing the importance of the Voting Rights Act and other Civil Rights legislation, he also argues that just as disfranchisement had led to a reduction of white participation as well as the near elimination of African American participation in the early twentieth century, the re-enfranchisement of African Americans and the development of a competitive form of politics in the late twentieth century has produced a heavier and countervailing increase in conservative white voter participation as well. The Supreme Court's "one man, one vote" ruling in *Baker v. Carr*, while aiding liberal causes by boosting urban representation, also had, because of mandated redistricting, the effect of aiding conservative Republicans in the South through the packing of blacks in a few districts, while marginalizing the white Democratic vote.

Perman is especially adept at comparing and contrasting the roles of southern national politicians as the majority faction within

a minority party (when Republicans controlled congress), the majority faction within a majority party (during the most of the first half of the nineteenth century and then later in Wilson's terms of office), and a minority faction within a majority party (as increasingly and uncomfortably became the case during the life of the New Deal coalition). The low turnover rate for southern senators and representatives, due in large part to the perennial one-party structure of the region, gave the South disproportionate power in congressional committees whose members' authority was based on seniority.

The author is also mindful of social and economic changes and how they affected the fabric of southern politics, such as the roots of rural discontent in the 1880s and 1890s, the economic impact of New Deal policies and black out-migration, the proliferation in the region, during and after the Second World War, of the defense and petroleum industries, and (in recent decades) northern in-migration, suburbanization, and the revival of evangelical Christianity. With the rise of salient issues aside from racial domination, and the development of a viable two-party system in the South, the region has, Perman maintains, lost its political distinctiveness, leading one to wonder whether it makes sense even to refer to "the South" any longer in a political context.

Well-argued, cogently written, and insightful on many levels, *Pursuit of Unity* would work well in courses on the South, as well as on the history of American politics and political institutions.

Lex Renda *University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee*

Ditch of Dreams: The Cross Florida Barge Canal and the Struggle for Florida's Future. By Steven Noll and David Tegeder. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xi, 352. $29.95 cloth.)

In *Ditch of Dreams*, Steven Noll and David Tegeder relate the compelling tale of the Cross Florida Barge Canal, one of the nation's largest public works projects that was never built. With meticulous detail, the authors explore the twists and turns of this canal project from its genesis during the first half of the nineteenth century to the present day. The proposed nearly two-hundred-mile long canal, had

it been completed, would have linked the St. John's, Ocklawaha, and Withlacoochee rivers, thus creating an inland passage from the Atlantic Ocean, near Jacksonville, to the Gulf Coast.

Ditch of Dreams is broad and ambitious in its scope. The book's overarching thesis is that the convoluted history of the canal reflects competing (and changing) "visions of progress, economic growth, and preservation, as well as the use of political power to achieve those goals" (2). As they explicate these visions, the authors reveal the importance of citizen activism in challenging the power of pro-canal business groups and in halting the momentum of the project despite the support of state and federal officials, including the Army Corps of Engineers. In itself, this is an important theme, as the role and efficacy of previously overlooked groups of dissenting citizens has become an integral thread in the discipline of environmental history. The actions of these citizens, led by Marjorie Harris Carr and the Florida Defenders of the Environment, is skillfully interwoven with the emerging environmental movement of the 1960s and far-reaching changes in public perceptions of the intrinsic values of the natural world. These evolving attitudes toward nature eclipsed one strand of the legacy of New Deal liberalism— large public works projects authorized and funded by the federal government. In the end, the lands once dedicated for the canal right-of-way were returned to the state of Florida and converted to a 107-mile greenway, fittingly named the Marjorie Harris Carr Cross Florida Greenway, now dedicated to recreation and nature preservation.

Noll and Tegeder explore in great detail the evolving rationales for the canal: economic development, the provision of employment during the difficult years of the Depression, wartime security during World War II (by providing a safe inland passage), and, finally, recreational opportunities. Yet, although authorized and partially constructed twice during the twentieth century, first as a deepwater ship canal during the 1930s and then as a shallower barge canal during the 1960s, the project was never able to sustain enough broad support to be completed. With a marginal cost/benefit ratio and questionable environmental consequences ranging from possible saltwater contamination of the Floridan aquifer to the destruction of the largely unspoiled Ocklawaha River, the canal faced opposition during each successive iteration. But it also had many ardent champions, most notably Florida senator Claude Pepper, who kept alive the dream of the canal generation after

generation. Even after its final demise in the late 1980s, the physical imprint of the canal project is still present in the form of Kirkpatrick Dam and Rodman Reservoir on the lower Ocklawaha, now a premier bass-fishing destination, but an obstacle to the restoration of the river, the elusive goal for which Carr dedicated the last three decades of her life.

Ditch of Dreams is painstakingly and commendably researched, and well illustrated with historical photographs and maps. The authors delve deeply into a wide array of primary sources, including numerous manuscript collections, engineering reports and other government documents, and more than a dozen newspapers. The result is an authoritative recounting of the complicated and contested tale of the canal, including its proponents and detractors as well as its legislative history. It is always a challenge to convey the intricate details of legislative proceedings, especially inconclusive ones, without becoming entangled in a morass of overwhelming detail. But on this count, the authors are largely successful. The text is written in crisp and lively prose, and the book gains momentum as it progresses. While the authors draw important connections to larger themes of the shifting national environmental mood, this reviewer would have appreciated a bit more attention to the parallels and contrasts with the fight to restore the Everglades, much of which is contemporaneous with the later twentieth-century battles over the canal and which also is intimately connected to the designs of the Army Corps of Engineers. Much, of course, has been written about the ecology and the environmental history of the Everglades, from Marjory Stoneman Douglas's classic, *The Everglades: River of Grass* (1947) to David McCally's book, *The Everglades: An Environmental History* (1999). Still, a brief treatment of some of the connections between these north and south Florida battles would have provided useful historical context and reinforced the authors' already strong thesis.

That minor criticism aside, *Ditch of Dreams* deserves a wide audience. Written in a style accessible to both lay and academic readers, this book is of importance not only to those interested in Florida history, but also to anyone interested in evolving notions of the definition of progress and of environmental preservation, the political calculations that often underlie environmental decision-making, and the role of citizen activists in influencing national environmental policy.

Philip Garone *California State University, Stanislaus*

And They Were Wonderful Teachers: Florida's Purge of Gay and Lesbian Teachers. By Karen L. Graves. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2009. Acknowledgements, notes, index. Pp. xxi, 216. $65.00 cloth, $20.00 paper.)

In 1956, the seven-member Florida Legislative Investigation Committee was formed to "investigate all organizations and individuals advocating violence...or violations of the laws of Florida" (1). State Senator Charley E. Johns of Bradford County took over as chair of this Committee in 1957, and it was known thereafter as the Johns Committee. In the beginning, the Committee focused on the activities of the NAACP and its sympathizers. Its goal, essentially, was to thwart implementation of *Brown vs. Board of Education* in Florida. As their efforts met legal resistance from the NAACP and Cold War hysteria spread across the nation, the Committee turned its attention to rooting out communists. Finding very few, the committee had to present a new rationale for its continued existence in 1959. Its focus shifted to rooting out homosexuals in the educational system. This book chronicles the activities of the Johns Committee as it systematically carried out a purge of suspected gay and lesbian Florida teachers from 1957 to1963. The title came from an interview with a retired Hillsborough County teacher, who, when referring to other teachers who "disappeared" unexpectedly during the purge, wistfully noted "and they were wonderful teachers" (xvii).

According to the author: "the history of the Johns Committee—with its interlocking elements of racism, homophobia, anticommunist sentiment, and attack on the schools—illustrates the American commitment to domestic containment ideology as clearly as any event of the Cold War era"(16). She maintains that to control teachers is to control the dominant ideology (xvii). The strategy was to circumscribe any action that threatens stability. Gay and lesbian teachers were, in the minds of Charley Johns and his committee, a triple-threat to Florida's stability: they were subversive, disloyal, and perverted. These teachers were thus caught in the crosshairs of Cold War containment ideology, and the schools had to be cleansed of them. Graves claims that the Florida purge was unique and important because of the resources and singularity of purpose that the Johns Committee brought to its work.

The author examined the interrogation transcripts of eighty-seven Florida schoolteachers in the Johns Committee records at

the State Archives. In the preface and notes, Graves conducts a comprehensive literature review of current research about the teacher purge specifically, and the activities of the Johns Committee in general. Previous works like James A. Schnur's *Cold Warriors in the Hot Sunshine: The Johns Committee's assault on Civil Liberties in Florida, 1956-1965 (1995)*, and Allyson Beutke and Scott Litvak's documentary film *Behind Closed Doors: The Dark Legacy of the Johns Committee (2000)* shed light on the purge of college and university students and faculty. The author distinguishes her study from previous work by focusing specifically on the activities of the Committee with regard to Florida's K-12 teachers.

In the preface, Graves provides disturbing excerpts from the interrogations that illustrate the deceptive and misleading practices of Remus J.Strickland, the chief investigator for the Committee. Strickland exceeded the mandates of the Investigation Committee in his pursuit and intimidation of teachers and consistently flaunted due process and proper legal procedures. In most cases, the teachers were pulled into the superintendent's office or local highway patrol station, denied legal representation, and told if they refused to cooperate, they would be subpoenaed to appear in a public hearing. The questioning started out rather innocently, and quickly became very personal in nature and tone, with Strickland often implying that he had sworn testimony from homosexual sex partners when there was none. Questions about specific sex acts, and their frequency and effect on the participants were very common. Many of those who admitted homosexual activity often denied a homosexual orientation, thinking this might help their cause. Denials notwithstanding, the teachers were asked to resign immediately. If they refused, again they were threatened with public exposure. Even those who denied everything lost their jobs and teaching credentials once they were questioned. The Florida Education Association, which ostensibly represented these teachers, instead assisted the Board of Education and the Johns Committee by identifying possible targets by marital status or gender non-conformity. Graves calls this action "one of the most appalling examples of abuses of state power during the Cold War" (117).

In writing this book, Karen L. Graves hopes to enhance gay and lesbian historiography by studying antigay discrimination as it played out in, arguably, the "most central social institution—the school system" (xxiii). I believe that she succeeds by placing the

phenomenon of Florida's teacher purge in the context of education history. The Johns Committee may be long gone, but many of the political, social and ideological factors that contributed to its development remain a part of the way Americans look at the education of our youth. Graves concludes:

Until Americans let go of the notion that homosexuality is "sinful", queer teachers will be regarded as "immoral," in spite of pronouncements to the contrary by medical and legal authorities... Since Americans have made schoolteachers the guardians of the dominant ideology, public oversight of teachers' sexuality will remain intense as long as the battle is fixed (148).

This book effectively explains the way in which the Florida Legislative Investigative Committee purged Florida's gay and lesbian teachers during its tenure. Graves was thorough in her careful and diligent collection of documents and data from many different sources. A generous notes section and index enhance the work and stimulate ideas for future research.

Florence M. Turcotte — *University of Florida*

Truth, Lies, and O-rings: Inside the Space Shuttle* Challenger *Disaster. By Allan J. McDonald and James R. Hansen. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009. Foreword, illustrations, acknowledgements, bibliographic essay, index. Pp. xix, 576. $39.95 cloth.)

The explosion of the *Challenger* on a frigid January day in 1986 starkly revealed the dilemma of science and technology. Engineers had achieved breakthroughs in space flight that galvanized the country, but the complexity of this technology meant that O-rings and other small pieces of sophisticated equipment suddenly assumed national importance. In addition, such a massive endeavor was vulnerable to the vagaries of politicians, bureaucrats, and corporate managers. The unassuming Morton Thiokol engineer Allan J. McDonald, knowing his company's rocket boosters might fail at low temperatures, found himself at the mercy of all these forces when he futilely warned against launching *Challenger.*

In *Truth, Lies, and O-rings: Inside the Space Shuttle* Challenger *Disaster,* McDonald recounts the decision to launch *Challenger,* the investigation of the accident, and the return of the shuttle to space

flight. McDonald's book is, like the shuttle itself, a massive, complex, and fascinating work. Other books on *Challenger*, emphasizing the almost-pathological culture of NASA, have overlooked the physical causes of the accident, while works focused on mechanical errors have obscured the responsibility of individuals. McDonald's memoir convincingly shows how all these factors combined to create disaster. It was not just NASA, moreover: McDonald openly skewers his bosses at Thiokol. When NASA officials improperly pressured Thiokol to approve the *Challenger* launch despite the unseasonably cold weather, Thiokol brass saw their engineers' opposition to launch as a threat to the company's livelihood. After Thiokol's top engineer recommended against launch, his bosses told him, "take off your engineering hat and put on your management hat" (112). The recommendation was thus changed in the hopes of placating the company's biggest customer, thereby sealing *Challenger*'s fate.

The book will appeal to an audience beyond space shuttle buffs as it (somewhat unintentionally) sheds light on the tangled skein of politics, technology, and industrial giants like Thiokol that fueled the arms race and the space program. While McDonald concentrates on the space shuttle, he briefly mentions Thiokol's role in developing the Strategic Defense Initiative and the MX missile. McDonald himself lobbied the Pentagon, the Army, the NSC, the CIA, and Congress to purchase his rocket motors, showing how the space shuttle was thoroughly enmeshed in the military-industrial complex. For information on the role of Kennedy Space Center readers had best look elsewhere, however, since the controversial decisions were made at Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville, Alabama.

Much of the value of this rich primary source lies in the overwhelming evidence detailing the technical failures and the arrogant practices of both NASA and Thiokol. But writing about complex technology offers its own distinct challenges, and *Truth, Lies, and O-rings* has its drawbacks. The following sentences are fairly typical: "These three engines produced just over 1.1 million pounds of sea-level thrust, offset of the launch vehicle's center line, which caused the entire vehicle to bend over more than two feet prior to SRB ignition, while it was still being held down on the launchpad. SRB ignition occurred after the SSME engines were verified to go as the Shuttle stack sprang back to the vertical position" (448). Like much scientific writing, McDonald's descriptions

and diagrams often give the impression of explaining without actually doing so. The book contains a hilarious number of acronyms, though a list of abbreviations is included. None of these quibbles should deter readers, since one can skim the technical details and still retain a strong grasp of the discussion.

Despite its exhaustive detail, the book reveals surprisingly little about its author, a man so reserved that he even seems to avoid adjectives. When his redesigned rocket passed a rigorous series of tests, McDonald writes in characteristically subdued language, "I was ecstatic" (454). More problematic is his lack of reflection about the shuttle program as a whole. McDonald dismisses a congressional committee investigating the *Challenger* accident as "out for blood" and "highly suspicious and agenda-laden" (369). Congress, in McDonald's mind, exists solely to engage in self-aggrandizement and re-election stunts. But where would McDonald, Thiokol, and the space program have been without loud-mouthed congressmen clamoring for the United States to win the space race? Furthermore, one congressman had ordered Thiokol to keep McDonald on the shuttle redesign team or lose NASA contracts. Yet McDonald seems oblivious to the cozy relationship between the aerospace industry and the legislative branch.

In fact, McDonald's obsession with the intricacies of the shuttle prevents him from expressing the significance of the shuttle program beyond platitudes. With shuttles exploding at an alarming rate, the reader might well wonder why no serious reappraisals of the program ever took place. From McDonald's perspective, the return to flight proved that "The *Challenger* astronauts had not died in vain" (517), but McDonald needs to explain what redemption had been achieved, especially since (as McDonald instantly recognized) the shuttle immediately exhibited flaws that would lead to the destruction of *Columbia* in 2003. McDonald eulogizes *Challenger* as a sacrifice "in humankind's quest to explore the heavens" (551), yet he never states what the shuttle actually *does* in space, leaving unstated any importance beyond launching. Referring to a failed NASA effort to design new shuttle rockets, McDonald rails, "What a waste of the taxpayers' money!" (552), blissfully unaware that many say the same about the shuttle program itself. When a former coworker denounced Thiokol and NASA for the *Challenger* accident, McDonald thought his comments were "poisoning young minds" (511). But if children lost interest in the space program, would it have been the nation that

suffered? Or Morton Thiokol? Or aerospace engineers? While far from authoritative, Gerard DeGroot's polemic *Dark Side of the Moon: The Magnificent Madness of the American Lunar Quest* (2006) serves as an entertaining counterpoint to McDonald's uncritical embrace of the space program. Nevertheless, *Truth, Lies, and O-rings* rewards readers with a fascinating account of technological disaster, as well as an eye-opening look at those who drive the space program. In the process it documents the ethical behavior of a compulsively honest engineer and his dogged determination to revive, rehabilitate, and stand by the space shuttle.

Paul Rubinson *University of South 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.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY PODCASTS

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

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

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

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

Dr. Daniel Feller, 2009 Catherine Prescott Lecturer, on "The Seminole Controversy Revisited: A New Look at Andrew Jackson's 1919 Florida Campaign," Volume 88, no. 3 (Winter 2010).

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY JOINS JSTOR

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

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY NOW ON FACEBOOK

Join the *Florida Historical Quarterly* on Facebook. The *FHQ* Facebook page provides an image of each issue, the table of contents of each issue, an abstract of each article (beginning with volume 89, no. 1) and the annual cumulative index. There will be a link to the *Quarterly* podcasts and the Florida Historical Society.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

2010 AWARD RECIPIENTS

CHARLTON TEBEAU AWARD

For a general interest book on a Florida history topic

John J. Clune and Margo S. Stringfield *Historic Pensacola*
(University Press of Florida)

REMBERT PATRICK AWARD

For a scholarly book on a Florida history topic

Steven Noll and David Tegeder *Ditch of Dreams: The Cross Florida Barge Canal and the Struggle for Florida's Future* (University Press of Florida)

PATRICK D. SMITH AWARD

For a book of fiction on a Florida history topic

Maurice O'Sullivan and Wenxian Zhang *A Trip to Florida for Health and Sport: The Lost 1855 Novel of Cyrus Parkhurst Condit* (Florida Historical Society Press)

HARRY T. AND HARRIETTE V. MOORE AWARD

For a book relating to Florida's ethnic groups or dealing with a significant social issue from an historical perspective

Irvin D.S. Winsboro *Old South, New South, or Down South? Florida and the Modern Civil Rights Movement* (West Virginia University Press)

STETSON KENNEDY AWARD

For a book based on investigative research which casts light on historic Florida events in a manner that is supportive of human rights, traditional cultures, or the natural environment

Craig Pittman and Matthew Waite *Paving Paradise: Florida's Vanishing Wetlands and the Failure of No Net Loss* (University Press of Florida)

ARTHUR W. THOMPSON AWARD

For the most outstanding article in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*

Kevin Kokomoor
"A Re-assessment of Seminoles, Africans, and Slavery on the Florida Frontier"
Volume 88, no. 2, (Fall 2009) pp. 209-236.

HAMPTON DUNN BROADCASTING AWARD

For electronic media, such as radio and television, recognizing outstanding audio or video programs, announcements or other works promoting or expanding knowledge of Florida history

Martin County Television (MCTV)
The Elliott—Then and Now

GOLDEN QUILL AWARD

For outstanding Florida History Article

Susan R. Parker, The St. Augustine Record
"The Oldest City"

CAROLYN MAYS BREVARD AWARD

For most outstanding essay or research paper on Florida history produced by an undergraduate student at a college or university in the United States

Jillian Elizabeth McClure, Flagler College
"The 'Black Cloud': *H.D. Goode v. Johnson, Bell, and Reira* and the Florida White Primary, 1928-1933"

GOVERNOR LeROY COLLINS AWARD

For most outstanding essay or research paper on Florida history produced by a postgraduate student in a master's or doctoral program at a college or university in the United States

Jason A. Memmer, University of South Florida
"From Conversos to Congress: A Political History of Florida's Jewish Community"

DAVID C. BROTEMARKLE AWARD

For creative expressions of Florida history other than books

Jackson Walker, artist
The Legendary Florida paintings at the Museum of Florida Art, DeLand

MARINUS LATOUR AWARD

For outstanding volunteer in a local historical society, library, museum or other Florida history-related program or organization

Jack Rabun
Florida Historical Society

PRESIDENTIAL CITATION

For persons or projects not receiving an award in another category, yet worthy of special recognition for their contributions to Florida history this year

Bob Gross
For outstanding service as Interim Archivist at the Library of Florida History, Cocoa

JILLIAN PRESCOTT MEMORIAL LECTURESHIP

Carl Halbirt

City of St. Augustine Archaeologist
"Discovering St. Augustine's Remarkable History Through Archaeology"

FHS FRIENDS KEYNOTE SPEAKER

Dr. Michael V. Gannon

Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus, University of Florida
"The First Coming of Judeo-Christian Religion to Florida"

CAROLINE P. ROSSETTER AWARD FOR OUTSTANDING WOMAN IN FLORIDA HISTORY

Emily Lisska

Executive Director
Jacksonville Historical Society

DOROTHY DODD LIFETIME ACHEIVEMENT AWARD

Stetson Kennedy

Florida Author and Activist

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.

Florida History in Publications, 2009

Compiled by James Anthony Schnur

Books

Adams, William R. *St. Augustine and St. Johns County: A Historical Guide.* Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 2009.

Alderson, Doug. *New Dawn for the Kissimmee River: Orlando to Okeechobee by Kayak.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009.

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Beever, Lisa B. "From Data to Policy: The Charlotte Harbor National Estuary Program Partnership in Action." *Florida Scientist* 72 (Autumn 2009): 272-276.

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The Florida Historical Society

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

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

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