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* * * To explore the field of Florida history, to seek and gather up the ancient chronicles in which its annals are contained, to retain the legendary lore which may yet throw light upon the past, to trace its monuments and remains, to elucidate what has been written to disprove the false and support the true, to do justice to the men who have figured in the olden time, to keep and preserve all that is known in trust for those who are to come after us, to increase and extend the knowledge of our history, and to teach our children that first essential knowledge, the history of our State, are objects well worthy of our best efforts. To accomplish these ends, we have organized the Historical Society of Florida.

GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS

Saint Augustine, April, 1857.

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STATE-SUPPORTED HIGHER EDUCATION AMONG NEGROES IN THE STATE OF FLORIDA

by LEEDELL W. NEYLAND

STATE-SUPPORTED HIGHER EDUCATION among Negroes in Florida had its beginning during the decade of the 1880's. The initial step in this new educational venture was taken by Governor William D. Bloxham who, during his first administration, vigorously set forth a threefold economic and social program. In his inaugural address he declared that in order to promote the interest, welfare, and prosperity of the state, "we must invite a healthy immigration; develop our natural resources by securing proper transportation; and educate the rising generation."¹ He promulgated this combination as "the three links in a grand chain of progress upon which we can confidently rely for our future growth and prosperity."²

During his four years in office, 1881-1885, Governor Bloxham assiduously endeavored to implement his inaugural pledges. Referring to education, he stated in his annual message on January 2, 1883, "There is no subject more important than popular education. . . . Universal suffrage demands universal education as its protector, for while the ballot is a most potent weapon, when wielded by ignorance, there is none more dangerous to free government."³ Contending that ignorance and illiteracy were burdens on the state and threats to sound democratic government, he admonished the legislature to rid the state of these by the passage of appropriate educational laws.

On March 5, 1883, the legislature enacted a bill which was distinguished for its liberality toward education for both whites and Negroes. Among other things, it authorized the first appropriation of \$4,000 annually for teachers' institutes and normal schools for both races. The first normal schools for colored teachers went into operation in 1884, just a few months after

1. "Inaugural Address," *Florida House Journal* (1881), 8.

2. *Ibid.*

3. "Governor's Message," *Florida Senate Journal* (1883), 29-30.

Albert J. Russell became state superintendent of public instruction. These schools were conducted in the Lincoln Academy in Tallahassee and the Union Academy in Gainesville during the summer months of July and August. In the first year there was a total attendance at the two schools of ninety-four teachers, fifty-one of whom received certificates to teach, eleven of which were second-grade and forty third-grade certificates. The next two years showed substantial increases in both enrollment and attendance. The normal school at Gainesville reported forty-nine students for 1885, and seventy for 1886; and, at Tallahassee, forty-seven for 1885, and seventy-one for 1886. In the three years of operation, the Negro normal schools reported a total of 331 students.⁴ These students studied under white and Negro teachers, including W. N. Sheats, J. C. Waters, H. N. Felkel, and H. E. Graham. In appraising the work of the schools, Superintendent Russell wrote: "We have labored to make these Normal Schools absolutely practical in every sense, laboring to teach these *teachers how to teach* the children under their care, to inspire them with a proper ambition, and to impress them with the importance of the work in which they are engaged."⁵ A high quality of academic performance was encouraged and "those only were given certificates . . . who passed the examination required, fully and up to the mark."⁶

Florida's growing Negro population and the emphasis being placed on education by white and Negro leaders revealed the need for additional schools and better trained teachers. Governor E. A. Perry, in 1887, announced, ". . . an increased interest was manifested in these schools in 1886, and much more benefit [was] derived from them [than] in the year preceding."⁷

Although Negro normal schools operating prior to 1886, offered only meager opportunities, since they offered work for only two months a year and did not have a definite site or structure, they did represent the beginnings of state-supported higher education for Negroes in Florida. Moreover, they demonstrated

4. *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1885-1889* in *Florida House Journal* (1887), Appendix, 8.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. "Message of the Governor," *Florida House Journal* (1887), 17.

the need for a permanent institution dedicated to the task of providing advanced training for Negro teachers in Florida.

Pursuant to Section 14, Article XII, of the Florida Constitution of 1885, providing for the establishment, maintenance, and management of two normal schools, the legislature took the first steps toward the implementation of this provision in April 1887.⁸ Under the leadership of Representative J. Mason, Thomas V. Gibbs (a Negro), C. F. A. Bielby, W. M. Blitch, and Senator A. R. Jones, a law as enacted May 31, establishing a normal school for whites and another for Negroes. This law provided that the sum of \$8,000 be appropriated for each school for 1887 and 1888, and that a principal and two assistants would be responsible for operating each institution. While this law antedates the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision of 1896, the Florida Negro and white normal schools began, according to Section 4, within a "separate-but-equal" framework. The law stipulated "that a Normal School for colored teachers be . . . established at Tallahassee, Leon County, similar in all respects [to] the Normal School for the white teachers, and subject to the supervision and direction of the State Board of Education, and the same amount to be appropriated to meet the current expense of the said Normal School for colored teachers."⁹

The State Normal College for Negroes began Monday, October 3, 1887, with a total of fifteen students enrolled. The students were taught in an unpretentious frame building described by Superintendent of Public Instruction Russell as "a simple Grecian temple, cruciform in shape, having three distinct parts for study and recitation."¹⁰ The building was equipped with fifty wooden desks, each costing \$2.90; charts, maps, globes, and dictionaries, totalling \$61.17. These instructional aids were bought jointly with the white State Normal College, and both schools received identical items.¹¹

From 1887 to 1949, the history of state-supported higher education for Negroes in Florida was synonymous with the evo-

8. *Florida House Journal* (1887), 184.

9. *Laws of Florida* (1887), 37.

10. *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1887*, in *Florida House Journal* (1889), Appendix, 13.

11. *Minutes of the State Board of Education*, September 24, 1887, 196. (Manuscript copy in the Office of the State Board of Education, Tallahassee.)

lution of Florida A. and M. University since the state supported only this one Negro institution of higher learning during the period. Beginning as a normal school for colored students, it evolved into a four-year college in 1909, and a university in 1953.¹² Thus, higher education among Negroes in Florida may be studied in four separate phases: normal school, 1887-1909; four-year college, 1909-1953; university since 1953; and the emerging junior college since 1948.

The first president of the State Normal College for Negroes was Thomas DeSaille Tucker, a native of Sherbro, Sierre Leone, Africa, and a graduate of Oberlin College. Thomas Van Renssalaer Gibbs, former member of the Florida Legislature, served as assistant instructor or "vice-president." Gibbs had also attended Oberlin, but was never graduated.

In reality, the college was not a normal school to begin with. The insufficient educational background of most of the applicants made it essential that primary emphasis be placed on preparatory courses, and, accordingly, the preparatory department "gave instruction in elements of algebra and Latin and a thorough review of the common branches in addition to music, drawing, book-keeping, etc." The normal courses for the few who qualified, consisted of Latin, higher mathematics, natural, mental and moral philosophy, physiology, astronomy, general history, rhetoric, and pedagogy.¹³

The first college building was located on a hill in the western

12. The name of the state-supported institution of higher learning underwent several official and unofficial changes. The law creating the normal schools referred to the school for Negroes as the Normal School for colored teachers. In the official minutes of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and in early publications of the school, the name was listed as State Normal College for Colored Students. In 1890, Superintendent Russell used the name State Normal and Industrial College for Negroes. In 1901, the name was again changed to State Normal and Industrial School for Negroes. In 1905, when the school was placed under the Board of Control, Chapter 5384, Sec. 19 of the *Laws of Florida* referred to it as the Colored Normal School. The name, Colored Normal School was rarely used on official school publications or stationery, but simply placed in small print and in parenthesis under State Normal and Industrial School. In 1950, the name was changed to Florida A. and M. College, and, in 1953, it became Florida A. and M. University.

13. *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1889*, in *Florida House Journal, Part Two, Executive Documents* (1891), 16.

section of Tallahassee, which is now part of the Florida State University campus. A lack of job opportunities and a shortage of proper living accommodations in Tallahassee seriously affected enrollment from the first. President Tucker contended that "in order that students may be drawn to the institution without misgivings on the part of patrons relative to their habits and morals while away from home, and also to enable indigent students to partly defray their expenses by manual labor, the college should be removed into the country and located on about a thirty-acre piece of land and supplied with dormitory buildings."¹⁴ The State Board of Education accepted this recommendation, and, in 1890, moved the college to Highwood, a forty-nine acre site south of the city. During this same year, the college became a recipient of funds under provisions of the Morrill Act of 1890. The State Board of Education, in a resolution adopted August 30, 1890, divided the funds between the normal college and the Florida Agricultural College at Lake City.¹⁵

Growth at the Highwood site was relatively slow during the first decade, partly because of inadequate state appropriations, but also because of the conflict of philosophies of Negro education involving Tucker and State Superintendent of Public Instruction William N. Sheats. Of the \$24,000 appropriated to the institution for the biennium ending June 30, 1900, (the largest biennial appropriation to date), only \$5,565 came from the state. In the conflict over Negro education, Tucker held that a sound literary foundation was essential for all students, while Sheats maintained that practical agricultural and mechanical experiences should be emphasized. The conflict erupted in 1900, when Sheats submitted sixteen charges against Tucker's administration to the State Board of Education and asked for his dismissal. Tucker was described as being "inert," and was accused of permitting the school to become "affected with dry rot," showing "personal favoritism," and providing training "void of the results of the kind for which the money was furnished."¹⁶ Tucker defended himself, but the board sided with Sheats, and, on August 10, 1901, the president was dismissed. He was replaced

14. *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1888, Florida House Journal* (1889), 7-8.

15. *Minutes of the State Board of Education*, August 30, 1890, 229-30.

16. *Ibid.*, 1901, 276-78.

by Nathan B. Young, a graduate of Oberlin College and professor at Georgia State College, who was to serve as president for twenty-two years.

During the thirteen years that Tucker was president, the college had grown from one unpretentious frame structure in 1887, to eight sizable buildings in 1901; the enrollment had increased from fifteen to 159 students who were taught by fourteen teachers. Tucker had stimulated a high quality of intellectual aspiration on the part of his students. Rowland H. Rerick in *Memoirs of Florida* described him as "an able and intelligent man, of excellent character and notable executive ability and an admirable influence upon the students."¹⁷

When Young became president in 1901, the need for Negro teachers in Florida was more acute than ever. At the close of the century, Florida reported 2,443 common schools, a school population of 161,428-93,351 of whom were white and 68,077 Negro. The actual enrollment was 108,874 - 67,007 white and 41,797 Negro.¹⁸ Because of the growing need, the state had begun making larger appropriations to the teacher training institutions. During Young's first year, his institution received \$19,-601.66, an increase of \$5,994.70 over the preceding year.

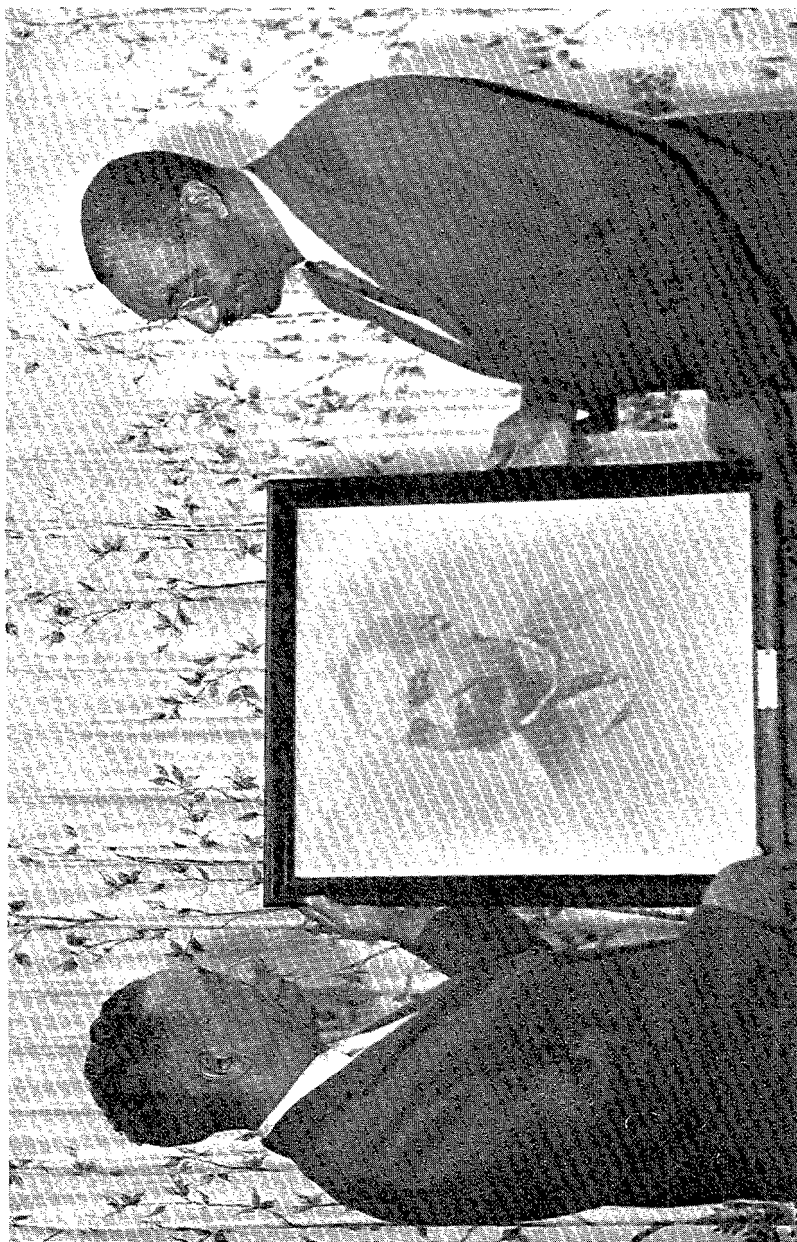
Young reorganized the curriculum so as to keep a proper balance among its three-fold mission - normal, agricultural, and mechanical. His plan, he said, "is to send into the Negro schools of the State properly trained teachers; to the farms and shops of the State well-equipped artisans; and to the State at large, intelligent, law-abiding and thrifty citizens."¹⁹ A military training program was instituted in 1904, and Farmers Institutes and special schools for classroom teachers were held at frequent intervals.

To facilitate more effective operation of state-supported institutions of higher learning, the legislature, in 1905, passed the Buckman Act which set up a five-man Board of Control to manage the two white colleges and the Colored Normal School. In 1909, the Board of Control recommended that the legislature change the name of the Colored Normal School to Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes "because its present

17. Rowland H. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida* (Atlanta, 1902), 372.

18. *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1900, 7-8.

19. *Ibid.*, 1902, 210.



President George W. Gore, Jr. and Dean H. Manning Efferson view a portrait of Thomas De Saille Tucker, first president of Florida A. and M. (courtesy of University of Florida Press).

name is misleading. . . . The name suggested, in our judgment, would more accurately describe the character of the institution.”²⁰ The legislature accepted the board’s recommendation,²¹ and the institution now became a four-year, degree-granting college, offering two extended normal school programs of study—normal and scientific. The latter led to the bachelor of science degree. However, due to substandard requirements, the validity of this and other degrees granted prior to 1919, was seriously questioned. By 1920, the standards had been raised to an acceptable status for the granting of *bona fide* bachelor degrees.

Increasingly, both white and Negro Florida teachers saw the need of working not only toward state certification but toward eventual graduation from college with a degree. Progress toward this goal was made easier when, in 1913, the legislature passed a Summer School Act requiring state-supported institutions of higher learning to operate summer school for a period of at least eight weeks annually. For the years 1913 and 1914, \$4,000 annually was appropriated for Florida A. and M., with a similar amount for the maintenance of a summer school for white students. The law stated: “All work performed at the said summer schools shall be of such character as to entitle the students doing the same to collegiate, normal or professional credit therefor, and may be applied toward making a degree.”²²

In addition to teacher training, other phases of the college program also made progress during these early years. The agricultural department added mid-winter institutes and year-end conferences for farmers and other interested persons to its program. Furthermore, the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 made it possible for the college to offer instruction through demonstration work in agriculture and home economics. Officially, these activities were connected with the state extension work in agriculture and home economics located at the University of Florida in Gainesville and the Florida State College for Women in Tallahassee. The Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 provided for the promotion of training in agriculture, trades and industries, commerce, and the teaching of vocational subjects. Thus, students not desiring

20. *Report of the Board of Control of the State Educational Institutions of Florida, 1907-1909*, 11-12.

21. *Laws of Florida* (1909), 69.

22. *Ibid.* (1913), 324.

a degree could follow two-year courses leading to certification in either agriculture or mechanical arts.

In 1911, a college hospital was constructed which strengthened the nurse training department. With the assistance of small sums from the John F. Slater Foundation, granted annually from 1913 to 1922, the hospital became a twenty-five bed facility with increased training opportunities for the students. President Young's tenure ended at the close of the 1922-1923 session, and a report made at the time showed the growth in higher education for Negroes. Since 1887, 474 students had graduated from the college, and for the more than 12,000 students who had registered during the first thirty-five years, the cost to the state was \$267,018.40.²³

After Young's resignation, Florida A. and M. underwent a hectic year of turmoil and near chaos under the administration of Acting President William H. A. Howard. The 1923-1924 session witnessed the loss of three major buildings by fires of mysterious origins, the mass resignation of over one-third of the faculty, and extremely low morale on the part of the student body and alumni. These conditions led to the forced resignation of Howard and to the appointment of Dr. J. R. E. Lee, Sr., as president in 1924.

The college at that time consisted of fifteen predominantly wooden buildings located on 250 acres of land. President Lee realized that if Florida F. and M. was to grow with any appreciable rapidity, it could not depend entirely on state appropriations, but must seek financial assistance from other sources. Negotiations were already underway with philanthropic organizations like the General Education Board and the Rosenwald Fund, when the Board of Control notified Lee in March 1925, that after April 30, "all work at the institution was to be discontinued for the remainder of the term except the administrative departments and the field work of the agricultural department, unless, however, before the first day of May the legislature appropriates funds to continue the institution for the remainder of the term, or such additional funds are provided by the other means. . . ." 24

23. *Report of the Board of Control, 1922*, 303.

24. *Minutes of the Board of Control, 1925, Book Four*, 493-94. (Manuscript copy in the Office of the Board of Control, Tallahassee.)

The legislature failed to vote the funds, but the General Education Board gave \$5,000, which enabled the college to keep all departments open and to complete the year as planned. This initial gift by the General Education Board was only the beginning of a cordial and beneficent relationship, for later in the same year, President Lee announced a contribution of \$100,000 to be used toward the construction of a \$250,000 auditorium-administration building. Additional gifts, totaling \$78,000, were given in 1927, which further stimulated building on the campus. The legislature, in 1925, appropriated \$100,000 to erect the first brick dormitory on the campus. During the first nine years of Lee's administration, according to college records, the institution received a total income of \$3,517,333: \$1,993,439 from the state; \$200,000 from Federal funds; \$730,439 from student board and fees; \$92,065 from sales and services; \$278,701 from miscellaneous income; \$178,632 from the General Education Board; and, \$44,000 from the Rosenwald Fund.²⁵

The depression of the 1930's seriously hampered Florida A. and M.'s expansion program. No major buildings were erected between 1932 and 1938. In the latter year, however, the Federal Public Works Administration authorized \$367,282 for the erection of two dormitories—one for men and another for women. Along with the physical expansion, the college, in 1935, received an "A" rating, the highest possible accreditation from the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.²⁶

When President Lee died on April 6, 1944, there was much justification for describing his twenty-year administration as the "golden era" in the history of Florida A. and M. From a plant consisting of fifteen buildings valued at less than \$150,000 in 1924, the campus, by 1944, had forty-eight structures valued at \$1,161,537. There were 386.06 acres of campus and farm land, of which 85.06 were specifically designated as campus.

Over the years there had been a proliferation of academic departments, special courses of study, and the inauguration, in 1925, of extension courses. The college departments had increased enrollment from seventy-one students in 1924, to 812

25. Leedell W. Neyland, "The Educational Leadership of J. R. E. Lee," *Negro History Bulletin*, IV (January, 1962), 76.

26. Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes, *Bulletins*, 1931-1935, *et passim*.

in 1944, and the faculty and staff increased from thirty-six to 122. Many of the faculty held advanced degrees and others were studying at leading universities. The influence of the college was reflected in ministers conferences, mid-wives institutes, New Farmers and 4-H conferences, and other services designed to make Florida A. and M. "a college of the people."

Following Lee's death, the Board of Control appointed the aged Jubie B. Bragg acting president until a new president could be elected. After nearly a five-month search, the choice fell upon thirty-three year old Dr. William H. Gray, Jr., a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and former president of the Florida Normal and Industrial College in St. Augustine. During the first four years of his administration, the physical plant of Florida A. and M. practically doubled in size and it tripled in value. At the end of the fiscal year 1944, the forty-eight structures on campus were valued at \$1,161,537.41; at the end of the fiscal year 1948, the number of buildings had decreased to forty-four, but the overall value had increased to \$3,467,035. Two years later there were forty-five buildings valued at \$5,326,498.84.²⁷ In commenting on this expansion, President Gray said: "The far-reaching results of such a building program may be envisioned in the anticipated outcome of greatly increased industrial efficiency, educational awareness, and social consciousness among Negroes of Florida. A grateful Negro population is confident that these new standards will enable their group to keep pace with the progressive trends of the state."²⁸ Gray utilized these new facilities to increase the college's educational activities, including a graduate program in 1945, and the initiation of a Reserve Officers' Training Corps in the fall of 1948.

The physical expansion and the proliferation of graduate and professional programs at Florida A. and M. in the years since World War II cannot be attributed entirely to administrative sagacity. It was mainly because the "New Negro" needed and wanted improved educational opportunities as he moved rapidly toward political and economic equality. To forestall or anticipate

27. Leedell W. Neyland and John W. Riley, *The History of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University* (Gainesville, 1963), 178. This volume contains a discussion of higher education among Negroes in Florida, excluding the development of junior colleges.

28. *Ibid.*, 182.

demands by Negroes for admission to graduate and professional schools at the University of Florida or Florida State University, the State Board of Education and the Board of Control sought alternatives consistent with Florida's legal pattern of separate-but-equal educational facilities for the races. Regional education, out-of-state scholarships, a Division of Graduate Studies at Florida A. and M., and the elevation of the college to full university status were the results.

At a meeting of the college executive committee, April 2, 1945, President Gray announced that the Board of Control "had expressed willingness to go into graduate work at the college and would ask for an appropriation from the legislature to initiate this activity."²⁹ The graduate program began in the summer of 1945 with two curriculums: one leading to the master of science in education degree and the other, based on interest and need, leading to a post-graduate certificate without the masters degree.

Although Florida did not make any provisions for graduate study for Negroes outside the field of education prior to 1947, approximately forty-one graduate and professional fields were offered at the University of Florida and twenty-one were available at Florida State University.³⁰ As a result, President Gray proposed an out-of-state scholarship program "to provide educational opportunities to Negro students which are not given at Florida A. and M. College, but which are provided at state-supported universities for whites."³¹ His proposal was accepted by the Board of Control and \$7,000 was allocated for 1946-1947. The first five years the funds were administered by the university; since 1953 they have been administered by the Board of Control. From 1947 through 1963, the out-of-state scholarship program disbursed \$753,280.57 to support 5,636 separate grants.³²

29. *Ibid.*, 184.

30. William H. Gray, "Recommendation of an Out-of-State Scholarship Fund for Negroes in Florida," *Journal of Negro Education*, XVI (Fall, 1947), 604-605.

31. *Ibid.*

32. Data supplied by Out-of-State Aid Section, Board of Control of Florida, February 17, 1964. The number of grants should not be taken to indicate the number of individuals receiving aid. There is considerable duplication of individuals because of the methods of administration which requires a new application for each school term for which aid is requested. For example, a student attending an out-of-state institution for four academic years would receive eight grants provided he applied and qualified for aid in each term.

The Southern Regional Education Board also provided separate professional training for Negroes. For each Florida student who attends a regional school of medicine under the auspices of the board, Florida pays the sum of \$2,250 a year to the institution to help defray overhead and operating costs. For each dental or veterinary student, the state pays \$1,500 a year. The student is responsible for his own fees, tuition, and room and board, but he is exempted from out-of-state tuition charges. The Negro schools participating in this regional plan are Meharry Medical College and School of Dentistry in Nashville, Tennessee, and the School of Veterinary Medicine at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Since 1949, the state has expended \$560,875 under this program, supporting 208 student years of service in medicine, seventy-one student years in dentistry, and twenty-five student years in veterinary sciences.³³ The fact that the quotas of eighteen in all classes in the Meharry Medical College, twelve in the dental school, and one each year in the School of Veterinary Medicine are rarely, if ever, filled suggests that Negroes do not find the combination of factors which enable a large number of them to pursue these professions.

In the meantime, President Gray had become the target for a good deal of criticism. Although many charges were made against his administration, the only one supported by actual evidence was "mismanagement in fiscal matters." While Gray was not directly implicated, his administration could not escape ultimate responsibility, and, on July 1, 1949, he submitted his resignation to accept the pastorate of the Bright Hope Baptist Church in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Dean H. Manning Efferson was named acting president by the Board of Control, and he immediately set himself to the task of trying to bring together the quarreling factions so that harmony could be restored at Florida A. and M. He had served nine months when Dr. George W. Gore, Jr. was appointed president on April 1, 1950. Gore had received his masters degree from Harvard University, his doctorate from Columbia University, and

33. Adapted from information supplied by the office of the Board of Control, Office of Regional Education. These refer to student-years of service, not necessarily different students. One student who participated for four years in the Southern Regional Education Board program would use four student-years of service.

for twenty-three years had been dean of the college at Tennessee A. and I. State University. Quality, he insisted, was Florida A. and M.'s "measure," and from the start of his presidency, he instituted academic, departmental, divisional, and administrative changes aimed at improving the institution's educational program. On September 1, 1953, three years after Gore became president, the institution by legislative enactment became a full-fledged university.³⁴

While this elevation to university status was partly in answer to the aspirations of Negroes for greater educational opportunities in Florida, the efforts of a qualified Negro, Virgil D. Hawkins, to gain admission to the College of Law of the University of Florida was the impetus which motivated immediate action. In April 1949, when Hawkins applied for admission to the summer session at the University of Florida, his application was denied because provisions of the state constitution and statutes prohibited the admittance of any but white students to the university. Hawkins, thereupon, instituted mandamus action against the members of the Board of Control, averring that the University of Florida's College of Law was the only such tax-supported institution in the state, and that refusal to admit him was a denial of equal protection of the law as guaranteed by the fourteenth amendment of the Federal Constitution. The Supreme Court of Florida held, in 1950, that the "proposed establishment of a Negro law school at the Negro Agricultural College with facilities equal to those at the State University would satisfy equal protection requirements of the Fourteenth Amendment."³⁵ But on March 12, 1956, the United States Supreme Court ruled that the admission of Hawkins to the University of Florida could not be delayed on the basis of race and that he was entitled to admission.³⁶ The university promptly complied with the ruling and its doors were opened to Hawkins and other qualified Negroes. Although Hawkins never completed the requirements for the law degree, he had broken the legal barriers which previously denied admission solely on the basis of race. Subsequently, in 1963, Willie G. Allen became the first Negro to earn the bachelor of law degree from the University of Florida.

34. *Laws of Florida* (1953), 31.

35. *Hawkins v. Board of Control of Florida*, 47 Southern 2nd 608.

36. *Hawkins v. Board of Control*, 350 U. S. 413.

The other state universities also opened their doors to qualified Negroes, and by the fall of 1963, all state-supported universities were opened to any Florida citizen who could meet the relatively high admission standards.³⁷ Because of the inability of a large number of Negroes to meet admission requirements, token integration exists. Ironically, Florida A. and M. is the only state-supported university which has not permitted some degree of integration during its regular academic sessions.

With the attainment of university status, Florida A. and M. was re-organized into eight major divisions with a dean in charge of each: School of Agriculture and Home Economics, College of Arts and Sciences, School of Education, Graduate School, College of Law, School of Pharmacy, School of Nursing, and the Vocational-Technical Institute. There is no graduate program beyond the masters degree. Each school and college has received both regional and national accreditation by one or more rating agencies. In 1957, Florida A. and M. became one of the first Negro institutions of higher learning to be admitted to full membership in the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. By 1962, the physical plant of the University was valued at \$19,000,000, and included thirty-six major buildings on campus, in addition to a home for nurses located in Jacksonville. The student body numbered approximately 3,000 resident students, 500 extension students, and 500 students in the laboratory school. There were 219 members of the faculty, over one-fifth of whom held the doctorate degree. Since 1887, Florida A. and M. has sent out more than 8,500 of its students to seek their places in the state and nation.³⁸

Concurrent with the expansion of Florida A. and M. came the emergence of state-supported Negro junior colleges. As early as 1939, the legislature had authorized the boards of public instruction in counties having a population of not less than 50,000 "to organize and establish junior colleges in their respective counties or take over junior colleges established therein and to support and maintain the same out of the general school fund of the

37. The University System consists of the University of Florida, Florida State University, Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, University of South Florida, Florida Atlantic University, and Florida Institute for Continuing University Studies.

38. Neyland and Riley, *op. cit.*, 220, 278-79.

county. . . .”³⁹ These, of course, were not state-supported colleges, in the strictest sense. However, in 1947, the minimum foundation program included junior colleges for combined state and local support. They were subject to the supervision of the State Board of Education and were jointly supported by the sponsoring county or counties and the state.

The impact of the initial law was not felt in Negro education until September 6, 1949, when Washington Junior College was established in Pensacola. For eight years it was the only state-supported Negro junior college in Florida. Then, on September 3, 1957, Gibbs Junior College in St. Petersburg was established. In 1958, Volusia County Community Junior College at Daytona Beach, Hampton Junior College at Ocala, Rosenwald Community Junior College at Panama City, and Roosevelt Junior College at West Palm Beach were organized. On August 31, 1959, the Suwannee River Junior College was established in Madison to serve Hamilton, Jefferson, Lafayette, Madison, and Taylor counties.⁴⁰

In 1960, the legislature appropriated \$5,540,971 for buildings at existing junior colleges and for funds to start “priority one colleges.” As a result, seven new junior colleges were established, three of which were for Negroes: Carver Junior College at Cocoa, Lincoln Junior College at Fort Pierce, and Collier-Blocker Junior College at Palatka. The Dade County Junior College in Miami was also opened in 1960, with a center at Central High School which was predominately white, and a center at Northwestern High School which was Negro. Thus, from the very beginning, Dade County Junior College was integrated. During the same year, the Broward County Junior College at Fort Lauderdale was established with a Dillard Center for Negroes. In 1961, Jackson Junior College at Marianna was established, and the following year Johnson Junior College at Leesburg began.⁴¹

Basically, these institutions attempt to provide programs which parallel the first two years of a four-year program. In addi-

39. *Laws of Florida* (1939), 297-98.

40. *Outline of Community-Junior College History in Florida* (Tallahassee, 1963), 2. Issued by the Junior College Division of the State Department of Education.

41. *Ibid.*

tion, where equipment and facilities permit, terminal programs are provided for students who do not plan to complete a four-year program. Generally, the lack of adequate facilities and staff prevents most of the Negro junior colleges from offering diversified programs. The justification for the establishment of small Negro colleges which fail to meet the minimum criteria for white junior colleges is given, as follows: "It may be feasible in several instances, however, to permit community colleges to be established for Negroes with an even smaller potential enrollment when such institutions are associated with Negro high schools in the area. Such a policy of association and sharing facilities and faculty with the high school may be applied in most cases where expected enrollment is small."⁴²

A brief analysis of the enrollment statistics for the fall of the 1963-1964 session showed that, in the main, Negro colleges were poorly attended. The total enrollment of college level students in the eleven colleges was 2,706. Of this number, Gibbs Junior College had the largest enrollment, 703; while Collier-Blocker had only sixty-three. In the adult and vocational divisions, the enrollment was 3,649, with Volusia County Junior College having the largest enrollment, and Johnson Junior College having the smallest,⁴³ The total enrollment at all levels in the eleven Negro junior colleges was 6,391. As of 1963, only Collier-Blocker and Roosevelt showed decreases in enrollment.

The last two years have witnessed progressive changes at the junior college level which should have significant implications for Negro education. In September 1962, the Central and Northwestern Centers of Dade County Junior College were closed, and the college moved to a permanent site on a fully integrated basis. Not only were the students integrated, but five Negro members of the faculty at the Northwestern Center were appointed at the new school which was re-named Miami-Dade Junior College. In 1963-1964, it was estimated that more than 500 Negro students

42. *The Community Junior College in Florida's Future* (Tallahassee, 1963). Issued by the Community College Council of the State Department of Education.

43. The inordinately large enrollment in the Adult and Vocational Division in the Volusia County Community Junior College can be attributed to the fact that the college coordinates all vocational training for the Volusia County public school system. Regardless of the grade level, students are registered in the junior college.

were in attendance. Following somewhat in this pattern, Carver Junior College in Cocoa was made a part of Brevard Junior College, and the Dillard Center at Fort Lauderdale was absorbed into Brevard County College. That race is no longer considered a significant factor in the admission policies of these colleges may be seen in the fact that records on race are not available and can not be maintained.

These somewhat revolutionary trends seem to imply that, by and large, the character of individual junior colleges, with reference to race, will be determined in future years by the attitude and actions of local educators and local authorities with a minimum of interference by the state. Where enrollments in Negro junior colleges are comparatively small and where racial attitudes are relatively liberal, the tendency will be toward the single, more economical, integrated facility. Integration of students may also result in the integration on a smaller scale of teaching staffs. On the other hand, in the more conservative areas, Negro junior colleges are likely to be maintained even though they can be justified neither economically nor academically. The larger Negro junior colleges which can secure adequate staffs and facilities will continue to be significant in Negro education and may even attract white students.

At the four-year college and university levels, Florida A. and M. still provides in 1964, the major opportunity for state-supported higher education for Negroes. Although token integration exists throughout the university system (ten at all levels at Florida State University and twenty at the University of Florida in 1963-1964), the numerical number of Negro enrollees at these predominantly white universities has been exceedingly low over the years. The fact that any student who earns an associate of arts degree from a state-supported junior college may gain admission to any state-supported university without examination should encourage a significant increase in Negro applicants throughout the university system. However, until such time that a combination of factors are synthesized in a manner which will improve Negro students' performance on objective tests, which largely determine eligibility for admission, Negro enrollment at these universities will remain low. Furthermore, competition for admission to these universities is likely to become keener in the years

ahead. Although trends indicate a one-standard system in state-supported higher education in Florida, it seems likely that Florida A. and M. will continue to provide the major opportunity for four-year college and university training for Negroes in the foreseeable future.

AFTERMATH OF MILITARY RECONSTRUCTION, 1868-1869

by RALPH L. PEEK

THE MILITARY RECONSTRUCTION OF FLORIDA ended on July 4, 1868, with ratification of a new constitution and the election of Harrison Reed as governor, William Gleason as lieutenant governor, and Charles Hamilton as congressman. A state legislature with a large Republican majority in both houses was also elected.¹

The legislature met on June 8, 1868, and the next day ratified the fourteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution. After prolonged balloting the State Senate elected Adonijah Welch and Thomas Osborne as United States Senators. On June 29, General George Meade, commanding the third military district, ordered the civil and military officers in Florida to surrender all property and powers of office to the duly elected state officials. On July 4, Colonel John Sprague, sub-district commander, surrendered civil authority, and Harrison Reed was inaugurated as the first Republican governor of Florida.

Fearing trouble from conservative whites, Governor Reed in his inaugural address called for the retention of Federal troops in Florida.² He wanted the force to be placed at his disposal, but Colonel Sprague announced that this would not be practical. However, since there was no state militia, the colonel said that he would order an armed force to any point designated by the governor.³ Reed also requested military aid from Washington,⁴ but, on July 23, Secretary of War John Schofield informed him that there were adequate troops in Florida and in the neighboring

1. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, June 9, 1868.

2. *Florida Senate Journal* (First Session, 1868), 59.

3. Colonel John Sprague to Governor Harrison Reed, July 8, 1868. Copy in Letters Received (1868), Department of the South, Record Group 98, United States Army Commands, National Archives. Hereinafter cited as Letters Received, Department of the South.

4. *Florida Senate Journal* (1868), 65.

states to suppress any insurrection and to insure execution of the laws of the United States.⁵

Colonel Sprague reported to the adjutant general that he feared the consequences of removing troops from the interior of Florida. On July 8, 1868, two Negro men were killed in a cornfield in Madison by a group of whites. The following day a band of regulators came into a small settlement near Madison and warned the Negro men there that unless they vacated the place within eight days they would all be killed.⁶ The Negroes ignored the ultimatum and two of them were shot, one fatally. Sprague cited these incidents to show why Union men could not feel safe without troops. Without these forces, he said, the only law in Florida would be that of violence.

Governor Reed was worried that the opposition had access to information vital to the welfare of his administration. On July 25, 1868, he informed the State Senate that former rebels who opposed the "establishment of a Republican State government" controlled telegraph operations and that confidential information was accessible to these "enemies of law and order."⁷ Reed wanted a law requiring all telegraph operators to take the iron-clad oath as a prerequisite to employment and making it a felony for an operator to reveal the contents of a telegram. He also recommended that a new telegraph company be chartered by "loyal men" and that new lines be constructed.

Despite Governor Reed's importunities and the fears of Colonel Sprague, Washington placed rigid restrictions on the use of troops to enforce civil law; they could be employed only with express permission of the president. When United States Marshal Alex Magruder of St. Augustine asked Attorney General William Evarts to order the military to aid him "when necessary,"⁸ he was informed that "frequent and ready resort to military aid in executing the duties of civil officers is foreign to our government and the disposition of our people."⁹

5. *Florida Assembly Journal* (First Session, 1868), 192-193.

6. "Report of Colonel John Sprague for July 1868," July 31, 1868, in Letters Received, Department of the South.

7. *Florida Senate Journal* (1868), 144-145.

8. Alex Magruder to Attorney General Evarts, August 12, 1868. Record Group 60, Department of Justice, Attorney General's Papers, Letters Received, United States Marshals: Florida, National Archives. Hereinafter cited as Attorney General's Papers.

9. Evarts to Magruder, August 20, 1868, Attorney General's Papers, Instruction Book A, December 24, 1867 - December 30, 1870.

General Meade ordered a concentration of troops at rail centers throughout the third military district.¹⁰ The Seventh United States Infantry was stationed in Florida as follows: two companies at Fort Marion in St. Augustine, five companies at Jacksonville, and three companies at Fort Brooke in Tampa. One company of the Fifth United States Artillery was located at Fort Barrancas in Pensacola, one at Key West, and four at Fort Jefferson on Tortugas. Headquarters was St. Augustine.¹¹

The withdrawal of Federal infantry forces from many towns in Florida created some disorder. Enmity between Negroes and whites flared into open violence, and the number of assaults and murders increased. A pregnant white housewife, a Mrs. Dupre, was brutally murdered near Orange Springs by a Negro. The culprit was seized by a mob of Negroes, given a hundred lashes and hanged. Many freedmen were assaulted by whites, both because of their color and their allegiance to the Republican Party.¹² Altercations between whites flared up also. Freedman Bureau Agent J. A. Remley reported from Ocala that suspension of military government had created a vacuum in that area of Florida, and, because of the implacable hatred of Southerners toward Negroes, it was imperative that former slaveholders be deprived of all political power. Civil law was absent, he said, and if troops were withdrawn the effect would be disastrous.¹³ Many freedmen were assaulted by whites because of their Republican allegiance.¹⁴

The Reed administration moved quickly to organize the state militia authorized by the legislature.¹⁵ If an "acceptable individual" wanted to organize a volunteer militia company, he could

10. *Report of the Secretary of War, 1868-1869*, Vol. 1, "Report of Major General George Meade," October 31, 1868. 40th Cong., 3rd Sess., *House Document No. 1* (Serial No. 1367), 75.

11. *Ibid.*, 752-753.

12. Report of J. A. Remley, sub-assistant commissioner, July 31, 1868, Ocala, in Papers of Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands: Reports of Assistant Commissioners for Florida, Sub-District Commissioners, and others, and Special Orders, National Archives. Hereinafter cited as Bureau Papers. Microfilm of original in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville.

13. *Ibid.*

14. Report of Lt. Julius Quentin, July 31, 1868, Madison, *ibid.*

15. Allen Bush, *A Digest of the Statute Law of Florida of a General and Public Character in Force up to the First Day of January, 1872* (Tallahassee, 1872), Chapter CXXI, (Act of August 6, 1868), 588-605. Hereinafter cited as *Bush's Digest*.

receive volunteer enlistments with permission of the adjutant general. The company would be armed with regulation army equipment.¹⁶ In case of civil disorder, these troops could be called out by the governor upon request of army officers stationed in Florida, United States marshals, mayors, or any county judge.¹⁷ If it became necessary to fire or charge upon a mob, the law required the militia to use live ammunition. Any soldier found guilty of using blank cartridges was subject to courtmartial.¹⁸

Negroes were eager for militia service.¹⁹ Squads of freedmen were reportedly drilling at night, directed by their own commissioned and non-commissioned officers. One planter in Leon County reported to the Freedmen's Bureau that most of his hands had left the plantation to be mustered into a regiment.²⁰

Several volunteer militia companies were formed during 1868, but they were not organized into regiments or brigades and no officers were appointed. The militia law was not implemented immediately. According to Governor Reed, the state did not yet have a militia because Federal law prohibited it and the presence of regular army troops made it unnecessary. Also, he stated, the "sensitive condition of the popular mind" made it expedient to delay.²¹ Nevertheless, white Southerners feared that Negroes were being armed to attack them. The Tallahassee *Floridian* charged that Reed wanted to organize a Negro militia to support a government based "not upon intelligence, virtue, and affections of the people, but upon ignorance, vice, bayonets, and stuffed ballot boxes."²² These fears had an important effect on the course of action taken by southern white Conservatives.

Enraged by alleged frauds in the May elections and the winning of almost all political offices by Republicans, the Conservatives exerted new efforts to organize against the Republicans. Governor Reed informed the legislature, on July 8, 1868, that a latent spirit of hostility animated many Southerners and that these

16. *Ibid.*, 591-592.

17. *Ibid.*, 596.

18. *Ibid.*, 601.

19. Report of Malachi Martin, August 31, 1868, Tallahassee, in Bureau Papers.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, January 19, 1869. Proceedings of the opening sessions of the 1869 legislature were included in this issue.

22. *Ibid.*, July 28, 1868.

people "in whose hands the State has been desolated and ruined" were quietly building an organization designed to restore them to power.²³ These efforts became so effective that the *Daily Florida Union*, a Republican newspaper of Jacksonville, claimed, on August 6, 1868, that Democrats were secretly organizing and would try to prevent Negro voting by violence and intimidation.

Conservatives were animated by the hope of victory in the approaching November elections. When the United States Congress accepted the Florida constitution as it had been ratified in May, the Conservatives saw in its lenient provisions the possibility of regaining political control. Former Confederates were not proscribed and suffrage was universal. The apportionment of members of the legislature placed greater power in the hands of voters in the more sparsely populated counties. If the Conservatives could reorganize, they thought that they might be able to elect thirteen of the twenty-four senators and twenty-eight of the fifty-two assemblymen, a working majority in both houses.²⁴ In several counties the Republican majority was very slight. In Wakulla County, Republicans outnumbered Conservatives only 248 to 239; in Suwannee County, only 259 to 257.²⁵ After much preparation on the local level, white Conservatives met in Tallahassee on August 1, 1868, to organize a Conservative Party. Former Governor David S. Walker was elected president of the convention, and resolutions were passed supporting the national Democratic candidates, Horatio Seymour and Francis P. Blair, Jr.²⁶

The Republicans moved swiftly, however, to consolidate their victory. Loyal party men were appointed by Governor Reed to almost all offices on the state and county level. Many Republicans held more than one office. For example, State Senator William Purman of Jackson County was appointed solicitor for the first judicial circuit (Escambia, Santa Rosa, Walton, Holmes, Washington, Jackson counties), secretary of state, and county judge of

23. *Florida Senate Journal* (1868), 62.

24. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, April 14, 1868.

25. *Ibid.*, March 31, 1868, quoting the *Washington Chronicle*, March 23, 1868.

26. *Ibid.*, August 4, 1868.

Jackson County.²⁷ State Senator George Alden from Escambia was appointed secretary of state after Purman resigned. Senator John Davidson of Gadsden County was appointed county judge, and Senator Robert Meacham of Jefferson County was appointed clerk of the court and superintendent of education for his county. Horatio Jenkins, Jr., senator from the Alachua-Levy district, was commissioned county judge of Alachua County. Several members of the House also held county and state offices.²⁸ Naturally, very few Conservatives were appointed to office. Governor Reed stated that it was his plain duty to appoint to office only those "not opposed to the principle of republican government, or whose prejudices arising from education or habit, do not unfit them for the equal and impartial administration of the laws."²⁹ Conservatives were appointed only in the two or three counties where there were no available Republicans.³⁰

The legislature, in 1868, enacted several laws designed to strengthen the Republican position. One outlawed all combinations formed to overturn or usurp the government or to interfere forcibly in the administration of government.³¹ Another provided that when two or more persons combined to levy war against the people of Florida or to remove any of them forcibly from the state or from their homes to another part of the state, they would be liable for five years' imprisonment or a fine of one thousand dollars.³² Conviction of conspiracy and illegal combination were punishable by a fine of \$500 or one year imprisonment in the county jail.³³ Riotous assemblies, defined as twelve or more persons armed or thirty or more persons unarmed, were illegal. Moreover, the sheriff might call upon bystanders for aid in appre-

27. *Florida Senate Journal* (1868), 73, 112, and 152. The Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, September 1, 1868, noted that Purman resigned as secretary of state "in favor of a Negro appointee" (Jonathan Gibbs). Actually, George Alden was appointed. *The Pensacola Observer*, October 1, 1868, lists all the circuits in Florida.

28. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, November 3, 1868.

29. *Florida Assembly Journal* (1868), Governor's Message, 77.

30. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, December 15, 1868, quoting Governor Reed's speech to a Negro meeting in Jacksonville, as reported in Jacksonville *Daily Florida Union*, December 10, 1868.

31. *Bush's Digest*, Chapter XLII, 211-212.

32. *Ibid.*, 212.

33. *Ibid.*, Chapter XLVI, 242.

hending such persons, and if they refused to help they were to be classified as rioters themselves.³⁴

The Republican-dominated legislature, apparently concerned that Conservatives might succeed in creating a viable organization that could conceivably place Florida in the Seymour-Blair column in the national elections, passed a law authorizing the Senate to choose presidential electors.³⁵ The Tallahassee *Floridian* bitterly denounced this action, calling it an outrage, and claiming that it was motivated by fear of Conservative unity.³⁶

Conservatives poured a barrage of criticism upon Reed's administration whenever they had the opportunity. They charged that the intelligent and virtuous people of the state were excluded from government while it was monopolized by out-of-state men and scalawags who were misleading and corrupting the Negro in order to use him as a political pawn.³⁷ The governor's appointees were described as the "worst men in the community," moral lepers, and scoundrels. The acts of the legislature were hit as tyrannical, particularly the militia law and the presidential electors act. Conservatives claimed that the Republicans were trying to make the whites subservient to Negroes and that many Northerners were "revolted at the strange sight of Negro supremacy."

Lawlessness increased during August and September, 1868. On the night of August 15, 1868, a Seymour-Blair rally in St. Augustine was attacked and dispersed by a crowd of Negroes. Several shots were fired, and a participant in the rally, a white man named Emory, was shot through the leg. In his report of the incident, Colonel Sprague stated that he might have to resort to summary military measures in order to restore and maintain the peace.³⁸ The Conservative press called the incident an outrage, the logical result of Republican teachings, and stated that only bloodshed would satisfy the radicals.³⁹ Moreover, the

34. *Ibid.*, Chapter XLIX, 251-252.

35. *Florida Senate Journal* (1868), 229.

36. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, August 4, 1868.

37. *Ibid.*, August 11, 1868. This item is the speech of Wilkinson Call at the Conservative convention, August 1, 1868, and appears to be a concise summary of the whole Conservative attack on the Republicans.

38. Report of Colonel John Sprague to the Adjutant General's Office, August 17, 1868, in Letters Received, Department of the South.

39. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, August 23, 1868.

attempts of incendiary white men to foment racial strife were seen as spawning inevitable combat between the races.

Governor Reed, alarmed by the growing tide of lawlessness and Conservative threats, informed General Meade, September 1, 1868, that violations of the law were increasing in Florida and that conspiracies were being formed to intimidate government officials. Reed insisted that military force was the only power capable of maintaining law and order, and he asked that a company of troops be ordered to Tallahassee, another to Gainesville, and smaller detachments to Ocala and Marianna.⁴⁰ There is reason to believe that he expected the Conservatives to try to overthrow the government by force and violence. Acting on his own responsibility, Reed went to New York on September 15, 1868, and purchased 2,000 muskets and 40,000 rounds of ammunition to be used in case of attack by "lawless bands of conspirators."⁴¹

On September 15, 1868, the *Floridian* reported the proceedings of a Republican meeting held in Tallahassee. Nine-tenths of the audience were freedmen, according to the report, and one Negro speaker, John Wallace, was quoted as saying, "I understand the Ku Klux are here - if so let them come on - we are armed and ready for them." Wallace's statement was viewed by many Conservatives as confirmation that Negroes were arming themselves. Southern whites had always feared armed Negroes, and this fear probably had an important effect in precipitating the fierce violence that began in August 1868.

Organizations commonly known as Ku Klux had become more active in Florida as the Republican program began to be enacted into law. The Ku Klux began in Tennessee in 1865, when, according to former Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest, head of the original Klan, Governor William Brownlow of that state promised the militia complete immunity regardless of their acts toward white Southerners.⁴² Forrest cited the formation of

40. Governor Reed to General Meade, September 1, 1868, in Letters Received, Department of the South.

41. *Florida Assembly Journal* (1870), 20. See also Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, December 15, 1868, and January 19, 1869.

42. Joint Select Committee on Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States, 42nd Cong., 2nd Sess., *House Reports* No. 22 (Serial No. 1541), 13 vols. (Washington, 1872), I, 3-41. Hereinafter cited as *House Report* 22.

secret leagues by Northern men, secret Negro meetings, increases in "insolent behavior" by Negroes, and the rape of white women by Negroes as justification for the formation of the Klan. This extra-legal, quasi-military organization carried on effective warfare against the Brownlow administration in Tennessee and spread into several states, enlisting more than 550,000 men. The activities of the secret organizations in Florida were generally attributed to the Ku Klux Klan, although these organizations, at first, were probably not connected with the Klan.

Joseph John Williams, thirty-six year old Tallahassee planter, who before the war owned more than 300 slaves and who was a nine-term member of the Florida legislature, asserted that the white people of Florida needed protection from Negroes. He had utilized "regulators" in dealing with refractory blacks before the war, and, in 1868, believed that similar measures were the answer to the problem posed by the ascendancy of Negroes over whites. Precipitating factors in the decision to create the organization in Leon County were alleged frauds in the election of May 1868. Williams claimed that the white people in Tallahassee, outnumbered about seven to one by Negroes, were crowded out of the polls and were not allowed to vote. He stated that "colored people were brought up in squads of from eight to ten and fifteen deep, and from one to two hundred yards long, and it was really worth your life to go in there." According to testimony that Williams gave before a Congressional subcommittee in 1871, this precipitated the organization of Young Men's Democratic Clubs. He stated that about 300 of the 700 Democratic voters in the county were members of the the three clubs. He denied knowledge of the existence of any similar organization outside Leon County. There were other clubs, however, in other counties and they had identical constitutions.⁴³

Samuel Douglas, Tallahassee lawyer and former associate justice of the Florida Supreme Court, was a member of one of the Tallahassee clubs before joining the Republican Party late in 1868. He claimed that Negroes, aroused by Congressional debate on additional safeguards for Negro rights and armed with

43. *Ibid.*, XIII, 227. See pp. 157-158 for a copy of the constitution used by the various county organizations, and pp. 265, 266, 294-295, and 298 for mention of the organization in various counties.

clubs or guns, habitually congregated in Tallahassee, parading the streets and alarming white women. One purpose of the clubs, Douglas said, was to prevent a bloody racial collision arising out of these circumstances, and to defend "our homes and firesides against any assault." Another purpose was to counteract the Loyal League whose state-wide organization and great power had so alarmed the southern whites that they felt that their lives and property were endangered by its existence, and that a sudden outbreak of violence might destroy the southern white people entirely.⁴⁴ It seems clear from the evidence that Joseph John Williams was the moving spirit in initiating the revolutionary organizations in Florida. Such groups were needed, he argued, because courts met only twice yearly while "a committee" could act at will to protect white people from violence.

The grim work of the regulators began in earnest in mid-1868, and before it was curbed by the force of United States law and the threat of greater force, Negroes were terrorized, intimidated, and prevented from voting. Many white and colored Republicans were killed, beaten, and driven from their homes and from the State, and virtual warfare existed for short periods in some areas, notably in Jackson County.

In Columbia County, in September 1868, the regulators killed or wounded several Negro Republicans.⁴⁵ In Alachua Sounty, five Negroes were killed in the period from October 12 to November 30, 1868.⁴⁶ Six murders occurred in Madison County during the period from July 14 to October 15, 1868. On the latter date, Randall Coleman, leading Negro Republican of Madison, was found riddled with bullets at Moseley Hall, fifteen miles from Madison.⁴⁷

The Conservatives worked against the Reed administration in every way possible, and their efforts must have been effective for the governor regarded the Young Men's Democratic Clubs as nothing less than devices designed to seize the state government in the event that Seymour and Blair were elected. It was be-

44. *Ibid.*, 293-298.

45. *Ibid.*, 263.

46. Leonard Dennis to Jonathan Gibbs, February 24, 1871. *Ibid.*

47. "Report of Colonel Sprague on condition of affairs for November 1868," November 30, 1868, in Letters Received, Department of the south.

cause of this threat, he said, that he had purchased arms and ammunition in New York in September.⁴⁸ As election day approached, the situation became more turbulent. Governor Reed's request for troops on September 1, had been refused by General Meade who insisted that no troops would be detached to aid civil authorities unless an emergency arose.⁴⁹ Colonel Sprague, however, informed Meade on October 1, 1868, that lawlessness was increasing daily, that personal conflicts, fist-fights, cursing, and drunkenness, as well as the promiscuous display and shooting of firearms, kept the people in a state of turmoil constantly.⁵⁰ On October 15, 1868, six companies of the Seventh United States Infantry were ordered into Florida: two companies to Jacksonville, and the other four divided among Fernandina, Marianna, Tallahassee, Gainesville, and St. Augustine.⁵¹ This force, according to the Republican newspaper of Tampa, would insure an orderly election.⁵² Colonel Sprague's report of October 31, 1868, however, indicated that Florida was tottering on the brink of anarchy. He stated that civil law had no force because officials were afraid to enforce the law, and that Union men were thoroughly intimidated and afraid to speak. Moreover, he reported, Negroes roamed through the country at will, killing cattle and hogs with impunity, and that whites retaliated by personal assaults, violence, and murder.⁵³ Madison County was the scene of another murder in October, a total of seven since July 14. Marion and Alachua counties experienced great disorder and lawlessness, and the situation throughout Florida threatened widespread violence. On November 5, 1869, Sprague ordered an extra detachment of troops into Gainesville to quell disturbances around the courthouse where the sheriff had been defied

48. *Florida Assembly Journal* (1872), Governor's Message, 30-31.

49. Meade to Sprague, September 16, 1868, in Letters Sent, Department of the South.

50. "Report of Colonel Sprague on condition of affairs for September 1868," September 30, 1868, in Letters Received, Department of the south.

51. *Jacksonville Daily Florida Union*, October 22, 1868.

52. *Tampa True Southerner*, November 12, 1868.

53. "Report of Colonel Sprague on conditions of affairs for October, 1868," October 31, 1868, in Letters Received, Department of the South.

by armed men.⁵⁴ On the same day, Sprague sent a small detachment to Madison to suppress disorder there.⁵⁵

During the first week in November, a group of drunken, boisterous white men in Ocala defied arrest by Negro bailiffs. The county judge telegraphed Colonel Sprague for aid, and troops arrived in Ocala on November 7.⁵⁶ Murders of Negroes were common in Ocala and throughout Marion County and it was feared that Union men would begin retaliating unless something was done to curb the murders and violence.

Fernandina was the scene of continuing controversy over property questions during the fall of 1868. Daniel Richards and Liberty Billings, leading radicals, were reportedly inciting Negroes to lawless conduct which included ejecting whites from disputed property.⁵⁷ Richards had "forty of the worst Negroes of the city" ready to serve his purposes, according to Nassau County Judge D. M. Hammond who was also agent of the Freedmen's Bureau. On October 8, Hammond requested soldiers to deal with the trouble that seemed imminent, and General Meade ordered Company B, Seventh United States Infantry, to Fernandina.⁵⁸

The events of Thursday, November 5, 1868, revealed that the secret organizations of white Conservatives had reached a high degree of efficiency. That evening, sixty boxes of the arms, including some 1,200 muskets, that had been purchased in New York by Governor Reed were thrown from the train as it was en route from Jacksonville to Tallahassee.⁵⁹ Many years later, United States Attorney General Thomas Gregory, a member of Woodrow Wilson's cabinet, said that a participant of this incident had revealed that all of the men operating the tram-telegraphers,

54. Telegram of Colonel Sprague, November 5, 1868, in Register of Letters Received, Department of the South, Vol. 265.

55. Telegram of Colonel Sprague to Assistant Adjutant General Richard Drum, November 9, 1868, in Letters Received, Department of the South.

56. Report of J. A. Remley, November 30, 1868, Ocala, for November, 1868, in Bureau Papers.

57. Reports of D. M. Hammond. Special report, October 7, and Report for October 1868, October 31, 1868, Fernandina, in Bureau Papers.

58. Meade to Sprague, October 16, 1868, in Letters Sent, Department of the South. See also Jacksonville *Daily Florida Union*, October 22, 1868.

59. *New York Times*, November 7, 1868; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, November 10, 1868.

brakemen, conductors, engineers—were members of the Ku Klux Klan. The regulators had boarded the train at a stop between Lake City and Madison, disposed of the arms, disembarked at the next station, and returned to destroy the muskets and ammunition. Soldiers detailed to guard the arms occupied two cars on the train, but seemingly were not aware of the theft until they reached Tallahassee.⁶⁰ The door to the ammunition car was found unlocked, not broken open, and half the shipment had disappeared.⁶¹ The guns were to have been used by the few companies organized under the militia law, and Conservatives, apparently, were determined that Negroes would not be armed.⁶² According to Colonel Sprague, the group that destroyed the arms was led by Captain John J. Dickison, former Confederate guerrilla leader, whose regulators supposedly operated in the area around Madison County.⁶³ Sprague described Dickison as the commander of a body of mounted Confederate troops which operated in the Tallahassee-Jacksonville area during the Civil War. He claimed that Dickison's men were noted for their "cruelties and atrocities" against Unionists at the time.

The destruction of the military supplies left the Reed administration in a precarious situation. For more than a year after this incident there was not enough equipment to outfit state troops who might have to meet a Conservative attack. Florida Adjutant General George Carse reported, on December 31, 1869, that there were only 1,100 broken muskets on hand.⁶⁴ The fact that Florida possessed so little military equipment raises a question as to whether white Conservatives really intended armed revolt. If violent overthrow of Florida's government was planned, the week in which the arms were destroyed would have been the strategic moment to strike.

The Republican Party in Florida was almost destroyed by intra-party conflict in October and November 1868. United

60. Robert Selph Henry, *The Story of Reconstruction* (New York, 1951), 360. Gregory quoted a lawyer living in Austin, Texas, who was evidently one of the participants.

61. *House Report* 22, XIII, 185.

62. *Ibid.*, 186.

63. "Report of Colonel Sprague on condition of affairs for November 1868," November 30, 1868, in *Letters Received, Department of the South*.

64. Report of the Adjutant-General, State of Florida, for 1869, January 6, 1870, *Florida Assembly Journal* (1873), appendix, 89.

States Senator Thomas Osborne was accused by Reed of trying to seize political power for reasons of personal aggrandizement while the governor was absent in New York. Apparently as an attack against the "Ring," as Osborne and his supporters were known, Reed, on October 28, declared vacant the seats of state legislators who held other political offices. Though he had appointed all these men to their positions, the governor claimed they were violating the constitution.⁶⁵ "The Ring" then attempted to impeach the governor at a special session of the legislature on November 3.⁶⁶ Horatio Jenkins, Jr., on November 6, charged Reed with a number of crimes and misdemeanors, and the Assembly (House), by a vote of twenty-seven to seven, supported impeachment. Lieutenant Governor William Gleason immediately declared himself acting governor,⁶⁷ but Reed refused to surrender his office and asked the Florida Supreme Court for an opinion on the legality of the proceedings. The court ruled, on November 24, that no quorum existed in the Senate, because of the seats declared vacant on October 28, and since the legislature could not assemble it could not vote impeachment.⁶⁸

Reed moved at once against his opponents after receiving the court's decision. On December 14, the Florida Supreme Court ousted Gleason from his office as lieutenant governor on the grounds that at the time of his election he was not a Florida resident. The United States Supreme Court, however, reinstated Gleason temporarily,⁶⁹ but after the legislature assembled on January 5, 1869, he was forced to resign. On January 30, a resolution was introduced calling for the resignation of Senator Osborne, and on the same day William Edwards was confirmed as county judge of Alachua County, replacing Horatio Jenkins,

65. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, November 3, 1868. The seats declared vacant included those of William Purman, Horatio Jenkins, Jr., Robert Meacham, and George Alden. The latter was the secretary of state who issued the proclamation.

66. *Florida Assembly Journal* (Special Session, 1868), 41-42; *Florida Senate Journal* (Special Session, 1868), 24; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, December 15, 1868, quoting the Jacksonville *Daily Florida Union*, December 10, 1868.

67. *Florida Assembly Journal* (Special Session, 1868), 46.

68. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, December 1, 1868, gives the complete opinions of Associate Justices James Westcott and Ossian B. Hart and Chief Justice Edward Randall.

69. *The American Cyclopaedia and Annual Register of Important Events for the Year 1868*, 16 vols. (New York, 1869), VIII, 275.

Jr., who was removed on charges of neglecting his duty and making false charges against Governor Reed.⁷⁰ Although Osborne did not resign, Reed was left victorious and apparently in a stronger position than the previous fall.

Conservative attacks on the Republicans were unremitting. So vehement had these attacks become, that one of the most ardent Democratic newspapers in Florida, the Pensacola *West Florida Commercial*, warned on November 3, 1868, that extreme language and aggressive tactics would give Union men an excuse for legitimate criticism. The attacks continued, however.

Governor Reed set December 29, 1868, as the date for electing new legislators to fill the vacancies created by his proclamation of October 28, and for electing a congressman. The legislative enactment of August, giving the legislature power to appoint presidential electors, had cancelled the presidential election in Florida and no voting occurred at this time. The Conservatives concentrated their efforts on winning as many positions as possible in the voting on December 29. Their efforts were so enthusiastic that Colonel Sprague wired headquarters on November 9, 1868, that Conservatives were determined to discard the state government, that disturbances were occurring all over Florida, and that the government was in imminent danger of being overthrown unless the troops stationed in Florida were allowed to remain.⁷¹ Moreover, he stated, private information indicated that the Negroes were arming on behalf of Governor Reed in his conflict with Lieutenant Governor Gleason. Many people expected rioting to break out in Tallahassee and elsewhere at any moment.⁷² Sprague reported that murders were being committed, the laws were being defied, and Conservative politicians were stumping the state openly denouncing Union men.⁷³ He specifically called attention to Marianna, where there was mounting excitement and tension because of election activities and the activities of the Freedmen's Bureau in that community.

Despite a militant Conservative campaign, the Republicans

70. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, February 2, 1869.

71. Sprague to Drum, November 9, 1868, in Letters Received, Department of the South.

72. *New York Times*, November 8, 1868.

73. Sprague to Drum, November 9, 1868, in Letters Received, Department of the South.

won the December election. Charles Hamilton was elected to Congress over William Barnes of Jackson County by a majority of more than 3,000 votes.⁷⁴ Barnes carried twenty of the thirty-nine counties, but Hamilton carried all the counties with heavy Negro majorities. Seven of these counties - Duval, Escambia, Jackson, Jefferson, Leon, Madison, and Marion - gave him 7,749 of his 9,749 votes. Most of the men whose seats were declared vacant by Governor Reed were re-elected.⁷⁵

The new year, 1869, saw many important changes taking place in Florida. The Freedmen's Bureau ceased operations on December 31, 1868, except for its educational services, and most of its officers and civil agents were discharged.⁷⁶ General Meade had been unimpressed by many of Colonel Sprague's statements concerning danger from conservative organizations. On November 8, 1868, he informed Sprague that unless soldiers were needed to preserve law and order there was no reason to keep them in Florida. Their function, he insisted, had nothing to do with politics.⁷⁷ Three days later, after receiving Sprague's telegram informing him that Florida's government was about to be overthrown by force, Meade cautioned him against too much interference in politics and assuming too much responsibility.⁷⁸ Late in February, Meade ordered the Seventh United States Infantry to the Dakota Territory.⁷⁹

With the termination of Bureau operations and the withdrawal of military detachments from the state, Florida entered upon a very disturbed period. Jackson County experienced a new wave of violence in February and March 1869, resulting in four murders and the wounding of seven or eight other men.⁸⁰ On February 26, 1869, a large-scale riot occurred in Jacksonville

74. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, May 11, 1869, gives the official county returns.

75. *Ibid.*, November 3, 1868. See the *Florida Senate Journal* (1869) and *Florida Assembly Journal* (1869) for composition of the 1869 legislature.

76. Jacksonville *Daily Florida Union*, December 3, 1868, quoting Order No. 10, November 17, 1868, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.

77. Meade to Sprague, November 8, 1868, in Register of Letters Sent, Department of the South, Vol. 172.

78. *Ibid.*, Vol. 174.

79. Tallahassee *Sentinel*, February 27, 1869.

80. Ralph L. Peek, "Lawlessness in Florida, 1868-1871," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXX (October, 1961), 164-185.

in which United States soldiers and Negroes engaged in open combat. After a band of Negroes had attacked several soldiers, killing one, the troops stormed the Negro section, killing several people and taking a number of prisoners.⁸¹ Sprague reported that the riot was precipitated by the activities of a Negro organization commanded by a Captain McIntyre, a Negro army officer.⁸² Citizens in Hernando County, identified as Ku Klux members, seized two Negroes accused of killing a small boy from the sheriff's custody and hanged them.⁸³

Violence flared in Gainesville on March 4, 1869, when Harry Franklin, a Negro Republican, was shot to death in the street by an unknown assassin.⁸⁴ At about the same time, Lishur Johnson, Negro Republican leader in Columbia County, was kidnaped from the home of a white man where he was hiding, and except for a pile of clothing in the woods no trace was found of him.⁸⁵ In Hamilton County, nine or ten persons were murdered between July 4, 1868, and April 1869.⁸⁶ During the first week of April, a Negro named Jackson, charged with murder, was taken from jail at Jasper and lynched.⁸⁷ In Madison County, a band of regulators - reportedly armed with army rifles - were ranging the area, terrorizing Negro Republicans. Several murders were allegedly committed by these men during the first months of 1869.⁸⁸ Madison County regulators had an integral connection with a similar band in south Georgia.⁸⁹

Among the factors influencing the turbulence and disorder in Florida after resumption of civil government were events in surrounding states, especially during the fall of 1868.⁹⁰ Ku Klux Klan activities in Tennessee caused authorities there great alarm. The governor issued a proclamation on September 16, 1868,

81. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, March 2, 1869.

82. S-92, 1869, in Register of Letters Received, Department of the South, Vol. 267.

83. *House Report* 22, XIII, 162.

84. Lieutenant William Armstrong to Drum, March 4, 1869, in Letters Received, Department of the South.

85. *House Report* 22, XIII, 263. No specific date, other than "Spring of 1869," is given.

86. *Ibid.*, 262.

87. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, April 6, 1869.

88. *House Report* 22, XIII, 114-125, 125-136.

89. *Ibid.*

90. Sprague to Drum, November 9, 1868, in Letters Received, Department of the South.

condemning the Klan and calling upon Tennessee citizens to aid him in suppressing it.⁹¹ On January 20, 1869, Governor Brownlow issued a proclamation detailing the crimes of the Ku Klux Klan and called upon citizens to enroll in the state militia to suppress the organization. On February 20, 1869, he declared martial law in nine counties and called out the militia. His course of action soon restored order. Similar situations existed in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and North Carolina, and in these states outrages were committed and many people were murdered.⁹² The Klan operated with devastating effectiveness in South Carolina until the presidential election of 1868, but then ceased much of its activity until the latter half of 1870.⁹³

The fact that incidents of violence greatly increased as military forces were withdrawn from Florida is significant. After Meade ordered the withdrawal of the Seventh United States Infantry, Colonel Sprague reported, on March 4, 1869, that the state was in a more lawless condition than it had ever been and that the citizens were very much alarmed.⁹⁴ The Conservatives, it seems, had deliberately adopted violence as a method of regaining power. They had been thwarted, in 1867, in their attempts to block the radical program, believing the methods used against them were fraudulent. They saw the Negro enfranchised, won to a mass allegiance to the Republican Party, and used to keep that party in power. The Florida constitution, though lenient toward former Confederates, declared the equality of *all* citizens, the inviolability of their natural rights, and conferred universal manhood suffrage. Conservatives were not successful in their attempts to establish a winning political organization, mainly because Negro majorities in several counties were invincible bulwarks of Republican candidates. The presidential elector law, passed in August 1868, cancelled the election for president in November, and the people of Florida did not vote in that election. Their vote was cast by three Republican electors, one of whom was a Negro. Their spirited campaign to win the Congressional

91. Francis Wilson, "Federal Aid in Domestic Disturbances," *Senate Executive Documents*, 67th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 263 (Serial No. 1789), 99-100.

92. *Ibid.*, 100.

93. *Ibid.*, 101.

94. S-114, 1869, in *Register of Letters Received, Department of the South*, Vol. 267.

seat held by Charles Hamilton failed because Negro majorities in seven counties overwhelmed their candidate who campaigned on a "white supremacy" platform.

It seems that the Conservatives concluded that the only way to defeat the Republicans was by physical force and violence. The evidence also seems to indicate that rage and frustration created a recklessness within Conservative ranks that disdained consequences and risk, and invited a total war between the races. They regarded the Negro as less than human and the fact that Republican power in Florida rested squarely upon the Negro vote made them hate Republicans as well as Negroes. Subsequent events seem to confirm these conclusions.

DAVID SHOLTZ: NEW DEAL GOVERNOR OF FLORIDA

by MERLIN G. COX

DAVID SHOLTZ, New Deal governor of Florida, was not of the familiar cloth from which Florida governors are made. He believed when he began his campaign in 1932, that only a candidate who was cut from an unfamiliar pattern could be elected governor. Alfred Green and Roger West, who were associated with him in the practice of law in Daytona Beach, at first ridiculed Sholtz' plan to run without the support of the "court-house ring" in Volusia County. But David Sholtz wanted to be governor, and so he paid the filing fee, entered the race, and convinced a majority of the Florida voters that he was sincere. In the second primary he received the largest majority ever recorded for a candidate in the history of the state to that date.

The surprising triumph of David Sholtz in 1932, reflected the economic conditions of the period. A cheerfully enthusiastic optimism was an asset for any gubernatorial aspirant in those days when Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal was restoring hope to a depressed nation. Sholtz convinced many of those who listened to his stump speeches that he would provide jobs for all good Floridians, that he would reopen the closed schools with a nine-month school term, that teachers would be paid in full, and that the children would be furnished free textbooks.¹

The elections of 1932 also illustrate the observation of V. O. Key, Jr. in describing Florida's political institutions. Key believed that the mass influx of new voters, "a multiplicity of state factions, a dispersion of leadership in exaggerated form, and a discontinuity or lack of persistence in the grouping of voters into factions" is liable to turn a first effort to be elected governor almost into a lottery. It was possible, according to this interpretation, for anyone with strong home-town strength to become gov-

1. W. T. Cash, *The Story of Florida*, 4 vols. (New York, 1944), III, 8.



Governor David Sholtz (reproduced from W. T. Cash's *The Story of Florida*, Vol. IV).

ernor of Florida.² But does this analysis explain how a native of Brooklyn, New York, a graduate of Yale University, with virtually no support from recognized local and state political organizations, could be elevated to the highest position in Florida politics in time of great economic crisis?

David (Dave) Sholtz was born in Brooklyn, October 6, 1891. His parents were Michael and Annie (Bloom) Sholtz. Michael Sholtz was born and received most of his formal education in Germany. At the age of fifteen emigrated to the United States, settling in New York, where he made fortunate investments in land and other property. The three Sholtz children - Dave, Rosalie, and Ethel - were all well educated. After attending public schools in Brooklyn, David became an honors student at Yale, graduating in 1914. He received the Bachelor of Laws degree in 1915, from Stetson Law School in DeLand.³

The year that young David Sholtz went off to Yale, his father visited Daytona, Florida, and liked it so well that he decided to invest in its future. He erected the first concrete bridge across the Broadway approach to the Halifax River⁴ and started a new electric plant in the Halifax area. He so admired the Brooklyn Dodgers that he built another Ebbetts Field in Daytona Beach as a training camp for the team. The Dodgers trained at this field only one year, 1916, but they won the pennant that year.⁵

David Sholtz began practicing law in Daytona in 1915. Roger West, junior law partner in the firm of Sholtz, Green and West, remembers him as a "kindly person with a sincere interest in helping people." As a dynamic public speaker, Sholtz has been compared to Huey Long. He seldom, if ever, used notes and always gave an impression of complete sincerity. This urbane Yankee convinced Florida crackers that he too was a fighter against political bossism. Sholtz used a friendly smile, a warm handshake, and a convincing approach to serious issues to project himself

2. J. E. Dovell, *Florida: Historic, Dramatic, Contemporary*, 4 vols. (New York, 1952), II, 806, citing V. O. Key, *Southern Politics* (New York, 1944), 88-89.

3. Cash, *op. cit.*, III, 8.

4. Ianthe Bond Hebel, *Centennial History of Volusia County, Florida, 1854-1954* (Daytona Beach, 1955), 10.

5. Interview with Henry Pollitz, April 30, 1964. Pollitz, who managed Daytona Beach's Ebbetts Field in 1916, is now retired and lives in Daytona Beach.

into the lives and problems of others. "The ladies thought him handsome and children loved him," recalls Henry Pollitz, who was associated with Sholtz throughout the gubernatorial campaign of 1932, and later served as director of the license bureau in Tallahassee.

In 1916 Sholtz was a candidate for the Florida legislature, surprising his opposition with strong grass-roots support from both the eastern and western parts of Volusia County. Nonetheless, once elected he ran into strong opposition from the "courthouse ring" that had ruled the county for many years. Sholtz tried to secure revenge by introducing a bill in the Florida legislature which would have divided Volusia into two counties with county seats in both DeLand and Daytona Beach to correspond to what he described as two contrasting cultures.⁶

When the United States entered World War I, Sholtz received a commission as ensign in the United States Navy, serving on the censorship board. He was stationed in Key West and Havana, Cuba.⁷

Sholtz returned to his law office on South Beach Street in 1921, just as the boom was beginning and the area was filling up with many new settlers. A few years later, 1926, the Florida land boom had collapsed, depression quickly followed, and money became scarce in Daytona Beach, as it was everywhere else. Few clients could pay their bills, except those that Sholtz represented; or so it seemed to other attorneys. "When the attorney's fee of \$5,000 was presented to one such client, the payment was forthcoming immediately, and the check was really good," recalls Sholtz' junior partner. There were other instances, however, when Sholtz gave unstintingly of his services to some poor widow about to lose her home. If Sholtz overcharged wealthy clients, his friends remembered that he gave freely of his expert services to the needy.⁸

In 1925, while Alice Mae Agee of Norfolk, Virginia, was visiting Daytona Beach, she met David Sholtz and they were married on December 28, that same year. Michael was the only

6. Reminiscences of W. J. Gardiner, Daytona Beach attorney. Interview March 14, 1964.

7. Cash, *op. cit.*, III, 8.

8. Reminiscences of Roger West, Daytona Beach attorney and former member of the Sholtz law firm. Interview February 27, 1964.

child born of this union, but Carolyn and Lois were adopted, and a fourth child, an orphan boy, lived with the family, although he was never legally adopted.

Sholtz was an energetic man and very active in civic affairs. He helped organize the Daytona Beach Rotary Club, served two years as president of the Daytona Beach Chamber of Commerce, and for two years was president of the East Coast Chamber of Commerce. In 1927, he became president of the Florida State Chamber of Commerce. It was partly because of his experience meeting Floridians in all walks of life throughout the state that Sholtz concluded that he could be elected governor.

He announced for the Democratic nomination for governor in 1932, against two former Florida governors, Cary A. Hardee and John W. Martin. Stafford Caldwell, Charles M. Durrance, Arthur Gomez, Thomas S. Hart, and J. Tom Watson were also gubernatorial candidates in the first primary. Durrance, a member of an old Florida family, had graduated from Stetson University and the University of Virginia Law School. Caldwell, a Baptist, had served as attorney for the Florida East Coast Railway and other Flagler interests.⁹ Almost all of Sholtz' opponents possessed the traditional qualities necessary for victory in Southern politics, which Sholtz lacked. How could this upstart Yankee from Brooklyn who did not deny a Jewish ancestry, in an era when Hitler's anti-semitism was spilling over into Florida, seriously hope to become governor of Florida? Sholtz was vigorously opposed by the strong political organization in his own county headed by Francis Whitehair. Apparently few in the state seriously expected David Sholtz to win the nomination except the ever-optimistic Sholtz. The "experts" freely predicted that former Governors Martin and Hardee would capture the majority vote and oppose each other in the runoff.¹⁰

The political prognosticators, however, were failing to take into account either the Sholtz personality or the Florida scene during the depression. The economic crisis which began in Florida after the "boom bubble" burst in 1926, had worsened by the close of Governor Doyle Carlton's administration. The state government was in debt, a violation of the Florida constitution, and

9. Dovell, *op. cit.*, II, 802.

10. *Daytona Beach News-Journal*, March 25, 1932.

more than 150 Florida cities and towns were in default on their bond obligations. St. Petersburg announced a tuition charge in her public schools and was imploring childless citizens to pay tuition for poor children. Vast suburban developments stood as monuments of men's folly in the land boom, during which most Florida municipalities had expanded their debts and city limits too rapidly. Wages were low and hours were long. The *Miami Herald* want-ads advertised for women to iron in a laundry for one dollar for a nine-hour day. Jobs were offered to men and boys that paid board and lodging and a dollar a week. On the outskirts of Miami stood a large hotel, beautiful in design, erected at a cost of millions to house winter guests. It was not quite completed when the boom collapsed. During the depression it became a chicken farm, with incubators and coops in what was supposed to have been luxurious bedrooms.¹¹ Similar conditions existed all over Florida. Aside from the inadequate winter tourist trade, Florida's economy was at a very low ebb, and Federal money was not yet available for relief or public works. The election of 1932 must, of necessity, be viewed against this background of economic crisis.

In the first, Cary Hardee campaigned on his record as governor from 1921 to 1925, but the slogans of Coolidge prosperity seemed somewhat out of key by 1932. Former Governor Martin, who took credit for paving most of Florida's roads, promised that if elected for a second term he would guarantee that everyone would have "a dollar in his pocket and a smile on his face."¹² Martin received 66,940 votes in the first primary, which surprised no one. The Democratic leadership, however, had no logical explanation for the popularity of David Sholtz, who was in second place with 55,406 votes.¹³

Sholtz campaigners recall how he had "beat the bushes" for votes, stumping the state from end to end and speaking in every county. His tailor says that Sholtz lost so much weight during the campaign that his trousers had to be altered almost every time they came in for cleaning.¹⁴ Sholtz received a strong en-

11. B. Bliven, "Warmth for Sale," *New Republic*, LXXVIII (March 7, 1934), 98-100.

12. Dovell, *op. cit.*, II, 802.

13. Allen Morris, *The Florida Handbook, 1963-1964* (Tallahassee, 1964), 191.

14. Pollitz interview.

dorsement from his home town newspaper, the *Daytona Beach News-Journal*, and its editor, Herbert Davidson, even went to Tampa to help win the support of the *Tampa Tribune* for Sholtz.¹⁵

The second primary was one of the most bitter in Florida's political history. Martin, recognizing the strength of his antagonist, turned Sholtz' alleged Jewish ancestry into a major issue in the campaign. Sholtz was in fact an active member of St .Mary's Episcopal Church in Daytona Beach, but Martin secured sworn depositions from Germany trying to prove Sholtz' Jewish ancestry. Sholtz tried to ignore this smear type of campaign and refused to be angered by it. A Sholtz worker, campaigning in West Florida defined an Episcopalian as "something midway between a Methodist and a Baptist." Sholtz himself talked about the serious economic and educational issues facing Florida, smiling and shaking hands all the time. People liked his friendly, easy-going manner, and believed him to be sincere. Sholtz discussed the depression crisis in detail, and promised that if elected there would be jobs for the hungry and unemployed, and that the closed schools would be opened for a full nine-month term each year. There would be free textbooks for everyone and tax millage reductions for small homeowners.¹⁶

Campaign contributions were slow in coming in and money was hard to come by in depression Florida. Jack Bird, who campaigned with Sholtz, remembers how they walked up and down Beach Street in Daytona begging for money to mail out a few campaign letters. "Unable to advertise on the radio because he couldn't get the money," Bird recalls, "we learned about Mayor Curley's success with loudspeaker attachments on trucks. We traveled from place to place and spoke to the people. If loudspeakers would work in Boston, why wouldn't they work in Florida? Whenever we had a potential audience of ten people," Bird said, "I would stop the truck. Then Dave would begin speaking about free school books, real pay for teachers, and jobs for the unemployed. Then fifty to a hundred people would gather. Dave would ask them to sign a little pledge card to support him, and they usually signed it. Yes sir, Dave Sholtz defeated the biggest

15. Interview with Herbert Davidson, editor of the *Daytona Beach News-Journal*, April 15, 1964.

16. Dovell, *op. cit.*, II, 802.

machine in the history of the state of Florida. On election eve the gamblers placed odds at two hundred to one.”¹⁷

When the second-primary ballots were counted, Sholtz had received the Democratic nomination for governor. Political analysts were surprised, as were many people in Daytona Beach and Sholtz’ political opponents throughout Florida. This had been the first try for state office by Sholtz, and he had received the largest majority ever recorded for a candidate in the history of the state.¹⁸ In the general election Sholtz defeated W. J. Howey, the Republican candidate, by a vote of 186,270 to 93,323. It was a practice of Florida Republicans to vote in the Democratic primary and then switch back to the Republican ticket in the general election in November. Republican voters in 1932 represented 33.4 per cent of the total vote cast in the governor’s race.¹⁹

In his first message to the legislature, Governor Sholtz praised Franklin Roosevelt as a great national leader: “President Roosevelt has boldly shown the way to the nation and Congress has worked with him for the solution of national problems. I can only ask that you, within all Constitutional grounds, work with me in the solution of our state problem.”²⁰ The governor recommended a reduction in the cost of license tags to “a reasonable tax such as \$5.00;” a conservation department for the state; and “an intelligent, constructive, and discriminating approach to a balanced budget.” To secure the funds so that teachers could be paid in cash instead of script, Sholtz proposed that the income from motor vehicle license tags, the one mill school tax allowed by the constitution and the state’s share from pari-mutuel betting at the race tracks be diverted to the school fund. State school funds should be earmarked, he insisted, for teacher salaries and for free school books.²¹

The governor won his greatest battle with the Florida legislature on the issue of free school books. The powerful publishers

17. *Daytona Beach News Journal*, April 30, 1932. Also recollections of Jack Bird and Henry Pollitz who were active during the campaign on behalf of Sholtz. Bird, director of the state road camps during the Sholtz administration, presently resides in Volusia County and was interviewed April 2, 1964.

18. Cash, *op. cit.*, III, 8.

19. Morris, *op. cit.*, 198.

20. *Message of David Sholtz to the Florida Legislature*, Session of 1933 (Tallahassee, 1933), 1.

21. *Ibid.*, 3.

constituted a formidable lobby against the bill. They entertained many members of the legislature and labeled the Sholtz proposal "socialistic." Sholtz met their challenge by getting to know the legislators, talking to them about his plans for Florida, and impressing them with his sincerity. He even made peace with the political powers in Volusia County, which caused a reaction among some of his supporters in East Volusia who opposed any kind of "compromise." They felt Sholtz had failed them when he had not put the "courthouse ring" behind bars as many claimed he had promised to do.²² But, the legislature approved the governor's program of free textbooks, and he felt that he had won a major victory.

The governor was also concerned about the state road camps, claiming that some "Floridians took better care of their cattle than the state took care of the inmates of these camps." He insisted upon buildings with plumbing and hot water which were "suitable for human habitation in the twentieth century," He ordered investigation of alleged mistreatment of prisoners, arguing that "they too were human beings."²³

Governor Sholtz enjoyed the respect of President Roosevelt and was proud of their close personal friendship and association. He was delighted to ride in an open car with the president in a parade held in Jacksonville. This friendship with the administration certainly did nothing to interfere with the flow of Federal funds into Florida during New Deal days.

In a radio broadcast commemorating his second anniversary in office, Governor Sholtz delivered a fireside address in which he related his achievements to date: "With reference to the financial affairs of the state, I want to call your attention to the fact that at the beginning of my administration, July 1, 1933, there was a deficit of \$2,124,000 in state revenue. At the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 1934, the state budget was balanced and the deficit had been changed into a surplus of \$591,000, a net gain in the financial position of the state of \$2,715,000. Not only that, but we paid off more than \$400,000 of past due obligations which were inherited by this administration." Regarding education, he pointed out that "teachers now receive their

22. W. J. Gardiner recollections.

23. Jack Bird recollections.

checks promptly," and every dollar allotted for teacher's salaries was being used for that purpose. He took credit for having "established" and maintained "a fine relationship with the National Administration." Outlining his future plans to his radio listeners, the governor recommended the creation of a state highway patrol system and the development of a state highway safety program. He also strongly urged that Floridians develop friendly relations with the Latin American countries to the south, pointing out their proximity to the state.²⁴

Governor Sholtz regretted that the state could not provide jobs for all who deserved them, but the government could not afford, he said, to carry the entire burden. "I have followed the policies advocated by our President," he observed, "of giving employment to the greatest extent possible. It would constitute bad faith with the Federal Government, which has expended more than fifty million dollars in this state for relief without one dollar of matching funds by the State, not to do our part in giving maximum employment."

Governor Sholtz insisted in 1935, that the state was on the road to economic recovery.²⁵ The Florida and national press agreed that the economic outlook was brighter. O. G. Villard, writing in the *Nation*, March 13, 1935, observed: "If one were to judge Florida by the appearance of Miami one would have to say that the depression is over in this state. The streets are thronged with the tourists the city must have in order to live; the nightclubs flourish; there is building everywhere. The F. E. R. A. (Federal Emergency Relief Administration) reports only 4,000 cases on the relief rolls, as against a peak of 16,000 in 1932."²⁶ On March 9, 1935, *Business Week* announced a Florida comeback, but insisted that it was not a boom.²⁷

In his final report as governor, delivered at the inaugural ceremonies for newly elected Fred Cone on January 5, 1937, Sholtz summarized his achievements. He admitted with candor that he had "suffered some disillusionments. Experience has

24. *Radio Address by Governor David Sholtz on the Second Anniversary of His Inauguration*, January 3, 1935 (Tallahassee, 1935), 2.

25. *Ibid.*, 6.

26. O. G. Villard, "Florida Flamboyant," *Nation* (March 13, 1935), CXL, 295.

27. "Florida Comeback; Not Boom," *Business Week* (March 9, 1935), 16.

proven that one's highest ideals oftentimes are not possible of attainment and of complete realization. There is quite a different perspective from the inside than there is from the outside looking in. Sometimes, it becomes advisable in the common interests and the common good to substitute the practical, at least for the time being, for the idealistic, and secure half a loaf of advantage and betterment than no loaf at all." ²⁸

The governor was proud of the Citrus Commission and Florida Park Service that had been established during his administration, and of the laws extending aid to the needy aged and to the blind. A comprehensive Workman's Compensation Act had been enacted into law, as well as legislation setting up a state welfare board. The state's budget had been balanced and \$2,000,000 in past due bills, inherited from the previous administration, were paid. State appropriations for public schools were increased by more than \$6,000,000 a year; free textbooks were available; the cost of auto tags was reduced \$2,000,000 a year; and state millage was lowered from six and five-eighths to two and one-half mills, the lowest in Florida history. All of this, Sholtz pointed out, had been accomplished without a sales tax, income tax, or a nuisance tax of any kind, and the \$5,000 homestead exemption had not been changed. "Throughout," Sholtz concluded, "I have but followed our President's wise example which in his own words was 'substituting food for words, work for idleness, hope for despair.'" ²⁹ Truly, David Sholtz will be remembered as the New Deal Governor of Florida and many of the achievements of his administration remain today.

Governor Sholtz made enemies. In this regard, his friends point out, he was no different than other Florida chief executives. He was disliked for a variety of reasons. Those individuals who knew him best say that there just were not enough jobs to go around. Each day a line, sometimes a full block long, formed in front of the Capital where the governor had his office. The unemployed had signed a pledge to support Sholtz, many believing that he in turn was promising each individual a job. He could not put them all on the state payroll and there were

28. "Final Report of Governor David Sholtz Delivered at Inaugural Ceremonies, January 5, 1937" (Tallahassee: 1937), 4.

29. *Ibid.*

not enough Federal funds to provide jobs for everyone. As a result, some of the voters were disappointed. Mrs. Cliff Gordon, the governor's secretary for many years, including those in Tallahassee, remembers him as "one of the greatest governors Florida ever had. He was a fine man, a good-hearted man, who wanted to help his fellow man. There was nothing really selfish about Dave Sholtz."³⁰

Sholtz never really retired from public life. His wife, known to her friends as "Allie," wanted a country home, and he purchased one in North Carolina. She wanted to live on a farm, but the governor was not ready yet to leave Florida, and so they bought a second home in Miami. Sholtz ran once more for elective office, but he was defeated in 1938, by the popular New Deal Senator, Claude Pepper.³¹ Sholtz continued his many civic activities and wherever he traveled he was a super-salesman for Florida, its climate and resources.

Scholtz maintained his legal residence in Daytona Beach throughout his life, and returned there in 1952, to promote one of his favorite projects, a bridge across the inlet. Just one year later, a minor automobile accident followed by a heart attack ended his long and distinguished career. He was buried in Cedar Hill Cemetery in Daytona Beach.

30. Interview with Mrs. Cliff Gordon, Brooksville, March 2, 1964.

31. Morris, *op. cit.*, 200.

REPUBLICANS, BULL MOOSE, AND NEGROES IN FLORIDA, 1912

by G. N. GREEN

DURING THE EARLY weeks of 1912, President William Howard Taft became ruefully aware that a former White House occupant, Theodore Roosevelt, would be his major opponent when the Republican Party held its presidential nominating convention at Chicago in June. Taft's political aides were scouring the southern states, searching out Roosevelt Republican office-holders and dismissing them whenever found. Local postmasters were advised that if they did not bring a pro-Taft delegation to their state convention, they would no longer be deemed available for reappointment. Another Taft stratagem was to hold the southern state conventions ahead of the usual time and before the Roosevelt men could organize. For awhile Roosevelt Republicans remained hopeful over the possibility that many job-conscious Republicans would support their candidate, since he was so widely regarded as "the only Republican who could win." In January and February 1912, Roosevelt organizers throughout the South were led by Ormsby McHarg, a New York attorney who has been described as a "hard-bitten, experienced, practical politician." He attempted by various means to bring these men into the Roosevelt camp.

On February 6, however, it became obvious that McHarg's tactics were not succeeding. On that date Florida Republicans held their state convention in Palatka, and, although the convention collapsed even before it was completely organized, a ten-man Taft delegation was selected to represent Florida at the Republican national convention.¹

Joe Lee, Negro customs collector of Jacksonville and chairman of the Florida Republican convention, apparently tried to settle the many contested delegations by giving tickets to the convention hall only to Taft men, refusing to admit delegates "with-

1. Florida had twelve delegate seats, although considering the meagre 10,654 votes for Taft in 1908, Florida merited only one seat.

out tickets," and then revoking the qualifications of the Roosevelt men because they were not present. The selection of a ten-man Taft delegation to represent Florida at the Republican national convention in Chicago was rammed through the Palatka meeting, with the strong support of the Postmaster's Protective Association.² Lee's rulings evoked a storm of protest, and over half of the delegates, including many Negroes, walked out of the meeting. The secession faction convened elsewhere and enthusiastically elected a slate of delegates to the national convention pledged to Roosevelt. They also nominated pro-Roosevelt men to run for various state offices. Roosevelt, who "happened" to be in Miami at the time, was informed by telegram of the events taking place in Palatka, and presumably he gave his approval. His presence in Florida would seem to indicate that he was certainly in touch with the Roosevelt people on the state level and there were many who believed that he was the mastermind behind this action from the beginning.³

The regular Republican state convention, consisting mostly of whites, continued on with its work after the Roosevelt delegates bolted, selecting a full state ticket. Fearful that these steamroller tactics in Florida would be duplicated in the rest of the South, Roosevelt and Ormsby McHarg agreed that their organization would attempt to contest all southern Republican conventions that named Taft delegations.

After Roosevelt formally announced in late February 1912, that his "hat was in the ring" and that he was available for the Republican nomination, his Florida supporters apparently felt that their rump convention in Palatka was too obviously an illegal affair, and that it could be branded a revolt by men who sought not principle, but patronage. After conferring with McHarg in mid-April, Roosevelt's supporters in Florida announced again their repudiation of the Republican convention in Palatka and

2. Half of the Florida Republican central committee were postmasters. The central committee supposedly ruled Florida's 10,000 or so Republicans with an iron hand. It tolerated Negroes, if they did as they were told. Joe Lee, though, with his Washington connections and excellent work both as postmaster and parliamentarian, was so powerful that the postmasters were a bit afraid of him. Lee controlled Florida's Negro Republican factions. *Daytona Beach News-Gazette*, March 23, 1912.

3. *Ibid.*; *New York Times*, February 7, 1912; *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, February 7, 1912.

issued a call for another state convention. The Roosevelt Republicans proclaimed that the dictation and rule of the officeholders' trust had become intolerable, that it was now time for what they called the Republican "masses" of Florida to take things into their own hands.⁴

The convention met in Jacksonville on May 18 in the Odd Fellows' Hall. Once again the Roosevelt enthusiasts selected delegates to the Republican national convention and candidates for the state ticket. The convention also excoriated Taft for appointing a Democrat to a Federal judgeship in Florida, for favoring the Catholic Church whenever he had a chance, and for not agreeing to enter a presidential primary in Florida. The leading white Roosevelt Republicans were W. O. Hodges, the convention's gubernatorial candidate, and H. L. Anderson, a Jacksonville attorney. This Jacksonville convention of bolting Republicans was in turn bolted by a group of Negroes led by C. H. Alston, a Negro lawyer from Tampa, who claimed that the white Roosevelt Republicans were discriminating against Negroes.⁵

The Republican national convention was scheduled to open in Chicago on June 18. Several days earlier, the party's powerful national committee assembled in that city to decide whether Taft or Roosevelt men were entitled to the 254 delegate seats which were in dispute. On June 9, the committee held hearings in which the three contesting Florida Republican delegations flailed away at one another. C. H. Alston led the Roosevelt Negro delegation; W. C. Hodges and H. L. Anderson, the "lily-white" Roosevelt delegation; and Joe Lee and Henry Chubb, the Taft delegation. Chubb was national committeeman from Florida and chairman of the Republican Party in Florida at the time.⁶

Ormsby McHarg accurately summed up the status of Republicanism in Florida at the time when he noted, "There is no Republican Party in Florida, for all the great number of delegations."⁷ Alston, however, captured the most attention at the hearing. When he tried to join the Jacksonville convention, he said, "One of the men wheeled on me and I wheeled on him

4. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, April 17, 1912.

5. *Ibid.*, May 19, 1912.

6. *Ibid.*, June 9, 1912.

7. *Ibid.*

and then they wheeled me out." He secured a ticket from one of the delegates and sneaked back in, hiding in the rear of the hall, but he was discovered again and forcibly evicted. Alston continued, amidst the national committee's roar of laughter, "I kept my ticket and brought it here and filed it with your secretary."⁸

Joe Lee admonished both Roosevelt delegations and warned that Florida would be better off if "outside leaders" like McHarg ceased organizing. McHarg countered that conventions of Florida Republicans were hardly more than private meetings of Federal officeholders, and that Republican slates were announced only after securing promises of Federal patronage. When a committee-man pointed out, "Everyone knows there is no use in putting out a ticket then," McHarg retorted, "Well, then, you frankly admit there is none. You might as well also admit there was no regularity in the election of the Taft delegates."⁹ Joe Lee could not answer McHarg's charge, but he did assert that "if there was no Republican Party in Florida for us, there could have been none for Roosevelt."¹⁰

The national committee awarded 235 seats to Taft and nineteen to Roosevelt. One observer, vainly trying to get the floor, insisted that no one would be recognized "but a hand-picked, machine-made crook."¹¹ Fisticfighting among the delegates and prospective delegates almost broke up several meetings. Although the national committee included some twenty Roosevelt Republicans, it voted unanimously against almost every Roosevelt delegation from the southern states. The Taft delegation from Florida was upheld 44-0. Apparently, Roosevelt had decided not to continue the battle of contesting the delegations from the South. Frank Munsey, millionaire newspaper publisher and chief financial supporter of Roosevelt, explained that challenging the Taft delegations from the South would force a tabulation of delegate support which would show the country Roosevelt's great strength. The contests were thus for early grass-roots psychological effect, a play of practical politics, and were not to be seriously fought for at the showdown in Chicago.¹²

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. Victor Rosewater, *Backstage in 1912* (Philadelphia, 1932), 130.

12. "Delegate Contests at Chicago," *Independent*, LXXII (June 20, 1912), 1386-1387.

Perhaps the American public, which had been given to understand that all Roosevelt's claims were valid, was startled to hear that Roosevelt's own men on the national committee voted to seat Taft men, not only from Florida but from some other contested states as well. But there were no charges of "sell out" directed at Roosevelt by his Florida supporters because they believed that Roosevelt was going to repudiate the Republican national convention and establish a third party throughout the nation - as, in fact, he tried to do. And they probably assumed that if by chance Roosevelt did capture the Republican nomination and win in November, he would withdraw federal patronage from the Taft machine in Florida and reward the original Roosevelt men.

Of course, the approved Florida delegation to the Republican national convention voted for Taft and for all the Taft resolutions. Chubb and Lee enthusiastically applauded the distinguished senator from Ohio, Warren G. Harding, when he described Taft in his nominating speech as an "inspiring personification of courage."¹³ Chubb, in fact, called the Republican convention "the greatest political event in the history of the party."¹⁴ The 1912 Republican platform endorsed conservative principles. It called for a furthering of the conservation program and a stricter enforcement of anti-trust legislation, but it contained little else of a positive nature.

After Roosevelt walked out of the Republican Party and announced his willingness to accept the presidential nomination of the new Progressive Party, his southern supporters, as elsewhere in the country, began marshalling their forces. Alston's Negro faction and Anderson's whites joined Roosevelt's third party. Concerning racial questions, each state had been advised to follow whatever local formula would be "best designed for party success." Roosevelt urged that northern Progressive leaders bring a few Negroes to the Progressive national convention which was scheduled to meet at Chicago in August. He knew, however, that southern Progressives, if they expected any votes, would have to disavow Negro support. Certainly there was little

13. *Proceedings of the Republican National Convention, 1912* (Chicago, 1912), 378.

14. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 4, 1912.

reason for southern Progressives to court the Negro vote, since very few Negroes voted in 1912, in the South. Although the "Roosevelt Georgia White League" had refused to admit Negroes into their convention hall, they were disturbed that Negroes had held their own convention and had selected a Negro Georgia delegation to send to the Progressive assembly in Chicago.¹⁵

H. L. Anderson, now the Progressive national committeeman for Florida, was anxious to avoid an embarrassing racial contest such as that besetting Georgia Progressives, so he prudently organized two conventions, one black and one white. Most of Florida's Negro voters, however, were not aware - and Anderson certainly would not be the one to inform them - that their convention would meet over a hundred miles away from the white meeting and being so inconveniently placed, it would have no real voice in the selection of delegates to the national meeting. Thirty-five Negroes, most of whom were probably hired by Anderson, convened in St. Augustine on July 26. Without protest, they pledged support to the white Progressive state and national ticket. One of the delegates at St. Augustine was, incredibly, C. H. Alston, who had heretofore battled the white faction.¹⁶

Florida's white Progressive Party was launched in Ocala, July 27. The convention elected delegates to the national convention, candidates for state offices, and adopted two resolutions: a pledge that the Progressive Party would appoint no one but Caucasians to party committees or Federal offices in Florida; and, a polemic accusing President Taft of various unpatriotic sins. Taft had selected John Cheney as Federal district judge of the southern district of Florida, allegedly as a political favor to loyal Henry Chubb and Joe Lee.¹⁷ H. L. Anderson denounced this appointment in the bluntest language: "The President of the United States has paid a dirty miserable debt to a lot of conscienceless grafters headed by a Negro as black as your hat by appointing as a successor to the venerable and beloved James W. Locke a man whose only claim to the high office of U. S. Judge is that Joe Lee helped steal a nomination for this fat fool. The

15. George Mowry, "The South and Progressive Lily White Party of 1912," *Journal of Southern History*, VI (May, 1940), 239-240.

16. *Ibid.*, 240.

17. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 27, 1912.

infamy of it. . . . By God I will speak out: this act of William Howard Taft is as infamous as hell.”¹⁸

Anderson made a more important announcement earlier in the day when he decreed that Negroes would not be allowed to participate in the Progressive white convention. Police officials in Ocala feared trouble, since many Negroes, who had expected to take part in the proceedings, were present. They were forced to move into the galleries to watch as spectators. During the afternoon session, C. H. Alston, who had made a quick trip in from St. Augustine, led a charge of Negro politicians onto the floor, but they were quickly repulsed and were also confined to the gallery. The white delegates complained that some of the attackers (omitting Alston's name) were in the pay of Chubb's Republicans, and insisted that Negro Progressives had no cause for resentment, since they had already held their own convention at St. Augustine. Then, H. C. Groves, a white Ocala man who was the spokesman for Negro factions in the area, moved to allow his followers to be seated on the convention floor. His motion was seconded, but before a vote could be taken it was ruled out of order. Alston tried again to come onto the convention floor, but he was blocked once more, and when quiet was restored, Anderson outlined the Florida Progressive platform. The white delegates on the floor and the segregated Negroes in the gallery listened as Anderson called for a lower tariff, total restriction of immigration, and the elimination of class distinctions and bigotry.¹⁹

Later that afternoon, a large group of Negroes in Ocala, led by Alston, announced their repudiation of both the white Progressive convention and the rigged Negro one in St. Augustine, and formed a Progressive coalition of their own. A full slate of candidates for state offices and delegates to the national convention was elected.²⁰ This marked the sixth state convention committed to Roosevelt that had been organized in less than six months.

The following day, July 28, H. L. Anderson came out in opposition to the Ocala Negro convention, stating that the Republican experience during the past thirty years showed the im-

18. *Ibid.*, July 28, 1912.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

possibility of maintaining a strong party based on a division of offices among white and Negro. It was much better for both Negroes and whites, he insisted, to have two white parties in Florida, the Democratic and the Progressive.²¹

Anderson's segregationist tactics fared no better in Florida, though than those of the Roosevelt Georgia White League. Negroes, moreover, in Alabama and Mississippi also held rebel Progressive conventions, and not only selected delegates, but sent them to the opening meeting of the Progressive national committee in Chicago, August 3. With delegates present representing these four southern states, Roosevelt was publicly faced with a bothersome and embarrassing race question.²² Roosevelt thereupon released for publication a letter he had written to Julian Harris, son of Joel Chandler Harris and an ardent Roosevelt supporter in the South, that was designed to influence the deliberations of the national committee. According to Roosevelt, the North and South had different race problems. Many Northern Negroes were educated, he wrote, and because of their long history of free political action, they should be included in northern delegations. On the other hand, southern Negroes were politically corrupted and should be excluded. Thus, the former President of the United States upheld white supremacy in the South and appealed only to "the best white men in the south."²³

On August 4, the Progressive national committee began to hear testimony in the case of Florida's rival delegations. The latter were the most vehement among the three contested states. H. L. Anderson admitted that he had barred Negroes from the white convention.²⁴ The Negro leader, Alston, making his second trip that summer to Chicago, and, also testifying for the second time before a national party convention in regard to Florida politics, described his efforts of July 27 to get onto the floor of

21. *Ibid.*, July 29, 1912.

22. Mowry, "The South and the Progressive Lily White Party of 1912," 240. The Negro "lily-white" delegates (if such description can be made) who were chosen in St. Augustine on July 26, apparently had no further role assigned them in the campaign. They are not mentioned in the accounts of the National Progressive convention.

23. Elting E. Morison (ed.), *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (Cambridge, 1954), VII, 584-590.

24. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 4, 1912.

the Ocala meeting: "Mr. Anderson met me at the door and said, 'There is not going to be a nigger in this convention'." ²⁵

Anderson challenged this statement and urged Alston to confine himself to "the facts." Alston replied that this was what he was doing and that if he failed in this effort he "would beg the forgiveness of his God." Alston reminded the committee that he had participated in national conventions for sixteen years, and he had never seen Anderson present. He insisted that he only wanted to work for Roosevelt whom he loved and admired. He claimed that there were less than 200 white Republicans in Florida, and said that this was because the corrupt Republican machine and its leader, Customs Collector Joe Lee, only wanted enough Republicans to hold the Federal offices. ²⁶

United States Senator Joseph Dixon of Montana, provisional chairman of the committee, then asked if the lack of white Republicans in Florida was because they were reluctant to follow the leadership of Negroes. Alston insisted that Florida Negroes did not want "to lead" anybody, they merely wished to follow. "We are not ward politicians," he added. "We came up here in a chartered Pullman and we won't have to walk back. We are all men of means. One of our colored delegates is worth \$250,000, and there is hardly one among us who is not worth \$50,000." ²⁷

Although several committeemen heckled Alston and asked him badgering questions during the hearing, he seems to have made a good impression upon others present. E. F. Tuttle, national committeeman from Rhode Island, protested against any attempts at discrimination against southern Negro delegates, which then blocked the certain casting aside of these Negroes. The chairman hastily called a recess and wired Roosevelt in New York, hoping to obtain some concessions for the Negro claimants. Obviously, a total shutout of southern Negroes from the Progressive convention might cost the former president many votes from northern Negroes and Negro sympathizers. Roosevelt, nonetheless, held firm to his position as he had stated it in the letter to Julian Harris, and reiterated his support of the "lily-white" position in the South. ²⁸

25. *New York Times*, August 4, 1912.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*

For the next two days the national committee dallied and debated, then announced a compromise for the four contested delegations. The "lily-white" delegates were to be seated; Negroes were to attend and sit in as supplemental delegates. The Negroes immediately denounced the decision. "If we attend the convention merely as spectators," Alston remarked, "we prefer to buy our own tickets." The five Florida Negro delegates stripped the Roosevelt badges from their lapels and together with the Negro delegations from Mississippi and Alabama, held an indignation meeting. White southerners, led by Julian Harris and H. L. Anderson, also objected to the compromise. The committee, either questioning the regularity of Anderson's calling a white and a Negro convention separately, or following Anderson's suggestion that he would rather see both delegations barred than to allow a Florida Negro onto the convention floor, decided to unseat the white delegates from Georgia and Florida. The white delegates from Alabama and Mississippi were approved. Thus, for a few hours, Florida went totally unrepresented in the Progressive national convention. After more debate and the personal intervention of Roosevelt, however, the southern whites accepted a solution that guaranteed white supremacy without actually stating it.²⁹

Some Progressives charged that President Taft had manipulated the activities of southern Negro delegates at the Progressive convention and had defrayed their traveling expenses to Chicago. All Negroes involved, however, hotly denied this.³⁰ Certainly Alston's militant deeds often played into the hands of the Taft Republicans, especially on the two occasions when he disrupted "regular" Roosevelt conventions in Florida. Just what his presence at the St. Augustine convention connoted is a mystery. He may not have known it was rigged until he got there. He may have been so enraptured with Theodore Roosevelt's candidacy that he was willing to tolerate a "lily-white" organization, until it actually barred him from its doors in Ocala. He may have been, as Joe Lee apparently was, selling out his race for a fee; or, perhaps, he was following some other line of reasoning known only to

29. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 6, 7, 1912; Mowry, "The South and the Progressive Lily White Party of 1912," 243-244.

30. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 6, 1912.

Negroes in public life during an era when Negroes had many detractors and few sympathizers, South or North.

It is interesting that H. L. Anderson never charged Alston with being a pawn of Taft. Anderson and Alston were men of different races working in different ways toward separate ends; they had been personally hostile toward one another for a long time. When Alston switched his support it was not to Taft, but to Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic party - the party traditionally most devoted to state rights and white supremacy.³¹

Wilson received 36,417 votes in Florida, and the Democrats carried every county in the state. With the Republican vote split, the Socialist Party candidate, Eugene V. Debs, ran second in Florida with 4,806 votes. Roosevelt was third with 4,535, and Taft was low man with 4,279 votes. Even the combined Progressive and Republican vote showed a drop of some 1,800 votes from the 10,654 votes that Taft received in 1908.³²

Roosevelt, apparently, managed to retain support of the white and possibly a portion of the Negro progressive Republican factions in Florida, but the vast majority of progressives in Florida preferred to work within the Democratic Party. These men admired Wilson's program in New Jersey, whereas Roosevelt's progressivism was spotty.

Aside from showing part of the confusion and corruption inherent in all Florida political organizations during the early decades of the twentieth century, the 1912 struggle between Taft and Roosevelt factions in the state illustrated the general lack of consideration or enthusiasm for the Negro cause on the part of either Republicans or the short-lived Progressive Party. By 1912, it was not the Joe Lee type of Negro politician, but rather the Alston type, that was increasing in number in the South. True, the Democratic Party of the South, exemplified in Florida by Governor Albert W. Gilchrist, seemingly was indifferent to problems of the Negro. But the almost total disregard of Negro rights by the Republican Party and its Progressive offshoot in 1912, in the North as well as the South, motivated some of the more vigorous Negroes to switch to the Democratic Party.

31. *Ibid.*, August 13, 1912.

32. *Report of the Secretary of State, 1908* (Tallahassee, 1909; *ibid.*, 1912 (Tallahassee, 1913). Votes were cast for individual electors rather than for entire states.

Individual Negro leaders of that day, like C. H. Alston of Florida, were to be the harbingers of a mass conversion of colored voters to the Democratic Party which would take place a generation later, under the New Deal program of Theodore's more liberal cousin, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

THE ANNUAL MEETING, MAY 7-9, 1964

MINUTES OF THE DIRECTORS MEETING

THE OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS of the Florida Historical Society held its annual meeting at 8:00 p.m., May 7, 1964, in the conference room of the Everglades Hotel in Miami. The following board members were in attendance: Frank B. Sessa, James R. Knott, Lucius B. Ruder, Thelma Peters, Margaret Chapman, H. J. Doherty, Jr., Adam G. Adams, Charles W. Arnade, Mrs. John T. Bills, Mrs. Ralph Davis, Mrs. John R. Dubois, Walter R. Hellier, James H. Lipscomb, III, Ben C. Willis, and Samuel Proctor.

President Sessa called the meeting to order and distributed a printed agenda for the meeting. He then read a letter from Ney C. Landrum, director of the Florida Outdoor Recreational Planning Committee, asking that our Society recommend historical and archeological sites worthy of preservation through the efforts of the state park service. He introduced William A. Buckley of the Florida Outdoor Recreational Planning Committee who spoke briefly of the work of his committee in preserving historical landmarks. It was agreed that the Society would be happy to cooperate in the establishing of such sites.

Dr. Charles Arnade, chairman of the Committee for Investigation of Historical Claims made by Florida Attractions, reported on a meeting of his committee held recently in Cocoa. The other members of his committee who attended the Cocoa meeting were Mrs. Ralph Davis, William Goza, Carver Harris, and Mr. Bartell of the Fernandina museum. The committee recommended that the president of the Society set up a committee to establish a "seal of approval" to be awarded biennially to those Florida attractions which have authentic historic claims, the legitimacy to be established by an investigation of the Society. The committee believes that attractions would vie for this approval and that the prestige of the Society would be enhanced by having a recognized "seal of approval." Mr. Adams moved that the permanent

committee recommended by Dr. Arnade be created and plans formulated for carrying out a study of Florida attractions in order to determine those which are authentic. Judge Knott seconded the motion and it carried.

Dr. Sessa read a letter from Earle W. Newton, director-general, of the National Quadricentennial Commission, St. Augustine, suggesting that the Society set the date of the next annual meeting to coincide with a Pan American Congress on Historic Monuments to be held in St. Augustine, June 10-12, 1965. After some discussion, it was determined that it would be more in the interest of the Society to meet in May, and Judge Willis moved that the president schedule the meeting to be held sometime prior to May 15, 1965. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Bills and the vote was unanimous. Mr. Goza renewed an invitation for the Society to meet in Clearwater at the Jack Tar Harrison Hotel in 1966. Miss Chapman moved the acceptance of this invitation. Dr. Doherty seconded the motion and the motion carried.

Dr. Sessa announced the following as winners of the essay contest sponsored annually by the Society in the high schools of Florida:

Charles Devenny, "The Second Seminole War"

(Archbishop Curley High School, Miami)

Ronnie English, "The Five Towns of St. Marks"

(Leon High School, Tallahassee)

Neila Palmer, "Osceola"

(Leon High School, Tallahassee)

Dr. Sessa commended Dr. Merlin Cox of Daytona Beach Junior College for his work as chairman of the contest committee.

Dr. Doherty stated that the Quadricentennial Committee of St. Augustine wants to republish twenty or more articles from the *Quarterly* as a part of the 1965 celebration. In this connection Dr. Sessa read the following resolution prepared by Al Manucy of the Quadricentennial Commission:

WHEREAS, the St. Augustine Quadricentennial Commission, appointed by the President of the United States of America to assist in commemoration of the 400th anniversary of St. Augustine, Florida, has asked the Florida Historical Society to partici-

pate in the observance of this anniversary by permitting the use of certain historical articles printed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*; such use to be in the form of reprinting the said articles as separate booklets for sale to the public;

AND WHEREAS, the St. Augustine Historical Society has agreed with the Commission to act as Publisher of the said booklets;

AND WHEREAS a major purpose of the Florida Historical Society is the dissemination of historical information;

BE IT RESOLVED that the Florida Historical Society will participate in this program of publication by allowing the use of articles from the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, at the discretion of the Editor of the Florida Historical Quarterly.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Editor is authorized to negotiate agreements with the Publisher for suitable royalties upon publication of each article.

Judge Willis moved approval of the resolution. Mr. Adams seconded the motion and it carried. Dr. Doherty moved that the editor of the *Quarterly* in carrying out his responsibility as called for in the resolution must always include in publishing arrangements: (1) a split of royalty between the Society and the author (if the author wishes royalty), and (2) a proper identification of the article as being a reprint from the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. Hellier reported that a Museum of Underwater Relics is being planned at Jupiter. There was some discussion as to whether this was a genuine museum or another commercial "attraction." Mrs. Dubois said that she had heard that the Florida Park Board and the National Geographic Society had endorsed the project as a marine archeological museum. Mr. Hellier moved that our Society endorse the project provided a further investigation proves it to be an authentic museum. Mr. Adams seconded the motion and it carried.

Mr. Adams reported on the proposed Newsletter for the Society. The purpose of this periodical publication would be to keep the thirty or so historical societies and commissions in Florida informed about the Florida Historical Society and about events of significance to Florida historians. One way the *Newsletter* could be of service would be by making a composite of all collec-

tions and publications owned by societies, commissions, museums, or individuals. Mr. Adams expressed hope that Florida State University might supply an editor for the *Newsletter* and said that the name of Dr. William W. Rogers of the FSU faculty had been proposed to him. Judge Willis moved that the president appoint a committee to establish a specific plan for publishing a *Newsletter*, determine what material the *Newsletter* should include, and select its editor. Mrs. Bills seconded the motion and it carried.

Mr. Goza as chairman of the membership committee reported that a total of 169 new members had been added during the year, 131 individuals and 38 institutions. It was announced that the Society presently has more than a thousand members, the largest in its history.

Mr. Goza also reported that the Constitution and By-Laws Committee composed of himself, Dr. Proctor, Dr. Patrick, and Miss Chapman had prepared the necessary papers to file for re-incorporation of the Society with the Secretary of State. Miss Chapman said that Secretary of State Tom Adams had praised the committee for their efficient work.

Judge Knott offered a resolution commending Dr. Doherty for his capable service as editor of the *Quarterly* during the past two years. Miss Chapman seconded the resolution and agreement was unanimous. Dr. Samuel Proctor will become the editor of the *Quarterly* beginning July 1, 1964. Dr. Doherty recommended and it was voted that the editor would receive \$300 annually for editing expenses. A letter from Dr. Patrick supporting this expenditure was read by the president.

Miss Chapman distributed printed copies of the financial report. The balance in the treasury as of March 31, 1964, was \$14,500.38. Dr. Sessa announced that Paul L. Maddock had made an additional gift to the Society of stock certificates valued at \$232.50. Mr. Adams offered a resolution expressing gratitude to Mr. Maddock for his valuable gift. The motion was seconded and carried.

Mrs. Davis offered, gratis, the services of her husband, a professional photographer, and herself for the photographing in color or black-and-white of any monument or historical site for which the Society might desire to have a picture.

Upon the recommendation of Miss Chapman, who was recently elected president of the Florida Library Association, the Board appointed Miss Anita Geiger of the University of South Florida as assistant executive secretary. Miss Chapman announced that the Society added a total of 171 new members for the period April 1, 1963-May 5, 1964.

Dr. Sessa appointed the following to the publications committee: Samuel Proctor, chairman, Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., Rembert W. Patrick, and Margaret L. Chapman.

The Board of Directors then adjourned.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

The annual business meeting of the Florida Historical Society was held in the Banyan Room of the Everglades Hotel in Miami at 9:30 a.m., May 9, 1964. The meeting was called to order by the president, Dr. Sessa.

Dr. Sessa introduced Charles Devenny, the first place winner of the annual essay contest sponsored by the Society. Mr. Devenny is a student at Archbishop Curley High School in Miami and the topic which won him a fifty-dollar bond was "The Second Seminole War." Devenny's teacher, Brother Hellman, was also recognized.

Judge Knott, chairman of the resolutions committee presented a memorial resolution and two resolutions of thanks which were unanimously approved.

Duncan L. Clinch gave the report of the nominating committee which was unanimously approved as the slate of officers for the next year. They are: President, James R. Knott; 1st Vice-President, William Goza; 2nd Vice-President, Rembert W. Patrick; Honorary Vice-President, Lucius S. Ruder; Recording Secretary, Thelma Peters; Executive Secretary and Treasurer, Margaret Chapman; Directors, Robert L. F. Sikes (for one year), James C. Craig, Jay I. Kislak, David Forshay, Herbert J. Doherty, Morris White, Walter P. Fuller, and Merlin G. Cox.

The following were named for the nominations committee: Adam G. Adams, chairman, Frank B. Sessa, Gilbert Lycan, J. Ryan Beiser, and Mrs. W. S. Manning.

Hold-over Directors are Mrs. John T. Bills, E. M. Coving-

ton, Mrs. Ralph Davis, Ben Willis, Walter H. Hellier, Mrs. John R. Dubois, and Frank B. Sessa.

Dr. Sessa thanked the officers who have worked with him during his two years as president of the Society. Mr. Goza called for a rising vote of thanks for Dr. Sessa's faithful performance of his office. The response was unanimous.

Mrs. Emily Vance asked if it would not be possible to have the longer session on Saturday so that more working people could attend. In the discussion that followed it was stated that many out-of-town members liked to get home before Sunday. Dr. Sessa said he would leave it up to his successor to consider any changes in the scheduling of the annual meeting.

Dr. Sessa expressed appreciation of the Society to Dr. Charlton Tebeau of the University of Miami for his hospitality as arrangements chairman. The meeting was then adjourned.

RESOLUTION

James R. Knott, chairman of the resolutions committee, reported the following resolutions, which were adopted as read.

IN MEMORIAM

RESOLVED, that the officers and members of the Florida Historical Society observe with grief and regret the deaths of several members during the past year, including:

Raymond Camp, Sr.	Charles L. MaGruder
B. A. Carpenter	James P. Martin
Frederick W. Dau	John F. Miller
Fred K. Elder	I. N. Parrish
A. F. Fugitt	D. H. Redfearn
John W. Goggin	Bayard B. Shields
William L. Hart	Frederic A. Swain
G. B. Knowles	Thomas Edward Yandre
Henry E. Luhrs	

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED by the members of the Florida Historical Society in annual meeting assembled that this resolution be recorded in the official minutes of the Society, and that this resolution be published in due course.

RESOLUTIONS OF THANKS

1. BE IT RESOLVED that the officers and members of the Florida Historical Society do record their gratitude to Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. for the outstanding service which he has rendered the Society and to the people of Florida as Editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* during the past two years. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this resolution be recorded in the minutes of the Society and that a copy be forwarded to Professor Doherty.

2. BE IT RESOLVED that the officers and members of the Florida Historical Society express their gratitude to the Historical Association of Southern Florida, to the University of Miami, to the Committee on Local Arrangements, and to the Program Committee for their joint efforts in making the 1964 Annual meeting an unusually successful one in every sense. We also express our appreciation to the management of the Everglades Hotel for its hospitality. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this resolution be inscribed in the minutes of the Society and that copies be forwarded to our hosts.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
TREASURER'S REPORT

April 1, 1963 - March 31, 1964

Balance, March 31, 1963 \$15,539.10

Location of balance:

Fla. Nat'l Bank of Gainesville	\$1,442.13
First Nat'l Bank of Tampa	1,500.00
First Fed. Savs. & Loan	
at Gainesville	9,541.56
Guaranty Federal Savings	
& Loan of Gainesville	2,904.74
U. S. F. Account #9028	120.67
United Gas Corporation	
(Par Value)	30.00

Receipts:

Memberships:

Annual	\$2,907.50
Fellow	320.00
Libraries	834.00
Institutional-Contributing	175.00
Sponsor	50.00
Student	10.00
Quarterly Reprints (Individual Request)	38.91
Sales of Quarterlies	293.72
Royalties (University of Florida Press)	
D. L. Clinch biography	1,063.51
Osceola Issue of the Quarterly	57.96
United Gas Stock (17 Shares at	
\$10.00 a Share, Par Val.)	170.00
Julien C. Yonge Fund	850.00
Duncan L. Clinch Research Fund	500.00
Interests:	
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan	133.74
First Federal Savings & Loan	346.08
United Gas Corporation	25.20
Reimbursed for "Octavia Lavert"	2.50
Reimbursed for Xerox Copies	1.00

Total Receipts \$ 7,779.12

Total Rec. & Bal. \$23,318.22

Disbursements:

Quarterlies

Printing (3 issues)	\$2,980.99
Copyright	16.00
Editing Expense (Dr. H. J. Doherty, Jr.)	600.00
Office Supplies (Telephone, Postage)	110.74
Envelopes, Convention Press	126.42
Jax Letter and Printing Company	27.29
Pepper Printing Co. (Quarterly Stationery)...	21.89
Typewriter (for Quarterly Office)	115.00

Books and Binding	656.15	
Insurance	30.00	
D. L. Clinch Biography Research	33.00	
Annual Essay Contest	52.50	
Cash (Stamps, Supplies)	207.85	
Bank Service Charges	7.56	
Prepared Income Tax Report (C. P. Saclarides, C.P.A.)	25.00	
Property Taxes	3.82	
University of Florida Press (Clinch biography)	3,500.00	
Flowers (Mrs. Mark Boyd)	12.20	
Copy of Certificate of Incorporation (Duval County)	30.00	
U. S. F. Account #9028 (Telephone, Supplies, and Stationery)	261.43	
Total Disbursements	\$ 8,817.84	
	\$14,500.38	

Balance, March 31, 1964 \$14,500.00

Location of Balance:

Fla. Nat'l Bank of Gainesville	1,239.60
First Nat'l Bank of Tampa	1,093.22
Guaranty Fed. Savs. & Loan	4,996.72
First Federal Savings & Loan, Gainesville	6,895.64
United Gas Corporation	200.00
U. S. F. Account #9028	75.20
	<u>\$14,500.38</u>

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NEW MEMBERS

April 1963 - May 1964

S. L. Patton	Oklawaha
Mr. & Mrs. Tupper Barrett	Washington, D. C.
E. W. Ingram	Columbus, Ohio
McLaughlin Library	South Orange, N. J.
Mrs. E. C. Smith	Sarasota
Mrs. E. L. Holden	Cocoa Beach
K. W. Hallden	Clearwater
R. F. Tilley	Clearwater
A. P. Stuckey	Tampa
Dr. R. A. Warner	St. Petersburg Beach
J. M. Bartels	Fernandina Beach
R. J. Camp, Jr.	Jasper
Mr. & Mrs. James Hollingsworth	Palm Beach
H. W. Shepard	Clearwater
D. L. Hetrick	Coral Gables
Bank of Clearwater	Clearwater
Gordon Shealey	Alachua
J. W. Rabb	Ocala
Dr. M. S. Malone	Daytona Beach
P. S. Jackson	St. Petersburg
L. C. Bell	West Palm Beach
D. S. McClain	Sea Island, Georgia
Mrs. Louis Hill	Tallahassee
Mrs. H. M. Evans	St. Augustine
Miss Elizabeth Spears	Jacksonville
C. D. Corwin, Jr.	Punta Gorda
Mrs. Katherine L. Steele	Mandarin
Park Trammell Public Library	Lakeland
H. J. Drew	Live Oak
Jerry Million	Keystone Heights
Mr. & Mrs. R. L. Pilcher	Daytona Beach
J. P. Hartman	Vallejo, California
Winter Park Public Library	Winter Park
Dr. J. R. West	Lakeland
Lake City Junior College Library	Lake City
Mrs. O'Dessa B. Banks	Daytona Beach
Mrs. Betty Lou Mattair	Carrabelle
Hampton Junior College Library	Ocala
G. W. Varn	Jacksonville
Miss Rhoda Fay	Daytona Beach
Indian River Junior College Library	Fort Pierce
Miss Margaret Rogers	Daytona Beach
R. W. Mills	Maitland
J. C. Wyllie	Charlottesville, Virginia
R. X. Dehoney	Gainesville
Mrs. A. C. Wyllie	Clearwater
Washington Senior High School Library	Pensacola
Carver High School Library	Century
Vernon Peeples	Punta Gorda
Mrs. Phillip Goldman	Miami
Rogers Junior High School Library	Fort Lauderdale

Olsen Junior High School Library	Dania
Groissant Park School Library	Fort Lauderdale
Blanche Ely High School Library	Pompano Beach
Deerfield Park High School Library	Deerfield Beach
D. B. Crowder	Opa Locka
Miss Mattie Daniel	Clearwater
Miss Adelaide Yon	Gainesville
Miss Vivian Prince	Los Angeles, California
Southern Illinois University	Alton, Illinois
Jefferson County Historical Ass'n	Monticello
L. G. Zelenka, Jr.	Gainesville
C. W. Merkle, Jr.	St. Petersburg
Castillo de San Marcos	St. Augustine
R. A. Turk	Hollywood
J. W. McQuerry	Jacksonville
Fort Walton Beach Public Library	Fort Walton Beach
C. H. Stedman	Miami
Judge R. H. Cooper	Orlando
J. L. Olson	North Miami Beach
J. I. Kislak	Miami
Dr. Mary C. Park	Merritt Island
Monroe County Public Library	Key West
Dr. Frank Monaghan	Washington, D. C.
J. O. Hall	Miami
Julien Weinkle	Coral Gables
E. E. Crantham	Tampa
O. M. Bowen	Miami
T. B. Adams	Tallahassee
J. W. Carter	Tallahassee
R. L. Gold	Tampa
University of Georgia Library	Athens, Georgia
Miss Mariella Waite	Tampa
R. E. Wilkinson	Tallahassee
Mrs. C. A. Pound	Gainesville
Mrs. Lillian Lytton	Daytona Beach
Carnegie Library	Bradenton
T. J. Ryan	University, Alabama
H. D. Davis	Coral Gables
William Randel	Tallahassee
K. R. Johnson	Lake City
Daytona Beach Junior College Library	Daytona Beach
(Adult Education Division)	
Aurelio Tio	Santurce, Puerto Rico
F. W. Richards	Apalachicola
Mrs. William McLeod, Jr.	Coral Gables
S. T. Dell	Gainesville
Clay County Library Board	Green Cove Springs
Citrus County Historical Commission	Hernando
Miss Elise Laffitte	Lloyd
J. F. Hull	Marianna
O. L. Carpenter	Ocala
Mrs. L. B. Thrasher	Ocala
C. P. Saclarides	Clearwater
Miss Carol Myers	Hobe Sound
Francis L. Hogan	Miami
F. Hilton Crowe	Tampa
Ralph M. Sumner	Wauchula
Vernon D. Berry	Webster
DeSoto County Public Library	Arcadia

Walter P. Fuller	Clearwater
Loring G. Lovell	Lake City
Robert E. Delack	Largo
Mrs. Kathleen S. Gardner	Ormond Beach
Dr. Leedell W. Neyland	Tallahassee
Western Carolina College	Cullowhee, N. C.
Vernon D. Berry	Webster
Curtis Skates	Arcadia
B. Roy Gibson, Jr.	Port St. Joe
Biscayne College Library	Opa Locka
Sisters of Mercy	Pensacola
Lamar State College of Technology	Beaumont, Texas
Mrs. W. J. Dowling	Dade City
Lt. Col. and Mrs. Henry A. Schauffler	Miami
Georgetown University	Washington, D. C.
Florida Atlantic University	Boca Raton
Thomas McE. Johnston	Miami
Kenneth H. Beeson	St. Augustine
DeSoto National Memorial	Bradenton
Carl Fromhagen	Clearwater
Albert P. Rogers	Clearwater
George C. Miller	Crescent City
Berry C. Williams	Ft. Myers
William D. Wood	Melbourne
Charles Bockelman	New Smyrna Beach
L. A. Berry	Orlando
Mobile Public Library	Mobile, Alabama
Public Library of Fort Wayne and Allen County	Fort Wayne, Indiana
Wake Forest College Library	Winston-Salem, N. C.
S. A. Korones	Clearwater
Henry B. Watson	Daytona Beach
W. F. Hampton, Jr.	L a k e l a n d
J. L. Lennard	Miami
Harry L. Keller	Plant City
James E. Wallace	St. Petersburg
David Henige	Toledo, Ohio
Southside Junior High School	Jacksonville
Chipola Junior College	Marianna
James Meyers	Orlando
Port St. Joe High School Library	Port St. Joe
Russell V. Hughes	Sarasota
Mrs. Mildred Hawk	Tampa
Lloyd M. Phillips	Clearwater
Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Hunt	Dade City
Mrs. John Mann Goggin	Gainesville
Mrs. R. E. Shedron	Tavares
William A. Penn	Cynthiana, Ky.
J. Edgar Blocker	Ocala
Sister Elizabeth Ann	Miami
Edgar Ross	New York
Judge B. J. Driver	Clearwater
Florence Fritz	Fort Myers
John G. DuPuis, Jr.	M i a m i
Mrs. John P. Chazal, Sr.	Ocala
Mrs. John Sawaya	Ocala
Mrs. Earl Sumner	Fort Pierce
Mrs. Nelda DeVlieger	Detroit, Michigan
University College of Wales	Aberystwyth, Wales

BOOK REVIEWS

La idea colonial de Ponce de Leon: Un ensayo de interpretacion.

By Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois. (San Juan, Puerto Rico: Institute de Cultura Puertorriquena, 1960. 292 pp. Indice, documental.)

The author's purpose was to isolate and analyze the forces which impelled the conquistadores to perform their various feats, and to examine their ideas and attitudes toward mingling with other races. He chose Ponce de Leon, although Ponce was not one of the most spectacular of the Spanish adventurers, because there was ample documentation on him. Colonization in the sixteenth century, Ballesteros points out, was not the same as it had been in the time of the Phoenicians and Romans.

One factor to be considered was the variety of regional types of Spaniards at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a diversity already more than two centuries old. The ideals of the era were love of glory, a belief in strange and exotic novelties, and an apostolic Christianity. Castilians were also moved by the concepts of personal loyalty and honor.

It is strange that so little is known of Ponce's origins, but neither his birthplace nor his parents can be definitely substantiated. Apparently, he first went to the Indies as a young man, with neither wealth nor fame. In 1509, he returned to Spain seeking permission to conquer the island of San Juan (modern Puerto Rico), where he became governor. A basic duty of governors was, despite myth and legend, to establish centers of Spanish population in their domains.

Ponce's efforts in developing his colony were concentrated on mining, agriculture, and cattle-raising. Gold mining was limited by the availability of placer deposits. Native crops such as manioc were cultivated, and a multitude of Old World plants and fruits were introduced. Livestock was also introduced and easily acclimated.

In the final chapter, Ponce's concept of colony planting is discussed. His colony was not for merchants (Phoenician), but

for farmers and cattlemen (Roman). He wanted the Indians to live peacefully in their villages, unmolested and not enslaved. He had no utopian idea of creating a new society, but simply wished to reproduce, on a small scale, that of Castile. He had no grandiose dreams of vast wealth and huge kingdoms. It was in his lack of such dreams and schemes that he was original. He sought nothing more than a peaceful, self-supporting community of Spaniards and Indians. To men like Ponce de Leon, the Black Legend has little application.

DONALD E. WORCESTER

Texas Christian University

The Miami Metropolitan Experiment: Metropolitan Action Studies 2. By Edward Sofen. (Bloomington: Indian University Press, 1963. xiv, 313 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, appendices, notes, bibliography, index, map. \$6.95.)

Boosterism is more than a tradition in Florida, it is an economic way of life that underlies the entrepreneurial activities of many of the state's political and social dominants. Its implied promise of windfall profits has attracted many a small operator as well. Nostrums promising temporal bliss in the form of sparkling communities inhabited by stalwart oldsters and radiant youngsters are peddled via billboard, T.V., and two-page spreads in slick magazines; promises of bigger and "cleaner" industry, fatter payrolls, and larger tax rolls are vended by sundry commission and consultant firms. The possibility of profit from speculation in land, especially in the vicinity of federally-financed space enterprises, is propounded with tub-thumping zeal by corporations and associations of varying legitimacy and integrity.

Question: Where will this enthusiasm end? Answer: In the laps of Florida's permanent residents and their elected representatives. It will be their task to find ways to create governments to attend to the needs and to represent the wishes of the incoming population responding to the allure - both fanciful and tangible - of this rapidly growing state. Moreover, these newcomers will have no local political affiliations or loyalties and often will have high expectations as to the varieties and quality of service to be expected from units of local government.

In the *Miami Metropolitan Experiment*, Edward Sofen describes and analyzes the response of a cluster of communities - geographical, political, and social - to this problem of effective government. He deals with their efforts to solve problems generated by rapid and largely unplanned growth; a problem heightened in the Miami area by the presence of a substantial bloc of civil servants apprehensive of change and of a number of political hopefuls seeking the support either of the "good government" group, or of those fearful of a powerful "central" government. In his appraisal, Dr. Sofen combines the historical and analytical methods of research. The product, though occasionally-and necessarily-repetitive, provides an exhaustive "dossier" on the birth and formative years of Metro.

Sofen's contribution is of value to the student of urban affairs in two respects. First, he has presented a case study of clarity and detail. This will be of interest to those investigating the phenomenon of urban growth as it relates to the administration of public affairs and the development of viable political structure. Secondly, he presents a classic instance of purposeful political activity of the galaxy of voluntary agencies that became polarized around pro and anti-Metro points of view. In particular, Sofen traces the origins and development of a "junta" combining the news media, the Government Research Council (an arm of the Miami-Dade Chamber of Commerce), and the League of Women Voters. This group contributed materially to the action that created Metro, served as the focal point of the movements to defend Metro and its authorities, and generally represented that segment of the public that supported the governmental reforms that Metro represented to them.

In its handling of this matter of the pro-Metro coalition, Sofen's research provides valuable information bearing on the relation of voluntary organization activity to community structure. Recent research in this field suggests that in a politically unstructured situation the consensus and energetic sense of purpose brought to bear on local issues by well-coordinated and effectively-led voluntary groups can have a substantial effect on the direction of governmental policy and on the job security of elected and appointed officials. The *Miami Metropolitan Experiment* bears out this thesis, documents the process, and describes the phenomenon in very satisfactory fashion.

Metro is still an experiment. Its short career began inauspiciously with a marginal victory (215 votes) over its opponents. Its problems have ranged from unreasonable limitations on its taxing power to apparent administrative ineptitude on the part of some of its leaders. To date it has spent considerable energy in defeating three referendums and a battery of law suits aimed at reducing or eliminating its powers. In addition, we can expect continued debate over the meaning of the terms "purely local" authorities and "essentially metropolitan" authorities and their applications to the respective areas of responsibility of the county and of the various local governments. Moreover, Metro has become a scare word to many of Florida's citizens, a symbol of "The Administrative Juggernaut Crushing Individual Liberties." Metro's future is uncertain. Efforts have been made to secure a genuine test of public reaction to the plan. A major step in this direction was made with the passage, in the fall of 1963, of a constitutional amendment that provided for the election of a commissioner to assume the role of "county mayor."

Sofen's book contains much to commend it - to the sociologist, in its presentation of the dynamics of group organization, coalition, and conflict; to the psychologist, in those elements dealing with the emergence of dominant personalities in the various camps; to the public administrator, who is presented with classic contrasts in administrative techniques (and their political consequences); to the politician, who will be interested in the tactical maneuvers devised by the contenders; to the journalist, who will be impressed with this appraisal of the power of the press; to the historian, who will be interested in tracing the historical roots of the pattern of reaction of this community to proposed further centralization of governmental authority; and to the social psychologist, who at some point may seek to answer the question: Do those Floridians hostile to Metro dislike it because it symbolizes "creeping bureaucracy," relentless and unequivocal? Or, because it symbolizes the glitter, mass, and presumed sinfulness of Florida's largest city? Or, perhaps a bit of both?

WILLIAM W. YOUNG

University of South Florida

The Democratic South. By Dewey W. Grantham, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1963. xii, 110 pp. Foreword, preface, bibliography. \$2.50.)

Lionel Trilling says of the United States, "Liberalism is not only the dominant but the sole intellectual tradition." Failure to approximate this tradition is considered unpatriotic by educated Americans. This is especially true of the South, the region traditionally considered the most conservative. The southern academic intellectual assumes that it is his regional duty to redeem his section from this accusation. Mr. Grantham takes such a role in the Eugenia Dorothy Blount Lamar Memorial Lectures delivered at Mercer University in 1962. This is an amplification of what he has already said as a contributor to a book called *The Southerner As An American*. In mellifluous phrases decorated with the clichés of the liberals, he exploits a multitude of monographs to prove that the South has gradually redeemed itself from "the elaborate myth" of conservatism that cluttered its history even after it started being "progressive."

Mr. Grantham is careful not to ignore what his fellow researchers call "the many Souths." He modifies his conclusions by cautiously giving the opposite. He should have drowned half his cats to avoid being contradictory.

Mr. Grantham nobly defends his beloved region against the accusation of varying a great deal from the *American Creed*. He proves that even during the heyday of slavery the dream of human equality was widely cherished. He demonstrates that the monolithic image of the Solid South is inaccurate. The Whigs in the 1840's were formidable enemies of the Democrats. The closing of ranks under the Democrats in the crisis of the Civil War was accompanied by the rise of Unionist dissent that was a main cause of the failure of the Confederacy. Not all opposition to the White Supremacists during Reconstruction was made up of non-whites. It was only in what Mr. Grantham considers the dark period after 1890, that the post-war progress of the Negro slowed up. Even then there were progressives who implemented the direct primary and the education of all children. Then, the southern-born Woodrow Wilson put the section on the road to social progress like the rest of the world,

According to Mr. Grantham, even Negro-haters like James K.

Vardaman and Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi sponsored progressive legislation. Franklin D. Roosevelt gave new life to the section through the sponsoring of agriculture progress, urbanization, and increased rights to the Negro. The author gives evidence that "the New Departure" will soon bring about a condition in which the handicapped land of slavery and racial discrimination will approximate the attitude of the more progressive sections of the United States.

Mr. Grantham reverses the conception of the southern romantic novel. The good times were not in the past; the good times are coming in the present and future. The author presents much evidence to demonstrate this trend. But the new times of racial integration and democracy may not come as soon as the author predicts. He should have noted that the price the South is paying for industrialization is conquest by outside corporations. Jonathan Daniels, an observant North Carolinian, believes there is more social democracy in the agricultural section of his state than in the industrial Piedmont. Actually, if not in law, the two races are today further apart than in the years following the passage of the Jim Crow laws. The sum total of Negro membership in legislatures in the region below the Potomac is one member of the Georgia Senate.

FRANCIS BUTLER SIMKINS

Longwood College

The Everlasting South. By Francis Butler Simkins. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963. xiv, 103 pp. Foreword, preface. \$3.50.)

Francis Butler Simkins, a native of South Carolina, has studied and written of his native region for over thirty years; its customs and ideas are part of his bone and sinew. As Charles P. Roland remarks in his foreword, "probably a great majority of the common folk of the South" agree with Professor Simkins' point of view. Probably, also, those who do not agree would be in violent opposition.

Five essays, already published elsewhere, have been combined to make this book. Each discusses some aspect of southern

life and thought. The central theme is the fortress South, a region distinctive in culture and customs; it always has been and always will be different from the rest of the country. The author's opinions are neither an argument nor a justification; they are rather statements based on facts of southern existence as he has observed or studied them. There are neither footnotes nor bibliography, but other writings on the South are liberally mentioned.

The views of Professor Simkins may be summarized as follows: the ante-bellum South, the land of slavery and plantation, should be viewed in terms of its own values (as scholars do the Middle Ages) without assuming that it had "no justification" for being. Since 1865, efforts have been constant to force the South to accept alien values. The result has been a surface achievement. The South is still essentially aristocratic in its concepts not only as between races but also between classes of white people "who know their place and must act accordingly." The South is still essentially rural in outlook and custom; even its cities have a rural quality unshared by metropolitan areas elsewhere. The South is not a series of Main Streets.

Reconstruction days were not the horror they are usually painted. In aspects of life aside from politics, there was social stability and some constructive growth. Northern reformers with carpetbags in the 1860's and 1870's, made much less impression than northern reformers in the twentieth century riding in expensive cars and trying to instill into the Southerner a "preference for Northern concepts of civilization."

The color line was more clear after 1865, than during slavery days. This was especially true in church life where the freedmen "successfully asserted religious freedom and established independent churches." "Faith in the Biblical heritage is a factor second only to white supremacy as a means of conserving the ways of the South." This heritage is fundamentalist and orthodox; it is laymen-ridden rather than clergy-ridden. Southerners find it hard to understand people with no church affiliation; "climbing the social ladder by way of the church is a dynamic force in Southern life." Such factors tend to keep the popular churches in harmony with the conservative sentiments of most Southerners.

A unified South relatively impervious to the rest of an otherwise unified country raises some questions. Is the United States, exclusive of the South, as unified in thought and custom as Professor Simkins regards it? Also, in view of modern communication, transportation, and shifting of population, will the South continue to be "Everlasting?"

KATHRYN ABBEY HANNA

Winter Park, Florida

Doomed Road of Empire: The Spanish Trail of Conquest.

Hodding Carter. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963. 408 pp.
Map, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$8.95.)

This is a lucid narrative account of the history of the region between Saltillo, Mexico and Natchitoches on Red River. Inasmuch as those two points were joined by the old *camino real*, the royal road of New Spain, the tale is woven about that road as an axis. The book begins with the *entradas* of the first Spaniards, and moves by simple chronological sequence to end with the exploits of Zachary Taylor south of the Rio Grande. The length of this period militates against a tight organization of the work.

Besides its fast, clear style, this book, one of the American Trail Series, has other merits. It brings out clearly the essentially political character of this region, for it was an area the Spaniards felt forced to occupy - against the French - and to retain - against English and Americans. The role of the missions in supporting this Spanish occupation is pointed out and the reasons for their ultimate failure are clearly set forth. Chapters I through XII form more of a unit in themselves (descriptive of the area as a frontier caught in such an international squeeze) and are perhaps the most interesting. With Chapter XIII, "The Dilemma of General Wilkinson," the story of necessity becomes more episodic and reminiscent of other popular recitals.

This reviewer feels that with the chapter on the Alamo a serious stylistic error was committed (where the third person used in the bulk of the book shifts into the first person "we" of the 182 defenders of the Alamo). In the same chapter the strenuous waving of the Texas banner becomes a trifle ridiculous. This does not make for very dependable history.

The illustrations by Don Almquist are most appropriate and add richness to the book. The one map provided is barely adequate. The bibliography is good and points to a backing of real research. All in all this is a most readable book, informative for the public and certainly not useless to the historian.

BURR C. BRUNDAGE

Florida Presbyterian College

Royal Raiders, The Tories of the American Revolution. By North Callahan. (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1963. 288 pp. Foreword, bibliography, notes, index. \$5.00.)

This attractive volume with its engaging title tells the story of the Tories or Loyalists in the American Revolution and their fratricidal strife with the Whigs. Several of its chapters deal with battles in which Tories play prominent parts such as Moore's Creek Bridge, Oriskany, and King's Mountain; others deal with struggles between Tories and Whigs in various localities; one traces the role of religion with emphasis on the activities of ministers on both sides; and a final chapter attempts to explain why Tories were not more successful in their efforts to sustain the authority of the king and preserve the unity of the British Empire.

This volume seems to have both its strong and weak points. The compressed type, the unusually stiff binding, and the placing of footnotes in the back of the book all make for slow, not to say laborious, reading. There is an extensive bibliography which might well have been developed into a bibliographical essay as the works listed vary greatly in worth; the book is copiously documented with an array of citations from contemporary documents and letters in such depositories as the British Public Record Office and the Clements Library, articles in current periodicals and newspapers, contemporary pamphlets and newspapers, the great printed collections of colonial and state documents, the earlier histories, such as Marshall's *Washington*, and from the works of later historians such as Charles M. Andrews and Lawrence Henry Gipson. Citations vary in format and though the character of the source is sometimes mentioned in the text, insufficient effort is

made to use sources critically. The style and form of the text leave something to be desired.

On the positive side, it should be said that one cannot read this account of the struggle of Tories and Whigs without being impressed that the American Revolution in some of its aspects at least was a terrible civil war characterized by atrocities and brutalities on both sides. Murder, arson, breach of faith, and hangings (some authorized by court action and some not) were the order of the day. It is small wonder that American negotiators in Paris in 1782, realized the impossibility of guaranteeing that confiscated Loyalist property would be restored and agreed instead that Congress would "earnestly recommend" such to the states, verbiage which sounded well but meant little.

Professor Callahan has demonstrated that the struggle of Loyalist and Patriot was a miserable business which reflected little credit to either side.

CECIL JOHNSON

University of North Carolina

The Quest for Power: The Lower Houses of Assembly in the Southern Royal Colonies, 1689-1776. By Jack P. Greene. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, 1963. xi, 528 pp. Preface appendices, bibliographical essay, index. \$8.50.)

Over the past seven years Professor Jack P. Greene has produced a number of essays involving political conflicts in the southern colonies during the eighteenth century. The volume is now at hand - a very large book, in many respects worthy of its long gestation period. Mr. Greene contends that the provincial assemblies "sought to increase their authority at the expense of both the colonial executives and the London government . . . and [that] their quest for power became the most important single feature of colonial political and constitutional development, eventually comprising a significant element in the . . . dismemberment of the first British Empire." His purpose, therefore, is, to analyze the reasons for and significance of the quest. Although the author

is specifically concerned with the lower houses in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, he believes his conclusions are equally applicable to the other nine colonies.

Greene attributes the emergence of the lower houses to their insistence upon certain fundamental powers in four areas: raising and distributing public revenue, regulating their own memberships, denying permanent salaries to royal officials, and acquiring a share in handling executive affairs. During most of the seventeenth century the lower houses played subordinate roles, groping for the power to tax, the right to sit separately from the upper house, and to initiate laws. Then came a transitional stage early in the eighteenth century when they could hold their own with the governors and councils. Very soon after that the lower houses initiated their bid for supremacy, culminating in the advent of revolution.

Mr. Greene's enterprise makes a number of contributions. Continual comparisons between the House of Commons and demands made by New World legislatures are very important to our understanding of the ideological and experiential gap that divided the Anglo-American community by 1775. The interesting chapter on public printers whets our appetite for a field still embryonic: the history of American professions. The author devotes deserved attention to a neglected source of colonial unrest: the general instruction of September 1767, forbidding governors to assent to laws "by which the number of the assembly shall be enlarged or diminished, the duration of it ascertained, the qualifications of the electors or the elected fixed or altered. . . ." The long appendices listing those men politically active in the southern colonies will be very useful to future students who attempt to assess the structure of politics in these four provinces. The book is copiously documented; its scholarly apparatus indicates a masterful coverage of the relevant sources, both in England and in this country. With its wealth of information it will be an invaluable reference work.

Unfortunately the wonderful clarity of Greene's presentation is achieved at the expense of overstatement. Points are repeated in summaries and the summaries are summarized. But the difficulty is more than repetitiousness. There is a problem of emphasis inherent in the book's title. The author believes the lower

houses were actively engaged in a "quest for power," a phrase that recurs frequently. But "quest" is an aggressive word meaning to go about in search of something. Yet the burden of evidence in these pages does not always support this view (cf. pp. 29, 36, 38, 44-45, 52, 65-66, 87, 155-56, 160, 204, 328, 357, 382, 398, 415, 436-42, 451). Many of the controversies that arose occurred as a result of what seemed encroachments on the rights of smaller replicas of the House of Commons. Tensions became apparent whenever Whitehall or Westminster became assertive, obliging the lower houses to offer "stubborn resistance . . . to preserve the political structures they had built over the previous century." This sort of holding action - however belligerent - is something less than an overt quest for power.

There are a few other instances of inconsistency or overstatement. Mr. Greene believes that, by 1763, the assemblies had achieved "the center of political authority and prestige," thereby supplanting the governors and councils - a questionably bold judgment, especially in the light of information on pp. 368, 374-75, and 440. On p. 379 the author suggests that the Americans were intellectually consistent throughout the Great Debate; but he correctly rejects this on p. 449.

Quest for Power significantly increases and clarifies our knowledge of American constitutional and institutional development. In terms of attitude and approach it reinforces three major studies produced between 1924 and 1943: *The Colonial Background of the American Revolution* by C. M. Andrews, and monographs by two of his students, L. W. Labaree's *Royal Government in America* and M. P. Clarke's *Parliamentary Privilege in the American Colonies*. It makes clear, also, the continuing need for research into the organization of political society and the nature of public life in the colonies. Only when this background is sketched in will we fully understand and appreciate the picture we now have of the emerging strength of the lower houses in the eighteenth century.

MICHAEL G. KAMMEN

Harvard University

Prelude to Yorktown: The Southern Campaign of Nathanael Greene, 1780-1781. By M. F. Treacy. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, 1963. x, 276 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

This is a delightful book to read. The style is fresh, and there is much evidence that a deeply thoughtful mind is moving behind the words.

The book begins with a description of the physical setting. This is crucial for the contour of the land and flow of the rivers determined the nature of the fighting. Greene remained above the fall line, as long as he had to contend with Cornwallis, where he might find food for his ever-hungry troops. Many fights took place around mills, and many were avoided by crossing rivers. Greene's success depended upon food and boats. He was fortunate in persuading Edward Carrington to be quartermaster general of the southern army and William R. Davie to be commissary general. The work of these men is emphasized, although the fighting heroes are not neglected. The book is noteworthy for the sketches of Sumter with his "monumental pique," of the "dour and rock-steady" Pickens, of Morgan who had "the imagination to conceive the untried," and of William Washington who combined "the mobility of a centaur with the ferocity of a tiger."

Overshadowing all is the analysis of Greene's talents as a military commander. His genius lay in "an infinite capacity for taking pains in advance." Indeed his courage came from concentration, not from bravado. He could not rely on doing the militarily obvious because of the scarcity of food and boats. All plans had to be subject to change in order to deal with these always-pressing considerations—for example, his decision not to follow Cornwallis to Wilmington, but to move towards Camden. The author explains that Greene never won a clear-cut victory because of the tension within between his Quaker heart and the war-time need to kill. The role of general was alien to his nature; nor did he like the militia. Yet Greene's qualities were sufficient under the circumstances to keep Cornwallis "stripped, as it were, to his running shorts."

The author might have made use of the recent findings of Richard Maxwell Brown that the South Carolina Regulators did

not remain Loyalists. A greater omission was to leave the southern campaign of Greene unfinished. The story of Greene from March 1781, to December 1782, when he rode into Charleston is not given. The book is so well done that it is a great pity that we do not get the whole story. Perhaps the fault is due to the Institute of Early American History and Culture which seems to demand thin books from its authors.

GEORGE C. ROGERS, JR.

University of South Carolina

Dawn Like Thunder: The Barbary Wars and the Birth of the U. S. Navy. By Glenn Tucker. (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1963. 487 pp. Maps, bibliography, index. \$6.95.)

Until the publication of this volume no one had attempted to write a full history of the Barbary Wars from American independence to Stephen Decatur's pacification of the pirate states in 1815. The only other book that tells the story of the wars and battles off the African shores is Gardner W. Allen's *Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs*, a brief study published in 1905, based on the limited sources then available. Since that time, from 1934 to 1944, the Office of Naval Records and the Navy Department Library published *Naval Documents Related to the United States Wars with the Barbary Powers*, seven volumes of invaluable reports and official correspondence. These sources provided the foundation for the present study.

Mr. Tucker has made good use of the naval sources and has embellished them with information from European histories, diplomatic sources, biographies, and personal investigations in North Africa. The result is a gracefully written history filled with interesting detail, exciting accounts of naval battles, and fascinating sketches of young heroes and some villains. The chapter which describes Stephen Decatur's daring attack in Tripoli harbor to burn the frigate *Philadelphia*, captured by the Tripolitans, offers splendid adventure, as do those which recount William Eaton's overland march from Alexandria to Derna and the assault of his small motley army on the Mohammedan stronghold. All

this, plus gossip, stories of duels, and other details should be pleasing to any reader interested in history as adventure.

For the close student of history interested in new information, insights, and revealing interpretation, Tucker's account is not quite so satisfactory. His story gives the impression at times of stressing the colorful at the expense of the significant, and his interesting details are frequently extraneous and detract from the central narrative. There is, moreover, nothing basically new in this essentially descriptive account that would change or add to our knowledge of the Barbary Wars. Perhaps investigation in a broader range of primary and unprinted sources as well as into the political background of the wars in the United States might have given this study deeper historical significance.

Nonetheless, this is now the most satisfactory account of the naval wars with the Barbary powers. Historical synthesis requires skill, knowledge, and intelligence, and frequently can be a more important contribution to knowledge than a limited monograph. Mr. Tucker has written a first-rate historical synthesis, one that is a pleasure to read.

ALEXANDER DECONDE

University of California, Santa Barbara

The Leaven of Democracy: The Growth of the Democratic Spirit in the Time of Jackson. Edited by Clement Eaton. (New York: George Braziller, 1963. xvi, 490 pp. Preface, introduction, notes: \$8.50.)

Few techniques of shifting coin from the pocket of the student to that of the publisher have been as brilliantly successful as the books of "Readings" that have recently reached such glut proportions in the academic market place that they bid fair to replace college libraries as a way of life. At first glance this is another. But a relaxed evening or two with Professor Eaton's new volume will convince even the most hardened critic of the "readings" approach to educational salvation that this is a distinguished representative of the breed. It is social history at its best.

Designed as much for the "general reader" (whoever he is) as for the specialist and student, this skillfully edited collection

of reminiscences, observations, and vignettes captures the kaleidoscopic complexity of the Jackson Era with the fidelity of a camera. Seen through many lenses and against many backgrounds, the eighty-nine selections portray both the charm and the rawness of the 1822-1857 period in American history. Fully one-third of the selections are the observations of foreign visitors in America. Underlying all of them is the brawling, halting, patriotic, parochial, puritanical, confused, slave-ridden thrust toward democracy which Andrew Jackson both stimulated and symbolized. All have been chosen in an attempt to portray life in the United States as it was lived in every section of the country by all sorts and conditions of Americans. Many reflect Professor Eaton's sure eye for the humorous. George Combe's delightful phrenological analysis of Henry Clay is alone worth the price of the book. "He seems to have large Acquisitiveness and considerable Ideality," wrote Combe in 1840. "In him also Self-Esteem and Firmness are large. The coronal region rises moderately high about Cautiousness and Causality." The accuracy of this judgment would seem to suggest a long second look at the scholarly possibilities of a phrenological interpretation of history. Think of the new doctoral dissertations that might be written.

Floridians old and new will appreciate this conversation, overheard in a Columbia, S.C., hotel in 1828, by an English traveler:

"Why, where are you going!" asked one foot-loose American of another.

"I am going to Florida, to be sure."

"To Florida! What on earth takes you there?"

"Oh," the drifter replied, "it is the finest country in the world - a delightful climate - rich soil - plenty of room."

"Have you been there?" pressed the questioner.

"No, not yet; but I know all about it."

"What, then, possesses you to go seeking for a fresh place in such a country as Florida, where you must be content to take up your quarters amongst tadpoles and mosquitoes?"

The final question was not answered.

In a succinct introductory essay, Eaton notes some of the recent trends in Jackson Era historiography and evaluates the personality and policies of the president who gave his name to an age. The Hero was, the author concludes, "a strange mixture of littleness and greatness . . . a man of violent hates and loyalties"

whose life remains "rightly associated with the wave of democracy . . . of the 1820s and 1830s." This excellent collection measures the height and the direction of the wave.

ROBERT SEAGER II

United States Naval Academy

Terrible Swift Sword. By Bruce Catton. (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1963. xi, 559 pp. Maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

This book, another excellent effort from the tireless Mr. Catton, is the second volume in the Centennial History of the Civil War. It deals with events between the summer of 1861, and the fall of 1862. During this period both North and South realized that this was to be no short limited war but rather one that could well consume the nation and one that would certainly shape the future of that nation. Catton attempts to find in the changing character of the war a source for an impulse toward freedom that he regards as an essential part of the American ethos. It may well be that the altered nature, goals, and aims of the war did sharpen and make more evident such an impulse, but it remains too diffused a cultural phenomenon to be particularized in this way.

This is essentially military history. It is a splendid work which effectively describes events affecting soldiers of both high and low rank. It does not do justice as a consequence to the social, economic, and political factors of the war. The style is remarkable, every device to make the struggle dramatic has been used and used effectively. Catton's judgments are difficult to fault, he is devastating in his treatment of McClellan, and he has clearly gotten inside the military aspects of the war. He has a discernible northern bias but one could expect little else given his search for the freedom *mystique* mentioned above. The book did not cause this reviewer to be transfixed as did *A Stillness at Appomattox*, but it can certainly be recommended wholeheartedly.

GEORGE ELLIOTT WOLFF

University of Florida

The Civil War in Louisiana. By John B. Winters. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963. xiv, 534 pp. Illustrations, maps. \$10.00.)

For the last several years a veritable avalanche of books, articles, memoirs, and other items about the Civil War have been published. This, of course, is a product of the national celebration of the Civil War Centennial. *The Civil War in Louisiana* will be one of the lasting scholarly products of the centennial period. Professor Winters' book is thorough, exhaustive, and exceedingly well done. The book begins with the secession of Louisiana in January 1861, and carries the intricate story through to the final surrender of the feeble military units of the state's Confederate forces in 1865. It is important to note from the beginning that the book is properly titled. This is not a study of "Louisiana in the Confederacy" or "Louisiana During the Civil War;" it is a military history of the Civil War in Louisiana. For this reason the book does not wander and digress into long and involved discussions of social, economic, and political conditions during these tragic years. From the early efforts to develop an armed force until the final collapse of the Confederate forces Louisiana was divided. It was divided in sentiment at the beginning of the war, and it was divided by control during most of the war.

The important events of the Civil War in Louisiana, such as the fall of New Orleans, the Vicksburg campaign, the affairs at Port Hudson and along the Red River are covered with complete presentation of what was happening on both sides. Minor skirmishes and the long periods of boredom are also brought in and carefully and adequately handled. The two real strengths of this book lie in the prodigious research that preceded it and the care and caution that was exerted in pulling together all the facts into a compact and easily understood main stream of action. It is a carefully written and beautifully edited book and will stand for many years as the authoritative work on the Civil War in Louisiana.

WILLIAM E. HIGHSMITH

Asheville-Biltmore College

The Nation Transformed: The Creation of an Industrial Society.

Edited by Sigmund Diamond. (New York: George Braziller, 1963. xiv, 528 pp. Introduction, bibliography. \$8.50.)

The American Epoch Series, edited by Frank Freidel, has been an ambitious financial undertaking for the publisher. This large fifth volume contains forty extracts selected by a Columbia University Professor of Historical Sociology. In a succinct twenty page introduction, Diamond surveys the main currents of economic, social, and cultural trends for students being introduced to the period 1876-1904. There are eight major topics, but these vary considerably in length. Part I, "The Transforming Influences," presents selections dealing with the factory, railroads, trusts, and management. Part II, "The Businessman," consists of three selections by E. L. Godkin, Edward Atkinson, and H. D. Lloyd. Part III, "The City and the Factory" - the longest section - contains fifteen selections, ranging from accounts about men and women workers, debates for and against organized labor, to reports on sweat shops and the *padrone* system. This part also contains extracts on ward politics, gangs, newsboys in New York, high society, and nervousness. Mary Antin's "The Public School: Maker of Americans" might have been relocated in Part VI, dealing with Education.

In Part IV, "Farmers in an Industrial Society," journalist E. V. Smalley pointed to the evils of social isolation. A case study of a Nebraska township by political scientist A. F. Bentley is presented as an example of methodology as well as for his conclusions. The need for political action and the decline of the Populists were discussed by Senator W. A. Peffer and Frank Tracy. This section should not be used as a substitute for John Hicks' *The Populist Revolt*. Part V, "The Negro in American Life," contains only two selections of protest literature but nothing from Booker T. Washington or N. Wright Cuney. Part VI deals with "Education for Modern Society." Charles Thurber complained that high school teachers were trying to make professional men of all graduates rather than point them to careers in "commerce." Jane Addam's observations on teaching methods used with immigrants in primary schools should be better known by all teachers. Part VII, "The Outward Reach," has selections from John Fiske and Samuel Clemens which do little to explain foreign policies. Part VIII,

"Interpretations of an Age," contains fifty pages divided between five selections, ranging from sociologists W. G. Sumner and Lester Ward to economist Henry George and philosopher William James.

College libraries which do not have the contemporary magazines from which much of the material was extracted will find the American Epoch Series helpful. This volume would have been strengthened by annotations. The brief five page bibliography is spotty and does not follow the book's plan of organization. Fortunately, *The Gilded Age: A Reappraisal*, edited by H. Wayne Morgan, may be used to fill in many of the gaps.

ROBERT C. COTNER

University of Texas

Black Utopia: Negro Communal Experiments in America. By William H. Pease and Jane H. Pease. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963. ix, 204 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$4.00.)

Black Utopia, a small book of modest aims, is a worthwhile contribution to the history of the Negro in America. It reveals a hitherto unexplored facet of that history and, in the process, throws additional light upon the period from 1830 to 1863, and the persistent problem of racial relations.

The authors are to be commended for keeping their subject in proper perspective. The organized Negro communities were of minor importance because only a relatively small number of Negroes ever participated in them and also because almost all of them were failures, some virtually fiascos.

Even of the best of the organized Negro communities, the Elgin community in Canada, the authors note that its temporary success was a long-run failure because as an isolated community it could not possibly provide an answer to the problem of the Negro in American society. That point was repeatedly emphasized by the writers, and in their final page they conclude: "The adjustment of the Negro to white society and, indeed the adjustment of white society to the equal presence and participation of the Negro could not, by any logic, be achieved by a conscious segregation of Negro from white. The organized Negro communities,

although they made the most ambitious attempt to grapple with the problem, did little in the long run but tinker in a vacuum."

The failure of most of the organized Negro communities was due in large measure to poor leadership, grandiose schemes, inadequate financial support, or plain rascality. There was often too much factionalism, "criminations and recriminations," as a result of the poor leadership. Their preachers were usually of little learning but much ambition who produced more strife and discord than Christian harmony.

Black Utopia is obviously the product of extensive research and is supported by abundant documentation. The authors have exercised commendable discrimination in assessing both the encomiastic testimony of the contemporary advocates and the vehement criticism of the detractors of the Negro communities. In fact, their care to weigh and present both sides of the evidence sometimes leads to an impression of inconstancy, although, in the main, their judgment is as forthright as it is clearly substantiated.

There are a few instances where the narration is somewhat tedious or repetitious, but on the whole the book is well written. Historians or laymen interested in the history of the Negro and in race relations in America, past or present, should find *Black Utopia* pleasant, worthwhile reading.

THEODORE B. WILSON

Miami-Dade Junior College

Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America, 1619-1962. By Lerone Bennett, Jr. (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, 1962. xii, 404 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$6.95.)

This is a popularization of American Negro history based on a considerable reading of scholarly literature. It does not pretend to be an original piece of work. Nor will the reader find here any new interpretations to help him understand the background to today's "Negro revolution." The author has simply surveyed the straight facts, already published elsewhere, of his people's history in the United States, and as far as the relation of facts goes he has done an adequate job. One wishes, though, that he had found

some other means to make his material readable than the "dramatic" style in which the book is cast; the author reads at times like the narrator of "Death Valley Days."

The book is marred, too, by occasional special pleading. The natural temptation in minority group literature is to make the accomplishments of the group and its members more important than they actually were. But this is a minor fault and one that is easily forgiven the historian of a people who, of all peoples, can hardly be expected to be dispassionate about their past.

Before the Mayflower was chosen as title in order to suggest that, if priority of domesticity in these continental limits is the criterion by which one establishes purity of national line, then the Negro can lord it over the Puritans, who came to our shores a full year after twenty Negro slaves made their home (under duress, to be sure) at Jamestown. Negroes were among the Minute Men at Lexington and Concord; they were with Andrew Jackson at New Orleans, and with Ulysses S. Grant at Petersburg. Here, too, is the whole miserable slavery story and the agony of Reconstruction. The famous names are here: Nat Turner, Dred Scott, Booker T. Washington, *et al*; as well as many that are not so famous, but deserve to be, e.g., Benjamin Banneker, Denmark Vesey, Sojourner Truth, Phillis Wheatley. Not surprisingly, Martin Luther King, Jr. comes to center stage at the end and takes his place, along with A. Philip Randolph and Thurgood Marshall, as an equal of the giants of the past.

The author is senior editor of *Ebony*, a national Negro magazine, in whose pages the core of this book first appeared. His profession shows clearly in his book. Still, it is worth a reading as history, particularly if one has never read a survey of the whole course of the American Negro. The most valuable part of the book is a fifty-one page summary of "Landmarks and Milestones." There is an error, however, in the first entry of that summary (p. 331): Menendez de Aviles did not, as claimed here, bring Negroes with him to St. Augustine.

The lead sentence of Chapter Five makes one wonder if it was the source for a certain now-familiar expression. The sentence reads: "It was a long hot summer."

FATHER MICHAEL V. GANNON

St. Augustine, Florida

A History of Cuba and its Relations with the United States, Volume II: 1845-1895. By Philip S. Foner. (New York: International Publishers, 1963. 384 pp. Preface, notes, index. \$5.00.)

In the second volume of his study of Cuba with special reference to its relations with the United States, Philip S. Foner carries the story through the period 1845-1895. He stresses the influence the expansionist policy of the United States had on Cuban affairs during the period when southern Democrats dominated the government. Uncertainty of purpose in both the White House and the state department at times fostered the growth of interventionism while, at other times, the vigorous opposition of President Taylor, in spite of his southern sympathies, to this policy and his orders to enforce the Neutrality Law of 1818, foiled carefully laid plans. Unfortunately, or so the author seems to feel, the period prior to 1860 was dominated by men like President Polk who wanted Cuba, by Treasury Secretary Robert J. Walker who wanted to annex all of Mexico, and by President Buchanan who feared that the British might gain a foothold on the island.

The termination of slavery and the rapid economic development of the United States after 1865, appeared to change the direction of American policy in spite of grandiose efforts of some Grant-era Republicans to make Caribbean conquests. With the rapid development of American interest in the Cuban sugar industry it became obvious that peace on the island was an economic necessity. It will be of interest to see how the author handles the rapid change of attitude in the United States in the three years after 1895.

Some may question whether there was an "heroic struggle" of the Cuban people during the nineteenth century against United States annexation for it is difficult to ascertain just who were the "Cuban people" and who really spoke for them. In looking backward from the present, it is always tempting to read present events into the past. Regardless of point of view, there is no question that Foner is bringing much unusual original material to the attention of students of Cuban and American history and that his volumes throw a new light on many half-understood issues.

RICHARD K. MURDOCH

University of Georgia

HISTORICAL NEWS

Local and Area Societies and Commissions

Alachua County Historical Commission:

Jess Davis, chairman of the Commission, reports that copies of the *History of Alachua County*, published by the Commission, are available at Mike's Book Store, 116 S. E. First Street, Gainesville, for \$6.95 each.

Duncan Lamont Clinch Historical Society of Amelia Island:

The annual Fiesta of Eight Flags, held at Fernandina Beach in June, had as its guest of honor Juan R. Parallada, consul general of Spain. A special feature of the fiesta was "Romance of Eight Flags," a pageant presented on two consecutive evenings in the courtyard of Fort Clinch which dramatized the community's early history. The Historical Society, whose president is Mrs. Jay Bartels, sponsored the pageant. It was directed and produced by Maurice Geoffrey who also directed "Next Day in the Morning," presented in Jacksonville in 1962, in conjunction with the quadricentennial anniversary of Jean Ribaut's landing in Florida.

Gulf County Historical Commission:

At the June meeting of the Commission, held in Wewahitchka, it was announced that the dedication of the Fort Crevecoeur historical marker would be held June 25, 1964, on U. S. Highway 98 near the Brouillette residence at St. Joseph Beach. Dr. Joseph D. Cushman, Department of History, Florida State University, was guest speaker at the dedication. The Commission is making an effort to have the Florida Outdoor Recreational Planning Committee acquire the historic Porter home in Apalachicola and move it to Port St. Joe, where it could be properly restored and used as a museum.

Madison County Historical Society:

At the spring meeting of the Society, Warren H. Wilkinson, member of the Alliance for Preservation of Florida Antiquities, described DeSoto's march through Florida, pinpointing crossings of the Suwannee and Aucilla Rivers and the route that the explorer followed through Madison County. The Society has decided to sponsor a scholarship at the North Florida Junior College as a memorial to Carlton Smith.

Marion County Historical Commission:

Ernest H. Jernigan, former director of the Florida Historical Society and chairman of the Social Studies Division, Central Florida Junior College, has been succeeded as chairman of the Commission by J. Ed Blocker of Ocala. Other members are John P. Chazal, vice-chairman; John F. Nicholson, secretary; Mrs. Ned Folks; Mrs. George O. Zane; Mrs. E. G. Peek, Sr.; Mrs. Frances Sheppard; Wilbur A. Willis; Vernon Goin; and Senator L. K. Edwards. The Commission's growing collection of valuable books, maps, pictures, newspapers, and other historical data will be stored temporarily in the old Marion County Courthouse. The Commission's Bulletin, edited by Martin LaGodna, is being widely circulated in Florida and throughout the country.

Martin County Historical Society:

The Society continued its active program of art and historical exhibits, film showings, and meetings throughout the summer months at the House of Refuge and Elliot Museums and in the Jensen Beach Bank and First Bank of Indiantown. E. W. Dutton, curator of the museum's film library, received a special citation from Governor Farris Bryant on June 18, in recognition for his important contributions in the field of nature photography. The trustees of the Society held meetings at the Elliot Museum on July 7 and August 4.

Peace River Valley Historical Society:

The Peace River Valley Historical Society, organized last February, meets on the third Tuesday of each month in the sever-

al cities and towns along the valley of the Peace River and its environs. Dr. Gordon H. McSwain of Arcadia is president of the Society. Its other officers include Vernon E. Peeples of Punta Gorda, 1st vice-president; T. Mabry Carlton of Wauchula, 2nd vice-president; Colonel Read B. Harding of Arcadia, secretary; and, William H. Bevis of Fort Meade, treasurer. An interesting series of program meetings, highlighting the history of Florida and the area, are being planned for the fall and winter.

Pensacola Civil War Round Table:

In May, members of the New Orleans Civil War Round Table toured Forts Barrancas and Redoubt at the Pensacola Navy Yard and Fort Pickens on Santa Rosa Island during their annual battle-field tour. Members and officers of the Pensacola Civil War Round Table acted as guides and interpreters. That evening a joint dinner-meeting was held in the city library. At the June 16th meeting, William W. Clayton, Jr., described the Civil War activities of his grandfather, Confederate General Henry DeLamar Clayton, who brought the First Alabama Volunteers into Pensacola during the war to help defend the Florida coast.

Pensacola Historic Preservation Society:

T. T. Wentworth, Jr., former director of the Florida Historical Society and presently a member of the Florida Library and Historical Commission, has received the Preservation Society's award for outstanding leadership and service during the years 1960-1963 in working to make the history of Pensacola and Florida known and appreciated. In 1962, Mr. Wentworth, who maintains a private historical museum in Pensacola, received similar recognition from the American Association for State and Local History.

St. Lucie Historical Society:

On July 8, 1964, the St. Lucie Historical Society and the St. Lucie Historical Commission rededicated a bronze marker, commemorating the white settlement of 1843 at Fort Pierce. The marker was originally erected in 1926, but it had been moved and was nearly lost. Through the efforts of Walter Hellier, direc-

tor of the Florida Historical Society, the plaque was retrieved from a bank along the Indian River. It is now permanently affixed to a column at the entrance of the Palm Cemetery in Ancona. Participating in the rededication ceremonies with Mr. Hellier were State Senator John McCarthy and the officers and members of the Historical Society and Historical Commission.

Mission of Nombre de Dios Library

The Mission of Nombre de Dios Library has acquired microfilm copies of the Pedro Menendez Papers to add to the collection of East Florida Papers (microfilm dealing principally with the second Spanish period, 1783-1819), secured earlier this year from the Library of Congress. A photographic team was sent to Spain by the St. Augustine Foundation which supports the mission library to film the Menendez documents.

The original Menendez papers are in two privately-owned Spanish archives. The largest collection belongs to the Count of Revillagigedo, lineal descendent of Pedro Menendez and present bearer of the title "Adelanto de la Florida." This collection contains the diary of Father Gonzalo Solis de Meras, one of four diocesan priests who accompanied the Menendez expedition. One of the best extant accounts of the voyage and landing is included in this diary. The other collection contains family papers, including letters written by Menendez from Florida to members of his family. It is owned by a city official at Valencia, Spain.

The Menendez Papers are available in the mission's research center at St. Augustine, where a major effort is being made to gather together all of the extant documents and papers relating to early Spanish Florida that can be found either in this country or abroad. The mission library is rapidly becoming a major storehouse of historical data for scholars and historians.

The Mission of Nombre de Dios Library in St. Augustine desires to obtain the services of a qualified Catholic historian, holding at least a master's degree, to research and write a history of the parishes in the Diocese of St. Augustine. The scope of the writing will include the history of the pioneer parishes of the sixteenth century as well as the numerous parishes founded in modern times. Brief biographies of the pastors of the parishes

will also be included. The completed work will be published in book form during St. Augustine's Quadricentennial, 1965-1966, under a grant from the St. Augustine Foundation, Archbishop Joseph P. Hurley, chairman. The historian commissioned for this work, which should occupy about one year's time, will be paid a generous salary and all expenses. Catholic historians who are interested in applying for this commission should address themselves by letter to Father Michael V. Gannon, Director, Mission of Nombre de Dios, P. O. Box 381, St. Augustine, Florida.

George Mason Papers

The papers of George Mason of Gunston Hall, Virginia, are being catalogued by Dr. Robert A. Rutland of the University of California at Los Angeles, and will be published by the University of North Carolina Press. The project, which will be of tremendous value to American historians, is being financed by Mrs. Lammot duPont Copeland of Delaware and it is being sponsored by the Board of Regents for Gunston Hall (Mason's Virginia home) and the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg. Mrs. Judson Freeman of Jacksonville is the Florida representative on the board.

George Mason was the author of the Virginia Declaration of Rights, which served as a model for the Federal Bill of Rights, and played an important role in the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia. Papers from Mason, to him, or about him are needed. Anyone having such documents are asked to write to Dr. Rutland, Economics Building, 74A, U. C. L. A., Los Angeles, California.

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SAMUEL PROCTOR, *Editor*

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