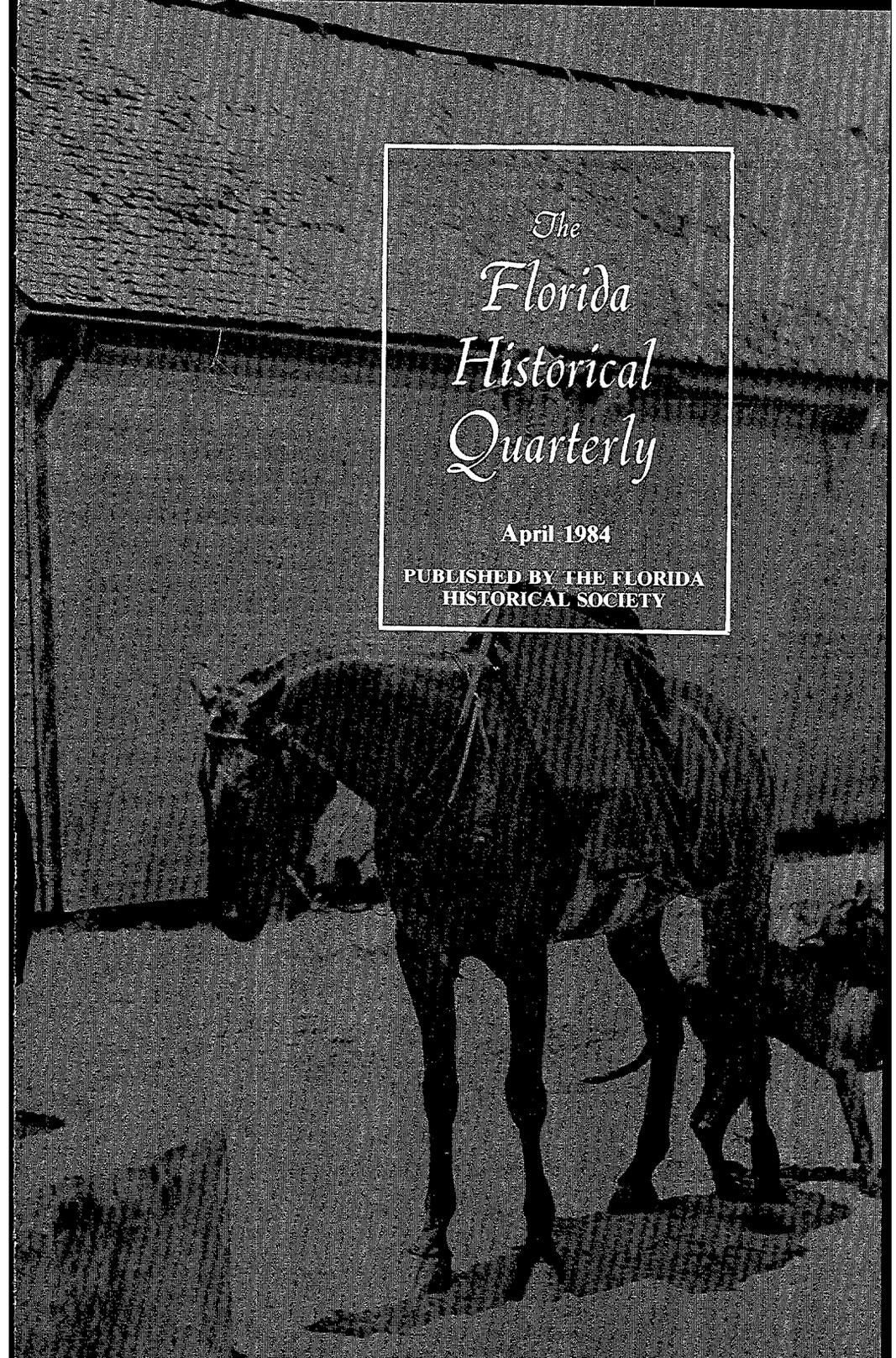

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COVER

Jehu J. Blount's general store, corner N. W. First and Hendry streets in Fort Myers, was opened in 1873. It also served as the town's first post office. The photograph is of Florida Schultz Heitman and her friends. She was the daughter of George Schultz, telegrapher for the International Ocean Telegraph Company, and wife of Harvie Heitman, a prominent Fort Myers businessman. The picture was taken in the 1890s. It is from the Fort Myers Historical Museum.

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THE CHICORA LEGEND AND FRANCO-SPANISH RIVALRY IN *LA FLORIDA*

by PAUL E. HOFFMAN

WITH the first light of Monday, June 24, 1521, Pedro de Quexo and Francisco Gordillo discovered a new land which they named the Land of St. John the Baptist in honor of the saint whose feast day it was. Entering a river, later called the Jordan for the same reason, they established contact with a village or native group called "Chicora."[1] Thus began the Chicora Legend, a legend that ultimately described the land of Chicora as a new Andalusia, a land abounding in timber, vines, native olive trees, Indians, pearls, and, at a distance inland, perhaps gold and silver. Flowing through this land was a great river, so wide and deep that it could be described as a "gulf" reaching deep into the land. This vision of Chicora and its river moved Spaniards and Frenchmen during the next sixty years to explore and attempt to settle along the coast of the present-day Carolinas.

Paul E. Hoffman is associate professor of history, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge. He received a grant from the Council on Research, Louisiana State University, in 1978 which made the research for this article possible.

1. The name seems to have been given in 1525 during the second voyage. It first appears on the Vespucci map of 1526. See Juan Vespucci, World Map, manuscript at the Hispanic Society of America, New York, color reproduction in William P. Cumming, R. A. Skelton, and David B. Quinn, *The Discovery of North America* (London, 1971), 86-87, reproduced in black and white in William P. Cumming, *The Southeast in Early Maps* (Princeton, 1958), plate 2. Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *História general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas y tierra firme del Mar Oceano,* 17 vols. (Madrid, 1934-1957), VII, 310, states that the river was named for a member of the crew, but this is an error. John Gilmary Shea, who repeats Herrera, goes on to make a further error by placing the Jordan at or near Cape Fear (following Villafañe) and incorrectly interpreting the Spanish text he was following to the effect that the river found in 1521 was called the "San Juan Baptista." See John G. Shea, "Ancient Florida," in Justin Winsor, ed., *Narrative and Critical History of America,* 8 vols. (New York and Boston, 1884-1889), II, 239. Diego Luís Molinari seems to have been the first modern author to straighten the matter out by noting that the Jordan River was identified with St. John the Baptist. See Diego Luís Molinari, *El Nacimiento del Nueuo Mundo, 1492-1534* (Buenos Aires, 1941), 124-26.

This study seeks to explain why Spaniards and Frenchmen tried to found colonies on the east coast by showing how the Chicora Legend changed with time and motivated these groups. A basic assumption made throughout is that place designations in some of the Spanish sources cannot be reconciled with each other and that that fact is itself an important but heretofore overlooked clue to the history of the legend and its effects on those who knew of it.[2] A second assumption is related to the first: that sources remote in date from the events in question are less likely to be accurate than those close to the event. Previous students of this topic have not made these assumptions and have, in consequence, further muddied our understanding of the events in question.

Quexo and Gordillo initially entered what is now the Santee River, but within a few days had moved their ships to Winyah Bay just to the north. It was that estuary that Peter Martyr later described as a "gulf reaching into the land." At some point on its eastern shore Quexo took a solar latitude reading and recorded that he was 33½ ° North.[3]

After spending twenty-two days trading with the Indians, exploring in the immediate area, and arguing about whether and how to capture the Indians so that they could be taken to Española to become slaves (slaving was the purpose of both expeditions before they joined in the Bahamas), the captains induced some sixty natives to board the ships. They then raised their anchors and dropped down an outgoing tide to the sea

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2. My position on this matter is thus the reverse of Shea's who concluded that "conjecture is idle" in view of the apparent divergence of latitudes given by the documents for the Ayllon voyage, quoted with approval in Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States,* 2 vols. (New York, 1901-1905), I, 155, note 2. Lowery's discussion of Chicora is found in ibid., I, 153-68, II, 34-35. Other scholars who have dealt with this topic are Carl O. Sauer, *Sixteenth Century North America: The Land and the People as Seen by the Europeans* (Berkeley, 1971), 69-76, 197, and Paul Quattlebaum, *The Land Called Chicora: The Carolinas Under Spanish Rule with French Intrusions, 1520-1670* (Gainesville, 1956), 46-48, passim; see also Johann G. Kohl, *A History of the Discovery of the East Coast of North America,* Vol. 1 of Maine Historical Society, *Documentary History of the State of Maine,* 24 vols. (Portland, Maine, 1869-1916), 427.
3. Pietro Martiere d'Anghiera, *Décadas del Nuevo Mundo,* estudio y apéndices por Edmundo O'Gorman, 2 vols. (Mexico, 1964-1965), II, 596; Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereinafter AGI), Justicia 3, No. 3, fols. 55-55vto.

while the sails were shaken out amidst the cries of the Indians aboard and ashore.[4]

Upon the return of the two captains to Santo Domingo, their backers, the Licenciados Juan Ortiz de Matienzo (Quexo's backer through Matienzo's kinsman Sancho Ortiz de Urrutía), and Lucas Vázquez de Ayllon (Gordillo's backer) and Ayllon's partner, Diego Cavallero, the secretary of the Audiencia, petitioned the *real acuerdo* for an exclusive right to explore and exploit the new land.[5] In the petition they said it was at "around 34°."[6]

This obfuscation of the true location of the river was to be continued. Within a year, Ayllon had been sent to Spain to represent the Audiencia in its disputes with Licenciado Rodrigo de Figueroa and Governor Diego Colón.[7] While in Spain, Ayllon petitioned the crown on behalf of himself, Matienzo, and Cavallero for a contract to settle the new territory. He also entertained one of his hosts, Peter Martyr, with tales of the new land and of the wonders in it, which had once included men with tails. Martyr made some notes, talked to Francisco Chicorano, an Indian from the new land who had become a domestic servant of the Licenciado, and then filed his notes in his desk.[8] Ayllon duly obtained his license (his partners were excluded), but it specified that the area he was to settle lay between latitudes 35° and 37° North.[9] In less than two years, the land of Chicora

4. The best source for the voyage of 1521 is the testimony of Pedro de Quexo (not Quejos nor Quijos as it is sometimes rendered) found in AGI, Justicia 3, No. 3, fols. 39-43vto; Peter Martyr also provides a narrative written in Spain from secondhand accounts in 1523, Martiere d'Anghiera, *Décadas*, II, 594-95.
5. A meeting of all the royal officials based at Santo Domingo, the *Real Acuerdo*, included the governor, Diego Colón, son of Christopher Columbus; the judges of the Audiencia, licenciados Marcel de Villalobos and Cristóbal Lebrón; and the treasury officials, treasurer Miguel de Pasamonte, accountant Gil Gonzalez de Ávila, factor Juan Martinez de Ampies, and inspector Andrés de Tapía. Matienzo and Ayllon would normally have sat on the *acuerdo* as well, but were apparently excluded because they were petitioners.
6. AGI, Justicia 3, No. 3, fol. 88.
7. Herrera, *História de las Indias*, VII, 29-31.
8. Martiere d'Anghiera, *Décadas*, II, 593-96.
9. Contract, June 12, 1523, AGI, Indiferente General 415 (hereinafter IG), bk 1, fols. 32-37, copies in AGI, Justicia 3, fols. 9vto-17, and Joaquín P. Pacheco, Francisco de Cárdenas, and Luis Torres de Mendoza, eds., *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españoles de América y Oceania, sacados de los archivos del reino y muy especialmente del de Indias*

had moved at least one and one-half degrees of latitude to the north.

The explanation for the migration of Chicora from the vicinity of Winyah Bay to the area of the outer banks of North Carolina and the entrance to Chesapeake Bay is found in Martyr's remark that Ayllon said that the land was "situated at the height of the same degrees and identical parallels as Vandalian Spain, vulgarly called Andalusia."[10] Andalusia is centered around latitude 37° North. Further, in describing the resources of the area (Decade 7, Book 4), Martyr notes that evergreen oaks, pines, cypress trees, hazelnut trees, almond trees, black and white grapes, figs, different kinds of olives ("which once grafted become domesticated, as happens among us"), vegetables, and many fruits, some unknown to Europeans, grew there in great profusion.[11] All of the plants specifically named are characteristic of the Andalusian countryside. In Ayllon's dreams, Chicora was a new Andalusia.

In addition to describing Chicora as a new Andalusia, Ayllon and his servant told Martyr that a nearby province called "Xapida" offered pearls and "other terrestrial gems." The river became a "gulf."[12] The first statement is correct, for freshwater pearls were common in the rivers inland from the Carolina coast. The second elaboration on the truth was to help convince later explorers that Chicora lay on one of the major bays or sounds to the south of its true location.

Ayllon's deliberate grab for land he had not had explored is understandable given the crude geographic theory of the time which said that climate and mineral resources were the same as those in Europe at a given latitude anywhere in the world, and given his need to make a strong case that might interest the king and investors in the venture. Such speculation had few consequences for him because in 1525, as part of his contractual obligations, he sent out an expedition (under Quexo) which explored that part of the coast and apparently

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(hereinafter *DII),* 42 vols. (Madrid, 1864-1884), XIV, 504-15, and XXII, 79-93

10. The Spanish text is *"afírmase que estan situadas bajo la altitud de los mismos grados e identicos paralelos que la España Vandalia, vulgarmente llamada Andalucíá,"* Martiere d'Anghiera, *Décadas,* II, 595-96.
31. Ibid., 605.
12. Ibid., 597, 596.

reported that it offered little. Accordingly, his first attempt at colonization was at the Jordan River, from which he went south and west along the coast to a site on the Gualdape River.[13] Prior to this move, at least one of his ship captains visited the estuary now known as Port Royal Sound, naming it and a nearby "point" (Hilton Head Island), for Santa Elena, the saint on whose feast day, August 18, they were discovered.

The year after Ayllon left Spain for the Indies, Camilo Gilino, a secretary to Francisco Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, and then serving as Sforza's emissary to Charles I, persuaded Martyr to write out for Sforza's amusement the latest and most interesting tale from the New World. Martyr chose the notes he had made on his conversations with Ayllon.[14] That report became books two and three and part of book four in Martyr's seventh decade. They were published in Latin with the other decades at Alcalá de Henares in 1530, four years after Martyr's death.[15] Chicora thereby entered the pool of geographic knowledge available to the rest of Europe, although its exact location was not clear from Martyr's account since no latitude was given. Ayllon's deceptions about resources and location had begun their public career as the Chicora Legend.

Although not named Chicora, the land Ayllon had caused to be explored was already on the maps by 1530, and was known all over Europe by 1540. By a process still undocumented, Juan Vespucci, nephew of Amerigo and examiner of pilots for the Casa de la Contratación, obtained a crude map or *derrotero* of the exploration of 1525 and incorporated it into his world map, dated 1526.[16] Vespucci's map, or the same data with numerous name changes, was incorporated into the *Padrón General* of the

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13. For the 1525 voyages see AGI, Justicia 3, No. 3, fol. 7; for the 1526 voyages see Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *História General de Indias*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1851-1855), III, 626-29. The Gualdape River is Sapelo Sound. Sauer and others favor the Savanna River, but Oviedo's directions indicate it was south of there, Sauer, *Sixteenth Century North America*, 73.
14. Martiere d'Anghiera, *Décadas*, II, 587, 594.
15. Pedro Martir de Angleria, *De orbe Nouo Petri Martyris ab Angleria Mediolanensis protonotarij. Cesaris senatoris Decades cum privilegio Imperiali*. Compluti apud Michaele[m] d'Equia, Anno M.D. XXX. (Alcalá de Henares, 1530).
16. Cumming, *Southeast in Early Maps*, 7-8; Ayllon sent a report on the voyage of 1525 which included details on locations, soundings, and similar matters necessary for the construction of a chart, AGI, Justicia 3, No. 3, fol. 7; King to Ayllon, December 1, 1525. AGI, IG 420, bk 10, fol. 190.

Casa, a map then kept up to date by Diego de Ribero, among others. From this source copies soon spread in manuscript and, in 1534, in the woodcut map bound into some copies of the Venice edition of Martyr's first three decades, which was published with the history of the Indies by Oviedo.[17] By the mid-1530s the Ribero-type map was known to the French cartographers at Dieppe, who combined its information with that from Verrazzano's exploration of 1524 to produce a series of manuscript maps with a uniquely French interpretation of North American geography.[18] Alonso de Chaves's revision of the *Padrón General,* made in 1536, also seems to have become known outside of Spain within a few years of its creation.[19] It did not change the names or general outline of the "Ayllon Coast" as derived from the Ribero map. In sum, the Spanish cartographic tradition, as known to the rest of Europe during the late 1520s and afterwards into at least the 1550s, remained consistent in its depiction of the location and general geography of Ayllon's discoveries. On these maps, Ayllon's coast was located in the high thirties, north latitude.

The maps and Martyr's published account only told half of the story of Ayllon's attempt to find a new Andalusia in North America. The other half of the story remained unknown except for the cryptic reference to Ayllon's failure in Oviedo's short *Sumario de la História de las Indias,* published in 1535 and again in 1547.[20] What had actually transpired in 1526 was known

17. A draft without the names used by Ribero, but clearly in his style and dated 1527 is known as the "Weimar Ribero." See Henry Harrisse, *The Discovery of North America* (London and Paris, 1892; reprint ed., Amsterdam, 1961), 572, Cumming, *Southeast in Early Maps,* 26, note 27, and reproduced in I. N. P. Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909,* 6 vols. (1915-1928; reprint ed., New York, 1964), II, plate 9; better known, and incorporating the coastal names of the Ayllon discoveries are the Weimar Map of 1529 and the more detailed Vatican Map of 1529, *see* Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan* Island, II, plate 10, and Cumming, *Southeast in Early Maps,* 67; the woodcut map of 1534 is reproduced and described in Cumming, Skelton, and Quinn, *Discovery of North America,* 71, plate 71.
18. In chronological order these maps are reproduced as plates 152, 162, and 139 in Cumming, Skelton, and Quinn, *Discovery of North America,* 138-39, 150-51, and 125, respectively.
19. For a discussion of the Chaves revision and its appearance on later maps, see Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island,* II, 22-29, and his plates 18 and 19.
20. Oviedo, *História General de las Indias,* bk IV, chap. V, I, 11-12; the editions of the *Sumario* are: Goncalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *La história general de las Indias* (Seville, 1535). and *Crónica de las*

only to the survivors of that expedition, whose tales entertained their friends and were collected by Oviedo and recorded in a manuscript of additions he planned to include in his history in later editions. Those same stories reached the men who, a decade after Ayllon, were preparing the De Soto expedition.[21]

From these reports, it must have been clear to the Spanish that the coast offered little either in trade with the Indians, pearls and gems, or agriculture. However, Xapida's pearls and "other terrestrial gems" still beckoned.

Given a contract that allowed him to explore the areas previously assigned to Pánfilo de Narváez and Ayllon, as well as the rest of North America, and then select 200 leagues of coastline for an area of settlement, Hernando de Soto determined not to leave a district unexplored before he made his choice.[22] Aware of the Chicora Legend and Xapida, he put that knowledge together with Indian reports obtained around Tallahassee, Florida, during the winter of 1539-1540, and headed for Cofitachequi and its queen, who was said to have possessed many pearls. At that town, thought to be near modern Camden, South Carolina, the Spanish found axes, glass trade beads, and a rosary of olive-wood beads, evidence which confirmed for them that they were on the upper reaches of the river on which Ayllon had attempted to settle.[23] But the reality of this pearl kingdom was not very tempting to De Soto. He pressed on, turning his soldiers and herds of pigs northwest toward the mountains and the hearts of Cherokee and Creek civilization.

Following De Soto's exploration of the interior of the Carolinas, Spanish interest turned away from Chicora. On the coast and inland the legend that Ayllon and his servant had built on

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Indias: La história general de las Indias agora nuevamente impressa, corregida y emendada (Salamanca, 1547).

21. Luís Hernández de Viedma, "Relación," *DII,* III, 442, shows considerable knowledge of the fact that Ayllon had not gone inland and of the history of his colony and why it failed. Oviedo records the same knowledge in the form of the Rodrigo Renjel narrative of the expedition, supposedly a diary kept by the adelantado's secretary, see Oviedo, *História General de las Indias,* I, 544-77.

22. AGI, IG, 415, bk 1, fols. 38-41. This fact about his right to explore before settlement is usually overlooked in discussions of De Soto's expedition.

23. Oviedo, *História General de las Indias,* I, 558-62. Biedma, "Relación," *DII,* III, 422. They seem to have been on the Wateree River in South Carolina, a tributary of the Santee River, which was Ayllon's Jordan, not his Gualdape.

the basis of a little knowledge had proven to be more glorious and golden than the reality that explorers had found.

And yet the legend did not die, even among the Spanish. In 1544 Julian de Samano, brother of Juan de Samano, the emperor's secretary for Indies affairs, and Pedro de Ahumada sought a trade permit for the area of Ayllon's discoveries.[24] Although that was denied, it indicates continued interest in the legendary possibilities of the coast.

In 1551, Francisco López de Gómara, chaplain and confidant of Hernán Cortes during his last years in Mexico, recorded the legend once again in his *História General de las Indias,* published in Spanish at Zaragoza in 1552, again at Medina del Campo in 1553, and at Zaragoza and Amsterdam in 1554. Italian translations were issued at Rome in 1556, and at Venice in 1560.[25] Using Martyr and possibly some other sources, López de Gómara clearly identified Chicora with the Jordan River, but compressed the three voyages of Vázquez de Ayllon into two, changed the dates to 1520 and 1524 (for the first and third voyages), and seemed to place Chicora and Gualdape at 32° North, saying they were *"a* land" (emphasis added) "now called Cape Santa Elena and the Jordan River."[26] Elaborating on Martyr, Gómara said that the first expedition explored inland and everywhere received food and "little gifts of mother-of-pearl, mishappened pearls, and silver."[27] In other respects his report of the kidnapping of the Indians and the customs and religious rituals of the natives is similar to Martyr's, although the men with tails do not appear.

Gómara thus helped to revive interest in the coast of North America, even as his contemporary, the royal cosmographer Alonso de Santa Cruz, was writing in his manuscript *Islario*

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24. Francisco López de Gómara, *História General de las Indias,* 2 vols. (Zaragoza, 1552; reprint ed., Barcelona, 1954), I, 72; Andrés Gonzalez de Barcía Carballido y Zúñiga, *Chronological History of the Continent of Florida,* trans. Antony Kerrigan (Gainesville, 1951), 25.
25. López de Gómara, *História General de las Indias;* editions under the same title appeared at Medina del Campo, 1553; Zaragoza, 1554; and four separate editions at Anvers, 1554; Italian translation by Augustino de Carvaliz appeared as *La Historia generale delle Indie Occidentali* at Roma, 1556, and Venetia, 1560; the first French translation was *Histoire generalle des indes occidentales et terres neuves* . . . trans. Mart[in] Fumee at Paris, 1569.
26. López de Gómara, *História General de las Indias,* II, 66-67.
27. Ibid., 66.

General that "beyond this river [Rio de los Gamos, probably the modern Hudson River] and islands, to the west, along the coast [going] towards Florida are found many islands, all deserts and of little use which were seen and discovered also by the Licenciado Ayllon, who was from the Chancery of Santo Domingo, when he went to populate the continent, where he and many men he took with him died and his fleet was lost."[28] Santa Cruz thus recorded the truth, a truth that Ayllon and De Soto had discovered to their cost. Gómara, on the other hand, recorded not only the fact of the fate of Ayllon but also the legend that had fed his hopes and that was to feed those of a new generation of explorers, who could now find Chicora, thanks to Gómara's giving a latitude for the Point of Santa Elena and the Jordan River.

The publication of Gómara's book was followed four years later, in 1556, by the publication of the third volume of Gian Battista Ramusio's *Navigationi et Viaggi* at Venice. This work contained the narrative of Giovanni da Verrazzano's voyage of 1524 in which he claimed to have made a landfall at 34° North and described the land in that vicinity in terms remarkably like those of Martyr, that is, as a land flowing in agricultural and forest wealth and friendly Indians.[29] Also contained in Ramusio was the anonymous "Discourse of a Great French Sea Captain," which noted Verrazzano's voyage and went on to describe explorations supposedly made in 1539 (actually in 1529) which apparently involved the North American coast from latitudes 40° to 46° North but may have included a visit to the area of Ayllon's River of Santa Elena.[30] Between them, these accounts gave the French a claim to the coast from at least 34° to 46° North, a claim which could be extended south to peninsular

28. Alonso de Santa Cruz, *Islario General de todas las islas del mundo. . .*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1918), I, 441-42; identification of the Rio de los Gamos is from Sauer, *Sixteenth Century North America*, 68.
29. Giovanni da Verrazzano, "Al Christianissimo Re Di Francia Francesco Primo, Relatione di Giouanni da Venazzano Fiorentino della terra per lui scoperta in nome di sua Maesta' scritta in Dieppa, adi 8. Lugilo M. D. XIIII," in Gian Battista Ramusio, *Navigationi et Viaggi*, 3 vols. (Venice, 1552-1556; reprint ed., Amsterdam, 1967), III, fol. 350vto.
30. "Discurso de un Gran Capitan. . .," in Ramusio, *Navigationi et Viaggi*, III, fols. 352-69, and introduction, fol. 438; for a translation see Bernard G. Hoffman, "Account of a Voyage Conducted in 1529 to the New World, Africa, Madagascar, and Sumatra, translated from the Italian, with Notes and Comments," *Ethnohistory*, X (Winter 1963), 1-79.

Florida if Verrazzano's narrative were taken at face value. In short, Ramusio's publication gave the French title by right of discovery to the same coast where Gómara said Ayllon's settlement had been. Equally important, Verrazzano confirmed Gómara, and Martyr, in describing the area of the mid-thirties north latitude as one rich in agricultural and forest potential.

Coincident with the publication of Ramusio's volume, the French began to take a more direct interest in North America. Andre Thevet, the great cosmographer whose works were published in the 1570s, tells us that in 1556 the ship on which he was a passenger homebound from Brazil coasted the shore of North America.[31] That same year, the Spanish learned that one Julian de Solórzano, a renegade from Peru where he had been a follower of Gonzalo Pizarro in the rebellion of 1544-1547, was at the French court, where he spent several hours closeted with the king discussing various maps and a project to seize a base near where the ships passed on their way to the Indies.[32] A later report had it that the French were sending a fleet to seize a base near the Cape of Three Points, although this may be a garbled version of the French colony at Rio de Janiero.[33] Nothing further seems to have come of whatever the French were planning in 1556.

On the basis of available evidence it is not possible to decide whether the French had an active interest in the Point of Santa Elena at this time. Yet somehow during the course of 1556 or early 1557, the Spanish became aroused to a possible danger of a French intrusion on their claim over the Point of Santa Elena. Solórzano, in particular, may have aroused their suspicions because he was reported to have had maps of the Indies with him. Whether there was some other, presently unknown, and more direct evidence of a French design on North America cannot be stated. But it is certain that the combination of cir-

31. Andre Thevet, *Les singularitez de la France Antartique, autremente nomme Amerique* (Antwerp, 1558; reprint ed., Paris, 1878), fols. 143, 145, 158, and Andre Thevet, *La Cosmographie Universelle,* 3 vols. (Paris, 1575), II, fo's. 1008-1009; Kohl, *Discovery of the East Coast,* 416. Thevet seems to have touched only the New England coast.
32. Copy of paragraph, Ambassador to King, Paris (?), August 17, 1556, Archivo General de Simancas, Guerra Antigua 62, documents 55-57 (hereinafter AGS); Francisco Mexía to King, Seville, March 17, 1555, AGI, IG 1561, giving background on Solórzano.
33. Ambassador to King, Paris (?), September 14, 1556, copy as AGS, Guerra Antigua 62, doc. 12-14.

cumstances, beginning with the publication of the Ramusio volume, seems to have finally persuaded Philip II's regency government it should approve a Mexican scheme for a new colony in southeastern North America.

Father Andrés de Olmos, a Franciscan friar long active in the Pánuco region of northeastern Mexico, had been advocating such a colony since 1544. His propaganda got into high gear in 1555-1556 when he and a number of Mexican authorities wrote to the crown advocating missions and colonies on the three rivers of the northern Gulf coast– Rio de Palmas, Rio Bravo, and Rio de Ochuse. Endorsed by Rodrigo Rengel, former secretary to Hernando de Soto, by the archbishop of Mexico, by the viceroy, D. Luís de Velasco, and by Dr. Pedro de Santander, inspector of the royal treasury in Vera Cruz, the proposal had not been approved at first, but in an order dated December 29, 1557, the regency government reversed its previous position and ordered an expedition to the Gulf coast and to the Point of Santa Elena.[34] Santa Elena had not been part of Olmos's proposal.

On the basis of this order, the expedition of Tristán de Luna was fitted out in Vera Cruz and eventually sent to what is now Pensacola on the Gulf coast, where the first major settlement was to be made. Santa Elena had a low, second priority for the officials preparing the expedition.

Additional evidence supporting Philip's suspicions about the French was soon available in public form. Thevet's account of the Brazilian colony and of his North American visit was published in Paris in 1557, and at Antwerp in 1558.[35] Thevet's book was followed by Jean Alfonse's *Adventerous Voyages* published in 1559.[36] Alfonse's work showed additional evidence

34. Princess and Council of Indies to Velasco, Valladolid, December 29, 1557, cited in Audiencia to Luna, Mexico, March 30, 1559, in Herbert I. Priestley, ed., *The Luna Papers: Documents Relating to the Expedition of don Tristán de Luna y Arellano for the Conquest of La Florida in 1559-1561,* 2 vols. (DeLand, 1928), I, 46-47; Paul E. Hoffman, "Legend, Religious Idealism and Politics: The Point of Santa Elena in History 1552-1566," *South Carolina Historical Magazine,* LXXXIV (April 1983), 59-71.

35. Thevet, *Singularitez de la France Antartique,* fols. 143, 145, 158, 161, citation from Kohl, *Discovery of the East Coast,* 416-19.

36. Jean Alfonce, *Le Voyages avantureaux du capitaine Ian Alfonce, Sainctongeois* (Potiers, 1559, but probably published in two earlier, undated editions), fol. 29, does not mention any specific voyages along the coast, although he does describe it in general terms; compare Kohl's statement in *Discovery of the East Coast,* 419.

of French visits to the North American coast. In just three years (1556-1559) the French had staked a public, printed claim based on prior discovery and current voyaging. What other reports of voyages remained in manuscript, but known to the Spanish, is not known.

The stage was set for a showdown over rival France-Spanish claims to southeastern North America. That showdown began with the peace negotiations of 1559 and was to end only with the destruction of the French colony at Fort Caroline on the St. Johns River in September 1565. Echoes would continue to sound for a generation after that in the form of occasional French raids and trading voyages to the coast of *La Florida.*

The details of the negotiations of 1559 are not important for present purposes except for the failure of the negotiators to agree on the terms under which the French might enjoy some limited access to parts of the New World unoccupied by the Spanish. That failure, datable to the discussions of March 13, led to further negotiations over the summer in which the Spanish attempted to so define the "Indies" as to exclude the French from any destination near the Caribbean.[37] The Spanish proposed to do this by using a longitude and a latitude to define their area. The content of the negotiations suggests that they planned to divide North America, leaving the French the extreme north, while prohibiting them from sailing anywhere south of a line which would probably have been in the 40s, north latitude. When these additional discussions came up empty, Philip again acted to make his paper claims good by occupation.[38]

On December 18, 1559, Philip sent peremptory orders to the viceroy of New Spain and to Tristán de Luna to break off the colony on the Florida Gulf coast and to move without further

37. Paul E. Hoffman, "Diplomacy and the Papal Donation," *The Americas,* XXX (October 1973), 166-69; Plentipotentiaries to the King, Cambrai, March 13, 1559, AGS, Estado 518, doc. 88.

38. An alternative and more traditional reading of the Spanish proposals is that they would have prohibited French voyages west of a given longitude and south of a given latitude, thereby excluding the French from all of the New World. My inference of a proposed division of North America is based on the explorers named by the Council of the Indies when it advised the king on the basis for his claim, see Consulta of Council of Indies, June 18, 1565, AGS, Estado K1504, No. 19b; for a discussion of the diplomacy of this question, see Hoffman, "Diplomacy and the Papal Donation," 174.

delay to occupy the area of the Point of Santa Elena. Other orders issued at the same time cautioned governors in the Caribbean not to allow French traders to try to make use of the 1559 treaty's vague general language permitting trade with Spain as a pretext for trade in the Caribbean.[39] Tough measures to defend Spanish claims were now the order of the day.

The king's order resulted in the voyage of Angel de Villafañe to a river which he labeled the "River of Santa Elena" at about 33° North, and to another he called the "Jordan River." In both cases Villafañe was in the wrong place, for the Edisto is not the River of Santa Elena nor is the Cape Fear River the Jordan. The consequences of Villafañe's errors were considerable, not only in his own time but even more for modern writers who have tried to use his data to understand the Ayllon voyages.[40]

After losing three of his four ships in storms, Villafañe turned back to the Antilles. There, at Monte Cristi, Española, on July 9, 1561, he had his notary pen a report on what he had done and seen.[41] The gist of this report was picked up by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, then the captain-general of the New Spain convoy, who relayed it to the king with the opinion that "it is not convenient to settle the coast of that land of Florida nor supply it from New Spain and that on the Point of Santa Elena [note the shift from Villafañe's River of Santa Elena] there is nothing to help with the settlement because it is not a port but a river of little water and even if there were a good port, because of the currents which are there, it would be difficult to sail in and out."[42] To confirm this opinion, Philip sent an order to the viceroy of New Spain to convoke a meeting of Villafañe, his pilots, and surviving captains and get their opinions. They agreed with the substance of Menéndez's pessimistic report.[43]

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39. Priestley, *Luna Papers*, I, xlviii, and II, 16; Hoffman, "Diplomacy and the Papal Donation," 169.
40. Paulino Castañda Delgado, *Alonso de Chaves y el libro IV de Su Espejo de Navegantes* (Madrid, 1977), 124, can be used to correct these errors.
41. "Relación," Monte Cristi, July 9, 1561, AGI, Patronato 19, R. 11.
42. King to Viceroy of Mexico, Madrid, September 23, 1561, AGI, Patronato 19, R. 12.
43. Report of a meeting, Mexico City, March 3, 1562, AGI, Patronato 19, R. 12. This conclusion and report probably explain why Philip decided that future colonies in Florida should be paid for by private contractors rather than the crown. See Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568* (Gainesville, 1976), 22.

The river and Point of Santa Elena must have seemed safe from French intrusion.

The next development was the arrival from Paris in early 1562 of the news that the French were planning a colony somewhere between the Cape of Florida and Norembega (an Indian town on the Penobscot River in Maine) at a site supposedly discovered in 1539 by Vicente Tiran and Grangean Bucier, sailing in the ship, *Dauphin*.[44] This voyage is otherwise unrecorded, but may be a confusion of various voyages, especially that of the "Great Captain" of 1539, as published by Ramusio. In any case, the plans in 1562 were for the first voyage of Jean Ribault.

Ribault's voyage carried him along the coast of North America from just south of the mouth of the St. Johns River to somewhere above modern Santa Helena Sound. Exploring each estuary, he finally arrived at modern Port Royal Sound. Impressed by its size and apparent richness, and perhaps by the fact that it was at about the latitude of the Point of Santa Elena given by Gómara, he concluded that he had found the Jordan River.[45] Upon his return to Europe, Ribault was captured by the English and had to publish his report in London. In the published version he states (concerning Port Royal) "this is the river Jordayne in myne oppynion, wherof so muche hathe byn spoken, which is verry faire, and the cuntrye good and of grete consequence, both for theire easye habitation and also for many other things which shuld be to long to wrytt."[46] As if this is not confirmation enough of his knowledge of the Chicora Legend and the value he placed on finding the Jordan River, the manuscript version of the report tells us that he had inquired after "Chicore" while still at the St. Marys River, well to the south.[47] The Jordan and Chicora were clearly objectives of his voyage.

When and how the Chicora Legend became known to Jean Ribault and his backers cannot be determined with precision,

44. Ambassador to King, Paris, December 15, 1561, AGS, Estado 1495, No. 99; for further detail of what the Spanish learned in Paris, see Hoffman, "Diplomacy and the Papal Donation," 170-71.
45. René Goulaine de Laudonnière, *L'histoire Notable de la Florida. . . .* (London, 1586; facsimile ed., Lyon, 1946), fols. 16-17.
46. Jean Ribault, *The Whole and True Discouerye of Terra Florida. A Facsimile Reprint of the London Edition of 1563 together with a Transcript of the English Version in the British Museum* (DeLand, 1927), 94.
47. Ibid., 86.

although the evidence points to Gómara as his principal source. Martyr's, Oviedo's, and Gómara's works could have reached France within a few years of their publications in 1530, 1535, and 1552, respectively. Further, the cartographic record of the explorations sponsored by Ayllon had been incorporated into the maps of the Dieppe School by the late 1530s. Thus, at least as early as the late 1530s, the French could have been aware of Chicora and of the Jordan River, but not necessarily that the former was located on the latter, for neither Martyr nor the maps indicate this fact. Oviedo's reference to Ayllon mentioned neither Chicora nor the Jordan. Thus, for the French to have learned the location of Chicora before the publication of Gómara's work would mean that they had an oral or manuscript source. No manuscript sources are known. The one possible oral contract in the late 1520s produced no result.[48] In short, there seems to be no pre-Gómara source for French knowledge of the full Chicora Legend.

Whatever the source of Ribault's knowledge of Chicora and the Jordan, it is appropriate that he should have sought them. Historians have generally agreed that one of Admiral Gaspard de Coligny's objectives in sending out Ribault and René de Laudonnière was to found colonies of settlement and refuge for the Huguenots, then persecuted in France and shortly to begin the civil wars which lasted until the publication of the Edict of Nantes in 1598. The land of milk and honey described in the Chicora Legend, as per Martyr and Gómara, would have made an ideal location for a colony. Ribault's interest in this place, whose location was not known with certainty, his trumpeting of his apparent finding of it in his report, and his decision to leave a colony there (motivated by other factors as well) attest to his estimation of the site for purposes of settlement. These facts ought to be used to discount the testimony of the boy, Guilliame Rouffi, who told his Spanish captors in 1564, or so they said, that the settlement at Charlesfort had as its sole purpose the creation of a base for raiding Spanish shipping in

48. The contact was with Antonio de Montesinos, OFM, who had been on the expedition of 1526. In 1528 he visited with the Constable of Castile at Verlanga, where the French princes and their courts were being held under the terms of the Treaty of Madrid of 1525, AGS, Estado K 1643, No. 91.

the Caribbean.[49] That may have been a subsidiary purpose, but Ribault could have chosen several other harbors much closer to the Caribbean, if that was his primary purpose. Instead, he went steadily northward until he found what he believed was Ayllon's Jordan and the rich land of Chicora. Settlement, not plunder, was his primary objective; for that, Chicora was the place to seek. The legend had claimed another victim.

By late February 1563 the details of the settlement Ribault had left at the Point of Santa Elena were known in Madrid. Its location was said to be north of 30° North. Pillars had been left at 29° and 30° North.[50] This news formed the basis for two related actions by the Spanish. Philip sent a letter to the governor of Cuba instructing him to send an armed scouting party to seek out, and, if possible, remove the pillars and the French colony. At the same time, the crown applied pressure to the contractor who had agreed earlier to take a Spanish expedition to settle the area. This man was Lucas Vázquez de Ayllon, the Younger, son of the first Lucas. He had signed his contract on February 28, 1562.[51]

Hernando Manrique de Rojas duly sailed from Cuba to Santa Helena Sound and recovered Rouffi and one of the columns (at Port Royal Sound), and destroyed the abandoned French post.[52] Vázquez de Ayllon, the Younger, sailed for Florida after experiencing difficulties clearing his followers through the red tape of getting immigration licenses from the Casa de Contratación. But he got no further than Santo Domingo, where the expedition broke up in recriminations and lawsuits as the expeditioneers tried to recover money they had given their leader for passage and food.[53] Ayllon died shortly afterwards.

Because of Manrique de Rojas's success and French difficulties

49. Lucy L. Wenhold, trans., "Manrique de Rojas' Report on French Settlement in Florida, 1564," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVIII (July 1959), 57-60; for an example of the overemphasis on Rouffi's testimony, see Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, II, 29-31.
50. Ambassador to King, Paris, January 25, 1563, AGS, Estado K 1500, No. 29 and No. 30.
51. Wenhold, "Manrique de Rojas' Report," 45. The original of this cedula is not copied into the Manrique de Rojas report, nor has it been found in the Archives of the Indies; contract in AGI, Contractión 3307, Bk. of Florida, fols. 143-49.
52. Wenhold, "Manrique de Rojas' Report," 45-62.
53. King to Casa, June 27, 1563, AGI, Contratación 5220; testimony in AGI, Justicia 879, No. 3, pieza 2, fols. 6vto, 10vto, 12, 15; see Lyon, *Enterpise of Florida*, 36.

at Port Royal, Santa Elena was again safe. Indeed the problems experienced by the men who had remained at Charlesfort directly influenced the decision made by Laudonnière in 1564 to settle on the St. Johns River (River of May).[54]

Laudonnière's settlement and its troubles prepared the way for the Spanish counter attack which was delivered from St. Augustine by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in 1565. Deserters from Fort Caroline raided in the Antilles, were caught, confessed their story and the location of the fort, and so gave the Spanish the information they needed. Menéndez's contract for settlement– motivated by hope of personal gain and a desire to try to find his son– was swiftly amended once this news was known in Madrid. The crown was brought into the contract as a partner in conquest and settlement, at least until the French should be expelled.[55]

When Menéndez was negotiating his contract, he made it clear that an area he hoped to explore and settle lay around St. Mary's Bay, probably the modern Chesapeake Bay. He continued to hold to that aim into the early months of 1566, and finally managed to get an exploring party off towards the bay in the fall of that year.[56] However, by then he was already bound to maintaining St. Augustine and the new settlement at Port Royal Sound, grandiloquently but temporarily named the City of the Holy Savior (San Salvador) of the Point of Santa Elena. The City of the Holy Savior, or as it was soon more commonly called, Santa Elena, was forced upon him by the king's concern to hold that tantalizing, legendary place. Financial necessity, brought on in large part by the loss of his ship, *San Pelayo,* and some of the equipment he had obtained on credit for the expedition, compelled him to show that he had complied with his contract to the extent of setting up two towns, putting some population

54. Laudonnière, *Histoire Notable de la Florida,* fols. 43-44.
55. Lyon, *Enterprise of Florida,* 38-76, and later chapters, is the most recent account, while Lowery, *Spanish Settlements,* II, 42-207, is the older standard account now superceded in many details by Lyon's work.
56. Compare "Memorial" of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, [1565], in Eugenio Ruidiáz y Caraviá, comp., *La Florida: su conquista y colonización por Pedro Menézdez de Avilés,* 2 vols. (Madrid, 1893), II, 320-26, and his letters to the king from Havana, December 28, 1565, and January 30, 1566, in AGI, Santo Domingo 231 (hereinafter SD); for the expedition in the fall see Louís Andre Vigneras, "A Spanish Discovery of North Carolina in 1566," *North Carolina Historical Review,* XLVI (October 1969), 398-414.

ashore, and generally trying to carry out its terms before it expired in 1568. Apparently making the best of his situation, which was not what he had hoped for when he negotiated the contract, he began to work out from under his obligations as adelantado by foisting off on the crown part of the cost of maintaining the settlements created in 1565 and early 1566.[57] Faced in 1567 with having Santa Elena and St. Augustine abandoned if he did not pay some of the bills, Philip II renewed the contract in 1568 and provided money to pay a 150-man garrison in Florida. In addition, there were possibilities for personal gain for Menéndez from various illegal, semi-legal, and legal activities connected with the new Indies fleet, built by him in 1567 under royal orders for the purpose of sweeping the Caribbean of the French corsairs who had begun to appear there coincident with Laudonnière's colony.[58]

Menéndez never abandoned his interest in the Chesapeake, but the best that he could do was to try to build up Santa Elena during the early 1570s while sending a Jesuit mission to Jacán to prepare the way for an eventual Spanish colony.[59] The evi-

57. The evidence on this point is indirect and dates from after the renewal of the contract. One device was to mix the king's goods with Menéndez de Avilés's personal trade, Hernán Perez to Crown, November 28, 1567, AGI, SD 71, bk. 1. fols. 367-367vto. On the other hand, Menéndez claimed that he spent much of his own wealth on behalf of the king's soldiers and eventually sued for collection from them, AGI, Justicia 901, No. 2. Further, in the final accounting between himself and the king for the period of the first contract Menéndez made it clear that the king was responsible for most of the expenses, AGI, Justicia 1001, No. 4, R. 2, fols. 37-37vto. The king accepted that claim to some degree because it proved impossible to disentangle the records kept in Florida. That some of Menéndez's claims were probably fraudulent is suggested by the testimony of Diego de Valle, notary of Florida, who refused to go along with at least one demand for falsified receipts (Confession, of Diego de Valle, Madrid, May 17, 1572, AGI, Justicia 1160; No. 13, fols. 5-11). In short, there is considerable evidence that Menéndez and his associates conspired to make the crown pay as much of the bill for Florida as possible, and that they succeeded to some degree.

58. There is no detailed history of the renewal of the contract nor of the king's reasons for doing so. The order creating the subsidy was dated July 15, 1568, and is noted in AGI, Contaduria 548, No. 8, R. 5, fol. 2; see also Lyon, *Enterprise of Florida*, 207; for example of the illegal trade in hides by the Indies Fleet, see suits in AGI, Justicia 892, No. 4, Justicia 896, No. 2, and Justicia 904, No. 1. This aspect of Menéndez de Avilés's career awaits further study.

59. Part of the buildup was to send Menéndez's wife, María de Solís, to Santa Elena. Fragmentary information about her trip to and residence there is found in "Will of María de Solís," Oviedo, October 19, 1570. Archivo de Protocolos, Oviedo, Legajo 57, cuaderno 1 (Alonso de Heredía,

dence is mixed, but it appears that his heart was no longer in Florida, whatever his pious, and since oft-repeated sentiments in the days just before his death at Santander in September 1574.[60] Forced to maintain an establishment at Santa Elena, which he knew was not the golden Eden of the Chicora Legend, he could not realize his dream of empire.

In the years between Menéndez's death and the final abandonment of Santa Elena in 1587, the northern post was a kind of holding operation, a visible symbol of Philip's claim. Only a few of its residents thought it had much potential for development.[61] The force of the Chicora Legend was dead so far as the Spanish were concerned. Its subsequent career among them was literary, not one of inspiring men to action. Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas retold the story in 1601 of Ayllon's colony, with some additions which further confused the story. A long silence followed until the eighteenth century when Arredondo and Barcía retold the story of the early Spanish settlements in an attempt to bolster Spanish claims to Georgia.[62] By then, however, the legend enshrined by Martyr could hardly be detected among the details of the narrative.

Among the French the legend seems to have died out somewhat later than among the Spanish. Frenchmen still visited the coast around Spanish Santa Elena to trade with the Indians, raid the Spanish, and perhaps seek the fabled Jordan River.[63] Little

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notary); AGI, Justicia 817, No. 5, pieza 3, fols. 19-20; Ruidiaz, *La Florida,* II, 519; Jeannette T. Connor, ed. and trans., *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida; Letters and Reports of Governors and Secular Persons. . . .,* 2 vols. (DeLand, 1925-1930), I, 131. It is not known when she returned to Asturias. The Jacán mission is covered in detail in C. M. Lewis and A. J. Loomie, *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570-1572* (Chapel Hill, 1953).

60. Menéndez de Avilés to Menéndez Marques, Santander, September 8, 1574, Ruidiaz, *La Florida,* II, 288; see also Lowery, *Spanish Settlement,* II, 383.

61. Declarations of Gutierre de Miranda, Santa Elena, August 16, 1587, AGI, SD 231, No. 64, fols. 24-29vto.

62. Andrés Gonzales de Barcía Carballido y Zúñiga, *Ensayo cronológico para la História general de la Florida* (Madrid, 1723), see note 24 for the English translation; Antonio de Arredondo, *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia,* ed. Herbert E. Bolton (Berkeley, 1925). Arredondo's work was completed in 1742.

63. Examples are a ship the Spanish called *El Principe,* which coasted as far as Santa Elena before being wrecked in 1577, Menéndez Marques to King, Santa Elena, October 21, 1577, and St. Augustine, June 15, 1578, in Connor, *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida,* I, 264, 268, and II, 88-89; and various parties of French (and English) corsairs on the Georgia-South Carolina coast in 1580, Relación, n.d., in ibid., II. 322.

is known about the motives of these voyages, although one can be reasonably sure that the French did not believe that Port Royal was the Jordan River, at least not if they had had any contact with René de Laudonnière, who had concluded that Ribault was mistaken. Laudonnière's and Le Moyne's accounts of the French colonies in Florida were the last important sixteenth-century French reference to the Chicora Legend. Published in 1587 at the request of Richard Hakluyt, the Younger, Laudonnière's *Histoire Notable de la Floride* contained a discussion of Ribault's mistake in 1562, and of the riches the legend associated with the Jordan River.[64] But Laudonnière's account also suggests that the French in the 1564 Florida colony had not lost interest in the Jordan. Rather, they seem to have had other priorities, especially finding a place where they stood a better chance of living through the winter on Indian grain stores than had been the experience of the men at Charlesfort. Le Moyne's chief contribution to the story of the legend was his map, which places Chicora on the Jordan River, and the Jordan well to the north of Port Royal Sound.[65] Between them, Laudonnière and Le Moyne had clarified Gómara's cryptic reference to the Point of Santa Elena and the Jordan River forming "a land," but they left Chicora on the map where, like Norembega further to the north, it remained, a chimera embodying men's hopes and will to believe that there was unlimited abundance in the New World.

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64. Laudonnière, *Histoire Notable de la Florida.*
65. Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, *Brevis narratio eorum quae in Florida Americae* (Frankfurt, 1591); a modern translation with full illustrations is Stefan Lorant, ed., *The New World: The First Pictures of America* (New York, 1946), the map is 34-35.

CHANGING FACE OF JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA: 1900-1910

by JAMES B. CROOKS

COMPELLED by a devastating fire, May 3, 1901, that laid waste to most of downtown, Jacksonville not only rebuilt, but changed notably in other ways during the first decade of the twentieth century. Its population more than doubled. New or expanding suburbs, skyscrapers, hotels, theaters, automobiles, streetcar lines, parks, and city services reflected urban development. Substantial economic growth took place in banking, trade, and transportation. Public and private efforts to provide health, education, and human services increased. In addition, the community's popular culture became more diversified.

Jacksonville's population of 28,429 in 1900 made it Florida's largest city. By comparison with neighboring southeastern cities, however, it ranked behind Savannah, Charleston, Augusta, Atlanta, Birmingham, and Mobile. Jacksonville's 16,236 Afro-American residents comprised fifty-seven per cent of the population. Most blacks lived in poverty on the fringe of the downtown area, with a large concentration in the Hansontown slum, and smaller settlements in Oakland, LaVilla, and Brooklyn. Black youngsters attended seven segregated elementary schools. There were no public high schools open to them in 1900, but four private academies– Edward Waters College, Cookman Institute, Florida Baptist Academy, and Boylan Industrial School– provided secondary educational opportunities for a limited number of older youth. Edward Waters, Cookman, and Florida Baptist also trained clergy.[1]

Most adult Jacksonville blacks did menial work, but a small

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1. U.S. Bureau of Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States, Census Bulletin No. 70* (Washington., 1900), table 9; *Twelfth Census of the United States, Census Bulletin No. 72* (Washington, 1901), table 5; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union and Citizen,* July 27, 1901; J. Irving E. Scott, *The Education of Black People in Florida* (Philadelphia, 1974), 41-43, 49-53.

middle class included fifty-nine ministers, forty-one public school teachers, three doctors, two lawyers, one dentist, and 176 mostly small business men and women operating boarding houses, barber shops, restaurants, retail groceries, meat markets, and dress-making establishments. Skilled carpenters and a few others in the building trades belonged to local unions. In government, two city council members were elected from the predominantly black sixth ward.[2]

Besides the churches, blacks belonged to thirteen black lodges, seven black Knights of Pythias lodges, and several mutual aid societies like the Daughters of Gethsemane, Daughters of Israel, and Bethel Aid Society. In sum, black Jacksonville, despite varying degrees of segregation, discrimination, and exclusion from voting, education, entertainment, and work opportunities, pursued a varied civic life reflecting the community's vitality.[3]

Minority white Jacksonville fared better, controlling city government and the wholesale, retail, banking, shipping, and other business enterprises. More affluent whites lived in fine houses in town, in the Springfield area, or in the developing suburb of Riverside. Within the white community, a small but powerful elite dominated Jacksonville. The 1904 Social Register, an indicator of respectability, listed 1,386 people who comprised less than five per cent of the total population. Among their number were all of the mayors elected after 1900: J. E. T. Bowden, Duncan Fletcher, George Nolan, William H. Baker, William H. Sebring, and William S. Jordan. Of the fifty-five city council members from 1901 to 1911, the names of eighteen (one-third) appeared. Eight of the nine members of the influential Board of Bond Trustees were listed. This council-appointed board administered bond issues and supervised the construction of the municipally-owned electric lighting plant, water works, and other public improvements.[4]

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2. J. L. Wiggins and Company, *Jacksonville City Directory For 1901* (Jacksonville, 1901), 479-99, passim.
3. Ibid.; for a more pessimistic view of black Jacksonville prior to 1900, see Barbara Ann Richardson, *A History of Blacks in Jacksonville, Florida, 1860-1895: A Socio-Economic and Political Study* (Ann Arbor, 1975), chap. VI.
4. Anna Hardy Daniel, comp., *Social Register Jacksonville, Florida* (Jacksonville, 1904); Anna Hardy Daniel, comp., *Jacksonville Social Register* (Jacksonville, 1909). Obviously not all power resided in the elite. Two-thirds of the city council and almost half the members of the Board of

Perhaps the most influential organization in Jacksonville was the Board of Trade, forerunner of the Chamber of Commerce. Of its 370 members, more than half were listed in the Social Register, along with seven of its ten officers. The board was a major force in securing funding to deepen the St. Johns River channel, rebuild Jacksonville after the fire, untangle railroad congestion at the port, support public health programs, and secure new business, improved roads, Congressional appropriations, and charter reforms. In addition, more than half the members of the Woman's Club, initiator of most of the social reforms of the decade, were listed in the Social Register.[5]

Thus as the century began, Jacksonville was a city with a black majority population, but with power and wealth (supported by the Flagler-owned *Florida Times-Union and Citizen)* centered in a relatively small white elite whose stewardship of that power during the reform-oriented Progressive Era was crucial to the changes taking place in the community.

While government and business had begun to modernize before the fire, the process accelerated as a result of the conflagration. Most of the downtown area had been devastated, including all of the local government buildings, banks, office blocks, warehouses, shops, schools, and churches. In all 2,368 buildings, covering 140 blocks, valued at $15,000,000 were destroyed. Over half the tax base was gone. Almost 10,000 people were homeless, though only five died.[6]

Rebuilding began immediately. By mid-June, the *Times-Union* reported a boom underway. In July, Judge Morris A. Dzialynski, president of the Ahavath Chesed congregation, announced plans to rebuild the Jewish temple; Father (later Bishop) William J. Kenney revealed plans for a new Church

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Trade and Woman's Club were not listed in the social register. White Jacksonville was not a closed society for middle class whites. They had access to power and mobility, At the same time not all 1,386 members of the social register shaped urban policy. Only a fraction did and the power elite, to the extent one existed, was a much smaller number. Still, there was a disproportionate number of wealthier or establishment Jacksonvillians providing political, economic, and social leadership in the city. They did not have total power, but their influence was real, if not paramount. A recent discussion of this topic is Edward Pessen, et. al., "Social Structure and Politics in American History," *American Historical Review,* LXXXVII (December 1982), 1,290-341.

5. Daniel, comp., *Social Register,* 1904 and 1909.

6. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* May 4, 5, and 6, 1901; Benjamin Harrison, *Acres of Ashes* (Jacksonville, 1901).

of the Immaculate Conception; and the officers of the First Presbyterian Church authorized construction of their new sanctuary. In August, architect Henry J. Klutho, recently arrived from New York, began work on the six-story Dyal-Upchurch building, at the corner of Bay and Main streets, the city's first skyscraper and the first in Klutho's series of important buildings in Jacksonville. In September, the city celebrated Labor Day with a large parade, and theatergoers anticipated the completion of a temporary structure for the fall season. Suburban schools opened with double sessions in October to accommodate children displaced from the burnt district. Edward Waters College students attended classes in temporary accommodations in LaVilla. In November, the annual Florida State Fair opened. Within six months of the fire, a major portion of downtown reconstruction was either completed or underway.[7]

The rebuilding was responsible for a substantial boom that continued through the decade. The city grew both outward and upward. Investors like W. A. Bisbee of Savannah financed a ten-story skyscraper designed by Klutho. In the next block on Forsyth Street, the Atlantic National Bank, also started by Savannah investors, was under construction. By 1910, these buildings (still standing in the 1980s) along with the Seminole Hotel, city hall, courthouse, library, YMCA, and a number of churches formed a nucleus of the modern Jacksonville. As the decade closed, Klutho had begun his design of the St. James Building and Cohen Brothers department store opposite Hemming Park. It would become his foremost achievement in downtown Jacksonville.[8]

This prosperity also stimulated suburban growth. To the southwest, Riverside expanded outward toward Willowbranch and beyond, and developers began platting the Ortega suburb. To the west, on both sides of the railroad yards under construction, developers built Murray Hill, Lackawanna, and Grand Park, These were designed primarily as working-class suburbs

7. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June to December 1901, passim.
8. Ibid.; for W. A. Bisbee, see May 31, 1908, and April 28, 1909; for Atlantic National Bank, see April 2, 1903, and July 14, 1908; for St. James Building, see March 1, 1910. Downtown construction continued almost until World War I with the Union Terminal, the Florida-Life Building, Heard Bank, and Rhodes-Futch-Collins Building. Thomas Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida, and Vicinity, 1513 to 1924* (Jacksonville, 1925; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1984), 244-45.

for men employed by the railroads. To the northwest, along Kings Road, development for blacks began in College Park, Northside Park, and Highland Heights. To the north, Springfield expanded beyond the city line to Twenty-first Street, and by the end of the decade to Panama Park. To the northeast, off Talleyrand Avenue near the mills, terminals, and river, additional housing construction was underway. Directly east, Fairfield residents sought further development in their community. Linking all of the suburbs to downtown was the Jacksonville Electric Company, a Boston-owned streetcar line which provided service at five cents a ride.[9]

Across the river, South Jacksonville's more than 2,000 residents secured a city charter from the legislature in 1907. This growth resulted from the ferry service connecting it to downtown Jacksonville, the northern terminus for the Florida East Coast Railroad, the construction of a fertilizer factory, and the opening of Dixieland Amusement Park in 1907. By the end of the decade, South Jacksonville had eight grocery stores, three markets, a bakery, shoe store, dry goods store, barbershop, pool room, dentist, three doctors, and a weekly newspaper. There were two public schools, one for blacks and one for whites, four churches– two Methodist, one Baptist, and one Episcopal– along with a half dozen fraternal orders.[10]

Economic development accompanied this urban and suburban growth. Perhaps the two greatest boosts to Jacksonville business during the decade were the deepening of the St. Johns River channel to twenty-four feet and railroad expansion. The impact of the channel deepening could be seen in the trade figures for the period. In 1900 the channel was eighteen feet and only relatively small coastal ships could enter the port. The twenty-four-foot channel was completed in 1907, and within two years shipping had increased from 650,000 to more than 3,000,000 tons,

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9. For Ortega, see Dena Snodgrass, *The Island of Ortega: A History* (Jacksonville, 1981), 31, and Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* March 7, 1902, and May 3, 1909; for Murray Hall, see ibid., September 14, 1906; for the black suburbs, see ibid., September 4, and November 21, 1910, and Jacksonville *Metropolis,* February 2, 1907; for Panama Park, see Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* November 21, 1909; for Talleyrand, see ibid., December 18, 1910; for the electric company, see ibid., February 23, 1908, and May 16, 1910.
10. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* May 14, June 11, and October 27, 1907, and May 26, 1909.

and combined exports and imports from $266,000 to $3,000,000. The major products included fertilizers, lumber, and naval stores. Clyde Line passenger ships began daily scheduled trips from Jacksonville to Savannah, Charleston, New York, and Boston; the Baltimore-based Merchant and Miner Company added Jacksonville to its shipping routes; and foreign trade which had been almost nonexistent at the beginning of the century increased substantially with phosphate and lumber shipments to Germany and France. By 1910, the Board of Trade had begun lobbying for a thirty-foot channel, and the *Times-Union* compared Jacksonville's port favorably with that of Savannah.[11]

Railroads provided another major stimulus to growth. The Seaboard Air Line was already in Jacksonville in 1900. Two years later, the Atlantic Coast Line completed its takeover of the Plant System. Southern Railways bought the Atlantic Valdosta and Western Railroad and took control of the Georgia Southern and Florida Railroad. Across the St. Johns River, Henry Flagler's Florida East Coast Railroad had already made Jacksonville its northern terminus as the line expanded southward to Miami and later Key West.[12]

During the decade the five companies (the GS&F continued as an independent subsidiary of the Southern) expanded their facilities in Jacksonville. West of the city, the Seaboard built a major complex of shops and yards completed in 1908. Just west of downtown, next to the Union Passenger Terminal, Seaboard, FEC, and ACL built warehouses between Bay Street and the river. Southern Railway tracks ran along Bay Street between downtown and the docks. To the east were more FEC, ACL, and Seaboard warehouses. Along Talleyrand Avenue and into northeast Springfield, the Southern established the St. Johns River Terminal Company, and with the GS&F built machine shops, warehouses, and piers down to the water's edge. At one point, the *Times-Union* complained that the riverfront had be-

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11. Jacksonville Chamber of Commerce, *Industrial Survey of Jacksonville, Florida* (Jacksonville, 1915), 32; George M. Chapin, "Jacksonville, the Commercial Capital of a Great Commonwealth Rich in Possession and Promise," *Practical Advertising,* VI (February 1909), 6; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* December 13, 1907, July 6, 26, 1908, June 21, July 1, 1909, and January 1, 1911.
12. John F. Stover, *The Railroads of the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill, 1955), chap. 12, passim.; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* May 24, June 23, and July 1, 1902.

come almost completely owned by the railroads and shipping companies.[13]

The impact of port and railroad development stimulated the growth of wholesaling, and to a lesser extent manufacturing for the region. The city served as a distribution center for consumer goods. In 1905, Jacksonville had 180 establishments wholesaling meat, liquor, groceries, drugs, hardware, dry goods, electrical supplies, and machinery. More than 500 retail shops provided goods and services. One observer claimed the wholesale grocery houses alone exceeded in number those of Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans, prompting the Board of Trade to boost Jacksonville as the "Gateway to Florida."[14]

Industrial development proceeded more slowly. Most of Jacksonville's manufacturing establishments were small, and growth was limited during the first decade. One exception was Wellington Cummer's lumber mill and phosphate shipping facility north of the city employing 1,150 workers in 1906. Another was the Merrill Stevens Company, which had the largest dry dock south of Newport News, and the largest shipbuilding and marine facility in the southeast. More characteristic of new businesses toward the end of the decade was the opening of branch plants like the Cheek-Neal Coffee Company to manufacture their Maxwell House blend.[15]

As the city prospered and grew after the fire, its popular culture became more diversified. Some amusements were passive, involving attendance at vaudeville or minstrel shows; others encouraged active participation on the baseball diamond or gridiron. Both kinds reflected the increasing affluence and leisure available to the middle and skilled working classes; the poor generally remained excluded. Many city dwellers enjoyed entertainment at places like the race track; others joined clubs or choral groups. Events such as the Gala Week Carnival drew newcomers and older residents together strengthening a city-wide cul-

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13. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, September 19, 1904, July 19, August 19, 1907, June 7, October 8, 1908, May 26, 1909, and April 15, 1910; Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 342-55, passim.
14. Seaboard Air Line, *Mercantile and Industrial Review of Jacksonville, Florida* (Portsmouth, Va., 1907); Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, February 23, 1908; Charles H. Smith, *Jacksonville and Florida Facts* (Jacksonville, 1906), 11, 23.
15. Seaboard Air Line, *Mercantile and Industrial Review;* Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 26, 1909, and September 11, 1910.

ture. Some activities, like the church or saloon, had flourished in Jacksonville long before the fire. Others– amusement parks and motion pictures– developed rapidly in the early twentieth century.[16]

Probably the most familiar and traditional non-working-time institution was the church. In 1901, there were fifty-nine black churches, twenty-four white churches, and one synagogue in Jacksonville. Nine years later, there were sixty-four black and fifty white churches and two synagogues. Black churches were almost evenly divided between Baptists and Methodists, with one Presbyterian and one Episcopal congregation, the latter added during the decade. Among the white institutions, Methodists were estimated to be the largest denomination in 1906 with 1,850 members followed by 1,200 Episcopalians, 800 Disciples of Christ, 760 Baptists, 680 Presbyterians, 500 Roman Catholics, 400 Lutherans, 150 Jews, and seventy-five Christian Scientists.[17]

In addition to attending religious services, church people engaged in a variety of youth, women's, men's, musical, and charitable activities. They sponsored rummage sales and bazaars to raise money, performed concerts, crusaded against strong drink and prostitution, took excursions to the beach, and visited other churches in nearby towns. Blacks celebrated special holidays in their churches like Emancipation Day and Frederick Douglass's birthday. They welcomed visiting dignitaries including Judge Robert H. Terrell from the District of Columbia municipal court and President Theodore Roosevelt. On a visit in 1905, the president spoke at Florida Baptist Academy, a school founded by Bethel Baptist Institutional Church, the oldest and wealthiest black congregation in the city. Among the Methodists, Mt. Zion A.M.E. Church provided substantial support for Edward Waters College.[18]

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16. For other studies of urban popular culture in this era, see Gunther Barth, *City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in 19th Century America* (New York, 1980), 3-7, esp. 148-91, passim; Dale A. Somers, *The Rise of Sports in New Orleans, 1850-1900* (Baton Rouge, 1972), 274-96, passim; Stephen Hardy, *How Boston Played: Sports, Recreation and Community, 1865-1915* (Boston, 1982), 252-72.
17. Wiggins and Co., *City Directory for 1901,* and Seaboard Air Line, *Mercantile and Industrial Review;* R. L. Polk and Company, *Jacksonville City Directory, 1910,* XI (St. Augustine, 1910), 58, 60.
18. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* January 2, September 28, 1903, January 2, April 9, 1904, October 22, 1905, December 28, 1907, March 21, and

Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches sponsored revivals frequently. In 1905, the Union Revival Association, comprising most of the black and white Protestant denominations in the city, organized a mammoth six-week revival. A 6,500-seat tabernacle was built specially for the occasion in the St. James lot across from Hemming Park. An estimated 6,000 people heard Dr. L. W. Munhall preach what the *Times-Union* called, "the greatest sermon ever heard in Jacksonville . . . to the greatest congregation ever assembled in the city."[19]

On the lighter side, Jacksonville residents enjoyed a variety of fraternal orders and clubs during the decade. There were both black and white masonic orders, Knights of Pythias lodges, Odd Fellows halls, and labor unions. German-American residents might belong to the Germania Club, Jews to the Phoenix Club, white women to the Ladies' Friday Musicale or Woman's Club, young white men to the militia companies and their athletic teams, and wealthier white residents to the Florida Country Club, Yacht Club, Seminole Club, or Governors Club.[20]

Jacksonville was a sports town. Local fans cheered the spring training efforts of the Philadelphia Athletics, Cincinnati Reds, Boston Nationals, and Brooklyn Superbas during the decade. Judge Morris Dzialynski and former Mayor J. E. T. Bowden helped to organize the Jacksonville baseball team that became a charter member of the South Atlantic League in 1904. Attendance for the first year averaged 1,000 fans per game, despite an unimpressive fifty-eight-fifty-nine won-lost record. Four years later, the Jacksonville Scouts won their first Sally League pennant.[21]

In the fall, the militia companies fielded football teams that played in different years against Stetson, Georgia Tech, Florida Agricultural College, East Florida Seminary, South Carolina

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November 7, 1909; Jacksonville *Metropolis*, February 7, 16, and March 14, 1907.

19. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, January 18, November 14 and 22, 1904, January 23, March 6, 1905, and February 5, 1906.
20. Wiggins and Co., *City Directory for 1901*, 34-39; Chapin, "Jacksonville, the Commercial Capital," 9, 10; *Souvenir and Tourist Guide of Jacksonville, Florida* (Jacksonville, 1910), 16.
21. For spring training, see Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, February 26, 1903, March 10, 1905, March 19, 1906, March 10, 1907, March 15, 1908, and March 8, 1909; for Jacksonville's professional baseball team, see ibid., April 14, 1903, January 12, April 30, September 12, and September 29, 1904, and August 22, 1908.

College, Lake City, Savannah, Macon, and Valdosta. Following the 1909 completion of the YMCA building with a gymnasium, basketball became popular. By the end of the decade, Duval High School teams competed in both sports. For spectators and gamblers, horse racing began in Moncrief Park in 1909, prompting one skeptic to ask why police arrested black people for playing the numbers, but not whites for betting on horses. During the winter months sports fans followed the auto races at Ormond and Daytona Beaches. Locally hunting and fishing remained popular activities for many residents.[22]

Among the more exciting diversions in these early years were automobiles. Introduced to Jacksonville at the turn of the century, they attracted immediate attention. Car owners formed a Florida Automobile Association in 1903, which began advocating good roads for Duval County and beyond. Their major effort begun that year was a shell-paved road to the beach. Funding and routing problems, however, delayed completion of Atlantic Boulevard until 1910. Meanwhile the city council passed legislation in 1904 to license autos and to limit their speed. The beaches auto races on Independence Day, 1905 drew 5,000-6,000 fans. A year later, the *Times-Union* considered cars no longer an exceptional sight on the streets of downtown, though only ten per cent of the population owned them.[23]

From late spring through summer, Jacksonville's beaches attracted many local residents. When the Florida East Coast Railroad rebuilt a line from Southside to Pablo Beach (later Jacksonville Beach) at the turn of the century, it became the destination for local residents. Following the completion of Flagler's elegant Continental Hotel in 1901, however, wealthier residents went to Atlantic Beach. Over the decade, the Continental became a major summer tourist attraction drawing vacationers from Georgia, the Carolinas, and Alabama. Blacks went to Manhattan Beach which opened in 1907. Located north of Atlantic Beach

22. For football, see ibid., October 25, 1901, September 13, 1902, and November 6, 1904; for Duval High School sports, see ibid., February 13, November 3, 1909, and December 13, 1908; for horse racing and gambling, see ibid., March 28, 1909, and March 22, 1910; for the numbers, see ibid., June 24, July 29, 1901, July 5, 1902, July 3, 1903, July 5, 1905, and July 5, 1906.

23. Ibid., January 5, 1900, February 12, March 25, and June 14, 1903, May 4, 1904, March 16, and July 5, 1905, June 11, 1906, July 29, and November 13, 1910; see also Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 379-80.

below Mayport, it had pavillions, a restaurant, children's playground facilities, and cottages for weekly visitors. On summer weekends, thousands of people headed for the beaches to enjoy baseball games, foot races, parades, dances, and fireworks.[24]

Summer evenings and weekends in Jacksonville also meant streetcar outings to city parks. The Jacksonville Electric Company developed Phoenix Park northeast of the city on the river, and its facilities at one time included a dance pavillion, bandstand, baseball diamond, a 1,200-seat theater, bathhouses, and various amusement park attractions including a merry-go-round and loop-the-loop. Its popularity ebbed, however, with the opening of Dixieland Amusement Park in 1907, a ferryboat ride across the river in South Jacksonville. The *Times-Union* described Dixieland as "the Coney Island of the South," with its bands, roller coaster, dancing, swings, peanut, ice cream, and candy stands, bronco riders, bamboo slide, photo gallery, aerial trapeze artists, restaurant, and playhouse. Admission to the park was a dime and large crowds came. At the Florida Mid-Winter International Exposition held there in 1908, an estimated 16,000 people enjoyed the amusements, exhibits, and John Philip Sousa's band. Later, a skating rink, baseball park, outdoor moving picture theater, and a 100-foot swimming pool were added. A fire in August 1909 destroyed much of the park, but it reopened the following year. That fall, Selig Polyscope Company of Chicago leased part of the park to make motion pictures using elephants, lions, tigers, and camels. Fifteen Indians on horseback were employed to develop a "real wild west show."[25]

For black Jacksonvillians a group of black and white businessmen built a streetcar line out Kings Road and opened Mason Park in 1903. It flourished for much of the decade, but following the bankruptcy of the streetcar company, it was subdivided into

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24. For the railroad, see Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 13, 1900, and Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 351; for the Hotel Continental, see Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 19, August 27, 1901, and July 12, 1904; for Manhattan Beach, see ibid., October 7, 1906.

25. For Phoenix Park, see Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 6, 1901, February 28, 1902, April 12, 1903, August 7, 1905, September 18, 1906, May 5, 1907, and May 5, 1908; for Dixieland, see ibid., March 10, April 9, and December 17, 1907, January 1, 27, and July 9, 1908, August 25, 1909, January 7, October 23, and November 29, 1910; for more on the burgeoning film industry in Jacksonville, see Richard A. Nelson, *Florida and the American Motion Picture Industry, 1898-1930*, 2 vols. (New York, 1982), I, 131-93, passim.

housing lots. Meanwhile the Jacksonville Electric Company opened Lincoln Park west of the city for black residents in 1904. Over the decade it added a roller coaster, dance pavillion, vaudeville shows, food concessions, and Sunday concerts. Though used by local residents, it lacked the range of facilities available to whites at Phoenix Park.[26]

A popular attraction, the Ostrich Farm, opened at suburban Fairfield in 1898-1899. The *Times-Union* called it the city's principal tourist attraction. In the beginning people paid twenty-five cents to ride in ostrich-drawn carts, ride the birds bareback, or watch them race. Over the decade, however, the park added alligators, sea lions, wild animal shows, bands, ascension ballons, parachutists, high divers, acrobats, and motion pictures to become an amusement park drawing thousands of visitors on weekends.[27]

Jacksonville residents could also choose from a number of indoor activities during the fall-winter-spring seasons including plays, vaudeville, occasional concerts, and by mid-decade motion pictures, By 1910 eight theaters offered movies, vaudeville, minstrel shows, and touring stock companies. The *Times-Union* exaggerated only a little in describing Main Street as the local "Great White Way." Black theater goers generally sat in segregated balconies, except at the Bijou and Globe theaters which served primarily the black community.[28]

One of the high points in any Jacksonville entertainment year was the annual carnival, fair, or exposition. The Thanksgiving and Gala Week of November 1902, combined police, military, and floral parades, band concerts, football games, theater, vaudeville, baby shows, bicycle races, a retail grocers convention, and a masquerade ball. It drew crowds in the thousands. Saturday was "Colored Peoples' Day" with a special parade, baseball game, cakewalk, and jubilee at night. In 1903, the Jacksonville Trades Carnival celebrated the rebuilding of the downtown area only eighteen months after the fire. It included a midway, the

26. For Mason Park, see Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 28, 1902, August 24, 25, 1903, March 22, 1908, and November 21, 1910; for Lincoln Park, see ibid., March 28, August 17, 1904, February 3, 1907, and Jacksonville *Metropolis*, March 16, 1907.
27. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 20, June 11, 1903, December 16, 1906, and February 24, 1908.
28. Ibid., August 29, 1904, August 27, 1905, March 13, 1906, October 6, 1908, and June 11, 1910; *Souvenir and Tourist Guide*, 47.

city's first auto parade of thirty-two cars, concerts, and fireworks. An estimated 25,000 people attended the final evening. There were also carnivals in 1906, 1908, and 1909. Black Jacksonville took part in these festivities, but on a limited basis. Blacks also had carnivals of their own celebrating historical or religious events.[29]

In addition to other entertainments, the Ringling Brothers and Barnum and Bailey circuses performed in Jacksonville, and local unions celebrated Labor Days with parades, picnics, and excursions to the beach. Annual political campaigns provided their own form of entertainment with rallies, torchlight parades, and candidates declaiming on downtown streetcorners and drawing large crowds.

Less respectable in the eyes of many Jacksonvillians were the saloons, brothels, and opium dens catering to the thirsts and appetites of residents, tourists, and other visitors. The *Tampa Tribune* described Jacksonville as a wide-open town. Its bars kept pace with population growth during the decade, more than doubling in number. Local brothels also flourished. When Carrie Nation brought her temperance crusade to the city in 1908, she made a point of visiting several of the houses in the red light district of LaVilla, including The Court owned by Cora Taylor Crane, widow of novelist Stephen Crane. The *Times-Union* called The Court "palatial," but Crane's biographer claims it was only a substantial home "of quiet good taste." Its staff of thirteen resided in the house, but also worked out of Palmetto Lodge, a seaside annex at Pablo Beach. Crane missed Carrie Nation's visit, and the crusader moved on to other houses. At the Russian Belle's establishment, the *Times-Union* reported she spoke privately with the girls, and they were so impressed by what she said that some were moved to tears.[30]

Opium dens and cocaine use were also part of the Jacksonville scene. Whites generally used the former and blacks the latter drug. Periodically the press reported police raids and arrests. One historian recently has estimated that Jacksonville's opium

29. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* November 23 and 26, 1902, July 13, October 25, November 6, 1903, November 5 and 8, 1906, August 25, 1907, January 27, 1908, January 20, and November 21, 1909.

30. Wiggins and Co., *City Directory for 1901,* 495-96; Polk and Co., *City Directory, 1910,* 1,153-154; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* August 9, 1907 and February 14, 1908; Lillain Gikes, *Cora Crane: A Biography of Mrs. Stephen Crane* (Bloomington, 1960), esp. chap. 8.

addiction rate of 5.5 per thousand in 1912 was one of the highest recorded in the nation. City health officials were sufficiently concerned about conditions a year later to support maintenance programs for addicts of both drugs.[31]

Most leisure-time activities, however, were more constructive. By the end of the decade, the city provided its residents and visitors with an increasing range of things to do, reflecting the plural character of a modernizing city. While some activities offered escapes from daily rigors, others strengthened family ties. Voluntary associations offered opportunities to belong to communities of like-minded people. Black residents were excluded from some and segregated at other events, although they too had a variety of their own activities. The results reflected the vitality of the Jacksonville community.

Another major area of change during the decade came in the provision of health, education, and human services. Nationwide, the years surrounding the turn of the century marked exceptional progress in these fields. Modern medicine, professional school systems, and the transition from volunteer "friendly visitor" to paid social workers date from this era. In medicine, the development of germ theory by Pasteur, Lister, and Koch in the late nineteenth century led to the beginning of modern bacteriology, microbiology, immunology, and a scientific basis for public health reforms. Across the nation, governmental roles expanded as public and private sectors cooperated to advance the health of communities. Jacksonville was no exception.

Public health locally was a serious concern. The recent history of the city with its warm temperatures and its mosquitos and flies showed at least four epidemics of yellow fever, smallpox, and typhoid in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. During the years following the fire, the Board of Health supported by the Board of Trade, Woman's Club, city council, and the media made a major effort to improve the city's health record. Health officials inspected dairies, stables, dumps, restaurants, cafes, and saloons; drained ditches, poured oil on ponds; and cut tall grass; muzzled dogs and banned spitting. They persuaded the city council to pass new laws to control mosquitos,

31. David T. Courtwright, "The Hidden Epidemic: Opiate Addiction and Cocaine Use in the South, 1860-1920," *Journal of Southern History* XLIX (February 1983), 61.

pasteurize milk, and inspect outdoor privies. In 1908, Jacksonville's per capita expenditure on health and sanitation ranked it among the top fifth of cities its size in the country.[32]

The results were mixed. According to observers, health conditions improved, partly due to the new buildings and sewers constructed downtown after the fire. There were no epidemics in Jacksonville during the decade, though one threatened in 1905, prompting the cancellation of the annual carnival. Despite the repeated wars on mosquitos, summer comfort still generally required window screens and netting over one's bed. Vital statistics for the decade are incomplete, but those that exist suggest a downward trend in the death rate.[33]

The black mortality rate, however, was almost twice that of whites, and the Jacksonville rate for both races was higher than for the rest of the state. Black residents died more often from pneumonia, tuberculosis, and kidney and stomach diseases. They also suffered more typhoid. For most of the decade black deaths exceeded black births. The causes of the greater sickness and deaths among blacks were many, but health officials knew at least one: Hansontown, the largely poor, black community on the northwest fringe of downtown had no sewers in its narrow, crooked, crowded streets. Instead it had pools of stagnant water, overflowing privies, piles of garbage, an abundance of flies, and three-fourths of the typhoid fever cases. This condition did not change during the decade.[34]

In the private sector, St. Luke's Hospital had some claim to being the city's leading health care institution. Founded by three "establishment" women in the 1870s in East Jacksonville, it suffered financial problems well into the twentieth century. Again and again, the *Times-Union* reported the hospital coffers nearly

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32. Richard Albert Martin, *St. Luke's Hospital: A Century of Service, 1873-1973* (Jacksonville, 1973), 70-121, passim; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* August 2, 1904, August 19, 1905, June 28, July 3, 26, August 14, 28, December 4, 1906, June 2, August 4, September 14, 1908 and February 10, April 15, September 5, 1910.
33. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* February 20, July 27, and August 19, 1905; the vital statistics can be found in ibid., January 1, 1900, January 6, 1903; Florida Department of Agriculture, *The Third Census of the State of Florida Taken in the Year 1905* (Tallahassee, 1905), table 20; Chapin, "Jacksonville, the Commercial Capital," 7.
34. Florida Department of Agriculture, *The Third Census, 1905,* table 20; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* September 19, July 31, 1909, and June 25, 1910.

empty. Theaters and businesses sponsored benefits for St. Luke's, and society ladies dressed in nurses uniforms solicited funds on downtown streetcorners. By mid-decade, the hospital's board of governors requested city funding because of the large number of charity patients. In 1906, 100 of 446 patients were treated free. The city council responded slowly, but by 1909 it had begun a $500 monthly subsidy. Toward the end of the decade St. Luke's governing body reorganized itself preparatory to building a new hospital in Springfield on land provided by the city. Previously directed by women like Mrs. Wellington Cummer, the board now added prominent male citizens, including former Mayor Duncan Fletcher as assocication president. As the fund raising for the new hospital began, the wealthy men took charge.[35]

St. Luke's served white Jacksonville along with three smaller institutions: DeSoto Sanitarium (later St. Vincent's Hospital), Rogers (later Riverside) Hospital, and the Keeley Institute. The county hospital at Sand Hill opened in 1903, providing facilities on a segregated basis for poor black and white residents. Brewster Hospital opened in 1901 to serve the black community. Starting from a low base, health care improved after 1900 in Jacksonville, but mostly to the benefit of white and more affluent residents.

Jacksonville's public school system also made limited progress during these years, but mainly for its white constituency. While enrollments rose and new schools were built, funding lagged, and black children received less than an equal share. The supervision of four superintendents fit a traditional mode. The modernization controversies taking place elsewhere in the nation seemed to have had little effect on Jacksonville.[36]

In 1900, the Duval County Board of Public Instruction under the chairmanship of Duncan Fletcher supervised eight white and

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35. Martin, *St. Luke's*, esp. chaps. 4, 5, and 6; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, January 17, February 12, 1901, July 11, 1902, May 11, 1905, July 22, 1906, May 3, July 22, October 7, 1908, and April 14, 1909.

36. David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, 1974), 147-67; Selwyn K. Troen, *The Public and the Schools: Shaping the St. Louis System, 1838-1920* (Columbia, Mo., 1975), 208-26; Marvin Lazerson, *Origins of the Urban School: Public Education in Massachusetts, 1870-1915* (Cambridge, 1971), 241-57; Diane Ravitch, *The Great School Wars: New York City, 1805-1973* (New York, 1974), 107-21.

seven black grammar schools, the all-white Duval High School downtown, and a number of one-teacher black or white schools in the rural areas. Youngsters attended school for less than six months during the year. Girls outnumbered boys of both races, especially in high school. Most teachers earned a low wage of $40.00-$50.00 per month. They generally had only a high school education, but many took special summer courses to prepare for certification exams.[37]

The fire in 1901 destroyed Duval High, Central Grammar, and Stanton Graded School. The remaining schools went on double sessions that fall to accommodate the displaced students. The three schools were rebuilt, Stanton as "a large crude, three-story frame" structure, and the white schools as brick buildings.[38]

Financial support did not keep pace with increasing enrollment during the decade. In 1903, after a school tax lid of five mills had been reduced to three due to the fire, the press reported the schools virtually bankrupt. The Woman's Club led the fight for restoring the two mills, arguing that "there is not the slightest doubt that the educational facilities of Jacksonville are far behind what they should be." The lid was raised, and the resulting revenue provided temporary relief. However, there were continuing complaints about inadequate school funding. Per pupil expenditure had declined from $20.00 to $18.00 as a result of increased enrollments without increased funding. There also was overcrowding. Both the Woman's Club and the Board of Trade examined the issue. President Francis Conroy of the Board of Trade was appalled: "Citizens here ought to be ashamed of themselves that such conditions exist," he said. "We must do away with present dilapidated, unsanitary and unsatisfactory buildings."[39]

The black schools were disproportionately underfunded. For the 1906-1907 academic year, expenditures for thirty-six white schools came to just over $100,000 compared to $32,000 for thirty-three black schools. Two years later, the imbalance was

37. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, February 2, 1900, July 13, 27, and September 25, 1901.
38. Ibid., May 5-14, July 20, and October 4, 1901; James Weldon Johnson, *Along This Way* (New York, 1933), 184.
39. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 26, April 3, June 27, 1903, and March 14, May 13, November 2, 1910.

greater: $107,000 to $31,000. Black male teacher salaries averaged $44.00 per month compared with white male salaries of $75.00. Black women earned $32.00, while white women received $50.00, reflecting both racial and sexual discrimination. Annual per pupil expenditures from 1905 to 1910 exceeded $20.00 for each white child and never reached $9.00 for each black child. The schools began the decade with approximate parity in faculty-student ratios, but by mid-decade black children and teachers worked in substantially more crowded classrooms than did whites.[40]

Despite the racially separate and unequal public education, characteristic of the South in this era, improvements did take place. New schools were built in Murray Hill and Fairfield for white youngsters. In 1903, the school board lengthened the school year to eight months. The Woman's Club organized the first mothers' club anticipating the beginning of parent-teacher associations. In 1908, the school board added night classes for working children. Teacher salaries rose slightly, as did total expenditures for education. Still, Duval County did not keep pace. By the end of the decade at least half a dozen Florida counties were spending more per student on public education than did Duval.[41]

In the black community private, church-sponsored schools filled some of the void in education, preparing young people for preaching, teaching, and other careers. Three of the four predominately black private schools were destroyed by the fire in 1901. Edward Waters College resumed operations that fall, sharing facilities with a black grammar school in LaVilla. Rebuilding was delayed due to financial difficulties, but in 1907 the college acquired the site of its current campus on Kings Road and began construction. Cookman Institute remained closed for three years until its sponsoring agency, the Southern Educational Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church built a new campus.

40. For school expenditures, see Florida Department of Education, *Biennial Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida, 1906-07, and 1908-09* (Tallahassee, 1908 and 1910), tables 22 and 23 for each year; for per pupil expenditures, see ibid., 1905-1909, table 24; for teacher salaries, see Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 23, 1909; for faculty-student ratios, see ibid., December 2, 1901, August 4, 1906, and July 23, 1909.

41. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, February 8, April 18, 25, 1903. October 21, 1906, and August 7, 1908; see also *Biennial Reports*, esp. 1909-1910, table 24.

Formally opened during the 1904-1905 academic year, Cookman Institute enrolled 326 students from Georgia and Florida, increasing that enrollment to more than 450 two years later. Florida Baptist Academy was rebuilt under the auspices of Bethel Baptist Institutional Church. Boyland Industrial Home and School in East Jacksonville escaped the fire, managing to provide educational opportunities for young black women throughout the decade. Its sponsoring agency, the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, built a new facility in 1910 which could accommodate 100 students preparing for both industrial and professional careers.[42]

A major informal educational institution in Jacksonville was the Andrew Carnegie Library. Following the fire, Carnegie offered to construct a facility provided the city maintained it. The city council put the issue to local voters in 1902, and it narrowly passed 640 to 627. The following year city council appointed a public library board composed of nine men led by Duncan Fletcher. They in turn hired Henry Klutho to design a neo-classical structure still standing in the 1980s. The library opened in 1905 with 8,000 volumes, and rooms on the second floor for the Florida Historical Society offices and library. A year later, head librarian George Utley reported that 3,423 white and 328 black members had borrowed 46,462 volumes that first year.[43]

For white Jacksonville, the Carnegie Library worked well. The number of users and the circulation of books increased steadily over the decade. In 1906, Utley estimated that fifteen per cent of the white population used the library, a figure comparable to library use in Martford, New Haven, and Buffalo. Under Utley's direction, the collection available to white readers grew to 20,000 volumes by 1910.[44]

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42. For Edward Waters College, see Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* October 4, 1901, October 4, 1908, and Jacksonville *Metropolis,* March 21, 1907; for Cookman Institute, see Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* September 24, 1904, February 12, 1905, and Jacksonville *Metropolis,* March 6, 1907; for Florida Baptist Academy, see Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* February 1, 1902, and October 22, 1905; for Boylan Industrial Home, see Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* May 5, 1910. See also Scott, *The Education of Black People in Florida,* esp. chap. VI.
43. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* March 18, May 21, and November 5, 1902, January 7, May 28, 1905, and May 3, 1906.
44. *First Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Free Public*

For blacks, however, the segregated facilities on the second floor comprised only two rooms and borrowers had access to only 609 books. In effect, there were "separate books, separate rooms, a separate staircase, and separate assistant" to serve the black users. Black cardholders increased in number over the decade, but not surprisingly, black residents did not flock to this separate and unequal facility. Utley recognized the need for a branch library for black Jacksonville, but funds were not available.[45]

Despite the separate and unequal facilities in Jacksonville's schools and libraries, black residents took advantage of educational opportunities during the decade. One rough indicator of the times, the literacy rate, showed that the proportion of literate black adults increased from 78.8 per cent to 85.3 per cent of the population during the decade.[46]

While the public sector initiated many of the health and educational advances during the decade, most of the human services came from private sources. Probably the most significant group working in the area was the Woman's Club, a voluntary association of establishment women, founded in 1897. Its first efforts supported public schools: lengthening the academic year, urging adequate tax funding, and introducing the mothers' clubs. About mid-decade a group of club women formed a social science class and began studying urban problems. Their agenda during the 1906-1907 year included child labor, compulsory education, pure food, juvenile delinquency, civil service reform, and kindergartens for every school. The following spring the Woman's Club petitioned city council for playgrounds, baseball diamonds, tennis courts, swings, and benches in every city park. They cooperated with the ministerial alliance and medical society to organize an

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Library, Jacksonville, Florida, for the Year Ending December 31, 1905 (DeLand, 1906), 11, and Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* March 12, 1910.

45. *First Annual Report,* 18, 19; *Second Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Free Public Library . . . 1906* (DeLand, 1907), 19; *Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Free Public Library . . . 1909* (DeLand, 1910), 20-21; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* April 15, 1908, February 28, 1909, and March 12, 1910.

46. U.S. Bureau of Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States, Census Bulletin No. 75, 1900* (Washington, 1900), table 18; U.S. Bureau of Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910,* vol. I, *Population,* 1,252. White literacy climbed from 98.6 to over ninety-nine per cent during the decade.

educational campaign about tuberculosis which led to the formation of the Duval County Anti-Tuberculosis Society and plans for a county hospital for consumptives. They enlisted the support of the Board of Trade on public health, juvenile justice, and civic beautification issues.[47]

In 1909, the Woman's Club initiated the formation of Associated Charities, an umbrella organization representing most of the human service agencies in Jacksonville, to expand and coordinate local efforts on behalf of the needy. Its board hired a professional social worker from Minneapolis as executive secretary, the agency began to disburse city relief funds, and volunteers visited the poor. In March 1910, Secretary V. R. Manning announced that Eartha M. M. White had been appointed to raise funds and work with the needy in the black community. By May, a visiting nurse had begun helping poor sick people, and a traveller's aid matron worked at the railroad station. In July, a Colored Relief Committee started to coordinate assistance to blacks. Manning reported affiliations with more than thirty local public and private city agencies as well as with the national Russell Sage Foundation. By the end of its first year, Associated Charities with its "friendly visitors," had become a major force for helping the needy in Jacksonville.[48]

Meanwhile, the Woman's Club continued to expand its horizons. A *Times-Union* editorial expressed its views on the club's contribution to the city in 1911: "What organization does the most to make this city what it should be? We are not asking now, what does the most to increase its size, its business, its wealth. To this the answer would unquestionably be the Board of Trade. But what organization does the most to shape the character of the city– morally, educationally, esthetically? Unquestionably the Woman's Club; and since character is more important than size we must rate the Woman's Club first among organizations in Jacksonville."[49]

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47. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* February 16, 1906, April 18, 25, 1903, October 30, 1906, April 23, 1907, June 4, October 15, 1908, and January 18, February 24, 1909.
48. Ibid., June 7, October 27, and December 9, 1969, January 18, April 14, May 14, and July 17, 1910; *First Annual Report of the Associated Charities, Jacksonville, Florida* (Jacksonville, 1910), 7-28, passim.
49. "Annual Report of the President of the Woman's Club of Jacksonville, *1911-1912* (n.p., n.d.), 39, quoting Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* May 5, 1911.

Jacksonville's advances in the provision of human services came primarily from the private sector and mainly for the white needy. When Associated Charities appointed Eartha White as a volunteer friendly visitor and fund raiser, Manning observed that the black community should be "responsible for their own," but funds were not forthcoming. The black community could not match the contributions of Jacksonville's white citizens, and they supported their own groups, the Colored Children's Rescue Home, and the Women's Interdenominational Relief Association. Still social work had expanded in Jacksonville during the first decade, the city funded a portion of the cost, and public opinion, as seen through the media and different voluntary associations, supported these developments.[50]

A decade after the fire, Jacksonville had changed dramatically. Its population had more than doubled to 57,699. Compared with other cities of the southeast, Jacksonville had passed Mobile and Augusta in population, moved further ahead of Tampa, and gained ground on Charleston and Savannah. The net white population increase of 16,171 (plus 120 per cent) exceeded the net black increase of 13,057 (plus eighty per cent), resulting in an almost numerical balance in the city of 29,293 blacks and 28,329 whites.[51]

Downtown skyscrapers, churches, city hall, library, YMCA, and other handsome new buildings suggested a modernizing city. The busy port and busier railways expressed rapid commercial growth. Across the river and out along the streetcar lines, new housing and expanding suburbs suggested improved living standards for many residents. The diversity of entertainment and other leisure-time activities reflected the growing cosmopolitan character of the city. While education advanced only marginally, overall health conditions improved markedly, and the range of human services had been increased. From a citywide perspective, Jacksonville clearly progressed during the decade. Its leadership in city government, the Board of Trade, Woman's Club, and the newspapers could take substantial credit for this progress.

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50. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* April 14, December 6, 1910, and November 7, 1909.
51. U. S. Bureau of Census, *Thirteenth Census, 1910,* vol. I, *Population,* 84-88, 179, 215. There were also seventy-seven Asians in Jacksonville in 1910.

Yet seen from the black perspective comprising one-half the population, Jacksonville's changes appeared quite different. In many ways they were regressive. Racial segregation was extended during the decade from schools, hospitals, theaters, and jails to saloons, streetcars, and even city government. In the 1880s, black political power had been a reality in Jacksonville. The statewide poll tax of 1889 and the all-white primary in 1901 restricted it, but black council members still represented the sixth ward until 1907. That year, however, the Duval legislative delegation gerrymandered ward boundaries to guarantee only white representation. Subsequently, city officials began removing blacks from all supervisory positions in government. Except for menial jobs, city employment became all-white.[52]

White supremacy led to vigilante violence twice during the decade. In 1909, in northwestern Duval County, a black man allegedly assaulted a white woman. She told her son who rallied the neighbors. They caught a man, identified, and shot him before the sheriff arrived. This lynching went unchallenged by Duval County law enforcement officials. A year later, following heavyweight champion Jack Johnson's victory over Jim Jeffries on July 4th, black residents took to the streets to celebrate. This activity incensed some local whites who began roaming the same streets in gangs attacking blacks. Mayor Jordan called out the police and closed all saloons. During the evening the police arrested forty whites and by daybreak order had been restored. No deaths occurred, but a number of blacks were beaten and black-owned property destroyed. The *Times-Union* condemned the white violence, and the municipal court judge levied fines ranging from $25.00 to $50.00 per defendant. There were limits to white supremacy. Mob action which might threaten Jacksonville's image clearly exceeded that limit.[53]

Perhaps James Weldon Johnson best summed up the black perspective on the changing direction of race relations in Jacksonville during that first decade of the twentieth century when he

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52. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, November 6, 9, 1901, May 25, July 2, 26, 30, October 18, December 7, 8, 1905, February 7, 1906, April 6, 13, 1907, and June 28, 1910.
53. Ibid., May 10, 1909, July 5, 6, 16, 1910. Similar riots took place in other cities across the United States following Johnson's victory, see Al-Tony Gilmore, *Bad Nigger!* (Port Washington, N.Y., 1975), esp. chap. 3.

wrote in his autobiography: "Long after the close of the Reconstruction period, Jacksonville was known far and wide as a good town for Negroes . . . Jacksonville today is a one hundred percent Cracker town." The white establishment doubtless did not agree. Still Johnson's memories of visits with leading Jacksonville citizens during these and subsequent years before World War I support this view. Few whites were able to greet publically this talented educator, writer, and diplomat without evident embarrassment.[54]

Still the black experience was not all negative. As the city improved for white Jacksonville residents during these years, it also brought limited progress for blacks. The literacy rate improved, mortality rates declined, and Associated Charities reached out, however timidly, providing services to the black community. Lincoln Park, Manhattan Beach, and the Bijou and Globe theaters provided recreational opportunities for blacks. There were new residential tracts being developed out Kings Road. Northern white Methodists supported the rebuilding of Cookman Institute, a new campus for the Boylan School, and the opening of Brewster Hospital.

Linked with white support were black initiatives. Black Baptists rebuilt Florida Baptist Academy, and black Methodists began construction of the new Edward Waters campus. Black business activity expanded substantially. The number of black barbers increased from twenty-three to forty-two, retail grocers from forty-five to eighty-three, tailors from three to fourteen. There were in 1910, seven saloons, four undertakers, five contractors (including Joseph H. Blodgett), nine retail druggists, seven real estate firms, and three insurance companies, including the Afro-American Life Insurance Company. The number of physicians increased from three to fifteen, lawyers from two to eight, bankers from zero to two, and dentists from one to two. Overall the 1910 City Directory listed 342 small businesses owned by blacks, almost double the number listed nine years earlier. There also were more churches and fraternal orders. Thus despite segregation, disfranchisement, and discrimination, black Jacksonville had expanded its economic and cultural life during the decade.[55]

54. Johnson, *Along This Way,* 45, 297-300.
55. Polk and Co., *City Directory, 1910,* 1,093-163, passim.

For the entire city the future looked promising. City councilman St. Elmo Acosta proposed an automobile bridge across the St. Johns River. The Board of Trade had begun lobbying for a thirty-foot channel. Suburban land developers platted new subdivisions, and the infant movie industry was beginning to call Jacksonville "home." The Achilles heel, of course, was the omnipresent white supremacy. Jacksonville was not unique in this characteristic, however. Other southern cities, and most northern cities like Chicago and Cleveland, discriminated blatantly against their black minorities. But in Jacksonville, where over half the population received unequal treatment in health care, or had unequal opportunities in education and employment, the results were bound to affect the future growth of the city.

FROM ORANGE TO GREEN "GOLD!': THE ROOTS OF THE ASPARAGUS FERN INDUSTRY IN FLORIDA

by ROBERT D. MANNING

CENTRAL Florida was a sparsely settled frontier at the end of Reconstruction. In the 1870s and 1880s, however, an influx of pioneers transformed this wilderness into a loose network of settlements. These early communities were linked by the steamships that navigated the St. Johns and Oklawaha rivers down through the chain-of-lakes– Lake Griffin, Haines Creek, Lake Eustis, Dead River, and Lake Harris.[1] This river freight route, which ran from Jacksonville to Yalaha, soon became obsolete with the expansion of the railroad in the 1870s; regional development was no longer restricted by geographic proximity to navigable bodies of water. The increasing availability of inexpensive transportation provided the impetus for the growth of the lumber, turpentine, and phosphate enterprises. These extractive industries attracted large numbers of black laborers, but the primary economic activity of this period was small-scale agriculture.

The central Florida economy was perilously tied to the fortunes of the citrus industry in the 1890s. Prosperity abounded for those growers who had responded to the enthusiastic reports of the mild climate and profitable orange crop.[2] Unfortunately, the

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1. Trusten P. Drake, Jr., "Drake Point," unpublished manuscript (1980), 1-3, Trusten Polk Drake papers, private collection in the possession of Annie MacKay Drake, Ocala, Florida (hereinafter TPDP); Will Allen Dromgoole, *Three Little Crackers Down in Dixie* (Boston, 1898), 11-42; Emma N. Gaylord, *Life in Florida Since 1886* (Tampa, 1965), 1-12; *Leesburg Daily Commercial*, July 12, 1962; E. Peet, "Biography of Henry Holcolm Duncan," unpublished manuscript (1932), in the possession of Carl H. Duncan, Tavares, Florida; Elizabeth M. Venable, *William Adam Hocker (1844-1918) Justice of the Supreme Court of Florida* (Jacksonville, 1941), 18-21.
2. S. C. Reed, *A Picnic in Florida and Glimpses at the Orange Land* (Philadelphia, 1884), 7-32, TPDP, see the entreaty on the title page, "If You Seek Health or Wealth, Read This Book."

citrus boom was short-lived. The depression of 1893-1894 sharply reduced citrus prices, and this downtrend was followed by a catastrophic freeze. On the evening of February 8, 1895, temperatures plummeted, and with them fell the fortunes of the Florida citrus industry. The freeze was so severe that the orange crop was not only ruined but almost all of the state's citrus groves were destroyed.

Nearly all the residents of central Florida were adversely affected by the freeze. Growers lacked a crop to market, railroad and steamship companies lost their freight customers, laborers faced sharply reduced wages and unemployment, and many storekeepers, serving fewer customers, were threatened with bankruptcy. Not surprisingly, the destruction of the citrus industry precipitated a massive exodus of settlers in the mid-1890s. In fact, the collapse of the economy was so devastating and unexpected that some people left without packing all of their possessions. According to Nellie King Wright, an early settler of this period, "The Hanner place [was] one of the nice homes in Bloomfield [and even it] was left fully furnished when the owners went back to where they were from."[3]

The demise of the citrus industry marked the end of an era in the economic history of central Florida. Some families moved to Jacksonville, Tampa, and south Florida; others returned to Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. The settlers who remained in the area merely struggled to survive. Some citrus men replanted their orange groves, but this option was limited to the few growers who could afford to wait several years until the trees produced marketable fruit. Many farmers shifted to vegetable crops which subsequently diversified the agricultural base of Florida's economy. Emma Gaylord, in her autobiography, notes this development: "The blessing part of the freeze was that up to that time people had been depending on their orange groves for their income. They couldn't live on nothing for four or five years that it would take the groves to recover so they turned to raising vegetables. That was the beginning of our great truck gardening industry. Up till that time there had been no market for any surplus, so farmers only raised enough for their own use.

3. Nellie King Wright, "Narrative of Bloomfield in the 1890s," unpublished manuscript (1969), 3, Nellie King Wright papers, private collection in the possession of Pat Fowler, Yalaha, Florida.

But settlers were coming in like a flood, and markets were further expanded by the invention of refrigerated [railroad] cars in which fresh fruits and vegetables could be shipped as far as New York and Chicago."[4]

The freeze was responsible also for the emergence of the decorative fern industry. The cultivation of ornamental fern became the dominant industry of Yalaha, Florida, and in the period 1900 to 1930, it expanded throughout most of central Florida.[5] In the process, the industry injected new life into the area's economy as well as the northern wholesale foliage market. Today, the decorative fern industry includes potted and fresh-cut foliage that is sold throughout the United States, Canada, and western Europe.

Asparagus Plumosus Nanus grows wild in many parts of central Florida, although it is not indigenous to the area. It was originally introduced by Cornelia Polk Drake in 1894. Daughter of a former governor and United States senator of Missouri, and niece of President James K. Polk, Cornelia married a former Confederate officer, James Elias Drake of Selma, Alabama, in 1870.[6] The following year, Major Drake visited his sister, Mrs. Louise Phares, in Yalaha. Her husband, Captain Andrew Jackson Phares, had established a steamship company there, on the south shore of Lake Harris in what is now Lake County.[7] Three years later, Drake and his family left St. Louis for Florida. They had purchased the Harris homestead adjacent to the Phares property. Drake planted a large citrus grove on the bluff, Drake Point, that still bears his name. In 1875, he founded the St. Johns, Lake Eustis, and Gulf Railroad Company, the first railroad built in south Florida.[8] The establishment of a dependable transportation

4. Gaylord, *Life in Florida,* 45.
5. Robert D. Manning, "The Interaction of Race, Class, and Nationality: A Comparative Study of Mexican-American and Afro-American Labor Migration to Central Florida (1842-1981)" (master's thesis, Northern Illinois University, 1981), 134-41.
6. Mrs. Trusten P. Drake, Sr., "Life History of Trusten Polk Drake, Sr.," May 22, 1929. 1; Trusten P. Drake, Jr., "Drake Family," unpublished manuscript History of the Polk and Drake Families, 1175-1457 (1957), 87, TPDP.
7. Yalaha is approximately fifteen miles southwest of Leesburg. For a history of this pioneer community, see Manning, "Race, Class, and Nationality," 108-33.
8. Drake, "Drake Family," 87; Drake, "Drake Point," 2-3; D. B. McKay, *Pioneer Florida: Personal and Family Records,* 3 vols. (Tampa, 1959), III, 508-10; for an account of the settlement of Major Drake and Captain Phares in Yalaha, see Dromgoole, *Three Little Crackers,* 1-43.

system and the profitable cultivation of oranges stimulated the growth of the community. By the late 1880s, Yalaha had become an important transportation and distribution center for settlements as far south as Lakeland.[9]

After Major Drake's death, Cornelia was left with the responsibility of raising her four sons and supervising the construction of their elegant home. The Drake mansion was initially built in St. Louis, and was transported in sections to Yalaha, where it was erected on Drake Point in 1885. It was reputedly one of the most luxurious residences in central Florida. In 1888, Cornelia married John Kennard of St. Louis, Missouri, and they continued the development of the Point.[10]

Cornelia was enraptured with exotic flora, and in the late 1880s she hired John James, an English horticulturalist, to manage her orange groves and landscape her estate. James was a talented florist, and he established for himself a successful retail business of potted plants and ferns.[11] In 1894, Cornelia commissioned the construction of a large, slat greenhouse on the east side of her house, and "Mr. James helped . . . select plants for her conservatory."[12] Cornelia provided James with a lavish budget to acquire a wide variety of plants and ferns, including several Asparagus Plumosus Nanus ferns. These plants were purchased from Henry A. Dreer of Philadelphia, who had grown them from seeds imported from Italy.[13] Cornelia permitted James to take cuttings and seeds from her plants, including her prized Asparagus ferns.

There is little doubt that Cornelia was the first cultivator of Asparagus fern in Florida, but there is the question of who was the first commercial grower: her foreman, John James, or her second son, Trusten Polk Drake, Sr. This dispute was sparked by the publication of a paper attributing this honor to James. The unsigned article was written by Dr. W. E. Whitt, son-in-law of

9. Manning, "Race, Class, and Nationality," 121-23.
10. R. Fennwick Taylor to Cornelia D. Kennard, December 24, 1889, TPDP; Drake, "Drake Family," 77; Drake, "Drake Point," 4.
11. Manuscript returns of the Twelfth U. S. Census, 1900, Schedule 1, Population, Lake County, Florida, microfilm roll 172, 287; W. E. Whitt, "Pioneer in Plumosus," *The Florists' Review*, XXXVII (September 6, 1928), 37.
12. Trusten P. Drake, Jr., to Roy Patience, August 29, 1939, TPDP.
13. Whitt, "Pioneer in Plumosus," 37; "The Fern Industry of Lake County," in William T. Kennedy, ed., *The History of Lake County, Florida* (St. Augustine, 1929), 127.

John James.[14] In a subsequent presentation to the Florida State Florists' Association, Whitt stated that, "My wife's father was the man who started and introduced this [Asparagus] industry to Florida." This article includes several inaccuracies, most notably, the assertion that "Mr. James . . . [was] shipping [Asparagus] seeds to the northern markets . . . about the year 1893."[15] Asparagus seedlings mature in one year, but they require at least two years before they can produce seeds. Hence, James would have had to begin growing ferns in the late 1880s in order to be able to market such a large volume of seed. This is impossible, however, since this date precedes the construction of the Drake conservatory and the purchase of the first Asparagus plants.

The debate even continued after Drake's death in 1928. This is revealed in the correspondence of Trusten Drake, Jr., who managed Drake Point Greenhouses until 1933. Roy Patience, the largest Asparagus grower in central Florida wrote, "The Southern Florist has asked me to write an article about the Plumosus industry since it started in Florida. If I remember correctly, your father was the first grower of Plumosus in this State." Drake replied: "Dr. W. E. Whitt's Early History is a very good paper; however, I feel confident that he has made an unintentional error in stating that Mr. John James was the first man in the state to grow and market the sprays and seed of Asparagus plumosus nanus."[16] Drake referred to a note written by his father: "My Mother's Conservatory contained six large Asp. p. n. plants. I shipped the first Commercial sprays from these plants. . . . When Mr. James and I saw the Commercial possibilities of these plants I sent off for several hundred more plants and planted them under slatted Shed."[17]

After examining his father's papers, Drake stated: "Six small Asparagus plumosus nanus plants [were] put in [1894]. These were seeded in 1896 and planted out by Mr. James. My grandmother died in 1895 and my father took charge of her interests that year. . . . I am informed that he shipped these [Asparagus

14. Whitt, "Pioneer in Plumosus," 37.
15. W. E. Whitt, "Early History of Asparagus Plumosus Nanus Industry in Florida," unpublished manuscript (1928), 2, TPDP.
16. Patience to Drake, August 12, 1939; Drake to Patience, August 29, 1939, TPDP.
17. Drake to Patience, August 29, 1939, TPDP; the note, untitled, is also in TPDP.

sprays] in 1896, and purchased the several hundred more plants the same year and planted them in an old shed that my grandmother had pineapples in which were killed in the freeze of 1894-95."[18] Significantly, Trusten, Sr., mentioned that he "began" his Asparagus business in this period.[19]

Drake and James became partners, but this relationship was short-lived. Drake bought James's share, and each man established his own company: Trusten founded Drake Point Greenhouses and James, Yalaha Conservatories.[20] Unfortunately James lacked the capital to expand his one-quarter-acre slat shed. The commercial cultivation of Asparagus is impossible without some form of shade to protect it from direct sunlight.

In 1901 or 1902, James persuaded an old friend, M. E. Gillett, to join him in a partnership. By this time, however, Drake had increased his acreage of Asparagus and was shipping fresh-cut fern to customers in Philadelphia and New York.[21] Therefore, James may have been the first grower in Florida to market Asparagus seed but Drake was the first to grow it under slat shade and ship fresh-cut sprays to northern wholesale florists. Consequently, Trusten P. Drake, Jr., dedicated his "PERSONAL NOTE BOOK AND GUIDE" to, "his beloved father . . . the first man to realize the possibility of raising on a commercial scale Asparagus plumosus nanus out of doors in Florida."[22]

Trusten Drake, Sr., and John James were the first commercial growers of Asparagus Plumosus fern in Florida, and over the next two decades the other commercial growers– northern greenhouses– were effectively eliminated.[23] Their new method of growing Asparagus outdoors was observed with interest by northern wholesale florists who began planning their own ferneries in Florida. In 1900, the S. S. Pennock Wholesale Florist Company of Philadelphia constructed an Asparagus slat shed near Jupiter. The A. N. Pierson Company of Cromwell, Connecticut, es-

18. Ibid.
19. *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Convention of the Florida State Florists' Association*, 1926 and 1927 (DeLand, 1928), November 16-17, 1926, 170 (hereinafter *FSFA Proceedings).*
20. Whitt, "Pioneer in Plumosus," 37; Drake, "Life History," 1.
21. Whitt, "Pioneer in Plumosus," 37; Drake, "Drake Point," 5.
22. Trusten P. Drake, Jr., "PERSONAL NOTEBOOK AND GUIDE: Asparagus Plumosus Nanus and its Allied Decoratives," unpublished manuscript, n.d., 1, TPDP.
23. W. H. Schultz, Jr., "Asparagus Grower's Problems," *FSFA Proceedings*, May 5, 1922 (DeLand, 1923), 57.

tablished ferneries in the Pierson area of Volusia County. By 1902, the boom was on. Fern sheds were built in nearby Leesburg and Tavares and soon spread to Altamonte Springs, Fern Park, Maitland, and Auburndale in Polk County. The Florida Asparagus industry grew at a phenomenal rate, from a handful of small growers at the turn of the century to approximately 100 producers in 1921, cultivating "well over 300 acres."[24] The vast majority of these Asparagus sheds were small– from one-half to four acres– and they were distributed throughout the state: Altamonte Springs, Apopka, Auburndale, Barbersville, Boynton, Bradenton, DeLand, Jupiter, Leesburg, New Port Richey, Orlando, Pierson, St. Augustine, Tampa, Tavares, Waldo, West Palm Beach, and Yalaha.

In 1922, twenty-six per cent of the Florida State Florists' Association members who specialized in Asparagus Plumosus fern were located in Yalaha.[25] This is not unexpected since the industry began in Yalaha and its location on the southern shore of Lake Harris protected the fern from winter frosts. As a result, Yalaha quickly established a reputation for dependable shipments during the winter as well as recognition for the superior quality of its fern. In fact, Asparagus from Yalaha continues to be the most desired decorative fern in the international foilage market.[26]

In the early 1920s, approximately one-sixth of all Asparagus ferneries in Florida were located in Yalaha. Due to several large producers, Yalaha possessed an even larger share of the national market. These growers, however, exercised little influence on the statewide development of the industry; the Yalaha operators, as a group, were unable to coordinate their own production and marketing decisions. Consequently, the expansion of fern nurseries across the state and the lack of leadership from the Yalaha growers, precipitated a shift in the locus of power of the industry: from its origin– Yalaha– to the area around Pierson and DeLand.

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24. Fifty-seven per cent of the Asparagus growers in Yalaha (eight of fourteen) are listed in the membership directory of the FSFA in 1922. This proportion is consistent with the fifty-three per cent figure of 1926. Therefore, the estimate assumes that the total number of Asparagus growers was about twice the number of fern growers (fifty-five) who belonged to the FSFA.
25. *FSFA Proceedings*, 1922, 3-11.
26. Interview with Diane Farley, Okahumpka, Florida, January 1980.

The Asparagus industry attracted both old and new residents of Yalaha. Early pioneers such as Sandy McEaddy, George Pantley, Rebecca Price, and James and William Morris of nearby Okahumpka entered the decorative fern business. Trusten Drake, Jr., managed the company until he sold it to Herbert Hunter in 1933. John James died in 1906, and his wife successfully operated the firm until her death in 1917. Her two daughters, Mae Morris and Daisey Whitt, then jointly managed the Yalaha Conservatories; their three brothers, Roland, Stanley, and Raymond, sold their shares of the business and constructed their own ferneries. Several newcomers from outside Florida also joined the green "gold rush," including Robert and Andrew Crabb, Bill Hall, Lou Shallar, Ben Snyder, George Webster, and Dr. W. E. Whitt.[27]

The rapid growth of the Asparagus industry challenged the economic supremacy of citrus in many other areas of Florida. In Yalaha, for the first time, the construction of fern sheds in the early 1920s took priority over the expansion of the orange groves. This was due to the availability of cheap labor– $1.00 to $1.50 per day– and the high prices of Asparagus. Drake, who initially packed his fern in "six-band" orange boxes, received $17.00 per 360 sprays or from $2.50 to $3.00 per bunch of fern in the 1910s. These prices varied according to market conditions, which progressively deteriorated in the 1920s, and the quality of the Asparagus fern. Rebecca Price recalled that she received the high price of $39.00 for a single box, probably a twelve-bunch case, of Asparagus fern in 1916.[28]

William Morris estimated that it cost $1,000 to set out one acre of Asparagus seedlings and to build a slat shed over them in the 1920s. This figure excludes the price of land. Morris noted that the annual profit of a well-managed Asparagus fernery was about $1,000 per acre. John Tischnor, a small grower in this period, claimed that "a man could make a good livin' off two acres of Asparagus and two acres of temples [oranges]." Martha Shallar, proprietor of one of the largest ferneries in Yalaha, agreed

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27. Interviews with Herbert Hunter, July 1980; Robert J. Manning, August 1980; William Morris, January 1980; Martha Shallar, July 1980; Jack Whitt, January 1980, Yalaha, Florida. The taped recordings of all oral history interviews cited are in the possession of the author.
28. Drake to Patience, August 29, 1939; interview with Rebecca Price, January 1981, Yalaha, Florida.

that "fern was a very profitable business then [and that] . . . Yalaha had the best reputation [in the nation] for Asparagus."[29]

By the late 1920s, oversupply and stabilizing demand was discouraging further expansion of Asparagus ferneries. Many growers blamed the depression of the 1930s for their economic woes, but, in actuality, the economic crisis merely exacerbated pre-existing market trends. Frank Durand constructed a fernery in 1937, and over forty years passed before another Asparagus shed was built in Yalaha.

By 1930, not only had the expansion of the industry subsided, but its market structure had also crystallized. In the period 1900 to 1930, the number of producers in Yalaha increased from two to twenty-one. The rapid growth of fern enterprises underscores the enormous expansion of production. The total acreage of Asparagus in Yalaha increased nearly twenty-fold in this period; there were between 200 and 240 acres of Asparagus ferneries in 1930.[30]

The proliferation of ferneries before 1930 illustrates a fundamental weakness of the industry: the inability to regulate production. In 1926, 102 of the 192 known Asparagus growers were affiliated with the Florida State Florists' Association. Although this is nearly double the number of growers in 1922, it understates the rate of growth of the fern industry. Estimates in 1927 ranged from 850 to 2,000 acres, although 1,200 acres is probably more accurate. The Pierson area of Volusia County, by itself, had over 400 acres of Asparagus fern in 1926.[31] The rapid growth of the industry continued through the end of the decade. In 1930, the Florida Plumosus Co-operative Association boasted a membership of over 300 growers.[32] The available information is incomplete, but probably less than one-half of the Asparagus producers were members of this organization.

The diffuse production structure of the industry and the personal nature of business transactions (fern grower to wholesale florist), hindered the organization of the decorative fern

29. Interviews with William Morris; Shallar; John Tischnor, June 1981, Yalaha, Florida.
30. Manning, "Race, Class, and Nationality," 145.
31. *FSFA Proceedings*, 1926, 15; 1927, 60, 164.
32. W. H. Schultz, Jr., to George H. Pantley, Jr., April 1, 1930, George H. Pantley papers, private collection in the possession of the author (hereinafter GHPP).

growers. Admittedly; many Asparagus operators joined marketing cooperatives during the Great Depression. As soon as economic conditions improved, however, organizational discipline deteriorated, and competition between individual growers again prevailed. As a result, the failure to establish a statewide growers confederation, with the authority to enforce production quotas and quality standards, ensured the doom of the Asparagus industry.

George H. Pantley, Jr., is typical of the small farmer who entered the Asparagus industry. His father, an early settler of Yalaha, had migrated from Pennsylvania in 1876. George, Jr., was born seven years later, and he worked in the family's general store on Lake Harris. In the early 1910s, he became a vegetable grower, and then he entered the more lucrative business of producing decorative fern.[33]

In 1920, Pantley began building a fernery next to his home, the Graffius house, on Bloomfield Avenue. Pantley's first fern shed was completed the following year, and he then installed an iron-pipe irrigation system. Asparagus seedlings mature in one year, thus Pantley was a bona fide Asparagus grower when he attended the first convention of the Florida State Florists' Association in 1922.

Pantley's ease in entering the fern business underlies the concern of the Asparagus industry in this period. During the convention of 1922, the main topic was the market: "The marketing of the constantly increasing supply of plumosus is the big problem that all growers must meet. That the market of plumosus has quite definite limitations does not seem to be realized by some of the newer growers . . . it is well to look ahead so as to know how to prepare with a situation of oversupply which is inevitable under the present rate of increase in production."[34]

The formation of a statewide marketing organization was frequently discussed during the convention. This view, however, was only a minority opinion; most growers opposed any form of cooperative marketing. As a result, a compromise was reached whereby the Florists' Association created an independent wing

33. "Yalaha," in Kennedy, ed.. *History of Lake County,* 47; entries in "Working Mens' Time Book," December 1913 to November 1915, 3-11, GHPP.
34. Schultz, "Asparagus Grower's Problems," 57-58.

to organize and represent the interests of the Asparagus growers: "Now that we have a Vice-President that represents the Plumosus industry . . . we can get in closer touch with Asparagus growers of this State and get them organized. Every Asparagus grower in the State ought to be a member of this Association." The importance of the industry was reflected in the status accorded its representative: second vice-president.[35]

In 1924, the Florists' Association was still the only organization in the state representing the Asparagus growers. It continued to promote educational advertising, and it addressed production problems, such as worm infestations. The primary concern of the association, however, was still marketing, "It is not advisable to wait until the supply of Plumosus is greater than the demand . . . before we make an effort to increase this demand." As a result, members were assessed $5.00 per acre of Asparagus in order to finance future advertising campaigns.[36] A. E. Cline, second vice-president of the association, explained the purpose of the program in 1926: "The time to show Northern Florists how to use more Asparagus Ferns in their work is when business is good . . . in this way we are providing against any over production on our part by increasing the consumption by the ultimate consumer."[37]

The production of Asparagus increased enormously in the 1920s. In 1926, over 75,000,000 sprays of fern were shipped from Florida.[38] The leaders of the Florists' Association realized that the Asparagus market could not withstand this enormous influx of fern without adversely affecting prices. Not surprisingly, efforts to organize the Asparagus industry were renewed in 1927: "The only hope for changing this [poor market] is a Florida selling organization . . . cooperation is the word in the business world today, and it is time that we growers of Asparagus Plumosus climbed on the band wagon."[39] Robert Davey, an attorney from Sanford, drafted a proposal to organize the fern growers in 1927. He argued, "Who can measure the distance between . . . blind and ruinous competition and intelligent and mutually helpful cooperation. In every part of the country and in practically every

35. Ibid., 60; C. Lesley Whipp to Pantley, September 9, 1922, GHPP.
36. Schultz to Pantley, October 28, 1924, GHPP.
37. A. E. Cline to Pantley, January 15, 1926, GHPP.
38. *FSFA Proceedings,* 1926,174.
39. Ibid., 1927, 16.

line of business. . . . COOPERATION is the policy of our progressive business leaders. . . . Agriculture cannot afford to remain unorganized in this age of large-scale business organization." The proposed Asparagus cooperative, the Southern Fern Associates Inc., was designed "to Stabilize the Fern Business [by] securing a market and safeguarding the financial interest of the grower [by] . . . finding new markets for ferns and procuring a wider use of them through its agents and by considering advertising."[40]

The foresight of the association's leaders was not shared by the majority of fern operators. Individual growers were reluctant to curtail their shipments when they were inundated with requests for Asparagus. This decision was reinforced by the decline of the fern market in the 1920s. Retail prices remained stable, $1.25 to $1.50 per bunch, until 1925 when prices fell to seventy-five cents. The Asparagus market rebounded in 1926, reaching $1.25 per bunch, but by the end of the decade it had plummeted to forty cents per bunch.[41] Thus, as late as 1926, there was little evidence of the impending collapse of the Asparagus market.

Most small growers, which comprised the largest sector of the industry, remained opposed to cooperative marketing programs even in the late 1920s. As Cline noted, "One of the hardest propositions we have is to get our growers to work together. The little fellow with the one-half acre cannot see why he should spend five dollars for advertising when he can ship and get something anyway . . . many are still in the 'Dark Ages' and afraid of the other fellow."[42] This situation was particularly frustrating for the large Asparagus growers who watched their market shares and profit margins decline.

In Yalaha, the Asparagus growers refused to support cooperative marketing programs. Trusten Drake, Sr., discussed a large grower who would not join an advertising campaign: "I asked him why not, and he said, 'No benefit for me.' I said, 'In other words, I am paying for the benefits you received.' He granted he would receive it indirectly, but would not come in." The individualism of the Yalaha operators is poignantly illustrated by a proposed membership campaign. G. E. Winter of Leesburg, who

40. Ibid., 53-56.
41. Business account records of George Pantley, Jr., Ferneries, florist payment receipts, 1923-1930, GHPP. For fern prices of each year, see Manning, "Race, Class, and Nationality," 302-07.
42. *FSFA Proceedings,* 1927, 80.

volunteered to recruit local growers, explained that, "There are some very funny folks in Yalaha, especially among the fern growers . . . some of those fellows will get you with a shot gun—O, no, I don't go to Yalaha."[43]

Northern wholesale florists encouraged the disorganized state of the industry by fostering competition among individual firms. This was accomplished by soliciting fern directly from the growers. The distrust among the Asparagus operators became so acute that most refused to identify bad customers. Ultimately, this policy of systematically soliciting shipments of fern from individual growers undermined the association's efforts to regulate Asparagus prices.

The leaders of the association recognized the ramifications of the solicitation strategy: "We lose in two different ways; if a florist or commission house fails to pay for your greens, you are out dollars and cents. It also enables [them] that . . . got the greens for nothing to pull down the market of his competitors, who are trying to pay you fair prices."[44] In order to protect its members, the association required potential customers to register before allowing them to contact member growers. This program was administered through a series of credit lists. Cline emphasized the importance of this policy: "It is fully time that we have another credit list issued to protect our shipments, especially as there is a good demand for Asparagus Ferns and some firms are wiring or writing all the growers to 'please ship us as market is good.'" The long-term success of the credit exchange list depended upon the voluntary cooperation of the individual Asparagus growers. In 1926, however, only forty of the 190 participants in the program reported a total of fifty-four delinquent accounts.[45]

Pantley's correspondence is instructive. Although a small producer (two or three acres) by Yalaha standards, he constantly received requests for Asparagus.[46] Wholesale and retail florists from Boston, Chicago, Junction City, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Princeton, Rochester, St. Louis, and Toledo personally wrote him for shipments of fern. For instance, John J. Coan of J. H. Coan, Inc. of New York City, explained, "We are in need

43. Ibid., 162-64.
44. Ibid., 1926, 160.
45. Ibid., 162; Cline to Pantley, January 14, 1926, GHPP.
46. For a description of the size of the Asparagus firms in Yalaha, see Manning, "Race, Class, and Nationality," 301.

of more good Asparagus. . . . We would thank you to let us handle your [fern] . . . . We are sure we can please you both in price and service. . . . Thanking you for a shipment which will receive my personal attention."[47]

These sentiments were echoed by a geographically diverse group of florists. A. L. Randall, president of the A. L. Randall Company of Chicago, stated, "We can use three to five cases per day, on consignment, if you care to make shipment." George E. Boucher of George T. Boucher Flowers of Rochester requested, "Kindly book my order for one dozen bunches of asparagus." Boston's John Jansky of J. Jansky & Sons pleaded, "Will you please let me know if you have any good Plumosus. If you have, please send me one case for sample." Wild Flowers of Chicago asked, "Would you ship us two large cases immediately upon receipt of this letter." William's Flower Mart of Newark explained, "We are in a position to handle large shipments of your Asparagus Ferns every day to good advantage. . . . Trusting that you favor us with a trial shipment . . . we are the largest handlers of Asparagus Ferns throughout the State." Pittsburgh's Duquesne Cut Flower Exchange succinctly summarized these letters, "We are in the position to handle your plumosus on consignment."[48]

In the late 1920s, the greatest fear of the Asparagus industry became a reality, the unrestrained growth of production precipitated a sharp decline in fern prices. Between 1926 and 1928, Asparagus fell eighty per cent, from $1.25 to twenty-five cents per bunch.[49] Falling prices were compounded by seasonal fluctuations in demand which increased competition between fern growers and often resulted in price wars. W. H. Bretall, a new customer, sought to allay Pantley's concerns, "During the summer my shipments are naturally cut down, but I try to give each shipper some orders, and at the same prices quoted for the summer season as well as the rest of the year."[50]

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47. John J. Coan to Pantley, September 29, 1924, GHPP.
48. A. L. Randall to Pantley, December 11, 1922; George E. Boucher to Pantley, December 12, 1924; John Jansky to Pantley, August 10, 1925; Dorothy D. Mason to Pantley, January 11, 1927; William's Flower Market to Pantley, December 8, 1928; Duquesne Cut Flower Exchange to Pantley, February 17, 1931, GHPP.
49. Records of Pantley Ferneries, receipts, 1926-1928.
50. W. H. Bretall to Pantley, January 4, 1936, GHPP.

Asparagus growers confronted an exaggerated demand for their product. Northern florists ordered, on consignment, more fern than they needed, and they purchased only the fern that was actually sold. The impact of this purchasing policy was especially acute during holidays such as Thanksgiving, Christmas, Valentine's Day, Easter, Mother's Day, and Passover. Wholesale florists stockpiled fern before each holiday and sold as much as they could at inflated prices. After the peak demand passed, the florists sold their remaining stocks at a fraction of the holiday price. In 1926, after a dispute over this practice, Pantley stopped shipping to one of his oldest customers. N. L. Parker, vice-president of A. T. Pyfer & Company, responded, "We notice the reason you stopped shipping was on account of not being entirely satisfied with returns we gave you on shipments you sent Easter week . . . the week ending April 3 . . . five cases sold for $125.50 [fifty cents per bunch] . . . for the week ending April 10 five and a half cases sold for $27.75 [ten cents per bunch] which was odds and ends that were left over from stock received the previous week, therefore sold at a lower price."[51]

By the end of 1928, Yalaha and the rest of the Florida Asparagus industry was experiencing its first crisis. "At the present time, were it not for the enemies [spiders, worms, and frost] to the ferns, the industry would be in a deplorable state from overproduction as there is no cooperative association among the fern growers, all shipping is done individually . . . if the bunches begin to shed the consignment, or that part that remains unsold, is dumped the shipper stands the entire cost of shipping, packing, etc."[52] Hence, the Asparagus growers faced declining profits in the late 1920s: lower retail prices due to excess production and higher costs due to producing and delivering unsold fern.

The decorative fern market continued to deteriorate in the early 1930s. In 1933, Asparagus prices fell to ten cents per bunch.[53] Many firms, especially those that were founded in the late 1920s, withdrew from the industry. Some growers sold or leased their ferneries, whereas others cleared their land and planted new crops. In Yalaha, only a few firms went out of business in the mid-1930s.

51. N. L. Parker to Pantley, January 24, 1927, GHPP.
52. "Fern Industry of Lake County," 128.
53. Records of Pantley Ferneries, receipts, 1933.

The majority decided to "ride out the storm" in anticipation of the market's recovery. In this period, however, several growers sought to reduce their dependence on Asparagus by experimenting with new products. Trusten Drake and William Morris, for example, produced "pickled" or preserved fern for domestic and international markets. George Pantley augmented his Asparagus sales with leatherleaf fern, while other growers, such as the Crabbs, Hunter, James, and Whitt, expanded their citrus groves.[54]

Product diversification was not the only option available to the decorative fern industry. Many growers attempted to stabilize the market by forming local and statewide marketing associations. For instance, six growers formed the Yalaha Plumosa Organization in 1930 or 1931. The member firms were Yalaha Fern Growers, Inc., Yalaha Nurseries (John Morris), Decorative Foliage Co. (William Morris), J. E. Morris Co. (James Morris), Florida Florists Supply Co., and Lakeside Greenhouses (Raymond James).[55] This organization, from its inception, was established to overcome the economic dislocations of the Great Depression. Indeed, its objectives were only two-fold: acquiring new customers for members of the cooperative, and minimizing price competition among co-op members. Therefore, the purpose of the organization was to stabilize prices until economic normalcy returned.

It is significant that the Yalaha Plumosa Organization was comprised exclusively of medium and large producers; the cooperative provided the large firms with a mechanism to protect their shares of the market from future competition. In fact, the absence of small firms suggests that these growers distrusted the goals of the organization. Most likely, the small firms feared that the cooperative would restrict their future growth by maintaining the favorable market position of the large growers.

The Yalaha Plumosa Organization achieved only limited success during its four-year existence. The main impediment to its cooperative policies was the blind self-interest of its members. Initially, the Great Depression reduced the resistance of the growers to cooperative programs. The Asparagus operators became unmanageable, however, when the market exhibited signs of recovery. In 1934, with prices at forty cents per bunch, the

54. Interviews with Hunter; Robert Morris, January 1980; Kathrine Crabb Warner, January 1980, Yalaha, Florida; H. Niessen to Pantley, March 31, 1930; H. A. Dale to Pantley, January 22, 1934; GHPP.
55. Interview with William Morris.

organization dissolved, and its experiment with cooperative marketing ended.

The failure of the Yalaha Plumosa Organization illustrates a major weakness of the industry— the lack of strong, capable leaders. Although the industry was founded in Yalaha, these early growers relinquished the responsibility of organizing it. Admittedly, not all of the Yalaha growers absolved themselves from this important task. Trusten Drake, Sr., for example, actively supported a proposed statewide growers association. Roland James, son of John James, became vice-president of the Florida Growers Cooperative Association in 1933.[56] In fact, almost one-half of the Yalaha operators belonged to the Florists' Association in the 1920s. These growers, however, rarely participated in important policy-making bodies. The resulting leadership void was filled by growers from Apopka, Auburndale, Altamonte Springs, DeLand, Jacksonville, Jupiter, and Pierson. Therefore, it is not surprising that Pantley joined the statewide marketing association in DeLand instead of the local cooperative in Yalaha.

In 1929, W. H. Schultz, Jr., former vice-president of the Florists' Association, formed the Florida Plumosus Growers Co-operative Association in DeLand.[57] At the time, Asparagus was forty cents per bunch, about one-third of the prices in 1926. This was an improvement over the twenty-five cents per bunch of the preceding year, but even so, the future of the Asparagus market appeared bleak. The supply of Asparagus was still increasing, due to the maturation of previously planted seedlings, and its demand was declining with the onset of the Great Depression.

The objectives of the Co-operative were basically two-fold: increase demand through lobbying and advertising, and reduce supply through strict quality standards and rigid production quotas. Hence, Schultz realized that laissez-faire policies could not be successfully implemented in the twentieth century. In fact, this is a recurrent theme of his newsletters: "Please let us try to regulate the supply of Plumosus."[58]

The Florida Plumosus Growers Co-operative Association, in comparison to the Yalaha Plumosa Organization, was more than

56. A. L. Lewis to Pantley, April 6, 1933, GHPP.
57. Schultz to Pantley, January 15, 1930; Florida Plumosus Growers Co-operative Association Membership Contract (hereinafter FPGCA), GHPP.
58. Schultz to Pantley, January 15, 1930, GHPP.

a conduit for distributing new customers among its members. Indeed, it strove to regulate the quantity and price of Asparagus that entered the northern markets as well as stimulate demand through advertising campaigns. The operation of the co-operative was financed by taxing individual members. Each Asparagus operator was assessed forty dollars per acre, leased or owned, and ten cents per box of fern that was shipped to non co-op accounts.

The collective marketing of Asparagus is detailed in the Membership and Marketing Agreement; "The association agrees to provide means and facilities for handling, sorting, grading, packing, transporting and marketing the plumosus of its members. The association may pool members' products with products of like grade and variety . . . and pay over to the member the full resale price received for the plumosus so delivered, less the cost of operating the association." Those growers who failed to deliver their contracted quantities of fern faced a court injunction and a $2.00 fine per 1,000 sprays of undelivered fern.[59]

The co-operative successfully obtained new business, at the wholesale level, but it could not reverse the downward spiral of fern prices. Only adverse weather, which reduced the supply of fern, positively affected the market. Schultz repeatedly expressed his concern over this situation: "I think that the marketing problem before us growers is getting to be a real serious one. . . . Shipping is very much less than half of normal [due to a severe freeze] but in spite of this . . . shipments are meeting all requirements. Market prices have gone up a little, [but] only a shipment here and there bringing what it should."[60]

Asparagus prices continued to fall in the spring of 1930, and growers began to panic. Many operators, in an attempt to generate revenue, increased their shipments. Not unexpectedly, the market became overwhelmed with unsolicited fern. This forced prices down even lower: "Any attempt to give Asparagus to the markets faster than it can be consumed is just throwing that much away. All of our customers are reporting to us shipments that they are receiving from growers without orders." Even some co-op members ignored their moral and contractual obligations by shipping unrequested fern. Schultz remorsefully acknowledged this situation, "I regret that some of our own growers are still continuing this

59. FPGCA, "Membership and Marketing Agreement," 1930, 1, GHPP.
60. Schultz to Pantley, January 15, 1930, GHPP.

practice in violation of their contracts." His report concluded with the plea, "Please give us a fair chance to build up some good markets for you instead of breaking them down."[61]

Schultz's appeal fell upon deaf ears. The production structure of the Asparagus fern industry was too diffuse to implement effectively cooperative marketing policies. Asparagus growers continued to flood the market, and it finally collapsed in 1932. In fact, the period 1932 to 1933 constitutes the nadir of the Florida Asparagus industry. The retail price fell from forty cents to ten cents per bunch between 1930 and 1933, while net returns dropped from thirty to five cents per bunch.[62] Thus, when Albert Futterman requested a shipment of fern in 1933, Pantley did not reply even though he was assured "top market prices."[63]

The national economy began improving in the mid-1930s, and the Asparagus market was not an exception to this trend. Wholesale florists once again solicited fern from Florida growers. The inquiry of New Jersey's Wilkin's Florist Supply is typical of this correspondence: "So kindley let me know if you can supply me with four (4) cases of asparagus immediately." B. S. Slinn, president of Slinn Co., Inc., and Pantley's oldest customer, affirmed the optimism of this period when he stated: "Asparagus Fern is selling for a good price now. . . . Can handle any amount of good stock. Will give you prompt returns and top market price."[64]

In late 1934, Pantley was confident that economic prosperity was returning and, as a result, he did not renew his membership with the co-operative. This decision was based on the belief that the Asparagus market had recovered and his personal dissatisfaction with co-operative organizations. Pantley's sentiments were not unusual for the period, and they reflected the prevailing attitudes of most Asparagus growers.

In the 1930s, several events transformed the character of the Asparagus fern market. These include the enormous growth of

61. Ibid., April 1, 1930, GHPP.
62. Records of Pantley Ferneries, receipts, 1930-1933, GHPP. For the computation of gross and net figures, see Manning, "Race, Class, and Nationality," 164.
63. Albert Futterman to Pantley, September 25, 1933, GHPP.
64. Wilkins Florist Supply to Pantley, December 2, 1933; B. S. Slinn to Pantley, November 30, 1934, GHPP.

fern production, the introduction of west coast foliage such as huckleberry, and the dramatic increase in the cost of labor. The cumulative effect of these developments was the increasing competitiveness of the decorative fern market. Pantley's correspondence once again provides an insight into this trend.

In 1934, H. A. Dale of Toledo, informed Pantley that, "Your price is too high. . . . The present price in Toledo is 1 cent a spray . . . with express added to your price they cost more than the florist can buy them here. . . . If you can furnish same for $7.50 per thousand [sprays] you can start shipping at once. . . . This price stands market changes." Dale was an astute analyst of the market. Only one week later he reported, "[Wholesale florists] are having a war on plumosa now and today's price net wholesale is 150 sprays for $1.00." Dale then noted, "That's nice clean competition."[65]

The enormous supply of Asparagus reduced retail prices and increased quality standards. These criteria, however, were subject to the vagaries of the Florida climate. For instance, during the winter of 1935 a severe freeze resulted in a scarcity of Asparagus. According to Bretall, "My customers like Dark grass [Plumosus], and ask that they be all tips. . . . However, at times like this shortage we must all be more lenient in grading, so [I] will make due allowance for variations." Two months later, after the Asparagus industry had recovered from the freeze, Bretall remarked, "I have suddenly been SWAMPED with grass. It seems that everybody has doubled and tripled their fern shipments at once, so I have more than I can handle." The following week Bretall stressed the importance of strict quality standards: "This [inferior fern] would be all right if the shortage was still on, but ferns are now glutting the market, and competition is so keen that I must deliver the BEST quality if I am to hold the trade."[66]

The Asparagus market continued to deteriorate in the late 1930s. Net returns fell below 1930 levels, and, in 1939, they even dropped below the crisis level of 1932-1933.[67] Retail demand, moreover, failed to keep up with the enormous increase in production. In 1938, Kenneth C. Meehan informed Pantley that,

65. H. A. Dale to Pantley, January 14 and 22, 1934, GHPP.
66. Bretall to Pantley, January 4, February 28, and March 3, 1936, GHPP.
67. Records of Pantley Ferneries, receipts, 1930-1939.

"Plumosa is not selling to good advantage at this writing, and we do not advise shipping us next week."[68] Alice Pantley, in a consoling letter to her husband, confirmed the poor condition of the Asparagus market, "Sorry to hear about the fern market being stocked up and not bringing in nothing." Mrs. Pantley's letter also reveals the susceptibility of the Asparagus growers to natural calamities, "Sorry to hear about your shed being blown down by the storm." George Pantley, in a moment of despair, summarized the crisis of the industry, "What is the trouble with the prices up there [in New York.]"[69]

The Asparagus market passed its initial boom phase, 1896 to 1926, and thereafter it exhibited alternating cycles of expansion and contraction. By the late 1920s, Asparagus growers were subject to the vicissitudes of the larger capitalist economy; the seller's market had evolved into a buyer's market. In fact, Asparagus prices did not approach pre-Depression levels in the 1930s, reaching a high of only thirty cents per bunch at the end of the decade. In the 1940s, fern prices increased modestly, but they were offset by greater production costs, especially higher wages and new Social Security taxes. In Yalaha, labor costs rose dramatically between 1942 and 1947; the hourly wage quadrupled, from fifteen to sixty cents.[70] This was due to the mobilization of the United States armed forces, the incorporation of local workers into the national labor market, and the disruption of the one-hundred year migration of black laborers from the upper South to central Florida.[71] Many growers were unable to adapt to these changes, and they sold their ferneries or were succeeded by their sons, many of whom were returning from military service. As a result, the Asparagus industry experienced a shift from first- to second-generation fern operators in the post-war period. These new growers, while more technically skilled and innovative than their predecessors, faced the imposing challenge of a fiercely competitive market and an unstable phase of southern labor relations.

68. Kenneth C. Meehan to Pantley, July 16, 1938, GHPP.
69. Alice Pantley to Pantley, March 10, 1938; Pantley to Frank Laban, November 3, 1938, GHPP.
70. Business account records of Pantley Ferneries, business expense ledgers, book V, 12-53; Manning, "Race, Class, and Nationality," 265-71.
71. Manning, "Immigration, Migration, and Black America: An Historical-Sociological Perspective," paper presented at Conference on Immigration and Black America, Racine, Wisconsin, October 24-26, 1982.

NORTH FLORIDA AND THE GREAT STORM OF 1873

by MARY LOUISE ELLIS

THE autumn of 1873 seemed full of promise for the people of north and central Florida. Luck and the weather, two critical elements of life for an area dependent on farming, were favorable so far. The cotton bolls were ripening on schedule, and high yields were predicted. Farmers paid close attention to the weather, and hoped that the frequent thunder showers would not threaten their prospects of making a good crop. As the summer faded, first luck, then the weather, changed– and the changes dealt a ruinous blow to an agricultural region still mired in the hard times of Reconstruction.

The initial piece of bad luck appeared in the cotton fields. An infestation of boll worms plagued farmers late that summer, eating up potential profits as it spread across the South. The caterpillars destroyed from one-third to one-half of the crop in many areas of Florida and south Georgia.

While farmers and planters in the southeast battled the cotton boll worm with assorted techniques, the great banking houses in New York struggled to survive the convulsions taking place in the financial world. The Panic of 1873 erupted on September 8, bringing ruin to many. Although news of the panic and bank failures undoubtedly worried the farmers of north Florida, their main concern was with matters close to home, particularly the harvesting and marketing of their crops.

For much of September, the unsettled weather made them anxious. A prediction in the Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian* was not reassuring: "The weather looks a little stormy now and then. The autumnal equinox is coming on. Old Sol will enter the first point of Libra about the 23rd [of September], when you may look out for squalls."[1] By the time of the equinox, any chances for a

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1. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* August 19, 1873.

good crop year were ended by a savage hurricane which left much of the cotton, corn, and sugar cane wasted in the fields.

The storm ripped across north Florida and south Georgia on the morning of September 19. Accounts from the big bend counties and east to St. Augustine establish it as one of the most destructive ever to have hit that area. While north Florida was still dazed by its "equinoctial gale," a second storm, and then a third, swept the state. The three tropical disturbances occurred within a period of less than three weeks: September 19, 23, and October 6.[2] The most severe, that of September 19, was definitely a hurricane. The other two, although less destructive, were probably powerful enough to earn that classification. The two later disturbances were a part of the unusual disruption in the weather pattern, and will be considered first.

On September 23, the Tampa area was hit by a storm which followed a diagonal course north-northeast, and headed out over the Atlantic below St. Augustine. It was evidently not severe because the press took little notice of it. The *Tampa Guardian* referred briefly to recent "beating showers and driving winds."[3]

The October 6 storm was of greater magnitude. The heavy winds took shape in the Atlantic, and came across the Lesser Antilles around September 25. Continuing westward, the storm pursued a long track, skirting just below the Dominican Republic and Cuba. It tore at the southern edge of Haiti, demolishing houses and uprooting trees. A number of Haitians were killed. One account reported "considerable loss of life and serious damage to shipping." The storm crossed the tip of the Yucatan Peninsula, before curving sharply back toward Florida. Early on the morning of October 6, it hit Punta Rassa (near Fort Myers), then veered across the state to reach the Atlantic near Melbourne. Few contemporary accounts survive, but those available indicate that the effects of the hurricane reached almost the entire length of the state.[4]

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2. United States Department of Commerce, *Tropical Cyclones of the North Atlantic Ocean, 1871-1977* (Washington, 1978) 35.
3. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, October 7, 1873, quoting *Tampa Guardian*, September 29, 1873.
4. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, October 21, 1873; U.S. Department of Commerce, *Tropical Cyclones*, 35. For general information on hurricanes and their stages of development, see Robert H. Simpson and Herbert Riehl, *The Hurricane and its Impact* (Baton Rouge, 1981), 97-120.

Describing the October 6 storm, the Tallahassee *Floridian* noted, "There was a heavy blow at St. Augustine. The cyclone was predicted at Washington and the observer at the station in Jacksonville notified, but the storm passed South of that city." The Jacksonville *Union* reported that the storm was "terrific" at St. Augustine, and that "Up to 12 o'clock yesterday [October 8] no telegraphic communication with St. Augustine, Palatka, Ocala, Cedar Keys, Punta Rassa or Key West" had been received for two days. Other accounts mentioned strong winds at Cedar Key, but little damage.[5] At Palatka, the chief result of the heavy winds, other than the downed telegraph lines, was that all the oranges were blown from the trees. Optimistic Palatkans hoped to gather the fallen fruit and sell individual oranges for one and one-half cents each.[6]

In Key West wharves were wrecked, several small houses destroyed, and fruit orchards ruined. Fort Taylor, the Custom House, and the Navy Depot were all damaged, and part of the county courthouse was blown away. The injury to the dilapidated structure was lamented only because it was partial: "We are truly sorry it had not made a complete finish of it; the old shell is a disgrace to the city." E. C. Howe's salt processing works was hardest hit. His salt ponds, several houses, and 10,000 bushels of salt were destroyed. Howe estimated his loss at $8,000. On the day following the storm, several damaged ships entered Key West for repairs. One steamship crossing the Gulf on its voyage from Galveston to New York lost its captain and three crewmen to the powerful waves. Damage to property, although considerable at Key West and Punta Rassa, was of less consequence further up the state.[7]

Such was the course of the two lesser storms of 1873. The most important had occurred on September 19, 1873. For the hinterland of north Florida it was the most destructive hurricane between the end of the Civil War and the beginning of the

5. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, October 14, 1873, quoting Jacksonville *Florida Union*, October 9, 1873.
6. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*., October 21, 1873.
7. Ibid., quoting Key West *Dispatch;* Ivan Ray Tannehill, *Hurricanes: Their Nature and History, Particularly Those of the West Indies and the Southern Coasts of the United States* (Princeton, 1950), 256, states that during the October 6 storm, there were "many disasters at sea," and that Punta Rassa was completely destroyed by ninety-mile-per-hour winds.

twentieth century.[8] The disturbance, termed an "equinoctial gale," evolved over the warm waters of the Gulf of Mexico, approximately 100 miles north of the Yucatan Peninsula. Traveling north-northeast towards Florida, the eye was about forty miles southwest of Apalachicola by 7:00 a.m. on September 19. The Dog Island lighthouse was shattered as the storm roared past the barrier islands off Franklin County's coast. It struck land near the mouth of the Aucilla River in Jefferson County, and moved across Florida and southeast Georgia to Savannah. There it headed up the South Carolina shore, nudged the coast of North Carolina, and finally blew out to sea.[9] The passage over land diminished the force of the storm. Still, damage from the winds, clocked at about sixty miles per hour in Savannah, and driving rains was heavy throughout Georgia and the coastal regions of the Carolinas. In its wake the hurricane left a wide swath of destruction unequalled in the memories of the area's citizens.[10]

Tallahasseeans went to bed on Thursday, September 18, unaware of the impending catastrophe. A report issued by the War Department in Washington, D.C., that afternoon gave a benign forecast: "For the South Atlantic and Gulf states east of the Mississippi River, cloudy weather, rain and northern to easterly winds, increasing in force in the latter, south of which a disturbance of some character now exists." Even this minimal advance warning was unavailable to the people of north Florida—by the time the forecast appeared in print, the storm had come and gone.[11]

But as darkness settled on Tallahassee that Thursday evening, there seemed little cause for concern. Shortly after midnight, the rain began, and by two o'clock the downpour was accompanied by a stiff wind blowing steadily from the northeast. By seven o'clock the wind was of such force that it was uprooting trees, knocking down fences and chimneys, and peeling back the

8. For brief accounts of significant hurricanes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Tannehill, *Hurricanes,* 148-238.
9. U.S. Department of Commerce, *Tropical Cyclones,* 35; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* October 14, 1873.
10. Charleston *News and Courier,* September 22, 1873; Savannah *Morning News,* September 22, 1873. For an explanation of the changes which occur in a hurricane after it passes over land, see Simpson and Riehl, *The Hurricane and its Impact,* 248-67.
11. New Orleans *Daily Picayune,* September 19, 1873.

tin roofs from homes and buildings. For two hours the gale raged, until between nine and ten, when "it died away and calm ensued." Some people went outside briefly, thinking the storm was over, but suddenly the wind began pummeling the town again. For two hours more the storm blasted in from the northwest. Finally, shortly after noon, it began diminishing rapidly. The rain stopped, and the remaining clouds scattered. By mid-afternoon the sun was shining.[12]

Then the cataloging of damage began. Although the section from Tallahassee to the coast had experienced the brunt of the storm, the smaller communities across the big bend region also suffered. Hamilton and Suwannee counties lost much of their cotton and cane crop. In Jefferson and Gadsden counties damage was extensive. Crops, livestock, and farm buildings had been destroyed.[13]

A report filed with the Savannah *Morning News* by one "RIENTI" summed up the feelings of Jefferson County citizens: "We had hoped that, with the advent of our newer-fashioned troubles– carpet-bagism, with its myriad miseries, we might have been spared the infliction of these old-time plagues. But not so– the storm . . . equalled in severity and destruction any that has occurred within the memory of that mythical individual– the oldest inhabitant." "RIENTI" wrote that the storm "swept like a besom of destruction" through the region, greatly injuring the timber: "This generation will not recover from the loss in this respect alone."[14]

In Georgia, Bainbridge, Thomasville, Quitman, and Cairo were hard hit. Heavy rains were reported as far north as Macon. A number of railroad accidents in south Georgia caused fatalities when portions of the tracks were washed out.[15] Georgia farmers lost equipment, crops, and livestock. In Decatur County the loss of "many hundreds" of cotton bales was reported, with total damage estimated at $25,000.[16] Thomas County lost nearly 1,000 bales, while citizens of Thomasville estimated damages there at about $10,000.[17]

12. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, September 23, 1873.
13. Ibid., September 30, 1873.
14. Savannah *Morning News*, September 24, 1873.
15. St. Augustine *Examiner*, October 4, 1873; Savannah *Advertiser Republican*, September 21, 1873.
16. Athens *North-East Georgian*, October 3, 1873.
17. Thomasville *Times*, September 20, 1873.

The toll exacted by the storm was even greater in Florida. Coastal settlements had been ravaged by the hurricane as it moved inland. It hit Apalachicola in the early morning hours, and a number of substantial buildings were destroyed. Henry Hoare, clerk of the steamer *Farley,* which was caught on the Apalachicola River when the storm hit, described the damage he saw. The winds were so strong that "the cabin had to be lashed to the lower deck to prevent its being blown off." The wind literally blew the bark off the cypress trees, "as cleanly as if shaved by a knife." When the *Farley* reached Apalachicola later in the day, Hoare recorded that, "The tide ran over the wharf and flooded all the stores on Water Street. . . . A great many fish were blown ashore and not a few big moccasins were killed on the wharf." Some people took advantage of the opportunity, to gather "strings of fine trout." Small fishing and oyster boats were turned over and strewn about, while four lumber barges were blown ashore. One steam sawmill was wrecked, and two others damaged extensively. Eight warehouses, some of brick, were flattened, as were fifteen brick store buildings and at least twenty homes. The city had a number of citrus trees, many of which were laden with fruit. Hoare observed that "all the orange trees . . . in the place are down. . . . The streets are full of oranges."[18]

According to Hoare, no lives were lost in Apalachicola, but its citizens endured great personal and financial losses– the estimate ranged from $150,000 to $200,000.[19] Commission merchants in Savannah published an appeal for donations to aid the stricken city, and netted $75.00. A Savannah editor regretted the sum was not larger, and explained that "but for the great stringency in the money market just now, a much larger amount would have been realized."[20]

As the violent winds continued along the Florida coast, the waters of the Gulf were whipped inland, rising twenty feet at the

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18. Savannah *Morning News,* September 25, 1873, quoting Columbus *Sun.*
19. Ibid. The 1873 storm was not the first to cause extensive damage in Apalachicola. In late August 1837, a hurricane flooded the town, demolishing many brick buildings. Property damage was estimated at $200,000. For a full account, see Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* September 9 and 16, 1837.
20. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* October 7, 1873 letter in ibid., September 23, 1873.

St. Marks lighthouse, "driving the keeper into the tower."[21] The Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian* published a letter from the customs officer in St. Marks, Captain Gustave Jaenicke, who detailed events in Wakulla County that Friday morning: "St. Marks was destroyed by inundation and by a hurricane." The water rose eighteen feet above the high water mark. Captain Jaenicke helped evacuate his fellow citizens from their rapidly disintegrating homes, carrying women and children to a railroad boxcar. Even as he struggled to aid his neighbors, Jaenicke saw humor in their desperate situation: "A thousand times I wished that on such occasions women would wear pants and seaboots, and leave all kinds of *je ne sais pas quoi* aside. . . . It would be less trouble to transport them safe." The wind was so fierce that the boxcar full of men, women, children, and dogs "rolled along the track (there was no need pushing, the gale did all the work)."[22]

The wet, shivering carload of refugees waited out the storm at the railroad turntable. As they looked back down the tracks toward the town, they saw only "an endless ocean." After several hours the storm lessened and the waters began to recede. Jaenicke waded down the ridge of track to assess the situation. He found little left. The post office, churches, several stores, warehouses, and more than twenty homes had been demolished. The hospital was badly damaged, and nearly all boats docked at the wharf or anchored in the river were gone, as was the wharf itself. Some twenty families were homeless: "They are grouped together in the wrecked dilapidated huts . . . [and] saved nothing but the rags on their bodies." While neither federal, state, nor local relief organizations were available in 1873, the suffering of the people of St. Marks did not go unalleviated. The civil authorities in Tallahassee sent $100 worth of provisions, for which Jaenicke expressed thanks. He went on to point out that "it would be good business and an act of humanity [if] some energetic, enterprising man . . . [should] erect [a] half dozen little houses on each side of the railroad and rent them . . . to the homeless."[23]

At Cedar Key twelve houses were destroyed. A native Georgian sailing up the Gulf coast from Clearwater was caught by the

21. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, September 23, 1873.
22. Ibid.; see also Savannah *Morning News*, September 25, 1873.
23. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, September 23, 1873; Augusta *Chronicle*, September 24, 1873, quoting *Tallahassee Sentinel*, September 20, 1873.

storm at Chambers Mills. The mill's losses amounted to $4,000. When his boat reached Cedar Key, the traveler found the railroad and bridges torn up and many boats lost or damaged. Debris was everywhere. While it was "impossible . . . to estimate the damage," the observer told his Georgia readers that "the cedar firms lost heavily, their cedar being strewn in every direction."[24]

Elsewhere along the coast the winds and high water destroyed fishermen's huts and boats. At St. Teresa Beach, where some vacationers lingered, "drifting sand filled the air." The wind blew with such force that "strong men were not able to withstand it and . . . were swept to a distance of many yards." One man tried valiantly to maintain the standards of chivalry, when, as he escorted a lady to a more secure house, he was "lifted off his pegs by the wind, carried over a fence [and into] the bushes, leaving the lady standing alone. Gathering himself up, he crawled towards her, saying, 'Hold on, Mrs. – , I'm coming back.'"[25] Boats and large trees were wrecked, but few cottages were badly damaged, and no lives were lost. One St. Teresan, "A.M.C.," was moved to poetry following the gale, and told how "on the beach in earnest prayer, Have gathered all the party there To hymn to God– Their praises for his watchful care."[26]

Others were less fortunate. Several residents of Leon County on a fishing outing at Shell Point, on the coast, were trapped by the storm on Friday morning: "Two colored men, . . . William Spencer, a prominent citizen [of Tallahassee], and Edmund Shakespeare of [Leon] County, . . took refuge upon a small log house on the beach." Although urged to flee by nearby fishermen, they chose to remain. Quickly surrounded by turbulent waters, the men, together with Shakespeare's small grandson, fought to stay alive as the cabin broke up in the powerful waves. Spencer "could not swim and was undoubtedly drowned." Shakespeare and his grandson clung to a tree. The grandfather survived, "but the little fellow was washed off and drowned." Those who fled the beach "had to wade through water almost up to their necks

24. Atlanta *Daily Herald,* October 2, 1873, quoting Macon *Herald,* September 24, 1873.
25. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* September 30, 1873.
26. Ibid.

for several miles" to reach safety. "They had a severe tussle for it but the natural and inherent love of life nerved them up."[27]

The hurricane lashed Tallahassee and Leon County. The Capitol building took heavy water damage which "flooded the Senate and Assembly Halls . . . the Supreme Court room, the Clerk's office, the Comptroller and Secretary of State's offices." It was estimated that repairs would cost in excess of $2,000. The grounds of the Capitol were strewn with uprooted trees, and fences were flattened.[28] Work on the damaged areas was evidently begun promptly. One year later a visitor from Alabama noted the Capitol had a fence made of "common plank, not even painted." His description of the building and grounds failed to mention any assaults by the storm.[29]

Like the rest of the area, Tallahassee was not prepared for the storm. Merchants remained open despite the roaring gale outside. At one store, that of George Meginniss, clerks rescued much of the merchandise when winds ripped away the building's roof. Meginniss estimated that the damage to his building and goods would amount to $10,000.[30] Other commercial establishments fared less well. Mrs. Lamb's millinery shop was inundated; the blacksmith's shop was "mashed flat as a pancake." Mary Archer's City Hotel was severely damaged when a telegraph pole smashed into one side. One resident of the hotel was injured by falling debris.[31]

As many as forty homes were destroyed, and many others lost chimneys, porches, and out-buildings. On the upper story of the Hogue family's residence, the porch railing was torn off, and several columns were blown away. Witnesses recalled that when the kitchen chimney fell through the roof, "it caused the cook and others to everlastingly skeedaddle."[32]

The Tallahasseeans who braved the early morning winds and rain to shop as usual at the city market, found themselves

27. Ibid., September 23, 1873. Edmund Shakespeare was among the first of Tallahassee's newly-freed slaves to marry. On December 12, 1865, he married Rachel Jackson. See Leon County Marriage Record, Box X, 195, Leon County Courthouse, Tallahassee.
28. Augusta *Chronicle*, September 24, 1873, quoting *Tallahassee Sentinel*, September 20, 1873.
29. Montgomery *Daily State Journal*, September 9, 1874.
30. Augusta *Chronicle*, September 24, 1873, quoting *Tallahassee Sentinel*, September 20, 1873.
31. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, September 23, 1873.
32. Ibid.

stranded in that "low open building." The *Floridian* described the terror of the shoppers when "an old cotton gin standing in a corner was lifted [by the wind] and sent whizzing through the house, narrowly missing the heads of two of the butchers. (Beef was slow of sale that morning.)" The building suffered no ill effects, but its occupants were fearful of being crushed by the fall of giant oaks nearby. One man was blown down and "had to be carried home."[33] Elsewhere in Tallahassee residents tried to find some refuge. An observer wrote that "one could . . . see men, women and children fleeing helter skelter in every direction, not knowing where to seek shelter and expecting every minute to be their [last]."[34]

The rural areas around Tallahassee were devastated. Most farmers had not yet harvested their corn, sugar cane, and cotton. Many lost their entire crop. G. G. Gibbs, whose farm was three miles northwest of town, lost his gin house, two new gins, threshing machines, and other equipment. A large oak tree fell on his house, smashing a portion of it, and his "worm-rail fence, twelve rails high, was destroyed (acres of it) also his plank fence." His cotton, "just hanging ready and nice for picking . . . well he can't find a boll of it!"[35] On many farms, laborers' cabins were shattered, adding to the number of homeless families. One plantation lost fourteen such cabins, and various accounts told of farms on which all workers' homes were lost.

Along with the ruin of farm buildings, came the injury and deaths of livestock. Horses, cows, and mules died. At Verdura Plantation, Benjamin Chaires lost seven mules, while on F. R. Cotten's nearby farm, several more were killed. Cotten reported that his entire cotton crop was ruined, a loss he put at $10,000.[36]

At least fifteen cotton gins in the immediate Tallahassee area were wrecked. Later reports from around the county raised the total to approximately thirty. Besides destruction of the gins, much cotton which was waiting to be baled was lost when the

33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.

lint rooms at the gins were knocked down, "scattering their contents over the earth and amid the boughs of the trees."[37]

The New Orleans Cotton Exchange estimated that at least one-third of the crop in middle Florida was lost. Already burdened by the boll worm, rust disease, and rot, the farmers now had the added effects of the storm. The situation, according to one editor, was "well nigh overwhelming . . . every particle of cotton in bloom has been blown out and beaten into the sand . . . so badly damaged as to prove an almost total loss. . . . The prospect is indeed disheartening. . . . We are at a loss to find any words of consolation."[38] A few weeks later, growers were encouraged to try to gather up some of the cotton which had been blown away, in the hope that it would "bring a very fair price if freed of sand."[39]

While few lives were lost, Leon County had been heavily damaged. Within the city limits of Tallahassee, damage was estimated at $20,000 to $30,000. For the county as a whole, the figure ranged from $100,000 to $200,000.[40]

The hurricane was powerful. It is almost certain that Tallahassee endured winds of eighty to 100 miles per hour with periods during which the winds ranged from 100-150 miles per hour. Such force accounted for the large number of buildings which were demolished. Yet another cause for the wide area of great damage may have been tornadoes, which often accompany hurricanes.[41] There were several references to "trees twisted off," and at least one actual tornado was witnessed on a farm near Wilmington, North Carolina, where it "leveled everything and killed cows," as the storm completed its trail of ruin and headed east over the Atlantic Ocean.[42]

Some guesses can be made about the technical aspects of the hurricane that struck north Florida, but a Georgia editor made clear the overwhelming nature of such storms to his upland

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37. Macon *Georgia Weekly Telegraph and Georgia Journal & Messenger,* September 30, 1873.
38. Augusta *Chronicle,* September 24, 1873, quoting *Tallahassee Sentinel,* September 20, 1873; Tallahassee *Weekly Florida,* September 23, 1873.
39. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* September 30, 1873.
40. Ibid., September 23, 1873.
41. Interview with Mike Rucker, Tallahassee, Florida, February 22, 1983.
42. Charleston *News and Courier,* September 23, 1873, quoting Wilmington *Star;* Simpson and Riehl, *The Hurricane and its Impact,* 216-18, discuss hurricane-related tornadoes.

readers: "On the coast their occurrence forms epochs in the march of time, and the inhabitants use them as dates and milestones in estimating past events."[43] From Jefferson County, "RIENTI" voiced the pervading sense of calamity in the immediate aftermath of the storm: "We have borne a great deal, suffered much, but those of us who are young cannot afford to give up . . . but struggle on to the bitter end, a better fate may be in store for us. But I am constrained to say, God pity those whose paths have already turned down the rugged hill of life, the prospect does not invite hope."[44]

"RIENTI" spoke from the accumulated despair of nearly fifteen years of hard times, and others shared his pessimism. A Tallahassee editor declared that "it will take years for Florida to recover from the blow."[45] Without doubt, Floridians who witnessed the terrible equinoctial gale of September 1873 never forgot it.

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43. Macon *Georgia Weekly Telegraph and Georgia Journal & Messenger,* September 30, 1873.
44. Savannah *Morning News,* September 24, 1873.
45. Augusta *Chronicle,* September 24, 1873, quoting *Tallahassee Sentinel,*. September 20, 1873.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

FLORIDA MANUSCRIPTS ACQUISITIONS AND ACCESSIONS

The following are recent manuscript acquisitions and accessions as reported by Florida universities, colleges, public libraries, and other institutions. Those interested in using particular collections should correspond with the library or archives in question.

The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, has added the following Florida newspapers to its microfilm collection: Arcadia *Champion,* 1906, 1908; Arcadia *DeSoto County News,* July-December 1915, 1922; *Arcadia Daily News,* January-June 1916; Arcadia *Enterprise,* 1920; *Arcadian,* October 6, 1927-September 27, 1928; Sebring *Highlands County News,* June 23, 1927-June 12, 1930, June 18, 1931-June 7, 1946, 1948; *Stuart Times,* April 18, 1913-February 23, 1917; *Stuart Daily News,* October 8, 1925-1930; Stuart *South Florida Developer,* 1925-1931. It has also acquired microfilm of Spanish Florida Colonial documents from the *Justicia* section, *Archivo General de Indias,* portions of *legajos* 48, 769, 778, 842, 855, 865, 933; from the *Patronato Real* section, portions of *legajos* 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 33, 51, 57-58, 63, 65, 75, 80, 84, 86, 148, 150, 153, 157, 160, 169, 173, 176-77, 179, 231, 254-55, 257-61, 265-67. Added to its manuscript collection are the Bellamy/Bailey Papers (1825-1894) relating to plantation life, and the letters of Captain James B. Mason (1833-1848), Jacksonville area and Second Seminole War. The library has also accessioned for its map collection Jean Baptiste Aville's, "Carte generale du Canada, de la Louisiane, de la Florida, de la Caroline, de la Virginie, de la Nouvelle Angleterre" [1776; PKY 1875].

Manatee County Central Library, Bradenton, has added to its microfilm collection: Florida State Census, 1885; U. S. Census of Florida, 1910; Indian Census of Florida, 1885-1940; *Volunteer Soldiers from Alabama in the Florida War; Union Soldiers of Florida;* and *Index to Compiled Records of Confederate Soldiers of Florida.* Other recent accessions include city, county, and telephone directories, mainly from the 1930s and 1940s; 4,000 nega-

tives from the Odom Photography Studio (1946-1952); and yearbooks for Southeast High School and Manatee Junior College, It has completed cataloguing its oral history collection of 150 interviews and tapes of Manatee County Historical Society speeches.

Miami-Dade Public Library has received Girolamo Benzoni's *Novae Novi Orbis Historiae* (1578), containing an account of the Huguenot settlement on the St. Johns River. It was presented by the Friends of the Miami-Dade Public Library as the two-millionth book to the library system.

John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, has acquired the following manuscript collections: Alexander C. Blount, Jr., personal and family papers (1900-1975); Dorothy Clemente's designs and drawings (1950-1972); Dr. C. J. Heinberg, medical and mayoral papers, Gulf Breeze (1936-1970); Essie Johnson diary, Bonifay (1916-1917); Warrington Business and Professional Women's Club records and other papers of Maude H. Hollowell (1950-1956); Otto H. L. Wernicke files relating to the pine industry (1928-1931); Dorothy Burrow personal papers (1840-1979); Agnes Irene Reedy papers (1942-1982); Axelson family papers including Gustave Axelson, Gulf coast ship's captain (1888-1911), and John Newton, Presbyterian minister's travels and education (1849-1889); Leon Odell Griffith personal papers (1947-1981); Gálvez Bicentennial Planning Commission papers (1979-1981); scrapbooks of the Brownsville Elementary School PTA (1938-1975) and the Agnes McReynolds School (1929-1948); journal listing yellow fever cases in Pensacola (1905); scrapbook for the St. Andrews Bay area (1892-1896); business records of Bay Point Mill Company (1868-1955); Escambia County Tax Assessor's Office correspondence (1913-1939); marriage certificates, Escambia County (1850-1890); clerk of the Circuit Court, Jackson County, correspondence files (1885-1950); and Don Bernardo de Gálvez letter, April 22, 1781. The library has also added microfilm copies of Sanborn fire insurance maps for west Florida.

Florida State Archives, Division of Archives, History and Records Management, has completed a detailed finding aid for the administrative correspondence of Governors C. Farris Bryant and Reubin O'D. Askew. The public records section has acquired the Supreme Court territorial case files (1825-1903), records of the Florida Radar Commission (1981), and the administrative and program reference files of the Game and Fresh

Water Fish Commission (1947-1975). An index to the first statehood election (1845) is near completion. The manuscript section has added the papers of John K. Small, botanist (1902-1938), including his correspondence and 2,200 negatives of flora and fauna; Baptista Boazio map (1588) of Drake's 1586 assault on St. Augustine; microfilm copies of Marjorie K. Rawlings's scrapbooks (1928-1983); and the journal of K. B. Gibbs, a Fort George Island plantation owner (1840-1843). Florida Photographic Collection acquired the Russell Peithman Collection of 1950s Seminole Indian photographs, several hundred Florida railroad photographs of the early twentieth-century period, 100 images of Clermont (1880-1920), and over 100 tourist promotion films from the Department of Commerce (1960s and 1970s).

Accessioned by the Haydon Burns Public Library, Jacksonville, were pamphlets, programs, and schedules relating to the Clyde Steamship Company, Camp Johnston Park, King Edward Nursery, Jacksonville Terminal Company, Park Theatre, Acosta Bridge, and Buck Realty Company.

The Florida Historical Society Library, Tampa, has received Otto Roach aerial photographs of Florida cities (1940), 2,000 Florida postcards (1910-1950) from the Georgia Historical Society, and documents relating to real property in Quincy (1839-1894).

Recent manuscript acquisitions of the Florida Collection, University of South Florida Library, include the papers of Lieutenant General José Luis Avellanal-Jiménez (1900-1982) relating to Tampa and the El Pasaje Hotel; Tampa Federal Writers Project papers; records of La Sociedad Unión Marti-Maceo, Afro-Cuban Mutual Aid Society (1900-1940); 147 Tampa and Plant City directories; and a collection of twentieth-century Tampa maps and plats, including Sanborn insurance atlases for 1915-1925, 1933-1955.

Black Archives, History and Research Center of South Florida, Miami, has added the following to its collection: photographs, church bulletins, and publicity items from Miami's Colored Town/Overtown (1960s-1980s); and issues of *Miami Times*, *Miami Tropical Dispatch*, and Miami *Nite Life* (1940s).

The St. Augustine Historical Society has accessioned the following: Thelma Keith collection of photographs, negatives, correspondence, and newspaper clippings relating to St. Augustine; Walter C. Hartridge collection of files on St. Augustine

history and historic sites; L. A. Shorter General Store ledger and invoices (1898-1900); and records of Rosalie James Circle, King's Daughters (1889-present).

The University of North Florida Library has added the Senator Jack E. Mathews papers covering his political and legal career to its manuscript collection.

The National Archives and Records Service, has microfilmed M1084, Letters Sent, Registers of Letters Received, and Letters Received by Headquarters, Troops in Florida and Headquarters, Department of Florida 1850-1858.

The Tampa Public Library has added the following to its microfilm collections: Archives of the Spanish Government of West Florida, 1789-1816; lists of passengers arriving at miscellaneous ports on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts and at ports on the Great Lakes, 1820-1873; memoir of reconnaissances with maps during the Florida campaign, April 1854-February 1858; register of Confederate soldiers, sailors, and citizens who died in Federal prisons and military hospitals in the North, 1861-1865; and United States State Department Territorial Papers, 1777-1824, Florida.

Historic Pensacola Preservation Board has acquired the T. T. Wentworth, Jr., Museum Collection, which includes nearly 100,000 items of artifacts and archival material spanning four centuries of west Florida history.

Charlton W. Tebeau Library of Florida History of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, has accessioned Dr. Henry Perrine family papers– correspondence, reports, and photographs; Woodrow W. Wilkins papers– correspondence and notes relating to Florida architecture; and Hialeah *Home News*, vols. 1-27. It has added 400 prints from *Vues Et Sovenirs De L'Amerique Du Nord*, by Francis Compte de Castelnau (1842), two copperplate engravings by Theodor De Bry, and 343 prints from the *Miami Herald*'s historical photos file (1890s-l930s).

The Otto G. Richter Library, University of Miami, has acquired a letter of Zachary Taylor written from Fort Micanopy on March 12, 1839.

The Monroe County Public Library, Key West, has received microfilm copies of the Cuban Consulate Records, Key West (1886-1961), Hackley diary transcripts, and United States Weather Bureau reports for Key West (1870-1903).

Recent manuscript received by the Pensacola Historical Society are the ledger of the Workingman's Building and Savings Association (1890-1898), estate papers of H. E. Franklin and Wayne Carter (1890s-1940s), and the Dr. J. Harris Pierpont day book ledgers (1890-1892). The society added microfilm copies of the United States Census, Escambia County, 1910, and records of St. Johns Cemetery (1872-present) in microfiche.

Black Archives, Florida A.&M. University, has accessioned the S. Randolph Edmonds papers and records of Florida Normal and Industrial College (1920-1960).

BOOK REVIEWS

Becalmed in the Mullet Latitudes, Al Burt's Florida. By Al Burt. (Port Salerno: Florida Classics Library, 1983. XVIII, 326 pp. Preface, introduction, your Florida scrapbook. $15.95, $10.95 paper.)

Al Burt, in his *Becalmed in the Mullet Latitudes,* a collection of essays from the *Miami Herald's Tropic Magazine,* uses a basic mix of history, geography, folklore, philosophy, and contemporary events to capture the flavors of Florida– not just one Florida, but seven mythical mini-states. They are all alike in many respects, but distinctively individualistic in others.

Into this basic mix, he stirs a dash of color, a thimbleful of nostalgia, a trace of humor, an occasional touch of suspense, and sometimes a tad of anticipation to round out the recipe. The net result is delightful entertainment, along with enriching information that reflects a kind of running history of the state.

The title of the 325-page book is descriptive of the several Floridas that lie within a mythical "Tropic of Cracker." He describes that region as being a few degrees north of the Tropic of Cancer, "hiding like a pea in a con game, under one shell or another." The mullet latitudes, the author contends, comprise Florida's version of the becalming horse latitudes that encircle the earth between the tradewinds and the prevailing westerlies. They form the "spiritual home of the real Florida," which lives, "like happiness, in one's head and must be coaxed out." "To conjure up that Florida requires as much philosophy as literal search," Burt explains in an introductory essay. In the dissertations that follow, he shares with the reader in eloquently descriptive, often elegant, and sometimes poetic language the product of that philosophy and that search.

The essays, 100 in all, deal with Florida-flavored folkways, customs, traditions, historical highlights and footnotes, places, people, legends, and perhaps a few fantasies. They are grouped under *Floridians, Places, People, Reflections,* and *Home* chapter headings, perhaps to lead the reader along a logical route toward exercising a measure of imagination in finding a personal real Florida.

The mythical mini-states begin with *Florabama,* the "mullet and collard green" country where the people resemble Alabamans. The area is otherwise known as West Florida or the Panhandle. Then comes *Florgia,* extending from *Florabama* to the Atlantic and southward to Ocala. "It looks like Georgia, sounds like Georgia, and sometimes even acts like Georgia." Next is *New Miami,* covering a belt across the middle of the state, powered by migration toward Disney World, in boom growth and strangers' dollars.

South of *New Miami* is *Ridge,* down the center of the state where oranges grow robustly and where the residents treasure a gentler life than can be had on the coasts. Below *Ridge* is the state of *Okeechobee,* which has "the same attractive flavor of Old Florida as *Florabama,*" but without so many Alabamans. At the bottom of the peninsula, shaped like a U, is the richest and most hugely populated of the Floridas. Burt calls it the *Colonized Coast,* peopled by pilgrims from the Northeast, Midwest, the Caribbean, and, in fact, everywhere. Finally, there's the *Conch Republic,* the beautiful and unique Florida keys, rounding out the seven little Floridas, "each worthy and lovable and peculiar, just like a family." Burt, calling them the lucky seven, invites suggestions for a name. Then, with a subtle sense of humor surfacing for a punchline performance, he asks: "How about, *The United Flakes?*"

It is the kind of book that contains essays which can be read time and again, with each new reading refreshing a memory, conjuring up a new image, and stimulating thoughts that perhaps prompt a revision of an existing personal concept of the real Florida.

Chipley, Florida E. W. CARSWELL

From Scratch Pads and Dreams: A Ten Year History of the University of North Florida. By Daniel L. Schafer. (Jacksonville: University of North Florida, 1982. xiii, 164 pp. Foreword, preface, photographs, notes. $17.95, $7.95 paper.)

Most university histories are written after the institution has become hoary (or at least ivy covered) with age. "State Uni-

versity, the First Century" is the more usual title. Professor Daniel Schafer's *From Scratch Pads and Dreams* has been written after the University of North Florida has been in existence only ten years. While a book written about a university after a single decade might be criticized by some as a premature effort, it may also be a good idea. Universities are always organizing unwieldy committees to undertake "self-studies" of the previous decade. Why not employ a historian to write a history of that decade? If Professor Schafer's work is an example, the report would be far better written and much more valuable than any committee's self-study.

Principle sources for Schafer's book are oral. A certain amount of newspaper coverage and university documents aided him, but most of his material came from interviews. He talked to politicians, businessmen, administrators, and faculty members. If there is any criticism of his oral sources it is in his failure to include more UNF students on his list. One other source is, of course, the author's memory. Schafer taught at the university for most of the period and was deeply involved in its development.

By far the most enjoyable part of the book to this reviewer (a native of Duval County) is the battle to establish the institution and to choose its site. Schafer has thoroughly explored the political background and writes clearly and entertainingly of the struggle to reach the point at which the "Scratch Pads and Dreams" could be broken out. His treatments of the Duval County struggle over the university's site is also well done. The struggle between downtown Jacksonville and rural Duval County involved racial politics, community economic tensions, and personalities. The first three chapters move the reader into the book with vigor and seize his interest at once.

The construction of the UNF curriculum by President Thomas G. Carpenter and his aides, Drs. Roy L. Lassiter and Willard O. Ash, is carefully delineated. Curriculum development at UNF mirrored, to some extent, the academic climate of the time nationally. One of the most ambitious proposals was the Venture Studies Program. Strongly supported by Ash, Venture Studies aimed at producing a broadly-educated student. One of the central themes of the book is the gradual erosion of the

Venture Program and its replacement by more traditional approaches to learning.

From the first, UNF's administrators made every effort to pay close attention to the region in which the school was situated. Offerings resulted from studies of the problems of business, transportation, and education peculiar to northeast Florida. Close coordination with public school programs in UNF's five-county service region have been a "hallmark of the College."

Faculty hiring came at what Schafer calls "one of the most propitious times for hiring academics in the history of higher education in America." UNF administrators put together a faculty that was young, well qualified, and which included a significant percentage of minorities. It is also a faculty which has, to a great extent, remained at UNF throughout the initial decade. The final fifty pages trace major themes of development through UNF's first decade. University governance initially centered in a General Assembly which came under fire and was abandoned. The attempt to develop a campus life for a non-resident school so as to avoid the image of "North Florida Drive-In University" is pronounced a success. Faculty battles over teaching vs research are outlined with a picture emerging of early teaching emphasis gradually replaced by greater attention to research.

Also important in UNF's first decade were such themes as faculty unionization and the discontent caused by the state's refusal to fund higher education in an adequate manner. The latter created, what Schafer calls "a zany period in our brief history." The decade ends with UNF's struggle to prevent the "hungry Gator in Gainesville" from annexing the school. This culminated in Governor Bob Graham's veto of the merger bill "prompting a collective sigh of relief on the UNF campus."

Although the author was a part of his history, he never allows himself to intrude into his pages. Schafer has given us a valuable and interesting study of the life of a new university in the second half of the twentieth century.

Florida State University JAMES P. JONES

The Papers of Henry Clay, Volume 7, Secretary of State, January 1, 1828-March 4, 1829. Edited by Robert Seager II. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1982. xi, 777 pp. Preface, symbols & abbreviations, calendar of unpublished letters, name & subject index volume 7, subject index volumes 1-6. $35.00.)

Volume *7* of *The Papers* of *Henry Clay* brings to an end the Kentuckian's tenure as secretary of state; it also marks the debut of a new editor, Robert Seager II. In preparing this volume for the press Seager made many editorial changes. For example, he decided to summarize much incoming mail, to use footnotes sparingly, and to exclude many documents "deemed marginal or peripheral to an understanding of Clay's ideas and activities." (Many of these items are listed in a "Calendar of Unpublished Letters"— with a subject classification code number assigned to each document. The calendar's utility, however, is limited because correspondents' names are not indexed.) As a result of Seager's space-saving and cost-saving innovations, the current volume, though it covers a longer period than each of the three previous volumes and contains an eighty-seven-page subject index to volumes one through six, is just a little over half as long as its immediate predecessor. The cost ($35.00) remains the same.

By 1828 Clay was obviously tiring of his vexatious duties as secretary of state. Concerned about his health, he made a trip to Philadelphia in May for a medical examination by the renowned physicians Nathaniel Chapman and Philip Syng Physick. Despite their generally optimistic report about his overall condition (they recommended more travel and exercise), he detected only a slight improvement over the next few months and complained that his health was "far from being as good as I could wish." He had apparently decided to leave the State Department in 1829 regardless of the outcome of the presidential election of 1828.

Although Clay loyally supported the reelection of President John Quincy Adams and viewed his defeat by General Andrew Jackson as "a great calamity" for the nation, he personally accepted the outcome of that campaign with greater equanimity than might have been expected. "Since the event was known," he

wrote a friend in late November, "I have enjoyed a degree of composure, and a buoyancy of spirits, which I have not known for many weeks before." He would now be shortly relieved of a laborious office for which he was temperamentally unsuited. Besides, his own ego was not involved in the president's defeat, for he managed to convince himself that if "my name had been fairly before the public, instead of that of Mr. Adams, the result of the late contest would have been different." (He would have no such consolation four years later.)

The last document in this volume is Clay's letter of resignation to President Adams on March 3, 1829. At that time his political future was uncertain; he would await his return to Kentucky before making any definite plans. Although he intended to refrain from criticizing the new Jackson administration until its course of action was clear, he obviously had no intention of retiring from public life. The remaining volumes of *The Papers of Henry Clay* will deal mainly with two interrelated aspects of his later career: his distinguished career in the United States Senate, where he basked in the warmth of the spotlight that was constantly aimed in his direction; and his deeply felt frustrations in the arena of presidential politics, where he saw the elusive prize he so earnestly coveted repeatedly won by men far less worthy (as he viewed it) to hold the highest office in the land.

University of Houston EDWIN A. MILES

Liberty and Slavery: Southern Politics to 1860. By William J. Cooper, Jr. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983. viii, 309 pp. Preface, maps, photographs, notes, bibliographical note, index. $17.95.)

William J. Cooper, Jr., professor of history at Louisiana State University and dean of its graduate school, has written a new volume which expands on his earlier *The South and the Politics of Slavery; 1828-1856.* The message of both volumes is the same: the primary object of antebellum southern politics was to preserve and defend slavery.

Professor Cooper's new book is much broader; it tells a more

complex story. Slavery and the plantation system and masses of independent, landholding farmers emerged in the South before the end of the seventeenth century soon after Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia (led, according to Cooper, by Francis, not Nathaniel). The American Revolution made southern whites think more profoundly about their unique slave system. According to Cooper, living in an area where blacks were enslaved made whites unusually determined to protect their own liberty (to avoid any kind of enslavement); they saw any attack on black slavery as a threat to white liberty.

Thus, as the new American nation emerged, southern politicians devoted themselves primarily to "the politics of slavery." Jefferson's Republican party, with its emphasis on strict constitutional construction and state rights, was an effective national organization to protect slavery, and the South both supported and dominated it. Republican nationalism after the War of 1812 was a temporary aberration which was soon ended in the South by the dispute over slavery in Missouri and a depressed economy. The spirit of nineteenth-century democracy swept through the South just like the North, and most Southerners supported Andrew Jackson who was, after all, a Tennessee slaveholder.

However, the rise of the abolition movement in the North darkened the South's horizons. According to Cooper, not only did it threaten the liberty of southern whites by attacking slavery; it also offended their honor by describing slavery as immoral and unAmerican. The vigorous two-party system of the 1840s did not divert southern politicians from their primary mission; both Whigs and Democrats played "the politics of slavery." Northern efforts to restrict the expansion of slavery after the Mexican War and in the 1850s drove southern whites to more and more extreme positions. The South was prosperous and optimistic, but the triumph of Abraham Lincoln and his new Republicans in 1860 finally allowed the fire-eaters to carry most of the South out of the Union. Throughout Professor Cooper's story "the politics of slavery" dominated the South.

This is an interesting volume which is at least partially convincing. Certainly slavery was a major factor in antebellum southern politics, but this reviewer believes that the author exaggerates its importance, that other factors like expedience, emotion, local issues, leadership, and sheer chance played a sig-

nificant role too. Cooper's sophisticated study does not ignore such factors but does downplay them. Professor Cooper also describes regional differences within the South, but he does not give these differences enough emphasis, and he gives much less attention to major variations within individual southern states. He is familiar with the recent scholarship and seems especially receptive to some of the ideas of William W. Freehling and Bertram Wyatt-Brown. He has also exploited many primary sources, but a very restricted system of footnoting keeps the reader from fully appreciating his research in general. Clearly written and provocative, *Liberty and Slavery* is a solid work of scholarship.

University of Georgia F. N. BONEY

The Ruling Race, A History of American Slaveholders. By James Oakes. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982. xix, 307 pp. Introduction, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $16.95.)

In *The Ruling Race,* James Oakes examines the diversity of American slaveholders and presents fresh evidence to refute what he calls the plantation legend that recognizes only the planter aristocracy and the role played by this small elite class in shaping the cultural destiny of the antebellum South. Instead, emphasis is placed upon the vast majority of slaveholders (400,000 by 1860) who were farmers and owned less than twenty slaves. Among them were Germans, French, Scotch-Irish, Creoles, Native Americans, and free Negroes. It was they, according to Oakes, who shaped the character of the South. The most politically effective among them were educated professionals—doctors, lawyers, and teachers (less than 30,000 in 1850) who pushed west with the cotton frontier to take advantage of unlimited economic opportunities offered in an environment characterized by innumerable health problems, land speculation, and litigation. These professionals amassed wealth and exerted influence upon the southern press and politics out of all proportion to their numbers.

Master-class pluralism and demographic mobility are stressed in describing the heterogeneity and movement of the slaveholding class. They frequently moved into and out of their class

while thousands of others among them had jobs that kept them away from their farms. The master-class relationship varied from one small slaveholder to the next. Oakes cites many examples to verify differing life-styles and treatment of bondsmen among this group. Racial attitudes, which upheld the inferiority of Negro slaves, were fixed during colonial times and were not altered significantly in the nineteenth century. However, classism among the slaveholders was altered as the southern economy pushed westward and democratic ideals encouraged liberal principles of equality.

Despite the efforts of proslavery apologists, evangelical protestantism carried with it an antislavery message. As a result, slaveholders harbored feelings of guilt, for they must behave in ways that conflicted with their religious convictions. This guilt was not so evident among the planter aristocracy; these elites remained paternalistic, upheld orthodox religious convictions, and were less concerned with egalitarian ideals. They lived in the older, more stable, and wealthiest plantation belts, were rooted in tradition and convinced of their superiority. They were less concerned with the southern gospel of wealth that characterized the desires of the majority of slaveholders– unlimited westward migration, an insatiable desire for slaves, and upward mobility.

Constitutional Unionists were the South's most vocal opposition group to secession in the late 1850s. These paternalistic masters based their opposition on traditionally Whig principles: nationalism to defend the Union and anti-democracy to attack secession. Their conservative. proslavery defense embraced the paternalist's conviction that the principles that held together the traditional family could be profitably applied to the relations of master and slave. Since paternalists accepted inequality as inevitable, they tended to recognize the humanity of their slaves. They associated democracy with secession and thought slavery would be better protected within the Union; they viewed the sectional crisis as the logical outcome of democratic government. The majority of these conservatives were opposed to secession for "secession symbolized all that had gone wrong with America and with the South. . . . Gentility had given way to crass materialism; paternalist ideology was distorted by racism; the rule of the elite had succumbed to the age of the 'common man.' "

Despite some factual errors (Monticello is in Jefferson County,

Florida; George J. Kollock never owned more than one plantation at one time; Zephaniah Kingsley was not a conservative), the author has skillfully exploited contemporary literature to create a most provocative study of the slaveholding class. His interpretations are challenging, and, though some may disagree with his conclusions, the book is a scholarly contribution and deserves high praise.

Georgia Southern College JULIA FLOYD SMITH

Black Southerners, 1619-1869. By John B. Boles. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983. xi, 244 pp. Editor's preface, preface, introduction, graphs, bibliographical essay, index. $24.00.)

"When I speak . . . of 'the South'," wrote James J. Kilpatrick in *The Southern Case for School Segregation* (1962), "what I mean is the white South, and more narrowly still, I mean the white adults of thirteen States who continue to share, in general, an attitude on race relations that has descended from attitudes of the 'Old South'." "There is of course a Negro South," the righteous diehard continued, "but it is mysterious and incomprehensible to most white men." For years too many writers of southern history shared this narrow dictum, consciously or unconsciously. But in the past several decades the walls of segregationist Jericho have come tumbling down, and numerous scholars have been working to reconstruct the past of a region whose struggles over integration date back to the sixteenth century. An Afro-American heritage that was once dismissed as insubstantial and foreign is now perceived as complex and central to the story of the South. "Properly speaking," John B. Boles states at the outset of his valuable new book, "*southerner* is a biracial term."

In saying this, Boles hardly acknowledges the full human variety of the region. But his readable overview performs the valuable task of consolidating new insights on the "Old South," many of them drawn from recent books on slavery that have been too large or specialized to engage general readers. Just as slaves on Louisiana sugar plantations deferred to the skilled

"boilers" among them, so historians value fellow workers who are able to boil down everything in the field to a clear and concentrated substance– not too thick or too thin. "I wanted to compress as much of the history of black southerners as I could into relatively few pages," Boles explains, "making accessible to readers the fruit of the remarkably rich scholarship on blacks that has appeared during the last two decades." In this useful distilling process, the author has succeeded admirably. Like other volumes in Kentucky's "New Perspectives on the South" series, this survey offers an engaging introduction suitable for undergraduates, and it will no doubt be used widely in both southern history classes and black studies courses. Three chronological chapters treat race: slavery's "Tentative Beginning" in North America, "The Crucial Eighteenth Century," and "The Maturation of a Plantation System" after 1776. These are followed by three topical chapters discussing daily life (and death), the diversity of black experiences under slavery, and recent insights into "Community, Culture, and Rebellion." A short final chapter surveys the crucial 1860s. Though the concise text has no footnotes and few illustrations from primary sources, an up-to-date bibliographical essay encourages readers to pursue specific topics in the recent literature.

While playing a moderator's role, Boles still offers opinions of his own. For example, he believes other writers have exaggerated slavebreeding and miscegenation, while underestimating the slaves' interaction with white churches and minimizing their role in the American Revolution. Despite the author's search for consensus and his gift for understatement, each reader will no doubt take issue with some of the observations made on this brief trip through a thorny field. Can we be sure that by the 1620s "blacks occupied a distinctly inferior position" in the eyes of Virginia officials, or that planter profits hinged more on soil fertility than on wageless labor? Can class conflict among antebellum whites and armed uprisings among slaves both be dismissed as virtually nonexistent? One wants to ask the writer: for whom do black runaways during the Revolution represent a "problem"; to whom does "the desire to replace wartime slave losses and rebuild destroyed levees" constitute a "compelling need"; and from whose vantage point does the desire "of freedmen to gain an education" appear "almost pathetic"? Some of the most in-

triguing questions must be directed less to Boles than to the historians whose work he surveys. Why, for example, do we still know so little about Afro-Southerners before 1619, or about the social and cultural roles of black women? Students who read Boles should also absorb two provocative books not cited in his bibliography — *There is a River* by Vincent Harding and *The Flash of the Spirit* by Robert Farris Thompson— in forming conclusions about the first eight generations of black Southerners.

Duke University PETER H. WOOD

Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915. By Louis R. Harlan. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983. xiv, 548 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, index. $30.00.)

In this his second and final volume of his biography of Booker T. Washington, Louis Harlan has written a superb study of America's most famous black leader at the turn of the century. This particular volume covers Washington's career from 1901 to 1915 when he emerged as the principal spokesman for his race and served as special advisor to Presidents Roosevelt and Taft on minority concerns and political appointments. During this period Washington also forged his own political machine and continued his fund-raising efforts on behalf of Tuskegee and other black colleges.

In a carefully reasoned and balanced account, Harlan points out the central dilemma Washington's political philosophy posed for himself and black America: how to promote racial advancement while publicly accepting policies of segregation. Harlan readily acknowledges that Washington worked assiduously for black progress in higher education, government, and private industry. He concludes, however, that "the burden of his compromises and accommodations to a repressive system of white supremacy often vitiated his efforts to advance the interests of blacks, and indeed the history of black leadership in America illustrates the impossibility of reforming a system while at the same time accommodating to its institutions and spirit" (p. 337).

Washington's dilemma became readily apparent during Theodore Roosevelt's administration. The president gave Washington access to power by publicly dining with him and by allowing Washington to nominate black citizens for political office. With Roosevelt's blessing, Washington was able to build a very powerful Tuskegee Machine, which spread his influence to the North and Midwest. Having made his decision to serve as a political broker for Roosevelt in the black community, Washington was forced to accede to Roosevelt's policies which hampered racial progress, especially his dismissal of three black companies following the Brownsville riot in 1906.

Harlan portrays Washington as a very dignified, diplomatic, and fastidious figure who could also prove ruthless when confronting opposition. Not surprisingly, he and the organizers of the Niagara Movement, especially Monroe Trotter and W. E. B. DuBois, became bitter rivals. As Harlan notes, "the Niagara Movement proposed to clear the air by frank protest of injustice." Trotter and DuBois also denounced Washington's commitment to technical education and his conciliatory approach to the nation's racial problems. In retaliation Washington had friends spy on NAACP meetings and publish information which deliberately distorted DuBois's position.

Unfortunately for Washington, he lived to see his influence superceded and his policies fail. During 1912 Woodrow Wilson and his white advisers sanctioned the wholesale removal of black officeholders and gave their unofficial blessing to segregation. Despite Washington's dissatisfaction with Wilson, he was unwilling to condemn the president. As Harlan observes, Washington's response was fully consistent for one "schooled in slavery, trained to moderation, accustomed to compromise" (p. 322).

This study reflects the maturity of a scholar who has devoted himself to unraveling the complexities of Booker T. Washington's personality and understanding his Machiavellian politics. Harlan gives Washington credit for many notable achievements, but he also observes the weaknesses of the man and his philosophy. It is a tempered criticism throughout, and it makes the biography all the more convincing for being so.

University of Florida DAVID R. COLBURN

Tried As By Fire: Southern Baptists and the Religious Controversies of the 1920s. By James J. Thompson, Jr. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1982. xv, 224 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, foreword, bibliographical note, index. $13.95.)

While almost any book on the 14,000,000-member Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) deserves attention, a book as good as this merits careful reading and some savoring. James Thompson and Mercer University Press have produced a fine volume, carefully written with generous references and even footnotes at the bottom of the page (where, as any historian knows, they belong). *Tried As By Fire* is about Southern Baptistism's belated confrontation with modernity between 1919 and 1931. It opens with an ebulliently confident denomination capable of seeing its own image in the World War I victory, and closes some twelve years later with a chastened but more "realistic" church as much interested in survival as world domination. The intervening chapters are topical, documenting how Southern Baptists stumbled over and struggled with the Social Gospel, higher (Biblical) criticism, evolution, fundamentalism, and religious pluralism as represented by Roman Catholicism and Al Smith's 1928 presidential bid. In following each issue, Thompson capably delineates both the nuances of the conflicts and the variety of positions within the SBC. Although Thompson's analysis is always fair and responsible, his heart is clearly with the moderates– those too few souls who at once affirm the inherited faith and the requirements of civil discourse in the public arena, and whose leadership occasionally saves the denomination from wretched excess. Not surprisingly, Thompson is most critical of Southern Baptist fundamentalists' misanthropy– their tendencies to berate and belittle, to ridicule and to indulge in falsehood in their attempts to purge the denomination of those whose only sin was to remain calm and reasonable.

Where the book fails, it does so in the significant ways good books fail– by omission, by undeveloped insight, by not always following through. The focus may be a bit narrow; militant civil religion, post-war overconfidence, naive dreams of world evangelization and subsequent failure, financial distress, and self-doubt ran throughout American Protestantism during this

period. Thompson has neglected to suggest how Southern Baptists fit into this larger picture and how their story is or is not unique. Similarly, the fact of change (migration, urbanization, new technology) is invoked from time to time as a causal factor, but the extent and kinds of change faced by the Southern Baptist masses, and how that change reached and affected them, is never adequately discussed. If Southern Baptists were as rural as Thompson claims, why even mention urbanization as an explanatory category and why make note of nearly 1,000,000 new Baptist urbanites as Thompson does without exploring their experiences? How did these different population groups react to and influence the issues which Thompson explores?

Finally, one is left wondering what it was that held the SBC together in the midst of all the conflict. Thompson suggests that the Civil War had taught Southerners to adapt to change, but never pursues the point beyond bare suggestion. The references to "strong denominationalism" which are made are insufficient and really beg the question. The factionalism Southern Baptists suffered was more than an unfortunate impediment to the preaching of the Gospel to the world as Thompson suggests, but a struggle as to what that Gospel actually was. Insufficient attention to the experiences of Baptistism's various groups somehow also loses the common soul. *Tried As By Fire* is a fine book as far as it goes. One hopes James Thompson is inclined to go farther.

University of Florida DENNIS E. OWEN

The New Religious Political Right in America. By Samuel S. Hill and Dennis E. Owen. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1982. 160 pp. Preface, notes. $9.95.)

Conventional wisdom holds that the 1980 presidential election represented the triumph of political conservatism sweeping through the American electorate. Fed up with inflation, increased centralization of government, and cultural decay, voters took their protests to the polls, overwhelmingly defeated the incumbent, and in his place installed the most popular figure of the Republican party's right wing. Whether the victory of Ronald Reagan has rung the death knell of New Deal liberalism and

Democratic party domination remains debatable, but, there is already some indication that the coalition supporting the president is too fragile to sustain extended GOP control of national politics. One of the key elements behind Republican success in 1980, the New Religious Political Right (NRPR), is the subject of a critical assessment by two professors of religion at the University of Florida, Samuel S. Hill and Dennis E. Owen. The results of their study suggest that the NRPR is a shaky prop upon which to construct an enduring conservative movement in this country.

The NRPR is not an isolated or aberrant political phenomenon. On many occasions in American history political and religious conservatives have combined to stem what they perceived to be unwelcome signs of modernization. Troubled by threats to traditional culture in the face of rapid and often chaotic social change, the disgruntled have banded together to restore order in their lives and resurrect the halcyon days of yesteryear. The Know-Nothingism of antebellum days, the anti-evolution crusade of the 1920s, and the anti-communist persuasion of the 1950s revealed a dark strain in American political affairs which the eminent historian Richard Hofstadter called "the paranoid style." Its practitioners aimed to relieve social tensions by uncovering conspiracies, exorcising subversives, and imposing conformity. Although Hill and Owen do not employ Hofstadter's model, they do portray the NRPR in a similar manner. According to the authors, members of the politico-religious right, most specifically associated with Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority, repelled by cultural depravity, are seeking to promote a regenerated society of happy nuclear families, clear sex roles, and a government based on Christian principles. Their vision of utopia has appealed most strongly to members of independent Protestant congregations, mainly Baptist, from the Midwest and South. Standing in their path and the target of their wrath is an assortment of secular humanists.

The authors are careful not to belittle their subjects by turning them into Menckenesque caricatures. They take the NRPR seriously and attribute much of its appeal to a form of civil religion which unites discontented Americans in worship of the holy trinity of God, Country, and Family. However, Hill and Owen conclude that the NRPR will fail to provide the stability

it seeks so assiduously. Totalitarian in both structure and doctrine and exhibiting little in the ways of reason and civility, the New Religious Political Right has generated more polarization than consensus. The writers take particular comfort in knowing that many fundamentalist and evangelical leaders– Billy Graham most prominently among them– refuse to endorse the well-publicized forays of the NRPR into politics as the guardian of a monolithic and infallible Christian viewpoint. As one Evangelical Lutheran opponent put it: "There is no Christian position; there are Christians who hold positions" (p. 82). Ultimately, the two professors of religion believe that the nation can overcome its spiritual malaise within a pluralistic context. Americans of diverse beliefs must rededicate themselves to solving their common problems by working together at the local community level.

Hill and Owen have written a judicious appraisal of a heated issue– the mixture of politics and religion. Although many of their conclusions remain tentative in the absence of additional data and the perspective of hindsight, to their credit the authors have presented sound hypotheses for future scholars to test. One suspects that time will show that Professors Hill and Owen have led us in the right direction.

University of South Florida STEVEN F. LAWSON

Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970. By Doug McAdam. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982. viii, 304 pp. Preface, introduction, appendices, tables, notes, bibliography, index. $25.00.)

In this significant, interdisciplinary work, the author has clearly broken new ground in assessing theories of mass insurgency and in redefining the structure of political power in the United States. These are remarkable achievements in themselves, but McAdam has also provided a comprehensive empirical analysis of the black protest movement from its early origins in the late 1800s to its decline in the latter 1960s. While the book may be read as a useful historical treatise, it is, in reality, much more than that. Its true value lies in its development of new theoretical insights in the disciplines of sociology and political science.

The foremost objective of McAdam is to evaluate social movement theories in sociology. Toward that end, he defines and then debunks two prevailing perspectives, the classical and the resource mobilization models. Neither perspective adequately explains the emergence, development, and decline of the contemporary black movement. Instead, the author posits what he calls the "political process model." This theoretical perspective identifies three sets of factors that are believed to be crucial in the generation of social insurgency. The first is the level of organization within the minority community. The second factor is the minority group's assessment of the prospects for successful insurgency. McAdam refers to this crucial factor as "insurgent consciousness" or "cognitive liberation," and claims that before collective protest can begin, people must define their situations as unjust and subject to change through group action. The third and final factor is the political alignment of groups within the larger political environment, or what Eisinger calls the "structure of political opportunities" available to minority groups. Each of these factors is necessary, but not sufficient in itself, for insurgency to occur. Moreover, the political process model is dynamic, not static; it attempts to explain a social movement as a continuous process from generation to decline. Thus, over time these factors continue to shape the development of insurgency, but another factor becomes important. This is the social control response to the insurgents.

How well does the author's political process model explain the generation, development, and decline of the black movement? Quite well indeed, at least in broad, macro-level terms. As a result of social and economic changes beginning in the late 1800s, the political opportunities confronting blacks improved during the period from 1930 to 1954. This expansion of political opportunities contributed to a growing sense of political efficacy among blacks who began to define conditions as amenable to change. At the same time the growth of three institutions– black churches, black colleges, and the NAACP– afforded southern blacks the indigenous organizational strength necessary to mount and sustain a social movement. Moreover, the decline of the movement was also the product of changes in each of these major factors, plus the repressive response of the federal government.

McAdam's analysis of the black movement also redefines the structure of political power in this country. Finding the pluralist and elite models to be inadequate, the author modifies the elite view to grant excluded groups a measure of indigenous power that is usually denied them. Thus the conventional view of an elite comfortably in control of the political arena is replaced by the notion of the elite as a "harried group scrambling to manage or contain numerous challenges that arise to threaten the fundamental prerogatives of class rule" (p. 233).

This book is a valuable contribution to the growing literature on social movements in the United States. It is also a thorough and comprehensive analysis of the black protest movement from 1930 to 1970. It is well researched and nicely written, and will provide scholars in several disciplines with a variety of new insights well worth pondering.

University of Florida JAMES BUTTON

The Selected Essays of T. Harry Williams. By T. Harry Williams. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983. 276 pp. Biographical introduction by Estelle Williams, notes, bibliography. $19.95.)

The biographical sketch that opens this volume is especially rewarding for those of us who knew T. Harry Williams only through his publications and his repute. Contributed by his widow, who was his co-worker in research and writing, and his fellow faculty member at Louisiana State University, it illuminates the scholarly activities and determination to excel that were central to T. Harry's life. Estelle Williams takes us into his classroom and work spaces from card table to his own library-studio building. She permits us to share his zest in the pursuit of history, the drama of his lectures, his fascination with men of power, his delight in the success his books enjoyed. She also gives us a tantalizing glimpse of this midwestern "Yankee" scholar's four-decade love affair with the South, one that apparently did not compromise his outsider's view of the region's racial mores. The volume ends with a comprehensive bibliography, presumably also attributable to his wife, that lists Williams's books,

articles, and contributions to books edited or written by others. It is an impressive record.

For more than 250 of its 276 pages this memorial volume allows T. Harry Williams to speak for himself, which he did uncommonly well. Together with a mastery of relevant historical data and an independent, sometimes iconoclastic, judgment he combined a writing style always lucid and frequently arresting. The fourteen selections chosen for inclusion date from 1939 to his death in 1979. They vary widely in character, ranging from the narrowly focused professional article to what he called his "bread and butter speech" on "That Strange Sad War." Some essays distill, or foretell, the interpretive essence of his major works: *Lincoln and the Radicals, Lincoln and His Generals, Huey Long,* and the uncompleted biography of Lyndon Johnson. Only three of the fourteen are here published for the first time. Two of these, one unfinished, were meant to be part of his *History of American Wars,* which appeared posthumously, foreshortened to end in 1918. They deal with the 1918-1939 interlude between wars and with American involvement in World War II up to, and including, Pearl Harbor.

The third unpublished paper, entitled "Lyndon Johnson and the Art of Biography," is not a polished essay but rather an informal introduction to the Senior Scholars' Colloquia held at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in 1977. It is the most self-revealing selection in the volume. Here Williams presents briefly his version of the great man theory of history, his view that good may come of evil, his belief that the power hungry rebels of history such as Huey Long are created by an unyielding power establishment, his distaste for pronouncing moral judgment in writing historical biography. The latter is not altogether consistent with his sympathy for assaults upon class injustice, reformist or radial, a moral stance evident in his two presidential addresses, one to the Organization of American Historians in 1973 and the other to the Southern Historical Association in 1959. At the same time, he believed academic people too prone to be horrified by politicians' departures from "ideal and impossible" standards of morality and ethics (p. 206). There seems often to have been a hard-nosed quality about T. Harry's judgment that extended even to himself. He was willing to share publicly the suggestion made by some of his students that

the attraction he felt for men he considered the great power artists of history might mean that he himself coveted power.

Williams's standards for the writing of history can be found in his analysis of the virtues and weaknesses of Douglas Freeman's volumes on the Civil War. Among the former he counted Freeman's literary style, his fairness and honesty, his presentation of detail without getting lost in it, his consumption of voluminous difficult sources with critical judgment and exemplary detective work. As weaknesses he saw the priority Freeman gave to drama and artistry over explanation and Freeman's worshipful attitude toward his central figure (Lee) arising from "a Virginia gentleman writing about a Virginia gentleman" (pp. 192-93). T. Harry maintained that empathy for his subject, the ability to see through the latter's eyes, was essential for a biographer, but he also recognized an obligation to present a broader perspective.

The Selected Essays of T. Harry Williams suggests how great is our loss in not having the monumental biography of Lyndon Johnson that he planned or the perspective and lucidity that he might have brought to an account of the country's military stance in the nuclear age. It is also a reminder that T. Harry Williams importantly influenced the course of American historiography, not in one area but in three: Civil War and Reconstruction, military policy, and biography. The volume lacks a critical analysis of that influence. Hopefully, it may inspire one, together with an examination of his relationship to a changing South. The role of historians of the South in the South during the years of racial confrontation and readjustment is a tale still to be told. T. Harry's academic journey from the distaste evident in his writings of the 1940s for the racial radicalism of the 1860s to the embrace in his 1973 presidential address of the racial radicalism of the 1960s, at least of its southern version, would make an intriguing and meaningful chapter of that story.

Hunter College and Graduate School, CUNY LAWANDA COX

Dixie Dateline: A Journalistic Portrait of the Contemporary South. Edited by John B. Boles. (Houston: Rice University Studies, 1983. vii, 182 pp. Introduction, graph, bibliographical essay, notes on contributors. $12.95.)

Provocatively, eleven southern journalists sketch yet another broad-brush canvas of the South, with perceptive ideas ranging across the contemporary landscape. They focus on the lingering mystique of Old Dixie and the changed South, recycled as the nation's Sunbelt. They agree Dixie is both American and something different, and the southernness of these essays from a 1981 Tulane University symposium is a fresh search for the ever-elusive mysteries of the soul of the South, bridging Old and New– now permanently altered by skylines and freeways shadowing rural folkways and quaint landscapes in the haste of Sunbelt prosperity.

Again plowing old ground, yet fortified with southern newness, the investigators admit the "giant sphinx on the American land"– as one historian labels Dixie– so resists explication that its elusive definition becomes its intriguing attraction.

John B. Boles's incisive introduction is fresh intelligence on old southern questions and new vistas for understanding the most provocative and mysterious American region. He keynotes a parade of different and fresh voices, writing: "Southernness is now almost an intellectual construct, 'the flesh made word,' to borrow Ed Yoder's biblical quip. Having a distinctiveness to lose makes possible a recognition of loss, and that triggers a process of retrospection and nostalgia that bodes well to keep the South alive and thriving. The South will continue to exist, if only by an act of the will. After all, as Brandt Ayers has remarked, 'they aren't having symposia in Phoenix to discuss the everlasting West.' "

Roy Reed writes affectionately and perceptively of southern folk and regional mores, linking the violence and simple religious faith with Dixie's values. Even in the urban South, he sees rural folkways lingering– an umbilical cord to the past, influencing values with folk culture amidst the highrises and urban sprawl of the South's boom cities. Yet Paul Delaney portrays blacks as double cursed despite lingering euphoria from the 1960s liberation. Even though Dixie race relations may have

caught up with the rest of America, he views the transformation as minimal, with blacks less hopeful about the future. The South has yet to produce any Harvards, writes John A. Crowl, but southern universities are closing the educational gap– and population and economic growth offer Dixie states potential for relative improvement if leaders have the will to demand it.

Wilmer C. Fields sees a more urban and cosmopolitan South gaining good and bad from the legacies of its traditional evangelical armlock with Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians. Yet he finds religious change following the pattern of societal and economic prosperity in the once-solid Bible Belt. Tracing valid reasons for southern deficiencies in the cultural arts sixty years ago, W. L. Taitte exudes pride in the South's culture boom in large, wealthy cities. He cites Dixie today as the region with the largest artist population in America. Urban affairs columnist Neal R. Peirce decries the sameness of American cities, even in the New South, but finds that the Charlestons and Savannahs– protective of architectural treasures– have been more successful in retaining charm while confronting Sunbelt growth and urban change.

Portraying the political revolution, Brandt Ayers traces the emergence of the black vote, election of Georgian Jimmy Carter, and the region's emerging presidential aspirants with national appeal. He concludes that candidates seeking to carry Dixie with both black and white votes must be attuned to the defining characteristics of the South as a region. Looking southwest, William K. Stevens evaluates an "oil patch" economy and culture fueled by oil and gas money and by substantial immigration. He cites the experience of Houston, now the world center of petroleum technology, an international port with one of the worlds largest medical centers. Trying to define the catchphrase, "Sunbelt," James R. Adams finds the region's economic development less than homogeneous; rather, at least three different economic subunits within the South. He assesses the indiscriminate use of the term as an erroneous portrayal, implying too great a causative factor to weather.

Pulitzer Prize winner Edward M. Yoder, Jr. waxes nostalgic about the loss of Dixie of recent memory; he suspects symposiums and collections such as this remain Lost Cause attempts by journalists and historians to "Dixefy Dixie." He echoes the C.

Vann Woodward thesis of southern difference: historical experience at variance with the nation's past and yet quite similar to the larger worlds experience– making Southerners able to understand non-Americans and empathize with them, in ways beneficial both to America and its global neighbors. Hodding Carter notes that Southerners have seldom learned the lessons they should from their past: lessons less clear, and less accepted, than Southerners might believe. Yet he contends the South has a relevance not fully appreciated even by self-conscious Southerners– a reason why thoughtful people around the world are fascinated with things southern from Faulkner to folklore.

Tempered somewhat by some nostalgic yearning, the essayists see– and perhaps hope– that the past does have a future in a Dixie far removed from poverty, racism, cultural backwardness, and rural domination. Their ideas are stimulating, with no central focus or conclusion other than the southern mystique, with latitude for readers to apply their own interpretations.

Pensacola News-Journal JESSE EARLE BOWDEN

With Shield and Sword: American Military Affairs, Colonial Times to the Present. By Warren W. Hassler, Jr. (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1982. x, 462 pp. Preface, maps, notes, selected bibliography, index. $29.50.)

Any author attempting to encapsulate the whole sweep of American military history in one volume must decide upon those aspects which he or she wishes to stress and stick close to them. Warren W. Hassler has chosen to "integrate military operations and policy with the personalities and characters of leading civilian and uniformed figures who have been protagonists in American armed endeavors" (p. ix). It is a worthy undertaking since few modern American military histories have concentrated on the impact, across the full course of that history, of the personalities of the leading figures. It is an approach which limits the development of the broad, underlying themes in that history, but no single volume history can avoid short-changing some aspect of the story.

The author, who is professor of history at Pennsylvania State

University, brings a breadth of knowledge and depth of study to the project which only a handful of historians can match. The author of several Civil War studies and a valuable account of the president as commander-in-chief, he has served as a visiting professor of military history at both West Point and the Army's Command and General Staff College.

Professor Hassler does not attempt to describe military campaigns in detail but to sketch them and demonstrate the effect of personality on the leadership of the opposing forces. The resulting story is one which will entrance many readers but may disturb those whose command of the outline of events is limited. It is written, of necessity, at headquarters level and does often recount the non-combat activities of the services. As might be expected, Professor Hassler devotes considerable attention to the roles played by the presidents and the land service secretaries in setting military policy. An outstanding example is his evaluation of Jefferson Davis as secretary of war.

The individual characterizations are short and incisive. They are, in the opinion of this reviewer, nearly always valid, and where we disagree, as in the case of Admiral George Dewey, there is a strong case for both sides. One pleasant aspect of *With Sword and Shield* is that Professor Hassler eschews the quick and superficial characterizations so often offered by less knowledgeable writers. This does not mean that all interpretations are favorable. One general-in-chief is described, quite accurately, as "sensitive about alleged conspiracies and slights to his honor, he was cantankerous, ambitious, and egotistical" (p. 216).

While Professor Hassler recounts the Navy story along with the Army one, and often does so with insight, he tends to betray his greater awareness of the personalities and activities on dry land. He fails, for instance, to discuss the impact of Admiral Ernest J. King on naval strategy in World War II or that of Commodore John Rodgers as head of the Board of Naval Commissioners. Nor does the account deal as adequately with the Navy's non-combat activities as it does with the Army's. Yet this complaint verges on carping for of all the recent "tri-service" histories this is clearly the best balanced. Despite an occasional stub of the editorial toe, the Navy and the Air Force do get substantial coverage; nevertheless, no careful reader will fail to

see that this is essentially an Army history. But then the bulk of American military history is Army history.

Professor Hassler has allocated just over half the book to the twentieth century. This means that World War II receives substantially more space than the Civil War. But as the book journeys into more recent times the coverage declines. The Korean and Vietnamese wars receive only limited discussion, and the assessments are clearly more tentative than they are for earlier periods. Many will disagree with the apportionment of coverage but that is a matter of judgment. From this reviewer's vantage point Professor Hassler's decisions have been judicious and thoughtful, whether or not I agree with them.

With Shield and Sword is written with conciseness and a careful choice of words which makes it a pleasure to read. It is a valuable book which corrects the tendency to dehumanize military history. It is a book which should be read by those who believe they understand the history of the American military and by those who wish to learn it.

Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute K. JACK BAUER

A Gallery of Southerners. By Louis D. Rubin, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982. xxi, 233 pp. Polemical preface to another gallery of Southerners, acknowledgments, notes, index. $16.95.)

What Yogi Berra once explained about baseball– "90% of the game is half-mental"– has come to be applied to the study of southern history. Literary and cultural expression has given many scholars clues that disclose the past and destiny of the region, and no literary critic has illumined the mind of the South more frequently or more tenderly than Louis D. Rubin, Jr., who currently teaches at Chapel Hill. His latest collection of essays offers further testimony to his conviction that the distinctiveness of the region can be most radiantly explored through its fiction.

Unlike most of his earlier books, *A Gallery of Southerners* includes only southern writers of the twentieth century. Three of the essays are splendid; four are competent; and the remaining three are of very marginal value. All but two are reprinted.

Two of the strongest chapters shed light on the Great Depression. Both *Gone with the Wind* and *Absalom, Absalom!* were published in 1936, and Rubin's "Scarlett O'Hara and the Two Quentin Compsons" offers a shrewd comparison between Margaret Mitchell's spitfire heroine and Faulkner's ungentlemanly Thomas Sutpen. But Rubin also notes the differences between the two books, especially Faulkner's mordant attitude toward history itself. Equally compelling is Rubin's essay, "Trouble on the Land," which shows that during the 1930s when southern writing was at its perihelion, social consciousness and political protest did not sear the region's novelists. Praise should also be bestowed upon "Carson McCullers: The Aesthetic of Pain" for Rubin's elucidation of an art "constructed . . . out of the South, but not out of its history, its common myths, its public values and the failure to cherish them. What is southern in her books are the rhythms, the sense of brooding loneliness in a place saturated with time" (p. 150).

This critical effort to catch the southern accent in the voices of authors also informs lesser essays in this collection: a study of Faulkner's self-discovery as an artist, the emplacement of Thomas Wolfe as a product of the Piedmont, and an explication of a Flannery O'Connor short story as an echo of middle Georgia humor rather than as the rumination of a Pascal of the plain folk. Of special interest to historians is Rubin's assessment of Shelby Foote's three-volume history of the Civil War, a chapter which typifies the critic's strengths and limitations. For Rubin is informative on writers whose work may be somewhat neglected, even as he seems out of his depth when confronted with writers whose complexities ignite the theoretical pyrotechnics of more sophisticated critics. The essay on Foote displays an interest– but not an overemphasis– on biographical details that can help make sense of an oeuvre. The prose is crisp and modulated rather than forceful or dazzling. Even as Rubin candidly acknowledges his acquaintance with several of the authors discussed in this volume, he disconcertingly refers to the author of the Civil War trilogy as "Shelby." The spirit is almost unfailingly generous, tending toward the oleaginous. After comparing Foote to Tacitus, Gibbon, and Churchill, Rubin considers the Civil War opus "worthy to stand alongside the great works of narrative history. It seems unlikely to me that it will ever be superceded" (p. 196).

Conviviality is a virtue in a companion, but a critic who only writes about subjects he can admire risks the atrophy of necessary powers of discrimination.

This complacency of tone lacks compensatory charms in the weakest essays in the book– on Allen Tate, on Eudora Welty, and on Rubin himself (a memoir of his own relationship to a changing South). Graciously and genially, Rubin has taken his stand in a Dixie Land in whose distinctive future he has confidence and whose historical faults leave him largely indifferent. Even in the chapter on "Shelby Foote's Civil War," for example, the author gives very little attention to the tragic dimension of the Confederate struggle, which meant so bloody a war in so dubious a cause. Rubin's historical curiosity is nevertheless rare enough among literary critics to be praiseworthy, even if it may keep him from being *au courant*. Apart from Walker Percy (b. 1916), the younger southern writers warming up in the bullpen are unmentioned. But in books like this, the mind of the South is properly engaged in understanding itself.

Brandeis University STEPHEN J. WHITFIELD

Shadows of the Indian. By Raymond William Stedman. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982. xix, 281 pp. Foreword, preface, author's note, acknowledgments, illustrations, appendix, bibliography, credits and permissions, general index, title index. $24.95.)

Shadows of the Indian is yet another entry in the growing body of anti-stereotyping literature, and follows a well-worn trail initially blared by Indian writers such as Rupert Costo, Jeannette Henry, and their colleagues at the Indian Historian Press. Like so much of this genre, *Shadows* serves a valuable function in alerting us to the potential for stereotyping which exists in virtually every aspect of popular culture. It is less convincing when imputing deeper political and psychological motivations which underly the Indian images emerging in film and literature over the last century.

The author's motivation for writing *Shadows* is highly personal. As a child he discerned a discrepancy between the Indians

he saw on the screen or read about in books, and the real-life Indian children with whom he played and the lives led by their families. As an adult he came to realize that the Indians depicted in movies and books had never existed anywhere except in the imagination. They were merely shadows of Indians. Moreover, "the illusory Indians were so authentic to most Americans that no alternate images were acceptable." Why? To find the answer meant exploring the origins of prevailing images of Indians in America. Eschewing a one-dimensional focus such as "Indians of the Movies," the study was extended to multiple areas of literature and popular culture to isolate the themes-and also underscore the pervasiveness of the stereotyping.

Shadows inadvertently proves the author's point that even the best intentioned writers can perpetuate subtle stereotypes. In a chapter entitled "La Belle Sauvage," we are offered the insight that "Semantics aside, many of the famous Indian princesses of fact and fiction were indeed the daughters of chieftains. Often, however, the designation was one of convention, like that of a Kentucky colonel." Is nothing sacred? The chapter on "Indian Talk" reveals that "Comfort with a style of speech never used by an Indian in real life should not be mistaken for authenticity—not even by Indian performers who sometimes fall into artificial patterns of speech in the same way that they put on Sioux headdresses because that is the way 'everyone' assumes Indians dress." Are we to imply that Indians will do anything for a buck (no pun intended)? Even more unsettling is the observation that "For some reason only Osceola, who may or may not have had white forbears, came off consistently well in movies. Perhaps that was because he was not a western Indian." Now, really! Could it not have been recognition of the nobility of his cause rather than his being "Eastern Establishment?"

This is a beautifully produced volume, well researched and documented, but somewhat flawed in presentation. It is burdened with an erratic style that is disconcerting, switching back and forth as it does between glib plot descriptions and serious exploration of themes. Admittedly this is a personal pique, but it may annoy some readers. A more serious shortcoming, given the disconnectedness of the chapters, is lack of a strong summary statement.

In his foreword Indian lawyer/scholar Rennard Strickland

holds that *Shadows* makes two major points: "Most of the images of Indians are primarily inventions of non-Indians. This may be viewed as an attempt to define the Indian, and albeit indirectly, influence National Indian Policy." Furthermore, it shows that "understanding the popular image of the Indian at any time in history tells us a good deal about American culture during that period." I generally agree that Stedman makes several important points in *Shadows;* it is unfortunate that his thesis is often obscured by his prose.

Florida Atlantic University HARRY A. KERSEY, JR.

Tribalism in Crisis: Federal Indian Policy, 1953-1961. By Larry W. Burt. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982. x, 180 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. $17.50.)

Federal Indian policy never has been particularly coherent. During the 1950s it became almost incomprehensible. Westerners who were interested in opening Indian trust lands to the private sector sought assistance from the Eisenhower administration, which committed itself to the termination of special status for Native Americans. For a brief time it became official policy to encourage Indians to adopt the majority culture by bringing down the apparatus which other generations had erected to shield them. A major effort was mounted to dismantle the reservation system, remove Indians from federal protection, and convert reservation land to private ownership. The results were chaotic and disruptive in some cases. Opposition from Indians and non-Indians alike grew quickly and effectively. The objectives of the administration and its western allies were never fully achieved.

The farthest-reaching consequences of this period derived not from the few material rearrangements of land and services, but from the fundamental changes that were worked in the political and governmental structures of numerous tribes. In order to prepare the various tribes for "termination," the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) under Commissioner Glenn Emmons moved to establish on reservations bodies of government that conformed closely to the type of representative democracy practiced by the non-Indian populace. Clan affiliation, age, gender, possession of a

medicine bundle, and other traditional determinants of leadership had no place in the reservation tribal councils created by the BIA. Consequently, "progressive" Indians (i.e. those who were Christian, English-speaking, property-owning or wage-earning) found their positions strengthened out of proportion to their numbers and at the expense of the traditionalists. It was this assault on tribalism, on institutions evolved naturally out of Native American culture, that left an enduring legacy.

Larry Burt has written an excellent account of the political maneuvering that surrounded the changes in Indian policy in the 1950s. In a chronologically-arranged narrative, he guides the reader through the philosophical and pragmatic foundations of termination rationale, the selection of a commissioner to implement the policy, and finally the adjustments made necessary by mounting criticism and resistance. If the account focuses primarily on a few western states and personalities, that is understandable; termination grew out of western interests and captured western attention to a degree not shared by the rest of the nation. Regrettably for readers of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, however, scant attention is given to Florida's Indians, whose current tribal organizations were born out of the events of that turbulent period.

Tribalism in Crisis is a thoughtful, balanced account of what must have been the most difficult period for Native Americans since the conclusion of the Indian wars, but it is not about Indians. State, regional, and national politics are the dominant themes. The voices are those of elected officials and bureaucrats, of spokesmen for the Indians and spokesmen for private enterprise. Nonetheless, the reader emerges from this detailed treatment of non-Indian activity with greatly enhanced understanding of one important impetus for the significant changes wrought in Native American society in the post-war period. This is a solid piece of work, of value to all who are interested in the recent history of the American Indian.

University of Nevada, Reno R. T. KING

Ordinary People and Everyday Life. Edited by James B. Gardner and George Rollie Adams. (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1983. viii, 215 pp. Preface, photographs, notes, suggestions for additional reading, contributors, index. $17.95.)

Ordinary People and Everyday Life, a terrible but apt title, is an extraordinarily good book. It originated out of a series of conferences the American Association for State and Local History sponsored in 1980 and 1981 to inform museum and historical agency professionals about the new social history and how they might better understand it and use it for their exhibits. University scholars, and some others knowledgeable about the new social history, talked at these AASLH gatherings, and editors James B. Gardner and George Rollie Adams encouraged several of them to write up their lectures for this volume. Whether intended for a broader audience at first, I do not know. But what has come out in this volume will serve the purposes of a wide variety of teachers, scholars, and agency professionals.

The collection consists of nine essays on various facets of the new social history. In the first, Peter Stearns explains what the new social history is and how it differs from the old: it covers ordinary people and everyday life– hence the book's title. It deals with women, children, minorities, working class people, and often, local or community history. It examines people's sexual behavior, child rearing practices, family roles, health and medical practices, etc. The new social historians have brought vitality to their work, and the resultant insights have given us new perspectives on many aspects of the American past. Stearns's brief presentation (less than twenty pages of text) is the best introduction to the new social history that I have seen.

All of the other essays in the book are also quite brief and of uniformly high quality. Howard Rabinowitz explains how the new social history helps us understand topics like immigrant and minority migration patterns, community formation, and family structure. Elizabeth Pleck indicates how gender, biology, and work define women's history to a much greater extent than do biographies of great women like Catherine Beecher and Jane Addams. David Brody, in one of the book's really outstanding pieces, starts out with his own personal odyssey of how he became interested in labor history, then differentiates the old type

of labor chronicles with their emphasis on unions, hierarchies, and structure, and finally blends in the new, showing the connections among working class, family, and ethnic history. Sam Hays points out how the new social history grew out of political history, quantification, and voting behavior analysis. Barbara and Cary Carson are quite imaginative in their explanations of how everyday utensils and artifacts can be used to explore little-thought-about aspects of the past. Most of the essays include some historiographical analyses, but they are unobtrusive, blend well with the narrative, and are not of such a nature as to turn off those less well versed in any of the areas.

The editors, in particular, are to be commended. They obtained first-rate scholars to write about what they know and then, in a uniform format, had them add source notes and brief annotated bibliographies (long enough to help someone pursue the subject further but not too long as to make it impossible to read or make appropriate choices). Furthermore, the essays themselves are so well written that I must assume Gardner and Adams had a hand in making them so.

This collection should be in every library. Collectively they provide, as the Carsons note, "a general re-education in historical thinking" (p. 201). Graduate students can get an introduction to each of the topics, high school teachers and college instructors can use the essays to inform their classroom performances, and scholars can benefit from the insights of colleagues in areas where they have less familiarity. Finally, museum and historical agency professionals can use some of these materials when preparing new exhibits. The Carsons show, for example, how the simple utensils and artifacts of the common folk, like spoons, trays, chairs, and tables, can help stimulate viewers' imaginations and elucidate whole areas of the past that most people have never learned or thought about.

Gardner and Adams should be proud of their accomplishment. By originally organizing the conferences, selecting the participants, and now preparing this volume they have been of great service to several different audiences. The high quality of the essays will help thousands of intermediaries like teachers and agency professionals help explain what the new social history is to students and the public in general. Bravo, for a job well done.

University of Arizona LEONARD DINNERSTEIN

BOOK NOTES

I Declare! is by Malcolm B. Johnson, retired editor of the *Tallahassee Democrat* and one of the best-known journalists in Florida and the South. He began his newspaper career in 1935 in Jacksonville, his hometown, and served for fourteen years in the Tallahassee Bureau of the Associated Press. "I Declare!" was the name of the front-page column which appeared in the *Democrat* for many years. It was Mr. Johnson's personal observations, culled, he notes, "from a privileged ringside seat at the political, social, civic, economic, and demographic events of Florida during the middle half of the 20th century." The *Democrat* gave Johnson the freedom to write about almost anything he wanted, and he did. All of the major politicians, and many minor ones, were either roasted or praised (some were both, if there was the need), and events which affected the citizens of Florida were described and evaluated. Of the nearly 4,000 columns which Johnson wrote, 166 are published in his book. Political anecdotes, information about plant and animal life, recipes, and much Florida history and folklore are included. The KKK, education, the legislature, newspapers, religion, reapportionment, politics, integration, bigotry, nature, and people of every race, color, religious creed, political persuasion, and temperament are subjects of Johnson's writings. He has a keen eye for the events around him and a talent for describing those events. Most of the proceeds from Johnson's book will go to Funders, Inc., which finances summer camp for needy young people. Order the book from *I Declare!*, Box 990, Tallahassee, FL 32302; the price is $13.65.

Let Us Alone, by William R. Ervin, is a one-volume, easy-to-read history of Florida. It covers the period from the discovery of Florida and the settlement of St. Augustine through the Second Seminole War. Most of the emphasis is on people rather than political events and military engagements. Erwin, who has been active in Florida historical and military organizations, has included information about early Florida Indians and settlers. Arts and crafts, religion, housing, food, work patterns for free

people, indentured servants, and slaves, and family activities are among the subjects covered. Ervin does not ignore political events– both domestic and international– which have affected Florida history. Indian-white conflict is discussed, and a number of official documents– treaties, proclamations, ordinances, and congressional resolutions– are reproduced. Illustrations are by Stephanie Kaye Ervin. The volume includes maps and a bibliography. Order from the author, 739 Indian Hill Drive, Port Orange, FL 32019. The price is $12.95, plus $1.55 for handling charges.

Fenton Garnett Davis Avant's book, *My Tallahassee*, was not completed when she died in 1980 at the age of ninety-two. Editing her manuscript became the responsibility of her son, David A, Avant, Jr., and he has done an admirable job. Mrs. Avant, better known as "Sister" Fenton, was born in Tallahassee in 1889. At that time Tallahassee had a population of less than 3,000. *My Tallahassee* is filled with the stories of Tallahassee's physical growth, but it also describes the people of Tallahassee, how they lived and worked and played. Mrs. Avant knew all of the socially and politically important people, but she was also friends of those who ran the stores, former slaves, family servants, county characters, and children. All of these are described, as well as members of her family. Mrs. Avant's book is a treasure-trove of social history. Her fourth grade teacher was Caroline Brevard, granddaughter of Governor Richard Keith Call, and she discusses her and her other teachers. Where people lived, how streets were named, and the games that children played are some of the topics she writes about. Described is the excitement of circus-time in Tallahassee and "gossip" about schools and churches. Henrietta's ginger cake recipe is also part of the book. Mrs. Avant was a talented artist and received her master's degree in Greek from the Florida State College for Women. *My Tallahassee* includes an introduction by William Warren Rogers of Florida State University and many early photographs, some of which are being published for the first time. Order from L'Avant Studios, Box 1711, 207 West Park Avenue, Tallahassee, FL 32302. The price is $16.95 and $1.50 for postage.

Although Cape Coral is a "new" Florida community, es-

tablished in the late 1950s, its roots go back to the Calusa Indians and the arrival of the Spanish on the lower Gulf coast in the sixteenth century. Betsy Zeiss has provided, in a collection of sketches, the social history of the area. *The Other Side of the River: Historical Cape Coral,* describes the activities of early pioneers like John Powell and his wife and daughters who arrived first in Key West in the 1860s, and then moved to Marco Island, to Fort Myers, and finally to New Prospect, the community which they founded on the shores of the Caloosahatchee River. Information on the Powell family came from interviews with Stella Powell Sadler. In fact, interviewing provided a major source of material for Mrs. Zeiss. It produced human interest items that would not otherwise have been available from printed records. Timbering, fishing, boating, land speculation and development, education, and the cattle industry are some of the subjects covered. There are also pictures and an index. *The Other Side of the River* sells for $8.95 and may be ordered from the author, 107 S.W. 51 Terrace, Cape Coral, FL 33904.

The Photographs of Alvan S. Harper, Tallahassee, 1885-1910 was edited by Joan P. Morris, curator of the Florida Photographic Collection of the Florida State Archives, and Lee H. Warner, director of the Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee. Mrs. Morris has written an introduction which provides information on Harper who resided in Tallahassee in 1884 and who operated a studio on South Monroe Street. Warner's essay, "Alvan Harper's Tallahassee," describes contemporary life in the city. Harper mainly took pictures in his studio, but he also went out into the town and surrounding countryside, and his photographs provide a rich panorama of what life was like for blacks and whites, rich and poor, children and adults, government officials and ordinary citizens. The Harper Collection consists of several hundred photographs of which this book reproduces a small but excellent selection. The book design is by Jak Dempsey. *The Photographs of Alvan S. Harper* is a Florida State University Press book, published by the University Presses of Florida; the price is $30.00.

The Sun and the Shade, Florida Photography, 1885-1983, is the

catalog for an historical exhibition prepared by the Norton Gallery of Art, West Palm Beach. Included are representative works by Leonard Dakin, William Henry Jackson, Ralph Middleton Munroe, Alvan S. Harper, Max Mark, the Burgert Brothers, Gleason Waite Romer, Marion Post Wolcott, Walker Evans, Joseph Janney Steinmetz, Jerry N. Uelsmann, Gordon Richard Bruno, and Lennie Lyons-Bruno. Many of the pictures from the exhibit (several are in color) are reproduced in the catalog, together with a brief text on the lives and careers of the photographers. The exhibition has been shown in Jacksonville at the Cummer Gallery of Art. It will be at the Pensacola Museum of Art, July 1-August 1, 1984, and the Gallery of Fine Arts, Daytona Beach Community College, September 10-October 12, 1984. Order *The Sun and the Shade* from Norton Gallery & School of Art, 1451 South Olive Avenue, West Palm Beach, FL 33401. The price is $9.95, plus $1.00 for handling charges.

The Bartram School of Jacksonville is one of the best-known private preparatory schools for women in Florida. Founded in 1934, Bartram is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary. The publication of the history of the institution is one of the special events planned for the occasion. Lula F. Miller, assistant director of Bartram from the time it opened, is the editor of *Perspectives, Fifty Years of Bartram School, 1934-1984.* Questionnaires were sent out to teachers, administrators, and former students, and their memoirs provided Mrs. Miller and her history committee the information it needed to compile *Perspectives.* Olga Pratt was the first director, and Glynlea, a rented house, was the first school. There were twenty-four girls, ages eleven to fifteen, in the initial class. Six women graduated three years later, and when all were accepted to prestigious colleges and universities, the founders felt that their hard work had begun paying off. *Perspectives* costs $12.50, and may be ordered from the Bartram School, 2264 Bartram Road, Jacksonville, FL.

Music of Florida Historic Sites: A Research Project by the School of Music of the Florida State University, by Deane L. Root, developed out of conversations that Professor Robert L. Smith of Florida State University had with James Stevenson, chief of Interpretive Services, Division of Recreation and Parks, Florida

Department of Natural Resources. The purpose was to "investigate and describe the varied musical activities that form part of the cultural life of the inhabitants of Florida." Two historic sites were selected for research-Fort Clinch on Amelia Island (Nassau County), and the Kingsley Plantation on Fort George Island (Duval County). Documents were examined to extract information, however detailed, of any kind of music– singing, playing, dancing– relating to Fort Clinch and Kingsley, and people associated with these sites and the surrounding area. Sources included letters and diaries, government reports and documents, newspapers, and courthouse records. It was found that there was music aplenty on the Florida frontier. Pianos, violins, and other musical instruments were brought in, and people played to entertain themselves and others. The blacks had their own special music, including spirituals and work songs, and on the plantations they were often invited to sing and perform for white visitors. Bishop Henry Benjamin Whipple, on his visit to the South in the winter of 1843-1844, described street singing in St. Augustine, slave singing on a plantation near Reids Bluff, Florida, and piano playing aboard the lumber freighter, *Tecumseh,* out of the St. Marys River. Fiddle playing and fife and drum music were reported by many Florida visitors, and there was at least one dancing teacher, Mr. Tarteen, in Florida. The Spanish dance and the waltz were very popular. Troops stationed in Florida during the Second Seminole War were sometimes entertained with parties and dances. During the Civil War, Confederate and Federal military units had glee clubs, and regimental bands, and there were public performances which included concerts, minstrel shows, and military balls. Some of the popular southern songs played and sung were "Faded Flowers," "Who Will Care for Mother Now," "Annie Laurie," "Lorena," and "Oh I'm a Good Old Rebel." This music research report includes a bibliography. Copies are available to Florida libraries and official institutions; individuals may purchase copies for $6.00. For information write Dr. Smith, School of Music, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL 32306.

The Lamplighters: Black Farm and Home Demonstration Agents in Florida, 1915-1965, by Barbara R. Cotton, was published by the United States Department of Agriculture in cooperation

with Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University. Operating out of Tallahassee, and working cooperatively with FAMU for fifty years, black farm and home demonstration agents provided practical assistance for the enhancement of living conditions of rural black Floridians. As early as 1899 Farmers Institutes were held throughout Florida, and after the Florida Experiment Station was established on the campus of the Florida Agricultural College in Lake City, even more information became available for Florida farmers, black and white. The State Normal College for Colored Students (later Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University) was founded in 1887 in Tallahassee by an act of the Florida legislature. In 1902, it began sponsoring Farmers Institutes for black farmers. When the Florida Cooperative Extensive Service was established at the University of Florida in 1915 under authority of the Smith-Lever Act, one of its six projects was devoted to work among blacks. Farm makers and homemakers clubs were established in Gadsden, Jefferson, and Jackson counties "for the purpose of teaching practical agriculture and home economics to Negro boys and girls." In 1917 clubs were established in Washington, Alachua, Marion, and Leon counties. A. A. Turner, who had worked at Tuskeegee Institute with Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver, was appointed special agent in charge of the clubs for black youths. A home demonstration program was added in 1917. The varied activities and responsibilities of the black farm and home demonstration agents and the activities of the 4-H clubs are areas described by Dr. Cotton in her study. It is based on manuscripts, reports, interviews, and published data. The volume includes graphs, pictures, and a bibliography. There is also an introduction by Wayne Rasmussen, chief, Agricultural History Branch, United States Department of Agriculture. Order copies from Professor Cotton, FAMU, Tallahassee, FL 32307.

A Guide to Genealogical Resources in Escambia County was published by the Pensacola Historical Society. Its editor is Dicy V. Bowman. It includes articles describing and listing holdings in various libraries and depositories in Escambia County which are pertinent to genealogical and historical research. These include "Pensacola Historical Museum," by Sandra Johnson; "West Florida Regional Library," by Dolly Pollard; "John C.

Pace Library, University of West Florida," by Dean DeBolt; "Genealogical Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints," by Sid Thomas; "Escambia County Court House," by Leora Sutton; and "Vital Records," by Dicy V. Bowman. There is also a list of Escambia County cemeteries, churches, and synagogues. Information on how, when, and under what conditions libraries and collections can be used is furnished. Order from the Pensacola Historical Society, 405 South Adams Street, Pensacola, FL 32501; the price is $2.85.

Florida Statistical Abstract is a publication of the Bureau of Economic and Business Research, College of Business Administration, University of Florida. Frances W. Terhune was editor of the seventeenth (1983) edition. It provides comprehensive economic and demographic information about Florida. The volume is divided into five sections: human resources, physical resources and industries, services, public resources and administration, and economic and social trends. Population, housing, vital statistics and health, income and wealth, agriculture, construction, transportation, power and energy, trade, tourism and recreation, health, education, and cultural services, courts and law enforcement, and the quality of life are some of the topics about which statistical information and data is furnished. There are maps, a guide to sources, an index to census tables appearing in previous abstracts, and an index to the 1983 edition. The *Abstract* was published by the University Presses of Florida, Gainesville, and the paper edition sells for $17.00.

When Ulysses S. Grant arrived in Florida in January of 1880, he was preparing to offer himself to the country as a third-term candidate for president. Frank H. Taylor was a member of the Grant entourage, and he accompanied the former president on a trip lasting approximately three months to Florida, Cuba, and Mexico. Taylor's responsibility was to sketch newsworthy aspects of the journey. His sketches and accompanying notes became the basis for wood engravings and texts published in *Harper's Weekly*, the best-known illustrated magazine of its time. Because of a series of fortuitous events this collection of nineteenth-century brush drawings and watercolors was acquired by the University of Florida's Gallery. In January 1984 the pictures were exhibited

for the first time at the University of Florida. The University of Florida Press published a catalog. "A Stately Picturesque Dream" for the exhibition. It reproduces the pictures, including many Florida scenes. There is an interpretative essay by Nancy L. Gustke and a brief forword by Samuel Proctor. The catalog is available from the University Presses of Florida, 15 N.W. 15th Street, Gainesville, FL 32603; the price is $7.50.

The World's First Airline, The St. Petersburg-Tampa Airboat Line by Gay Blair White, was reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly,* July 1982, pp. 111-12. A second edition was published by the Aero Medical Consultants, Inc., for the Florida Aviation Historical Society and the Pinellas County Museum at Heritage Park. It was edited by Warren J. Brown. The new edition provides additional material and pictures. The price is $5.00, plus $1.00 for postage and handling. Order from Aero Medical Consultants, 10912 Hamlin Boulevard West, Largo, FL 33544.

Ulrich B. Phillips received the Justin Winsor Prize from the American Historical Association when he published *Georgia and State Rights* in 1902. The volume was the result of both his master's thesis from the University of Georgia and his Ph.D. dissertation from Columbia University. Phillip's writings were distinctive from other southern historians of his time. Much influenced by Frederick Jackson Turner, he wrote about the antebellum South without too much emphasis on the Civil War. He emphasized class structure, sectional politics, and economic conflict. Long out of print, a new edition of *Georgia and State Rights,* with an introduction by John Herbert Roper, has been published by Mercer University Press, Macon, Georgia. It sells for $14.95.

Letters From Alabama, (U.S.), Chiefly Relating to Natural History is the journal of Philip Henry Gosse, a young Englishman who in 1838 was in Alabama. He recorded his observations and experiences and his reactions to the people that he met, and he prepared a series of "letters" which were published in 1855 in a periodical. Four years later they were collected into a book. Gosse had a good eye for detail, and he was interested both in people and in nature. His letters provide us with important in-

formation about both. The book has been out of print for many years, but through the efforts of Virginia Van der Veer Hamilton, University of Alabama in Birmingham, a new volume is available. It has been annotated by Daniel D. Jones and Ken R. Marion, both professors in the Department of Biology, University of Alabama in Birmingham. Overbook House, Box 7688, Mountainbrook, AL 35253, is the publisher, and the volume sells for $12.95 paper.

Two new volumes that will be of value to genealogists and historians are by Lillian Kranitz-Sanders. The first is *A Handbook on Tape Recording Grass Roots America, Guidelines for Family and Community History*. The second is *A Handbook on Tape Recording Jewish Roots, Guidelines for Family and Community History*. Mrs. Kranitz-Sanders became interested in oral history as a result of her search for her own roots. By interviewing members of her family, she secured information that was otherwise unavailable. In her manuals, she discusses the preparation of research questionnaires, mechanics of interviewing, techniques of interviewing, processing of tapes, organizing oral history projects, and training interviewers. Included in the bibliographies are books relating to immigration and ethnic groups. Both manuals are available from Turning Point Press, Box 33113, Kansas City, Missouri.

HISTORY NEWS

The Annual Meeting

The Florida Historical Society will hold its annual meeting in Fort Myers on May 4-5, 1984. The Holiday Inn/Holidome-Riverfront, 2066 West First Street, is the convention hotel. Linda Ellsworth and her program committee– Marcia Kanner, Wright Langley, Kyle VanLandingham, and Dr. J. Leitch Wright– have organized three sessions. The first, "Aviation in Florida," will have Kendrick T. Ford as chairman. Presenting papers are Warren J. Brown of the Florida Aviation Historical Society and Dr. George Pearce, University of West Florida. The second session will be a "Historical Introduction to Southwest Florida," and the speakers are Janet Snyder Matthews of Sarasota and Robert Halgrim of the Edison Winter Home and Estate. Ernest Hall will be the chairman for the session. Session III on Saturday morning will have three speakers presenting papers on the theme "Naturalists View Florida." Randy Nimnicht is the chairman, and the speakers are Dr. Robert R. Rea, Auburn University; Kathryn Hall Proby, Key West; and Dr. Charlotte M. Porter, Florida State Museum.

Gerald George, director of the American Association for State and Local History, will speak on "Parochialism: A Defense" at the banquet on Friday evening. The History Fair awards and the three literary prizes given by the Society will be announced at the banquet. Patricia Wickman will present also the first annual Florida Historical Confederation Award at that time. President Olive Peterson will preside.

Members will have a choice of three tours on Saturday afternoon: the Edison Winter Home, Fort Myers Historical Museum, and a Fort Myers guided walking tour. The Society's board of directors will hold its business meeting on Thursday evening at 7:30 p.m. at the convention hotel. The annual meeting of the membership is scheduled for 9:00 a.m. on Saturday, May 5. The exhibits submitted for Florida History Fair awards will be on exhibit throughout the convention along with book exhibits. The Fort Myers Historical Museum and the Southwest Florida Historical Society are the host organizations.

Florida Historical Confederation

The Confederation will be holding its annual meeting in conjunction with the Florida Historical Society's convention on May 3, 1984. Activities will also be in the Holiday Inn/Holidome-Riverfront. "Communicating our Needs" has been selected as the conference theme, and four sessions are planned. The first, a panel entitled "Agency Overlap: Your Turf or Mine?" will be moderated by Patricia R. Wickman, Museum of Florida History. Discussants are Daniel T. Hobby, Fort Lauderdale Historical Society; Marcy-Jean Mattson, St. Augustine Historical Society; and L. Ross Morrell, Florida Division of Archives, History and Records Management. Session II, "Big Museum, Small Museum– What do They Have in Common?" will be moderated by Linda K. Williams, Historical Association of Southern Florida. Robert C. Cottrell, Crowley Museum and Natures Center, and Lane Green, Tallahassee Junior Museum, will make presentations. The third session discusses "Insuring Your Museum: Knowing Your Agent," and will involve M. S. (Rusty) Keeney of the William D. Eisele Company, and Patricia Bartlett, Fort Myers Historical Museum. The fourth session, "Assessing Archival Needs for Florida Institutions," will include Edward Tribble, State Archivist, and Samuel J. Boldrick, Miami-Dade Public Library.

The Confederation will convene its business meeting at the luncheon on Thursday, May 3, 1984. The announcement of the first annual award will be made, the award to be presented at the Society banquet on Friday evening. Patricia Wickman, chair of the Confederation's Executive Committee, will preside at the meeting.

Society of Florida Archivists

The Society, which was organized in May 1983, will be holding its annual meeting again this year in conjunction with the Florida Historical Society and the Confederation. The meeting and a workshop on Basic Archives Management will take place on May 2 and 3, 1984, at the Holiday Inn, Fort Myers. The workshop is free to members of the Society. The cost is $10.00 to non-members if they pre-register, and $15.00 at the door. The fee will provide a one-year membership in the Society. For information and to register, write to S.F.A., Florida State Archives, Division of

Archives, History and Records Management, Department of State, Tallahassee, Florida 32301.

Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference

The tenth Gulf Coast conference will be held at the Seville Inn and Pensacola Museum of Art, April 19-21, 1984. The theme is "Threads of Tradition and Culture Along the Gulf Coast." Dr. William S. Coker, University of West Florida, is general chairman. Two award-winning plays will be presented. *The Cypress Baby* by John Sweet will be performed on Thursday, April 19, at the Seville Inn. *The Chess Game,* by James Finneran, will be performed the following evening at the Pensacola Museum of Art. All other sessions will be at the Museum. Registration is being handled by Dr. Grace Ernest, Department of History, Pensacola Junior College, 1000 College Boulevard, Pensacola, Florida 32504. Registration is $15.00 and includes a copy of the published proceedings.

Military History Conference

The tenth annual conference of the Council on America's Military Past will be held April 25-28, 1984, at Jacksonville Beach. The Sheraton Jacksonville Beach Resort is the conference hotel. Congressman Charles E. Bennett will be the banquet speaker, and Dr. John K. Mahon, University of Florida and former president of the Florida Historical Society, will speak at the dinner being held jointly with the American Military Institute. Dr. Mahon's topic is "How the Participants of the Florida Indian Wars Viewed Each Other." Several of the programs relate to Florida and the Southeast. There are trips scheduled for St. Augustine and Fernandina Beach. For information, write Camp Conference, Box 171, Arlington, Virginia 22210.

Preservation Day

Florida's second annual Preservation Day is scheduled for Wednesday, May 16, 1984. National Preservation Week is May 13-19. The national theme for 1984 is "Preservation is Taking Care of America." The purpose of Preservation Week is to make the general public and members of the legislature aware of the major contributions that historic buildings and districts make to

the prosperity of America's communities. Tallahassee's events will begin with a briefing session on important 1984 legislation. The main event will be a luncheon on the plaza between the Old and New Capitols with members of the legislature as special guests. This will be followed by a wrap-up session. For information contact the Florida Trust office at (904) 224-8128 or the Bureau of Historic Preservation (904) 487-2333.

Tampa Bay History Essay Contest

Walter Howard, a graduate student at Florida State University, is the 1983 first prize winner in the University of South Florida's *Tampa Bay History* magazine essay contest. His essay, "A Blot on Tampa's History: The Lynching of Robert Johnson," will be published in *Tampa Bay History*. Dr. Darryl Paulson, Department of History, University of South Florida, St. Petersburg campus, and Milly St. Julien, an undergraduate at the University of South Florida, were second prize winners. Entries for the third annual contest should be submitted by September 1, 1984, to Dr. Robert P. Ingalls, editor of *Tampa Bay History*. The essays should be based on previously unpublished historical research of a subject concerning the fifteen-county area surrounding Tampa. The editor's address is the University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida 33620. The first prize winner will receive $100; the second prize is $50.00.

Historical Museum

The new Historical Museum of Southern Florida, located in the Metro-Dade Cultural Center, was opened on April 13. It is the largest private regional history museum in the Southeast. Its permanent exhibits present the history of south Florida and are entitled "Tropical Dreams: A People History of South Florida." All exhibits are bilingual, multi-imaged, and utilize live demonstrations and participatory games. The Museum will exhibit its rare John James Audubon prints. There is also a research center with over 7,000 artifacts and nearly 100,000 photographs. The Museum is open Monday through Friday from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m.; on Thursday the hours are 1 p.m. to 9 p.m., and on Saturday and Sunday, 12 to 6 p.m. There is a small admission charge.

Timucua

The Florida Gulf Coast Archaeological Project announces the publication of a new Florida monograph series titled *Timucua.* It will appear twice a year, in the months of January and July, commencing with the first issue in January 1985. Each number will contain approximately 200 pages. The purpose of the journal is to serve as a central clearinghouse for data-based technical material which relate to the Timucua Indians. Manuscripts– articles or monographs– in the fields of archeology, ethnography, ethnology, ethnohistory, history, linguistics, and physical anthropology are solicited by the editor, Dr. Julian Granberry. Subscriptions to the journal are $25.00 a year and must be pre-paid. Inquiries on manuscripts or subscriptions should be addressed to the editor: Box 85, Horseshoe Beach, Florida 32648.

Announcements and Activities

The Department of History, University of Florida, is sponsoring a three-day institute on "Migration to the Sunbelt," April 26-28, 1984. The focus will be on the impact of migration since World War II on ethnicity in Florida and other Sunbelt states. The purpose is to direct scholarly attention to this aspect of Sunbelt growth. The papers will assess matters relating to institutional identity changes among ethnic groups– particularly Italian, Jewish, Canadian, Hispanic, and Asian– which have been involved in this migration. The sessions are open to the public and will be structured in an informal round-table format. Dr. George E. Pozzetta is Institute director, and one should write for information to him, Department of History, 4131 GPA, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida 32611.

The Florida Armchair Researcher, edited by Brian E. Michaels, has issued its first number. The inaugural publication includes articles by Edward J. Tribble, Florida State Archives; Eileen B; Willis, Orlando Public Library; Beverly P. Byrd, State Library of Florida; Elizabeth McCall, Florida State Genealogical Society; and La Viece Smallwood, Jacksonville *Times-Union and Journal.* It also includes a 1845 list of Leon County voters, a listing of Hillsborough County Confederate pension claims, and historical data on Florida soldiers who participated in the Second Seminole

War and the Civil War. Subsequent issues will include information on cemetery, church, Bible and will records, guardianships, estates and other probate records, births, marriages, census and tax records, court minutes, and other data. A subscription to the *Florida Armchair Researcher* is $15.00 for one year, or $27.50 for two years. Mr. Michaels, the editor, is also editor of the Putnam County Genealogical Society's quarterly journal. Subscriptions should be mailed to Armchair Publications, Route 2, Box 895, Hampton, Georgia 30228.

The Florida Trust for Historic Preservation has established a speakers bureau which will offer interested organizations two basic programs. The first is a slide-tape presentation that gives a brief overview of preservation activity in Florida. The second is a video cassette of Mrs. Evelyn Bartlett discussing her life and the Bonnet House, which she has donated to the Trust. For information, write Tavia McCuean, Box 11206, Tallahassee, Florida 32306.

The restoration of the Union Bank in Tallahassee is nearing completion. The 1841 building is historically and architecturally significant. It is one of Tallahassee's oldest structures and is its only known example of Territorial period commercial architecture. The Union Bank was moved from its original location on Adams Street to its present site near the Old Capitol. It will serve as a visitors hospitality center.

The Florida Gulf Coast Archaeological Project announces a Florida Archaeological Field School at the Fishbone Creek Site in Dixie County, Florida. There will be four sessions: June 4-16, June 18-30, July 9-21, and July 23-August 4, 1984. The site is a prehistoric Indian village and burial site located five miles north of the mouth of the Suwannee River. For information on costs, staff, programing, accommodations, and educational credits, contact Dr. Julian Granberry, director, Box 85, Horseshoe Beach, Florida 32648.

The West Florida Genealogical Society was organized in 1982 and has 325 members. It sponsors monthly meetings, workshops, a monthly "Genealogy of America" series, and publishes a news-

letter. The Society is compiling a list of all markers and cemeteries in Escambia and Santa Rosa counties. It is also indexing the 1870 Escambia County census. Dues are $8.00 per year. For information, write the Society, Box 947, Pensacola, Florida 32594.

The State Library of Florida has transferred its genealogy collection to the Florida State Archives. It includes over 2,000 reels of microfilm and 5,500 volumes. Combined with the microfilm holdings and original records in the State Archives it will be one of the most complete genealogical resources in the state. The Archives is open to researchers Monday-Friday from 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. Requests for inter-library loans of genealogical materials should be addressed to Archives, Department of State, R. A. Gray Building, Tallahassee, Florida 32301.

The Genealogical Society of Greater Miami has begun circulation on a limited trial basis of its library collection. For information write the Society, Box 541607, Opa-locka, Florida 33054. The winter issue of *Heritage,* the Society's quarterly bulletin, lists among its articles, burials in the Miami City Cemetery, listing name, age at time of death, and grave location.

The Florida Anthropological Society's Ripley P. Bullen Award for 1983 has been presented to Calvin Jones, Florida Division of Archives, History and Records Management. Louis Tesar, also of the Division of Archives, History and Records Management, has been appointed editor of the Society's journal, *Florida Anthropologist,* succeeding Robert Carr. Articles should be submitted to Mr. Tesar, Route 1, Box 209-F, Quincy, Florida 32351.

The North Carolina Historical Review: Fifty-Year Index, 1924-1973, edited by Beth Gilbert Crabtree and Ruth Clow Langston, has been published by the North Carolina Division of Archives and History. The cost is $30.00, plus $1.50 for postage. Order from the Historical Publications Section, Division of Archives and History, 109 East Jones Street, Raleigh, North Carolina 27611.

The Mobile, Alabama, Municipal Archives has been es-

tablished and is available for use. It contains the extant public records for the city, dating from its creation as a municipality by the Mississippi Territory in 1814. There are no private manuscripts in the Archives, and it accessions no records other than those produced by municipal agencies. Jay Higginbotham is archivist, and inquiries should be directed to him: Brookley Industrial Complex, Building 11, Box 1827, Mobile, Alabama 36633, (205) 438-7398.

The annual meeting of the Southeastern American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies will be held at Athens, Georgia, on March 7-9, 1985. Proposals for papers on any eighteenth-century topic are solicited. The Society is interdisciplinary, and its members are interested in history, geography, literature, drama, art, music, philosophy, economics, and political science. A two-page prospectus containing the theme of a proposed paper and the way it will be developed should be submitted by July 1, 1984, to Dr. Carl R. Kropf, Department of English, Georgia State University, Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

Obituaries

Senator D. Robert Williams

D. Robert Williams, former member of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society, died on November 15, 1983, in Tallahassee after a long illness. He was sixty-four. Williams was a teacher and high school principal before World War II, and after his release from service he entered business and politics in west Florida. He served in the Florida legislature, first as a member of the House in 1961-1962, and then as a senator, 1962-1966. He was appointed executive director of the Board of Archives and History in 1966. When the board became the Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Williams became its first director. He was also State Historical Preservation Officer. He was president of the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers for three years, and was an active participant in many state, regional, and national organizations involved in state and local history, historic preservation, and manuscript and artifact conservation. As an active member of the Florida Historical Society, he worked to develop interest

in the need to teach, research, and write the history of Florida. Under his leadership Florida's archives program became recognized nationally, and he was instrumental in the establishment of the Museum of Florida History in Tallahassee. He played a leadership role in the move to save and restore the Old Capitol and to develop it as an interpretative museum for the people of the state.

Donald A. Cheney

Judge Donald A. Cheney died in October 1983, in Orlando. He was in his ninety-fourth year. Judge Cheney grew up in Orlando, was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1911, and became Orange County's first juvenile judge in 1924. He played a role in Orlando and Orange County in encouraging the preservation of local and state history. He served as chairman of the Orange County Historical Commission, and he was active in the Orange County Historical Society and the Florida Historical Society. One of his most successful efforts was the establishment of the Orange County Historical Museum, recognized as one of the major history museums in the state.

Watt Pearson Marchman

Watt Pearson Marchman died on October 10, 1983, at Fremont, Ohio. For more than three decades he was director of the Rutherford B. and Lucy Webb Hayes Foundation and the Hayes Presidential Museum and Library in Fremont. Earlier, 1940-1942, Mr. Marchman had served as corresponding secretary and librarian of the Florida Historical Society when the Society had its offices in St. Augustine. Mr. Marchman was also involved at the time in the editing of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. He was a graduate of Summerlin Institute in Bartow, Florida, and graduated from Rollins College. He held a master's degree from Duke University. Mr. Marchman had been honored by Rollins with its Distinguished Alumnus Award. He received many other awards and recognitions from local, state, and regional libraries and historical agencies. He was the author of several articles and three Hayes Museum booklets. Mr. Marchman continued his interest in Florida history and the Florida Historical Society throughout his life.

Richard K. Murdoch

Richard Kenneth Murdoch died January 20, 1984, at Marietta, Georgia, after a long illness. After completing his undergraduate program at Harvard, he received his master of arts degree in 1940 and his Ph.D. in 1947 from the University of California at Los Angeles. He was professor of history at the University of Georgia. His specialty was Latin American history, with publication concentrated in the Spanish Borderlands in the southeastern United States. His major work was *The Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1793-1796: Spanish Reaction to French Intrigue and American Design.* Dr. Murdoch's articles and book reviews were published in many scholarly journals including the *Florida Historical Quarterly.*

Addie Emerson

Addie Holmes Emerson, director of the St. Lucie County Historical Museum, died in Fort Pierce on November 2, 1983. She was a native of Florida, born in Fort Drum in 1901. She became director of the Historical Museum in 1968, and under her direction it became one of the most visited sites in the county. She was active both in the St. Lucie Historical Society and the Florida Historical Society.

MINUTES OF THE DIRECTORS' MEETING
FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Olive Peterson, president of the Florida Historical Society, called the mid-winter meeting of the Society's board of directors to order at 9:30 a.m., January 21, 1984, in the president's dining room of the University of Central Florida, Orlando. Present were Randy Nimnicht, Lucius F. Ellsworth, Paul E. Camp, Samuel Proctor, Thomas D. Greenhaw, Samuel J. Boldrick, Richard Brooke, Jr., Hampton Dunn, Ernest W. Hall, Daniel T. Hobby, Alva L. Jones, Marcia Kanner, Peter D. Klingman, Mary C. Linehan, L. Ross Morrell, Daniel L. Schafer, Bettye D. Smith, John K. Mahon, and Jane E. Dysart. Kendrick T. Ford, Gerald W. McSwiggan, and George F. Pearce were absent. Pat Wickman, Linda Ellsworth, Lucille Rights, and Hayes Kennedy also attended.

The board approved the minutes of the May 7, 1983, directors' meeting in Daytona Beach, as published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LXII (October 1983), 252-66.

Paul Camp, executive secretary, gave the financial report. Total assets of the Society as of December 31, 1983, were $92,286.68, representing an increase during the past year of $5,288.27. Camp reported the interest earned on the E. F. Hutton account. Income from memberships totaled $20,236.41; sales receipts, $1,323.76; interest income, $1,302.05; and dividends, $5,183.02. Profit from the annual meeting amounted to $147.80. The Father Jerome Fund received a $25.00 donation. The total income for 1983 was $31,218.04. Three thousand dollars was transferred from the Freedom Federal account to the main checking account. Disbursements from 1983 totaled $25,929.77, with major expenses being assigned to production, publication, and mailing of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and the *Newsletter*. Mr. Camp noted also an increase in office expenses. During the discussion which followed Mr. Camp's report, Samuel Proctor asked that future financial reports of assets, namely the E. F. Hutton account, reflect the different sources of income to that account. The president requested that Mr. Camp meet with the finance committee to determine the separate amounts in that account and report to the directors.

The matter of charging for certain services, such as photo duplicating and microfilming, which the Society now performs free was discussed. The directors voted to establish a committee to review these services and to determine a reasonable fee structure, Sam Boldrick will chair that committee which includes Paul Camp and Dan Hobby. Mr. Camp presented the budget for 1984. He was asked to prepare a revenue estimate with the budgetary estimate. President Peterson also reminded the executive secretary to provide the directors with all financial reports at least two weeks prior to the May meeting. Mr. Camp next reported on membership, including a breakdown of member totals by district. He pointed out that for the first time in several years the Society has had a gain of members. The board approved the report of the executive secretary.

Dr. Proctor, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, reported that he had received thirty-two articles for consideration including submissions from Spanish and French historians. As in the past, the quality of research and writing of the articles submitted is uneven. Among the books reviewed in the journal this past year, fifty dealt with Florida subjects. Dr. Proctor commended Dick Johnston of E. O. Painter for his excellent cooperation in printing the *Quarterly*. Dr. Proctor reported that the University of Florida's College of Liberal Arts and Sciences continues to support the *Quarterly* with the services of a secretary and a graduate student. The *Quarterly* also now has available a word processor. The University Library provides office space.

Thomas Greenhaw, editor of the *Florida History Newsletter*, reported an increase in the cost of production. More news items from local groups and individuals are being furnished, but more is needed. Information must be submitted six weeks before publication date to be included in the *Newsletter*.

Pat Wickman, executive chairperson of the Confederation, announced that the needs assessment survey is underway. Surveys will be mailed to 350 historical agencies in Florida during the first week of February. She also reported that the first award for an individual or organization making an outstanding contribution to the preservation and conservation of Florida history will be announced at the May meeting. Guidelines and nomination forms for the award will be sent to Confederation members. Ms. Wickman announced the themes of the Confederation workshops

for the May meeting, and that a luncheon will be held on the first day (Thursday) when the award will be presented. The award will be announced also at the Society's banquet on Friday evening. She stated that the Confederation board has approved a request from the Society of Florida Archivists for affiliate membership in the Confederation. The Society of Florida Archivists will help with costs of Confederation functions. The directors approved unanimously a motion to offer affiliate status to the Society for Florida Archivists. Ms. Wickman presented a design for a logo for the Confederation and, if appropriate, for the Society. Lucius Ellsworth suggested that a formal recommendation including costs of the logo be prepared for action by the board at the May meeting. Dr. Proctor noted that the information gathered by the Confederation would be valuable for updating the Society directory.

A motion was passed to include in the Society's annual budget an amount not to exceed $1,500 to support the Confederation's activities. Lucius Ellsworth recommended that the board, at the May meeting of the Society, offer an amendment to the by-laws to include the chairperson of the Confederation as a voting member of the Florida Historical Society board of directors.

Hayes Kennedy presented the finance committee's report. In December 1983 the committee– William Goza, Milton Jones, and Mr. Kennedy– reviewed the Society's money market investment account with E. F. Hutton. Because the account continues to meet the "prudent-man" criteria upon which it was established, the committee recommended no changes be made at the present. The account, opened on February 22, 1980, with an original investment of $40,000, is now worth $64,322. Mr. Nimnicht requested that the executive secretary consult the finance committee when he compiles the projected income report. Mr. Jones did not recommend a full audit of the Society's books, but a motion mandating an annual review of the financial records passed unanimously. A motion empowering the finance committee to dispose of the Society's stock holdings if necessary also passed unanimously. Proceeds from the sale of stock will be deposited in the money market account.

Jane Dysart, chairperson of the history fair committee, reported on plans for fairs in Alachua, Leon, Escambia, Santa Rosa, St. Lucie, Seminole, and Volusia counties. Broward and

Okaloosa counties will not be participating this year. It is hoped that more counties will be able to participate in the future and that fair activities will increase.

President Peterson read the report of the publicity committee chaired by Julie Enders. Since the May 1983 meeting, 4,195 inches of news have appeared in the Fort Pierce papers concerning activities of the Society. Releases were sent to other state papers, but no information is available to determine what was printed.

Peter Klingman, chairman of the committee to promote Florida history in the schools, reported that the Society will be able to continue its participation in the Governor's PRIDE program. He also stated that the Society will be able to help prepare learning objectives for Florida history courses. The Society's new executive director will need to respond to this opportunity as soon as possible. Dr. Klingman also suggested that the director pursue the possibility of securing a grant from the state legislature to support development of curriculum materials for Florida history.

On behalf of the arrangements committee for the Society's 1984 meeting, Randy Nimnicht reported that the downtown Holiday Inn, Fort Myers, will be the convention headquarters. Linda Ellsworth, chairperson of the 1984 program committee, announced that plans for the program were virtually complete. Her committee is working with the local arrangements committee to organize a tour of the historical Fort Myers area and the Thomas Alva Edison home. The banquet speaker will be Dr. Gerald George, director of the American Association of State and Local History. Lucille Rights, chairperson of the hospitality committee for the state convention, announced that coffee will be served and that all persons attending the meeting will be made to feel welcome.

Lucius Ellsworth, chairman of the committee for the future of the Society, reviewed the relationship between the University of South Florida and the Florida Historical Society over the past three years. A committee, consisting of Marcia Kanner, William Goza, Samuel Proctor, William Adams, and Lucius Ellsworth, proposed establishing an executive director's position to replace that of the executive secretary and an offer to commit $5,000 in Society funds to help support that office. Hampton Dunn, William Goza, Olive Peterson, and Lucius Ellsworth constituted the com-

mittee which negotiated with President John Lott Brown of the University of South Florida concerning the establishment of the position and also identifying the person who would fill that office. Dr. Gary Mormino, the candidate proposed by the University of South Florida, was interviewed and approved by the committee. A written statement guaranteeing the Society's active role in the annual evaluation of the executive director needs to be formalized. The Society also needs to determine the range of authority the director will have in dealing with support personnel. At a later date the clerk's position may need to be redefined and that matter also needs clarification with officials at the University of South Florida. Once the agreement is formalized, the Society and the University will be entering into a three-year commitment. With respect to the Society's library, the executive director will be responsible for expansion of the holdings. Maintaining the collection will continue to be the library's responsibility. A written agreement delineating the precise terms of the relationship between the Society and the University should be forthcoming in ten days. Implementation of the plan will be effective in the fall of 1984. A motion to authorize the committee to conclude the agreement with the University of South Florida passed unanimously.

Dr. Proctor next reported on the status of the Continental Heritage Press project. A volume on the history of Florida financial institutions was first proposed but after a negative response from insurance companies who were solicited for financial support, the publisher seems to have lost enthusiasm, at least for the time being.

Reporting for the ad hoc committee on historic preservation, Bettye D. Smith commented on her role in advising the expenditure of funds for historic preservation projects in Florida. President Peterson thanked Mrs. Smith for her efforts and announced that a permanent council for historic preservation appointed by the Florida Secretary of State would henceforth make such recommendations.

Several matters were discussed as old business. The Audubon prints willed to the Society by Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings are on display in the Society library at the University of South Florida. The executive director will need to inventory and update a catalogue of the Society's holdings, including its artifacts.

Mrs. Smith announced that the Seminole County School Board was planning to establish a student museum. She requested a letter from the Society to the county school board encouraging them to continue this project. Dr. Proctor announced that a workshop on history for public school teachers will take place this summer. It is being sponsored by the Department of History, University of Florida. He also reported that two persons important to Florida history and the history of the Society died this past year: Senator Robert Williams, first director of the Florida Division of Archives, History and Records Management, and Watt Marchman, former executive secretary of the Florida Historical Society.

The board next discussed future Society convention meeting sites. In 1985 the Society will meet in Tallahassee. A motion to accept an invitation to meet in Sarasota in 1986 was unanimously approved. Decision to accept an invitation to hold the 1987 meeting in St. Augustine was postponed. Board members expressed appreciation for the invitation, but declined to select a meeting site more than two years in advance.

Mrs. Peterson thanked her officers and members of the board and those who helped organize this meeting at the University of Central Florida.

The meeting was adjourned at 1:05 p.m.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS. . . . . .

1984

April 20-24	Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Pensacola, FL
April 27-29	Florida Anthropological Society	Palm Beach, FL
May 3	Florida Historical Confederation	Fort Myers, FL
May 4-5	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 82nd MEETING	Fort Myers, FL
May 16	Preservation Day	Tallahassee, FL
June 10-14	American Association of Museums	Washington, D.C.
June 11-15	Florida History Teachers Workshop	Gainesville, FL
Sept 18-21	American Association for State and Local History	Louisville, KY
Sept 20-23	Oral History Association	Lexington, KY
Oct 24-28	National Trust for Historic Preservation	Baltimore, MD
Oct 31-Nov 3	Southern Historical Association	Louisville, KY
Dec 26-29	American Historical Association	Chicago, IL

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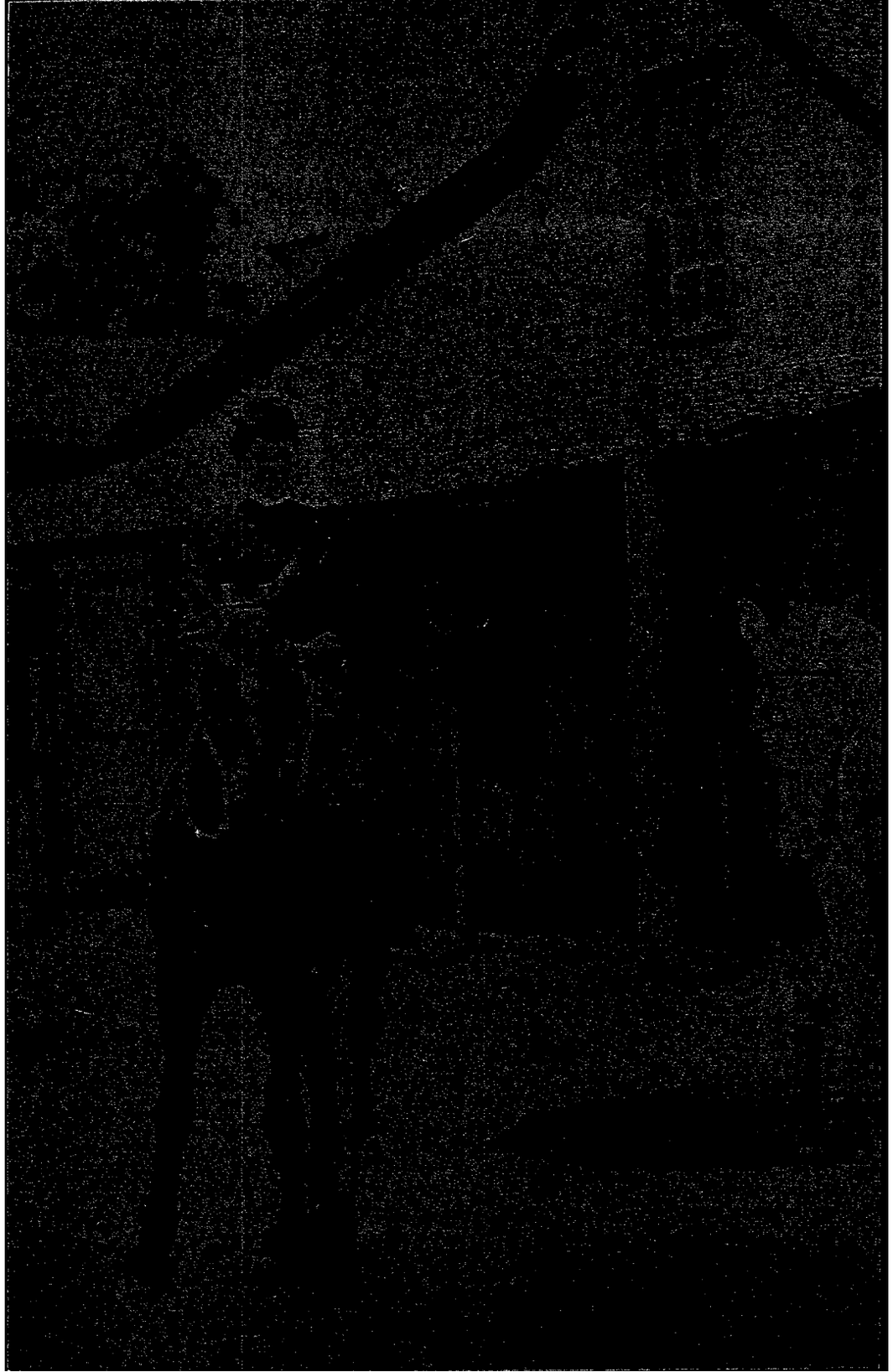
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