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The Florida Historical Quarterly

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William Augustus Bowles on the Gulf Coast, 1787-1803: Unraveling a Labyrinthine Conundrum

by Gilbert C. Din

Colorful William Augustus Bowles has presented problems to historians for as long as they have written about him. He purposely promoted confusion about himself to inflate his personality and achievements, and historians unacquainted with his devious machinations made them worse by repeating them. One egregious error mixed him up with Billy Bowlegs (Holata Micco), a nineteenth-century Seminole chief, and he sometimes was called Billy Bowles, a moniker absent in the multitude of contemporary documents written by and about him.¹ The most common mistake describes him as the director general of the Creeks. Though Bowles gained military sway over a group of Indians enticed by promises of arms and goods, he neither ruled formally over the Creeks, Seminoles, and other Indians of the American Southeast, nor achieved his cherished ambition of becoming their director general. Despite his failures, his boastful claims wrongly manipulated later credulous investigators into believing that he had succeeded. In opposition to his assertions, however, the Spaniards generated a plethora of records that accurately detailed

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1. A description of the real Billy Bowlegs is in John K. Mahon and Brent R. Weisman, "Florida's Seminole and Miccosukee Peoples," in *The New History of Florida*, edited by Michael Gannon (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 196-201.

Bowles's escapades on the Florida Gulf Coast during his sojourns there between 1787-1792 and 1799-1803, when he attempted and failed to build the indigenous nation of Muskogee under his direction.² The Spaniards became his most ardent adversaries because he trampled on their lands trying to achieve his ends. They stoutly denied his pretensions and disparagingly labeled him an adventurer. Of the primary sources that discuss Bowles's activities, theirs are the most reliable since they distinguished their reality from his fantasy. As long ago as 1954, R. S. Cotterill acknowledged the value of Spanish records when he wrote, "Any account of Bowles not based on the Spanish archives is of little value."³

Understanding Bowles is complicated because he fabricated numerous stories about himself that obscured his true persona. Disentangling fact from fiction in Bowles's anomalous life has beleaguered historians inasmuch as many avoided the Spanish documentation and trusted Bowles's own published writings or utterances. But little of what he wrote or said can be trusted as factual. It was on just grounds that the Creeks labeled him "Oquelúsa Micco" (King of Liars), and contemporaries not in his camp wholeheartedly agreed.⁴ Bowles, nevertheless, had his own coterie of followers, then as now, who saw him through a different if not a deceptive prism.⁵

2. Among the historians who have erred on Bowles are Andrew McMichael, *Atlantic Loyalties: Americans in Spanish West Florida, 1785-1810* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 2008), 80-81; Jane G. Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 217; Jack D. L. Holmes, ed., *Documentos inéditos para la historia de la Luisiana, 1792-1810* (Ediciones José Porrua Turanzas, Madrid, 1963), 56, fn 47; Duvon C. Corbitt and John Tate Lanning, eds., "A Letter of Marque Issued by William Augustus Bowles as Director General of the State of Muskogee," *Journal of Southern History* 11 (May 1945): 258; Elisha P. Douglass, "The Adventurer Bowles," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd Series, 6 (January 1949): 3-23; Isaac Joslin Cox, *The West Florida Controversy, 1798-1813: A Study in American Diplomacy* (Baltimore: Johns-Hopkins Press, 1918), 140; and several works by J. Leitch Wright, Jr.; see, for example, *The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indians in the Old South* (New York: The Free Press, 1981), 285.
3. R. S. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes before Removal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 79n.
4. Marqués de Casa-Calvo to the Captain General of Cuba, no. 10 reserved, New Orleans, May 10, 1800, Archivo General de Indias (Seville), Papeles procedentes de la isla de Cuba, legajo (hereafter abbreviated as AGI, PC, leg.) 154C.
5. Lyle N. McAlister showed the divided contemporary opinion about Bowles: "Among the host of adventurers, dreamers, filibusters and trouble-makers who have added drama to the pages of Florida history, William Augustus Bowles yields to none. Among his enemies, and these were in the majority, he was referred to epithets ranging from the relatively mild 'that fellow Bowles' to the more emphatic 'vagabond,' 'desperado,' 'Black Guard,' 'Captain Liar,'

One of Bowles's contemporaries, the merchant William Panton, knew him intimately as a commercial rival and made no bones about his personality. In 1792 Panton bluntly described Bowles to the governor of Louisiana and West Florida, the Baron de Carondelet:

[F]rom what I have heard of him his volubility of speech can only be equaled by his Empudence in uttering the grocest falsehoods, when it suits his purpose, & which he can express with a Countenance so open & composed, as to give the appearance of truth to the greatest lies and inconsistency's—deceit and dissimulation are the weapons in his hands by which he has risen into Notice, and there is no baseness that he will not comit to gain his point, & to gratify the unworthy malignity of Lord Dunmore Governor of the Bahamas, for whom I suspect he only acts as a tool in this business.⁶

An examination of Bowles's character from the perspective of two-hundred-year-old documents and written by people who knew him well leads to a number of conclusions: he was an ambitious and uninhibited extrovert with an inflated ego, oozed charm and braggadocio to disarm strangers and opponents, and possessed a grim determination to persevere in his objectives regardless of the odds or costs.⁷ Bowles zealously craved attention, importance, and authority, and he directed every activity in his adult life toward

and 'desperate vile adventurer.' Among the smaller number of friends and admirers, he was known variously as 'Beloved Warrior,' 'Captain,' 'General,' and 'Director General.'" McAlister, ed., "The Marine Forces of William Augustus Bowles and his 'State of Muskogee,'" *Florida Historical Quarterly* 31 (July 1953): 3. The status hungry Bowles bestowed on himself the ranks and titles he sported.

6. William Panton to the Baron de Carondelet, Pensacola, February 14, 1792, in D. C. Corbitt, ed. and trans., "Papers Relating to the Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1784-1800," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 22 (March 1938): 74-75. Bowles, similar to many other self-centered persons, tried to project himself as a successful and appealing personality and changed aspects of his life to fit his circumstance. As Allison Glock wrote about Tammy Wynette who also reinvented herself, "The lies were so thick and many that they became the truth, her life a story of her own creation." Allison Glock's review of Jimmy McDonough's *Tammy Wynette: Tragic Country Queen*, in the *New York Times*, March 3, 2010.
7. Among Spanish officials whom Bowles charmed were Governors Esteban Miró and the Baron de Carondelet of Louisiana and West Florida. He failed, however, with Captain General of Cuba Luis de Las Casas and the Spanish ambassador in London the Conde del Campo. Las Casas to the Conde de Floridablanca, nos. 16 reserved and 18, Havana, March 28 and April 21, 1792, respectively, Archivo General de Simancas (Simancas, Spain), Guerra Moderna (hereafter abbreviated as AGS, GM), leg. 6916, file 50. Also see below.

achieving those goals. Doing so, however, was not easy given his background. Equipped with the equivalent of an elementary-school education when he left home at age thirteen to serve the king in war, he turned autodidact when peace returned to broaden his horizons, and he soon applied his knowledge to advance his roguish endeavors. Possessing no more than scant personal resources, Bowles brazenly disregarded the truth and chose deception and audacity as the paths to pursue in life. Among the many examples of his dishonesty, he exaggerated British backing for creation of his Indian state of Muskogee (the Creek homeland), blew up his importance among the southeastern Indians and his success in winning their cooperation, and overstated his ability to secure gifts and arms for them from Nassau in the Bahama Islands.⁸ His shortcomings in these and other boasts earned him disparaging epithets from opponents and disillusioned followers.

Despite Cotterill's admonition mentioned above, few researchers have consulted the Spanish documentation about him, and none has explored the papers extensively. Instead, they mined only specific records on topics related to their narrow interests.⁹ Much of the misunderstanding about Bowles can be attributed to the writings of J. Leitch Wright, Jr. His *William Augustus Bowles: Director General of the Creeks*, now several decades old, is the sole modern book-length study on Bowles. However, it is based on the flawed premise that accepted Bowles as the director general of the Creeks. Wright weakened his

8. Gilbert C. Din, "War on the Gulf Coast: The Spanish Fight against William Augustus Bowles," a book-length manuscript; and Frederick Jackson Turner, ed., "English Policy toward America in 1790-1791, Part 1," *American Historical Review* 7 (July 1902): 706-35, who unwittingly published several unreliable Bowles letters of 1791, written while the adventurer was in London misrepresenting himself and Muskogee. Turner described Bowles positively: "His memoirs give him a most romantic career, as portrait painter, actor and forest diplomat, and relate how he led the Indians in the English service in the final operations against the Spaniards of Florida, in the Revolutionary War." *Ibid.*, 708-709.
9. Articles on Bowles, and none of them recent, include McAlister's two works: "Marine Forces," 3-27, and "William Augustus Bowles and the State of Muskogee," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 30 (April 1962): 317-28; Lawrence Kinnaird's two articles: "The Significance of William Augustus Bowles' Seizure of Panton's Apalachee Store in 1792," *FHQ* 9 (January 1931): 156-92; and "International Rivalry in the Creek Country: Part I. The Ascendency of Alexander McGillivray, 1783-1789," *FHQ* 10 (October 1931): 59-85; Lawrence Kinnaird and Lucia Burk Kinnaird, "War Comes to San Marcos," *FHQ* 62 (July 1983): 25-43; David H. White, "The Spaniards and William Augustus Bowles in Florida, 1799-1803," *FHQ* 54 (October 1975): 145-55; Corbitt and Lanning, eds., "A Letter of Marque," 246-61; Samuel Watson, "William Augustus Bowles," *American Historical Magazine* 5 (1900): 195-99. See the notes below for more articles on Bowles.

study by using few Spanish documents, and many of them were Bowles's own letters that Wright accepted unquestioned. He further depicted Bowles sympathetically, interpreted records unabashedly to favor his subject, and seemed unaware that much of Bowles's writings, as well as the oldest works about him, could not be trusted.¹⁰

To understand Bowles and determine his rightful place in Gulf Coast history requires an examination of his life and an explanation how some of the worst distortions about him originated. To begin, he was born to an English family in Frederick, Maryland, perhaps on November 2, 1763.¹¹ A year after the outbreak of the American War for Independence, he enlisted in a Maryland loyalist infantry regiment and accompanied his unit in 1778 to reinforce the British garrison at Pensacola, West Florida. About a year later, Bowles became a regimental cadet before insubordination or ennui caused his dismissal or desertion (a common occurrence in all eighteenth-century armies), and he joined a group of Creeks headed by Setuthli Micco that was leaving Pensacola.¹² Nearby rivers that emptied into the Gulf

10. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *William Augustus Bowles: Director General of the Creek Nation* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1967). In Wright's conclusion to his biography, he attempted to draw parallels between Bowles and Francisco Miranda, a renowned precursor in Venezuela's struggle for independence from Spain. Wright described Bowles as gregarious, versatile, and a natural leader, who evoked admiration and friendship or bitter denunciation. He further stated that Bowles used his talents fully, and "he played out the game until the end." In reality, his "talents" often led him astray, especially in 1803, when he refused to recognize his impending capture and imprisonment. *Ibid.*, 172-74.
11. Authors differ on dates for Bowles's birth. Corbitt and Lanning, eds., in "A Letter of Marque," 247, base their date of November 2, 1763, on nineteenth-century Maryland records, which seems a reasonable assumption. However, Arthur Preston Whitaker, in "William Augustus Bowles," *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), 519, uses October 22, 1764, without providing a source.
12. Bowles was never an "ensign" in the navy as several authors have contended. Among writers who incongruously stated that he was in both the army and navy is Elisha P. Douglass, "The Adventurer Bowles," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 6 (January 1949): 3-4. The rank of ensign in his army regiment was akin to cadet. It was a designation the British army employed well into the nineteenth century. William Augustus Bowles, *Authentic Memoirs of William Augustus Bowles* (1791; New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1971), 2-13. Bowles did not become an officer at age fourteen; he was too young and inexperienced to suddenly be thrust into active service over older and more knowledgeable soldiers. He needed instruction first, and most cadets trained in their regiments. E. A. Jones, in his "The Real Author of the Authentic Memoirs of William Augustus Bowles," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 17 (1923): 300-308, correctly points out that Benjamin Baynton interviewed Bowles for the book he soon published as the *Authentic Memoirs*. Never at a loss for words in interviews about his life, Bowles deftly crafted answers to fit his circumstance. Consistency was not in his lexicon, and his differing descriptions of the same events have added to the confusion about him.



William Augustus Bowles, 1763-1805.

of Mexico led up to the Creek homeland. The Lower Creeks lived mostly in towns scattered along the rivers of present-day western Georgia, while the Upper Creeks resided on the streams in modern eastern and central Alabama. During a two-year stint among the Native Americans, the precocious teenager became acquainted with their customs, languages, and women (he took wives among the Cherokees and the Lower Creeks).¹³

13. Wright, *Bowles*, 11-13. Creeks, or the many tribes and different language-speakers that comprised these groups, moved about over time. See Gregory A. Waselkov and Marvin T. Smith, "Upper Creek Archaeology," and John E. Worth, "The Lower Creeks: Origins and Early History," both in *Indians of the*

Bowles returned to army service at Pensacola in 1781, just in time to be captured upon its surrender to the Spaniards on May 9. The day before the British capitulation, he was promoted to the bottom rank of army officers in his Maryland regiment.¹⁴ Paroled quickly from a Havana prison camp with other prisoners from Pensacola, he sat out the rest of the war in New York City studying theatrics. When peace arrived, he became a half-pay British army officer, who performed no duties until he was recalled to active service and sailed to the loyalist refuge of Nassau in the British Bahamas.¹⁵

Bowles devoted the next four years to improving his interrupted education and deciding on a livelihood. The new United States, where his parents and siblings lived, no longer interested him. In Nassau, he read broadly on subjects such as history and literature, studied languages, and honed his theatrical and artistic skills. In addition, he visited Florida and renewed contact with the Creeks, an indication of his interest in the area and its people. In 1787 he made a momentous decision when he signed on as an agent, or possibly as a junior partner, with the Nassau merchant John Miller and Gov. John Murray of the Bahamas, the latter better known as Lord Dunmore. British merchants sought to open a regular commerce with the Creeks and Seminoles to compensate for the trade they lost when the Floridas returned to Spanish hands in 1783.¹⁶ His new employment took Bowles, who was acquainted with southeastern languages and claimed adoption by a minor Lower Creek chief, back to West Florida, where his talks and promises fired the imagination of the goods-starved Natives. Perhaps the warm reception he received stimulated his agile mind to start scheming about projects beyond the scope of his associates. In particular, he sought to organize Muskogee into an autochthonous nation, with

Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory, edited by Bonnie G. McEwan (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 242-64, and 265-98, respectively; and Robbie Ethridge, *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

14. Bowles's autobiographical sketch, on board the frigate *Misisipi*, May 26, 1792, AGS, GM, leg. 6916, file 50.

15. *Ibid.* Wright, *Bowles*, 7-18.

16. Nassau merchants, some of whom outfitted corsairs, suffered financial losses when Spain conquered Nassau during the American War for Independence, and they were anxious to recoup losses through a trade with the southeastern Indians, which the British also had lost on leaving Florida. James A. Lewis, *The Final Campaign of the American Revolution: Rise and Fall of the Spanish Bahamas* (Columbus, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 105-106.

himself in charge as its director general.¹⁷ To do so, however, first meant divesting Alexander McGillivray, reputed head of the Creek Confederation, of leadership, and given his popularity among the Upper Creeks, that was no mean task.¹⁸

With the defeat and departure of Great Britain from its former thirteen colonies and from East and West Florida, McGillivray realized that his people desperately needed a new arms supplier to enable them to resist American intrusion on tribal territory. Frontiersmen plied a relentless land-grabbing attack on them. Georgians behaved most aggressively and, beginning in 1783 and continuing for several years, negotiated fraudulent land cessions signed by one or two liquored-up and gift-laden chiefs who lacked the authority to act for the entire nation.¹⁹

17. On the Creeks, see Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1999); J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986); and José Antonio Armillas Vicente, "La Gran Confederación India: Interacción Hispano-Angloamericana con las naciones indias del Sudeste norteamericano a fines del S. XVIII," in *Estudios sobre la política indigenista española en América*, 2 vols. (Valladolid: Seminario de Historia de América, Universidad de Valladolid, 1976), 2: 249-66. Kinnaird, in "International Rivalry," 68-69, with material taken from Bowles's *Authentic Memoirs*, p.19, believed that on his first trip to Apalache in the eastern Florida panhandle, Bowles coerced the Spaniards at nearby Fort San Marcos to let him introduce a shipload of Nassau goods. However, Spanish policy would not permit it, Spanish records do not confirm the event, and the Spaniards were not so feeble as to allow it. Bowles's idea of creating Muskogee was not an original concept except for its indigenous inhabitants. The American West of that time (trans-Appalachia) witnessed several attempts at "nation building," such as Franklin, Cumberland, and James Wilkinson's effort to establish a separate polity in Kentucky. Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier* 4th ed.; (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1974), 202-203, 226-27. The southeastern Indians never depended on Bowles for their own political formation.
18. On McGillivray, see John Walton Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938), 3-57; Arthur Preston Whitaker, "Alexander McGillivray, 1783-1789," and "Alexander McGillivray, 1789-1793," both in *North Carolina Historical Review* 5 (1928): 181-203 and 289-309, respectively; and Kinnaird, "International Rivalry," 59-85.
19. Bowles's 1792 autobiographical sketch; Caughey, *McGillivray*, 21-33; Reginald Horsman, *Expansion and American Indian Policy, 1783-1812* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 14, 27-31, 38-42, 49-48. Randolph C. Downes, in "Creek-American Relations, 1782-1790," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 21 (June 1937): 142-83, and "Creek-American Relations, 1790-1795," *Journal of Southern History* 8 (August 1942): 350-73, typifies earlier American historians who viewed highhanded Georgia treaties as legitimate. More accurate is Horsman, *Expansion and American Indian Policy*, 24-31.

When Georgia obtained the first treaty, McGillivray hurriedly sought out the Spaniards and negotiated an agreement of friendship and trade at Pensacola in 1784. Spain consented to provide the Creeks with manufactured goods and arms. However, weapons for these Natives began to dwindle three years later when armed clashes shook the tranquility of the Creeks' hunting domains nearest the Georgians. Gov. Esteban Miró of Louisiana and West Florida worried that providing arms might ignite a war with the United States, and he terminated further deliveries. But as fate decreed, Bowles appeared at that crucial juncture like a messiah preaching his ability to introduce cheaper goods and arms, although he brought few and was no more than a messenger for the Nassau merchants and governor who were anxious to extend their fortunes. In pursuit of his ambitions, Bowles soon claimed leadership over all southeastern Indians, but more realistically it extended only to loyal followers among the Seminoles and various Lower Creek towns. Arms and trade goods at bargain prices became the lures that attached them to Bowles, and the connection persisted through many thorny years before petering out. The Upper Creeks, among whom McGillivray possessed his greatest influence in the Indian confederation, only briefly fell into Bowles's orbit when the Spanish supply of weapons dried up. The chief terminated his association when he learned that Bowles schemed to wrest the reins of Creek leadership for himself and failed to deliver promised arms.²⁰

Bowles, meanwhile, had been encouraged by his initial visit to the Creeks and, in 1788, confidently plunged pell mell into the morass of southeastern intrigue with a filibustering expedition devoted to founding Muskogee. To do so, he had to oust Pantón, Leslie and Company that with Spanish permission supplied British trade goods and arms to the tribesmen. However, Bowles's opéra bouffe-like thrust into the Florida wilderness quickly foundered because of his wretched leadership, his inability to recruit more than three dozen apathetic white volunteers, and the speedy desertion of most of them. More embarrassing, his indigenous cohorts failed to rise up in his behalf. Returning to Nassau, he and his part-

20. Whitaker, "McGillivray, 1783-1789," 200-202. Whitaker exaggerated Bowles's strength among the Natives. James W. Covington, in *The Seminoles of Florida* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1993), 18-25, summarized Bowles's involvement with the Creeks and the Seminoles, a divergent Creek group.

ners reassessed the means to achieve their ends and concluded that they needed substantial help, which the government in London might provide. Creeks had favored the British in the late war and presumably would welcome their return. Consequently, Bowles, accompanied by five "Indian chiefs" who were in fact English-speaking mestizos—two Lower Creeks and three Cherokees and not one of them a Seminole—planned a journey to England. The so-called chiefs would bear witness to his alleged status in the tribes and sway the London public with spectacular shows into supporting his projects. In this calculated way, Bowles hoped to gain British trade and protection.²¹

His party traveled first to Canada and then across the Atlantic in 1790. The passage coincided with the Anglo-Spanish Nootka Sound Controversy, a war scare that involved conflicting territorial claims in today's American Northwest that borders with Canada, and it momentarily helped him. But when the prospect of hostilities simmered down, the only concession he derived for ships flying his personally designed Muskogee flag was trade at Nassau that already was a duty-free port.²²

In 1791 Bowles returned to West Florida determined to destroy the Panton Company and seize control of the Southeast. Meanwhile, McGillivray had dishonored his standing within the Creek Confederation by signing the Treaty of New York in 1790 that ceded to the United States a large parcel of frontier land now in central Georgia and netted him an annual pension. For several months Bowles did little more than denounce McGillivray's failings. However, that changed in January 1792, when he and his allies sacked the undefended Panton trading post on the Wakulla River, four miles above Fort San Marcos de Apalache in the far eastern Florida panhandle. Although an easy victory for Bowles and his white and Indian minions, that unlawful act alarmed the Spaniards because more Natives stampeded into Bowles's camp. Quite by

21. Wright, *Bowles*, 26-35. On the Panton Company, see William S. Coker and Thomas D. Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Borderlands: Panton, Leslie and Company and John Forbes and Company* (Pensacola: University Presses of Florida, 1986). Wright, in *Bowles*, 173, contended that his subject was "a natural leader." If this were true, Bowles would have been more successful in recruiting whites and Indians, but he failed, particularly when their divergent interests clashed.

22. William R. Manning, "The Nootka Sound Controversy," Part XVI of *Annual Report for the American Historical Association for the Year 1904* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1905): 279-478; Turner, ed., "English Policy," 711-35.

chance, Governor Carondelet already had sent a Spanish ship to Apalache with naval lieutenant José de Evia to invite Bowles to New Orleans to discuss his economic plans. Bowles wanted a port on the Spanish Gulf Coast where his partners would sell goods to the indigenous people. At Pensacola Evia learned about Panton's plundered store and the estrangement of Indians. Capturing the bandit now became Evia's primary objective to quiet the restless tribes. On reaching Fort San Marcos de Apalache, the naval lieutenant, who lacked the armed force necessary to seize Bowles in the wilderness, expressed an avid interest in his trading schemes and invited him to the fort for talks. Evia granted him permission to enter the fort with a twenty-man bodyguard. But Bowles carelessly chose four warriors instead, and neither he nor they resisted when Evia swept him away to New Orleans. Why the worldly-wise adventurer, who practiced deceit as an art form, permitted himself to fall into Spanish hands is difficult to explain, given that he had sacked Panton's store the month before. Perhaps his ego convinced him that his violent act had pressured the Spaniards into listening to his wiles for a rival trading post or a Muskogee state.²³

For the next seven years, Bowles was absent from the Gulf Coast, spending most of this time as a prisoner of state in Spain and

23. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., "Creek-American Treaty of 1790: Alexander McGillivray and the Diplomacy of the Old Southwest," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 51 (Winter 1967): 379-400; Capt. Gen. Luis de Las Casas to the Conde de Floridablanca, Havana, April 21, 1792, in *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794*, 3 Parts, edited by Lawrence Kinnaird (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1946), 3:27-34. The letter summarizes Bowles's activities between 1788 and 1792 from a Spanish perspective. AGS, GM, leg. 6916, file 50, contains documents on José de Evia's trip to Fort San Marcos, and many are published in Jack D. L. Holmes, *José de Evia y sus reconocimientos del Golfo de Mexico, 1783-1796* (Madrid: Ediciones José Porrua Turanzas, 1968), 195-230. Whitaker, in "William Augustus Bowles," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 2 (New York: Scribner, 1929), 519-20, asserted incorrectly that Carondelet planned an "unsavory stratagem" to capture Bowles. Actually, Evia planned the arrest because he left New Orleans before Carondelet learned about the seizure of Panton's store. Besides blatantly ignoring Bowles's criminal act as Spanish justification for his capture, Whitaker erred when he alleged that Folch first suggested a 4,500 peso (£1,000) reward for Bowles; however, Britisher Panton was responsible hence the £1,000 figure. Whitaker also inserted unreliable information in his sketch about Bowles. Although Bowles was in Spanish custody in 1792, he was not treated like a criminal until reaching Havana. In New Orleans Carondelet housed him in the army barracks, ordered new clothes for him because he arrived wearing Indian rags, and permitted him to write letters. Carondelet to Las Casas, New Orleans, March 13, 1792, AGS, GM, leg. 6916, file 50; Carondelet to the Conde de Floridablanca, New Orleans, May 22, 1792, Mississippi Provincial Archives, Spanish Domination (hereafter abbreviated as MPA, SD), vol. 4, ff. 121-33.

the Philippines. After two years in Peninsular jails, a year-long voyage to the Philippines, and an initial fifteen-month imprisonment in Manila, the Spaniards turned him loose in the city. He had to support himself and was required to report daily to a magistrate. He exploited his quasi-freedom to torment officials with shocking letters, public denunciations in the streets, and impossible demands. His defiant racket eventually drew the ire of outraged superior authorities, and it goaded them into shipping him back to Spain in 1797, in another journey that consumed more than a year.²⁴

At a stopover on the west coast of Africa, the astute Bowles escaped from the prison of his ship, found refuge on another vessel, and plotted a course back to the Gulf Coast. Through unforeseen twists and turns, he landed on a ship sailing to England and wound up in London by fall of 1798. He had not forgotten his dream of building Muskogee and again began drumming up support for an Indian polity that he would control. He made preposterous declarations to the British government, which now was at war with Spain, about using his indigenous followers to capture the entire Spanish Gulf Coast from Florida to Texas, and perhaps Mexico, too. His lengthy absence from his warriors did not trouble him, but his boisterous assurances of their willingness to serve him failed to persuade cautious British officials. They merely provided him with transportation back to the Gulf Coast. In the process, the war brigantine *Fox* that carried him and his party from Jamaica in September 1799 wrecked in a storm on St. George's Island, a barrier island opposite the mouth of the Apalachicola River. Loss of the *Fox* destroyed most of Bowles's small cache of arms, munitions, and trade goods intended to rouse tribal warriors into rallying around him and his Muskogee flag.²⁵

24. "Dictate by the Attorney for the Council of the Indies on the Return to Spain from the Philippines of Bowles," Madrid, August 30, 1798, Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Estado (hereafter abbreviated as AHN, Est.), leg. 3889bis, file 10. See also other documents on Bowles in this file. Douglass, in "Adventurer Bowles," 18, believed that in the Philippines, the Spaniards offered Bowles "any position he wanted in the administration of Luzon." It was clearly a Bowles deception. Letters from Spanish officials in the Philippines do not uphold Douglass' absurd contention. Wright, in *Bowles*, 87-106, related the adventurer's travels, relying on his subject's letters.

25. Wright, *Bowles*, 94-115. Andrew Ellicott, in his *Journal of Andrew Ellicott* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1962), 226-34, recounts meeting Bowles on St. George's Island after his shipwreck. A week later, Ellicott informed Capt. Tomás Portell at Fort San Marcos of Bowles's presence on the island; it was the first news the Spaniards received that he had returned to the Gulf Coast.

During the next year, Bowles proceeded with his plans while he evaded the Spaniards who tried diligently to recapture him, but lacked the manpower to reach him in the hinterland. Meanwhile, Bowles again found general assistance among the Seminoles, opposition from the Upper Creeks, and a split between approval and condemnation among the Lower Creeks. He presumed to call himself a chief and the director general of the Creek Confederation, titles that enraged the Upper Creeks.²⁶ His sole victories in trying to realize his Muskogee plan came when he sacked Pantón's Wakulla store again and besieged Fort San Marcos in April 1800.²⁷

Shortly before the attack began, the Spanish galley squadron that protected the Gulf Coast seized the Nassau schooner *Hawk* that was bringing arms to Bowles on April 1, 1800. He used its capture to spur several hundred warriors and thirty white combatants, mostly sailors who had fled the mired *Hawk*, to support his declaration of war on Spain and lay siege to the fort two weeks later. Bowles severed its land and water communications with Pensacola and the galley squadron that stood guard off the mouth of the Apalachicola River for more Nassau ships. His blockade of the San Marcos de Apalache River allowed him to capture two vessels and prevent two craft that had reached the fort from leaving to warn the squadron. As the siege lengthened to five weeks, Spanish stores and munitions neared depletion. Unable to lift the siege and fearful of a massacre, Capt. Tomás Portell surrendered with terms on May 19. The agreement permitted him to leave with the fatigued garrison and civilian employees on the two vessels.²⁸ Superior offi-

26. The talk denouncing Bowles was made at Tuckabatche by Mad Dog (Efau Hadjo), speaker for the nation, and it is published in "A Talk of the Creek Nation Respecting William Augustus Bowles," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 11 (July 1932): 33-34. See also note 35.

27. Pantón lost \$16,054 on this occasion. Robert S. Cotterill, "A Chapter of Pantón, Leslie and Company," *Journal of Southern History* 10 (August 1944): 277.

28. Fort San Marcos de Apalache's weaknesses are examined from different perspectives in Gilbert C. Din, "In Defense of Captain Tomás Portell: An Episode in the History of Spanish West Florida," *Revista Española de Estudios Norteamericanos* 12, nos. 21-22 (2001): 143-58; and in Gilbert C. Din, "William Augustus Bowles on the Georgia Frontier: A Reexamination of the Spanish Surrender of Fort San Marcos de Apalache in 1800," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 88 (Fall 2004): 305-307. These studies show that Arthur Preston Whitaker's assessment of Bowles, Portell, and Fort San Marcos and its siege in 1800, in *The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803: A Study in Trade, Politics, and Diplomacy* (1934; Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1962 rpt.), 169-76, is poorly researched and error-filled. Wright, in *Bowles*, 128-32, provides more information than Whitaker about the siege but accepts his specious interpretation of events.

cials at New Orleans and Pensacola, who without seeing the fort and habituated to protecting scarce royal funds, repeatedly had described its limestone walls as impregnable; despite their reassurances, the weather-beaten structure had countless defects. Bowles held his prize for a month before a Spanish assault with galleys under Lt. Col. Vicente Folch y Juan, commandant at Pensacola, expelled him and his followers in a two-hour combat on the afternoon of June 23, 1800.²⁹

Although Bowles roamed free through the West Florida wilderness for another three years his influence gradually receded. He failed to introduce sufficient goods and arms to satisfy Indian needs, waged a losing naval war with his corsairs against Spanish galleys, and slowly alienated Native American warriors with his endless fighting and unfulfilled promises.³⁰ His repetitive but often unrealized assurances that Nassau ships loaded with goods were coming to fulfill Indian desires validated his name of liar. The Peace of Amiens in 1802 denied Bowles aid from Nassau, and the admiralty court at the city hanged several of his pirates for seizing Spanish vessels. On August 20, a significant party of Seminole chiefs, accompanied by men, women, and children, concluded their hostilities against Spain by signing a peace treaty with Commandant Jacobo DuBreüil at Fort San Marcos, and more chiefs reaffirmed the peace in December. The shortage of goods and constant fighting had exhausted them. As Bowles's support shrank, his last Seminole followers surrendered him at the Upper Creek meeting place of the Hickory Ground during the annual Creek conference in May 1803. His captors then delivered him to New Orleans—traveling via Mobile, not Pensacola as it is often told—and collected a reward. The Spaniards transported him to Havana in June.³¹ In the Cuban capital, the forlorn Bowles gradu-

29. Din, "In Defense of Portell," 143-58. David Hart White, in *Vicente Folch, Governor in Spanish Florida, 1787-1811* (Washington, D. C.: University Press of America, Inc., 1981), 53-55, discusses Folch's capture of Fort San Marcos but incorporates errors from the works of Whitaker and Wright.

30. Gilbert C. Din, "Mississippi River Gunboats on the Gulf Coast: The Spanish Naval Fight against William Augustus Bowles, 1799-1803," *Louisiana History* 47 (Summer 2006): 277-308. Jacobo DuBreüil to Gov. Manuel Salcedo, August 30, 1802, in MPA, SD, vol. 7, ff. 604-21; "Preliminary Peace Treaty between the King of Spain and the Seminole villages of West Florida," Fort San Marcos de Apalache, August 20, 1802, AGI, PC, leg. 2367.

31. DuBreüil to Salcedo, no. 160, Apalache, December 25, 1802; "Agreement made at Fort San Marcos," DuBreüil *et al.* for the Spaniards and Oosuchi *et al.* for the Seminoles, December 25, 1802, both in AGI, PC, leg. 76. Various

ally came to grips with his desperate plight, the permanency of the granite walls and iron bars of his prison cell, and his dismal future. After two years, his despondency worsened, and he starved himself to death. He succumbed at the hospital of La Cabaña Castle, not at El Morro Castle, on December 23, 1805.³²

With Bowles's life reviewed, inaccuracies about him that have dominated the published historical literature and been replicated ad infinitum need to be sorted out to determine unequivocally who and what the man was. Only through a careful analysis can the genuine Bowles emerge from his fabricated masquerade.

The fundamental question to ask about him is: Was he really the director general of the Creeks, as J. Leitch Wright, Jr., in the subtitle of his biography about the adventurer boldly asserted and others repeated?³³ Wright appears to be topmost among the writ-

accounts explain Bowles's capture at Hickory Ground. John Forbes, in "A Journal of John Forbes, May 1803: The Seizure of William Augustus Bowles," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 9 (April 1931): 279-89, gave Benjamin Hawkins credit for it, but other people also were responsible, especially the mestizos Thomas Perryman and Jack Cannard. Manuel Salcedo to DuBreüil, New Orleans, October 3, 1803, AGI, PC, leg. 76; DuBreüil to Salcedo, no. 215, San Marcos de Apalache, August 5, 1803, attached to (Salcedo) to the Marqués de Someruelos, no. 440, New Orleans, October 11, 1803, both in *ibid.*, leg. 155B. See also Esteban Folch to Vicente Folch, Hickory Ground, May 29, 1803, *ibid.*, leg. 106A. Whitaker, in *Mississippi Question*, 174, sheds crocodile tears over Bowles's capture in 1803 and his surrender to the Spaniards. He asserts that the apprehension occurred on United States soil. Actually, it was Creek land, the capture had the approval of U. S. Indian Superintendent Benjamin Hawkins, and officials in Washington regarded Bowles as a rogue and desperado and were indifferent as to what the Spaniards did with him. José de Jáudenes and José de Viar to Luis de Las Casas, Philadelphia, July 16, 1792, AGI, PC, leg. 152A, explain the low opinion of Bowles in U. S. government circles. See also Isaac Joslin Cox, *West Florida Controversy*, 140-41.

32. Archivo Nacional de Cuba (Havana), Florida, leg. 5, file 1 (photocopies from the Historic New Orleans Collection, New Orleans), has a lengthy collection of documents that details Bowles's refusal to testify or take nourishment, his physical deterioration, and his final hospitalization; Whitaker, "Bowles," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 520.

33. Wright, in *Bowles*, 37-38, admitted that only rump councils of Seminoles and Lower Creeks did what Bowles wanted. For example, in 1789 at Coweta, a Lower Creek town, Lower Creeks and Seminoles commissioned Indians to accompany Bowles to London. Only two of the five who went in 1790 were Lower Creeks; three others were Cherokees who did not have their tribe's permission. The Seminoles, his staunchest allies, sent no one. Though Bowles was calling himself a Creek chief and "Director General of the Creek Nation," the latter title was not sanctioned by all Lower Creeks, let alone the entire nation. Seminoles and Lower Creeks permitted Bowles to behave idiosyncratically and call himself whatever he wanted as long as they obtained goods and arms at low prices.

ers who have accepted Bowles's exaggerations as accurate. This is unfortunate because from the viewpoint of the Upper Creeks and other members of the Creek Confederation, Bowles never held a leadership position of any kind nor was he ever chosen by an all-Creek council to such a post. Furthermore, he was never the director of the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws as he sometimes contended. He once boasted to Spanish officials in Madrid that he had united these three tribes and the Creeks into a grand confederation.³⁴ However, proof that Bowles did so is lacking. On his return to the Gulf Coast in 1799 and proclamation that he was director general of Muskogee, the Upper Creeks heatedly reacted and denied ever having a white man as a chief, let alone as the head of the Creek Confederation. They emphatically repudiated his phony claims. Nevertheless, he clung to the self-imposed title of director general of Muskogee to the end of his life.³⁵

Furthermore, Bowles's Muskogee state never saw the light of day. Although he issued proclamations in October and November 1799, allegedly in behalf of his Native council, it consisted of only a small group of Seminole and Lower Creek chiefs who welcomed his return to the Gulf Coast. His proclamations announced the creation of Muskogee, decreed the expulsion of Spanish and American government officials from his new polity, and declared the establishment of three ports and fees for imported goods. However, none of these measures took effect. Except for his closest allies, Indians generally and Spaniards specifically labeled his posturing as bogus. His announcements, nevertheless, deluded some later readers into believing that he indeed had founded, and was the grand pooh-bah of, Muskogee.³⁶ But its establishment was difficult to effect because between 1799 and 1803 Bowles had enemies and often lived like a fugitive out of fear that friendly Indian towns could not protect him. Nonetheless Miccosukee, only about

34. Bowles to (the Spanish king), New Providence, August 21, 1789, and Bowles to the Conde de Floridablanca, New Providence, August 30, 1789, both in AHN, Est., leg. 3889bis.

35. "Creek Chief at Tuckabatche," November 25, 1799, enclosed in Marqués de Someruelos to the Marqués de Casa-Calvo, (Havana), January 8, 1800, AGI, PC, leg. 154C, contains Mad Dog's denunciation of Bowles.

36. "Bowles Proclamation," Wekiva, October 26, 1799, *ibid*, leg. 2371; "William Augustus Bowles, Director General of Muskogee," Headquarters at Wekiva, October 31, 1799, MPA, SD, vol. 6, ff. 842-43. Wright, in *Creeks and Seminoles*, 126, believed Thomas Perryman and Chief Kinache were the same person. They definitely were not.

thirty miles from Fort San Marcos and under the charge of Bowles's long-time ally Chief Kinache, did this off and on. Spanish troop shortages and trepidations about marching into an ambush in the darkensses of the forests shielded the town from attack. However, conditions changed by 1802, when many Seminole chiefs and people had wearied of the fruitless war, and they forced Kinache to withdraw his welcome. Bowles then spent more time at Estifunalga, a farther removed village that he described as his "capital."³⁷

Seminoles and Creeks varied in their support for Bowles. While Seminoles and several Lower Creek towns helped him, the more numerous Upper Creeks opposed him from 1789. Neither McGillivray's death in 1793 nor Bowles's reappearance on the Gulf Coast in 1799 changed the predominant Upper Creek opinion of him. Curiously, however, he enjoyed minor help from assorted English-speaking Anglo-Creek mestizos; even so, other mestizos, such as Thomas Perryman, Bowles's own brother-in-law, and Jack Cannard, a first-rate intermediary, worked assiduously against him. Pure-blooded Seminoles constituted his most stalwart followers and adhered more closely to tribal customs and traditions. This included hunting as the men's preferred economic activity, raiding for horses and cattle, and inconsequential warfare with inveterate enemies that provided honors and coups for victorious warriors. They disdained the pacific and sedentary occupations of agriculture, that was predominantly women's work, and cattle-raising that even Bowles favored because of the unpredictability of the hunt. They had not embraced the "new order of things" as Claudio Saunt describes the significant economic and social changes then challenging many of the traditional tribesmen.³⁸

Understanding the need for altering the Indians' economic livelihood, Bowles favored the introduction of white settlers during his last sojourn in the Creek country. On returning to the Gulf Coast in 1799, he stopped in Jamaica, where he tried to recruit French Saint Domingue refugees in need of a home, but they wisely declined to relocate until they received assurances of a peaceful

37. In 1802, Bowles was at Estifunalga, where he issued a "Proclamation" about his navy, Estifunalga, June 1, 1802, AGI, PC, leg. 2362. His navy at the time consisted of one small boat.

38. Saunt, *New Order*, 139-63; William H. Masterson, *William Blount* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1954), 239. See also Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1976).

Native reception. While on the one hand, whites living in the Creek homeland perhaps would enable Bowles to manage the Indians more effectively, on the other hand, they would corrode indigenous society. He also promised free land to white loyalists in Nassau who resettled, and it resulted in occasional destitute and land-hungry folk arriving on the Gulf Coast to inspect the terrain he intended to grant them without Indian approval. Because these white men appeared late in his final stay in West Florida, Bowles abused many by drafting them into his armed ranks as raiders or onto his makeshift corsairs that often were captured Cuban fishing boats. By 1802 Bowles was fighting for survival, and it took precedence over everything else. Nevertheless, his white draftees deserted him as quickly as they could. Bowles's henchmen possibly shot some of them as they fled or after their capture as vivid warnings to others.³⁹

Bowles's outrageous behavior was visible during his visit to London in 1790-91, when he attempted to garner government assistance. Ever the showman, Bowles's schooling in theatrics had emerged earlier when he dramatically switched his attire to an improvised Indian costume to proclaim his alleged status as a chief. In London he paraded before the city's inhabitants as a prominent Native leader to grab the attention of key government personnel and convince them to accept his position and pronouncements as genuine. He granted newspaper reporters interviews to disseminate ideas he wanted publicized. Among his boasts that the city's papers duly printed was the claim that the Spanish ambassador had invited him and his cohorts to dinner and that he often dropped in unannounced at the embassy for chats. Actually, the ambassador, the Marqués del Campo (Bernardo del Campo), read in local newspapers about Bowles's arrival in London and attempts to win British backing for his malevolent scheme to turn Spanish territory in West Florida into Muskogee. Only after his effort to obtain British aid fizzled did the chameleon-like Bowles seek Spanish backing for Muskogee's formation, assuring that it would serve as a buffer state between American and Spanish soil. Of his three visits to the Spanish embassy, only the first was granted in response to Bowles's request and Campo's own curiosity.

39. "Interrogatories of Peter Sarketh and Francis Parker," Fort San Marcos de Apalache, August 2, 1802, MPA, SD, vol. 7, ff. 591-94 and 599-604, respectively. Bowles had promised each man five hundred acres. Wright, *Bowles*, 109-111.

Nevertheless, Bowles dropped in uninvited twice more, allegedly to bring important papers. The visits never included dinner. However, they convinced Campo that the white charlatan masquerading as an Indian was a rabble-rouser, and he urged his government to shun him.⁴⁰ On his second stay in London in 1798-99, Bowles avoided the Spanish ambassador and courted British sympathizers, but none possessed the money he desperately needed to promote his plans.

Nonetheless, the indefatigable plotter tenaciously wooed notice in London. In both trips to the British capital, he commissioned paintings of himself. The only known portrait is by Thomas Hardy, today in London's National Portrait Gallery. In that haunting and often-published likeness, the handsome Bowles posed grandly in indigenous regalia. He also granted a book publisher, Benjamin Baynton, interviews that were rapidly transformed into a Bowles autobiography. Immodestly, he dictated to Baynton the events and interpretations he wanted included.⁴¹ He did this again between 1798 and 1799, when he returned to London, and an anonymous author penned a synopsis of Bowles's life. Later historians often accepted the so-called facts in both books as truthful.⁴²

As a consequence of these and other writings, inaccuracies about Bowles's life abound. Sometimes they are glaringly obvious. For example, while on his way to Spain in 1792 on Esteban Miró's frigate *Misisipí*, at the former governor's request Bowles wrote a biographical sketch about himself. Miró naively expected honesty, but Bowles exploited the opportunity to alter his real life. He claimed that his English mother Eleanor was a quarter Indian from

40. Marqués del Campo to the Conde de Floridablanca, London, April 15, 1791, with Bowles's memorial addressed to the king enclosed, London, March 25, 1791, both in AHN, Est., leg. 3889bis; Wright, *Bowles*, 54, 183. Wright cites the London newspaper *Daily Advertiser* of March 17, 1791, as the source for the dinner at the Spanish embassy. Campo did not mention a Bowles letter written on January 26, 1791, from Adelphi in London, requesting that, should a message come from the first minister Conde de Floridablanca, Campo was to forward it to Bowles. Bowles's letter appears more for show to Whitehall than a genuine message to Campo. The letter is published in Turner, ed., "English Policy," 734.

41. Jones, "The Real Author of the 'Authentic Memoirs of William Augustus Bowles,'" 300-308. The second portrait of Bowles appears to be in private hands in Philadelphia.

42. *Public Characters of 1801-1802* (London: Richard Phillips, 1804), is a reprint of the original 1802 edition. American editions appeared immediately after the London publication.

the region of Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh), a fable probably first concocted while he lived among the Indians to establish a matrilineal connection with them; Creeks reckoned descent and authority through female lines. Bowles also declared in 1799 that as he crossed the Atlantic Ocean as a prisoner seven years before with Miró, who treated him as a passenger while at sea, he boldly leaped into tempestuous waters to rescue a sailor swept off the vessel by enormous waves. He miraculously overcame the ocean's powerful currents to reach the sailor and somehow returned to the ship with him. Despite the storm, the passengers allegedly were on deck and greeted him with lively applause as the crew hauled him on board.⁴³ His 1792 sketch for the former governor omitted this heroic tale because it never happened, and Miró, whom Bowles had befriended during the voyage, did not mention the incident.

Bowles's unrestrained appetite for spinning incredulous stories that both mesmerized and deceived listeners was a practice he sharpened to perfection. In England in 1798-99, he titillated audiences with spectacular stories detailing his teenage amours with indigenous maidens. More outrageous, he contended that, while confined in Madrid's jails six years before, officials in the Spanish government had pleaded with him to enlist in its service. They included politicians such as the Condes de Aranda and Floridablanca and the Duque de la Alcudia, who allegedly vied for his help to ensure them appointment to the coveted post of first minister in the government. With this contention, Bowles insinuated that he, whom the Spaniards had incarcerated as a felon, held the power to sway the king in the selection of the highest political official in the realm. However, he did not explain why the same government that courted him also would keep him locked up. Rejecting Spanish offers of freedom and employment, the sturdy Bowles chose continued confinement because his loyalty belonged unequivocally to the British nation. A massive flaw in this tale was that his stories and letters to this effect did not happen during his Spanish incarceration between 1792 and 1794 as he would have people believe. He could not have preserved the letters intact through stays in various prisons or on arduous journeys aboard different ships to and from the Philippines, especially when he lost

43. Douglass, "Adventurer Bowles," 17, who cited *Public Characters*, 356. In the latter work, Bowles provided the story of his alleged rescue of the sailor in 1792, and, after returning to the ship, he praised himself for his bold deed.

his possessions several times. Instead, he composed the epistles and yarns after his arrival in London in 1798 to demonstrate his allegiance to the British government and to secure favors.⁴⁴

Other similar deceptive tactics helped Bowles to a degree in the southeastern wilderness. Using psychological warfare, he flooded the woods with stories and rumors to throw his opponents off balance. For example, in 1801 he spread tales that Nassau was making 5,000 British army uniforms to be stored in the Florida Keys for soldiers coming to his aid. Other informants acknowledged a smaller number of uniforms that were intended for Indians who, when they attacked Fort San Marcos, would deceive the Spaniards into believing they were British. Of course, an attack with British-dressed warriors never happened. In another example of Bowles's cunning, in 1801 the commandant at San Marcos engaged an Indian to spy on Bowles's activities at Miccosukee. He went to the Seminole town and spent several days there. On returning to the fort, he announced that 1,200 Upper Creeks had gathered at Miccosukee with the intention of joining Chief Kinache in attacking San Marcos. This startling revelation troubled the Spaniards who long had believed the Upper Creeks to be friends. But they neither showed up at the fort nor at Miccosukee because the "spy" had been seduced by Bowles, and he misinformed the Spaniards. Nevertheless, for many months the ruse confused his opponents along the Gulf Coast. Bowles also unleashed rumors and falsehoods to delude the Spaniards with his whereabouts as he tried to move stealthily across the Floridas.⁴⁵ Indians often sped news and rumors through the woods.

Other uncertainties about Bowles include personal details surrounding his life. Authors have not agreed as to when he was born. It happened in either 1763 or 1764, in either October or November. Of the two years, 1763 appears the more likely, given

44. Manuel García to the Marqués de Casa-Calvo, San Marcos de Apalache, February 20, 1800, AGI, PC, leg. 108; Wright, *Bowles*, 85-86. More reliable information about Spanish court politics can be found in Richard Herr, *The Eighteenth Century Revolution in Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 318-25; and Gabriel H. Lovett, *Napoleon and the Birth of Modern Spain*, 2 vols. (New York: New York University Press, 1965), 1: 8-9. On several occasions, the Spaniards in West Florida recovered Bowles's letters as they chased him. Many are preserved in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville.

45. DuBreuil to Folch, nos. 32 and 40, San Marcos de Apalache, June 16 and July 18, 1801, in AGI, PC, legs. 32 and 2362, respectively; James Durouzeaux to Folch, Coweta, July 14, 1801, *ibid.*, leg. 54.

that it would make him thirteen when he joined a loyalist regiment in early 1777. He was not from wealthy Tory forebears, but from several generations of English book and map sellers before his father emigrated and eventually took up farming in Maryland. Bowles's literacy and perhaps his father's influence empowered his selection as a cadet (ensign) the next year. By his own admission, he attained the rank of officer on May 8, 1781. He wrote this down in his own hand in his 1792 autobiographical sketch, and it appears more credible than assertions proffered by persons who declared that he became an officer in his early teens. By May 1781, at age seventeen, he was an adult by the standards of the time. While the British government in all likelihood never promoted the half-pay officer again, this did not prevent Bowles from calling himself captain, colonel, and general, ranks he never genuinely attained except in his own Lilliputian army.⁴⁶

Several historians who have written on Bowles have lamented that this vibrant eccentric starved himself to death instead of dying gloriously in battle with a pistol or sword in hand.⁴⁷ Despite his participation in daring activities, such as his escape from the clutches of the Spaniards on the African coast, his efforts at recruiting a significant body of southeastern Natives for the establishment of Muskogee, and his five-week siege of Fort San Marcos that included fire-fights, sustainable evidence that he personally battled enemies is absent.⁴⁸ Examples of him loading and discharging pistols or muskets as bullets zinged past him in combat or of the swash-buckler wielding a cutlass as he boldly charged the enemy cannot be found. While he was present at Fort San Marcos when the

46. Wright, *Bowles*, 1-2. Among the writers who believe that Bowles became an officer at age fourteen is J. Leitch Wright, Jr., in "The Queen's Redoubt Explosion in the Lives of William A. Bowles, John Miller and William Panton," *Anglo-Spanish Confrontation on the Gulf Coast during the American Revolution*, edited by William S. Coker and Robert R. Rea (Pensacola: Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, 1982): 181.

47. Whitaker, *Mississippi Question*, 174; McAlister, "Bowles and the State of Muskogee," 328; Wright, *Bowles*, 174.

48. Bowles, in *Authentic Memoirs*, 28-29, alleged that he participated in an attack on the Spanish post called *La Aldea* (The Village), across the bay from Mobile, but his description of the encounter is not accurate. He also stated, in *ibid*, 35-36, that he was near a British redoubt filled with munitions that exploded killing nearly one hundred and wounding additional men from his Maryland unit. He, however, amazingly escaped serious injury. It was immediately after this devastating incident that he became an officer. The Spanish side of the clash at The Village is told in Jack D. L. Holmes, "Alabama's Bloodiest Day of the American Revolution: Counterattack at The Village, January 7, 1781," *Alabama Review* 29 (1976): 208-19.

Spaniards attacked the fort on June 23, 1800, he galloped away on a horse long before Spanish grenadiers debarked from galleys to storm the fortification. In doing so, Bowles set an example that his 120 defenders emulated after several terrifying shells exploded on the fort's walls. Flight for him was the better part of valor.⁴⁹

Finally, in all his activities on the Gulf Coast and in his attempts to establish Muskogee, Bowles received formidable assistance from Spanish weakness in the Southeast. That deficiency afflicted the rest of the Spanish empire as well.⁵⁰ Despite its declining power, Spain joined other conservative kingdoms to fight revolutionary and regicidal France between 1793 and 1795. Only a year after the battered monarchy dropped out of that losing conflict, it allied with the French Directory that had assumed charge in the Gaulic republic, a decision that renewed hostilities with Great Britain. The Peace of Amiens briefly interrupted the wars until 1803. These seemingly endless hostilities exhausted Spain's treasury and manpower, and troops, like funds, were channeled first to essential possessions. As an undeveloped colony and glaringly devoid of all but a handful of white inhabitants, West Florida experienced agonizing scarcities in money and soldiers. The Spanish struggle against Bowles, particularly between 1799 and 1803, severely strained West Florida's and Louisiana's sparse military resources.⁵¹

Bowles, however, also suffered constraints in his actions. He was dependent on not always reliable allies, who displayed scant interest in his political aspirations, and on meager supplies that grew slimmer as his fortunes deteriorated. Despite the Seminoles gradually abandoning him, Bowles stubbornly refused to recognize approaching calamity and remained as if riveted among them. Shortly before his arrest in 1803, he tried to project a positive façade and irrationally predicted that the Indian council at Hickory Ground determining his fate would instead elect him as its

49. Folch to Casa-Calvo, Pensacola, July 15, 1800, AGI, PC, leg. 154C.

50. Among the many works on the Anglo-Spanish conflict, see John Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs*, 2 vols. (2nd ed.; New York: New York University Press, 1981); Henry Kamen, *Spain in the Later Seventeenth Century, 1650-1700* (London: Longman, 1980); John H. Elliott, *Empires in the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2006); and Thomas E. Chávez, *Spain and the Independence of the United States: An Intrinsic Gift* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002).

51. David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 271-98; Crane Brinton, *A Decade of Revolution, 1789-1799* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 185-86, 207-08, 212-45.

head. His swagger convinced no one.⁵² Why he had not fled earlier for the safety of distant lands defies imagination, or possibly he realized that his crimes had converted him into a *persona non grata* and he had nowhere to hide. Consequently, he stayed and played out his perilous adventure to its bitter conclusion.

In assessing Bowles's presence on the Gulf Coast, several factors initially helped him to advance his ambitions. They included British merchants in Nassau eager to recover lost trade with the southeastern Indians, American intrusion on indigenous lands that necessitated weapons for an armed defense, Spanish debility, and European wars and colonial conflicts that redirected Spain's attention. However, Bowles's attempt to establish his Muskogee nation failed the first time because of Spanish success in capturing him shortly after he pillaged Panton's store. His destructive act cost the firm several thousand pounds in lost merchandise and hides, but many Natives felt alienated by Spanish rule because of Panton's trading monopoly and inflated prices for goods.⁵³

On Bowles's return seven years later, foreign wars and colonial disturbances continued to hamper Spain's ability to meet his challenge forcefully. Nevertheless, he also had major tribulations given that he had failed to align the components necessary for achieving victory. They included the reconciliation of rivals, the introduction of the abundant goods and weapons Indians coveted, and the termination of the turmoil that exhausted his Native American allies. Bowles could not convert an assortment of adversaries—Spaniards, Upper Creeks, and Americans and each with their own agendas—into friends nor could he secure their acceptance to Muskogee's establishment under his rule. Furthermore, he could not obtain recognition of his leadership from all the Indians he presumed to govern. These goals were demonstrably unachievable. And that was the rub: at no time did Bowles come close to attaining the consent of all these essential groups. Even Great Britain never fully embraced him. These obstacles meant that his likelihood of success from the time his venture began stood at next to none.⁵⁴

52. Forbes, "Journal of Forbes," 286-87.

53. Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders*, 51-56. The authors set the sum lost in the pillage at Panton's Wakulla store at about £2,800, or \$12,600.

54. Despite the Seminole agreement to Bowles's surrender, Wright, in *Bowles*, 172-73, contended that they still supported him in subsequent years. Contrary to Wright's assertion, conditions in West Florida quieted down greatly after

This scrutiny of Bowles's personality and activities as well as the conditions on the Gulf Coast between 1787 and 1803 places much about his life in bold relief. It further illuminates how he manipulated and distorted information about himself.⁵⁵ While Bowles's contemporaries generally were acquainted with him, as Pantón's description above attests, subsequent generations through the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries lost touch with accurate details about him. Alas, later investigators never probed deeply even when they used occasional Spanish documents. Instead, they too often relied on the accessible contemporary English-language publications that contained the misleading stories that Bowles fed to British newspapers and book authors. By doing so, they unconsciously aided in spreading more widely the false images that Bowles had cultivated about himself decades earlier.⁵⁶

More realistically, the Spaniards at all times considered his activities as criminal because of his violent acts committed in their colony of West Florida. Similarly, most contemporaries saw him as an opportunist who stalked the Southeast seeking clout over a desperate indigenous community caught in the crosshairs of encroaching and intractable American adversaries. His primary objective always had been to seize leadership of the Creeks for his own purposes and for his Nassau merchant backers, whom he needed for the essential trade goods they provided. An accurate view of Bowles requires stripping him of all the claptrap he disseminated about himself and considering him for what he was—an adventurer who in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries strove to carve out an autonomous domain to satisfy his personal ambitions in notice, stature, and power. That was the real William Augustus Bowles, whose true life often has escaped historians because of the legacy of lies and deception he left behind.

Bowles's removal and support for him dwindled dramatically. However, Creek and Seminole unrest persisted because of American encroachment on their lands, and Bowles had done nothing to help the Indians in this regard.

55. Wright, in "The Queen's Redoubt," 190, made the shocking contention: "The Spaniards were never sure whether to take Bowles's arguments seriously and treat him as the true leader of the southern Indians—the State of Muskogee—or to accept Pantón's denunciations that Bowles was a thief, that the Indians called him 'captain liar,' and that he should be disposed of like a common criminal." Contrary to Wright's assertion, the Spaniards knew precisely who and what Bowles was: He was not the leader of the southern Indians, his vision of Muskogee never achieved realization, Pantón's and the Indians' designations for him were correct, and the Spaniards treated him for what he was, a criminal. Wright's statement reflects his deficient grasp of Bowles and sustains the chronic misperceptions about him.
56. Many of the articles on Bowles are cited above in note 9.

Thomas de Saliere Tucker: Reconciling Industrial and Liberal Arts Education at Florida's Normal School for Colored Teachers, 1887-1901

By Peter A. Dumbuya

At one and the same time, Thomas de Saliere Tucker's life and career in academia exemplified the triumph of liberty and human rights over slavery in the second half of the 19th century and the difficulty often encountered by those who challenged the long-held notion that equal education could be provided to blacks and whites in separate but equal educational institutions. In 1889 the Florida Superintendent of Public Instruction proclaimed that "it has become a settled policy in the State that competent colored teachers shall be employed to teach the colored children and youth."¹ Seven years later, the United States Supreme Court decided *Plessy v. Ferguson*. There, the Court held that the establishment of separate schools for white and black students was a valid exercise of legislative power, and it was, therefore, a "fallacy of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority."² The educational philos-

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1. Albert J. Russell, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the School Year Ending September 30, 1889*, 15.
2. *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

ophy of the day harkened back to the mindset of colonization, an early 19th century scheme that proposed the establishment of black-run independent republics in the Caribbean or Africa in order to avoid a race war in the United States. By the end of the century educational leaders presupposed that blacks and whites could be educated in separate schools and that adult blacks could "then be brought up, at the public expense, to tillage, arts or sciences, according to their geniuses."³ As the United States became more industrialized, agricultural and industrial education became the model that historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) followed.

Not surprisingly, in the post-Civil War era, blacks redoubled their efforts to embrace education as a cornerstone of the struggle for liberty and racial equality. Nonetheless, in the provision of education to the freed men and women, the historiography has accorded great deference to the work of northeastern teachers and missionaries and their southern counterparts. A good number of them were graduates of Oberlin College in Lorain County (Ohio), the first institution in the U.S. to enroll black students (male and female) at the urging of Lewis Tappan, a New York merchant, leading abolitionist, and one of the institution's benefactors. After the Civil War, black teachers began to outnumber their white counterparts in black schools, signaling "the high value that blacks placed upon education."⁴ Most of the black teachers were graduates of church-affiliated colleges and universities, including Oberlin College.

Tucker, a native of Sierra Leone in West Africa and the product of one of its mission schools, was also a graduate of Oberlin College, but his contribution to the education of southern blacks has remained as obscure as his genealogy. To date there is no full-length scholarly article or biography about Tucker and his pioneering work in the area of black education even though he spent fourteen years (1887-1901) as the first president of Florida's Normal School for Colored Teachers, now Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University (FAMU), in Tallahassee, Florida. The historiography is incomplete and is based, in some instances, on incorrect information about his early life and work. According to

3. Merrill D. Peterson, ed., *Thomas Jefferson: Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1984), 264.

4. Adam Fairclough, "Being in the Field of Education and Also Being a Negro ... Seems ... Tragic," *Journal of American History* (June 2000), 66.

one account, "There is even an element of doubt as to the correct method of spelling his middle name;" it varies from "DeSaliere" (Oberlin College listing) to "DeS." (official Florida documents). The authors of that study, a book-length history of FAMU, concluded that "While the authenticity of Tucker's genealogy may forever remain hidden as a secret of history, much of his later life can be reasonably authenticated."⁵ In a biography of Nathan B. Young, the institution's second president (1901-23), the author merely mentioned Tucker's birthplace of Sherbro country in Sierra Leone and suggested that he was brought to the United States by a missionary.⁶ The missionary turned out to be George Thompson of the American Missionary Association (AMA), an organization with deep roots in the Oberlin College Christian community.

In a scholarly article devoted to Young, the author misidentified Tucker's home country as South Africa,⁷ although a quick check of the AMA's Mendi Mission could have revealed its location in present-day Sierra Leone. Another study on state-supported black higher education in Florida merely mentioned Tucker as "a native of Sherbro, Sierra Leone, Africa, and a graduate of Oberlin College" who, as president, fell out of favor with the State of Florida's Superintendent of Education, William N. Sheats, over the latter's insistence on the provision of agricultural and mechanical education to black students at the Normal School.⁸ A commemorative work by Margaret F. Wilson and N.E. Gaymon, titled *A Century of Wisdom*, apologized profusely for being unable to locate any speeches by Tucker, and instead relied upon "strategic documents" such as selected minutes of the faculty and the First and Second Morrill Acts to reconstruct Tucker's life and academic work.⁹ The official program of the March 1975 Founders' Day

5. Leedell W. Neyland and John W. Riley, *The History of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1963), 12.
6. Antonio F. Holland, *Nathan B. Young and the Struggle Over Black Higher Education* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006).
7. Reginald Ellis, "Nathan B. Young: Florida A&M College's Second President and His Relationships with White Public Officials," in David H. Jackson and Canter Brown, Jr., *Go Sound the Trumpet! Selections in Florida's African American History* (Tampa: University of Tampa Press, 2005), 153-172.
8. Leedell W. Neyland, "State-Supported Higher Education Among Negroes in the State of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* XLIII (October 1964), 108-109.
9. Margaret F. Wilson and N.E. Gaymon, *A Century of Wisdom: Selected Speeches of Presidents of Florida A&M University* (Winter Park: Four-G Publishers, 1990).

Observance, "FAMU Forges Forward During an Era of Change," offered sketches of Nathan B. Young and Thomas Van Renssalaer Gibbs but none for Tucker. Instead, the program described Tucker as "an outstanding attorney who had gained stature during Reconstruction" before accepting the presidency of the Normal School in 1887.¹⁰

Few, if any, of the books and articles devoted to the history of FAMU and its presidents have given much thought to the AMA which established the Mendi Mission out of the celebrated 1841 case of *United States v. Libellants of Schooner Amistad* that spurred American anti-slavery forces to press for the abolition of slavery in the U.S. and the slave trade worldwide. Tucker attended a Mendi Mission school in Sherbro country in Sierra Leone, and therefore one cannot understand Tucker's personal and professional life and struggle to impart his educational philosophy to students at the Normal School in Florida without digging deeper into the influence the Mendi Mission and the AMA had on him in the second half of the 19th century. However, more recent studies have begun to account for Tucker's orientation toward a liberal arts education for blacks, the core of his educational policy disagreements with the Superintendent of Public Instruction William N. Sheats. For instance, an article by Larry E. Rivers and Canter Brown, Jr. looked at the sources that influenced Tucker's educational world view, including the pioneering efforts of Oberlin College to integrate women and minorities into its educational programs and Christian world view.¹¹ Tucker's attempts to model the Normal School upon Oberlin College's curriculum which provided both industrial and liberal arts education to its students eventually cost him his job.

The goals of this article are manifold. Primarily it seeks to fill a void in the growing historiography of the then Normal School for Colored Teachers by placing Tucker in the proper historical context of his formative years in Sierra Leone and the United States. At mid-century, the anti-slavery movement led a worldwide moral

10. Tucker, Thomas De Saliere, 1844-1903 (Collection, 1883-1976), Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, File 2182.

11. Larry E. Rivers and Canter Brown, Jr., "A Monument to the Progress of the Race": The Intellectual and Political Origins of the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, 1865-1887," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 85 (Summer 2006), 1-41.

awakening that equated human rights with freedom for blacks from the shackles of slavery. In Tucker's era, education also came to be viewed as a human right much sought after by blacks. The Oberlin College Christian community and the AMA declared slavery a sin, and forbade their members from dealing with organizations that supported or failed to renounce it.¹² Tucker, the product of AMA schools and colleges, carried with him to the Normal School for Colored Teachers the seed which these mission schools had planted in him, preparing him to infuse students with a liberal arts education that would complement the agricultural and mechanical curriculum of Florida's segregated normal school. Tucker saw liberal arts education as fundamentally compatible with industrial and mechanical education, the former serving as the building block of the latter. This article also suggests that while Tucker's educational experiences, spanning the AMA's Mendi Mission, Oberlin College, and Straight University (now Dillard University) in New Orleans, prepared him to make the case for liberal arts education, it also put him at odds with the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and Florida's other elected officials who steadfastly defended the Normal School's original mission. First, let us examine the Mendi Mission which the AMA established in Sherbro country in 1842, two years before Tucker's birth.

The Mendi Mission was the culmination of the three-year saga of Sengbeh Pieh, or Joseph Cinqué according to his Spanish slave master, and fifty-two other African slaves that ended with a groundbreaking decision by the United States Supreme Court in the *Amistad* case. In January 1839, twenty-six year old Pieh was captured in Mende country in Sierra Leone and sold by Mayagilalo to the son of the Vai King Manna Siaka to redeem a family debt. The king's son then sold Pieh to a Spanish slave trader named Pedro Blanco on the island of Lomboko off the Gallinas coast southeast of the then Colony of Sierra Leone.¹³ From Lomboko, the schooner *Teçora* transported Pieh and more than five hundred African slaves to Cuba. In Havana, José Ruiz bought forty-nine adult slaves, including Pieh, for \$450 each, while his companion, Pedro Montez, bought four children, three of whom were females

12. Robert S. Fletcher, *A History of Oberlin College From its Foundation Through the Civil War*. Two Vols. (New York: Arno Press, 1971).

13. Arthur Abraham, "Amistad Revolt: An Historical Legacy of Sierra Leone and the United States," located at: <http://usinfo.state.gov/products/pubs/archive/amistad>. Accessed on 2/21/2008.

(Margru, Tehme, and Kagne) and one boy (Kali) for a total of fifty-three slaves.¹⁴ On 27 June 1839, Ruiz and Montez set sail for plantations in Puerto Príncipe, northwest of Havana, in the chartered schooner *Amistad*.

On 1 July 1839, Pieh, Grabeau, and Burnah seized control of the schooner and ordered Montez to sail to Sierra Leone. On 26 August, Lt. Thomas R. Gedney of the *USS Washington* seized the *Amistad* as it anchored off Long Island, New York, and towed it to New London, Connecticut, for salvage in the United States District Courts in Haven and Hartford. Among those who filed claims and libels in admiralty asserting ownership of the slaves, the schooner, and its cargo were Ruiz and Montez. The Spanish government intervened, urging the American government to ensure the restoration of the Spaniards' property pursuant to article 9 of the 1795 treaty between the United States and Spain.¹⁵ Pieh and his compatriots denied they were the property of Ruiz and Montez, and asserted that "they were native born Africans; born free, and still of right ought to be free and not slaves."¹⁶

For American abolitionists, the *Amistad* case became a *cause célèbre* in their campaign against slavery. They formed the Amistad Committee in New York on September 4, 1839, to solicit donations for the captives. Led by Joshua Leavitt, editor of the *Emancipator*, the official organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society, Rev. Simeon S. Jocelyn, and Lewis Tappan, the Amistad Committee issued an "Appeal to the Friends of Liberty," and retained former President John Quincy Adams and Roger Baldwin to argue the case before the United States Supreme Court. In its opinion, the Supreme Court held that "It is plain beyond controversy, if we examine the evidence, that these negroes never were the lawful slaves of Ruiz and Montez, or of any other Spanish subjects. They

14. Howard Jones, *Mutiny on the Amistad: The Saga of a Slave Revolt and its Impact on American Abolition, Law, and Diplomacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Marlene D. Merrill, "Sarah Margru Kinson: The Two Worlds of an Amistad Captive," located at: <http://www.oberlin.edu/external/EOG/Kinson/Kinson.html>. Accessed on 4/10/2008.

15. John Quincy Adams, "Argument of John Quincy Adams, Before the Supreme Court of the United States, in the Case of the United States, Appellants, vs. Cinque, and Others, Africans, Captured in the Schooner Amistad, by Lieut. Gedney, Delivered on the 24th of February and 1st of March 1841," located at: http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/treatise/amistad/amistad_002.html. Accessed on 2/19/2008.

16. *U.S. v. Libellants of Schooner Amistad*, 15 Pet. 518 (1841), 2.

are natives of Africa, and were kidnapped there, and were unlawfully transported to Cuba, in violation of the laws and treaties of Spain, and the most solemn edicts and declarations of that government. By those laws, and treaties, and edicts, the African slave trade is utterly abolished; the dealing in that trade is deemed a heinous crime; and the negroes thereby introduced into the dominions of Spain, are declared to be free."¹⁷ The Amistad Committee organized fund-raising campaigns and secured commitments from the British government, through its ambassador in Washington, Henry S. Fox, and the Governor of the Colony of Sierra Leone, Lt. Col. Sir John Jeremie, that the liberated Africans would be protected by Her Majesty's ships to ensure their safe arrival in West Africa.¹⁸

On November 21, 1841, Leavitt, Jocelyn, and Tappan gave their "suggestions and instructions" to Rev. James Steele, Rev. William Raymond and his wife Eliza, and Henry Richard Wilson and his wife Tamar as missionaries and teachers to Mendi country. The abolitionists implored them as "disciples of Jesus Christ" to "illustrate his gospel" and impress his image upon the minds and hearts of the Mendians.¹⁹ On 15 January 1842, the missionaries and Mendians arrived in Freetown. After protracted negotiations that lasted until 1844, Raymond concluded an agreement for the establishment of a school with Chief Harry Tucker who was initially suspicious of the missionaries' intentions.²⁰ The rent for the building was \$150 a year.²¹ Raymond set up the Mendi Mission on a tract of land near the chief's town of Kaw Mendi on the Little Boom River about a hundred and fifty miles southeast of Freetown.²² The 1845 war that engulfed Sherbro and Mende countries delayed the departure to the Mendi Mission. While some *Amistad* returnees pursued other interests, Pieh became an

17. Ibid., 4-5.

18. Letter from John Scoble to Lord Aberdeen, 10 December 1841, Amistad Collection, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana. Microfilm No. A1435.

19. The "suggestions" and "instructions" are located in the Amistad Collection at Tulane University.

20. Peter L. Tucker, *The Tuckers of Sierra Leone, 1665-1914* (Herts, England: Copyzone, 1997), 34.

21. George Thompson, *Thompson in Africa: Or, An Account of the Missionary Labors, Sufferings, Travels, and Observations, of George Thompson in Western Africa, at the Mendi Mission*. Second Edition (New York: S.W. Benedict, 1852), 92.

22. AMA Pamphlet No. 2, 1878, Amistad Collection, Tulane University. Microfilm No. A1435.

interpreter for the AMA missionaries. Following the death of Thomas Garnick on July 10, 1847, the AMA selected George Thompson to fill his place at the Mendi Mission. Thompson had been incarcerated for five years in a Missouri prison for attempting to aid two slaves escape from Missouri to Illinois. He then studied at Oberlin College (1846-48) and was ordained a minister by the Council of the AMA in 1848.²³ Before Thompson's departure, Raymond also died of the fever on 26 November and was buried in Freetown.

On May 9, 1848, Thompson and Anson J. Carter landed in Freetown and then proceeded to the Mendi Mission where they arrived on 22 July; Carter died 8 days later. Thompson soldiered on through incredible bouts of illness and war. He departed the Mendi Mission in July 1850 to recover his health in the United States. By the time he retired and severed his ties with the AMA in 1856, the AMA had established mission stations in Kaw Mendi (abandoned in 1856 as too unhealthy), Mo-Tappan (in honor of Lewis Tappan), and Good Hope.²⁴ The Mendi Mission established schools in York Island, while Thompson made it his life's work to help suppress the slave trade, slavery, and the worship of idols through the influence of the Gospel, moral suasion, and temperance.

The AMA, formed on September 3, 1846, consisted of four missionary organizations that were dissatisfied "with the comparative silence of the older missionary societies in regard to Slavery, and were a protest against it."²⁵ These were the Amistad Committee, Union Missionary Society (UMS) of Hartford, Connecticut, Committee for West-Indian Missions (CWM), and Western Evangelical Missionary Society (WEMS). The UMS was formed "to discountenance slavery, and especially, by refusing to receive the known fruits of unrequited labor."²⁶ In 1837 Rev. David S. Ingraham founded the CWM, and among its members were Lewis Tappan and Anson G. Phelps.²⁷ Together with Oberlin abolitionists, Ingraham cared for liberated Africans in Jamaica, but

23. Fletcher, *A History of Oberlin College*, 259-260.

24. Thompson, *Thompson in Africa*; AMA Pamphlet No. 2.

25. AMA: *History of the American Missionary Association: Its Churches and Educational Institutions Among the Freedmen, Indians, and Chinese* (1874), 3, Amistad Collection, Tulane University.

26. *Ibid.*, 4.

27. Fletcher, *A History of Oberlin College*, 257-258.

the organization foundered around 1844 and its work was transferred to the AMA. Founded in 1843 by the Western Reserve Association in Ohio, WEMS undertook missionary activities among Western Reserve Indians. What united these organizations was their association with Oberlin College and their opposition to the "domination of the slave-power in the United States."²⁸ AMA executive secretaries, George Whipple and Michael Strieby, were Oberlinites.²⁹ In 1883 the AMA turned over the Mendi Mission and its stations (Good Hope on Bonthe Island, Avery, and farms at Kaw Mendi and Mo-Tappan) to the United Brethren in Christ (UBC) which had begun its missionary work in Sierra Leone in February 1855. The AMA abandoned the Mendi Mission because it was "discouraged over the meager returns, and wishing to engage mission work elsewhere, after an expenditure of \$300,000."³⁰

Neyland and Riley have suggested that information about Tucker's early life was obscured and beset by contradictions arising from a lack of authentic records from which to reconstruct the past. Even the correct spelling of his middle name, they wrote, was doubtful and, therefore, concluded that the authenticity of his genealogy might forever remain hidden as a secret.³¹ To understand Tucker's background and early life requires a much more thorough and painstaking search of the available documents and published accounts than has been done by previous scholars. Furthermore, much of the uncertainty about Tucker's early life stems in part from the fact that George Thompson, the AMA missionary who brought him to the United States to continue his studies, did not mention him by name in his 1852 memoir, *Thompson in Africa*. However, in his second book on his work in the Mendi Mission Thompson wrote: "We had suffered so much from want of efficient native teachers, I resolved to bring home with me some of our schoolboys to be more thoroughly educated, and fitted for thorough teachers."³² Thompson brought two students to the

28. *History of the American Missionary Association*, 3.

29. Fletcher, *A History of Oberlin College*, 259.

30. J.S. Mills, *Mission Work in Sierra Leone, West Africa* (Dayton: United Brethren Publishing House, 1898), 78.

31. Neyland and Riley, *The History of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University*, 12.

32. Thompson, *The Palm Land or West Africa, Illustrated* (Cincinnati: Moore, Wilstach, Keys Company, 1858), 426.

United States; the two others had gone to bid farewell to their parents and did not return on time before his departure from the Mendi Mission in April 1856. Thompson did not mention the names of the two students who embarked upon the journey with him, but from other accounts one can surmise that they were Tucker and Barnabas Root.³³ This is consistent with Thompson's references to young children whose parents and guardians had handed them over to the Mendi Mission for their education and Christianization, a practice not uncommon in Sierra Leone where parents often entrusted the care and education of their children to relatives and trusted friends in major towns and cities; inevitably such children performed minor domestic chores for their guardians as they pursued their education. Thompson also made numerous references to Sherbro chiefs such as Harry Tucker (who died on July 13, 1855), William S. Tucker, David Tucker, and William E. Tucker, but stopped short of providing any specific information about the young students who accompanied him to the United States. However, it is possible to reconstruct the genealogical history of Tucker through various sources.

According to information provided to J. S. Mills by J. A. Cole, a Sierra Leonean Bishop of the United Brethren in Christ (UBC), three Englishmen, Cleveland, Tucker, and S. Caulker arrived in Sierra Leone around 1750 on board a vessel laden with trade goods.³⁴ Cleveland landed at Banana Island, Caulker at Plantain Island, and Tucker in the country of the Gbas. The strategic location of Plantain Island and Caulker's slave trading activities aroused the enmity of Cleveland who raised an army and attacked Caulker who was forced to surrender and give up his island. After several years in captivity on Banana Island, Caulker also raised an army among the Sherbro people and recovered Plantain Island. After Cleveland's death, Caulker and his brother ruled Plantain Island without further provocation from the Clevelands. Christopher Fyfe has identified another Englishmen, Thomas Corker (Caulker), who came to Sherbro country in 1684 in the service of the Royal African Company.³⁵ The Company transferred

33. Abraham, "Amistad Revolt;" Fletcher, *A History of Oberlin College*.

34. Mills, *Mission Work in Sierra Leone*, 75.

35. Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 10; Fyfe, *Sierra Leone Inheritance* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 62.

him to the Gambia in 1698; he died in England in 1700. His descendants still inhabit the Sherbro area in Sierra Leone.

Peter L. Tucker's account is slightly different from Cole's rendition of events. Tucker, a direct descendant of the Tuckers, has identified the Englishman John Tucker as the scion of the Tucker family. John Tucker, an employee of the Company of the Royal Adventurers into Africa (chartered by Charles II in December 1660, it was re-chartered in January 1663 as the Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading into Africa, and renamed the Royal African Company in September 1672³⁶), was stationed at Mano in Korah country around 1665. His son, Peter Tucker, was born in the 1670s and was educated in England. Upon his return home in the 1680s, Peter Tucker set up shop in Tawor close to his mother's hometown in Korah country in Kittam, near the border of Gallinas country. He traded in cam wood, ivory, and timber, and acted as agent for the Royal African Company in these products toward the end of the 17th century. At the beginning of the 18th century, Peter Tucker moved to the Shebar Peninsula (later renamed Turner's Peninsula by Governor Charles Turner after Chief James Tucker refused to cede it to the British government in 1825) and founded the town of Bohal. His brothers were Joseph (who owned a trading factory at Mano) and Henry Tucker (in Bohal). According to Tucker, Peter Tucker died in the 1760s (and was succeeded by his son Louis Tucker) and Henry in the 1770s.³⁷

Like the Caulkers and Clevelands, the Tuckers were of English (paternal side) and Sherbro (maternal side) descent. And as Mills reminds us, "The natives are fond of getting a new name of foreign origin. Many of the children in the mission schools bear the names of patrons in America; others bear English names for the same reason."³⁸ It is undisputed that Thomas de Saliere Tucker was born on July 21, 1844, in Victoria, Sherbro Island in present-day Sierra Leone. His mother was the youngest daughter of the Sherbro Chief James Henry Tucker (1780-1828) whose English ancestor was said to have arrived in Sierra Leone about two hundred years earlier.³⁹

36. George Frederick Zook, *The Company of Royal Adventurers Trading into Africa* (Lancaster: New Era Printing Company, 1919).

37. Tucker, *The Tuckers of Sierra Leone*, 13.

38. Mills, *Mission Work in Sierra Leone*, 76.

39. D.W. Culp, ed., *Twentieth Century Negro Literature or A Cyclopedic of Thought on the Vital Topics Relating to the American Negro* (Atlanta: J.L. Nichols & Company, 1902). 418b.

Peter L. Tucker has identified James Henry Tucker as Henry Tucker's son. James was also educated in England and carried on the family business in Bohal. Upon his return home, "He became Chief of the Bulloms at an early age by virtue of the fact that his mother was from Nongoba Bullom (Bolome) and his grandmother a Bullom from Koranko in the Kittam. He was also the most educated and most powerful of the Bullom people."⁴⁰ On the paternal side, Thomas de Saliere Tucker was said to have descended from an ancient noble family, the *de Salieres*, of Marseilles, France. His father, Joseph, was a French officer and an admirer of Napoleon Bonaparte.⁴¹ Therefore, the myth about the spelling of his middle name is one that can easily be disposed of. In a form dated December 22, 1899, filled out, signed, and returned to Azariah S. Root, Librarian of Oberlin College, Tucker spelled his middle name "de Saliere." In the annual reports to the Florida Superintendent of Public Instruction, Tucker signed his middle name "De S." A photo engraving in the *Twentieth Century Negro Literature* spelled his middle name "de S."⁴²

Tucker attended the Mendi Mission's school and in 1856 was brought to the United States by George Thompson to continue his elementary education (1858-60) in the public schools of Oberlin. After completing his elementary education, Tucker enrolled at Oberlin College, an institution financially supported by Lewis Tappan who in 1835, two years after the college's founding, urged its trustees to admit black students, thereby earning the reputation as the first college to open its doors to non-whites and subsequently to women as well. The Rev. John Jay Shipherd founded the original Oberlin Institute to honor the memory of John Frederic Oberlin (Jean Frederic Oberlin or Johann Frederich Oberlin, 1740-1826), a native of Strasbourg in France.⁴³ The college's curriculum, which greatly influenced Tucker at the Normal School in Tallahassee, was inspired by Oberlin's benevolent social work in Alsace where he ministered to the needs of the poor through road and bridge construction, health care programs, improved agricultural methods, industrial development, and a school system that catered to infants. Shipherd's vision was for Oberlin College to

40. Tucker, *The Tuckers of Sierra Leone*, 14.

41. Culp, *Twentieth Century Negro Literature*, 418b.

42. *Ibid.*, 418a.

43. Fletcher, *A History of Oberlin College*, 92.

model Oberlin's work in Alsace, to produce not only "gospel ministers and pious school-teachers," but also to "provide for the body and heart as well as the intellect; for it aims at the best education of the *whole man*."⁴⁴ The education of the "whole" man and woman required a broad-based curriculum that offered literary, agricultural, and mechanical subjects, in addition to housekeeping, textile work, and gardening. This holistic approach to education at Oberlin College would serve as the basis for the Normal School's curriculum under Tucker's leadership and a point of departure for Florida's segregated industrial schools for black and white students.

After two years of study at Oberlin College, Tucker and four other students volunteered to teach recently freed slaves at a school in Fortress Monroe in Virginia. The decision to work in Virginia came at the conclusion of the AMA's annual meeting in Oberlin in October 1862. Among other convention business, the organization, known "from the beginning as an Oberlin anti-slavery enterprise," praised President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.⁴⁵ General Benjamin F. Butler laid the groundwork for the AMA to become involved in providing relief and education to the freed slaves when his order of May 27, 1861, declared runaway slaves "contraband of war" and provided a safe haven for them in Fortress Monroe and Hampton. With Butler's permission, Tappan and the AMA immediately dispatched Rev. L.C. Lockwood to Hampton to establish a mission there for the benefit of the freed slaves.⁴⁶ The AMA was active in Fortress Monroe, and its early work led to the founding of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in 1868 with General Samuel C. Armstrong as its first principal. One of the Hampton Normal school's graduates was Booker T. Washington who founded Tuskegee Institute in 1881. According to one account, Tucker did a "credible job of teaching until he fell in love with a freed slave, Lucinda Spivey, who assisted in the Fortress Monroe school."⁴⁷ By his own account, he considered her ignorant and therefore unworthy of marriage.

44. *Ibid.*, 119.

45. *Ibid.*, 911.

46. *History of the American Missionary Association*, 11-12.

47. Clara M. DeBoer, "Blacks and the American Missionary Association," located at: <http://www.ucc.org/about-us/hidden-histories/blacks-and-the-american.html>. Accessed on 4/9/2008.

Tucker graduated from Oberlin College in 1865 with an A.B. degree in classics and humanities. He taught day and night schools for freed slaves in Lexington (1865-66) and Georgetown (1866-70), Kentucky, before moving on to New Orleans, Louisiana, where he worked for the customs service. His first wife, Eudora Cliola Williams, whom he married on May 23, 1871, died in 1872. One child, Ernest Vidal, was born during this marriage. Tucker remarried on September 27, 1883 to Charity Bishop. While in New Orleans, Tucker edited a number of newspapers including the *New Orleans Standard* (1871), *The Citizens Guard* (1871-73), *The Louisianian* (1879-80), and *The Louisianian Republican* (1881-82). At one time, President Ulysses S. Grant "advised him that he intended to offer him the Liberian Mission, but Tucker was so indifferent in the honor that he made no effort to be commissioned."⁴⁸ At the time Grant made his unsuccessful overture to Tucker, Haiti and Liberia, the so-called independent black republics, "would continue to be the two nations where both Republican (and later Democratic) presidents would appoint black Americans to represent the United States" as a reward for their loyalty to the Republican party; for example, Frederick Douglass served as minister to Haiti in 1889-91.⁴⁹

In 1882, Tucker earned a Bachelor of Laws degree from Straight University (now Dillard University) in New Orleans, and was admitted to practice in the Louisiana Supreme Court.⁵⁰ Straight University, named after its chief patron, Seymour Straight, opened its doors as a normal school in 1869 with the assistance of the Freedmen's Bureau on land purchased by the AMA. Straight University prided itself on its work of "supplying the feeble churches with the means of the Gospel, in the establishment and maintenance of Sunday-schools, and is thus a power of great good."⁵¹ Following his admission to the Louisiana Bar, Tucker formed a partnership with Robert Brown Elliot, the first black congressman from South Carolina.⁵² The New Orleans firm "gave promise of a

48. Culp, *Twentieth Century Negro Literature*, 418b.

49. Clarence Lusane, *Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice: Foreign Policy, Race, and the New American Century* (Westport: Praeger, 2006), 17.

50. *New York Freeman*, 1887, 1.

51. *History of the American Missionary Association*, 36.

52. J. Clay Smith, Jr., *Emancipation: The Making of the Black Lawyer, 1844-1944* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993). The academic department of the university was opened in 1870, and the law department opened four years later.

very brilliant and lucrative practice," serving clients of both races.⁵³ Tucker opened a branch of the law firm of Elliott & Tucker in Pensacola, Florida, and was admitted to practice law in both the state and federal courts there on January 11, 1883. Two months later, the firm was renamed Elliott, Tucker & Thompson with the admission of James D. Thompson. With the death of Elliott, the senior partner, in 1884, the firm became known as Tucker & Thompson. Tucker described the Pensacola practice, whose clientele was predominantly black, as "a flattering success from the very beginning," and credited his law firm with desegregating the "white people's car" in the city's rail service in 1883.⁵⁴

In the midst of a very busy law practice, Tucker found time to earn a master's degree (A.M.) from Oberlin College in 1890. Parenthetically, other beneficiaries of the AMA schools in Sherbro country also pursued further studies in the United States, including Barnabas Root and MarGru (Sarah Kinson), one of the female *Amistad* captives. A graduate of Knox College (1871) and the Chicago Theological Seminary (1873), Root was ordained as a missionary in 1874. Before returning home to Sherbro country in 1875, he was employed by the AMA as pastor for a Congregational Mission Church for freed slaves in Alabama.⁵⁵ Root died in 1877 before completing a Mende language dictionary and other books he had been working on shortly after returning home. This prompted the AMA to observe that: "As one of the fruits of the Association's missions, he was, despite his brief life, a witness not only to its usefulness, but an instance of what native Africans may yet become as preachers and teachers to their own countrymen."⁵⁶ In the summer of 1846 MarGru returned to the United States with Mrs. Eliza Raymond whose "health was very poor, so that she was deranged much of the time."⁵⁷ In November 1849, after receiving her education at Oberlin College with the assistance of Lewis Tappan, MarGru went back home to the Mendi Mission accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Brooks. In part because of her acquaintance with Thompson in Oberlin, Margru headed the Mendi Mission's girls' school before moving further into the interior of Mende country to establish her own school.⁵⁸

53. *New York Freeman*, 1887, 1.

54. *Ibid.*

55. Abraham, "Amistad Revolt."

56. AMA Pamphlet No. 2, 15.

57. Thompson, *Thompson in Africa*, 336.

58. Ellen M. Lawson and Marlene D. Merrill, *The Three Sarahs: Documents of Antebellum Black College Women* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1984), 22-23.

Tucker's experiences as a student at the Mendi Mission, Oberlin College, Fortress Monroe, and Straight University helped shape his educational philosophy which was at variance with Florida State's prevailing notion of black education. Tucker was one of the first educators to argue for broadening the base of black education to include the subjects described in the Morrill Act of 1862. This federal law authorized states to benefit from the sale of public lands (thirty thousand acres for each senator and representative of each state) and use the interest on the capital to endow, support, and maintain "at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the States may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life."⁵⁹ As some commentators have suggested, the Morrill Act of 1862 "gave more impetus to the development of historically black land-grant institutions of higher education," and extended higher education to blacks who made up a significant portion of America's industrial and working classes in the second half of the 19th century.⁶⁰ The Normal School for Colored Teachers did benefit from the Morrill Act of 1862 principally in the procurement of land for the school and new dormitories. The second Morrill Act of 1890 authorized funds for agricultural and mechanical education in the amount of \$15,000 per annum, with a yearly increase of \$1,000 up to a maximum of \$50,000.⁶¹ In the same year, the Florida State legislature authorized the use of these funds for the Normal School for Colored Teachers.

The history of the normal school dates back to the 18th century in Europe where those who championed the natural and physi-

59. "An Act Donating Public Lands to the Several States and Territories Which May Provide Colleges for the Benefit of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts." Ch. 130, 12 Stat. 503, 7 U.S.C. 301, *et seq.*, July 2, 1862.

60. National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges (NASULGC), *Leadership and Learning: An Interpretive History of Historically Black Land-Grant Colleges and Universities* (1990), 5.

61. "An Act to Apply a Portion of the Proceeds of the Public Lands to the More Complete Endowment and Support of the Colleges for the Benefit of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts Established Under the Provisions of an Act of Congress Approved July Second, Eighteen Hundred and Sixty-Two." Ch. 841, 26 Stat. 417, 7 U.S.C. 322, *et seq.*, August 30, 1890.

cal sciences looked to agriculture and the mechanical arts to counter the domination of classical and theological studies in the universities and colleges. In the United States, adoption of courses in agricultural and mechanical arts held out the promise of greater skills and income for the industrial and laboring classes. Agricultural and mechanical education also offered a means to solve society's economic and political problems, while at the same time removing economic, social, and political inequalities. It underscored the reality that modern industrialized American society needed skilled factory workers and scientific farmers to compete with Europe and other emerging regions. These concerns placed the burden on colleges and universities to teach the useful trades and mechanical and agricultural skills. The AMA hailed the normal schools as "the evidence and demand of the advancement in learning of the colored children," and as the "leading and most valuable educational gift of the North to the Freedmen, because it was the grand means of fitting them to be their own educators."⁶²

For some educators and policy makers, there were moral and practical imperatives to teach industrial education subjects as ways to promote the gospel of the dignity of labor. For instance, Booker T. Washington, a graduate of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia, modeled Tuskegee Institute upon his *alma mater*. Of students at Tuskegee Institute, which opened its doors on 4 July 1881, Washington wrote:

From the very beginning, at Tuskegee, I was determined to have the students do not only the agricultural and domestic work, but to have them erect their own buildings. My plan was to have them, while performing this service, taught the latest and best methods of labour, so that the school would not only get the benefit of their efforts, but the students themselves would be taught to see not only utility in labour, but beauty and dignity, would be taught, in fact, how to lift labour up from mere drudgery and toil, and would learn to love work for its own sake."⁶³

Throughout his tenure at Tuskegee Institute, Washington remained faithful to industrial education because it "train[ed] stu-

62. *History of the American Missionary Association*, 19.

63. Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, in John Hope Franklin, ed., *Three Negro Classics* (New York: Avon Books, 1965), 108.

dents to become independent small businessmen, farmers, and teachers rather than wage-earners or servants of white employers," promoted racial progress through self-help, and overcame some of the shortcomings of southern black education through literary training.⁶⁴ While Washington made industrial education the centerpiece of his educational philosophy, he also acknowledged the importance of academic education as a complement to the former and worked hard to blot out the differences between the industrial and literary departments at the Tuskegee Institute; this policy was known as "correlating" or "dovetailing."⁶⁵ Furthermore, Washington encouraged graduates of his school to seek further study in academic institutions, acknowledged the role played by higher education in preparing black professionals to compete with their compatriots, and served as a trustee of Howard and Fisk Universities.

The Florida legislature established the "Normal School for the colored teachers" on 31 May 1887, in College Hill, Tallahassee in Leon County, along with a "Normal School for the training and instruction of white teachers" in DeFuniak Springs in Walton County. According to the legislature, the black school was "similar in all respects" to the white school with the same amount of funding which was \$4,000.00 per annum for each school for 1887 and 1888.⁶⁶ The Normal School for Colored Teachers opened on 3 October 1887 with Tucker as president (with a salary of \$1,100) and Thomas Van Renssalaer Gibbs (with a salary of \$1,000), a former member of the Florida State legislature, as his first assistant. According to some accounts, Leon County State Senator John Wallace and former United States Congressman Josiah T. Walls had recommended Tucker to former Governor William D. Bloxham, who, as Secretary of State and a member of the State Board of Education, then recommended him to Governor Edward A. Perry. Tucker had taught Wallace and Walls, who were enlisted soldiers serving in Company "D" of the Colored Infantry, at the Mary S. Peak School, a United States Army institution in Fortress Monroe in Virginia. It may be recalled that while at Oberlin College, Tucker had taught school in Fortress Monroe in the early

64. Louis R. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press), 142, 144-145.

65. *Ibid.*, 149.

66. An Act Providing for the Establishment of State Normal Schools in this State. *Laws of Florida, 1887*, Chapter 3692, No. 12.

1860s before returning to complete his degree program in 1865. According to one account, "He demurred, he objected; but leading Colored men and the Chief Executive importuned and requested his acceptance of the place."⁶⁷ In the end, it was the personal relationship between Perry (a former Confederate general) and Tucker that finally convinced the State Board of Education to hire Tucker. As one newspaper reported, "Governor Perry, who was an active promoter of this institution, was also a great admirer of the ability and integrity of Mr. Tucker. It was through the personal persuasion of the Governor that Mr. Tucker consented to abandon a good law practice and accept the presidency of this school."⁶⁸

The State of Florida designed the Normal School for Colored Teachers, like its white counterpart, to "prepare the students who enter to go out into the field of teaching prepared to teach the books, and literary knowledge, and also be thoroughly enabled to give instruction in tool craft, and trade work, practical, economical farming, the dairy, and care of stock."⁶⁹ The course work was divided into preparatory and normal work. The two-year normal course work consisted of Latin, higher mathematics, natural, mental, and moral philosophy, physiology, astronomy, general history, rhetoric, and pedagogics. The preparatory department, established to address student deficiencies in preparation for work in the public schools, included courses in the "elements of algebra and Latin and a thorough review of the common school branches," music, drawing, and bookkeeping.⁷⁰ Deficiencies in preparation delayed the graduation of the first class of students until June 1892 while its white counterpart graduated its first class of thirteen students at the end of the 1888/89 school year.

Tucker taught English, classical subjects, and rhetoric, while Gibbs taught mathematics and science. The school began with fifteen students. Although it expanded to more than ninety students by 1889, it was hampered by a lack of accommodation for non-Leon County residents. In his 1890 report to the Superintendent of

67. Culp, *Twentieth Century Negro Literature*, 418b.

68. *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, 19 June 1903.

69. Albert J. Russell, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Year Ending September 30, 1891*, 15.

70. Russell, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the School Year Ending September 30, 1889*, 15; Russell, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Year Ending September 30, 1890*.

Public Instruction, Albert J. Russell, Tucker laid out his vision of education for students at the Normal School: "If education in its broadest term consists in a rounding off of all the faculties, then that course of instruction alone is complete which will wholly draw out and enlarge the capacities of the student." Contrary to what his critics had asserted, Tucker defended industrial education in the same report: "In the matter of social economy, we teach the doctrine that labor of the hand is the first need of the man who would be a useful and respected member of the people among whom he lives; that the poor person who regards work as a disgrace must live the life either of a shabby genteel beggar, or prey upon society and land in a felon's cell; that thrift and economy are synonymous with usefulness and respectability." In addition to the "acquisition of letters," which he called the main purpose of college education, Tucker also acknowledged the existence of overcrowded learned professions, and therefore recommended a policy whose aim was to teach morals (by precept and example), thoroughness and practicality in the abstract sciences, algebra, quadratics, geometry, and mechanic arts.⁷¹ By the time the state had leased the forty-nine acre Highwood site (former home of Governor William P. DuVal) in March 1891, a Mechanical department, which opened in November 1891, had been added to the Normal School's Academic, Normal, Agricultural, and Industrial training departments. Tucker described the Mechanical department as "one of the best, if not the best equipped in a school of this kind in the South," and reported the school's progress in raising millet, grain and fodder corn, peas, sweet potatoes, and hay, by far more than is needed for our wants."⁷² Enrollment for the 1890/91 school year stood at sixty-eight students, but was expected to rise to over one hundred with the return of current students by 1892.

In its sixth year (1894), the name of the Normal School was changed to Florida State Normal and Industrial College for Colored Students. The name change coincided with the ascendancy of William N. Sheats as Superintendent of Public Instruction. The new superintendent immediately set out to define the limits of black education and who should impart it to black students. While denying any discriminatory animus toward blacks in

71. *Annual Report, 1890*, 18-20.

72. *Annual Report, 1891*, 16.

educational opportunities, Sheats nonetheless wanted them to be educated "in their own schools separately, without any efforts at co-education of the races. Any effort to enforce mixed education of the races as it obtains in many of the States would forever destroy the public school system at one swoop, and cause the whites to abandon all efforts at their education." He also suggested that the Florida legislature protect the right of the educated black to teach his/her own race. He grounded the "separate-but-equal" educational policy on existing constitutional and legal provisions that barred inter-racial or mixed marriages, co-education of the races, and amalgamation. He went on to say that "I have the temerity to ask the Legislature to enact a law prohibiting, in both public and private schools, any but negroes from teaching schools for negroes, excepting in the matter of normal instruction to their teachers in institutes and summer schools." Sheats believed his position represented "an act of friendship to the race, to shield them from the folly of some of their friends."⁷³

Tucker's report for 1894 emphasized thoroughness in the training of students in the school's Literary, Industrial, and Agricultural Departments. The Literary Department consisted of the Academic, Preparatory, and Normal Courses of study. The Academic Course was a three-year program of study "designed only for those whose previous opportunities may have been limited, or whose acquirements may prove, in the preliminary examination, to be superficial," whereas the two-year Preparatory Course was intermediate between the Academic and Normal Courses. The Normal Course lasted two years and led to the award of regular diplomas and the degree of Licentiate of Instruction. The Industrial Course encompassed the Mechanical, Agricultural, and Dairy Departments. The five-year course of study leading to the degree of M.E. (mechanical education) incorporated subjects like carpentry, cabinet-making, wood-turning, and pattern-making. Tucker described the work of the Agricultural Department as comprehensive in scope, consisting of the cultivation of semi-tropical food crops, gardening, fruit-growing, dairy husbandry, rearing of livestock, poultry, and drainage. This department awarded the degree of Licentiate of Instruction. A Department of Domestic Economy, added to the school during the 1897/98 school year, graduated

73. William N. Sheats, *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1894*, 70-71.

thirteen female students.⁷⁴ The program's success encouraged Tucker to propose other courses that would equip female students "to fight the battle of life" and break down social and legal barriers that "restricted [them] to only two or three ways of acquiring an honest livelihood."⁷⁵ One of the courses he had in mind was nursing for which he appealed to the legislature for funds to erect a building, hire a teacher, and purchase the necessary equipment for a Nurse Training Department.

Although Tucker remained faithful to the school's primary purpose, which was to prepare teachers for the state's public schools, he also expanded its curriculum to include a "practical education of a combined literary and industrial kind" that saw students erecting their own dormitories, planting crops, tending to animals, working with all manner of tools, and generally serving Florida as "good, useful citizens in their respective communities."⁷⁶ Critics of Tucker's work claimed it was too academic and charged that it did not provide the type of education needed by blacks—charges that are not supported by the facts. Although Tucker saw teacher training as the school's "special work," he was also keenly aware of the necessity for black students to be educated in the industrial subjects, and took pride in the fact that the school had "revolutionized the life of the race in the community in which it is located," changed the social status of blacks, and infused the black community with intelligence and moral principles.⁷⁷ In sum, Tucker succeeded in doing in Tallahassee what Oberlin had done in Alsace and Oberlin College had achieved in Lorain County, Ohio—to educate and train good and useful citizens who would then transform their respective communities into livable spaces. In this respect a conflict between Tucker and Sheats over the Normal School's curriculum and mission was inevitable. Whereas Russell and Sheats (and more so the latter) and other public officials saw agricultural and industrial courses as appropriate educational courses for black teachers and students, Tucker envisioned the school as a laboratory for the promotion of practical education

74. *Ibid.*, *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1898*, 302.

75. *Ibid.*, *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1900*, 203.

76. *Ibid.*, 202-204.

77. *Ibid.*, *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1896*, 125.

of a combined literary and industrial kind. He steadfastly defended his philosophy of education and his belief in the potential of blacks to aspire to work not just in a "car wash" but in other professions as well. According to the *Apalachicola Times* of June 27, 1903, "Tucker was to Florida what Booker T. Washington is to Alabama," to the extent that both educators saw industrial education as complementary to academic education.

Sheats was involved in the 1885 state constitutional convention that guaranteed separate schools for blacks and whites, and continued to press for improving the quality of black public schools through uniform state exams for certification.⁷⁸ His disappointment with Tucker and eventual replacement with Nathan B. Young stemmed as much from Tucker's philosophy of education as from a realization that the black educator had challenged the white superintendent's authority to decide suitable education for blacks. In this regard Sheats received tacit support from Governors William D. Bloxham (1881-85; 1897-1901) and Edward A. Perry (1885-89) who admired Booker T. Washington's industrial and vocational programs at Tuskegee Institute which they held up as models for black education. The election of Governor William S. Jennings (1901-05) sealed Tucker's fate at the Normal School. Tucker resigned on 10 August 1901, after Sheats had chosen Nathan B. Young to succeed him as the school's second president. Young was also a graduate of Oberlin College and as subsequent events showed he shared some of Tucker's educational philosophy that a good education also required a good grounding in liberal arts training. Young had worked with Washington and left Tuskegee Institute in 1897 much as he did in 1923 when he left the Normal School as disagreement over industrial/vocational education and liberal arts education intensified.

Tucker moved on to Jacksonville where he became a law partner with J. Douglas Wetmore in the law firm of Wetmore & Tucker. In 1902, the *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis* noted that Tucker was "highly esteemed all over Florida as a man of profound learning and general ability, and his coming to Jacksonville to make this city his home is a matter of much congratulation."⁷⁹ Another commentator wrote:

78. Holland, *Nathan B. Young*, 74.

79. *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, 10 November 1902.

By patient perseverance and tact he succeeded in enlisting the hearty good will of all classes to the maintenance of the institution. The history of his work is a part of the educational records. Many men and women of worth and saving influence in their respective communities in Florida owe their training to the devoted consecration to duty of this native of the "Dark Continent." The school itself will ever remain a lasting monument to his tireless, efficient devotion to the welfare of his race."⁸⁰

In December 1902, Tucker suffered from "an acute attack of bladder trouble" for which his physicians, Drs. A. L. Pierce of Jacksonville, W. J. Gunn of Tallahassee and Sollace Mitchell of Jacksonville recommended further treatment at the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, Maryland.⁸¹ Tucker died at St. Joseph's Hospital in Baltimore on June 18, 1903.

The Normal School Tucker headed for fourteen years thrived after his death, becoming an institution of higher education in 1905. In 1909, with authorization by the State Board of Education to offer bachelor's degrees, its name was changed to Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes. However, its core mission to educate and train teachers remained unhindered even as new programs were added to its curriculum and student enrolment increased. Further name changes in 1951 (Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College) and 1953 (Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University) brought the institution within the ambit of Florida State's public university system in 1971. This paved the way for FAMU to undertake far-reaching changes to its curriculum, degree programs, student enrolment, faculty recruitment, and physical infrastructure to bring it in line with other colleges and universities in the system.

Understanding Tucker as an individual, attorney, teacher, and college administrator will begin to close the gap in the historiography of the then Normal School for Colored Teachers where he spent fourteen years of his professional life. As an individual, Tucker grew up with AMA missionaries and attended their schools and colleges through the agency of the *Amistad* case and the Mendi Mission. In the United States, Tucker's first contact with

80. Culp, *Twentieth Century Negro Literature*, 418b.

81. *Jacksonville Evening Metropolis*, 24 December 1903.

the plight of slaves occurred while he was a student at Oberlin College where he volunteered to work for the AMA in Virginia. There he taught individuals who had been freed by Union forces during the Civil War. As an attorney, he defended blacks against racial discrimination and helped desegregate Pensacola's railcar service. As a college administrator and teacher, he tried to model Florida's Normal School for Colored Students' curriculum upon the Oberlin College design as part of a broader crusade against slavery and for liberty through comprehensive education that would cater to a poor, marginalized, and discriminated segment of American society, namely people of African descent.

Tucker's world view and educational philosophy were shaped in part by his experiences in present-day southeastern Sierra Leone where he might have witnessed firsthand the horrors of the slave trade in Mendi Country. His life came full circle in the United States where he met with some of the anti-slavery crusaders and missionaries who had championed the cause of Sengbeh Pieh and the other Mendians through whom he met George Thompson. Therefore, to understand Tucker's contributions to black education at the Normal School requires the historian to dig deeper into the vast array of materials collected by the AMA as well as other published and unpublished materials. By placing Tucker in the proper historical context, one also begins to comprehend the moral awakening that equated human rights with freedom for enslaved blacks in the United States. In Tucker's time, education also came to be viewed as a human right and as his tenure at the Normal School has shown, this expanded meaning of education clashed with Florida's program of industrial education for blacks. Like John Oberlin whose work in Alsace inspired the founding of Oberlin College, Tucker believed that liberal arts education was compatible with industrial education, the goal of both being the education and social uplift of the poor and dispossessed. To that extent, Tucker's philosophy of education was also consistent with the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890. The challenge for Tucker, however, was to overcome the educational philosophy of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and other elected officials who cherry-picked the type of curriculum they thought appropriate for the education and training of black students and teachers. In essence they presumed to know what was best for the black population in terms of their education. It was rather ironic that praise for Tucker's contributions to the growth and development of the Normal School came only after his forced departure in 1901.

Murder, Insanity and The Efficacy of Woman's Role: The Gwendolyn Hoyt Case

by George B. Crawford

Shortly before 1 a.m. on 20 September 1957 Gwendolyn Hoyt, a 32-year-old Tampa housewife, lost any semblance of self-possession as she flew into a rage and crushed her husband's forehead and face with a baseball bat. Her subsequent trial for murder initiated a lengthy series of legal proceedings that highlighted the power of a shared assumption about the role of women in U.S. society during the 1950's. Despite the emergence of social, economic and intellectual forces to challenge such a conception, the notion of a legally sanctioned, prescribed woman's role informed the treatment of the case by attorneys, judges and jurors.¹

This notion was not just a tool manipulated by the prosecution. Hoyt's defense team illustrated its compelling pull by focusing on her identity as a wife and mother in fashioning an exculpatory rationale for her behavior before an all-male jury. Her lawyers also prepared a claim that Florida state law discriminated

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1. Offense Report 57392 (Clarence Hoyt, Complainant), 20 September 1957 and Supplementary Reports, Tampa Police Department. (Offense Report abbreviated hereinafter as OR).

against Hoyt and other women who faced trials because of its requirement that females must register for jury service, while not mandating the same imposition for males. The latter argument would support appeals before both the Florida Supreme Court and the Supreme Court of the United States. But Hoyt's ultimate lack of success in those jurisdictions proved the difficulty of marshalling a victorious gender discrimination argument based upon the 14th Amendment's Equal Protection Clause in that era. The judicial branch proved incapable of overcoming the burden of tradition and precedent until after the Hoyt case had been decided. By then, the political branches of government—state and federal—had already begun the process of dismantling legal barriers to equal female citizenship rights and obligations.

Just as important as judicial presumption, the evidence adduced at Hoyt's trial crippled her attorneys' labors to mount an effective defense. A description of her as a victim of discrimination was surely accurate as a general statement about the effect of sex-based inequality written into law. But the courtroom sessions brought into view a woman who seemed to be capable of committing the specific charge against her. Under the bright light of the discovery process and cross-examination, her attorneys' assertions that an abnormality in their client's brain created a temporary fit of insanity unraveled. Moreover, Hoyt's own life history, presented in some detail, undermined key attributes of domesticity and motherhood the defense team highlighted in their attempts to save her from a prison term. Confronted by contradictory medical assessments, damaging testimony from witnesses and other evidence, jurors rejected the argument that she was not responsible for her actions.

Hoyt first began to explain the circumstances surrounding the attack on her husband less than three hours after it occurred. An airman at the MacDill Air Force Base hospital, located nearby Tampa, telephoned detectives at the city's police department around 1:50 a.m. on 20 September and informed them that Clarence Hoyt, an Air Force captain, had been brought by ambulance to the facility for emergency medical treatment. The patient, bleeding profusely and barely conscious, had suffered a savage beating. After having visited the base and learned that the patient was unconscious and unable to talk, the detectives traveled to the place where the ambulance picked him up—the Hoyt home. They launched their investigation by questioning



The Hoyt home in 1957. The photograph was shot by a Tampa police department photographer.

Gwendolyn as soon as they arrived. During the interview she confessed that she had bludgeoned her husband with a baseball bat, providing the weapon to the officers for examination.²

While there, Detective Al Ford observed what he later described as “a damp area on the rug in front of the sofa, also on the sofa [there] was dampness about the area, as if something had been just washed recently.” The pillows and one of the seat cushions were missing. Hoyt later told the trial court that she had washed the cushion, the area around it and the rug so that her eight-year-old son, Douglas, would not see the residue of blood, tissue and vomited material at the scene of the assault. He had not

2. Transcript of Record of Proceedings (*State v. Hoyt*), Criminal Court of Record In and For Hillsborough County, Vol. I, 188-189, 195. The three-volume transcript of the trial is held in the appeal file for *Hoyt v. Florida*, Florida Supreme Court, Case Number 29.966, Florida State Archives (abbreviated hereinafter as TRP); OR; *Tampa Tribune*, 21 September and 18 December 1957.

witnessed the traumatic event and was thus unaware of it at the time, she added.³

After hearing her confession, the officers transported Gwendolyn to the Tampa police station for a more thorough interrogation. They followed standard practice of the late 1950's by offering her an opportunity to make a confession without coercion. Their approach, occurring nearly a decade before the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Miranda v. Arizona*, was lawful at the time. They were under no requirement to inform her of a right to confer with a lawyer before answering questions, to have her own attorney present during custodial interrogation or to secure the assistance of a court-appointed lawyer if she could not pay for one. Hoyt provided them with a handwritten statement. She wrote that she had struck her husband with the bat while he was lying on the couch in the family's living room, following an evening meal at a local restaurant and a social visit at the home of a neighboring couple. The statement also included an explanation for the attack. She claimed that Clarence had been repeatedly unfaithful but refused to discuss their marital problems.⁴

"We have been having a great deal of trouble in our marriage and I hoped to talk with him about it before he left the following morning, but he refused and said not to bother," Hoyt volunteered. When the family dog appeared at a side door, she opened it so the animal could come inside. As she walked to the door, she picked up a broken baseball bat that Douglas had previously brought home "to set outside in the trash," she continued. "It had been broken before now. I looked in the living room to ask [Clarence] to talk to me, but he refused and said not to bother him. I raised the bat to strike his shoulders but instead hit him two, three blows in the head. Then I immediately called an ambulance and my doctor."⁵

Her statement introduced no reason for her action beyond her dissatisfaction with Clarence's neglect and adulterous relationships. She made no suggestion that her mental health might be the underlying cause of her outburst. After collecting her statement, the officers charged Hoyt with "assault with intent to kill." A

3. TRP, Vol. I, 196, Vol. II, 206, 298; OR.

4. Police officers did inform Hoyt of a right to remain silent at the time she wrote her statement. TRP, Vol. I, 201; *Miranda v. Arizona* 384 U.S. 436 (1966).

5. TRP, Vol. I, 203.

local justice of the peace released her on a \$100 bond and she returned home the same morning. The neighbors who had hosted the Hoyts' social visit earlier that evening joined her at the house. Bob Fellows, a reporter for the *Tampa Tribune*, also showed up and was invited inside.⁶

While surgeons at the hospital struggled to save Clarence, Gwendolyn talked to her guests freely about the assault, even allowing Fellows to interview her. He later wrote that Hoyt made coffee for her guests and discussed her marriage as well as the evening's events. Fellows described her as dazed and obviously upset, yet able to recall the circumstances of the assault in depth. "The room was dark and I struck out to hurt him," she declared. "If it hadn't been for that bat, I would have slapped him—and then he would've gotten up and slapped me back and none of this would be." The reporter added that she had been "overcome by remorse" after the attack. She called for the ambulance and gave Clarence first aid by elevating his feet and covering him with a blanket as a basic treatment for shock.⁷

Gwendolyn offered Fellows the same explanation for the violent act she gave the police. She related that Clarence "had been unfaithful with women many times during their married life," Fellows wrote. Gwendolyn also told the reporter that she had divorced him in 1944, two years after they were married, "because she found him with another woman in their apartment." Despite such transgressions, the couple had later married for a second time. The reconciliation had little permanent effect upon their relationship, she added, for Clarence persisted in his adulterous behavior. She mentioned no mental disability that would make her susceptible to violent impulses.⁸

Months of poisonous strife preceded the assault. The Hoyt family had lived in their Tampa home since 1950 and during that period Clarence had spent his evenings and weekends with his family. In April, 1956 he was transferred to Homestead Air Force Base, leaving his wife and son in Tampa. He initially followed his normal off-duty routine and spent the weekends at home, traveling back and forth from south Florida. But beginning in March, 1957 these visits became much less frequent. On some weekends he

6. OR; *Tampa Tribune*, 21 September 1957.

7. *Tampa Tribune*, 21 September 1957.

8. Ibid.

would not appear at all; on others he would show up on a Saturday or even a Sunday, and quickly return to Homestead. Evidence of yet another extramarital dalliance became apparent when Gwendolyn had arrived on a recent, unannounced visit to Homestead. She also began to receive disconcerting telephone calls. "A woman kept calling [Clarence] at the home," she told Fellows. Finally, her husband's flat refusal to talk about the difficulties in their relationship after they returned from their neighbors' home triggered an uncontrollable impulse to strike at him. She told the reporter that her intent was to hit him on the shoulders, but she struck him in the forehead by mistake.⁹

Nearly eighteen hours after the assault, Gwendolyn was informed that Clarence had died. In a moment of reflection, the tragic consequences of what she had done seemingly left her with a chastened perspective. "[A]ll I wanted was to love him and have him love me," she declared to Fellows. "Oh, my poor husband—I loved him so." She was able to muster advice for the *Tribune's* readers. "If you become angry," Hoyt said, "think a long, long time before you let it come to the surface."¹⁰

Local prosecutors moved to charge Gwendolyn with second-degree murder. She was arrested and taken to the county jail. Officials subsequently transferred her to Tampa General Hospital as a precautionary measure because they feared that she might take her own life. She remained in the care of Dr. Mauricio Rubio, a local psychiatrist, for the next two weeks. Rubio also treated her for several weeks after she was released from the hospital.¹¹

Gwendolyn, with help from friends, contacted two local attorneys—Carl C. Durrance and Charles J. Hardee, Jr.—as soon as she was charged with murder. Both men immediately agreed to represent her, advising her not to provide police officers with any additional statements. They genuinely sympathized with her plight,

9. Ibid; TRP, Vol. I, 246, 247-249.

10. *Tampa Tribune*, 21 September and 18 December 1957; TRP Vol. II, 218-219, 235. Clarence Hoyt died at 5:26 p.m. on September 20.

11. *Tampa Tribune*, 21 and 22 September 1957. The formal charge was made on 3 October. Linda K. Kerber, in *No Constitutional Right to be Ladies: Women and the Obligation of Citizenship* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998) offers an analysis of the Hoyt case in a broad review of the citizenship responsibilities of females in U.S. society over time. The scope of her work did not permit a close examination of the evidence mustered for and against Hoyt at her trial or the police reports.

accepting the case without expecting to receive any significant payment from their client. Hardee even arranged for Gwendolyn to live in a garage apartment behind his own residence until the end of the trial.¹²

The defense attorneys adopted a dual strategy in response to the charge against Hoyt. As they prepared for trial in Hillsborough County's Criminal Court, also located in Tampa, they first developed a constitutional challenge that questioned a state law provision for selecting jurors. Under its terms, prospective jurors must be chosen from among the total number of eligible voters in each county, with one significant exception. It mandated that "no female person shall be taken for jury service unless said person has registered with the clerk of the circuit court her desire to be placed on the jury list." Durrance and Hardee seized upon this stipulation as discriminatory in general and an unfair denial of the opportunity for Hoyt or any other woman charged with a serious offense to be heard by one or more female jurors.¹³

This strategy raised the same legal principle of equal protection of the law federal courts had already applied to discriminatory statutes affecting African-Americans since the landmark 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* case. A powerful civil rights movement had emerged to pressure government officials at all levels to remove the legal status of a second-class citizenship for African-Americans. Success, though limited as of 1957, raised hopes that more victories for the cause might be possible in the future. The movement toward equal protection for racial minorities appeared to be a model useful for challenges to gender discrimination.¹⁴

12. OR; Pat Hardee, former wife of Charles J. Hardee Jr., interview by author, 27 July 2009; Charles J. Hardee III, interview by author, 15 May 2009. A trust, including proceeds from the sale of the Hoyt home, was created to manage the family assets for Douglas. The trust operated until 1968. Douglas was sent to live with Gwendolyn's brother in Georgia. Estate of Clarence Walter Hoyt, File 42782, Probate, Guardianship and Trust Department, Office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court, Hillsborough County.

13. §40.01 *Florida Statutes* (1951). (*Florida Statutes* abbreviated hereinafter as F.S.).

14. 347 U.S. 483. On the federal courts and the African-American civil rights movement, see Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality* (New York: Random House, 1975); James T. Patterson, *Brown v. Board of Education: A Civil Rights Milestone and Its Troubled Legacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Meanwhile, dynamic changes which had occurred in the everyday lives of women in U.S. society since World War II belied the old presumption that their duty involved remaining at home as wives and homemakers. The drain of male workers into military service during the war years had forced manufacturing firms and other businesses to hire females. Their participation in the workforce continued after the war, particularly among married women. In 1940, for example, 15 percent of married women were employed outside the home. By 1960 the figure was nearly 30 percent. In that year 40 percent of all females 17 years of age or older held a job outside the home. The number of working mothers increased by 400 percent between 1940 and 1960. This trend occurred even in the midst of a marked increase in the birth rate and a popular veneration of motherhood and domesticity in the 1950's.¹⁵

Despite these developments, legal inequality for women was slow to disappear. The construct of a fixed role for women was a legally sanctioned force in U.S. society. In the 1908 decision of *Muller v. Oregon*, for example, the Supreme Court of the United States had unanimously asserted that a "woman's physical structure and the performance of maternal functions place her at a disadvantage in the struggle for subsistence." Woman, the court opined, "has always been dependent upon man...Differentiated by these matters from the other sex, she is properly placed in a class by herself, and legislation designed for her protection may be sustained, even when like legislation is not necessary for men and could not be sustained." Such a precedent had not been overturned by the time Hoyt's case was adjudicated.¹⁶

Distinctions between male and female jury service obligations exemplified the continuing influence of sex-based role assumptions in the Deep South and elsewhere. As of 1945, thirty-one states permitted women to sit on juries, but fifteen allowed them to claim an absolute exemption from the duty based upon their sex.

15. Arlene Skolnick, *Embattled Paradise: The American Family in an Age of Uncertainty* (New York: Basic Books, 1991) 52-54; William H. Chafe, *The Paradox of Change: American Women in the 20th Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) 154-193; Carl Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family from the Revolution to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980) 418-442.

16. 208 U.S. 412 at 421-422. See also, Joan Hoff, *Law, Gender and Injustice: A Legal History of U.S. Women* (New York: New York University Press, 1991) 192-228; Deborah L. Rhode, *Justice and Gender: Sex Discrimination and the Law* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989) 29-50.

Seventeen states disqualified them from service. By 1961 forty-seven states had declared women eligible for jury duty. Only Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina refused to recognize female jury service. Eighteen states, including Florida and the District of Columbia, accorded women an absolute exemption with varying procedures. Like Florida, Louisiana and New Hampshire made the exemption automatic, unless a woman volunteered to serve. No federal court ruling mandated an end to the practice.¹⁷

Just as significant for Hoyt's defense team, the Florida Supreme Court had demonstrated no interest in revising its previous rejections of challenges to all-male juries. In one decision the court noted: "It is not contended that juries composed of men would be less fair to woman defendants than would juries composed of women. Indeed, experience would lead to a contrary conclusion. The spirit of chivalry, and the deep respect for the rights of the opposite sex have not yet departed from the heads and hearts of the men of this country." Such assertions suggested the difficulty Durrance and Hardee would face in presenting their argument.¹⁸

They first filed a motion to quash the jury panel selected for the trial, pointing out that the total jury list compiled by Hillsborough County's jury commissioners included 10,000 names, with "approximately 10 to 15 women" in it. But the percentage of female voters countywide was 40 percent. They argued that the statute was contrary to the U.S. Constitution's Fifth Amendment shield against the deprivation of life, liberty or property without due process of law, the Sixth Amendment's assurance of "an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed" and the Fourteenth Amendment's mandate of a citizen's right to equal protection of the law. They predicted that Hoyt "will be discriminated against if forced to trial by a jury with an all male panel who do not have the same passions and understanding of females and their feelings as other women

17. The state data are from *Fay v. New York* 332 U.S. 261 (1947) at 289 and *Hoyt v. Florida* 368 U.S. 57 (1961) at 62-63. See also, John D. Johnston Jr. and Charles L. Knapp, "Sex Discrimination By Law: A Study in Judicial Perspective," *New York University Law Review* 46 (October, 1971): 675-747; Hoff, *Law, Gender and Justice*, 225-228. The other states offering exemptions included Alaska, Arkansas, Georgia, Idaho, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, New York, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Virginia, Washington and Wisconsin.

18. *Hall v. State* 136 Florida 644 (1939); *Bacom v. State* 39 Fla. So 2d 794 (1949).

would have.” Under fundamental law Hoyt was entitled “to be tried by a jury drawn from a list containing 40% female names,” the defense lawyers wrote. The names of Hillsborough County women who should have been eligible “were unlawfully, arbitrarily, systematically and intentionally excluded” from the list.¹⁹

A month later Criminal Court Judge Lawrence A. Grayson held a hearing on the motion. Grayson flatly refused to question the constitutionality of the statute. Although he labeled the law “unwise,” he said a higher court must address the issue. But the judge also revealed his personal view of the subject and likely forecast management of the trial while explaining his ruling. “Throughout our entire history—and while some of our higher courts pay no regard whatever to tradition, it’s something you can’t entirely disregard—women have been treated as superior to men, until they sought to get equal rights and got brought down to our level,” Grayson ruminated. “They are now our equals and no longer our superiors.”²⁰

Durrance and Hardee also objected to the procedure by which the county officials composed the jury pool. They argued that, aside from the statute’s legality, there was no rational basis for the process followed by county jury commissioners to select jurors for her case. Following a practice apparently in effect for a number of years, a courthouse clerk had compiled the jury pool and merely transferred the names of ten women who had not been called to serve in the previous year to the 1957 register of qualified jurors. This transaction not only restricted the possible female juror list to far less than one percent of the total adult female voters, it also depended upon the decision of a public employee who was not authorized to compose such a list. Yet, after having studied the record, Judge Grayson incorrectly claimed the pool of 10,000 names included 27 percent of the eligible female jurors. Therefore, “there certainly isn’t any discrimination of the nature of which you complain in terms of percentages of the population,” the judge insisted, and dismissed the challenge. He would show no willingness to entertain contrary arguments at any point in the trial.²¹

Once their jury statute argument had been rejected, Durrance and Hardee set that portion of the defense argument aside for

19. Challenge to Jury Panel, 8 November 1957. TRP, Vol. 1, 6, 7-9.

20. TRP, Vol I, 45-46.

21. TRP, Vol. I, 45; §40.02 F.S. (1951); §909.17 F.S. (1955). The testimony of the clerk who handled jury pools for the court did not make clear whether she had randomly selected females names for jury service each year or used the same

reconsideration later, if an appeal became necessary. They shifted to a depiction of Gwendolyn Hoyt as a woman who suffered from a form of epilepsy that spawned intermittent bouts of uncontrollable behavior, as well as amnesia that prevented her from recalling the details of these outbursts. Onsets of these epileptic seizures, intensified by the emotional distress provoked by her husband's chronic infidelity, were periods during which she could not be held accountable for her actions, they argued. An acute seizure, erupting just before she attacked Clarence, drove the woman to a violent act. Therefore, Gwendolyn should be judged not guilty by reason of temporary insanity.

Long known as a defense of last resort, a successful temporary insanity plea required maximum legal skill. Florida law prescribed a test for mental competency that had been largely borrowed from a 19th Century English precedent. Under this standard, a defendant had the burden to prove the claim. Proof involved showing credible evidence that the accused person did not know what he or she was doing and its consequences or, did not know that the action was wrong. Thirty-three years earlier the Florida Supreme Court had stipulated that a citizen charged with homicide could be acquitted on the grounds of insanity only "if he must have been insane at the time the unlawful act was committed, at the particular moment of the homicide." The court added: "The question whether the accused had a sufficient degree of reason to know that he was doing an act that was wrong, is one for the jury." The primary federal precedent at the time offered no clear alternative to the Florida legal standard.²²

ones repeatedly. This point was addressed in Brief for Appellant, *Hoyt v. Florida*, 368 U.S. 57 (1961) 6. Briefs for the U.S. Supreme Court case are available at *The Making of Modern Law: U.S. Supreme Court Records and Briefs, 1832-1978*, <http://galenet.galegroup.com.lp.hscl.ufl.edu/servlet/SCRB?b0=Hoyt+v.+Florida> (accessed 3 September 2009).

22. *Collins v. Florida*, 88 FL 578 (1924); see also, §909.17 F.S.; the federal case was *Leland v. Oregon*, 343 U.S. 790 (1952). Most authorities refer to the standard involved as the McNaghten test, based upon the 1843 English case of *Regina v. McNaghten*. 4 *Reports of State Trials*, New Series, 1839-1843, 847 (1843); 8 Eng. Rep. 723. See Rita James Simon, *The Jury and the Defense of Insanity* (Boston: Little Drown and Co., 1967); Donald H.J. Hermann, *The Insanity Defense: Philosophical, Historical and Legal Perspectives* (Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 1983). Florida law has continued to treat the insanity plea with the same standard. For example, in a 2009 case the state supreme court upheld the death sentence for a confessed killer, despite acknowledging his "mental illness." The court found that "none of the mental health experts tied [the defendant's] mental illness directly" to the murder. *Ricardo Gill v. Florida*, 9 July 2009. (Slip opinion) 33, 37.

The trial began on December 17, 1957 and continued for three days. As both sides labored to develop their respective positions, the defense attorneys found themselves undermined by the testimony of the defendant herself. She blocked the development of a compelling depiction of her insanity by offering a new version of the circumstances leading to the assault.

Under direct examination by Durrance, Hoyt expounded upon the statement she gave to the police officers on the morning of the assault. She claimed that her husband's treatment of her at least since the previous March was accompanied by a hostile, threatening attitude. For example, during one visit at their Tampa home in July, she said, Clarence "went into a rage and he started to throw things around in the kitchen and [began] scooping things off counters and then he went into the living room and was tipping over chairs and tables and broke our lamps and then he went into our bedroom and he threw our night stand into the living room..." In this torrent of wrath he now took aim at her. According to Gwendolyn, "he went after me and he tore my dress off...and he threw me from the door on to the bed and he started to choke me and said he would kill me..."²³

This violent marital conflict magnified her medical condition, she added. Gwendolyn said she had suffered from epilepsy since she "19, 20 or 21" and had been taking medication for it since at least 1945. She explained: "I have it at night and I don't, I don't have any idea when it's going to happen, and when it does, especially in severe attacks, when I wake up, I don't remember anything that's gone on before. Everything is vague." Prompted by Durrance, she pointed out that "Almost always, if I am very, had any bad situation or upset or trouble, I will have a very bad attack and more than one doctor has told me to avoid [them]."²⁴

She told the jury that on the evening of the assault Clarence was "angry" after they arrived back home from their visit with their neighbors. "He slammed down on the couch." But, as a dutiful wife, "I didn't say or do anything" to incite him, she assured her audience. Gwendolyn also made a key addition to her narrative. Moments before the fatal blows were struck, she said, "I put on some perfume and I put on this gown he liked...then I came out into the living room and I walked back and forth so that he could

23. TRP, Vol. II, 276-277.

24. TRP, Vol. II, 277, 279, 281.

see that I wasn't angry." She hoped to talk with Clarence about the problems with their relationship, she explained. Clearly evident in the description was an intent to entice him into lovemaking as a way of re-establishing a basic emotional connection. But he fired back with a curt rebuff: "Don't. I won't touch you." She remembered imploring him again to discuss their marriage woes. At that point, the family dog's barking led her to the side door, past the baseball bat. She opened the door and allowed the dog to enter the house. "I saw the bat and I picked it up. I thought I'd put it into the trash when I put my little doggie to bed. And as I was going through the back, I heard him speak, and I went in. I didn't want to miss anything he was saying," she continued. "And I, when I went in there, he turned over and he said, 'Don't bother me. Get away. I'm going back to Homestead in the morning, and that'll be the end of it.' That's when I hit him."²⁵

This additional description of the evening handed the prosecution an excellent basis for positing an alternative narrative. A rejected wife, unable to let go of a philandering, thoroughly detached spouse who made clear his intention to divorce her, acted out of a jealous, emotionally wounded fury, not an epileptic seizure.

In a cross-examination of Gwendolyn intended to eliminate justifiable provocation as a motive for beating her husband, County Solicitor Paul Johnson asked whether Clarence had assaulted her "in any way" or physically injured her on the evening of the murder. She answered with a clear "No." Pushing further to his objective, he invited her to agree with the following statement: "You were not in fear of your life or fear of serious bodily injury." She agreed that she had experienced no fear of physical harm from her spouse.²⁶

Johnson also sought to portray the defendant as a manipulative person, capable of deceit. He asked her whether she had employed "subterfuge, a ruse or a lie" to persuade Clarence that he should return home on 19 September. She admitted that in a telephone call she told her husband Douglas had been injured in an automobile accident and was lingering near death in a local hospital. The lie was a tactic to get him to return home. She also related that Clarence became angry upon arriving in Tampa and

25. TRP, Vol. II, 294-296, 303.

26. TRP, Vol. II, 302-303.

finding his son in good health at home. He thus had reason to spurn her efforts at reconciliation.²⁷

The prosecutor next moved to lay out sensational evidence about a late-night tryst Gwendolyn had with another man a week before the murder. Based upon evidence derived from several witnesses, Johnson was able to outline the circumstances of this date, despite the defense team's repeated objections to this line of inquiry as a deliberate attack against Gwendolyn's character based upon hearsay evidence. Gwendolyn admitted that she had left her house late in the evening of 12 September to meet a man who was registered at a hotel in downtown Tampa. She did not return home until around 5:00 a.m. The man she spent time with had ordered a babysitter to work at the Hoyts' address during this nearly six-hour period, but used a fictitious name for Gwendolyn. The sitter later recognized the defendant's photograph in a newspaper article about the murder and contacted the police. On the stand the sitter offered confirmation that Gwendolyn did not reveal her true identity either when she left the house or when she returned. The jury heard an obvious message that the defendant was capable of engaging in an elaborate scheme of deception and was no more faithful to her marriage than her husband. Judge Grayson allowed the introduction of this evidence because, he said, the defense sought to establish the defendant's "state of mind" leading up the assault.²⁸

Prosecutors could have attempted to introduce additional evidence about the defendant's past behavior in an effort to discredit the defense counsel's thesis. Police investigators had interviewed several residents who lived near the Hoyts, yielding descriptions of episodes in which Gwendolyn was unable to manage her anger in everyday circumstances. One neighbor police interviewed said she faced "a constant row resulting from Mrs. Hoyt's quick temper." A number of eruptions involved Douglas. Some of them required police intervention. All apparently occurred in daylight hours or in the early evening, not during the time period Gwendolyn testified she suffered from epileptic seizures.²⁹

27. TRP, Vol. II, 304.

28. TRP, Vol. II, 305-318. Judge Grayson's management's of the courtroom routinely blocked any attempt to suppress such evidence. The impact of this revelation was so obvious that the *Tampa Tribune's* summary of it formed the lead paragraphs of a news article published the following day. *Tampa Tribune*, 19 December 1957.

29. OR (Supplemental Reports).

In an effort to paint a picture of Gwendolyn's epilepsy with authoritative weight, the defense lawyers called to the stand two physicians who had treated her. Hardee's questioning of Dr. Rubio would be crucial for the defense strategy. On the stand the physician explained that, based upon his diagnosis, the defendant was afflicted by temporal lobe epilepsy. This condition could induce a partial loss of consciousness. He noted that affected individuals "don't fall to the ground. They don't have convulsive movements. However, they can perform automatic movements" that "are characterized by impulsiveness, by inability to control one's emotional impulses in the normal way" for periods ranging from a few seconds to several hours. Rubio said emotional tension could intensify the experience: "The greater the emotional stress, the worse the inability to control the emotional impulse." After such an episode, a victim "will have practically no recollection" of it.³⁰

He also offered a summary of electroencephalograms performed on Gwendolyn in Massachusetts in April, 1947 and one week after Clarence died. Records of the tests showed that temporal lobe epilepsy had developed during this period, Rubio declared. Then quoting from a report he had previously submitted to the defense counsel, he stated: "This illness, in addition to her emotionally immature personality, indicates in my opinion that at the time of the alleged act, Mrs. Hoyt, if able to distinguish between right and wrong, was unable to adhere to the right and lacked the awareness of the consequences of her impulsive behavior."³¹

Under cross-examination by Johnson, Rubio's previous testimony imploded. He admitted that Gwendolyn possessed a "detailed recollection" of the events of 19-20 September. He also acknowledged that the 1947 electroencephalogram showed that her brain function was normal. Following up on both this exchange and testimony Gwendolyn had given earlier, Johnson

30 TRP, Vol. III, 425-426, 428. Dr. Mason Trupp—a physician who also treated Clarence at the base hospital—had seen the Hoyts a year earlier in his office. Under questioning by Hardee he said Gwendolyn had begun to stutter some six months before the attack. This behavior "seems to be precipitated by excitement and nervousness," Trupp said. But Trupp could not verify that she had suffered a seizure on the evening of Sept. 20. He recommended that a physician who examined her at the time of the incident address the question. His inconclusive response, offered earlier in the trial, magnified the importance of Rubio's testimony. TRP, Vol. II, 330, 334.

31. TRP, Vol. III, 440.

asked the physician if, in his treatment of the defendant, he had learned of "any overt, hostile assault having occurred upon another person." In a stunning revelation, the psychiatrist said that in 1947, Gwendolyn had assaulted Clarence and another woman when she apparently caught them in a romantic embrace. "I understand it was with a knife on the woman she found with her husband in the apartment," Rubio sputtered. The incident occurred within a month of the date of the original electroencephalogram that showed her to have a normal brain function. Jurors could not have missed the implication that, even before she had any symptoms of epilepsy, Gwendolyn was capable of flying into a spasm of violent rage if Clarence turned his attention to another woman.³²

After a flurry of questions designed to expose the limits of the medical practitioner's diagnosis, Johnson arrived at his end point. "So, in your opinion, she did not have a seizure?" he asked. The physician replied: "That's correct. It would have comprised a longer period of confusion, of inability to remember accurately, in all probability." A few minutes later, Johnson pulled the string. He leveled the question everyone in the courtroom had been expecting. "Dr. Rubio," he asked, "have you ever seen any indication of insanity on the part of Mrs. Hoyt?" The witness replied: "No, sir." Rubio also acknowledged that he had treated her on 20 September for depression, not epilepsy.³³

For their part, the defense attorneys emphasized Gwendolyn's acceptance of her position in the family, despite her husband's cruelty in exploiting her affections while indulging in a "double life" of serial adultery. Prosecutors, Hardee declared, "had no case" and sought "to inflame your minds against this woman" with details of the 12 September meeting with another man. Gwendolyn Hoyt would suffer the rest of her life because of the way her affliction flared in a few bizarre moments. "She killed the man she loved—that she had loved all her life," he said. "She had never loved another."³⁴

32. TRP, Vol. II, 245; Vol. III, 448-449. Durrance had previously asked his client if she had ever been convicted of a crime. She said she had—without identifying the offense. Thus, an attempt to parry in advance any accusation that the defendant was not fully truthful on the stand ultimately failed to advance her cause.

32. TRP, Vol. III, 445-447, 449-450.

34. Supplement to Transcript, Case Number 29.966, 7, 9-10. (Florida State Archives).

Hardee encouraged the jury to consider all of her actions during the evening of the attack. Clarence told her to let the family dog come into the house. "As a dutiful wife should, she went and let the little dog in and when she did, she saw this splintered bat." She was "afraid her child would splinter his hands and took it and started to throw it out in the garbage." Gwendolyn was "unconsciously holding the bat," hoping "as a last resort, to get him into bed with her...and maybe then they could straighten out their marital troubles." Then, "what did he do?" Hardee asked. "He said: 'I'm not going to touch you.'" The attorney, following up with a dramatic pause, issued an open question: "Gentlemen, is there any truth in the words that Hell hath no fury like a woman scorned?" Finally, in a novel completion of his argument Hardee insisted that her action on 20 September was something Clarence had deliberately provoked over many months. Here was a man whose neglect of his wife included an intentional purpose. "He knew what he was doing...Deliberately did these things to this woman. Deliberately created a situation that he knew would cause her to react in a way that she did."³⁵

Carl Durrance pointed out that the defendant had cleaned up the area around the couch and remained at home while Clarence received medical care at the base hospital. She did so to care for Douglas. "Now, I ask you, what kind of decision is required from a conscientious mother" in that situation, he asked the jury. "Protect her son. That was her first thought. Now, isn't that a good mother?" Like Hardee, he characterized Gwendolyn as a victim who had to "suffer the tortures of Hell when minute by minute, hour by hour, day by day, her husband was forsaking her." Clarence was an abusive, willfully neglectful husband whose constant failure to take care of his wife "who was sick, looking out for his baby" would "drive even a normal person to distraction and insanity."³⁶

Following the defense counsel's summary, Paul Johnson highlighted the futility of the Hoyts' marriage and the effect of rejection. Clarence had already given up on their relationship; Gwendolyn could not. She "became enraged because he had

35. Supplement, 9-10, 19. The quote is from Act III, Scene 8 of William Congreve's *The Mourning Bride* (1697): "Heaven has no rage like love turned to hatred, Nor Hell a fury like a woman scorned."

36. Supplement, 28-29, 30, 40, 54, 57.

spurned her, had offended her ego, had offended her vanity because she was dressed up in this negligee and he refuses to go to bed with her," Johnson intoned. He turned Hardee's reference to "Hell hath no fury like a woman scorned" as an advantage. The defense attorney had correctly characterized her motivation, he said with approval. "Can you imagine how that must have struck at her vanity, at her ego, as he refused to go to bed with her?" As a result, "she picked up the bat and intentionally—intentionally, heaped blow after blow on his head."

He reminded the jury that both Dr. Rubio and another physician had been called to the stand for testimony about the defendant's mental condition. Neither physician could attest that she was insane at the time of the assault—a key point under the provisions of state law for determining whether she should be treated rather than punished. "There has been testimony that she is emotional, but that is not an excuse for homicide," Johnson argued. "We have a situation in which a woman, because she becomes angry, suddenly appoints herself executioner and snuffs out the life ...of her husband, of the father of her child."³⁷

With that oration completed, the lawyers' courtroom jousting ended. In his charge to the jury Judge Grayson explained the basis for an insanity verdict. To find the defendant "not guilty on the grounds of insanity," he instructed, the members must "believe that at the time of the assault she was under such defective reason from disease of the mind as to not know the nature and quality of the act she was doing." Or, they must conclude that "she did not know what she was doing was wrong, or that if she knew the nature and quality of the act and did not know it was wrong, that she was under such duress of mental disease as to be incapable of choosing between right and wrong." A "reasonable doubt" about the defendant's capability of making such judgments or "being unable to resist doing the wrong" would be "sufficient to acquit." Grayson then ordered the jurors to retire and arrive at a verdict.³⁸

Thirty-two minutes later, they returned with a unanimous decision. They found Gwendolyn Hoyt guilty of second-degree murder.³⁹

Over the next few weeks the defense team sought to obtain a new trial, based upon the original challenges to the jury panel, the

37. TRP, Vol. III, 567, 580.

38. TRP, Vol. III, 589-590, 591.

39. TRP, Vol. III, 596-597.


verdict options given to the jury and claims that the judge erred "respecting the admission or exclusion of evidence and testimony," allowing "the prosecutor to attack the character of the defendant." Grayson denied their motions. On 20 January 1958 he sentenced Hoyt to 30 years in state prison.⁴⁰

Her lawyers promptly appealed to the Florida Supreme Court, challenging the state statute on the grounds that it denied Hoyt an impartial jury. They acknowledged that federal courts had not specifically overturned the state's traditional power to exclude "an entire class of citizens (such as females) from jury service." But, they pointed out, "recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court regarding Negroes have cast some doubt upon the present validity of these decisions." Desegregation cases decided since the early 1950's raised important questions about the legitimacy of excluding a class of citizens such as women. The Florida legislature had already declared females to be qualified for jury service. How could lawmakers constitutionally "restrict their eligibility to perform such service in any unreasonable, capricious manner?" the lawyers asked. "It could scarcely be contended that the Legislature might validly place the same restriction upon the eligibility for jury service of males—or of Negroes."⁴¹

To buttress their assertion, Durrance and Hardee cited several U.S. Supreme Court rulings involving the selection of juries. In *Ballard v. United States*, for example, decided in 1946, the Court took up a challenge to jury selection for a federal judicial district in which women were excluded. The decision, written by Justice William O. Douglas, struck down the practice. "The system of jury selection which Congress has adopted," Douglas wrote, required that "juries in the federal courts sitting in such states would be representative of both sexes." Federal juries must reflect "a cross-section of the community." Not every social, religious, racial or political group must be represented in all such juries, but the selection must be conducted "without systematic and intentional exclusion of any one group." In a general dictum Douglas noted that "the two sexes are not fungible" and that a reciprocal, "subtle interplay of influence" was created by having both sexes participate jointly in civic duties. When one group of citizens is excluded,

40 TRP, Vol. III, 601, 607-608.

41. Appellant's Brief, 28 August 1958, *Hoyt v. Florida*. Florida Supreme Court Case Number 29.966. (Florida State Archives).

STATE OF FLORIDA Board of Commissioners of State Institutions DIVISION OF CORRECTIONS LOWELL, FLORIDA					
NAME	Gwendolyn Hoyt,	NO.	0P00913	DATE RECEIVED	December 29, 1961
SENTENCED	January 20, 1958 *	COUNTY	Hillsborough		
COURT	Criminal Court of Record	CRIME	2nd Degree Murder		
TERM	THIRTY YEARS	MONTHS			
ESCAPED		CAPTURED		RELEASED	Parole 7 20 64
AGE	25-24(37)	HEIGHT	5'5 1/2"	WEIGHT	144 1/2
				BUILD	medium
				CONF.	medium
					
HAIR	Brown, dyed auburn	EYES	Hazel	TEETH	Good
BORN	Denvers, Mass.	Occ.	Clerical	HOME	N. Andover, Mass.
MARKS AND SCARS	Large mole upper left arm. Several moles about neck. Small dim cut scar on forehead. Small mole above left side of mouth.				
NOTIFICATION RECORDS: Mrs. Josephine M. Roberts, (mother) 5 Rixby Ave., N. Andover, Mass.					
* sentence to begin 12-29-61, date returned from Appeal Bond.					

Gwendolyn Hoyt's image from her official Florida Department of Corrections file.

"The injury is not limited to the defendant—there is injury to the jury system, to the law as an institution, to the community at large, and to the democratic ideal reflected in the processes of our courts." His opinion suggested a future application of the same principle to state courts would be forthcoming.⁴²

In the 1954 case of *Hernandez v. Texas* the U.S. Supreme Court determined that a Mexican-American man's conviction for murder should be overturned because citizens of Hispanic ancestry had been excluded from local jury service for at least 25 years. Accepting his attorneys' pretrial motion to quash the indictment

42. 329 U.S. 187, 192-193, 195; Appellant's Brief.

against him and the trial, the Court found that the 14th Amendment's Equal Protection Clause mandated a new trial with a revised jury selection procedure. In his opinion for the Court Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote: "When the existence of a distinct class is demonstrated, and it is further shown that the laws, as written or applied, single out that class for different treatment not based on some reasonable classification, the guarantees of the Constitution have been violated." Durrance and Hardee argued that the two decisions verified their claim.⁴³

The state's lawyers countered the proposition that the statute violated the federal Constitution by pointing out that the U.S. Supreme Court had not applied the provisions of the Fifth and Sixth Amendments to the states. A dictum issued in the 1879 case of *Strauder v. West Virginia*, they emphasized, continued to articulate the rule of law. According to that statement, the federal Constitution "does not in effect prohibit the state from denying women the right to serve on juries," they wrote. Hoyt's position was really a "claim that the absence of women on the jury panel deprived her of the right to a trial by an 'impartial jury.'" But, they continued, "An 'impartial jury' is not denied by the absence of women from jury duty. The quality of "[i]mpartiality' is a *state of mind*."

Attorneys for the state also discounted Hoyt's challenge to the procedure followed for juror selection. The defense, they contended, had "not shown that the Jury Commissioners' actions were unlawful." In addition, the evidence introduced at the trial about Gwendolyn's date a week before the murder was properly submitted. "Since she sought to establish by her testimony [her husband's] peccadilloes, and, perhaps even more important, her own conduct in response thereto, the door was left open for impeaching her conduct," they wrote.⁴⁴

In a ruling announced on November 7, 1959 the Florida Supreme Court dismissed the chief defense argument by focusing on the lack of any U.S. Supreme Court decision striking down a differential requirement for female jury service. Justice E. Harris Drew, writing for the court, asserted that the federal tribunal had not "overruled a legislative determination, or declared invalid a

43. 247 U.S. 475, 478 (1954); Appellant's Brief.

44. Appellee's Brief, 10 October 1958, *Hoyt v. Florida*. Case Number 29.966. Emphasis in the original document.

constitutional provision, that women as a class should be subject to different treatment or regulations, such as those here involved, with respect to jury service." Existing law only prohibited singling out "a class for different treatment 'not based on some reasonable classification' or basis."⁴⁵

A jury qualification law that distinguished between men and women was intended to avoid placing "unwarranted strain upon the social and domestic structure" of the nation, Drew wrote. The "unwilling participation by those whose conflicting duties" could "affect the quality of their service as jurors" and would harm the criminal justice system. The distinction based upon sex embodied a reasonable classification. "Whatever changes may have taken place in the political or economic status of women in our society," Drew declared, "nothing has yet altered the fact of their primary responsibility, as a class, for the daily welfare of the family unit upon our civilization depends."

He also failed to discern any merit in the counsel's objection that the method followed by county officials to compile a jury list violated the statute. There was no evidence of "anything resembling a systematic exclusion of eligible female voters," Drew insisted. The law permitted the use of clerical assistance; it did not mandate "more than the personal supervision and review exercised by the commissioners in this case."⁴⁶

Hoyt's defense team immediately began work to file an appeal with the U.S. Supreme Court. But her loyal Florida attorneys would not take the lead role in the case at this stage. Hardee and Durrance had already devoted more than two years of pro bono service on behalf of their client. Revenue needs of their respective firms persuaded them to leave the oral argument to another practitioner.⁴⁷

Through intermediaries, including staff members at the Florida chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, Herbert Ehrmann, a Boston attorney, was identified as the new lead counsel. Ehrmann and other volunteers prepared briefs that highlighted trends apparent in the U.S. Supreme Court cases since 1945.

45. *Hoyt v. State*, Fla. So. 2d 691 at 692 (1959).

46. *Hoyt v. State* 696. Justice Drew also dismissed other procedural and evidentiary objections raised by the defense. The lone dissenter, Justice T. Frank Hobson, expressed the same gender role assumptions apparent in other judicial responses to the case. See *Hoyt v. State*, 697, 698-699, 700, 701.

47. Pat Hardee interview.

The *Strauder* dictum "must be accepted for what it is—namely, an illustration applicable to the American society of 1879," they wrote. "It was not a Constitutional mandate for all time." In response to "changing moral and factual circumstances," the Court's decision making had also been revised. A series of cases, including *Hernandez*, reaffirmed that "the equal protection clause extends beyond discrimination on grounds of race and color." In their view the "cross-section of the community" rule formulated in *Ballard* should become a mandate for all states.⁴⁸

The defense team called attention to the increasing numbers of married women who were working outside their homes by the late 1950's. Openly contesting Justice Drew's observation, they proclaimed: "There is no factual basis today for the assertion that jury service for women places 'an unwarranted strain' upon society." The Court must address current social conditions, they insisted. "It is the facts of 1957, and not of 1866, which govern the equal protection clause." But they also played the sex role card. They cited sociological studies that identified differences between man and women while deliberating on juries. These studies, the authors wrote, show that "Women tend to play the role of mediators. And to break tensions more than men." What was more important, "Such voting patterns are particularly evident in cases involving the home and juveniles." A jury consisting of both men and women might possibly have voted to acquit Hoyt.⁴⁹

A final segment of the main brief emphasized that even if the Florida statute was upheld as constitutional, the defendant deserved a new trial because the procedure to create jury pools in Hillsborough County violated state law. The number of potential female jurors selected for 1957 was determined without regard to the overall pool of women who had registered their willingness to serve.⁵⁰

Ehrmann presented the argument for the defense at the hearing. He had built an impressive legal career as a volunteer public service lawyer, including duty as one of the defense attorneys in

48. Brief for Appellant, *Hoyt v. Florida* 368 U.S. 57 (1961) 12, 14. On the preparation of the brief, see Rowland Watts to Howard W. Dixon, 13 January 1961, Rowland Watts to Judge Dorothy Kenton, 24 July 1961. American Civil Liberties Union of Florida Records, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

49. Brief for Appellant, 16, 19, 20; ACLU Brief, *Hoyt v. Florida*.

50. Brief for Appellant, 21.

the Sacco-Vanzetti trial. Despite his previous legal experience, Ehrmann may not have been the most effective advocate before the tribunal. He had only appeared before the U.S. Supreme Court once before the *Hoyt* case. Perhaps just as significantly, he uttered what apparently was a nervous laugh—close in sound to a staccato chuckle—that accompanied both his prepared presentation and his responses to questions from the Justices. Listeners could understandably interpret this mannerism as a condescending sneer.⁵¹

At the Supreme Court hearing, held on October 19, 1961, Ehrmann characterized Gwendolyn Hoyt as “an epileptic with damage to her brain and she went out of control.” He admitted that “We don’t know what women would have done on that jury. But shouldn’t she have had a chance of having a woman on the jury who would have said: ‘Now, wait a minute. The woman saw her home, her husband and father of her child going?’” he asked. “Wasn’t she entitled to have people who think like that on the jury?”

The attorney appealed to a Justice who might be willing to support his reasoning by referring to the sociological studies cited in the defense brief. These materials, said Ehrmann, “tend to back up Mr. Justice [William O.] Douglas’s statement [in his *Ballard* opinion] that men and women are not fungible—that women emphasize more the home, children and family. Their approach is more emotional. They are mediators rather than aggressors in discussion.” He added parenthetically, “I don’t think these studies tell us anything we don’t know. They tend to corroborate the obvious.” In doing so he applied the gender construct other principal participants had invoked in the case.⁵²

The Court must address the “justification” of the Florida statute, Ehrmann continued. He pointed out that even the trial judge, “who apparently belongs to the old school,” found that it was a “silly statute.” The Supreme Court as well as lower tribunals “have been bringing the Constitutional question of the selection of

51. A recording of the oral argument in *Hoyt v. Florida*, 368 U.S. 57 (1961) is available online at The Oyez Project, http://oyez.org/cases/1960-1969/1961/1961_31 (accessed 4 September 2009). (Recording abbreviated hereinafter as *Hoyt Oyez*); Kerber, *No Constitutional Right*, 165; Herbert B. Ehrmann, *The Untried Case: The Sacco-Vanzetti Case and the Morelli Gang* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1933).

52. *Hoyt Oyez*.

juries abreast of the times," he asserted. "In the *Hernandez* case, which firmly states that if a defendant is a member of a class which is excluded and there is no justification for it, it is a denial of equal protection. That is the situation we have here." In response to a question from Justice Felix Frankfurter about whether the voters of Florida had actually endorsed the statute because they had not called upon their legislative representatives to repeal it, Ehrmann admitted he did not know the answer. "But it seems to me," he quickly retorted, "we should not justify a 20th Century anachronism by justification that might have been valid a hundred years ago." Apparently losing his focus, Ehrmann retreated from his central claim by adding: "I am not urging the right of women to serve on juries. I am here defending a woman who was sentenced to 30 years at hard labor without benefit of having women on the jury."⁵³

In concluding comments he repeatedly emphasized that regardless of the statute's constitutional validity, the administration of jury selection by county officials was improper, if not incompetent. "But it is no excuse for the behavior of the jury commissioners who arbitrarily limited what little chance there was" for women to serve as jurors, Ehrmann declared.⁵⁴

Perhaps the bluntest use of gender construction in the case appeared in the oral argument by Florida Assistant Attorney General George R. Georgieff. Referring to *Strauder v. West Virginia* as the main precedent for the dispute, Georgieff said the Court had rendered the decision "because of classic differences that no attainment can change. They are women because they are women. They have functions to perform that no ascension up the scale can make any difference. They bear our children. They are the ones that rear them, not the men," he proclaimed. "This is their function."⁵⁵

The statute did not exclude women, Georgieff declared. Before the law was adopted, women could not serve on juries in Florida. Therefore, the registration procedure actually created a civic opportunity that did not exist prior to its adoption. The difference was availability, not eligibility. Women simply had domestic functions to perform and the legislature recognized this fact. In

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid. Ehrmann also pointed out Judge Grayson's error in stating the percentage of women registered for jury service in Hillsborough County for 1957.

55. *Hoyt Oyez*.

Strauder the U.S. Supreme Court had likely understood "that to require them to serve in this capacity [as jurors] would make it difficult for somebody to raise these children, to prepare the food, to keep the home and to do the other things that women customarily do." In his view, "This is, unfortunately, a man's world and for some time, I am afraid, it's going to remain one."⁵⁶

Although several Justices—including Chief Justice Earl Warren—repeatedly posed questions about the restrictive effect of the statute during the hearing, most accepted its Constitutionality during their conference held a day later. Frankfurter, for example, argued that the *Ballard* and *Hernandez* precedents called for an affirmation of the state court ruling. The law did not keep women from serving on juries because those who wished to do so could register to serve, as the law provided. For that reason there was "no systematic exclusion of any part of the base...there was not systematic exclusion of women here," Frankfurter stated. Warren, Justice Hugo Black and Justice William O. Douglas voiced an opposing view. As they analyzed the statute, the necessity of registering to become an eligible juror was a discriminatory requirement because it applied to women alone and the results of its application were obvious. The law restricted the number of females eligible to serve in Hillsborough County's juries to a tiny fraction of the general female population. As Warren explained, "in this case Fla. limited women['s] service to 1/10 of 1 percent of the count—that is tantamount to taking them out." But they were unable to persuade any other colleagues to join them.⁵⁷

The Court announced a unanimous opinion on November 20, authored by Justice John Marshall Harlan. His assumption that women occupied a particular place in society echoed the Court's 1908 *Muller* ruling and formed a basis to dismiss the constitutional challenge with a few brief paragraphs. Harlan found that the case did not require an assessment of the *Strauder* dictum because the

56. Ibid. The state's brief claimed that Florida law made women eligible for jury duty by giving them the choice to be "available" by registering. Brief of the Appellee, *Hoyt v. Florida*, 6.

57. Conference notes dated 20 October 1961. Box 1269, William O. Douglas Papers, Library of Congress. My transcription of the conference remarks written by Douglas differs from ones found in Bernard Schwartz, *Super Chief: Earl Warren and His Supreme Court—A Judicial Biography* (New York: New York University Press, 1983) 400-401 and in Kerber, *No Constitutional Right*, 178. (Douglas Papers abbreviated hereinafter as WOD).

statute in question did not bar women from serving on juries. A 1957 congressional revision of U.S. law making women eligible for federal jury duty was not relevant, either. "Even were it to be assumed that this question [the *Strauder* dictum] is still open to debate, the present case tenders narrower issues," he wrote. The state had not violated the *Hernandez* standard of a "reasonable classification" by exempting women from jury pools. They could choose to serve by formally declaring their interest in doing so. "Despite the enlightened emancipation of women from the restrictions and protections of bygone years," he observed, "and their entry into many parts of community life formerly considered to be reserved to men, woman is still regarded as the center of home and family life." Based upon this presumption, "We cannot say that it is constitutionally impermissible for a state, acting in pursuit of the general welfare, to conclude that a woman should be relieved from the civic duty of jury service unless she herself determines that such service is consistent with her own special responsibilities."⁵⁸

In a second section of the opinion Harlan denied that the compilation of a jury list by county officials raised any question of impropriety. "[T]he disproportion of women to men on the list independently carries no constitutional significance" because there was no evidence that "Florida has arbitrarily undertaken to exclude women from jury service," he wrote. The jury commissioners' reliance upon a clerk to create the list was not, in itself, a questionable procedure, Harlan added.⁵⁹

Warren, Black and Douglas decided to issue a separate, two-sentence concurrence that ignored the Constitutional question raised by Hoyt's attorneys. "We cannot say from this record that Florida is not making a good faith effort to have women perform jury duty without discrimination on the ground of sex," they declared. With this lifeless statement the trio left open the possibility that they might reconsider the matter in a subsequent case.⁶⁰

The Court's reluctance to examine the merits of Hoyt's appeal was all the more striking given that less than four months later a plurality of the Justices would extend the same shield her lawyers invoked for her to urban voters in a landmark decision overturning both precedent and more than 150 years of practice. In *Baker*

58. 368 U.S. 57 (1961) 59, 60-61.

59. 368 U.S. 69.

60. 369 U.S. 69 (after footnotes).

v. Carr a majority would determine that mal-apportioned state legislatures denied equal protection of the law to urban voters and thus required judicial intervention. William O. Douglas may have best exemplified the dualism in the court's thinking. Despite his statement in *Ballard* that juries must be seated "without systematic and intentional exclusion of any one group," Douglas was unwilling to lobby his colleagues over the *Hoyt* case with the same industry he applied to the legislative apportionment dispute. The Court had originally heard oral arguments in the latter case in April 1961. A re-argument was held in October of that year—a month before the *Hoyt* hearing. But as of March, 1962 the Court had not yet issued a decision in *Baker*. Douglas was so intent upon obtaining one that he scribbled a private message to his colleagues urging quick action. No recipient could have failed to understand the thoroughly politicized message, or its patronizing tone. "This is an election year," he noted. "If the lower court is to have an opportunity to act, the case should be disposed of soon. In other like situations the case has reached us so late that we have been powerless to act. I am sure there is no one here who wants to produce that result."⁶¹

In the words of one scholar, the Court's response to Gwendolyn Hoyt's appeal "showed the helplessness of equal protection in the non-race context" during the early 1960's. "*Hoyt* is thus a useful reminder that the Court does not create social movements; it responds to them." The Court would not address a gender discrimination case again until after Earl Warren retired from the bench.⁶²

Meanwhile, the assumption of a prescribed role for women gradually lost its influence over everyday life. Prescient observers forecast that reforms would eventually force officials in Florida and other states without open juror eligibility to change existing law. Six days after the opinion was announced, an editorial writer for the *Washington Post* predicted that the ruling "is not likely to be

61. *Baker v. Carr*, 369 U.S. 186 (1962); William O. Douglas, Memorandum to the Conference, 2 March 1962. Box 351, WOD.

62. Lucas A. Powe, Jr., *The Warren Court and American Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000) 202, 180. In *Griswold v. Connecticut* decided five years later, the Warren Court struck down state laws that prohibited the distribution and use of materials used for contraception. Although commonly regarded as a significant victory for women's rights, the case was not specifically adjudicated as a gender discrimination dispute. 381 U.S. 479.

[the court's] last word on the subject of women serving on juries." According to the editorial, a future case, framed in precise terms that challenged the *Strauder* dictum, would lead the Court to reject it. "The most enlightened jurisdictions," the author wrote, "now make women as welcome in the jury box as they are in the voting booth."⁶³

In what would be an empty victory for Hoyt and her lawyers, an emerging popular call to end sex-based discrimination in law would soon produce change in both Congress and the Florida legislature. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 signaled the central government's endorsement of female equality before the law. In 1967 state legislators rescinded the special jury registration requirement for women by overwhelming majorities in both houses—without direct prodding from a legal case. The U.S. Supreme Court would finally strike down such laws for female jury service in 1975. *Hoyt v. Florida* was thus anything but a lasting precedent. The case—from the trial through the appeals process—holds significance both because of its reflection of assumptions about the role of women held by the male jurists and attorneys who participated in it, as well as the judicial blessing of gender inequality.⁶⁴

Defeated at her last appeal, Gwendolyn Hoyt was committed to state prison in December, 1961. She was released on parole in July, 1964, after having served less than three years of her sentence. Ironically, her early parole would not have been available in the late 20th Century. Beginning in the 1980's the Florida legislature embarked upon a major initiative to establish uniform sentencing guidelines, eventually adding mandatory periods of incarceration. If Hoyt had been found guilty under the new system of sentencing adopted by 1995, she would have been incarcerated for at least 85 percent of her prison term.⁶⁵

63. *Washington Post*, 26 November 1961. See also, editorial in *New York Times*, 21 November 1961.

64. Chapter 67-154, Laws of Florida, Vol. 1, Part I (1967); *Journal of the Senate of the State of Florida* (1967) 328; *Journals of the House of Representatives*, Vol. I (1966-1967) 815-816; *Taylor v. Louisiana* 419 U.S. 522 (1975); Hoff, *Law, Gender and Justice*, 226-228; Rhode, *Justice and Gender*, 49-50.

65. Chapter 921 F.S. (1997, 2009); Roger Handberg, "The Florida Courts: Change and Adaptation," in Robert J. Kluckhohn, ed., *Government and Politics in Florida* (Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1991) 192-212; Florida Department of Corrections, "Historical Summary of Sentencing and Punishment in Florida," www.dc.state.fl.us/pub/hisory (accessed 15 July 2009).

But the verdict she received might have been different in a courtroom 35 years later. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, in the late 20th Century women convicted of uxoricide by either a judge or a jury were five times more likely to be acquitted than husbands. In addition, women tried for murdering their husbands in the late 1980's were at least thirty percent more likely to be acquitted than they had been in the early 1950's. U.S. Justice Department researchers combined the trial results with prosecutors' records and found that "wife defendants were more likely than husband defendants to have been severely provoked by their spouse" into violent actions. Alas, this was just the point Hardee and Durrance tried to make the Hillsborough County jury understand.⁶⁶

Of course, there is no guarantee that a latter-day jury would have acquitted Gwendolyn Hoyt. But, regardless of the evidence presented, her chances of receiving a lighter sentence, if not an acquittal, would certainly have been greater if the same forbearance had been applied to her case. She had the sorry fate to defend herself against a charge of killing her husband in the wrong era.

66. Identification Record for Gwendolyn Hoyt (Inmate 0F00913), Florida Department of Corrections; Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Spouse Murder Defendants in Large Urban Counties* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1995) iii, 1, 21-22. The editor of the report advised readers that the finding was "likely to be applicable today." On uxoricide, see *Black's Law Dictionary*: 2nd pocket ed. (St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., 2001) 741.

Freezes, Fights, and Fancy: The Formation of Agricultural Cooperatives in the Florida Citrus Industry

by Scott Hussey

In Majorie Kinnan Rawlings' autobiographical *Cross Creek*, the author recalls the actions taken in her orange grove while preparing for a freeze:

Night came and the temperature dropped steadily. The fatal 28 came at midnight and I gave word for the lighting of the fires ... The work is so cruel that it seems to me the least I can do is take care of the men properly...There is a healthy challenge and danger and a certain spiritual sustenance comes from fighting it. For all the losses they have cost me, I would not choose to have lived without knowing the nights of firing on a freeze.¹

The scene depicts a community coming together for the orange groves' survival. The grove in *Cross Creek* symbolizes this community as it brings men together, differentiates the seasons, controls the area's economic destiny, and provides nourishment. In a similar struggle for survival, the world of citrus in Florida came together in the 1930s. Fighting freezes, bad markets, overproduction, the Mediterranean fruit fly, the Great Depression, and each

Scott Hussey received an MA in History at the University of South Florida. He would like to thank Professors Daniel Belgrad, Thomas Hallock, Gary Mormino, and Robert Snyder for their mentorship.

1. Majorie Kinnan Rawlings, *Cross Creek* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961 edition), 331-332.

other, citrus farmers finally reached an accord with the creation of the Florida Citrus Commission and the Florida Department of Citrus in 1935.²

Exacerbating Florida's 1926 real estate collapse and the nation's 1929 fiscal downturn, citrus, the state's signature crop, continually suffered from overproduction. Through an arduous battle in economically desperate times, the traditionally independent citrus farmers finally ceded the need for a pan-Florida organization. A national history of collective organizations and new federal legislation provided the background for the establishment of the Florida Citrus Commission (FCC) and the Florida Department of Citrus (FDOC).³ The combination of growers, packers, shippers, processors, marketers, bureaucrats, and politicians into a state governmental department became one of the nation's first state-sponsored organizations designed to support a single agricultural commodity.⁴ Although unique, the Commission's innovation followed national trends. In *Freedom From Fear*, David M. Kennedy describes how the growth of federal, state, and local governments during the Great Depression "massively enlarged and forever transformed the scanty Jeffersonian government over which Hebert Hoover had been elected to preside in 1928."⁵ Today, the FDOC helps Florida maintain its billion-dollar citrus industry through a wide variety of educational programs, scientific research, and promotional activities. The Department's mission, "to help grow the demand for Florida citrus products, providing a direct benefit to the citrus growers," relies on self-imposed taxes, rather than the state's general tax funds.⁶ The success of Florida's single-agricultural-commodity model spurred other states to create similar agencies, including Washington's

2. James T. Hopkins, *Fifty Years of Citrus: The Florida Citrus Exchange: 1909-1959* (Gainesville, University of Florida Press 1960), 144-145. ;Florida Department of Citrus, *The First Fifty Years of the Florida Citrus Commission*. (Florida Department of Citrus, 1986).
3. The Commission sets policy and directs the Department through a governor appointed, twelve-member Board of Directors.
4. David L. Barkley and Joseph Fuduric, "Marketeing Food Products: Examples of Six Successful Niche Marketing Programs" (Regional Economic Development Research Report, Clemson: Clemson University, 2004), 2.
5. David M. Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear: The American People in the Depression and War, 1929-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 10.
6. Florida Department of Citrus, "Florida Department of Citrus, About Us," Florida Department of Citrus, <http://www.floridajuce.com/fdoc.php>. February 14, 2010.

Apple Commission and Wisconsin's Milk and Marketing Board. Recent histories of twentieth century Florida—whether political, cultural, labor, or economic—reference the integral role citrus played in the state's development alongside tourism and population growth. However studies of the citrus industry consistently focus on the importance of Frozen Concentrated Orange Juice (FCOJ). In 1948, scientists finally perfected a concentrated orange juice as the result of a wartime research project. The commercially viable product transformed the Florida citrus industry from selling whole fruits to distributing a by-product (orange juice).⁷ Although FCOJ's significance cannot be undervalued, the creation of the FCC/FDOC in 1935 made such a governmental-grower cooperative easier. A product of the era, the Florida Citrus Commission has played a prominent role in the state's identity and economy since its 1935 formation. The history of the people and conditions surrounding the formation of FCC/FDOC offers a lens for understanding the modernization of Florida and citrus.

The sixteenth century introduction of the orange to Florida by Juan Ponce de Leon entangled history with mythology. According to journalist John McPhee, "the Florida Citrus Commission likes to promote [Ponce de Leon] as a man who was trying to find the fountain of Youth but actually brought it with him." During the first Spanish colonial period, the orange never developed as a commercial crop, instead it grew wildly and in yards for home use. At the outset of British colonial rule (1763-1783), surveyor and naturalist Bernard Romans described a wild grove as "a curiosity," for these groves were, "found in the woods" and according to Romans, "originally sprung from the seeds of some oranges formerly dropt, by travelling Spaniards at their camps."⁸ This uncultivated origin explains the current use of "grove," instead of the more accurate "orchard," when describing a Florida citrus farm. A grove occurs naturally in wooded areas, whereas orchards are intentionally planted for cultivation. Once citrus farming began in earnest

7. Alissa Hamilton, *Squeezed: What You Don't Know About Orange Juice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 11-24; Shane Hamilton, "Cold Capitalism: The Political Ecology of Frozen Concentrate Orange Juice," *Agricultural History* (2003): 557-581; Gary R. Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams: A Social History of Modern Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 198-201.

8. Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1962), 278.

under British mercantilism, Florida's citrus output grew a thousand-fold⁹ and the misnomer stuck.¹⁰ When the region returned to Spanish rule (1783-1821), citrus production stagnated and remained limited into Florida's territorial and early statehood years. Prior to the construction of railroad lines, transportation of oranges and grapefruit to northern markets was made by sluggish ox-cart teams or steamships. The time required to transport, coupled with a devastating "scale insect" epidemic in the early nineteenth century significantly restricted the amount of citrus making its way to the populated markets.¹¹ Citrus would remain primarily a small local crop until after the Civil War.¹²

Reconstruction brought renewed interest in commercial citrus. Northerners with dreams of wealth came to Florida to grow "Florida Gold." The writer and abolitionist Harriet Beecher Stowe and the former Union General-turned-diplomat, Henry S. Sanford, were the most famous (or for Sanford, infamous) of those struck by "Orange fever."¹³ In *Palmetto-Leaves*, a promotional piece written to attract northern investors to Florida, Stowe evoked Greek mythology when describing a "stately orange tree," with "graceful top and varnished golden apples of the Hesperides—the apples that Atalanta threw in the famous race; and they are good enough to run after."¹⁴ Stowe's worshipful depiction of grove life neglects the labor involved when harvesting the crop. Sanford's experiments with labor demonstrate the darker side of Stowe's paradise. In 1870, Sanford "the Father of the modern Florida citrus industry," bought a large tract of land in Mellonville (later

9. Charles L. Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1874* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964), 78.

10. Thomas B. Mack, *Citrifacts II: A Portion of Florida Citrus History* (Lakeland: Associated Publications, 1998), 2: 19-20.

11. Jerry Woods Weeks, "Florida Gold: The Emergence of the Florida Citrus Industry, 1865-1895," (PhD diss. University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 1977), 10-11.

12. John McPhee, *Oranges* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1973), 94-95; Weeks, "Florida Gold," 1-11.

13. Helen L. Kohen, "Perfume, Postcards, and Promises: The Orange in Art and Industry," *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* (1998): 33-47; Mark Howard Long, "'A Decidedly Mutinous Spirit': The 'Labor Problem' in Postbellum South as an Exercise of Free Labor," in *Florida's Working Class Past: Current Perspectives on Labor, Race, and Gender from Spanish Florida to the New Immigration*, ed. Robert Cassanello and Melanie Shell-Weiss (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009), 86-110.

14. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Palmetto-Leaves* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1873), 17.

eponymously renamed Sanford), north of Orlando. Sanford needed the groves to support the extravagant European lifestyle that his foreign diplomat pay could not. To work his vast groves Sanford, at first, mixed black freedmen with the local, poor whites. The disastrous results of this mixed workforce included the killing of at least one black worker by the local white "crackers." Despising the development and the disdain Northerners showed in dealings with them, the "cracker" population obstructed the developers' schemes, leading one Sanford manager to label the locals "Mellon-villains." Searching for a more manageable workforce, Sanford "recruited indentured laborers from among the ranks of Sweden's poorest citizens," to clear his fields and plant the seedlings. An absentee owner, Sanford neglected and abused the workers through handlers and third-party liaisons. Ultimately, Sanford's experiment in indentured servitude failed, but it led Mark H. Long to conclude that, "Sanford created a "take off" in citrus not unlike that which railroad magnates, mine owners, and steel barons created in the southern Piedmont by using convict labor."¹⁵ The poles marked by Sanford's misanthropy and Stowe's eloquence display both the savagery and beauty of citrus farming that existed well into the FCC's formation. "Orange fever" really took hold with the introduction of rail transportation to Florida and its production-increasing effect on citrus sales.

Traditionally, oranges were considered a luxury item given at Thanksgiving and Christmas. Prior to rail transportation, schooners carried the expensive Florida oranges to northern markets. The introduction of railroads to the state freed growers from waterway dependence and opened more land for citrus cultivation. Henry Flager and Henry Plant's pan-Florida rail systems connected once remote orange packinghouses to northern cities and ended the necessity of groves' waterway proximity.¹⁶ By 1894 growers shipped over three million boxes of citrus, an increase of one million boxes in four years.¹⁷ Florida out-produced its closest rival, California, by fifty percent in that same year.¹⁸ The railroad allowed

15. Mark Howard Long, "A Decidely Mutinous Spirit," 92-94, 106.

16. Gregg M. Turner, *A Short History of Florida's Railroads* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2003).

17. Weeks, "Florida Gold," 199.

18. Howard Seftel, "Government Regulation and the Rise of the California Fruit Industry: The Entrepreneurial Attack on Fruit Pests, 1880-1920," *The Business History Review* (1985): 369-402.

greater access to northern markets. In order to sell more fruit, some Florida orange growers harvested a variety of oranges and grapefruits that ripened in different seasons. Grounded in North Florida, the region contributed two million dollars annually to the state's economy by 1885.¹⁹ In the harsh winter of 1894-1895 freezes killed most of the northern Florida groves, dropping production down to 147,000 boxes and ending the state's first citrus boom. The Sunshine State's loss became the Golden State's jackpot as "Florida's orange production did not match California's again until 1946."²⁰ Following the freeze many of the orange "carpetbaggers" returned to the North. The more resilient growers moved farther south, towards the sandy-soiled center of the Sunshine State. The railroads and highways followed and the legendary Citrus Belt along the state's geographic spine (the Ridge) grew.

From Ocala southwest to Bradenton and southeast to Fort Pierce, the Florida Citrus Belt attracted would-be growers hoping to cultivate their own golden orbs in areas named the Golden Triangle, Indian River, and the Peace River Valley. During this second citrus boom many Floridians planted citrus trees in yards, prompting historian Gary Mormino to observe that the orange tree was "so interwoven in the Florida dream ...that an agricultural commodity became a 'natural' component of the Florida landscape."²¹ The image of the independent orange grower became ingrained in the identity of the southernmost state as orange groves dominated the landscape of central Florida. Green leaves, orange fruits, and white blossoms converted large tracts of land into linear landscapes. Fruit stands and packinghouses dotted the roadside of highways. By 1919, Florida produced nearly six million boxes annually.²² The independent farmers of Florida's Citrus Belt embodied the Jeffersonian ideal with their small yeoman tracts of five-acres with a homestead.²³ During the 1920s, two separate unre-

19. Turner, *A Short History of Florida's Railroads*, 13.

20. Seftel, "Government Regulation and the Rise of the California Fruit Industry: The Entrepreneurial Attack on Fruit Pests, 1880-1920," 388.

21. Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams: A Social History of Modern Florida*, 195.

22. Christian Warren, "Natures Navels: An Overview of the Many Environmental Histories of Florida Citrus," in *Paradise Lost? The Environmental History of Florida*, ed. Raymond Arsenault and Jack E. Davis, 177-200, (Gainesville: The University Press of Florida, 2005), 185.

23. Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams: A Social History of Modern Florida*, 197.

lated events would begin to challenge the growers' independence, an act of Congress and a fly.

The railroads' encouragement of market growth fostered overproduction. The birth of modern marketing arose to create demand for surplus products. In *Fables of Abundance*, Jackson Lears explains national advertising as "a creature of the modern corporation, a key part of a more streamlined commercial culture ...sought to stabilize market relations and representations."²⁴ In the late nineteenth century, the California Fruit Growers Exchange (CFGE) understood the importance of marketing, as their advertising manager claimed, "Oversupplies were no longer 'the result of overproduction' but were 'due to underconsumption.'" To increase consumption CFGE branded themselves as "Sunkist" oranges to signify that their oranges had a special bond with nature's life-giving force. Consumption of an orange, "would literally be getting in touch with nature, unmediated by any signs of culture, the consumer would also be sun-kissed."²⁵ Ensuring that consumers chose their product over similar commodity competitors (like Florida oranges) Sunkist advertised their brand on billboards, in magazines, and in grocer's windows. Not only were consumers encouraged to eat oranges year-round, they were to demand Sunkist oranges. The CFGE's Sunkist branding efforts and advertising campaigns allowed California to dominate the market for fifty years and as a cooperative, CFGE dominated California citrus.

Promoters of agricultural organizations regarded the cooperatives as "*sine qua non* of 'civilization,'" yet the marketplace restructuring brought on by railroads required new understandings in how these organizations assisted the farmers.²⁶ As prices cannot be determined until harvest, the middlemen who purchase, package, and ship (pejoratively termed "packers and jobbers") have an economic advantage over the growers. Feeling exploited, the independent farmers formed the CFGE cooperative in 1893. Cooperative marketing arose in the late nineteenth century as a response to rising shipping costs brought on by monopolistic rail-

24. Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 88.

25. Douglas Cazaux Sackman, *Orange Empire: California and the Fruits of Eden* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 87-89.

26. Weeks, "Florida Gold," 106, 201.

road practices. Individual growers joined local associations, who vertically integrated with district and central associations. Through monies collected by either membership dues or self-imposed taxes, the associations primarily concerned themselves with receiving the highest price for their harvest in distant markets. From rudimentary marketing practices, collectives like the CFGE evolved into complex organizations that determined product quality standards, operated packinghouses, created national advertising campaigns, lobbied on the industry's behalf, sponsored university research stations, and negotiated lower prices for required materials.²⁷

The most successful cooperative in Florida, the Florida Citrus Exchange (FCE), formed in 1909 and regularly met in downtown Tampa. Agriculture organizations had existed in Florida during the first citrus boom (1865-1895), however due to a "lack of controls and the limited experience of most growers" these local grower associations often served the farmers' social needs more than providing political or marketing leverage.²⁸ The modern, corporate-structured FCE operated under the SEALD SWEET label when marketing their products. With members across central Florida, the FCE operated until 1959. Other local and regional cooperatives in Florida included the Indian River Citrus League, the Florida Cannery Association, Florida Citrus Mutual, Florida Citrus Cannery Cooperative (now Citrus World), the Citrus Control Board of Trustees, and the Committee of 50.²⁹ Attempts to establish a statewide industry group, however repeatedly failed.

The problems of developing successful cooperatives included prohibitive federal legislation that was resolved in the 1920s. The Sherman Anti-trust Act of 1890, which was directed against the monopolizing effects of industrial consolidation, did not exempt agricultural cooperatives from its provisions. The 1922 Capper-Volstead, also known as the Cooperative Marketing Act, corrected this oversight and reaffirmed the cooperatives' need to "raise capital and engage in value-adding activities that prepared their products for market without violating the antitrust law." Capper-Volstead consented to cooperatives entering into stock agreements without being considered "trusts." Further, because the vagaries of agricultural markets (weather, pests, disease, etc.)

27. Sackman, *Orange Empire: California and the Fruits of Eden*, 93.

28. Weeks, "Florida Gold," 106.

29. Hopkins, *Fifty Years of Citrus*, v-vi.

heavily favored processors and distributors when the terms of sale were negotiated with individual farmers, Capper-Volstead recognized the legitimacy of cooperatives "[joining] together [farmers] ... to bolster their economic strength," so that they may "deal on a more equal basis with processors and distributors." The Secretary of Agriculture would regulate the cooperatives to ensure they acted fairly and stayed within the act's legal framework.³⁰ Capper-Volstead legitimized cooperatives and provided the foundation for the organization of Florida citrus growers, however intractable independence among the state's growers inhibited cooperativism for twelve years. A fly began to breakdown their obstinacy.

Mediterranean fruit fly or "Medfly" larvae first appeared in Orange County grapefruit in April 1929. The pests, a constant bane to farmers, are generally handled through quarantine measures, although they rarely require the National Guard to enforce plant quarantines as this infestation did. According to a November report by Stanford professor G.F. Ferris, the medfly's presence caused "a wave of hysteria," giving Florida "the ancient status of leper, compelled to ... condemn himself by the cry of 'Unclean, unclean.'"³¹ The quarantine encompassed 1,002 groves surrounding Orlando, or nearly eighty percent of the state's citrus crop.³² In eighteen months the Federal and State agencies spent nearly \$7,000,000 to eradicate this pest; their primary method was crop and tree destruction.³³

Considered one of nature's most agriculturally destructive pests, the medfly wreaks havoc on a cornucopia of produce. Smaller than the housefly, the medfly reproduces with rapidity and proficiency. One female medfly can produce upwards of fourteen-to-twenty eggs, per day, for forty days. The female punctures holes in host fruits to lay its eggs. The list of over 250 possible host fruits includes oranges, grapefruit, apples, pears, peaches, and plums. Once hatched, the larva (maggots) feed on the host fruit until the

30. United States Department of Agriculture, "Antitrust Statue of Farmer Cooperatives: The Story of the Capper-Volstead Act," (Cooperative Information Report 59., Washington D.C.: Rural Business-Cooperative Service, USDA, 2002), 63-65, 91.

31. G.F. Ferris, "Concerning the Mediterranean Fruit Fly," *Science*, November 1929, 451-453.

32. Gannon, *Florida: A Short History*, 84-85.

33. G.G. Rohwer, "The Mediterranean Fruit Fly in Florida: Past, Present, and Future." *The Florida Entomologist* (1958): 23-25.

fruit rots and falls. Medflies then burrow into the soil during their pupae phase, finally to emerge as reproducing adults. The egg-to-adult cycle takes 7-12 days and can occur in temperatures between 50-90 degrees Fahrenheit.

With such adaptability and destructive ability, state and federal agents had good reason for their sweeping precautions. As the medfly reappeared in California and Florida several times, eradication never truly occurred. What makes the 1929 event important is its impact on the individual farmers. Historically, Florida citrus farmers fiercely protected their individual property rights from any perceived intrusion. Recognizing the medfly's threat to the industry, citrus growers reluctantly sacrificed their independence for industry preservation. Crop loss aside, the medfly infestation generated more controls on grove inspection and the licensing of packinghouses, as well as reorganized distribution methods. Once the medfly's immediate threat diminished, the individual sacrificing waned, but the event steered the industry towards collectivism by, "posing problems that were to be answered only by research and industrial progress."³⁴

Although subdued by the 1929 Mediterranean Fruit-Fly intrusion, the Florida citrus industry had grounds for reserved optimism as Philip "Doc" Phillips' team of scientists finally cracked the canned juice code. Many consumers complained that canned juice always tasted "metallic" and "cooked." Searching for a way to capture the fresh orange juice taste, Dr. Phillips' (the title is of dubious origin) team developed a "'flash' pasteurization process that greatly improved the taste and appeal of single-strength orange juice."³⁵ Many in the industry hoped this advancement would save formerly unsellable scarred or blemished fruit, known as "eliminations." The improvement was not significant as consumers spurned the new canned orange juice just as they had rejected previous "cooked" versions. In 1930, Americans drank 0.01 pounds per capita of canned orange juice, compared to their consumption of 18.9 pounds per capita of fresh oranges.³⁶ Despite lackadaisical sales, Dr. Phillips' work helped publicize the known health benefits of orange juice. In 1929 the American Medical Association confirmed

34. Hopkins, *Fifty Years of Citrus*, 105.

35. Joy Wallace Dickinson, "The Doc Says It's Good," *Orlando Sentinel*, 26 December 1999, G.15.

36. Hamilton, *Squeezed*, 14.

research showing the health potency of vitamin C in canned citrus products. The study's outcome led Phillips to initiate his famous advertising campaign, "Drink Dr. Phillips' orange juice because the Doc says it's good for you."³⁷

Dr. Phillips' personal success aside, the industry in the 1930s, in the words of Lorena Hickok consisted of "disorganized individualists." A confidante to First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt and personal in-the-field researcher for the Civil Works Administration (CWA), Hickok saw these "disorganized individualists" as self-serving misanthropes who operated "their own way regardless of their effect on others."³⁸ In a 1934 letter to Harry Hopkins, Hickok complained, "for being mean-spirited, selfish, and irresponsible, I think Florida citrus growers have got the world licked." Hickok also recognized the economic costs of their recalcitrance: "this winter they're taking a terrific beating on prices, getting as low as 50 cents a box for oranges that cost \$6 a box retail in New York. But there isn't a thoughtful man among them, apparently, who won't tell you it's absolutely their own fault. They simply will not pull together. Therefore, they lay themselves open to exploitation by the jobber."³⁹ Her interview with a citrus farmer detailed the outcome of a typical industry meeting. According to the grower, once an agreed marketing plan was set, individuals would quietly leave the meeting to be the first ones to act against the agreement. While this method profited the fastest to the telephone, it undercut any marketing plan.⁴⁰ Such disloyalty among the independent farmers and between the various cooperatives kept Florida at a disadvantage when competing against California's "Sunkist."

Only the occasional freeze and the medfly prevented the Florida citrus industry from constant overproduction. Because industry leaders could not control the statewide supply, the Florida Citrus Exchange led an aggressive campaign to influence consumer demand. Whereas the California Grower's simplified "Sunkist" alerted purchasers to the product's origin, Florida's

37. Dickinson, "The Doc Says It's Good," G.15; Mormino, *Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams*, 198.

38. Florida Department of Citrus, *The First 50 Years of the Florida Citrus Commission*, preface.

39. Lorena Hickok, *One Third of a Nation: Lorena Hickok Reports on the Great Depression*, ed. Richard Lowitt and Maurine Beasley (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 164-165.

40. *Ibid.*, 164-165.

diverse cooperatives and associations made figuring out the product's origin and quality difficult. A citrus crate label for the FCE brand, "SEALD SWEET" demonstrates the convoluted connections in selling Florida citrus. The circa 1930s label for GULF Brand oranges (Figure 1) identifies the particular packinghouse or association's brand name. The diagonal "SEALD SWEET" type and logo established "GULF Brand" as a Florida Citrus Exchange member. The FCE's logo also appears as confirmation. The "Elfers Citrus Growers Assn." identifies the local cooperative, groves' locations, and packinghouses. The inset map allows the purchaser to know the growing region, Pinellas county. Further evidence in the wide array of groups and brands in Florida citrus arise from the citrus crate labels themselves.

The use of chromo-lithography to label fruit and vegetable crates began in California in the late nineteenth century. Traditional wood and metal crates with lithographic labels lasted until World War II, when supply rations forced a switch to cardboard boxes. Each colorful label told the potential buyer the brand name, the origin, and the grade of fruit. Coded in each label, the name or background stood for the grade of the fruit in the crate, "with blue being Grade A, red being Grade B, and yellow or green denoting Grade C. For instance, the Bluebird Brand meant Grade 'A,' whereas a Red Cardinal meant Grade 'B.'"⁴¹ Additionally, the labels often contained anecdotal messages about the particular grower. One family, the Lees, used their children's baby pictures for each child's own label. The Clark family of growers labeled with a flower theme, using Azaleas, Poinsettias, Flora Beauties, and so on. Similarly, the Keene family utilized birds.⁴² Yet the crate labels were intended for wholesalers competent in understanding each label's meaning. The wholesale or grocer repackaged the oranges prior to selling to the individual customers. While the customers may have seen the crate labels in stores, market research showed that less than half a percent of orange consumers purchased oranges because of crate labels.⁴³

41. Jerry Chicone Jr. and Brenda Eubanks Burnette, *Florida Citrus Crate Labels: An Illustrated History* (West Palm Beach: Burnette & Associates, 1996), 67.

42. Ibid., 11; Ralph Kovel and Terry Kovel, *The Label Made Me Buy It: From Aunt Jemima To Zonkers -The Best-Dressed Boxes, Bottles, and Cans From the Past*, (New York: Crown Publishers, 1998), 1-6.

43. Sackman, *Orange Empire*, 97.



Figure 1: Citrus Crate Label—Circa 1930s. Jerry Jr. Chicone and Brenda Eubanks Burnette, *Florida Citrus Crate Labels: An Illustrated History* (West Palm Beach: Burnette & Associates, 1996). Reprinted with the permission of the Authors.

Under the SEALD SWEET brand, the FCE sought these consumers through ads in National magazines such as *Good Housekeeping*, *Women's Home Companion*, *Physical Culture Magazine*, and *Life*. In the 1926-1927 season the Exchange's combined magazine advertising included a circulation of nearly 6,000,000 printings per month. Additionally, the FCE employed 221 grocer's windows in northern markets to promote the brand. (Figure 2) Used to entice in-store purchasing, the appealing displays of abundance became a fixed part of the newer, national grocery stores then replacing the "Mom and Pop" neighborhood grocers of the past.⁴⁴

44. James Mayo, *The American Grocery Store: The Business Evolution of an Architectural Space* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1993), 87.

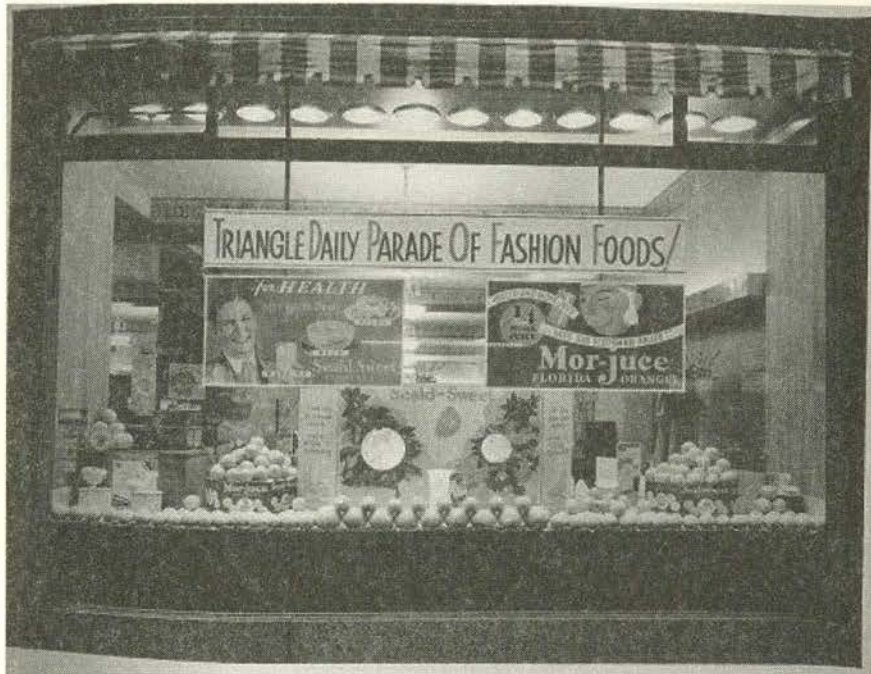


Figure 2: Grocer Storefront—1938 Chicago. *Image Courtesy of Florida Southern College, McKay Archives Center.*

That same year, the Florida Citrus Exchange embarked on its most audacious promotional tactic, a juice extractor. First conceived in 1916, then eschewed over cost concerns, 16,324 consumers were given extractors in the 1926-1927 season. Imprinted with the SEALD SWEET label, the Exchange believed the extractors would encourage SEALD SWEET orange purchases and function as a “silent salesmen for [the] brand.” These aggressive marketing tactics never proved enough, as a 1926 internal advertising report claimed that “to do the job for the industry which advertising alone can do, far more advertising than the Exchange can now support is necessary.” The report’s author proposed statewide cooperation as the solution, “this [advertising increase] can be obtained at present only through cooperation of other operators. [However] This cooperation ... is not available.”⁴⁵

In his work on California, Kevin Starr explains how Sunkist evoked the very idea of elsewhere. Starr writes, “the selling of

45. Hopkins, *Fifty Years of Citrus*, 88-94.

California," together with "oranges as an image in the national imagination became even more explicit. So appealing in its color, the orange inspired graphic ambitions."⁴⁶ Sunkist crate labels and magazine print advertisements from Starr's California were successful in selling the iconic "California dream" due to the continuity of Sunkist's message. Florida never had such continuity in marketing its oranges. Descriptions of Florida never kept to a prescribed framework, the land's exotic flora and fauna coupled with an unrelenting summer made describing the place in simple language difficult. A scholar of Florida colonial literature, Thomas Hallock, claims that the land possessed an "uncanny ability—from the sixteenth century to the present—to provide a container for the stories of the fantastic."⁴⁷ Many Florida chroniclers found the state's "imaginary" qualities too enchanting and inexhaustible for writers to "see the land on its own terms." For this reason the state's "popular identity lay at the intersection between culture...and the natural environment."⁴⁸ Due to the lack of continuity and the malleability of Florida's image to outsiders, crate labels depicted either accurate Seminoles or, and more often, geographically inaccurate plains Indians when selling Indian River oranges. Selling Florida *and* oranges as intrinsically linked required a more unified voice and brand.

By late 1933 many growers within the industry clamored for more cohesion, especially concerning advertising. As New Deal policies began regulating the agriculture industry, the call for a concerted advertising campaign mounted. C. W. Lyons, a leader in the movement, addressed the industry statewide via radio.⁴⁹ Originating from Tampa's WDAE, Lyons urged listeners to create demand for Florida grapefruits and oranges through "national educational advertising." Additionally Lyons explained how a "national educational advertising" campaign would combat California citrus, other commodities, and internal over-produc-

46. Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 162.

47. Thomas Hallock, "Between Topos and the Terrain: A Brief Survey of Florida Environmental Writing, 1513-1821," in *Paradise Lost?*, 25.

48. Jack E. Davis, "Alligators and Plume Birds: The Despoilation of Florida's Living Aesthetic," in *Paradise Lost?*, 236; Anne E. Rowe, *The Idea of Florida in the American Literary Imagination* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992).

49. C.W. Lyons, "Advertising Citrus Industry's Big Need, Lyon Asserts," *The Citrus Industry*, January 1934, 5, 8, 20, 25-26.

tion.⁵⁰ I. A. Yarnell, chairman of the Citrus Control Board of Trustees seconded Lyons stating, "No one abreast of the times, can doubt for a moment that the judicious expenditure of an advertising fund...will provide a larger and more profitable market for our fruit."⁵¹ Echoing these pleas for unity but less optimistic of it coming about internally, John A. Snively, president of the Florida Citrus Exchange, in 1932 predicted that only legislative action could graft together the various groups.⁵²

The first legislative action came the following year with the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA). Responding to nationwide farm failure, Congress decided that if the majority of producers of an agricultural commodity agreed, the producers can combine to regulate the volume of product flow to the national marketplace and determine a minimum quality of standards. This act sought price parity and market stability through forced cooperation from which agriculture cartels could emerge. Whereas the 1922 Capper-Volstead Act allowed voluntary associations antitrust protection, the AAA provided the U.S. Secretary of Agriculture the power to issue a marketing agreement if 50 percent of shippers and 75 percents of growers in a state agreed to the provisions. After key provisions of the 1933 act were declared unconstitutional, Congress redefined the questioned controls and in 1937 the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act (AMAA) cemented the law. With the California Fruit Growers Exchange firmly controlling California and Arizona's production, the AMAA allowed a cartelization to form in that region that lasted until 1981. Attempts to issue a "pro-rationing" agreement in Florida similar to the one reached in California proved more arduous among Florida's "disorganized individualists." The agreement Florida growers and shippers reached in 1939 did not include pro-rationing, but focused on shipping holidays.⁵³ The contentious relationships between the

50. Lyons, *The Citrus Industry*, 8,20.

51. Anonymous, "State Citrus Men Are Urged to Advertise," *St. Petersburg Times*, 30 January 1934.

52. Department of Citrus, *The First Fifty Years*, i-ii.

53. Elizabeth Hoffman and Gary D. Libecap, "Political Bargaining and Cartelization in the New Deal: Orange Marketing Orders," In *The Regulated Economy: A Historical Approach to Political Economy* ed. Claudia Goldin and Gary D. Libecap (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 189-221; Lawrence Shepard, "Cartelization of the California-Arizona Orange Industry, 1934-1981," *Journal of Law and Economics* 29 (1986): 83-123.

nation's citrus growing regions and within the state prevented a national cartelization. Florida required a freeze and state legislative action to prove Snively's 1932 prognostication correct.

"The History of Florida is measured in freezes," notes John McPhee. Just as the 1895 freeze pushed the industry from north Florida to the central Citrus Belt, the freeze of 1934-35 provided Florida's citrus industry the catalyst needed for another shift. Following three of the warmest winters in state records, the 1935 freeze was particular for not only "killing the large Temple orange grove in Hillsborough County near the site of the present day community of Temple Terrace," and being considered the last freeze of the old firing method (as described by Rawlings in *Cross Creek*), but also for spurring legislative action.⁵⁴ Even though the Florida citrus industry in the previous five years had faced an economic depression, destructive hurricanes, crop killing freezes, and the Medfly—overproduction still plagued the industry.⁵⁵

From February to April of 1935, after multiple meetings in Tampa and Lakeland, the industry finally ceded the need for cooperation and produced a series of bills to facilitate organization for the state legislature to consider. After years of "rollicking, daredevil, up-and-down acrobatics of an industry in complete conflict with itself," the state legislature passed the first citrus laws.⁵⁶ The laws or "Citrus Codes" created the Florida Citrus Commission (headquartered in Lakeland), regulated fruit standards for shipping, called for state-industry advertising (separated into orange, grapefruit, and tangerine categories), initialed licensing and bond procedures, controlled color-adding applications (a process that altered the color of rinds from green to orange), and instituted emergency price guarantees. According to FCE historian John Hopkins, the Citrus Codes, "rang down the curtain on [the citrus industry's] formative years."⁵⁷

On September 10, 1935, in Governor David Sholtz's office, Secretary of State Robert Gray swore in the eleven appointees and the first Commission meeting began. Adopting seventeen prepared regulations, the Florida Citrus Commission recognized its prime function by establishing its first committee for advertising.⁵⁸

54. John A. Attaway, *A History of Florida Citrus Freezes* (Lake Alfred: Florida Science Source, 1997), 67-74.

55. Hopkins, *Fifty Years of Citrus*, 144-145.

56. *Ibid.*, 146.

57. *Ibid.*, 149.

58. *Ibid.*, 1.

As the Exchange had called for in 1926, the Florida Citrus Commission was to levy an excise tax on all citrus products to pay for all advertising and promotions designed to increase consumption and "promote the prosperity and welfare of the industry."⁵⁹ While the Commission worked to improve the state's citrus industry in several arenas, increasing consumer demand through advertising and promotion received the lion's share of their attention. The Florida Citrus Exchange had realized that controlling production output on a commodity with a finite storage time required the kind of cooperation the acrimonious Florida growers could never reach. Creating taxes for industry advertising proved a much easier consensus. National advertising offered a means to create consumers who could alleviate the problems of overproduction.⁶⁰ In this vein Governor Sholtz conflated the orange's identity with the state's when broadcasting nationwide from the 1936 Florida Orange Festival. Sholtz explained the commission's importance to his audience in terms of product quality guarantees. Later, when describing to NBC's January audience his surrounding as "wonderful sunshine, beautiful girls, and luscious Florida fruit," Sholtz tapped familiar tourism discourses of an improved life provided by sun and sand to help increase orange consumption.⁶¹ Like the CFGE's "Sunkist," Florida could sell an agricultural commodity as the mediator for a vitality conferring salubrious climate.

Entrenching this long established link of citrus and good health, the Commission's 1936-1937 inaugural season began with a "flu campaign" designed to fight an epidemic then striking many parts of the nation.⁶² In June 1938, the Commission retained Arthur Kudner, Inc. as its advertising agency. With advertising expenditures around \$750,000, the agency debuted its recommended strategy in an autumn meeting that same year.⁶³ Using lantern slides, agency representative H. F. Douglas presented to an

59. Ibid., 147. See *State of FL v. Lee* or "Florida Citrus Commission regulation 15. Sections 1-6," 1 August 1959.

60. Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 29-33.

61. Bill Abbot, "Sholtz Sells Florida In Festival Broadcast: Cites Fruit Prosperity," *Tampa Morning Tribune*, January 30, 1936; Tim Hollis, *Selling the Sunshine State: A Celebration of Florida Tourism Advertising* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008), 1-6.

62. Florida Department of Citrus, *The First Fifty Years*, 4.

63. Anonymous, "Florida Citrus' Account Goes to Kudner Agency," *New York Times*, June 5, 1938.

Orlando crowd mock-ups of print advertisements and the other various proposals. The first proposal suggested utilizing a "home campaign" in cooperation with Florida hotels and restaurants "to promote citrus fruit consumption in the state" as the plan intended "to convert tourists into salesmen." Burton H. Schoepf, president of Tamiami Trail Tours, also championed this idea. Schoepf thought a "large glass of orange juice or grapefruit juice anywhere in Florida for 5 cents" would incite a great word-of-mouth campaign by tourists after they returned to their homes. Other proposals included switching the name of "Marsh Seedless" grapefruits to "Florida Seedless" and stressing the juice content of Florida oranges in all advertising materials.⁶⁴

Douglas ended the meeting by imploring the Commission to create a single trade name, similar to the "Sunkist" used by the CFGE. No immediate brand name came, instead the FCC focused on national radio advertising and one of its established names. A unified Florida citrus message entered national advertising later than its rival and at a time of decreased wages. In a time of scarcity, the Commission chose to sell consumers on the health benefits of citrus along with Florida sunshine. Through the "flu campaign" and like Governor Sholtz's conflation of oranges, beautiful women, and Florida's semi-tropical climate, the FCC presented Americans with the opportunity for respite through a vicarious trip to the Sunshine State by way of a grapefruit or orange purchase.

To present this vicarious trip, the Commission hired Mary Margaret McBride as its spokesperson in 1940. With McBride the Commission entered the radio foray hoping to establish these ideas into one coherent message. A radio star (and Eleanor Roosevelt favorite) from 1934 into the early 1950s, McBride's folksy, daytime interview show reached a middlebrow national audience of women and farm families.⁶⁵ McBride's show operated as a radio version of the First Lady's syndicated "My Day" column. Five days a week, McBride filled living rooms with talk of current affairs, literary trends, entertainment news, and discussions about food. A 1940 *Time* review of her FCC-sponsored show displays both McBride's folksy charm and method of promotion.: "to offset . . . commercial gaucheries, Miss McBride made a point of eating

64. Anonymous, "Citrus Men Hear Plans of Industry," *The St. Petersburg Independent*, November 2, 1938; Anonymous, "Movement For Large 5-cent Glass of Citrus Juice Urged," *Miami Herald*, October 2, 1938.

65. Ibid, 1-49; Anonymous, "Goo," *Time*, November 25, 1940.

products while discussing them on air ... Sponsored now by the Florida Citrus Commission, she serves grapefruit in the studio, spoons some herself whenever the spirit moves her."⁶⁶

McBride was a proven hit with loyal listeners from the FCC's desired demographic of women. To host the fifteen minute, nationally-syndicated Commission-sponsored show, McBride retired her regional forty-five minute program. The new show failed to meet everybody's expectations and only aired from the autumn of 1940 until July 4, 1941. The show never found its rhythm as McBride "felt constrained," by the show's tighter schedule and format. Likewise, many of the growers thought her program was a waste of advertising expenditures. Both parties agreed to cancel the contract thirteen-weeks short. Equally disturbing to the radio host was that, "after years of cordial relationships with her sponsors," she became, "unhinged by the displeasure of the citrus growers." According to McBride, the growers, "did not know much about radio and could not understand why she did not spend more of the program talking about citrus products and the beauty of Florida." Simply, "the commission expected more grapefruit and less Mary Margaret."⁶⁷

Throughout its short run, McBride and the citrus growers attempted to make the partnership work. In January, at the request of Governor Fred Cone, the Commission invited McBride to Florida so that she could familiarize herself with Florida citriculture. After attending an FCC meeting she even conducted a cooking class for the meeting's participants.⁶⁸ McBride, for her part, broadcast several shows from Lakeland. Surrounding herself with the rancorous citrus growers proved disastrous as she was publically chastised by them on several occasions. Individual growers expressed their discontent with the arrangement. While walking through her hotel's lobby McBride heard a grower disparagingly comment, "there goes two million dollars of our money."⁶⁹ McBride became increasingly uncomfortable with the show's format and sponsors, while the growers' wanted immediate and tangible results. Thus, it comes as no surprise that by the summer of 1941 both parties unequivocally agreed to an early contract termination.

66. Ware, *It's One O'clock and Here is Mary Margaret McBride*, 167.

67. *Ibid.*, 168.

68. Florida Department of Citrus, *The First Fifty Years*, 17.

69. Ware, *It's One O'clock and Here is Mary Margaret McBride*, 169.

While unsuccessful from a relationship standpoint, the Commission's choice in radio advertising attested to sound judgment. President Roosevelt's "Fireside Chats" exemplified usage of radio as a tool. Entering homes and creating a false sense of intimacy, these "Fireside Chats" let the President explain his administration's policies and increased governmental programs. FDR employed the medium throughout his candidacy and presidency. Jackson Lears notes a 1931 address from the future president to the New York chapter of the Advertising Federation of America. Roosevelt believed advertising should shift from educating the public on prosperity to helping "interest people in the machinery and the production of government, and to show them what is good and what is bad in the completed result." Following his plead with advertisers as President, Roosevelt "would become a master advertiser of government, using Blue Eagles to symbolize the National Recovery Administration and Fireside Chats to win support for all his [New Deal] programs."⁷⁰

The increased governmental involvement in American's daily lives which fostered the Florida Citrus Commission also spurred social programs. One such program, the Worker Progress Administration (WPA) and its subsection the Federal Writers' Project (FWP), solidified Florida citrus' creation myths. The WPA embodied the president's media savvy by employing out-of-work writers, editors, historians, researchers, and archeologists to record local and oral histories, ethnographies, children stories, and other various works. The FWP's primary goal was the compilation and publication of the *American Guide Series*, a collection of travel guides modeled on the well-known and popular *Baedeker* series of guide books.⁷¹ Directed by Carita Doggett Corse, the project in Florida produced one of the crowning achievements of all FWP works with *Florida: A Guide to the Southernmost State*. Including contributions from Stetson Kennedy and Zora Neale Hurston, *Florida: A Guide* blended, "history, legend, myth, gossip, and nature lore," to provide the Florida traveler with "a portrait of Florida that was simultaneously educational, insightful, revealing, and entertaining."⁷²

70. Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 243.

71. James A. Findlay and Margaret Bing, "Touring Florida Through the Federal Writers' Project," *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* (1998): 290.

72. *Ibid.*, 294.

Because of its thoroughness and massive scope, the writings in *Florida: A Guide* created a new standard for describing this southernmost state. Since its 1939 publication many novelists, journalists, and scholars reference this index to all things Florida. When conducting research for a new work set in southwest Florida, writer Richard P. Powell found the FWP's guide as "far and away the best of all the reference sources I could locate."⁷³ *Florida: A Guide* created a new historiography for the state in which citrus played a prominent role in shaping the peninsula. Listing sixty-nine different references to citrus, oranges, or grapefruit the work displays the various correlations of citrus in Florida's culture by explaining cities and counties' citrus origins or nomenclature, linking the commodity to local and state economies, or serving in its role as a travelogue.⁷⁴ Describing U.S. Highway 1 in "the heart of the East Coast citrus country, celebrated for its Indian River Oranges," the author depicts the area as having a "fishing and tourist motif." Nevertheless, "orange and grapefruit groves, dark green masses along the highway, appear more and more frequently, sometimes within towns and cities." Setting a romantic citrus scene the author goes on to describe spring when, "the blossoms perfume the countryside. Later, heavy trucks loaded with fruit rumble along ... Some [groves] advertise 'All the fruit juice you can drink for a dime.'⁷⁵ Throughout the text, descriptions similar to this one weave a pastoral Florida of bucolic groves and colorful framers. Introductory chapters separately discuss citrus as part of the history, agriculture, and commerce. Citrus' importance shines through by the frequent references in the work. Not surprisingly, the works' much heralded editor (and only female editor in the 48 state series) also wrote a history of Florida citrus.

Titled *The History of Citrus in Florida*, Corse wrote the piece for the public school system as part of a 1938-1939 FWP series. This brief pamphlet cites key colonial Florida texts including Jonathan Dickenson's *God's Protecting Providence*, John Bartram's *Journal*, William Bartram's travels, and Bernard Roman's *Natural History of Florida* as well as tracts the origins of commonly grown orange vari-

73. Jerre Mangione, *The Dream and the Deal: The Federal Writers' Project, 1935-1943* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1972), 148.

74. Federal Writers' Program, *Florida: A Guide to the Southernmost State*, ed. Carita Doggett Corse (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), xiv-551.

75. *Ibid.*, 303.

eties.⁷⁶ Through an inclusion of the Seminoles orange usage and the names of their three known varieties ("Yallaha," "Yallahasempa," and "Yallahoochena" for sweet, sour, and bitter, respectively), Corse interlaces citrus lore with Amerindian history at a time of renewed interest in the Seminoles.⁷⁷ This short paper on Florida's citriculture reappears in subsequent works as either cited material or as an influential work. Writing an introductory study for the U.S. National Youth Administration, Joe Youngblood used Corse's history in *The Citrus Industry and Occupations in Florida*.⁷⁸ The history in McPhee's non-cited *Oranges*, shares strikingly similar details to Corse's *The History of Citrus in Florida*. The features on citrus' route to Florida and the history of the Dummett Orange Grove in Indian River County bear a particular resemblance.⁷⁹

The involvement of University of Florida patriarch H. Harold Hume further strengthens this connection.⁸⁰ In the 1930s Hume worked at the University's citrus experimental station in Lake Alfred, Polk County.⁸¹ A prominent man in the world of citrus, Hume aired a statewide radio lecture on October 11, 1935 titled, "History of Citrus Culture in Florida," which was reprinted in *The Citrus Industry*, an industry publication. The lecture details information repeated by both Corse and McPhee.⁸² McPhee interviewed Herman Reitz, Hume's successor at the experimental station during the early 1960s and the information presented by McPhee most likely derives in part from Hume's work.⁸³ Many contemporary histories of the Sunshine State have employed *Florida: A Guide to the Southernmost State* and/or *Oranges*, cementing

76. Corse, Carita Doggett, "The History of Citrus in Florida," in Florida Memory, the State Archives of Florida, <http://www.floridamemory.com/collections/WPA> (accessed 17 March 2009).

77. Ibid., 2.

78. U.S. National Youth Administration Florida *The Citrus Industry and Occupations in Florida*, ed. Joe A. Youngblood and Arthur R. Meade (Tallahassee: U.S. National Youth Administration, 1940?), 1-6.

79. McPhee, *Oranges*, 90-92; Corse, *The History of Citrus in Florida*, 5-6.

80. Dr. Hume served as University of Florida Dean of the College of Agriculture, Provost for Agriculture, and Acting President of the University. Hume was employed by the University from 1930-1949. In 1958 the University named a dormitory in his honor.

81. Corse, *The History of Citrus in Florida*, 4.

82. Hume, H. Harold. "History of Citrus Culture in Florida," *The Citrus Industry*, October 1935, 5, 8-9, 20.

83. McPhee, *Oranges*, 28-31.

their narratives into historical facts. Thus, the "history, legend, myth, gossip, and nature lore," of Florida, and consequently citrus, combined in the 1930s through government sanctified literature to create new historiographies.

Not immune to the colossal shifts in national politics and culture that came with the December 1941 declarations of war presented the Florida citrus industry with new problems of "governmental purchases of products, the comparatively new product, hot pack concentrate, material shortages which would cause substitutions, and price controls."⁸⁴ During the war, the FCC decided to keep the name of Florida citrus products before the public. Rather than just whet the public's appetite, the new, patriotic advertisements showed "the great importance of these products in feeding and maintaining the health and vigor of the armed forces." The new campaign featured "Victory Vitamin C" as its slogan and portrayed images of American soldiers in battle next to jingoistic body copy.⁸⁵ The effort to make sure those fighting men actually received their vitamin C funded the research that produced Frozen Orange Juice Concentrate (FCOJ), a discovery made in the Lake Alfred citrus experiment station. By WWII's end the Florida Citrus Commission's role in the state's citrus industry had permanence and its creation, FCOJ, would greatly alter all the previous problems of overproduction.⁸⁶

In 1937, during the annual Orange Festival at Silver Springs, the Florida State Horticultural Society celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. To mark the occasion, a play titled *Golden Harvest: The Romance of Florida Citrus* was performed. Based on a sentimental history of the orange in Florida, the play captured the positive mood many in the audience felt towards the industry's new direction. The play's end exemplifies this mood with "the Spirit of Florida" crowning the 1937 Orange Festival Queen:

To you my daughter, I give this crown. Its brightness is the
for the glowing color of your cheeks under the Florida
Sun; Its gold is for the vast treasure of the world's wealth
that has come to me because of you; its shining is for the
lustre that your name has brought me. I have been happy

84. Florida Department of Citrus, *The First Fifty Years*, 20.

85. *Ibid.*, 23.

86. Alissa Hamilton, *Squeezed*, 11-27; Shane Hamilton, "Cold Capitalism," 557-563.

tonight looking backward to the time when you were first brought to me, Spanish gold in the hold of a Spanish ship. I am happier still as I look into your future, our future as your fate and mine are so closely twined together. For your past, which is glamorous with romance, for your present, which is rich with fulfillment, and for your future which is glorious with promise, I crown you—Orange Queen!”⁸⁷

This maudlin play does capture the importance of citrus to Florida. The 1935 Citrus Codes brought together a cacophony of various mumblings to create a unified voice. The Commission's structure and governmental backing allowed it to represent the sunshine state's key commodity uniformly. Tightening both the historic and economic bonds with Florida, the Commission's story formed as others recorded citrus' past. Carita Doggett Corse and the Federal Writers' Project ensure that generations kept Florida's story entwined with the oranges'. The citrus industry proved pliable in the following decades as orange juice and Florida became synonymous, thereby besting rival California. FCOJ, a shared invention, made orange juice a North American breakfast staple and helped the industry grow substantially. Before FCOJ could alter the American breakfast, the Florida citrus industry needed a collective agreement to foster mutual prosperity. The Florida Citrus Commission stabilized an industry constantly plagued by overproduction, underselling, and infighting through cooperation and an increased marketing presence. This cooperation paved the way for the phenomenal success that FCOJ brought.

87. Nina Oliver Dean, *Golden Harvest: The Romance of Florida Citrus*, The Florida State Horticultural Society on the Occasion of its Semi-Centennial Celebration, Ocala, April 14, 1937.

Book Reviews

Daniel Murphree, Book Review Editor

Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America. By Christina Snyder. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, index. Pp ix, 344. \$29.95 cloth.)

In *Slavery in Indian Country* Christina Snyder accomplishes a comprehensive, in depth, and sometimes shocking overview of the various forms of slavery that took shape in the Native South. With illustrative chapter openings, clear summaries, and brief introductory and concluding sections, the book is compelling and highly readable for academic specialists as well as general readers with an interest in Native American and southern histories. Snyder pulls no punches and takes no sides in this tenacious analysis. Wading deep into primary accounts of captivity by and of Indians and reading widely in the secondary literature across a range of historical and anthropological subfields, she uncovers and lays bare a multi-ethnic, changing system of human captivity that embroiled Native nations. This system, Snyder argues convincingly, was entrenched in Native cultures prior to the arrival of European invaders but took on new forms as Native people became enmeshed in the ferocious European trade in animal skins and human beings.

Beginning with the Pre-Columbian Mississippian period and concluding with the early nineteenth century Seminole Wars, Snyder draws a long, complex line of continuity between earlier and later forms of captivity. The Native nations and locations that she covers are diverse, ranging from the Natchez nation in Mississippi to the Apalachees in Florida and focusing most closely

on the five major tribes of the later Southeast: the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles. Snyder shows that the divinely endowed chiefs of Mississippian chiefdoms kept captives of war from other tribes for both practical and ideological purposes, using these owned persons to shore up elite status and to perform labor. After the fall of the Mississippian chiefdoms, Native societies reorganized into decentralized, less hierarchical groups, but warfare was still frequent and captive taking a regular feature of life, such that captives of different groups were a common sight in eighteenth century Native towns.

Building on impressively exhaustive research, Snyder makes the argument that slavery—which she defines as the marginalization and ownership of people as property—was not imported to North America by Europeans and was not solely a white-black phenomenon (135). Rather, a particular form of slavery—the taking of war captives who might be tortured and killed, adopted to compensate for the death of a loved one, or kept as outsider-laborers—was indigenous to the Native societies already present on the continent. In this way, Native American cultures were similar to cultures around the world that categorized some persons as subhuman and thus available for exploitation and abuse. In addition, Snyder reiterates the finding made by other scholars that in the period of early contact, Native people did not classify themselves, or Europeans, or Africans into racial groups. They did not prioritize skin color over other features of difference as did European colonists. This changed, Snyder asserts, only after Native people were compelled by economic and political exigencies to renegotiate their relationship with European colonial powers in the eighteenth century. By the turn of the nineteenth century, some members of Native groups had fully engaged the notion of racial difference and hierarchy, seeing themselves as “red” people with commonalities across ethnic and national distinctions and seeing people of African descent as “black” and the population most fit for slavery. Native people then ceased taking other Indians as captives and concentrated instead on acquiring lucrative black slaves.

Snyder’s deep research and open-minded stance lead her to a number of remarkable insights. She demonstrates the similarity of experience of Indian, black, and white captives owned by Native people through the eighteenth century, making these multiracial captives’ lives real and visible in a way that had not yet been accomplished in other works. She also shows that although Native people did not

emphasize skin color in this early period, they did highlight ethnic and even internal class differences by adopting particular hairstyles. These differences in head adornment made scalps taken in battle all the more meaningful to young men collecting war honors, for the hairstyle of the removed scalp identified the enemy group. Drawing on a number of examples in the context of Indian slavery – such as male slaves being made to do agricultural labor that was traditionally women's work and female slaves having their hair shorn like men—Snyder makes the astute observation that “degendering” was likely a “transhistorical” and cross-cultural feature of slavery (135).

The final chapter of the book is devoted to what Snyder describes as the unique relationship between Seminoles and blacks that developed in Florida. Unlike other Indian nations of the South, Snyder argues, the Seminoles maintained from their Mississippian past a flexible system of political organization that allowed escaped black slaves to develop their own towns within Seminole society. In exchange for tribute and military alliance, black Seminoles attained needed protection and relative freedom from Seminole chiefs. Although Snyder is not the first to make this claim for a Seminole exception to the racialized slaveholding culture that developed in parts of the Native South, she is the first to deeply contextualize this relationship within a larger conceptualization of Indian captivity.

Snyder has accomplished so much in this book that it is difficult to ask for more. However, it needs to be said that while she devotes a chapter to addressing the European appetite for Indian slaves that catapulted and further corrupted Indian captive taking practices, most of the book is about Indians as slaveholders and captives held by Native owners. Even an Afro-Creek trader in Florida, Philatouche, is profiled as the owner of several black slaves. It is surprising that in such a broad survey, Snyder does not trace or describe the experience of southern Indian slaves owned by English or Spanish colonists, the daily lives of Indian slaves on Carolina or Virginia plantations, or the fates of Native people sold to the Caribbean and Europe. The “Indian Country” of her title is an elastic place that surely includes the lands of colonial interlopers, and Snyder demonstrates elsewhere in the book that she is both comfortable with geographical leaps and skilled at comparative slavery analysis. Even as her book does the important work of illuminating dark corners of human exploitation, it leaves other corners overshadowed. Some readers might take away from this an

unbalanced picture of Indian suffering at the hands of other Native people while Europeans were the instigators of a massive trade in Indian slaves and the primary enslavers of Indians and Africans in the Americas.

Overall, Snyder's contribution superbly develops a growing area of study on American Indians and slavery. Established by Almon Wheeler Lauber in his 1913 work, *Indian Slavery in Colonial Times*, this line of enquiry was substantially advanced by James Brooks's, *Captives and Cousins* (2001) and Alan Gallay's, *The Indian Slave Trade* (2002). In this daring book, Christina Snyder has produced new knowledge. Her work shows that there is still much more to be uncovered in the history of U.S. colonialism, slavery, and race. After confronting Snyder's study, neither specialists nor general readers will be able to think of American slavery in quite the same way again.

Tiya Miles

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Thunder on the River: The Civil War in Northeast Florida. By Daniel Schafer. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010. Preface, acknowledgements, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xiii, 352. \$29.95 cloth.)

Professor Daniel L Schafer has produced a well-written history of Jacksonville and its environs that, for at least a generation, will be the book to read to learn about the Civil War in the St. Johns River area of northeastern Florida. It begins with the debates over secession and carries the story through November 1865. It covers Confederate Florida's defense of the area and the military actions of Federal gunboats on the river and soldiers occupying the city and raiding into the nearby areas. Another emphasis is the impact of the war on the people who lived in Jacksonville and the surrounding area: white civilians who supported the Confederacy, white civilians who supported the Union, African Americans who were enslaved, and African Americans who became free.

After carefully examining the arguments presented in local newspapers, letters, and other sources about secession, Schafer concludes that "the residents of Jacksonville were so convinced that Northerners intended to limit the right granted in the U.S. Constitution to carry human property into the western territories,

and eventually to abolish the institution of slavery of slavery altogether, that they embraced secession and war as their last desperate chance to preserve slavery" (x). Utilizing a wide range of contemporary sources, Schafer presents several additional arguments. With regard to the implementation of Confederate military strategy, Schafer concludes that even though Federal gunboats controlled the St. Johns River from above Jacksonville to the coast for most of the war and occupied Jacksonville four times, the Confederates succeeded in their goal of preventing the Union forces from utilizing the river as an invasion route to the interior of Florida (which continued to produce cattle and other products needed for the armies elsewhere in the Confederacy). "Torpedoes," (underwater mines), Confederate soldiers and the citizens who supported them were central to the success of the strategy. Schafer thoroughly supports his assertions that African Americans took the opportunity to free themselves by walking away from enslavement to freedom under the protection of Federal soldiers; that many volunteered and served in U.S. units, which in turn freed additional slaves; that African American units were part of the occupation force in Jacksonville during and after the war; and that they were for the most part well-disciplined in the occupation and effective in battle.

Additional unstated themes are evident. Many of Jacksonville's merchants were Unionists, especially those of northern or foreign birth. The city suffered greatly from the fighting and destruction related to occupations and evacuations, but the people who lived on farms outside the city suffered more by far due to foraging by both Union and Confederate armies and Confederate guerilla groups. Confederate planters within range of Union raids suffered extreme economic loss due to the departures of slaves, the confiscation of food, livestock and wagons, and sometimes the destruction of buildings. Unionists who lived in the countryside eventually fled to the towns, as did many Confederate deserters and runaway slaves, creating serious overcrowding, shortages of shelter, and other problems for the Union occupation forces.

Schafer largely succeeds in his goal of writing "a local history placed in the national context and informed by the remarkable array of Civil War scholarship that had appeared in recent decades" (ix). He has used both Confederate and Union sources and has provided context by describing the development of U. S. policies that affected African Americans or the occupied areas and

explaining the needs of the Confederate army to defend other parts of the Confederacy (which resulted in shifts of Confederate troops out of Florida).

A weakness, though, is the lack of any context for the pro-Confederate guerilla warfare, the Unionists in the towns and nearby countryside who lived in fear when the U.S army withdrew between occupations, and the impact of Union occupation on the residents of Jacksonville. Since 1990, scholars have begun the work of writing very good local studies like this one, and Schafer could have informed his readers that the experience of this area of Florida was not unique. Stephen V. Ash's study, *When the Yankees Came: Conflict and Chaos in the Occupied South, 1861-1865* (1995), is particularly relevant. *Thunder on the River* would have been better if Schafer had used Ash's study of irregular warfare, Confederate deserters, and the lives of civilians in garrisoned cities and towns, the nearby no man's land, and the surrounding Confederate frontier area as a framework. Schafer could have added to or modified some of Ash's conclusions.

The narrative, carried along by military events and changes of Confederate and Union policies, holds the attention of the attentive reader. The four city maps and twenty-three photographs and illustrations are assets. Adding a map of the St. Johns River area indicating the locations of all of the places mentioned in the text would have been helpful. This reviewer regrets that the printed books considered primary sources are not separated from the secondary sources in the bibliography and regrets the lack of full first entries in the endnotes for books and scholarly articles. Students of the impact on civilians of military occupation or irregular warfare will benefit from this book, as will all who are interested in Florida history and the Civil War.

Judith F. Gentry

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American Railroad Labor and the Genesis of the New Deal, 1919-1935.

By Jon R. Huibregtse. (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2010. Foreword, acknowledgements, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. 208. \$69.95 cloth.)

Jon Huibregtse argues that the 1920s political activism of the four independent Railroad Brotherhoods—Locomotive Engineers (BLE), Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen (BLEF), Railroad

Trainmen (BRT), and the Order of Railroad Conductors (ORC)—helped the larger labor movement and anticipated the New Deal order of labor-management relations. In a very short book, he attempts to demonstrate this by a logic of implication: the unions were politically active as shown by their support of various candidates in the 1922 and 1924 elections and revealed in their publications; they supported and gained collective bargaining rights as revealed in their push to reform the 1920 Transportation Act through the 1926 Railway Labor Act and other amendments (anticipating the National Labor Relations Act); their support of pensions anticipated the Social Security Act; and finally, the brotherhood unions offered an alternative to mainstream unionism and radicalism by embracing labor banking—"labor's boldest attempt to move beyond its traditional boundaries" (8). While logical on the surface, such an argument is not only difficult to prove but it is also nearly impossible to disprove. The book provides mostly general descriptions and little analysis and this leads to several shortcomings.

The author offers insufficient context, fails to define key terms, and the flow of the writing is too often staid, mechanical, or disorganized. The idea of industrial democracy, a central concept in the book, is presented in a simple and unproblematic fashion. The term's history reached back to the 19th century and forward to at least World War II; the author suggests that it died after World War I but that his research suggests otherwise. This is a strange reading and presents a partial truth: while the Railroad brotherhoods used the language of industrial democracy, so did many other groups throughout the interwar period, particularly industrial workers unable to gain collective bargaining rights until after 1935. More problematic is that workers, unionists, capitalists and reformers used the term and debated its meaning. However, this complicated history eludes the author and the result is analysis unconcerned with the fundamental tensions defining power struggles between capitalists and workers. The author offers instead a narrow, two-dimensional account of worker activism focusing more on the leadership and little on the rank and file. The most interesting sounding resource discussed, the weekly newspaper *Labor*, needed much more treatment than what was offered. The imprecise use of such phrases as "most Americans" and the "general public" to suggest a collective political sensibility or preference (especially when describing the failure of socialism) distracts the reader. This framing will work if indeed there was agreement of

what a general public represented and one ignored the repression and marginalization that radicalism experienced in U.S. history. The employer drive for the open shop after World War I, for example, occurred in the midst of the Red Scare, a fact Huibregtse acknowledges but grossly understates.

Yet therein lays a deeper historiographic discordance. Nowhere in the text does the author confront the political quagmire of the railroad Brotherhoods' dogged independence and specifically the Locomotive Engineer's trade union capitalism, as William Z. Foster would have described it. Only one brief reference is made to the BLE's Coal River Colliery Company in Kentucky and West Virginia and its failure to pay union wages to the United Mine Workers of America in 1923-1924. No matter how much Warren S. Stone, President of the BLE, may have argued that the investment was a co-operative, in essence its drive for profit and dividend returns to investors countered the cooperative ethic.

The labor banking ventures were equally problematic. Huibregtse argues that banking investment failed because the heads of the bank were not experienced bankers and thus, unqualified. The circular logic, however, undermines the argument: banking experience does not insure success or failure and experienced bankers, if corrupt, may still have a successful bank or customers can be sold out while executives profit even in failure. If the BLE union leaders were guilty of malfeasance, as he states, then that is an issue that demanded more comment and analysis. The fact is that Stone had mixed loyalties to the larger union movement and to industrial unionism. Nowhere is the reader informed that Stone did not support the union (closed) shop, was on the executive committee of the National Civic Federation, or that he and other brotherhood leaders preferred to be called railway labor executives. The name of the Railroad Labor Executives Association, the Brotherhoods' political coalition formed in 1922, is left unanalyzed by the author.

If the Brotherhoods' 1920s advocacy was a precursor to the New Deal state, what is the reader to make of Stone and this trade union or labor capitalism? Both these terms do not appear in his short book and for good reason, it seems. His very brief and late discussion of a middle class tendency in the leadership (p. 113 of a 122 page book) fails because of its brevity, unsophisticated handling, and the absence in the entire book of any significant discussion of the historical context that shaped and defined the Brotherhoods. One may accept the general idea that the

Brotherhood unions, as with the AFL, supported and embraced greater equity and balance in how power was negotiated in the political economy. But this is hardly a new or interesting point at this juncture of labor historiography.

While many of the secondary sources referenced are dated and glaring omissions hurt its relevance, the more serious issue is the absence of any discussion of how its argument contributes to the historiography. Much of the material presented is redundant and the writer does not highlight what is new, at least in a convincing way. The work of Robert Zieger, Irving Bernstein, or Steven Fraser, among many other historians, will serve as better introductions to the era and the evolving history of labor-management relations. Despite the strong coverage in the historiography of these topics, there is a need to cover the railroad unions more carefully. Unfortunately, Huibregtse misses the opportunity to make a significant contribution.

Thomas A. Castillo

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Tales from the 5th ST. Gym: Ali, the Dundees, and Miami's Golden Age of Boxing. By Ferdie Pacheco. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010. Acknowledgements, illustrations, photos, index. Pp. xiv, 208. \$27.50 cloth)

The moniker "Mecca of Boxing" has been a constant in American prize fighting throughout the 20th century—even as the city which bears that nickname changes. For much of the first half of the century New York City was the geographic heart of the sport, and since the 1980s most significant professional boxing matches have been devised, signed and often fought in Las Vegas. Yet for a brief period, between the 1950s and 1980s, there was legitimate competition for which American city would be the epicenter of the boxing universe. In his latest project, *Tales from the 5th ST. Gym*, Ferdie Pacheco reminds his readers that Miami was, in the parlance of the sport, a top contender for that prestigious title.

The motivation for Pacheco's book was to provide some redress for a flawed piece of public history. A plaque on the corner of 5th and Washington in Miami commemorates the gym and its most notable patrons but neglects to even name its founder, Chris Dundee. Pacheco and his contributors take great pains to emphasize Chris Dundee's role in building and sustaining the gym, which

Dundee used as a vehicle to recruit and retain boxing talent in Miami over a career that spanned "from the age of speakeasies to the age of computers" (60).

Chris Dundee is one of several characters that Pacheco and his contributors attempt to write back into the story of the iconic gym that rivaled New York's "Stillman's Gym" and Los Angeles' "Main Street Gym" as America's premier boxing facility. The authors argue that trainers like Luis Sarria, boxers such as Willie Pastrano, Jimmy Ellis and Luis Manuel Rodriguez, as well as a host of other fighters, writers and hangers-on (even the shoe-shiner, Beau Jack, was a former lightweight champion) were all integral to making the gym a significant part of boxing and Miami history. The 5th St. Gym was therefore a popular tourist attraction in South Beach—visitors from all across the country came to watch its patrons train—even as that area decayed in the shadows of the fresh new construction that dotted the neighborhood.

Pacheco rightfully contends that in 1964 Miami reached its apex vis-à-vis boxing when then-Cassius Clay, the 5th St.'s most famous client, upset heavyweight champion Sonny Liston in a match staged at the Miami Convention Center. Pacheco is similarly correct in his belief that the role of the city, and the 5th St. Gym in particular, declined along with Ali at the turn of the 1980s. Thus, in many ways the story of the 5th St. Gym and boxing in Miami revolves around Muhammad Ali, and Pacheco remains aware of that fact. His chapter on Ali, entitled "The Spring that Flows Eternal," is one of the more valuable, insightful and moving contributions of the book. It also contains the underlying thesis that the 5th St. Gym specifically, and the boxing world at large, all basked in the glow of Ali and the "Ali Circus" which followed the young star, thus making Miami the "Mecca" of boxing for that brief period of time.

One of the more original contributions of *Tales from the 5th ST. Gym*, however, is contextualizing Ali in the story of the 5th St. Gym, rather than leaving the gym in Ali's shadow. Details of an eager, young light-heavyweight named Cassius Clay learning his jab from Rodriguez and his footwork from Pastrano make this part of the book more than simply a recap of the plethora of Ali biographies. Pacheco refocuses the gym and Miami as a significant part of the Ali story as well. And by emphasizing the role that fighters such as Rodriguez and trainers like Sarria played in Ali's rise to the championship, Pacheco and the other authors similarly focus on the aspect which really made and sustained the 5th St. Gym: the influx

of Cuban boxers fleeing Castro's Cuba for nearby Miami. Just as the large-scale immigration of Cubans to Florida and Miami in particular created a "South Florida Renaissance" (165) which rejuvenated the region culturally and economically, the steady supply of talented Cuban boxers dramatically improved the quantity and quality of fighters training at the 5th St. Gym. Throughout the book, Pacheco manages to keep the history of the gym tied to the history of Miami, making *Tales from the 5th ST. Gym* an engaging read not only for fans and historians of boxing, but those interested in the cultural history of postwar Miami as well.

Readers will not find a smooth narrative flow to *Tales of the 5th ST. Gym*, rather the contributions of various "insiders" of the gym, with Pacheco's voice weaving throughout, is slightly disjointed with a staccato rhythm. It is reminiscent of sitting in a room with a group of boxing aficionados, where myriad tales of old fighters fill the air. Characteristically, Pacheco's voice supersedes the rest. But the stories of individuals, of the gym, and the city are all valuable pieces of history. Moreover, the illustrations and photos contained in the book are easily worth the cover price alone. Posed and candid pictures from Pacheco's own collection, as well as many more from Hank Kaplan's, visually narrate the life of the gym and its most important supporters and visitors. Reprints of Pacheco's original artwork are also spotted throughout the book, and add more color to the volume. The prose of its variety of authors and the images which support them all serve to paint a convincing picture of the 5th St. Gym and Miami's "Golden Age of Boxing." Even if the city never truly became a "Mecca" for boxing, the 5th St. Gym is certainly a valuable lens to view the history and business of boxing, as well as the South Beach region generally, Cuban immigration to Florida, and the crucial role of sport and popular culture in postwar Miami's history.

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Lynching and Spectacle: Witnessing Racial Violence in America, 1890 – 1940. By Amy Louise Wood. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009. Illustrations, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xi, 349. \$39.95 cloth.)

In her seminal work, *Making Whiteness*, Grace Elizabeth Hale, examined the process by which white southerners developed a "cul-

ture of segregation" that redefined racial hierarchy in the South as a response to a modernizing society. In her chapter "Deadly Amusements," Hale argued, "white southerners made an important contribution to the rapidly evolving forms of leisure in twentieth-century America: they modernized and perfected violence, in the form of the spectator lynching."¹ Recent scholarship has expanded the discourse on extra-legal violence beyond the realm of its horrid details, exploring the cultural influences that allowed these events to become synonymous with the southern way of life.

Amy Louise Wood's provocative work compliments the efforts of scholars, such as Hale, W. Fitzhugh Brundage, Orlando Patterson, Stewart Tolnay and E.M. Beck, as she delineates the relationship between lynching and culture and moves the discussion beyond a local phenomenon to demonstrate its national implications. In *Lynching and Spectacle*, Wood analyzes the cultural power of white supremacy and its reliance on the spectacle of public executions in religion, photographs, journalism, and film. She demonstrates how these visual representations succeeded in reconfiguring and maintaining white supremacy as a response to a modernizing South that was forced to confront new ideas on race, gender, technology, and urbanization. Wood explains how the national media, civil rights organizations, and the motion picture industry used these sensational images to raise the national consciousness about this southern phenomenon, inspiring anti-lynching activism during the 1920s and 1930s.

Lynching and Spectacle is organized thematically and chronologically. Part I, "Spectacle," demonstrates the practices used by white southerners to maintain their traditions as a counter to the development of a more modern South. Wood argues that lynchings became "more public, more ritualized, and more spectacular" (23) as a response to local and state authorities who prevented southerners from witnessing legal public executions. Lynchings allowed white southerners to "guarantee their active involvement in and witnessing of criminal punishment, to satisfy their outrage and desire for vengeance." (23) Part II, "Witnessing," examines the technological practices used by white southerners to advance their ideas of white supremacy. They proved the visual certainty of lynching through the use of photographs and motion pictures,

1. Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890 - 1904* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998), 203.

which "served to normalize and make socially acceptable, even aesthetically acceptable, the utter brutality of lynching" (75). Photographs, in particular, expanded the act of witnessing "to viewers who did not directly experience the lynching and its enactment of brutal 'justice'" (81). Part III, "Bearing Witness," highlights the strategies used by anti-lynching activists who disseminated images of "unruly and sadistic mobs," to redefine the cultural impact of the lynching spectacle, both regionally and nationally. Combined with the efforts of liberal Hollywood filmmakers, these images came to represent injustice and prompted most Americans "to associate lynching with its most extreme and grotesque manifestations," (261) and ultimately led to lynching's decline in the 1930s.

Wood highlights the role that Florida lynchings played in relation to anti-lynching activism. The National Association for Colored People (NAACP) and the black press used the sensational images of Claude Neale in Marianna and Rubin Stacey in Fort Lauderdale to gain international support against this southern atrocity. In the process these activists undermined the authority of white supremacy and transformed the intended "witnesses" of these spectacles from white southerners to a mostly African American viewership. For instance, the NAACP sold and distributed 100,000 copies of a pamphlet that featured Rubin Stacey to NAACP branches, churches, women's groups, and other organizations. In the more infamous Claude Neale lynching, the NAACP sent a photograph of "his nude, hanged body, to 144 newspapers in forty countries," (203) causing the United States a source of embarrassment on an international stage. Wood adeptly illustrates how these graphic, grotesque, and disturbing images transformed the consciousness of Americans, both locally and nationally, to understand that these violent occurrences were more than acts of vigilantism; they were a national failure. Wood's cultural analysis of the Neal and Stacy lynchings offers a fresh interpretation on material previously explored by historians such as James McGovern and Walter T. Howard.

Wood makes compelling arguments in her analysis of culture and lynching; however, at times her overreliance on images replaces a human element that is essential to understanding this subject. There is little mention about how these visual representations affected rural, southern blacks who confronted similar issues about a modernizing South. Yet Wood skillfully uses secondary

sources, film, newspapers, and personal manuscripts to write an intellectual and cultural history that provides a nuanced perspective on a complex issue. This insightful study will certainly become a fundamental text for any scholar who inspires to learn more about racial violence during the Jim Crow era.

Darius J. Young

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Old South, New South, or Down South?: Florida and the Modern Civil Rights Movement. Edited by Irvin D. S. Winsboro. (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2009. Preface, acknowledgments, afterword, notes, contributors, index. Pp. viii, 352. \$24.95 paper).

Florida, lest we forget, is a southern state, with all the charm and pathos that distinction carries with it. In *Old South, New South, or Down South?*, an array of scholars re-examine Florida as a battleground in the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. In doing so, they challenge Florida's reputation as being more racially enlightened than its neighbors—somehow immune to the region's racial animus. They convincingly argue that the state's moderate image, promoted in part through economic boosterism and political spin, is undeserved. Contrary to its progressive reputation, the Sunshine State "embraced, manifested, and perpetuated all the insidious practices associated with white supremacy" during the civil rights era, according to editor Irvin Winsboro (i). Such scholarship necessitates a reconsideration of the state in the prevailing historical narrative.

Winsboro succinctly presents the book's argument, asserting, "As an amalgam of the conventions of Old South, New South, and Down South, Florida was less on the frontier of the modern civil rights movement than on the ramparts of resistance" (10). Through various techniques and tactics, white Floridians forestalled desegregation. Elected officials supported legal delays and passed pupil placement laws that enabled local school boards to advance an onerous kind of gradualism that forestalled integration. The result was business as usual in a state often defined by the use of violence to enforce white supremacy.

Drawing on a variety of source material from newspaper articles to interviews, the contributors collectively rethink civil rights

in Florida while focusing on particular locales and issues. Winsboro launches the volume with a preface and introduction. Marvin Dunn follows with an effective overview of Florida's tormented racial past, often "lynch-prone" and bloody (6). Abel Bartley describes the battle in Jacksonville between Mayor Haydon Burns and Rutledge Pearson, who became state president of the NAACP. Winsboro contributes his own essay on desegregation efforts in Lee County. Leonard Lempel covers the civil rights struggle in Daytona Beach in his essay titled "Toms and Bombs." Connie Lester shows how obstructionism necessarily defined sharecropper/landowner relations and limited the progress of black farmers well beyond the familiar periodization of the civil rights movement. Amy Sasscer identifies the "perseverance of an Old South mentality" in the 1956 Supreme Court case *Hawkins v. Board of Control* (149). Lise Steinhauer explains how Palm Beach County, with its ample presence of liberal white northerners, took two decades to desegregate its schools. Bartley contributes a second essay that not only closely examines the 1964 gubernatorial race, in which conservative Republican Claude Kirk triumphed, but also explores "Florida's love affair with its color-coded way of life" (186). Gregory Bush distinguishes Virginia Key, a historically segregated black beach in Miami, as a notable public space for African American memory and racial identity. Paul Ortiz's excellent afterword aptly sums up the chapters' assessments, cutting through "the beguiling edifice of image, illusion, and reality that governs Florida's portrayal of itself" to challenge what he describes as "Florida exceptionalism" in civil rights studies (211).

Common themes emerge. The 1944 Supreme Court case *Smith v. Allwright*, which struck down the white-only political primary, played as important a role in birthing the modern civil rights movement in ways similar to *Brown v. Board of Education*. Florida's political leaders often sacrificed black civil rights in favor of economic development, and, as Winsboro reminds readers, sometimes the major impediments to change were not "axe-wielding" rednecks but "the 'better class' of whites" (13). The idea that liberal white northerners helped ease desegregation efforts in Florida (the "Yankee factor") bears further examination, in part because northern transplants often seemed to slip easily into Florida's segregated system without challenging it. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, black Floridians were not passive in the quest for better treatment at the hands of their white neighbors. The book taps

a deep history of African-American striving toward dignity and equality in a racially hostile environment.

As with any edited volume, some essays are stronger than others, but there is only minimal room for improvement, most notably in the terminology chosen. The use of the terms "Old South," "New South," and "Down South" is initially confusing. Elsewhere, Old South most often refers to the antebellum period and New South refers to the postwar period in which slavery no longer existed (in name if not in practice); however, Winsboro clearly intends something different by these descriptors. The reader quickly apprehends that by Old South he means reactionary and by New South he means moderate, whereas Down South refers to the stonewalling tactics that delayed progressive reform. One could imagine "Deep South," "Up South," or "Way Down Upon the Suwannee River" as pert substitutes, but a few definitions or an explanatory note in the introduction might clear up any misunderstanding.

The book is well researched, well organized, and well written—an important contribution to scholarship on Florida in the civil rights era. "Simply put," Winsboro concludes, "the reality of Florida's past is more complex and racially ciphered than much of the historiography and journalism recognizes" (16). A welcome addition to the small but growing literature on Florida and the civil rights movement, *Old South, New South, or Down South?* is revisionist history of the best sort.

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Rabble Rousers: The American Far Right in the Civil Rights Era. By Clive Webb. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010. Acknowledgements, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xi, 304. \$69.95 cloth.)

Clive Webb's *Rabble Rousers* offers an interpretive account of select "racial militants" who violently opposed racial desegregation in the South from the 1950s to the 1970s. This highly readable work is arranged in three parts and covers the following case studies: (part 1) two "outside agitators," Bryant Bowles, the founder of the first NAAWP (National Association for the Advancement of

White People), a Florida native, and agitator against school desegregation in Milford, Delaware, in 1954; and John Kasper, a New Jersey native who came under the personal sway of the anti-Semitic poet Ezra Pound, a founding member of the Seaboard White Citizens' Council, and an organizer of violent protests in Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Florida during the 1950s and 1960s; (part 2) two retired military officers, Rear Admiral John Crommelin, a perennial segregationist candidate in his home state of Alabama (he never won but forced moderate candidates to take more rigid racist positions); and Major General Edwin Walker, who five years after being ordered to enforce the segregation of Little Rock Central High School led opposition to the enrollment of black student James Meredith at the University of Mississippi; and (part 3) J.B. Stoner, a Georgia native dubbed the "Southern Fuehrer," who prior to his imprisonment in 1986 was part of a terrorist network responsible for the bombings of homes, schools, churches, and synagogues. Stoner appears on the cover of *Rabble Rousers* in a photograph (circa mid-1960s) documenting his address before an outdoor rally of the Ku Klux Klan in St. Augustine, Florida.

The context for these case studies is excellently provided in the book's introduction, which broadly summarizes the history of the American "radical right" beginning with the 1930s. The period of the Great Depression is chosen as a starting point because it is seen as not only laying the foundation for the violent postwar opposition to the dismantling of Jim Crow in the South, but it also, paradoxically, provides the background for why extremist reaction to integration was rejected by the majority of white southerners, in particular the social elite. Prior to World War II there were some 120 fascist organizations in the United States, including the German-American Bund and the Silver Legion (as led by William Dudley Pelley). The far-right movement of this era, typified by the radio speeches of the Detroit-based Catholic priest Charles Coughlin, was infused with a virulent anti-Semitism. After the war, the espousing of any doctrine with overt notions of racial supremacy had little credibility in American society due to the shock caused by the revelations of the Holocaust.

Consequently, Webb explains, ordinary white southerners who found federally mandated desegregation objectionable were not able to philosophically cast their lot with fascist types. In addition, ordinary white southerners were opposed to political violence they

regarded as representing a breakdown in law and order. The white violent extremism that did manifest itself was generally of the lower class, representing a bottom-up resistance (although some of the instigators were of a higher social class). The so-called "responsible segregationists" saw themselves as being faced with four enemies: the Supreme Court (which handed down *Brown v. Board of Education*), the NAACP (which was the catalyst of the civil rights movement), liberal northerners (who pushed Congress to pass laws guaranteeing civil rights), and the KKK (which provided outsiders of the South with a stereotype of southern racism). Moderate white southerners wished to frame their opposition to desegregation as states' rights, insisting that their position was not a defense of white supremacy. Even so, similar to how Malcolm X's radicalism put pressure on the more moderate civil rights movement led by Martin Luther King, Jr., white extremists caused the "respectable" segregationists to be more assertive. Thus, mainstream southern politicians feared being "out-nigger[ed]" in political campaigns, to quote George Wallace after he was defeated in the 1958 Alabama governor's race by John Patterson who had resorted to using extremist rhetoric to cast his opponent as being soft on segregation.

The rich narratives provided in this work are based on research gleaned from numerous primary sources, such as FBI files, government reports, personal papers, and newspaper articles, as well as secondary sources and academic works. The case studies are not intended to be exhaustive, but simply provide enough detail to demonstrate the complexity of the far right and to challenge conventional wisdom, often espoused by psychologists, sociologists, and criminologists, that dismisses white supremacists as pathological misfits who are not to be taken seriously for their ideological positions. Webb's biographical approach teases out various intricacies, such as the fractured alliances and the fact that militant leaders often had to deal with followers who were less than compliant.

Some readers might think Webb in places overreaches as he argues the importance of these racist figures in southern political culture, but he reasonably proves that it would be inaccurate to categorize these individuals as irrational lunatics. Furthermore, the legacy of the postwar far right has manifested itself with Klansman David Duke (who was mentored by Crommelin and went on to have brief electoral success in Louisiana during the 1980s and later

formed the third NAAWP), the rise of the militia movement (which has a sizeable element expressing concerns about a Jewish conspiracy), waves of arson attacks on black churches, and Timothy McVeigh's truck-bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City in 1995. Some would also argue that certain negative reactions to the presidency of Barack Obama have their antecedents with the far right that came about during postwar desegregation. In other words, to quote the author, the far right is "deeply rooted in American political culture" (214).

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College Football and American Culture in the Cold War Era. By Kurt E. Kemper. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xiv, 288. \$35.00 cloth.)

In this imaginative study, Kurt Kemper uses the complicated search for the visiting team for the January 1962 Rose Bowl contest as a cultural prism through which to illuminate the relationship between postwar college football and American Cold War culture. According to the author, historians who study domestic culture during the Cold War era have unfortunately paid little attention to the role of sports in American society. At the same time, "sports scholars of the period have resisted interpreting sport as a cultural manifestation of the anxieties of the Cold War era" (5). Kemper seeks to correct these oversights by analyzing the specific ways in which Americans constructed football as the embodiment of the fundamental American values that were desperately needed to defend the nation from the external threat of Communism and the internal threats of physical weakness and material comfort.

Kemper emphasizes the widespread anxieties and insecurities of Americans in the 1950s as they confronted the global challenge from the Soviet Union. Seeking to establish the superiority of their own values and beliefs, Americans sought representative cultural forms that affirmed their distinctiveness. Supporters of college football asserted that the sport embodied American values at their best, because it required physical toughness and symbolized "manliness, technological superiority, and material affluence" (21). Kemper does not claim that college football during this period

should be interpreted solely in terms of Cold War culture. He concedes that traditional debates over excessive commercialization, academic corruption, faculty control, and subsidies for athletes continued. Yet he insists that what made college football distinctive during the 1950s was the incorporation of Cold War values into debates over the sport's contribution to American society.

The search for a visiting team for the 1962 Rose Bowl game, the most prestigious postseason contest, proved to be an extended and unusually difficult process. The traditional contract for the contest, which automatically matched the best West Coast team against the Big Ten champion, had lapsed and had not yet been renewed by the conference because of internal disagreements among its members. As a result, the search committee launched a national search for a visiting team to meet the host University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) Bruins. Some committee members still favored extending an invitation to the Big Ten champion, Ohio State University, but others believed that the presence of a southern team from either Louisiana State University (LSU) or the University of Alabama would add greater luster to the bowl game. Kemper devotes the bulk of his book to a careful examination of the reaction of administrators, faculty, and fans at each of these four universities, as well as the local and national discourse over their participation.

At Ohio State, many professors disliked the increased commercialization of football and what they felt was institutional overemphasis on the sport. Faculty saw the modern research university as playing an increasingly vital role in American life and viewed football as "a distraction from Cold War priorities" (48). They were also determined to maintain faculty control of athletics, a policy so different from today's reality that its previous existence has been mostly forgotten. To the outrage of Ohio State football fans, the faculty senate voted to reject a Rose Bowl invitation, hoping thereby to reassert the primacy of academics at the university. This action further opened the door for the selection of a team from Dixie. But in the fall of 1961 southern teams came with unexpected baggage—their all-white rosters and the segregation policies of their home states—which disrupted the Cold War rhetoric of a racially egalitarian nation.

The LSU Tigers appeared to be one possible choice for the Rose Bowl. By 1961 Louisiana segregationists had lost some of their political clout, and Tiger fans were anxious to rejoin national sporting culture. As one LSU fan commented: "I'm all for segregation until it interferes with something important like football"

(80)! Yet when Bear Bryant's Alabama squad finished the regular season undefeated, it was the Tide that appeared poised to play in Pasadena. Alabama fans and many other Southerners saw the team's renewed success under Bryant as validation of southern white values including segregation. But a group of UCLA students and *Los Angeles Times* sports writer Jim Murray unexpectedly challenged the Tide's participation, asserting that to accept Alabama would be to endorse "un-American" practices like segregation and racial discrimination. Their stand attracted much support from the national media, which interpreted "Alabama's appearance as an affront to basic American values and ideals" (187). Shocked by this opposition and the possibility of organized protests, Alabama administrators decided to decline a formal invitation, just as Rose Bowl officials, alarmed by calls at UCLA for a student boycott of the game, issued and then quickly withdrew a verbal invitation. In desperation, the search committee finally turned to the University of Minnesota, the Big Ten's second place team, which quickly agreed to participate in the 1962 game.

Kemper has produced a readable and well-researched cultural history of college football in the 1950s and early 1960s. He successfully demonstrates that both supporters and critics of football extensively employed Cold War ideology in praising or opposing football in pursuit of their own agendas. In his emphasis on the 1950s, though, Kemper slights the ideological impact of World War II in redefining racial discrimination in sports as "un-American." At times the narrative becomes somewhat repetitive, especially with frequent references to Americans' anxiety. Nonetheless, by connecting sport history and the cultural history of the 1950s, Kemper makes an important contribution to both fields.

Charles H. Martin

University of Texas at El Paso

Manatee Insanity: Inside the War over Florida's Most Famous Endangered Species. By Craig Pittman. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010. Foreword, illustrations, acknowledgements, notes, bibliography. Index. Pp. xii, 444, \$27.50 cloth.)

Americans' concern with environmental issues in the past half-century has evolved from vague, collective worry to sharpened, personal action. We scolded litterbugs in the 1950s; we shared a tear

with Iron Eyes Cody and tried to keep America beautiful in the '60s; we were alarmed at the effects of DDT on eagles and falcons in the '70s; we feared nuclear waste in the 1980s; we chose paper over plastic in the '90s; and in the 21st century we hold international conferences on climate change while bookshelves sag and the Internet is jammed with jeremiads proclaiming hosts of environmental cataclysms. Over and again, Florida has been in the midst of the debates over solutions. Many who enter those debates and have strong, sincere views about proper responses are unprepared for the complexity and range of obstacles—some resulting from the nature of government bureaucracies, some created by the dialectic of public opinion—they face the moment they undertake to do the right thing. Until now, few books have presented full, historical accounts that trace the labyrinthine paths of attempts to do those right things. Craig Pittman presents a thorough, enjoyable, and moving study of the myriad players involved in the fate of Florida's gentle manatees.

The reasons for praising this book are many, not the least of which is the lesson readers receive in the roles that waterfront dwelling and water recreation have played in Florida's history. Pittman could have made much of how our treatment of manatees serves as a metonymy for the development of Florida in general, but he is much too good a writer to insist on such a simplification, however true. He shows how troubles began with the incorporation of Miami at the end of the 19th century, how a handful of researchers noticed our ill effects upon manatees a half-century later and how the presence of manatees was essential to the marketing of some growing towns. Most of the book, however, is devoted to the events since Bob Graham and Jimmy Buffett created the "Save the Manatee" Committee thirty years ago. As the few smooth, marine beasts continued easing along estuaries to be warm, many rough, political beasts slouched towards Tallahassee to be heard. The array of combatants—some eager, some reluctant—includes a half dozen governors, countless legislators and cabinet members, representatives of federal agencies, local home owners' groups, lobbyists for the fishing industry, developers of condos and marinas, and celebrities Phillipe Cousteau, Rod Serling, a manatee named Snooty, and the ever-present Buffett.

The bewildering threads of this story would have overwhelmed a less careful and less talented writer. Legal suits riding upon subtle statutes and conflicting precedent, questions of public policy

affecting seemingly uninvolved people and marine species, related national issues (support for preserving whales, snail darters, and spotted owls), and the reputation of Florida—is it a vacation paradise where boats and ocean view condos abound or a sanctuary for nature’s innocent nonhumans?—tangled in a confusing and, worse, boring morass. Fortunately for us, this is where Pittman’s experience and skill as a journalist shine. Not only has he sifted through and absorbed stacks of newspaper items, statistics from the Fish and Wildlife Service and similar agencies, and reports from dozens of independent scientists, but he has also conducted numerous personal interviews with the main actors in this complicated drama, all documented in the extensive notes and bibliography. Pittman surely considered the various ways he could have approached this story, and he chose interwoven narratives that personalize the many characters written with a carefully controlled measure of journalistic distance while not aloof. The choice was wise. We witness the fate of Florida’s manatees passing through the hands of squabbling, flesh-and-blood humans whose disputes often have more to do with politics and personalities than with preserving a beloved and iconic beast.

Manatee Insanity is the latest installment of the University Press of Florida’s splendid Florida History and Culture Series edited by Raymond Arsenault and Gary Mormino of the Florida Studies Program at the University of South Florida, St. Petersburg. While this series has covered an astonishing range of topics, each volume offers a distinctive and illuminating perspective on the complex history of the state. Pittman, who is the co-author of a previous volume in the series, demonstrates without doubt that anyone interested in that history will not get a complete picture without understanding the contentious forces deciding our relationship to manatees. Knowing that thousands of these creatures have been slaughtered by powerboats troubles almost everyone. Finding out that proposed solutions—such as reductions in boating speeds, requiring boaters’ licenses, limits on new docks—met with widespread and violent opposition, alarms most. Learning from Craig Pittman that the long, historical view on these issues provides a crucial piece in the sometimes beautiful, sometimes disturbing, but always captivating puzzle that is Florida is enlightening to all.

Real NASCAR: White Lighting, Red Clay, and Big Bill France. By Daniel S. Pierce. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. 360. \$30.00 cloth).

On May 23, 2010, the NASCAR Hall of Fame inducted its first class of honorees. Of the five legendary inductees, four—Bill France, Bill France, Jr., Junior Johnson, and Richard Petty—figure prominently in Daniel Pierce's rollicking and innovative *Real NASCAR: White Lighting, Red Clay and Bill France*. Pierce set out in this work to explain how NASCAR racing went from an activity dominated by moonshiners and outlaws, to one of million-dollar corporate sponsorships and nationwide popularity. His work spans from the 1930s until 1972, covering "NASCAR's history from the earliest days of stock car racing up to the retirement of Big Bill France" (299).

It is a history of remarkable change. Today, NASCAR is one of the world's most successful sports businesses. In contrast, Curtis Turner in 1959 used a phony cashier's check, secured from a "Mafia guy," to finance the completion of the Charlotte Motor Speedway (208). Today, the speedways at Daytona, Bristol, Talladega, and several other NASCAR stops dwarf the United States' largest football stadiums. In 1936, professional stock car racing got its start in Daytona Beach, Florida, racing *on* the beach, with sand flying and spectators wandering up from the surf to avoid paying for tickets. It seems that NASCAR's days of illegal liquor, dirt tracks, and "hell of a fellow" characters are mostly in the past (21). While some would argue that NASCAR today "is but a pale, overly scripted imitation of its much more colorful and spontaneous past," understanding NASCAR's history brings new insight into lives and values of white, working-class, Southern men (296).

The setting for the rise of NASCAR racing was in the Piedmont region of the South. Fortunately, one of the first things that Pierce does in this book is address the foremost question/myth surrounding NASCAR's history: Did NASCAR's earliest racers gain their driving skills and their powerful cars because they were running moonshine down the "Thunder Roads" of the South? Yes, according to Pierce. The author links the illicit alcohol trade and NASCAR unequivocally. "Big" Bill France, the organizer and owner of NASCAR, cooperated with and used bootleggers to help

spread his sport. "It was the men like Joe Littlejohn, Enoch Staley, Charlie Combs, and H. Clay Earles—all connected to illegal liquor at least part of their lives—with whom [France] promoted races, built and owned racetracks, and laid the foundation for what was to become NASCAR," Pierce argues (68).

Pierce deftly organizes his analysis around the biography of Bill France. It was France who had the ambition and business savvy to create a thriving business out of the Piedmont tradition of men embracing speed and daring exploits. Starting as a racecar driver, France turned to promoting races in the 1940s. Through a unique combination of charisma, ambition, and toughness, France emerged out of a crowded field to monopolize stock car racing. By following France, Pierce expands the story far beyond the South and racing to chronicle the rise of a startlingly successful business.

Bill France maneuvered to make NASCAR widely popular, but tightly controlled. He warded off the National Stock Car Racing Association (NSCRA) and several other competing racing circuits. France wooed the leaders of Ford, General Motors, and Chevrolet looking for sponsorship money. Detroit wavered during the 1940s and 50s on the prudence of such a relationship. The "Big Three" at times invested heavily in NASCAR racing teams, while at other times rejecting NASCAR as too cavalier for mainstream American. In growing his business, France also fought with organized labor. Bill France versus Jimmy Hoffa and the Teamsters are among the many surprising juxtapositions in the study. Twice France's drivers tried to form unions to improve racing conditions, purses, and driver benefits. Both times, France crushed the unionizing efforts.

In weaving together this surprisingly broad history, Pierce utilized interviews with drivers and fans, as well as newspaper accounts. He draws selectively upon histories of the South, studies of masculinity, and the relatively few NASCAR studies available. He admits from the outset that he did not have access to many of NASCAR's corporate documents. These are held tightly by the France family. Because, however, Pierce built his study around France and a handful of star drivers, he passed on several other promising avenues of inquiry. Most significantly, Pierce could have done more to explain the role of race and racism in the NASCAR world. He clarifies that NASCAR during the Bill France era appealed primarily to working-class white men. He mentions Confederate flags in the racetrack infield and that Wendell Scott broke barriers in the 1960s as one of the few African-American

drivers racing in NASCAR events. Pierce also asserts that for Scott, "race was an issue and a major one," but he does not explain much beyond that (240). We can assume that racetracks in the South during the 1940s and 1950s were segregated, but Pierce does not tell us for sure. Other questions such as, how was NASCAR received by black men, and how involved were African-Americans in the moonshine business, remain unanswered as well. Addressing these types of questions more specifically seems logical given that the book covers the civil rights era in the South.

Furthermore, Pierce might have situated NASCAR a bit more precisely in the sporting world of the South. Using college football and its icons, such as Paul "Bear" Bryant, as a means of comparison to Bill France and NASCAR would have been helpful. But in sum, these suggestions and the work's shortcomings are minor. Daniel Pierce has written a history that is captivating, insightful, and surprising. The study presents a unique view of white male culture in the South. It charts the rise of one of America's most astonishing business successes. It connects a cast of characters that range from Glen "Fireball" Roberts and Richard Petty to George Wallace, Henry Ford II and Jimmy Carter. And through it all, Pierce's personal enthusiasm for NASCAR provides the work with vivacity that even this non-fan of NASCAR (at least not yet) found refreshing. I enthusiastically recommend this work to scholars and fans alike.

Ryan Swanson

George Mason University

Book Notes

The Highwaymen Murals: Al Black's Concrete Dreams. By Gary Monroe. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009. Pp. 160. Introduction, acknowledgements, 95 color images. \$39.95 cloth.)

Gary Monroe's third book on the Florida Highwaymen captures Al Black's otherwise traditional Highwaymen murals in an unconventional setting. The paintings are on the walls of the Central Florida Reception Center, where Florida prisoners go temporarily while waiting assignment of a permanent location. *Concrete Dreams* is a story of desperation channeled into positivity with undertones of the American Dream. It tells Black's story as a Highwayman, how he became a prisoner, why he was placed in the CFRC while most inmates only pass through, and how he was permitted to paint its walls. Moreover, *Concrete Dreams* adds to the larger history of the Highwaymen. Similar to the Highwaymen's success as African-American artists in Jim Crow Florida, painting idyllic but accessible landscapes onto which "viewers could so easily project their aspirations," (2) both inmates and prison workers look to the murals for serenity, inspiration, and hope for a better future among other things.

Because the location of the paintings is inextricably linked to the art itself, Monroe chose not to present "these murals in isolation, as fine arts paintings are typically photographed," but "opted to place them in the context of their settings" (ii). Indeed, Monroe's photographs convey the striking contrast between the warmth and natural beauty of the paintings and their cold, clinical surroundings. A white cinderblock wall is colored by a misty blue and green river scene; underneath are folding tables, a folding chair, and blankets stacked against the wall. Another painting shows a pathway overlooking a body of water at sunset, while next to it is a poster that reads, "Hepatitis C Doesn't Discriminate."

Concrete Dreams is a poignant and inspiring visual experience that speaks to the impact of art on many different levels. The book is a valuable addition to the documentation on the Highwaymen and Florida art, because it may be the only opportunity for those outside the prison to view the murals both today and in the future. Aside from the fact that the paintings are located in a prison, the fate of the paintings is uncertain due to possible controversy over ownership as well as preservation issues.

Jamie Desena

University of Central Florida

Selling the Sunshine State: A Celebration of Florida Tourism Advertising.

By Tim Hollis. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008. Pp. 338. Introduction, bibliography, credits, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

Tim Hollis offers a vibrant collection of vintage Florida tourism ads originating from the pre-Disney years spanning the 1920s to the 1970s. Hollis, who himself came to Florida as a young boy vacationing with his family (drawn by the appeal of Florida tourism ads in the 1960s), has also written other histories of tourism advertising. In *Selling the Sunshine State*, he allows the images tell their own story, guiding the reader through the period with brief and entertaining captions. Hollis maintains that, "There have been many fine histories of Florida's tourism industry...but their illustrations have always been of secondary importance to the text" (1). Allowing the images to have primary importance is also a testament to the timelessness of the era's advertising, which many still find appealing today. As Hollis notes, when children of today see Florida tourism ads from yesteryear they often ask, "'Can we still go there?'" (2).

This nostalgic collection includes postcards, maps, photos, newspaper ads, and more. The contents are organized into an introduction and seven regions, which were originally designated for the 1966 state tourism publication at a time when roadside attractions were still thriving. The attractions presented include commonly known Florida sights such as oranges, floral gardens, flamingos, porpoises, beaches, and of course, bathing-beauties. In addition, Hollis includes ads for many long lost attractions of the era, such as Goofy Golf of Panama City, the orange groves of Clermont, and Storyland of Pompano Beach. Ads for attractions that began during the era and still exist today, such as Busch Gardens, Silver Springs, and the Miami Seaquarium, are also displayed.

Tourists who visited Florida during the era and current residents of the state will be delighted with "the most elaborate Florida

vacation scrapbook ever assembled" (3). In addition, those interested in the history of marketing and advertising, as well as those interested in tourism history might find the book useful. Because women are shown in many of the ads to help sell the attractions, the book may also be of interest to scholars of women's studies.

Jamie Desena

University of Central Florida

Call Her Blessed. By Juliene Berk. (New York: RJ Communications, 2007. Images, Glossary of Yiddish Words. Pp. 7-473. \$24.50 paper).

Juliene Berk, a Jacksonville native and New York author, has provided readers with a warm remembrance of turn-of-the century Jewish life. In *Call Her Blessed*, she draws upon her mother's 67-page memoir to convey the vitality of Jewish immigrant life in the Sunshine State. Her odyssey toward the final book project began with a simple question she posed to her mother, Lara: "Tell me about when you were a little girl." Born in Roumania in 1899, Lara lived with her aunt and uncle in Stanislav, Austria, from age eight to fifteen. Her immediate family began its migration to America in 1899, when her brother Itzick traveled to Key West to join his Aunt and Uncle and escape the draft into the military service; other brothers would follow. Lara made the trans-Atlantic voyage when she was seventeen.

Berk allows the memoir to carry the story and fleshes out the material with background information and clarification of otherwise confusing references. The result is an intensely personal story, but one that demonstrates the intersection of individual experience with larger national and international events. For example, Lara and her husband Bercu and their children were in Europe at the outbreak of World War I and experienced some difficulty in returning to their home in Jacksonville. War, disease, economic prosperity and collapse figured into the memoir. Lara was a close observer of family and community life. Through the skill of her daughter, the reader is drawn into the history of Jacksonville's Jewish community and Lara Berk's daily experiences as mother, wife, and entrepreneur.

The book is enhanced by dozens of photographs that span the era from 1900 to the 1940s. Personal and engaging, the images reinforce the family's struggles and triumphs and provide glimpses of both Europe and Jacksonville. For historians of the city, the transformation of the business and residential areas are evident in the numerous views of stores, houses, and streets.

General readers and local historians will find this book a worthwhile investment.

End Notes

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

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

Recent broadcasts of *Florida Frontiers* have included visits to the Fort Lauderdale History Center, the Historic State Capitol Building, the Ponce Inlet Light Station, and Historic Ybor City. Profiles of Stetson Kennedy, Patrick Smith, Clyde Butcher and Betty Mae Jumper have been featured. The 450th anniversary of the DeLuna expedition, the 75th anniversary of the Winter Park Bach Festival, the 50th anniversary of Jacksonville's Ax Handle Saturday, and the 25th anniversary of the Mosquito Beaters Annual Gathering have been documented. Upcoming programs will include discussions about religion in Florida with Michael Gannon, reflections on the natural environment of Florida in the works of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings and Marjorie Stoneman Douglas, a dramatic portrayal of Pedro Menendez, and poetry from the Second Seminole Indian War.

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 and Sundays at 4:00 pm.; 88.1 WUWF Pensacola, Thursdays at 5:30 p.m.; 89.9 WJCT Jacksonville, Mondays at 6:30 pm; 89.5 WFIT Melbourne, Sundays at 7:00 a.m.; and 88.9 WQCS (HD2) Ft. Pierce, Wednesdays at 9:00 a.m. Additional public radio stations are expected to add *Florida Frontiers* to their schedules later in 2010. 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).

Dr. Derrick E. White, on his article "From Desegregation to Integration: Race, Football, and 'Dixie' at the University of Florida," Volume 88, no. 4 (Spring, 2010).

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.

CENTER FOR FLORIDA HISTORY LECTURE SERIES, 2010-2011

September 24 **Douglas Brinkley**, professor of history, Rice University

"Saving Wild Florida: From John James Audubon to Barack Obama"

What would Roosevelt think? That's the question being posed by presidential historian Douglas Brinkley, who in 2009 published *Wilderness Warrior*, a biography that focuses on Theodore

Roosevelt's pioneering crusade to create national parks and preserve environmental havens such as the Everglades. President Roosevelt, an avid bird-watcher, naturalist, and founding father of America's conservation movement, camped and fished along the very Gulf Coast that is now struggling with the after-effects of the April 20 Deepwater Horizon oil spill.

Brinkley, dubbed by *The Chicago Tribune* as "America's new past master," is a professor of history at Rice University and a contributing editor at *Vanity Fair*. A prolific and widely acclaimed author, six of his books have been selected as *New York Times* Notable Books of the Year, and his 2007 book *The Great Deluge*, the story of Hurricane Katrina, won the Robert F. Kennedy Book Award. This summer he published *Witness to America*, a newly updated collection of 150 first-hand accounts of American history from the Revolutionary War to present. He holds a bachelor's degree from Ohio State University, and a master's and Ph.D. from Georgetown University.

October 14

Carlton Ward, Jr., photographer

"Florida Cowboys: Keepers of the Last Frontier"

Carlton Ward, Jr., knows the lay of the land. An eighth-generation Floridian from a pioneering ranching family, Ward has built a career out of capturing images of natural Florida to call attention to conservation issues in the state. Most recently, he has documented Florida's ranches and the people who work on them for his book, *Florida Cowboys: Keepers of the Last Frontier*.

An ecologist by training, he wrote *Conservation Photography*, the first thesis on the emerging field, while he was in graduate school. His first book, *The Edge of Africa*, grew out of a three-year project with the Smithsonian Institution and received international acclaim. Ward regularly produces stories for newspapers and magazines, including *Smithsonian*, *GEO*, *National Wildlife*, *Africa Geographic*, *Nature Conservancy*, and *Outdoor Photographer*. Between international assignments, he is focused on Florida conservation issues and has begun several long-term projects celebrating the state's vanishing natural heritage. He is a founding member of the International League of Conservation Photographers and founded the Legacy Institute for Nature & Culture in 2004 to promote Florida conservation through science and art.

November 4**Dale Gyure**, associate professor of architecture, Lawrence Technological University*"Frank Lloyd Wright and Florida Southern College"*

Florida Southern College is one of the most interesting and autobiographical designs ever produced by America's most renowned architect, Frank Lloyd Wright. In creating this remarkable ensemble of buildings – the world's largest single-site collection of Mr. Wright's work – he drew upon his interest in nature, his progressive education, and his passionate belief in democracy. The result is a unique and unified vision of modern, Floridian architecture.

Dale Allen Gyure, an architectural historian, has written the first in-depth study of Mr. Wright's only campus, *Frank Lloyd Wright's Florida Southern College*, which publishes in October 2010. Gyure teaches architectural history at Lawrence Technological University and historic preservation at Goucher College. His research focuses on American architecture of the 19th and 20th centuries, particularly the intersections of architecture, education, and society, and his work has been widely published. Before earning his Ph.D. from the University of Virginia, Gyure practiced law in Tampa. In 2000, he received the Carter Manny Award for the year's best dissertation in architectural history. His second book, *The Chicago Schoolhouse, 1856-2006: High School Architecture and Educational Reform*, will be published in 2011.

January 13**Gary Noesner**, retired FBI negotiator*"Calm, Creative Communications in Crisis: My Life as an FBI Hostage Negotiator"*

Gary Noesner's world is hard to imagine for most of us. In 30 years with the FBI, the last 10 as chief of its Crisis Negotiation Unit, Critical Incident Response Group, he led law enforcement's response to prison riots, right-wing militia standoffs, religious zealot sieges, terrorist embassy takeovers, airplane hijackings, and overseas kidnappings involving American citizens.

In September 2010, he published *Stalling for Time*, a memoir about his involvement in some of the nation's most high-profile FBI cases from the last three decades, including the hijacking of the *Achille Lauro* cruise ship; the Branch Davidian siege in Waco, Texas; and the Washington, D.C., sniper case. Noesner grew up in

Florida and graduated from Florida Southern College before going to Quantico to pursue his dream of becoming an FBI agent. He retired from the FBI in 2003 and since has served as a senior vice president with Control Risks, an international risk consultant. He has appeared on television documentaries produced by A&E, the History Channel, Discovery, TLC, and National Geographic. He is the founder of the National Council of Negotiation Associations.

February 10

Canter Brown, Jr., executive vice president and chief legal officer, Fort Valley (Ga.) State University

"I Can't Believe All That Happened in Polk County! Are You Sure?"

On the occasion of Polk County's 150th anniversary, native son Canter Brown, Jr., will tell tales of some of the extraordinary people, events, and things in the county's history. He promises to name some of the county's more colorful saints and scoundrels while underscoring the diversity of Polk's experience. Without a doubt, his hometown of Fort Meade will come into play, too.

One of Florida's leading historians, Brown holds a B.A., J.D., and Ph.D. from Florida State University. He has written extensively on Florida and Southern history, including 10 books. Two titles were widely praised: *Florida's Peace River Frontier* earned him the Florida Historical Society's Rembert W. Patrick Award, and *Ossian Bingley Hart: Florida's Loyalist Reconstruction Governor* was given a Certificate of Commendation by the American Association of State and Local History. He has written a two-volume history of Polk County: *In the Midst of All That Makes Life Worth Living: Polk County to 1940* and *None Could Have Richer Memories: Polk County Since 1940*.

March 10

Steven Noll, senior lecturer in history, University of Florida and **David Tegeder**, associate professor of history, Santa Fe College

"Ditch of Dreams: The Cross-Florida Barge Canal and the Struggle for Florida's Future"

For centuries, men dreamed of cutting a canal across the Florida peninsula. Intended to reduce shipping times, it was championed in the early 20th century as a way to make the mostly rural

state a center of national commerce and trade. With federal funding, work on the Cross Florida Barge Canal began in the 1930s, but the canal quickly became a lightning rod for controversy, and pressure from environmental citizen activists forced it to a halt in 1971. Steven Noll and David Tegeder tell the complex story of competing interests amid the changing political landscape of modern Florida in their book, *The Ditch of Dreams*, which received the Florida Historical Society's 2010 Rembert Patrick Award for a scholarly book on a Florida history topic.

Noll holds a Ph.D. in American history from the University of Florida, an M.A. and M.Ed. from the University of Florida, and a B.A. from the College of William and Mary. Prior to *Ditch of Dreams*, he published two other books, *Mental Retardation in America* and *Feeble Minded in our Midst*, and numerous articles.

Tegeder holds a Ph.D. in U.S. Southern history and M.A. in U.S. history from the University of Florida, and a B.A. from the University of Central Florida. His research interests include the history of Southern race and labor relations and environmental history, and he has published and presented widely on these topics.

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**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).

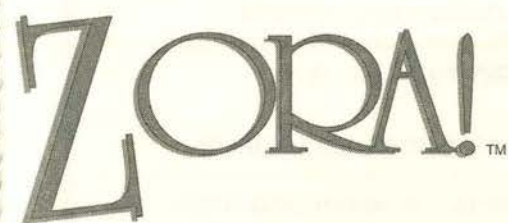
The first page should be headed by the title without the author's name. Author identification should be avoided throughout the manuscript. On a separate sheet of paper, please provide the author's name, institutional title or connection, or place of residence, and acknowledgements. Citations should be single-spaced footnotes, numbered consecutively, and in accordance with the *Chicago Manual of Style*.

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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.



CALL FOR ACADEMIC PAPERS

Invitation:

Scholars and other interested parties are invited to submit papers for the 2012 Zora Neale Hurston Festival of the Arts and Humanities (January 22 – 30). The Festival theme is “The Rise of Community: The Town of Eatonville Models 125 Years of Self-Governance.”

The historic Eatonville community observes its 125th anniversary on August 18, 2012. Known as the oldest incorporated African American municipality in the United States, Eatonville is emblematic of the “American race colony” movement, the term given to independent planned communities intentionally comprised of persons of African descent and which first appeared on the American scene during the 19th century. Zora Neale Hurston’s Eatonville has survived in the face of various adversities. The committee welcomes papers that explore community formation, survival, and development in diverse communities within the United States, the African diaspora, and beyond.

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Hurston Papers 2012

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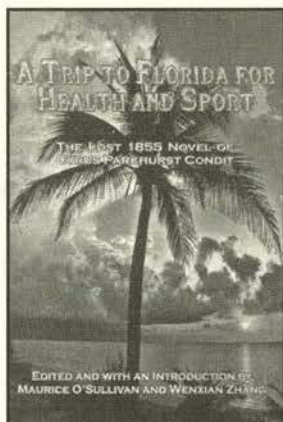
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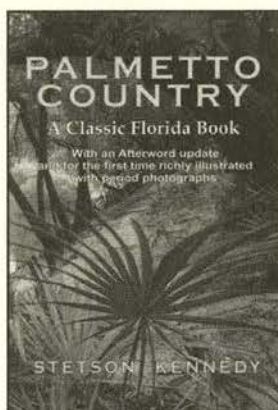
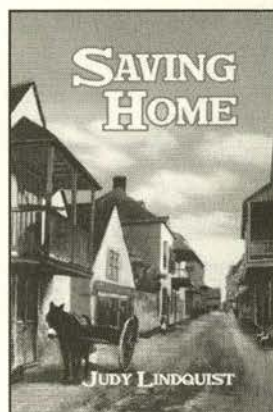
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The Florida Historical Society, successor, 1902
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Created in St. Augustine in 1856, The Florida Historical Society is the oldest existing cultural organization in the state, and Florida's only state-wide historical society. The Society is dedicated to preserving Florida's past through the collection and archival maintenance of historical documents and photographs, the publication of scholarly research on Florida history, and educating the public about Florida history through a variety of public history and historic preservation projects. We publish scholarly research in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and through the Florida Historical Society Press. *Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society* is broadcast on public radio stations throughout the state and is archived on our web site. The Florida Historical Society headquarters are located at the Library of Florida History in historic Cocoa Village. The Florida Historical Society manages the Historic Rossetter House Museum and the Print Shoppe Book Store.

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