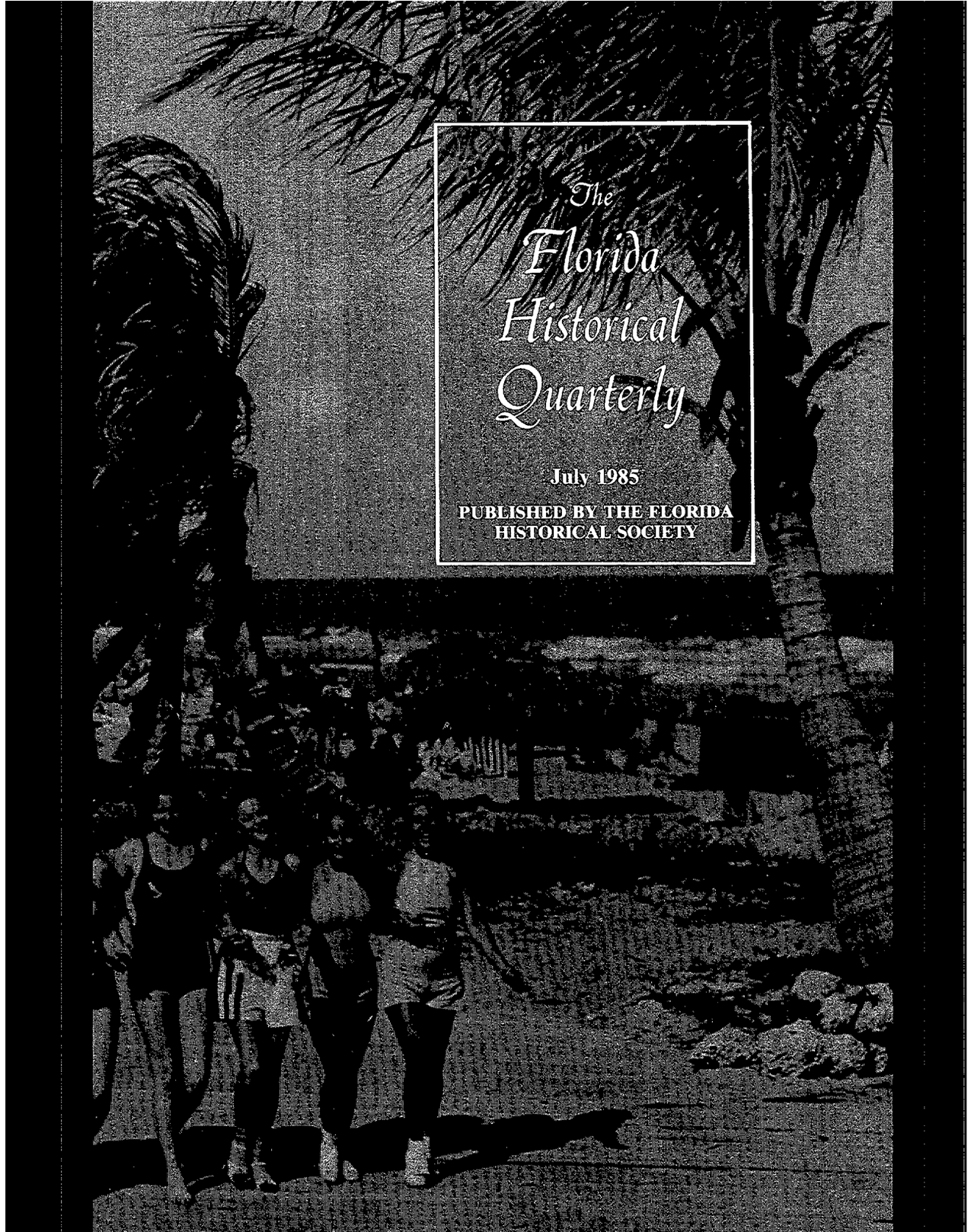

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COVER

Girls on boardwalk at Hollywood Beach in March 1935. Photograph was taken for the Hollywood Chamber of Commerce for a publicity brochure, and was reproduced for postcards by J. B. Sommers and T. R. West. Original photograph is in the Gleason Waite Romer Collection, Miami-Dade Public Library.

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BOOK REVIEWS

ST. AUGUSTINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY 1883-1983

by THOMAS GRAHAM

THE St. Augustine Historical Society began as an informal gathering of a few individuals who met in the downstairs parlor of the Presbyterian manse on the corner of St. George and Hypolita streets. Dr. Milton Waldo, the Presbyterian minister, would converse on a regular basis with acquaintances who shared his interest in natural history. Because of its casual origin the date of the first Society meeting is uncertain. Dr. Waldo later recalled that he and Charlie Johnson, a local boy who would later be a natural history museum curator in Boston, began meeting together over insect and shell specimens in 1881. Dr. Dewitt Webb, the Society's dominant member for decades, remembered the date as 1883, naming Waldo, Johnson, himself, and a few others as the original members.[1] Probably because of Webb's importance in the Society, the 1883 date has been accepted as the date of origin.

Styling itself the St. Augustine Institute of Science, the little group met on alternate Tuesday evenings in the manse's parlor, which the 1885-1886 city directory formally dubbed "the rooms of the Society." The Reverend Mr. Waldo served as the organization's president, Webb as vice-president, Mary R. Reynolds as secretary-treasurer, and Johnson as curator-librarian. Waldo's seashells and Webb's "prehistoric implements" formed the core of the Society's, exhibit collection.[2]

In these early years the purpose of the Society was ill-defined, its membership was limited, and meetings were sporadic.

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1. *St. Augustine Evening Record,* November 20, 1912; "Annual Address of Dr. Webb to the Historical Society," *Year Book, 1916-17* (pamphlet). An "Active Members" list bears the date September 11, 1883, but evidently the Society was founded prior to this time because there is a separate list of charter members. All documents hereinafter cited are in the library of the St. Augustine Historical Society, unless otherwise noted.
2. *St. Augustine City Directory, 1885-1886* (St. Augustine, n.d.), 8.

Looking back to the time before the turn of the century, one long-time member declared, "Spasmodically we woke up and then became somnolent again for months at a time."[3] Sometimes meetings were held in the home of a member who would read a paper which those present would discuss. When no one was willing to prepare a paper, Society activity flagged. During the winter season when the hotels were full of northern guests, the Society would sometimes sponsor lectures in a hotel parlor or in the public schoolhouse on Hospital Street (now Avilés Street). The topics were mixed: some literary, some historical, some scientific, and others on a variety of topics.[4]

Contemporary references to the Society reflect its miscellaneous interests. It is called a variety of names: St. Augustine Scientific and Literary Institute, Literary Society, St. Augustine Institute of Science and Historical Society, and Scientific and Historical Society. In 1912 the official name was changed from St. Augustine Institute of Science to St. Augustine Institute of Science and Historical Society. The change is significant for it showed that the Society was drifting away from its original interest in natural science and toward a historical focus. In 1918 the name was altered to Historical Society and Institute of Science, and in 1953 it became simply the Historical Society.[5]

The earliest record of a local history project undertaken by the Society dates from 1896 when a sign was erected at the site of Seminole war chief Osceola's capture by the militia. Society members accompanied John Masters, a participant in the episode, to a place near Moultrie Creek and nailed a large wooden sign board between two pine trees. The Society also marked the small clump of brush on the north end of Anastasia Island where, according to tradition, James Oglethorpe had placed his battery of cannon when besieging the fort in 1740.[6]

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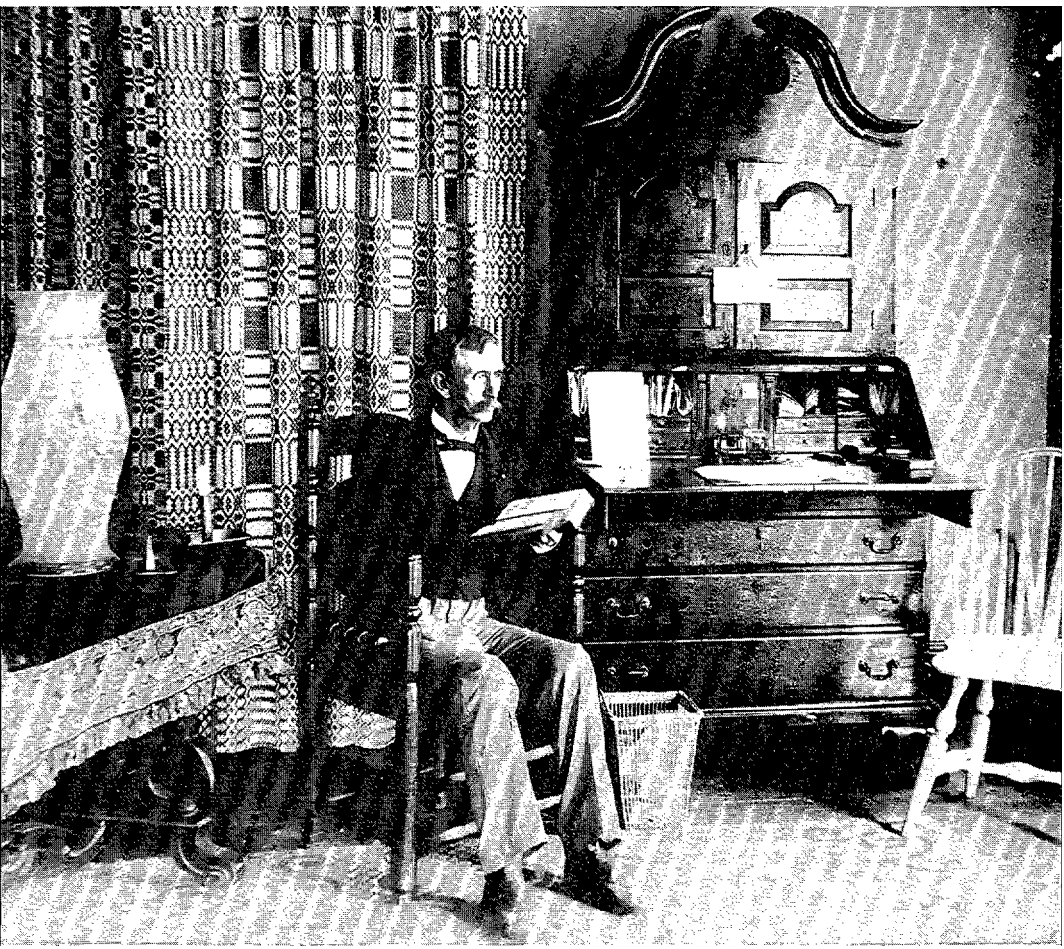
3. Robert Ransom, "Early Days of the Society," typed mss. dated October 11, 1927.
4. Ibid.; "Course of Lectures for the Season, 1901" (postcard); handwritten note in "The Constitution," 1902 Expense Records file; St. Augustine *Tatler*, February 22, 1896, January 16, February 20, 1897.
5. Minutes Book, St. Augustine Historical Society, July 16, 1912 [hereinafter cited as Minutes Book, with appropriate dates]; Constitution and By Laws, 1918 and 1953.
6. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 2, 1896; St. Augustine *Tatler*, January 30, 1897.



Dewitt Webb, founder of the St. Augustine Historical Society. Photographs provided by the St. Augustine Historical Society.

In 1911 the Society called attention to the threatened destruction of Fort Matanzas, the early Spanish fortification at Matanzas Inlet. The coquina walls of the fort were in danger of toppling over, and the currents of the inlet were undermining its foundation. A letter was written to the United States War Department asking that the fort be saved.[7] Timely action was taken by the government. Later the Society began to restore the stone walls and watchtower of the fort. Eventually Fort Matanzas came under the protection of the National Park Service.

Meanwhile the Society's exhibit collection had expanded to include historical material and a variety of heterogeneous curios. From the manse's parlor the museum was moved to an unused room of the Alcazar Hotel and then to a ground floor room in the public library on Hospital Street. In 1899 the Society bought the Vedder Museum collection of natural curiosities when its curator, Dr. John Vedder, died. Vedder was a dentist, but he also ran a menagerie and museum which occupied a large, old coquina stone building on the bayfront north of the plaza. The $600 to purchase the collection for the Society was advanced from Dr. Webb, and it would be years before the Society could reimburse him. With the lease of the building the Society, for the first time, had its own home and headquarters.[8]

By 1911 the Society had accumulated so many "treasures" that it also leased the Sanchez House, which stood behind the Vedder Museum building on Charlotte Street. With room available for expansion, the Society invited donations of specimens and artifacts. An advertisement of the day lists among the items on display: live alligators, minerals, fossils, cannon balls exhumed from the fort walls, stuffed fish, manatee bones, maps of Florida, a suit of armor, Confederate money, and Spanish period relics. Also included were human bones, which Dr. Webb presumed "showed the cannibalistic habits of the shell mound builders." The Sanchez Building was also used for meetings.[9]

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7. Minutes Book, June 20, 1911; St. Augustine Evening Record, July 21, 1911.
8. St. Augustine *Tatler,* February 29, 1896; Minutes Book, March 21, 1916; "The Constitution," 1902 Expense Records file; "Annual Address of Dr. Webb," *Year Book, 1916-17.*
9. *St. Augustine Evening Record,* July 6, 8, 19, 1911; photocopy of undated Historical Society handbill; Minutes Book, July 5, 18, 1911; "Annual Address of Dr. Webb," *Year Book, 1916-17.*

The leasing of the Sanchez House served another purpose. The Society was concerned about the loss of historic structures to the forces of modernization in St. Augustine. By gaining control, if not ownership, of the Vedder and Sanchez buildings the Society hoped to save them from destruction. This was one of the earliest efforts of the Society in the area of historic preservation, and it signaled a commitment that would continue over the years. [10]

At this time the Society also began the task of getting and preserving the oral testimony of old-time residents– long before the advent of oral history as a discipline in local history. Members were sent out to interview older citizens and to write down their memories of the past. Some of these interviews were later read in Society meetings.[11]

Probably the most important advance made by the Society was the hiring of W. J. Harris as curator of the museum. In May 1912, he began a tenure which would last nearly thirty years. Harris managed the day-to-day affairs of the museum and other Society properties, and operated the museum on a commission basis. The Society was only half of Harris's career; he also was a professional photographer and a dealer in souvenir post cards.[12]

Then, just when the Society's fortunes appeared most propitious, the work of a generation was seemingly wiped out overnight when the great fire of April 2, 1914, leveled a large portion of the central town along north St. George Street and the bayfront. The venerable Florida House Hotel was the most noted loss, but the Vedder and Sanchez buildings were also left as charred, crumbling ruins. The Society's collection went into ashes in a few blazing minutes. "The prospect was most disheartening," recalled one member.[13]

However, the crisis in the Society's affairs caused by the fire opened new opportunities and enabled the Society to become a major force in the community. Shortly after the fire the execu-

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10. *St. Augustine Evening Record*, July 21, 1911.
11. Ibid., July 18, 1911; Minutes Book, September 19, 1911.
12. Minutes Book, May 7, 1912; taped interview of J. Carver Harris by David Nolan, July 13, 1982, oral history collection, St. Augustine Historical Society.
13. Untitled typed mss. by Robert Ransom, October 11, 1927.

tive committee of the Society began to explore the possibility of acquiring a room in Fort Marion (Castillo de San Marcos) where a new collection might be housed. By the end of the year the War Department had agreed to this, and also allowed the Society permission to provide guides for visitors touring the fort. The Society became the custodian of the fort, responsible for its every-day maintenance, but also recipient of all funds generated by the guide service and the gift shop in the fort.[14]

Under the direction of W. J. Harris the guides escorted thousands of tourists each month through the fort. Visitors got a supposedly full and authentic history of the fort and a trip to the "secret dungeon." Since little authentic information on the fort was available, the Society relied on tradition and imagination for much of its lectures. The well in the courtyard, for example, was attributed to Menéndez and its construction supposedly dated to 1565. Intermixed with some accurate information were stories of torture racks, iron cages, and a quicksand pit into which victims' bodies were dumped.[15]

Gaining control of the fort and the financial prosperity of the Society were heartening to Dr. Webb, who had given a large portion of his life to the Society. For years he had struggled to maintain the organization, even paying rent on the buildings when there were no funds in the treasury. When he died in April 1917, the Society still owed him money. Since the doctor was penniless at the time of his death, his friend Chauncey Depew contributed the funds to the Society which were used to pay Webb's funeral expenses. [16]

Depew soon succeeded Webb as president of the Society. Webb and Depew had been friends for years since the time when both had been active in New York politics. While Webb had moved to remote St. Augustine, Depew had remained in New York, becoming president of Vanderbilt's New York Central Railroad and a two-term United States Senator. Depew's

14. Executive Committee Minutes, October 7, December 28, 1914; "Annual Address of Dr. Webb," *Year Book, 1916-17;* Chauncey Depew, "Address to Annual Meeting," Minutes Book, March 8, 1927.
15. Typed mss. of tour guide talk ca. 1921, Minutes Book for 1911-1917; Handbill, undated, 1902 Expense Records file; [Frank Matthews?] to Almer T. Perkins, October 5, 1917.
16. *St. Augustine Evening Record,* April 12, 1917, Dewitt Webb biographical file; Minutes Book, April 17, 1917.

ST. AUGUSTINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

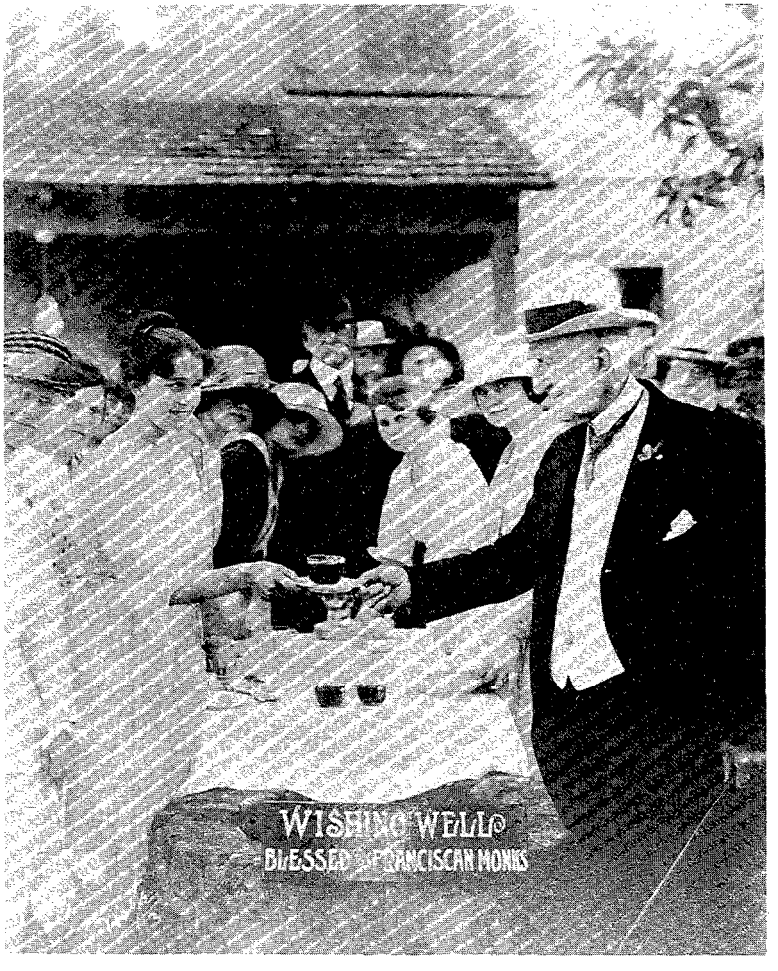
Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Harris (center) with a group on the ramp of the fort. Seated at the left is fort custodian George M. Brown.

presidency of the Society was largely honorary, but he did take an active interest in its welfare and provided it with practical help. He was credited with helping to persuade the War Department to allow the Society to take charge of the fort, and he purchased new artifacts to replace those destroyed in the 1914 fire. During his winter visits to St. Augustine, Depew, a popular speaker, would give lectures to raise money for the Society.[17]

The Society's new affluence enabled it to take advantage of an opportunity to purchase one of the most historic buildings in town. George Reddington, owner of the St. Augustine Alligator Farm, offered to sell the Society the house on St. Francis Street which he was exhibiting to the public as the Oldest House in America.

The Society took its time considering the offer, partly because there was considerable doubt whether Reddington's building was indeed the oldest house in town. In April 1916, the directors of the Society examined the question, but could arrive at no conclusion. A year later a committee was appointed to investigate the "oldest house" claims being made for three different properties. The Don Toledo House on Hospital Street lacked an advocate to argue its case. The two property owners who pressed their claims most vigorously were Reddington and James Dodge. The latter owned a coquina stone house on St. George Street known as the Old Curiosity Shop (today the Paredes House). Neither Reddington nor Dodge could present solid evidence to support their claims, but Reddington put forward the tradition that Geronimo Alvarez, a long-time owner of the house on St. Francis Street, had declared that his ancestors owned it as far back as 1590. After an "animated and prolonged discussion" the executive committee adopted a motion stating: "[it] cannot positively determine which is the oldest house in St. Augustine, but it is of the opinion, based upon the findings of

17. Depew, "Address to Annual Meeting," Minutes Book, February 23, 1926; Executive Committee Minutes, January 2, 1917; Depew to Webb, December 5, 1916, Indian Exhibit Group file. Depew commissioned the making of life-size figures of Osceola and his family which were exhibited in the fort and later in a small building on the grounds of the Oldest House. The manikins were ultimately sold to the St. Augustine Alligator Farm.



Society President Chauncy DePew in the garden of the Oldest House.

this committee, that the house known as the Geronimo Alvarez house on St. Francis Street, is such."[18]

The Alvarez property was certainly the most famous old house in St. Augustine, and it had been identified as the "oldest house" at least since the 1880s. Its notoriety sprang partly from the fact that it was one of the most charming of the rustic stone buildings standing along St. Augustine's streets. Situated near the bayfront with a large date palm leaning gracefully over its front door, the house was a favorite subject for artists and photographers. *Harper's Weekly* magazine ran an etching of the house in 1871 which would forever set in the public mind the image of the house, but *Harper's* did not identify it as the oldest house. [19]

In 1884 the house had been purchased by a local dentist, Charles P. Carver, who modernized the structure by paneling the interior with wood salvaged from the old Presbyterian Church and adding Victorian features such as dormers in the roof and awnings over the downstairs windows. His most dramatic alteration was the construction of a circular concrete and stone tower at the northeast corner of the house. Dr. Carver was the first to charge visitors to enter the house, supposedly because he was besieged by curious tourists who wanted to look inside the oldest house in America.[20]

Dr. Carver sold the house to James W. Henderson in 1898. Henderson added a garage apartment to the west end of the house and turned the house into a regular museum for tourists. In 1911 he passed the house on to Reddington, who continued to operate it as an attraction.[21] It was this property which the Society decided to purchase in March 1918. The sale was completed in October and included a nearby house known as the Tovar House.[22]

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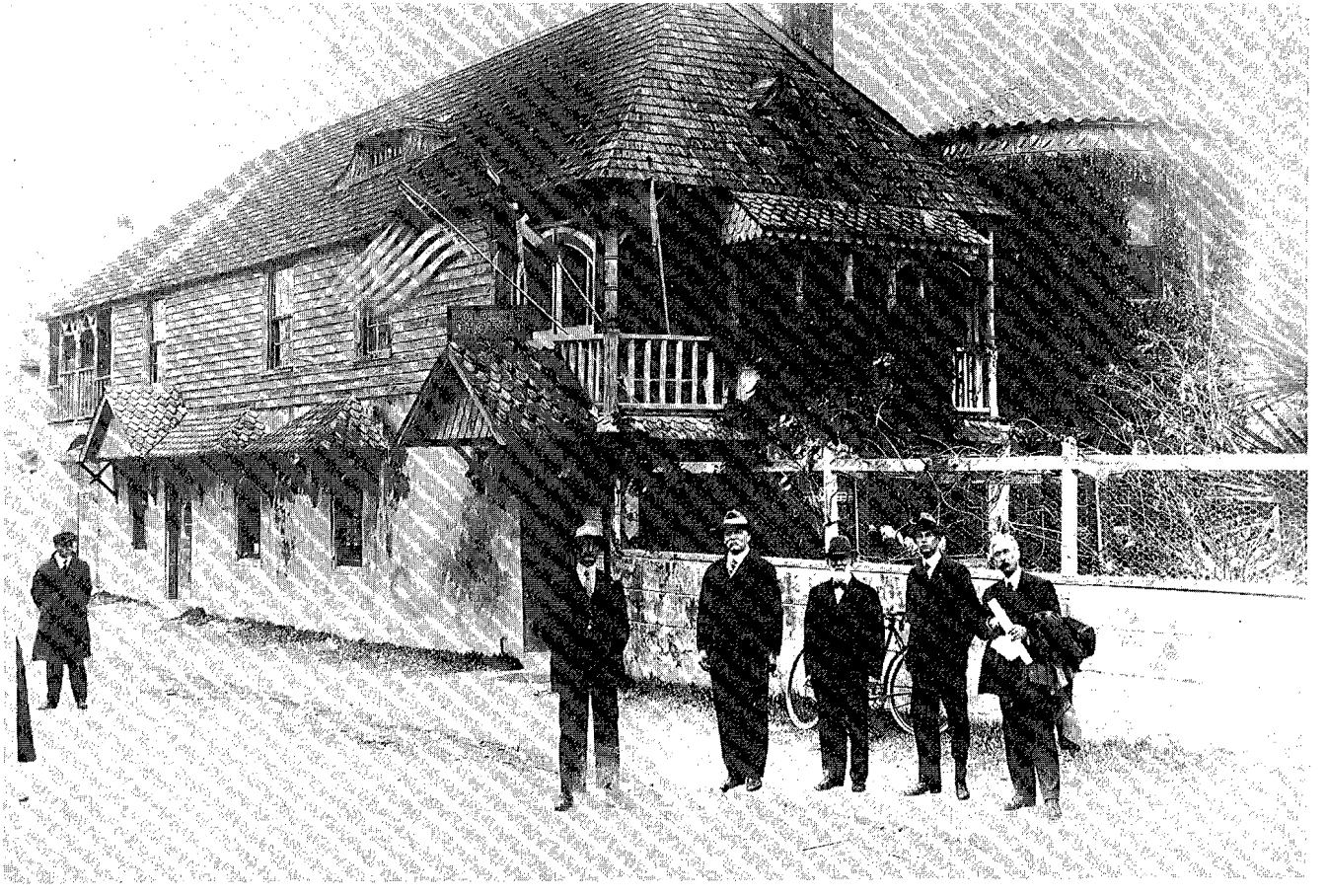
18. Minutes Book, April 4, 17, 1917; Letter of George Reddington to Old House Investigating Committee, September 6, 1917, Oldest House file; Executive Committee Minutes, November 20, 1917.
19. *St. Augustine City Directory, 1885-1886*, 8; Max Bloomfield, *Bloomfield's Illustrated Historical Guide* (St. Augustine, 1882, 1884), 24-25.
20. Edward W. Lawson Report, 1941, Oldest House file; *St. Augustine Record*, May 5, 1933.
21. Lawson Report.
22. Ibid.; Minutes of Regular Meeting of Society, March 19, 1918, Executive Committee file.



A committee of Society members visits the Oldest House at the time of purchase, 1918. From left: W. J. Harris, W. E. Knibloe, Eli Trott, Frank B. Matthews, Robert Ransom.

With these two important historical sites under its control, the Society entered the most successful financial period in its history. Harris promoted both the fort and the Oldest House, taking a twenty-five per cent commission on admissions for his services. He also operated gift shops at both locations and sold the booklet *Under Three Flags* which touted the fort and the Oldest House as the places every visitor had to see. Most of the Society's share of the income went to pay expenses for salaries and maintenance, but enough was left over to expend on activities and still bank a growing sum in an endowment fund.[23]

The financial success of the Oldest House was hardly gratifying to those individuals, both inside and outside the Society, who felt that the organization had strayed from its course as a serious group for the study of history to become a business engaged in deceiving the public with a bogus attraction. In 1921 Charles B. Reynolds published a booklet blasting various local tourist attractions of dubious historical merit. He concentrated his ire, however, on the St. Augustine Historical Society, declaring: "The Society exploits the most audacious of the 'oldest house' fakes."[24] Reynolds said that the house, which was purported to have been built in 1565, was probably constructed in the early 1800s.

Reynolds's attack threw the Society's leadership into turmoil. At a meeting in March 1921, the board decided not to respond publicly to Reynolds's blast, but to eliminate claims for the house which could not be substantiated. However, the board was not prepared to drop the assertion that the Society owned the oldest house in America. The board did purchase and suppress the remainder of the latest edition of Harris's pamphlet which it deemed too extravagant in its claims for the house's history. Also, the guides in the Oldest House were instructed to tone down their set speech. Nevertheless, in the absence of documentation, no one could say with confidence just what was the true history of the property on St. Francis Street.[25]

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23. Contract, W. J. Harris and W. R. Hites and the St. Augustine Historical Society, March 10, 1922; Treasurer's Report, 1928.
24. Charles B. Reynolds, *The Oldest House in the United States* (New York, 1921), 3; Charles B. Reynolds, "The St. Augustine Oldest House Hoax," *Mr. Foster's Travel Magazine* (Winter 1929-1930).
25. Executive Committee Minutes, February 8, March 8, April 12, 1921, March 9, 1922.

The Society attempted to remedy this situation by hiring Emily Wilson as research historian and librarian. Beginning in 1923 she searched for materials which would refute Reynolds's charges and authenticate the Oldest House. Over the years her efforts resulted in a major expansion of the documentary holdings of the Society and led to its acquiring one of the best small research libraries in the Southeast.[26]

Two of her early discoveries were the maps of Juan de la Puente (1764) and Mariano de la Rocque (1788). She traveled to Tallahassee to locate the Rocque map and its description of the town at the beginning of the second Spanish period. At the New York Historical Society she found the Puente map, which an earlier St. Augustinian, Buckingham Smith, had located in Spain back in the mid-1800s. Following these discoveries, Wilson wrote: "We have proof of the Oldest House back to 1764 and we must take every step possible to get the abstract back to the beginning even if we lose our claim, but that I do not expect."[27]

Wilson's attitude was typical of many in the Society; the house was the oldest in America– the only problem was in proving it. President Depew asserted in his annual address of 1926 that Wilson had already "demonstrated, beyond question, that the house of the Historical Society is the oldest in St. Augustine and probably the oldest in the United States, which still stands."[28]

Working from the few available sources, Wilson constructed this argument: The Francis Drake map of 1586 shows the early town situated south of the plaza, where the Society's house stands. Following the English siege of 1702 the only substantial building left standing was the Franciscan hermitage of La Soledad. Since the Society's house stands next to the site of the Franciscan convent, the Oldest House must have been the hermitage in which the monks lived prior to the construction of the convent. Lastly, during the British period Bernard Romans saw

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26. Emily Wilson to Barend Beck, December 31, 1928, Wilson letterbook, 1928, St. Augustine Historical Society Administrative Records, Box 5 [hereinafter cited as Wilson letterbook, with appropriate dates].
27. Wilson to W. J. Harris, July 30, 1925; Wilson to Harris, November 11, 1925; Report of Librarian, March 2, 1926, Wilson letterbook, 1925-1926.
28. "Annual Address to the St. Augustine Historical Society and Institute of Science, Chauncey Depew, February 23, 1926," pamphlet.

a house bearing the date 1571. This could only have been the Society's property, and thus the Oldest House dated back to 1571.[29]

This conclusion was highly satisfactory to W. J. Harris, who incorporated Wilson's findings into his *Under Three Flags* pamphlet, as he continued to promote the Oldest House in America. In 1924 he wrote Wilson: "I want to make money for the Society so you can have what you want to continue this work. If I can only be commercial and you historical, it is a good combination, for without the commercial part the historical end would be weak. The public and a few members seem to lose sight of this important dual fact."[30]

One of the visible evidences of the Society's growing financial success was the Webb Memorial Building which was erected in 1925 in the space between the Oldest House and the Tovar House. This two-story building housed exhibits on the first floor and a meeting room and library on the second. Prior to the construction of the Webb Building, the Society's library had been located in a room of the public library on Hospital Street. Beginning in 1916 the Society had purchased books on a wide variety of subjects. At first volumes on natural history were common acquisitions, but as time passed the collection, while remaining broad, grew in its relevance to the local history of St. Augustine. Through the 1920s and down to her death in 1937, the library was under the care of Sarah Bimson Underwood, one of the leading lights of the Society.[31]

By the 1920s the character of the St. Augustine Historical Society had been established. It operated the Oldest House as a tourist attraction, but with the honorable intention of enlightening the public. The Webb museum and library next door were the heart of the research and educational aspect of the Society. Monthly program meetings were scheduled during the winter season, though sometimes only a handful of members attended.

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29. Wilson to Harrel Ayers, August 23, 1926, Wilson letterbook, 1926; Wilson to I. A. Wright, July 12, 1928, ibid., 1925-1926.
30. W. J. Harris to Wilson, August 17, 1924, Wilson letterbook, 1924.
31. Recollections of Miss M. E. Bentley, February 1, 1922, typed mss.; Report of Librarian, March 2, 1926, Wilson letterbook, 1925-1926; Recollections of Elizabeth Monk, March 19, 1935, typed mss.; "In Memorium, Sara Bimson Underwood, d. June 19, 1937," typed mss.; Evelyn Vaill to David R. Dunham, June 25, 1937.

An annual open house at the Oldest House on New Year's Day attracted a large crowd and was the chief social function of the Society.[32] The Society's other interest was in preserving the various historic sites and buildings in St. Augustine. The monument to the Spanish Constitution of 1812 in the plaza was repaired by the Society, as were the old well and chimney on Anastasia Island which were thought to date back to colonial times. Markers were placed on several buildings identifying them as historic sites.[33]

The crash of the Florida land boom and the subsequent national depression of the 1930s found the Society financially pressed, but in far better economic shape than the community at large. It was necessary to reduce the salaries of Society employees, but the fort and Oldest House remained steady money makers. Indeed, the Society monopolized two of the best sources of income in town, and its custody of the fort, a public property, put the Society in a particularly delicate situation. Acknowledging its obligation to the community, and no doubt anxious to create a favorable public impression, the Society contributed to local charities. Such diverse groups as the baseball club, American Legion, the band which played in the plaza, the YMCA, and the Welfare Association received donations of from $25.00 to $250. The Chamber of Commerce was a regular recipient of contributions. In 1930 the Society financed three-quarters of the cost of a $2,000-printing of promotional brochures for St. Augustine.[34]

In 1931 and 1932 the city commission of St. Augustine considered putting the Historical Society's properties on the tax rolls. After much discussion the city commission passed a resolution in the fall of 1931 requesting the Society to "donate" ten per cent of the receipts from the Oldest House and fort to the city. The executive board of the Society declined and resisted all efforts to tax its properties.[35]

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32. Minutes Book for 1919-1932, February 9, 1926, January 10, 1928.
33. Webb to Editor of *St. Augustine Record*, March 23, 1917, copy, Webb biographical file; Minutes Book, January 11, 1921, March 9, December 12, 1922, January 16, April 10, 1923.
34. Minutes Book, May 9, 1922, April 19, 1932, April 11, 1933, January 10, 1936; Herbert Felkel to Marcus Price, December 15, 1931, letter in Minutes Book for 1919-1932.
35. Copy of Resolution 800, passed by city commission, November 18, 1931,

The city's response was to attempt to gain control of the fort itself by having the lease on the property transferred from the Society to the city. Judge David R. Dunham, then president of the Society, went to Washington and helped persuade the War Department to turn down St. Augustine's request. The city then proceeded to take its case to Congress, urging local congressmen and Senator Duncan U. Fletcher to introduce a bill which would give the fort to the city. But in 1933 the Congress passed the landmark Historic Sites Act, transferring administration of many historic sites and structures from the War Department to the National Park Service. Forts Marion and Matanzas, which had been proclaimed National Monuments by presidential action in 1924, were thus slated for transfer in 1935.[36]

Reluctant to relinquish control of the fort, the Society found itself leagued with its former rivals in town in an effort to maintain the status quo. The St. Augustine Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution favoring the Society's custody of the fort. However, it was argued that making the fort part of the National Park system would increase tourism and thereby benefit the whole community. After a brief flurry of activity, the Society accepted the inevitable; by May its collection was being removed from the fort to the Tovar House. On May 15, 1935, the members of the Society met with federal officials in the sallyport of Fort Marion and passed a resolution of thanks to the government for having been allowed to take care of the fort during the past twenty years. The secretary noted that the resolution "passed but not unanimously."[37] In the years since 1935 the Society and the National Park Service have maintained a cooperative relationship. Two of the Castillo de San Marcos's historians, Albert Manucy and Luis Arana, have served as directors of the Society.

In the meantime the Oldest House had remained a successful tourist attraction, but it continued to face criticism as a

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in Minutes Book for 1919-1932; Minutes Book, November 24, 1931, March 15, 1932.

36. Minutes Book, February 23, March 15, August 9, November 17, 28, 1932, January 3, February 9, November 1, 1933, July 2, September 19, 1934; interview, Albert Manucy with Herbert E. Kahler, July 1, 1971, typed transcript.

37. Minutes Book, February 6, 12, April 9, May 15, 1935; Kahler interview.

"fraud." The town had a long tradition of questionable historical curiosities, but the problem of attractions which imposed on the visiting public's credulity had been recently pushed into the foreground by Walter B. Fraser. He was a successful businessman, aggressive politician, and operator of the Fountain of Youth Park, which he claimed as the landing spot of Juan Ponce de Leon. In 1930 the city of St. Augustine appointed a Historical Fact Finding Commission for the purpose of authenticating genuine historic sites and suppressing bogus enterprises. President Harold Colee of the Society was a member of the Fact Finding Commission.[38]

The commission would eventually authenticate (sometimes incorrectly, as it turned out) many sites around town, but it was unsuccessful in stopping attraction operators from making unsubstantiated claims. Its major impact was to stir up animosities between various attraction owners.

Contrary to the advice of W. J. Harris that it should not "backwater on its claim" which was the "backbone" of the Society's income, the Society decided in 1934 to begin describing its property as simply "the Oldest House," rather than "The Oldest House in the United States."[39]

One way that the Society solidified its claim to owning the oldest house in St. Augustine was to eliminate its competitors. In 1934, following the death of James Dodge, the Society purchased the Old Curiosity Shop. This served the dual purpose of removing the embarrassment of explaining away a second "Oldest House," and it placed in responsible hands what was truly one of the few colonial houses left in St. Augustine. In 1939 the Society leased from the Sisters of St. Joseph the Don Toledo House and purchased its furnishings for the Oldest House collection. Since that time the St. Augustine Historical Society has had unrivaled claim to the "Oldest House."[40]

At about the same time the Society passed up an opportunity to purchase what has become one of the most valuable proper-

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38. *St. Augustine Evening Record*, July 7, 1930, George A. Mueller scrapbook; Minutes Book, October 14, November 10, 1930, December 12, 1961.
39. Minutes Book; February 24, 1934, June 28, 1938.
40. Ibid., April 30, 1934, October 27, December 8, 1939; Edward W. Lawson, *The St. Augustine Historical Society and Its "Oldest House"* (St. Augustine, 1957), 35-38.

ties in town. In 1931 the executive committee investigated the purchase of a building on north St. George Street near the City Gate which was "claimed by many to be the oldest frame house in St. Augustine." By a vote of five to four the executive committee declined to purchase the property.[41] Thereupon W. J. Harris purchased the house himself and began to exhibit it to the public as "The Oldest Wooden Schoolhouse in America." A short time later Harris suggested that the Society purchase the house from him, but again the Society declined. Harris sold the property to another purchaser, and thereafter Walter Fraser bought the building. The Society found itself facing another attraction of doubtful pedigree, and the Society's anger was raised further when Fraser placed signs at both the "Oldest Wooden Schoolhouse" and the Fountain of Youth claiming that both were "recommended" by the St. Augustine Historical Society. The Society's efforts to fight Fraser's impositions on truth were compromised by the fact that the Society itself operated an attraction vulnerable to criticism.[42]

A northern visitor to the Oldest House in the mid-1930s disparaged the property more on the grounds of taste than historicity. The holdings of the Society were described as "a collection of unrelated bric-a-brac," ranging from a Russian samovar, suits of armor, a captured German machine gun, and autographs of presidents's wives to "a life size figure of a Hindoo priest made of clay from the Ganges River." Upon entering the Oldest House, continued the visitor, "The first thing that strikes the eye is a portrait of Chauncey Depew, manufactured of X's on a typewriter."[43]

In 1937 Dr. Verne E. Chatelain, chief historian of the National Park Service, was called upon to make a study of the Oldest House and offer suggestions for improving the exhibit. His recommendations put the Oldest House on the road to becoming a respectable historical museum. Chatelain made impor-

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41. Minutes Book, March 13, 24, 1931.
42. Ibid., February 9, April 18, May 5, 1933, February 24, 1934; unsigned copy of letter to Walter B. Fraser, Bayfront file; interview, Kahler with Manucy, November 11, 1972, typed transcript; interview, Nolan with J. Carver Harris, July 6, 1982.
43. "The Captive Samovar," typed copy of newspaper story in *Washington Post*, July 19, 1938.

tant suggestions: relegate the commercial "souvenir" aspects of the Oldest House to the background, remove the exhibits, and restore the property to illustrate a "period house" of the early 1800s.[44]

Chatelain's work with the St. Augustine Historical Society was only one part of a major historical research and restoration project which had been started in St. Augustine in 1936. Early in that year Dr. John Merriam, president of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, had visited the city to study the possibilities for undertaking a program to preserve and restore the colonial buildings. He had the support of diverse elements in town, including Walter Fraser (then mayor) and the St. Augustine Historical Society. Chatelain, recently resigned from the National Park Service, was named director of the restoration program. Financing for the project was to come both from the Carnegie Institution and from local sources. The St. Augustine Historical Society pledged $500 toward the effort in March 1936, and increased that pledge to $1,000 in the fall.[45]

While some dreamed of grandiose results along the lines of a restored Williamsburg, Chatelain put together a staff, including W. J. Winter and native-born historian Albert Manucy, and commenced basic historical studies and archeological research. The St. Augustine Historical Society made its library available.[46]

Unfortunately, this "restoration" concept was not successful and eventually ended during the early days of World War II. Lack of sufficient money was a problem, but there was also an absence of a unified objective among the leaders of the community.[47]

One of the tangible results of Carnegie's interest was the purchase of the Llambias House, a first Spanish period dwelling located on St. Francis Street near the Oldest House. The Carnegie Institution put up most of the funds to buy the property, but the Society supplied $2,500 to complete the purchase. Ownership of the Llambias House was vested in the city of St. Augustine, and with the demise of the Carnegie effort, custody of the

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44. Minutes Book, August 6, 1937; "A Digest of the Remarks of Dr. Verne Chatelain, August 6, '37," Bayfront file.
45. Minutes Book, March 22, October 28, 1936.
46. Ibid., November 21, 1936.
47. X. L. Pellicer to L. G. Cowing, July 19, 1937, Bayfront file.

house passed to the St. Augustine Historical Society.[48]

As the restoration program flickered out in early 1941, Society President Dunham predicted that restoration would eventually prove successful even if the present enterprise stopped. He declared that at the very least the public had been made aware that "the old land marks are the greatest assets of the city."[49]

Meanwhile, the St. Augustine Historical Society was thriving. Attendance at the Oldest House grew by thousands; in 1939 there were 17,756 visitors; in 1940, 88,485; and in 1941, 107,000. The Society resumed large contributions to the Chamber of Commerce and to charities, and still had surplus funds to put into the endowment fund. Even the outbreak of the war did not put the ledger in the red, although profits were reduced to a level which just covered expenses.[50]

The man who had much to do with the financial success of the Society, business manager W. J. Harris, died on August 2, 1940. He was succeeded in office by his son, J. Carver Harris who had been active in the Society for several years. He would continue as business manager down to his retirement in 1982.[51]

Two days after the attack on Pearl Harbor the board met to discuss the impact of the war on the Society. Plans were discussed to move the library inland in case of bombing raids or invasion, although the consensus of the members present was that such precautions were unnecessary. This, of course, proved to be the case. Except for the decline in visitation at the Oldest House, the war had little impact. Meetings were held in the afternoon, rather than in the evening, to conform to blackout regulations; funds were donated to the Red Cross; and money was given to the Chamber of Commerce to send representatives to Washington to talk with the government about local defenses.[52]

With the end of the war, Florida experienced an un-

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48. Minutes Book, November 1, 15, 1938, March 1, 1945.
49. Ibid., January 14, 1941.
50. Ibid., February 19, October 8, 1940, January 14, April 8, 1941, January 13, July 14, October 12, 1942, January 9, 1945.
51. Minutes Book, January 20, February 17, 1938, August 30, 1940, September 8, 1942.
52. Ibid., December 9, 1941, January 13, March 10, June 9, July 14, October 13, 1942; "President Dunham's Message to Members," *Year Book and Review, 1947*, booklet.

precedented wave of visitors from the north. St. Augustine and the Historical Society shared in the wealth generated by the tourist flood. In February 1946, the Oldest House recorded 12,441 visitors; in July 1950 visitation reached 18,000; and during 1951 there were 143,000 guests. Even the well in the Oldest House's garden produced gold-some years more than a thousand dollars in coins were retrieved from its depths.[53]

During these thriving times the Society increased its real estate holdings. A few lots and houses, some of historic value, had been owned for years. The Society had purchased Oglethorpe Battery Park on Anastasia Island in 1934, and had landscaped and marked it with a commemorative obelisk.[54] In the early 1950s the Triay House and the Fornells House, both colonial structures on Spanish Street, were purchased to prevent their demolition. After restoration they were sold to private individuals with restrictive covenants in their deeds to insure their preservation.[55] Several lots and dilapidated wooden houses were purchased in the block north of the Oldest House. In an effort which continued down through the 1960s the Society demolished the existing houses, directed archeological studies to locate buried colonial foundations, and created a new neighborhood of houses that would harmonize with the colonial ambience of the Oldest House.[56]

The Dodge House and the Llambias House underwent extensive rehabilitation. During 1948 the Dodge House was given steel reinforcement, and its stone walls were remortared. In

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53. Minutes Book, March [?], 1946, January 14, 1947, April 12, 1949, August 8, 1950, January, 8, 1952.
54. Ibid., March 15, 1932, July 2, September 19, 1934, January 11, 1938, November 10, December 8, 1959, February 13, 1967.
55. Ibid., January 27, 1950, January 8, September 9, October 14, 1952, July 14, 1953; J. Carver Harris to W. J. Winter, July 10, 1956, in Minutes Book for 1949-1958.
56. Minutes Book, August 10, 17, September 14, 1954, January 21, 1955, July 12, August 9, October 9, 31, December 11, 1956, January 8, 1957, October 10, 1961, October 11, November 8, 1965, January 10, 1966, November 10, 1969, February 9, March 9, 1970; *St. Augustine Record,* August 7, 1955; Manucy, Memorandum for the President, June 2, 1954, Museum Lab Building file; Manucy, Memorandum for the Board of Directors, October 2, 1963, in Minutes Book for 1959-1969; J. Carver Harris, Memorandum for Mr. Drysdale, June 2, 1967, ibid.

1954 the Llambias House required more extensive work. The stone from the walls and some of the wood from the roof and floor were disassembled, each piece numbered, then the structure was reconstructed to give a new solidity and permanance to old work and remove obvious post-colonial elements.[57]

The Society continued its program of community support. The Chamber of Commerce spent more than $2,000 of the Society's money to convert the band stand on the plaza into an information booth. The badly deteriorated marble plaque on the Spanish Constitution Monument was protected with a glass panel, and a copy of the plaque was made for the opposite side of the monument. The city of Avilés, Spain, received a $500 donation toward the purchase of a new organ for the church there.[58]

The fountainhead from which all these benefits sprang– the Oldest House– had remained a source of controversy during all this time. In 1941 the Society had asked Edward W. Lawson to study the origins of the Oldest House, and he concluded that there might be truth to the story of the friars living in the building as far back as 1599. A report by Eleanor Barnes in 1953 reiterated this belief. While there were Society members who pointed out that no documentary proof for the existence of the Oldest House predated 1764, the Society's public stand was ambivalent: while it maintained the "traditional account" of the friars, it officially refused to claim that the house was the oldest in the United States. As more evidence from the Spanish colonial period came to light, it became increasingly hard to believe that the house dated back even to the 1600s.[59]

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57. Minutes Book, September 14, December 14, 1948; J. P. Davis, Report of Special Committee, December 14, 1948, Bayfront file; Minutes Book, January 15, 1952; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, January 16, 1955.
58. As late as 1974 the Society donated a $15,000 corner lot adjacent to the Llambias House to the City of St. Augustine for development as a park. The Altrusa Club undertook landscaping of the lot as its Bicentennial project. Minutes Book, January 13, July 14, 1953, May 11, June 8, August 10, 1954, September 10, 1957; *St. Augustine Record*, December 23, 1956; Richard Hawkins to Pellicer, January 23, 1958, Organ for Avilés Church file.
59. Minutes Book, January 14, March 11, 1947, August 10, 1948; Eleanor Barnes, "Report to the Oldest House Personnel and the Oldest House Subcommittee," September 29, 1953, Oldest House file.

The riddle of the Oldest House finally was on the way to resolution in the spring of 1954 when John W. Griffin, a skilled archeologist, was hired as executive historian. The laying of a new utility pipe under the rear portico of the Oldest House in September provided the opportunity to do an archeological study of the site.[60] Underneath the modern floor Griffin uncovered earlier floor levels and some trash pits. The evidence in this limited dig was scanty, but sufficient for him to conclude that the earliest habitation of the area dated from the early to middle 1600s and that the house was probably constructed after 1702.[61]

In 1958 Hale G. Smith, Florida State University archeologist, made more extensive excavations under the interior rooms of the building and uncovered a crucifix, a British period button, and some rum bottles. However, Smith's conclusions on the age of the dwelling ended any hope that the house might actually be the oldest in the United States. The present building was constructed sometime between 1680 and 1710, Smith judged from the earliest floor material; an earlier wooden house, dating from about 1650, stood on the same ground and had been destroyed by fire.[62]

Even as Smith was doing his research, the Oldest House spawned still another controversy. Early in 1958 Edward W. Lawson publicly attacked the Society for continuing to assert ownership of the oldest house in America even after evidence had been found to refute the claim. He published a booklet and took out advertisements in the *St. Augustine Record* to press his attack.[63]

Lawson had been a member of the board of directors of the Society for many years, and his wife was librarian from 1937 to 1947. His report on the Oldest House had tended to support its claim of the antiquity of the Oldest House. The controversy had its origins in December 1956, when Lawson called the board's attention to the fact that certain parts of the "traditional" story

60. Minutes Book, January 29, April 13, July 13, 1954.
61. Frederick C. Gjessing, *et al., Evolution of the Oldest House* (Tallahassee, 1962), 31-36.
62. Ibid., 43, 84-102; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* July 20, 1958.
63. Lawson, *The St. Augustine Historical Society and Its "Oldest House"; St. Augustine Record,* May 23, 1958.

of the Oldest House had been disproven by recent research. The church of La Soledad, for one important example, was discovered to have been located on St. George Street and therefore could not have been the Oldest House. Without any dissension the board agreed to revise the Society's brochure so as to reflect the latest discoveries.[64] By the next spring, however, the board was still examining the new findings relating to the Oldest House and decided to reprint the existing brochure to cover requirements of the upcoming summer tourist season.[65]

Subsequently Lawson published *The St. Augustine Historical Society and Its "Oldest House": A Documented Study of Fabricated History*. The Society replied that research was continuing (Smith's archeological study was then in progress) and that it would publish its findings in due time. On June 10 the board voted to bring a motion to expel Lawson from the Society before the full membership at its July meeting.[66] At the meeting Lawson spoke in his own defense, declaring that he had published his attacks on the Society "in the public interest." Board chairman Albert Manucy stated the board's case: The facts regarding the Oldest House were not the issue; Lawson's apparently vindictive efforts to discredit and embarrass the Society and its directors were the basis upon which his expulsion was being requested. By secret ballot the membership voted forty-four to two in favor of expulsion.[67]

The Oldest House itself and the adjacent Webb Building and Tovar House were at this time in the process of being transformed into a professional-caliber museum. Between 1953 and 1956 the Society, in cooperation with the National Park Service, developed a $10,000 exhibit encompassing 400 years of St. Augustine history to place on the first floor of the Webb Building. In 1959 an exhibit focusing on the archeology which had been done on the site was opened in the Tovar House. Much of the

64. Minutes Book, July 29, 1947, December 11, 1956; "Mr. Lawson's Report," attached to minutes of June 11, 1957.
65. Minutes Book, April 9, June 11, 1957.
66. Ibid., July 9, 1957, April 8, June 10, 24, 1958; *St. Augustine Record,* August 4, 1958.
67. *St. Augustine Record,* July 9, 1958.

museum's bric-a-brac was sold off, much to the dismay of many old timers.[68]

The Oldest House underwent a complete transformation. The first restoration of the property had been done in 1925 when the nineteenth-century wood paneling over the interior walls was removed and modern plaster stripped from ceilings to expose the ancient beams overhead.[69] In 1959 a more thorough restoration was undertaken based on a half-century of research. Dr. Carver's circular tower was torn down from the northeast corner of the house, and the garage apartment on the west end of the house was demolished. A study of the rafters revealed that the building had earlier been covered by a hipped roof. This was reconstructed and the modern asbestos shingles replaced with wooden shingles. An analysis uncovered green paint under many layers of more recent paint, and this was used in the finished version of the house. In 1970 the Oldest House was recognized as a National Historic Landmark and placed on the National Register of Historic Places.[70]

Another indication of the rising competence of the Society was its growing list of publications. Its first book, *Barcia's Chronological History of the Continent of Florida,* was a long time in the making. Andres Barcia's epic, which gave the Spanish view of the discovery and settlement of North America, had been located by Emily Wilson back in the early 1920s. In 1945 the board decided to undertake a translation of the book, and three years later Anthony Kerrigan was assigned that task. The University of Florida Press handled publication and distribution, with the Society picking up the costs. By the time the book appeared in 1951 the Society had expended more than $12,000 on the project. Barcia's history was dedicated to Miss Wilson.[71]

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68. Minutes Book, December 8, 1953, December 13, 1955, April 10, May 8, 1956, October 8, 1957; *St. Augustine Record,* April 15, 1956; "Progress Report of Exhibit Construction [Tovar House] and Archeology for Summer, 1959," in Minutes Book for 1959-1969.
69. Unidentified newspaper clipping, n.d., Mueller Scrapbook; "Report of Vice-President Frederick S. Vaill, January 12, 1926," in Minutes Book, 1919-1931; Lawson, *The Historical Society and Its Oldest House,* 12-13.
70. Gjessing, *Evolution of Oldest Howe,* 107-21; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* December 13, 1959; *St. Augustine Record,* May 16, 17, 1970.
71. Wilson to W. J. Harris, July 30, 1925, Wilson letterbook, 1925-1926; Minutes Book, January 6, 1946, March 9, 1948, November 13, 1951; *St. Augustine Record,* January 9, 1952.

In January 1955, *El Escribano,* a monthly newsletter which carried articles on the history of St. Augustine, made its appearance. In 1959 the publication became a quarterly, although it continued as a mimeographed and stapled product. In 1977 it was transformed into an annual and began to be printed professionally. When *El Escribano* became an annual, the *East-Florida Gazette* began appearing as a quarterly newsletter. The editors of these publications have included: J. Carver Harris, Doris Wiles, Luis and Eugenia Arana, Jacqueline and Mark Fretwell, and Jean Parker Waterbury.[72]

In 1955 the Society spent $2,500 to publish an additional 5,000 copies of the *Florida Historical Quarterly's* special Osceola edition. These were sold by the Society in the Oldest House gift shop. In 1959 the University of Florida Press and the Society collaborated on the publication of Charles W. Arnade's *The Siege of St. Augustine, 1702.* In 1962 the Society published the first book under its name, Albert Manucy's *Houses of St. Augustine, 1565-1821.* This volume has probably been the most important single factor shaping the efforts to enhance the colonial atmosphere of the historic district of town. In 1978 the book went into its second printing.[73]

The Evolution of the Oldest Howe, published by Florida State University in 1962, summarized the historical and archeological research which had been done on the Oldest House. Albert Manucy's *Florida's Menéndez* came out in 1965, and Joyce Harmon's *Trade and Privateering in Spanish Florida* in 1969. Thomas Graham's *The Awakening of St. Augustine, The Anderson Family, and the Oldest City, 1821-1924,* was published in 1978 as the first book-length volume concerning St. Augustine's history during the American period. In 1983, on the anniversary of its one-hundreth year, the Society published *The Oldest City, St. Augustines' Saga of Survival,* a comprehensive history of St. Augustine from the time of the Timucua to the present. A few other short publications round out a house list.[74]

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72. Minutes Book, October 12, 1954, November 14, 1966; "El Escribano," typed summary of history of publication, El Escribano file.
73. Minutes Book, January 12, 1954, August 9, September 13, 1955, October 8, November 12, 1957, September 9, 1958, January 13, 1959, July 11, 1961, January 9, August 27, 1962, January 8, 1979.
74. Ibid., November 11, December 9, 1968, June 14, 1976, December 11, 1978, March 8, 1982.

The Society's holdings of books and manuscripts had continued to increase, As early as 1946 there were discussions of the need for a larger, air-conditioned library. The Llambias House was considered briefly, and then the idea of a new library was put aside for several years. In 1958 the planning committee recommended that a new library be constructed to the rear of the Oldest House, facing Charlotte Street. In the summer of 1964 the new facility was completed. It contained a reading room, a fireproof vault, a microfilm alcove, and an upstairs stack area. The library would also be used for meetings.[75]

During the 1950s the question of preserving the historic buildings and distinctive character of St. Augustine came to the forefront as the city began to grow. The Society feared that modernization would destroy what it considered to be a precious national heritage, and it favored zoning laws which would protect the town's antique atmosphere.[76]

Perhaps the most ominous threat to the historic aspect of St. Augustine was the automobile. As traffic increased there were demands to widen historic narrow streets and to demolish old structures to make parking lots. During the middle 1950s the battle between the preservationists and the modernizers focused on north Bay Street (now Avenida Menéndez). It was proposed that a major four-lane road with parking spaces be constructed along the bayfront by demolishing the 1840s vintage seawall and filling in the bay to create the needed land for a wider street.

On August 11, 1953, the board went on record in opposition to the bayfront expansion on the grounds that it was not part of an overall traffic plan, the bayfront should be kept as scenic as possible, a major bayfront road would pull traffic into the heart of the historic area and lead to demands for a second bridge to Anastasia Island paralleling the existing Bridge of Lions, and, the fort would no longer be a prominent feature of the bayfront vista if the land were filled and extended into the bay.[77]

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75. Minutes Book, October 8, 1946, January 14, 1947, November 14, 1950, July 8, 1958, September 22, 1961, March 13, 1962, August 12, 1963, August 10, 1964.
76. Ibid., February 10, 1953.
77. Ibid., August 11, 1953.

When the city began to take action on the expansion plan in 1956, X. L. Pellicer, then president of the Society, led the fight to halt the plan. A committee was set up to write letters to the governor and other political leaders opposing the action. Some board members disagreed with Pellicer's stand and maintained that widening of Bay Street was inevitable. This being so, they maintained, the Society should cooperate to see that the expansion was done in a proper manner.

The battle continued on into the next year, creating divisions within the Society and great animosity in the community. Pelliter and a few other Society members continued to look for means of stopping the widening of Bay Street, but their efforts were unavailing. When completed, the new four-lane road did help to alleviate traffic problems, but all the negative drawbacks which the Society had predicted also resulted.[78]

If the preservation movement lost one battle in St. Augustine in 1958, it won another. Early in the year Governor LeRoy Collins called for the creation of a Preservation Commission in the oldest city. The Society endorsed the idea and offered its library and services to the preservation program. As the new St. Augustine Historical and Preservation Commission began its activities, the Society lent its support in various ways. Dr. Hale Smith, who had been employed as archeological consultant, was housed free of charge in one of the Society's rental properties. A donation of $1,000 was approved to help purchase the Arrivas House, which would serve as the Commission's headquarters. The Society also allowed the preservation organization to pick through its back lot for surplus coquina stone which could be used in restoring the Arrivas House.[79]

Although the Society's relationship was always cordial, there were ambivalent feelings about the new preservation program which had moved into the Society's domain. Some members felt that the Society was not getting enough credit for the help it was giving to the Commission. A more serious concern was the way in which the preservation-restoration program was trending.

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78. Ibid., October 9, 1956, March 12, June 7, 11, 1957, January 14, March 11, July 29, October 14, 1958, March 6, 1959.
79. Ibid., May 13, 1958, June 7, 1960, February 14, 1961; J. T. Van Campen to H. E. Wolfe, June 8, 1960, in Minutes Book for 1959-1969; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* January 26, 1961.

Most of the work was being done on north St. George Street, and the title "the restored area" was being used to designate that part of town. Carver Harris pointed out that "the restored area" was at the north end of town, far from the Oldest House. "We are going to be in a bad way," he warned, if all the development were north of the plaza and the tourists stayed in that part of town.[80]

In fact, the Society was experiencing financial difficulty, but the seriousness of the financial problem was masked by the wealth which the Society had accumulated over the previous half-century. Ironically, as the Society had become more competent and the Oldest House more authentic, the Oldest House became less successful as a tourist attraction.

As early as 1952 some drops in attendance were occurring, but there did not seem to be any consistent pattern developing. Bad weather, repairs of the streets, or some other unusual event could be cited as the cause of a poor monthly showing. In 1958 the visitation decline was blamed on the nationwide recession. In most years income still exceeded expenses by small amounts, but during 1959 the Society was experiencing operating deficits.[81]

By the summer of 1961 the decline in revenues was alarming. The Society's accountant Andrew McGhin went over the financial records from 1953 to 1960 and found that revenues were declining while fixed expenses were rising.[82] Mr. Harris blamed the decline on the location of the Oldest House in the southern part of town; he said that by the time tourists reached it they had already been soured on historic attractions by having paid too much for other inferior sights. He also felt that the new trailer trams which carried large numbers of visitors around encouraged people to see St. Augustine too quickly and depart without going into many of the places.[83] Clement Silvestro, di-

80. Minutes Book, April 11, 1961, October 9, December 11, 1962, January 7, 1963; Business Manager's Report, June 13, 1960, in Minutes Book for 1959-1969.
81. Minutes Book, June 8, 1952, December 31, 1954, October 11, 1955, February 14, July 10, December 11, 1956, May 13, 1958, February 10, September 8, November 10, December 8, 1959.
82. Ibid., July 11, 1961.
83. Ibid., April 12, 1960; J. Carver Harris, Memo to Finance Committee, July 24, 1961, history and information file.

rector of the American Association for State and Local History, was called upon for advice, and he declared that it was unrealistic for a historic site to expect to cover its expenses by admission fees-all require government or other outside support.[84]

Board member J. Tyler Van Campen, summarizing his analysis of the problem in a memorandum of December 1962, blamed the lack of visitors on competition with the "restored area," which duplicated the Oldest House with period houses of its own, and also on the general increase in non-historical attractions in town. His recommended solution was to cut staff (partly by the use of volunteer help), to increase advertising for the Oldest House, to set up a museum in the Dodge House on north St. George Street, and to ask for help from the state Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board (formerly the Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission).[85]

In 1966 McGhin once more analyzed the Society's finances and again reported a seemingly inexorable decline in revenues. However, things brightened just a little in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Attendance increased somewhat, and this, combined with an increase in the cost of admission, led to improved revenues.[86] The oil crisis of 1974 kept vacationers out of their cars and at home, and led to a precipitous decline in visitation at the Oldest House. On the other hand, vigorous competition between two rival tourist tram services led to a 150,000 visitor year in 1978. However, the 1980s opened with three straight years of ominous declines in attendance. In 1983, the Society's centennial year, only 64,795 visitors went through the Oldest House.[87]

At present (1985), despite economic problems which it has not faced since the days of Dr. Webb, the Society continues to make a contribution to St. Augustine and the north Florida area. Its library is frequented by scholarly researchers and a variety

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84. Clement M. Silvestro to J. Carver Harris, July 6, 1961, copy, history and information file.
85. J. Tyler Van Campen, Memorandum to Board of Directors, December 1, 1962, history and information file.
86. Minutes Book, September 12, 1966, January 9, 1967, August 12, September 9, 1968, June 9, July 14, August 11, 1969, January 12, 1970.
87. Minutes Book, December 12, 1977, February 13, 1978; Charles Coomes, Treasurer's Report to the Directors for the Five Years 1978-1982, January 15, 1983.

of genealogists, students, and history buffs. Its programs and publications draw the public into the study of the archeology, architecture, and history of the community. Visitors who find their way to St. Francis Street far from the tourist throngs and souvenir shops, discover at the Oldest House and its quiet surroundings a purer image of St. Augustine's historical and architectural heritage.

"IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST?" ED BALL AND THE FEC RAILWAY WAR

by BURTON ALTMAN

HISTORIANS describe the Florida East Coast Railway strike of the 1960s as one of the longest labor disputes in United States history. It was also one of the most violent episodes in recent American labor history.[1] Expected to last only a few weeks, it began in January 1963, when 1,640 workers walked out, and did not end until late 1974. The early years of the strike were punctuated by numerous violent acts, particularly derailments and dynamitings of FEC railway freight trains. On October 20, 1963, four diesel locomotives and fifty-two cars piled up just south of New Smyrna Beach, Florida.[2] Forty-nine of the cars overturned, causing an estimated $250,000 damage. In February 1964, an explosion blew a freight train off its tracks and set fire to liquid petroleum in a tank car.[3] Woods in the vicinity caught fire, but no one was hurt.

On February 9, 1964, several dynamite blasts derailed thirty-three cars of a ninety-three car train in metropolitan Miami only yards from heavily traveled U. S. 1.[4] No deaths were reported, but Albert Nitti, a Miami freelance photographer, received severe electrical burns when he touched an object in contact with a fallen power line. Damage was estimated at $250,000. On the same day that President Lyndon Johnson was attending groundbreaking ceremonies for the Cross-Florida Barge Canal near Ocala, two explosions occurred nearby.[5] A charge of dynamite exploded under an engine, and a second explosion detonated

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1. Alexander R. Stoesen, "Road from Receivership: Claude Pepper, the duPont Trust, and the Florida East Coast Railway" *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XL11 (October 1973), 132.
2. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* October 20, 1963.
3. Ibid., February 15, 1964.
4. Ibid., February 10, 1964.
5. Ibid., February 28, 1964.

about 120 cars back. An engineer was cut by flying glass, but no other crew members were injured.

In addition to the bombings, there were shootings of both union and non-union railroad employees. In August 1963, a special FEC railroad agent wounded a union picket in an altercation near the New Smyrna Beach station.[6] In early 1964, an FEC guard was shot from a passing car by an unidentified assailant, and the following year there were shootings into the homes of three FEC employees in the Miami area.[7]

In the early 1960s, the FEC's non-operating unions wanted the same wage increases recently granted to national railroad unions, but in Florida, the FEC was under the control of financier and industrialist Edward Ball who administered the duPont Trust. Ball, while professing to act in the best interest of all Floridians, actually pursued policies during' the strike that threatened the safety and livelihood of the railroad employees, Florida citizens, and the general business community.

Ball's close association with Alfred I. duPont, a member of one of America's wealthiest families, ultimately led to confrontation with the railroad unions. Ball's sister, Jessie, married duPont in 1921, and Ball began working for his brother-in-law as his financial adviser. He handled the industrialist's business affairs both in Delaware and Florida.[8]

In 1926, duPont, following Ball's advice, purchased 95,081 acres of land in Bay, Franklin, and Walton counties. Thus began the establishment of the duPont empire in northwest Florida. At the time of duPont's death in 1935, most of his fortune was invested in Florida, with Ball as the dominant trustee of the estate.[9]

After duPont's death, Ball became interested in acquiring the Florida East Coast Railroad. Built between 1885 and 1911 by Henry M. Flagler, the FEC spurred the growth of south Florida and the state's east coast. During the 1920s land boom, the carrier brought in large numbers of new settlers and vacationers, supplied building materials for construction, and

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6. Ibid., August 8, 1963.
7. Ibid., April 22, 1964; January 14, 1965.
8. Leon Odell Griffith, *Ed Ball: Confusion to the Enemy* (Tampa, 1975), 25.
9. Ibid., 20, 27; Stoesen, "Road from Receivership," 134.

transported Florida's agricultural produce to northern markets. [10]

Through the St. Joe Paper Company, another duPont operation, Ball began buying the carrier's bonds. In 1942, the Interstate Commerce Commission proposed a plan of FEC operations under which three managers would be named by the estate. In 1944, a group of bondholders suggested that the FEC be placed under the control of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad, contending that the public interest would best be served by making the FEC part of an existing major railway system. Both plans were denied by the courts, and Ball continued to acquire FEC bonds.[11]

When it appeared that Ball had the FEC within his grasp, United States Senator Claude Pepper from Florida tried to mount strong opposition to the duPont estate's attempt to take over the carrier. From the beginning of his national career in 1936, Pepper was identified as a liberal and a supporter of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, a program of social change that ran counter to Ball's conservative business philosophy. As one writer noted, "Claude Pepper and Ed Ball are about as far apart in outlook as any two men could be. Ball, the old-school conservative, and Pepper, the radical New Dealer, could not be expected to see anything eye-to-eye."[12] These philosophical differences were at the heart of the Ball-Pepper controversy. Pepper, who believed that Ball had helped defeat him in the 1950 Senate race, opposed awarding the FEC to the duPont Trust and said, "I took the position that the railroad should not be awarded to a banking group such as the duPonts, who were inexperienced in the operation of a major railroad."[13] Pepper also considered Ball and the duPont interests "a menace to the state . . . not [to] be trusted with a great public utility like this railroad."[14]

In 1946, at an ICC hearing in Washington, the Ball-Pepper feud erupted. Pepper called the duPont Trust an "octopus," and termed Ball, "an autocratic power in Florida, an expert

10. *Report of the Transportation Committee on Railways,* Florida State Planning Board (Tallahassee, April 1, 1935), 1.
11. Stoesen, "Road from Receivership," 137.
12. Freeman Lincoln, "The Terrible-Tempered Mr. Ball," *Fortune,* XLVI (November 1952), 156.
13. Griffith, Ed Ball, 34.
14. Stoesen, "Road from Receivership," 144.

propagandist and a financial and industrial emperor unfit to control the Florida East Coast Railway because his grasp for power bodes ill for the people of Florida."[15] Pepper warned Florida's unions that if the carrier was put in Ball's hands, railroad workers would regret it.[16] He later would be proved correct.

By 1959, after further attempts to wrest control of the FEC from the duPont interests failed, the district court approved a plan favoring the duPont Trust, declaring that "public interest would best be served by maintaining the line as an independent carrier under a Florida-based corporation." In 1960 the receivership ended with Ball in total control of the FEC.[17]

While there may have been initial euphoria on the part of the unions, which had stood by Ball throughout these embattled years, it quickly dissipated by the early 1960s. Ball, in firm control of the carrier, was determined to run the FEC for profit. The action he took incurred the wrath of the employees and set the stage for the strike.

The eleven non-operating unions (those workers who did not man the trains) which struck the FEC served a notice on all major carriers in September 1961, proposing a twenty-five cents per hour wage increase and certain rule changes. Ed Ball broke away from these negotiations and announced that the FEC would bargain by and for itself. In March 1962, President Kennedy established a special emergency board to mediate the dispute. In June, when the board recommended a 10.28 cents per hour wage hike, the unions and 192 railroads accepted, but Ball did not. Subsequently, the National Mediation Board tried to mediate the dispute with Ball and the FEC without success.[18] According to Ball, the FEC was not showing a profit, and therefore the carrier could not afford to raise salaries ten cents an hour. He also argued that since the FEC operated only in Florida, the carrier was not bound by the national settlement.

Ball's explanation that the railroad could not afford to raise wages was questionable. At a meeting of Florida officials and

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15. Ibid., 145.
16. Ibid., 141.
17. Ibid., 153.
18. *Miami Herald,* May 3, 1964; *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report,* National Mediation Board (Washington, 1963), 11-12.

others concerned about the safety of the trains, William H. Roden, an FEC employee, contended that Ball's remarks were contradictory. According to Roden, "The news media put out the propaganda issued to them by the Florida East Coast Railroad that the strike was because [the FEC] . . . could not afford to pay the wages as demanded. After they got through with all that, they come over here and say the real issue is not the question of wages, the real issue is whether the FEC or any railroad can negotiate with its employees. It is wages in one and wages is not the question in the other."[19] Roden also stated that the FEC "has invested millions in this railroad and we all know that this railroad was practically given to them in 1961 by the Interstate Commerce Commission."[20]

While union officials in St. Augustine continued to demand the 10.28 cents per hour increase negotiated at the national level, Ball remained adamant, arguing that he would never accept a contract arranged by interests outside Florida. As a result, at six o'clock on the morning of January 23, 1963, 1,200 non-operators walked off the job, and soon five operating unions honored the picket lines.[21]

In response, the FEC halted operations and abolished the strikers' jobs. Ball gradually restored freight service by running the trains on a limited basis using non-union members who worked by the hour rather than by the mile. With only 800 persons to run the trains as compared to the previous 3,000, Ball effectively eliminated "featherbedding." His actions paid off; FEC stock increased two dollars a share on the New York Stock Exchange.[22]

Ball also defied federal mediation efforts to end the strike. In the first weeks of the strike, the National Mediation Board sent two negotiators, Frances A. O'Neill and James Holaren, to St. Augustine to determine whether management and strikers

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19. "Transcript of Proceedings of a Meeting Regarding the Florida East Coast Railway Held at the Governor's Club Hotel, Fort Lauderdale," October 15, 1963, 10, Box 77, Folder 2, Cecil Farris Bryant Papers, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee (hereinafter Bryant Papers).
20. Ibid.
21. Griffith, *Ed Ball*, 41.
22. Ibid. Featherbedding, a well-established railroad work practice, authorized a fireman in the cab, even though the engine was diesel and there was no fire to stoke.

could be brought together. Believing that mediation sessions should be confidential to allow for free discussion, they departed shortly after arriving because Ball was insisting that a verbatim record of the meeting be made. Proposed talks between Ball, Assistant Secretary of Labor James J. Reynolds, and George E. Leighty, chairman of the eleven striking unions, also failed because Ball wanted a court reporter present. In May 1963, Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz asked Ball and his workers to submit to binding arbitration. Ball replied, "The railroad does not desire to submit the issue to non-interested parties to settle the question in dispute."[23]

After Ball refused to accept arbitration, President Kennedy signed Executive Order 11127, appointing a special emergency board composed of Derek Bok of Harvard, Paul N. Guthrie of the University of North Carolina, and Harry H. Platt, a Detroit attorney. The board felt it was inappropriate for it to express an opinion on the legal question of whether the carrier was obligated by Section 10 of the Railway Labor Act to reinstate the striking employees, noting that the Department of Justice had brought action against the FEC and that the district judge had declined to order reinstatement of the workers. It also concluded that the number of jobs required to operate the railroad should be left to negotiations between the parties. The board recommended to Ball that the carrier pay the 10.28 cents wage increase in conformance with the 1962 national agreement, but without retroactive application. Ball refused.[24] This was the first of several important victories he realized during the strike.

Ball also achieved some impressive gains in his battle against the unions. For example, the FEC had a spur built to provide freight service for Cape Kennedy, where the National Aeronautics and Space Administration had constructed facilities. On two occasions, strikers picketed the Cape Kennedy line, and were joined by building trades workers who honored the picket lines. Ball went to court, insisting that pickets on government property constituted an illegal secondary boycott, and he obtained orders prohibiting the action. Ball also achieved success in the United

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23. *Thirtieth Annual Report,* National Mediation Board (Washington, 1964), 47-48.
24. Griffith, *Ed Ball,* 43-44; *Miami Herald,* February 19, 1964.

States Supreme Court when it ruled in 1966 that a carrier legally could hire non-union workers to continue its operations when union employees went on strike.[25]

As the climate of hostility increased between Ball and the workers, violence struck the FEC. With the resumption of freight service, engines and cars were derailed and dynamited off the tracks. Before the violence ended, nearly 300 incidents took place. Union spokesmen maintained that many of the derailments were caused by the run-down conditions of the road, but as the dynamitings took a sharp increase during 1963-1964, management blamed the incidents on deliberate attempts by strikers to sabotage the trains and halt freight shipments. Ball posted $410,000 in reward money to discourage the sabotage and vandalism, placed guards on trains, and set ahead of each train a station wagon with special flanged wheels to clear the line for the trailing engine and its cars.[26]

How true were Ball's accusations that the striking workers were responsible for sabotaging and vandalizing the trains? Various Florida newspapers, notably the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union* — considered a "railroad" newspaper— reported during these years that several union officials and FEC employees were arrested and charged with crimes.

In one case, a forty-year-old union local official and three other workers were arrested and charged with trying to dynamite an FEC freight train. The three FEC employees were members of the operating unions that observed the picket lines set up by the non-operating locals. All four pleaded innocent to the charges. However, an FBI informer, Floyd Becker, testified in federal court that he had helped the four union members derail a switch engine before they tried to blow up an FEC railroad bridge. A defense attorney sought to show entrapment of the four employees, but did not succeed. Two of the workers were found guilty on counts of conspiracy and of placing a bomb on a trestle near Vero Beach. One was sentenced to five years on the conspiracy conviction and to two ten-year terms to run concurrently for placing dynamite beneath the tracks. The other worker was sentenced to a five-year term on the conspiracy con-

25. Griffith, *Ed Ball,* 44.
26. Ibid., 43.

viction and to only one ten-year term on the other charge. The other two defendants were found guilty of attempting to wreck a freight train. They were sentenced to five years for placing a bomb beneath the track, but only six months would be served; the remainder was spent on probation. According to John Katsikos, the union local official was charged and found guilty of attempting to wreck a freight train. The case went to the Appellate Court, and all four men eventually were exonerated.[27]

Testimony against the accused in some of these cases was weak. For example, it was reported that Harold V. Thompson of New Smyrna Beach, an FEC employee since 1952, was arrested by FBI agents on charges of willfully damaging rolling stock. Several FEC employees testified against Thompson at preliminary hearings, all of who were in the vicinity when the alleged sabotage occurred. When questioned by Thompson's defense attorney, Lacy Mahon of Jacksonville, witnesses Milo Parker, the FEC superintendent of transportation in New Smyrna Beach, and G. B. McCray, the engineer on duty at the time of the accident, refused to say that a turned angle cock– which Thompson allegedly turned on a refrigerator car– would definitely result in a train wreck.[28]

There is also evidence that some strikers were arrested for assaults on non-union railroad employees, but none of the available materials researched indicate the outcome of these arrests. The papers of Governor Farris Bryant, for example, cite the names of W. C. Deans and Ozzie McGee, arrested in Fort Pierce for assaulting an employee. "Deans had previously made the statement that he could get the dynamite necessary to blow up the railroad," and various people were interviewed from a list of trouble-makers supplied by the FEC.[29] What happened following these arrests remains a mystery.

After the two explosions near the site of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal ground-breaking, the federal government intervened to stem the escalating violence. President Johnson or-

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27. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* March 26, April 4, July 15, 16, July 23, August 15, 1964; interview with John Katsikos, February 12, 1985.
28. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* May 7, 1963; Daytona Beach *Morning Journal,* May 23, 1963.
29. L. J. Van Buskirk to T. A. Buchanan, March 5, 1964, Box 77, Folder 1, Bryant Papers.

dered thirty FBI agents to investigate the bombings, and he asked Secretary Wirtz to talk with Governor Bryant about recommendations to end the strike.[30]

Because of Bryant's friendship and loyalty to Ball, the governor was unwilling to act decisively in the public's interest to end the strike. Roy Bohr, a former FEC employee, who worked for the carrier from 1955 to 1963 tried to show a tie between Ball and Bryant, when he stated, "The FEC always did pay their taxes when they were in the hands of receivers . . . but when Mr. Ball legally took over . . . he didn't pay his taxes. I would like to know how Mr. Ed Ball gets away with all this stuff. I think the reason he does is that he has Mr. Bryant, Governor of Florida and Mr. Smathers of Florida . . . on his side. He has got all the crooked politicians and all the money in Florida on his side. You said that one man can't tell the government of the U. S. what to do, well, Mr. Ball of the duPont interests of Florida is doing it."[31]

Governor Bryant was not the only public official who resisted a strike settlement. Haydon Burns, longtime mayor of Jacksonville and from 1965 to 1967, governor of Florida, was reportedly also loyal to Ball. During his gubernatorial administration, for example, Burns initiated a $300,000,000 highway bond program– later defeated by the voters– which would have authorized a highway along U. S. 98 between Apalachicola and Medart in northwest Florida. This proposed road would run through land owned by the DuPont estate.[32]

In 1964, after many years, the FEC showed a profit. Union workers who were willing to return to their jobs at wages determined by Ball were rehired when vacancies occurred. Despite promises of employment, some Florida officials, like Claude Pepper, who had returned to Washington as a congressman, believed that Ball's policies produced devastating effects on the economic well-being of the striking employees. In a desperate appeal to Pepper, one striking union worker stated "there are several hundred men out there that are too old to go to work

30. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* February 28, 1964.
31. Roy H. Bohr to Claude Pepper, February 20, 1964, Box 57, Folder 6, Claude Pepper Papers, Florida State University, Tallahassee (hereinafter Pepper Papers).
32. Griffith, *Ed Ball,* 85.

elsewhere and several more too young to retire, who are losing their homes and everything they have worked for all their life [*sic*]."[33] Pepper told striking workers in 1966, "you gentlemen have been up against an exercise of tyrannical economic power which cost you your jobs and your livelihood."[34] In a letter to Governor Bryant, Herbert D. Zeigler, American Legion commander in New Smyrna, wrote that "as a result of management and labor not being able to come to a satisfactory settlement, we find that many of our local citizens are losing their most valued possessions, such as their homes, their automobiles, and the privilege of having a decent standard of living."[35] Early in the strike, a constituent wrote to Pepper: "This is a public utility very much needed for the economy and employment of many thousands of men and women, in East and South Florida . . . many shippers are already closing their factories and warehouses. In my opinion, the railroad is defying the public. The meager increase in wages was awarded by federal negotiation and all class I railroads are paying it except the FEC."[36]

Other Florida political leaders, such as Miami Mayor Robert King High, expressed great concern for the public's safety at railroad crossings. In October 1963, he called a meeting of Florida municipal officials to demand safety improvements on the FEC. At the meeting, held at the Governor's Club Hotel in Fort Lauderdale, High noted that since passenger service had been eliminated, the strike had produced adverse effects on tourism. He also claimed that safety equipment had been allowed to deteriorate at various railroad intersections in Miami.[37] At a later hearing, High testified that the FEC had responded to efforts to obtain rail crossing signals with a "combination of dawdle and diversion and delay," and complained that he had tried for years to have Ball remove the old wooden FEC station in the center of Miami and replace it with a modern structure.[38]

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33. C. H. Grant to Pepper, August 11, 1966, Box 57, Folder 7, Pepper Papers.
34. *Miami Herald,* July 14, 1966.
35. Herbert D. Ziegler to Farris Bryant, May 4, 1963, Box 76, Folder 3, Bryant Papers.
36. W. M. Cain to Pepper, February 14, 1963, Box 57, Folder 5, Pepper Papers.
37. "Transcript of Proceedings of a Meeting Regarding the Florida East Coast Railway Held at the Governor's Club Hotel, Fort Lauderdale," October 15, 1963, 6, Bryant Papers, Box 77, Folder 2, 6.
38. Griffith, *Ed Ball,* 85.

Miami citizen Jackson Flowers testified at this meeting that there were "inadequate crossing devices, undergrowth obstructing views at crossings, and defective lights and bells that had not been corrected in quite some time."[39] Union spokesman J. H. Hadley claimed that recent derailments were caused by "the deplorable safety conditions on the railroad," and said that there has been "virtually no maintenance work done since the strike began." He added, "Ed Ball has had the choice of using his men to maintain safety standards or to make money using freight. He has chosen to do the latter– even at the cost of risking the lives of every Florida motorist who ever drives through a railroad crossing."[40]

There was even more concern for public safety when the Florida Public Utilities Commission ordered the FEC to resume full passenger service in 1965, despite pleas by the carrier that customers would be endangered.[41] Although it was reported that Ball was "sympathetic to those who did not wish to risk their lives in light of recent incidents of violence," his plan to operate the FEC purely as a profit-making enterprise– to the detriment of the railroad workers, the economy, and the people of Florida– created this tense climate which threatened passenger safety.[42] Mayor High, while traveling northbound from Miami to West Palm Beach, noted signs warning passengers that they traveled at their own risk. Other signs read, "the FEC has not operated passenger trains because of violence and sustained sabotage." The mayor commented, "it's unbelievable that they would try to scare passengers that way."[43] Fortunately, despite these warnings and several derailments, there were no reports of rider injuries or fatalities cited in the materials researched.

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39. "Transcript of Proceedings of a Meeting Regarding the Florida East Coast Railway Held at the Governor's Club Hotel, Fort Lauderdale." October 15. 1963, 18, 20, Bryant Papers, Box 77, Folder 2.
40. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* October 2 1, 1963.
41. *New York Times,* January 15, 1965. This ruling took place at the same time that a petition was filed by the city of Miami requesting the federal courts to transfer control of the FEC from the duPont Trust and place it in receivership, because the line was not operating according to rules and regulations set up when it came out of receivership in 1961. This effort to wrest power from Ed Ball did not succeed.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid., August 3, 1965.

In agricultural areas on Florida's east coast where the FEC was the primary means of transporting vegetables to the nation's markets, business suffered. Resolutions and telegrams sent to Governor Bryant from county commissioners, the Florida Cabinet, and Florida fruit and vegetable growers noted the strike's severity. In its resolution, the Florida Cabinet petitioned the President of the United States, Secretary of Commerce, Secretary of the ICC, the Florida congressional delegation, and FEC officials to take immediate steps to end the strike, since its continuation would severely hurt agriculture due to loss of time, money and quality in shipping goods to market.[44] L. R. Weston, a businessman from Coral Gables, wrote to Pepper that, "in those areas where agriculture is the predominant industry, I found great apprehension about the transportation facilities which would be available, if any, at the time of harvest. Many of these people think that they may be facing financial ruin if they go ahead and plant as extensively as they normally would under conditions of the prior existing service."[45]

Shipping and other Florida business dependent on the FEC experienced losses. Individuals, such as William Green, an attorney from Miami, wrote to Pepper, "personally, I have relatives, clients, and good friends who are seriously affected by this transportation tie-up and the increased cost of moving material. With the season coming on, many of them have expressed to me even greater anxiety because of the greatly increased demand for such transportation."[46]

C. J. Henderson, president of the Northside Civic Association of New Smyrna Beach, wrote to Governor Bryant, "This deplorable condition is causing much hardship . . . both to private business and to the wasting of taxpayers' money for rebates on public works projects where material has to be expensively hauled in by trucks."[47] Henderson felt that a federal probe of the FEC's entire operation and management should be made, and believed that the ICC should "remedy this situation with a

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44. "Resolution by Florida Cabinet to Take Immediate Steps to End the Strike," typed copy, Box 76, Folder 3, Bryant Papers.
45. L. R. Weston to Pepper, October 7, 1963, Box 57, Folder 5. Pepper Papers.
46. William Clinton Green to Pepper, September 27, 1963, Box 57, Folder 5, Pepper Papers.
47. C. J. Henderson to Bryant, July 1, 1963, Box 76, Folder 3, Bryant Papers.

new management if management and ownership are not operating efficiently and in the public interest."[48] Henderson's hopes did not materialize because Ball's policies prevailed.

More than any other sector of the public, the FEC's employees rapidly became disillusioned with Ball and his methods of operating the road. One striker remarked, "unionism shall survive the crucifixion and dictates of such men as Hitler and Ed Ball. But we who are being sacrificed on the FEC aren't faring so well either. In our modern day and time such crucifixion cannot and must not be allowed."[49] In a letter to Pepper, an FEC employee who had worked for the company since the 1940s and had opposed the congressman's proposal to merge the FEC with the Atlantic Coast Line, now regretted her decision. She wrote, "During the time when the ACL and the St. Joe Paper Company were fighting to get control over the Railway and you advised that we should go with the ACL, many of the railway employees felt that you had sold us down the river. I must admit that I was one of the stupid nuts that felt that way, but my father told me at the time that you were one friend that labor could count on and if you felt that it would be best for us to go along with the ACL, then we should do that. He stuck up for you through thick and thin and when you were defeated, he said that he knew there would come a time when all of the union men who had voted against you would be sorry. I would like to take this opportunity to tell you we reached that stage just shortly after Mr. Ball took over the railroad."[50]

Other laborers voiced similar disappointment and protest against Ball's policies. Orval D. Hinman, who had been a train conductor in 1926, served as a labor representative for the conductors both on the local and national levels, and supported the strike of the non-operating unions. In a letter to Governor Bryant in 1964, Hinman wrote that from 1946 until the time the duPont Trust acquired the FEC, the employees of the railway and their labor unions supported Ball, on the assurance that "mutually satisfactory labor relations would be maintained

48. Ibid.
49. W. J. Ortegas to Pepper, August 11, 1966, Box 57, Folder 7, Pepper Papers.
50. Cora Stowe McCarthy to Pepper, August 26, 1963, Box 57, Folder 5, Pepper Papers.

by the management." But once Ball was in charge he "honored none of the promises and commitments he made," and he used the unions to gain his objectives. "He has employed in management what is probably the largest group of trained labor baiters found in management since the sweatshop and child labor days of decades ago."[51]

FEC employees also opposed Governor Bryant's proposed use of the National Guard to stifle the violence. But clearly, Ball was the target of those outbursts. Hinman, in another letter to Bryant, urged him not to use the National Guard as a means of settling the dispute, believing that it "could add nothing to the safety of the train movement." He observed, "This appears to be another attempt by Mr. Edward Ball to get free police protection for his property, in a situation of which he is the principal author. Use of the National Guard . . . would place you and your administration squarely on the side of the strike breakers presently partially operating it."[52]

Patrick T. Clancy, chairman of the "Area Two Strike Committee" in St. Augustine, contended that the governor's use of the Florida Sheriff's Bureau (in addition to possible use of the National Guard) to track down the violent perpetrators was a violation of civil rights. In a telegram to the governor, Clancy wrote that his "pledge of cooperation did not imply abject submission to police state tactics of harassment and subversion of the legal rights of our people." It should "require the assurance of strict impartiality by a law enforcement officer."[53]

The FEC strike did not ease until 1971 when an agreement was reached between labor and management. The settlement surprised many people because the FEC had been maintaining cost-saving operations using non-union labor. However, the carrier found it advantageous to settle now because it saw the possibility of being sued for heavier damages– perhaps as high as $15,000,000– if it lost pending lawsuits. Furthermore, the FEC had difficulty maintaining its work force. Because of its low wages, the turnover of non-union employees was very high; this

51. Orval D. Hinman to Bryant, February 25, 1964, Box 77, Folder 1, Bryant Papers.
52. Ibid., March 7, 1964.
53. Patrick T. Clancy to Bryant, March 21, 1964, Box 77, Folder 1, Bryant Papers.

was costly to the company and undermined its claims of savings. At one point, the FEC asked the unions for permission to raise the non-strikers' pay by twenty-five per cent. Predictably, the unions refused, and the query led eventually to resumed talks and the settlement.

The railroad agreed to pay the eleven non-operating unions $1,500,000 in damages. Strikers' salaries were raised thirty-one per cent effective January 1, 1972. They gained an additional six per cent on January 1, 1973, and again in 1974. Workers employed before 1970 received a twenty-five per cent raise retroactive to January 1, 1971. There was also a guarantee that no employee would be required to cross craft lines.[54] Two operating unions– the United Transportation Union and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers– did not accept the terms because they wanted standardized work rules and pay scales that had been accepted by all other railroads in the United States. They stayed on strike until March 1, 1974, when a court order ended the strike.[55]

Despite these few gains, the unions' losses far outweighed any benefits they secured. After the settlement, workers were earning at least one dollar an hour less than their counterparts on other railroads. Wages were well below the industry's scale and the work force had been cut in half. When the strike began, 1,600 walked out. In time, 900 went back to work on the company's terms; others found employment elsewhere. Only about 100 stayed out until the end, and many of them could not return to work because they could no longer pass the required physical examinations or were too old to work. The end of the strike also ended their meager benefits that had enabled members to survive. Furthermore, after several years of court litigation, unions did not obtain much of their lost-pay claims.[56]

In the eyes of most people, Ed Ball had emerged as the winner of the strike. In spite of substantial legal costs and a high employee turn-over rate, the FEC's operating earnings increased by six-fold over the early 1960s a success achieved largely by hiring workers unaffected by work rules. The cost of

54. *Wall Street Journal,* December 20, 1971.
55. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* December 24, 1971.
56. *Wall Street Journal,* December 20, 1971; July 3, 1972.

paying a crew to run a freight train from Jacksonville to Miami was slashed by seventy-eight per cent. After years of delay and protest, miles of track and equipment were rejuvenated.[57] The *Wall Street Journal* described Ball as "very satisifed," and as one worker put it, "God knows, he ought to be, he ran the unions off. And that's what he set out to do so he could run the railroad the way he wanted to."[58]

Ed Ball had maintained that his railroad would best serve the public interest if it was managed by a Florida-based corporation. His viewpoint was not unlike the industrialists of the New South in the late nineteenth century, who believed they were "public benefactors, even when they made higher profits, paid lower wages, and maintained poorer working conditions than their non-southern competitors."[59] But in the 1960s, Ball's policy proved to be detrimental to the safety and economic well-being of the striking trainmen and to all Floridians.

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57. Ibid., July 3, 1972.
58. Ibid.
59. F. Ray Marshall, *Labor in the South* (Cambridge, 1967), viii.

FLORIDA'S CATTLE-RANCHING FRONTIER: MANATEE AND BREVARD COUNTIES (1860)

by JOHN SOLOMON OTTO

IN 1860, the eve of the Civil War, the southern edge of settlement, which delimited the "settled" areas with more than two persons per square mile from the "frontier" areas with fewer than two inhabitants per square mile, stood in central Florida. With the exception of a settled area along eastern Tampa Bay, the southern half of the Florida peninsula was a true frontier. South Florida, in fact, was the largest remaining frontier east of the Mississippi River.[1]

South Florida attracted few antebellum settlers, because much of the land was "pine barrens"– one of the most forbidding environments in the Old South. "One who has never traveled through the pine barrens can have little idea of the impression of utter desolation which they leave upon the mind," for nothing "is to be seen in any direction but the tall straight columns of the pine, with here and there a pond or lakelet." On the lower, poorly-drained "barrens," appropriately called "flatwoods," there were only pine trees, saw palmettos, and seasonal grasses. On the higher, excessively-drained "barrens," commonly called "rolling pine lands," there was little more than pines and scrub oaks. Both the rolling pine lands and the flatwoods shared sandy, leached soils which possessed little inherent fertility.[2]

Although the infertile pine barrens dominated the south Florida landscape, there were some scattered stands of magnolia and live-oak trees, which denoted more fertile soils. Bordering

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1. Charles O. Paullin, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* (Washington, 1932), plate 77.
2. Eugene W. Hilgard, *Report on Cotton Production in the United States. Part II: Eastern Gulf, Atlantic, and Pacific States* (Washington, 1884), 22-23.

the rivers were strips of lowland magnolia forests, or "low hammocks," whose moist, humic soils proved suitable for cash crops such as sugarcane. In addition, there were upland live-oak copses, or "high hammocks," whose well-drained, humic soils proved ideal for sugarcane as well as cotton.[3]

Hammock lands were well suited for cash crop agriculture, but many of the hammocks were too isolated to be profitably cultivated. In south Florida, there were no railways, and the only land transportation was by ox-drawn carts over sandy, seasonally-passable roads. Several small rivers drained south Florida's hinterland, but they were shallow streams that were navigable only at their mouths.[4] One notable exception was the Manatee River, a broad, deep stream that was "navigable for a distance of ten miles from its mouth for vessels drawing [up to] 8 feet of water."[5]

Since the navigable Manatee River was also lined with low hammock lands, this stream possessed the two prerequisites needed for successful cash crop agriculture: access to reliable transportation and fertile soils. Not surprisingly, the Manatee was one of the few areas in south Florida that proved attractive to cash crop planters. By 1850, the Manatee River settlement counted five sugar-planters: Robert Gamble, Jr., William Craig, Dr. Joseph Braden, G. H. Wyatt, and Josiah Gates. In that year, they produced a total of 535 hogsheads of sugar (535,000 pounds), which was valued at over $30,000. From their loading docks along the Manatee River, the planters exported sugar to New Orleans and imported plantation supplies.[6]

3. Ibid., 24; "Florida, as Compared with Texas," *DeBow's Review*, XXVIII (May 1860), 603; Victor E. Shelford, *The Ecology of North America* (Urbana, 1963), 63, 77.
4. Karl H. Grismer, *Tampa: A History of the City of Tampa and the Tampa Bay Region of Florida* (St. Petersburg, 1950), 128; Rodney E. Dillon, Jr., "The Civil War in South Florida" (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1980), 1-3.
5. George Franklin Thompson, "Journal of Geo. F. Thompson, as Inspector, Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees, and Abandoned Lands, on a tour of Central Florida and lower West Coast-Dec. 1865," 66, Miscellaneous Manuscript Collection, Box 24, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.
6. Michael G. Schene, "Sugar Along the Manatee: Major Robert Gamble, Jr., and the Development of Gamble Plantation," *Tequesta*, XLI (1981), 70, 76; John Solomon Otto, "Hillsborough County (1850): A Community in the South Florida Flatwoods," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LXII (October 1983), 182.

At this time, the Manatee River settlement was a part of Hillsborough County, whose county seat was located at Tampa. Sensing their isolation from the Tampa area, the Manatee planters led a movement to create a new county with Manatee settlement as its county seat. Legally established in 1855, the new county of Manatee ran from Piney Point on the north, to Charlotte Harbor on the south, to Pease Creek on the east. The Seminole Indian reservation lay to the east of Pease Creek, a tract set aside at the end of the Second Seminole War in 1842.[7]

Though they led the movement to create Manatee County, the sugar-planters were in decline. Since it cost between four to six cents to produce a pound of sugar, and since sugar prices averaged only six cents per pound during the 1850s, planters found it increasingly difficult to operate on this narrow margin of profit. By 1858, Robert Gamble, Manatee's leading sugar planter, had been foced to sell his operation to two Louisiana planters, John Cofield and Robert Davis, for $190,000. Included in the sale were 3,450 acres of land and 144 resident slaves as well as all the equipment. Other Manatee planters either sold their lands and slaves, or lost their property to creditors. By 1860, only John Cofield and Josiah Gates were still planting sugar along the Manatee River. In that year, Cofield's 190 slaves produced 200 hogsheads of sugar, and Josiah Gates's eleven slaves processed only thirty hogsheads. The two planters claimed virtually all of Manatee's total production of 231 hogsheads of sugar.[8]

Ten years earlier, the Manatee settlement had led the state of Florida in sugar production; by 1860, Manatee County's 231

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7. Grismer, *Tampa,* 127; Geo. B. Utley, "Origin of the County Names in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* I (October 1908), 33; John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War 1835-1842* (Gainesville, 1967), 315-16 and endpaper map.
8. Schene, "Sugar Along the Manatee," 76; Lillie B. McDuffee, *The Lures of Manatee: A True Story of South Florida's Glamorous Past* (Nashville, 1933), 103-04; U. S. Census Office, *The Eighth Census of the United States: 1860* (Washington, 1862); manuscript returns of the Eighth U. S. Census, 1860, Schedule 1, Free Inhabitants, Schedule 2, Slave Inhabitants, and Schedule 4, Agriculture, on microfilm at the National Archives, Washington, and the Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee (hereinafter cited as Eighth Census, 1860, with appropriate schedule numbers).

hogsheads ranked second behind Marion County's 238 hogsheads of sugar. Manatee County also ranked second in numbers of cattle. By 1860, Manatee counted 3 1,930 cattle, a total surpassed only by Hillsborough County's 37,820.[9]

Unlike sugarcane, which could be grown only on prized hammock lands, cattle could be raised successfully on nearly-worthless pine barrens. Since Florida law permitted citizens to range their stock on unclaimed public lands without charge, ranchers turned out their cattle to graze on the unfenced flatwoods and rolling pine lands. Grass and browse was so sparse in the pine lands, however, that a single cow needed to roam over as much as 100 acres during a year in order to find sufficient native forage. Fortunately, flatwoods comprised most of Manatee's land surface, and the flats contained a variety of seasonal grasses. Twenty acres of flatwoods could support one cow during the year.[10]

Despite the extensive flatwoods range in Manatee County, few cattle-ranchers arrived before 1855, because of the county's proximity to the Seminole reservation. Occasional conflicts and rumors of Indian raids discouraged settlement of the hinterland. As late as 1855, only a few cattle-ranching families lived west of Pease Creek, the western boundary of the reservation.[11]

Most prominent among Manatee's early cattle-ranchers was William B. Hooker, who had acquired over 1,000 acres of land near Fort Hamer by 1853. Clearing hammock land, he planted sea island or long-staple cotton, a delicate variety that commanded a higher market price than the more common short-staple cotton. Though he achieved limited success as a cotton-planter, his primary pursuit was herding cattle on the flatwoods.

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9. Otto, "Hillsborough County (1850)," 193; U. S. Census Office, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860* (Washington, 1864), 18, 21. The total number of cattle in Manatee and Hillsborough counties was determined by adding those listed as "milch cows," "working oxen," and "other cattle."
10. Hilgard, *Report on Cotton Production*, 22; Leslie A. Thompson, *A Manual or Digest of the Statute Law of the State of Florida* (Boston, 1847), 135; W. Theodore Mealor, Jr., and Merle C. Prunty, "Open-Range Ranching in Southern Florida," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, LXVI (September 1976), 361, 363-64.
11. Jean Plowden, *History of Hardee County* (Wauchula, 1929), 16; Lieutenant J. C. Ives, "Military Map of the Peninsula of Florida South of Tampa Bay" (Washington, 1856), P. K. Yonge Library.

By 1855, Hooker owned thousands of range cattle, which were branded with his distinctive "Heart H" logo.[12]

Hooker's agricultural pursuits were interrupted by the Third Seminole War (1855-1858). During the conflict, he commanded a company of Manatee and Hillsborough volunteers, who defended outlying white settlements against Seminole forays. Mustered out of service in 1856, Hooker sold his Manatee property the following year to his son, William J. Hooker, and his son-in-law, Benjamin Hagler. Included in the purchase price of $35,095 were 6,000 cattle with the "Heart H" brand.[13]

By 1858, the United States Army had deported most of the surviving Seminoles, thus opening their reservation to white settlement. Between 1858 and 1860, dozens of cattle-ranching families entered Manatee County, penetrating as far south as the Caloosahatchee River and as far east as the Kissimmee River.[14] Their occupation was facilitated by the generous federal land policies of the late antebellum period. The Preemption Act of 1841 allowed settlers to purchase up to 160 acres of public land for only $1.25 an acre. The Military Bounty Act of 1855, in turn, permitted veterans of America's wars, including the Seminole conflicts, to claim homesteads of up to 160 acres from the public domain. As a result, ranchers could buy or claim small homesteads and then range their cattle on the unclaimed public domain.[15]

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12. Kyle S. VanLandingham, "William Brinton Hooker 1800-1871," *South Florida Pioneers,* V (July 1975), 8; Jerrell H. Shofner and William Warren Rogers, "Sea Island Cotton in Ante-Bellum Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XL (April 1962), 373-75.
13. Richard M. Livingston, ed., "William B. Hooker's Company, Seminole War of 1856," *South Florida Pioneers,* II (October 1974), 27; Van Landingham, "William Brinton Hooker," 8.
14. Florence Fritz, *Unknown Florida* (Coral Gables, 1963), 66; James W. Covington, *The Story of Southwestern Florida,* 2 vols. (New York: 1957), I, 132-33; Kyle S. VanLandingham, *Pioneer Families of the Kissimmee River Valley* (n.p., 1976), 4-5. By 1860, Manatee County incorporated all of modern Manatee, Sarasota, Charlotte, DeSoto, and Hardee counties, as well as portions of modern Lee, Glades, and Highlands counties. See Richard M. Livingston, ed., "County Development in South Florida 1820-1890," *South Florida Pioneers,* VIII (April 1976), 24.
15. John T. Schlebecker, *Whereby We Thrive: A History of American Farming, 1607-1972* (Ames, Iowa, 1975), 62-63; Mealor and Prunty, "Open-Range Ranching in Southern Florida," 362.

By 1860, the Manatee hinterland had attracted so many cattle-ranchers, that they now comprised the majority of the county's agriculturalists. About sixty-four per cent of the county's 120 farm operators owned eighteen or more cattle, the minimum definition for a commercial cattle-rancher.[16] As a group, the ranchers held only thirty-eight per cent of Manatee's 7,863 acres of farm land, but they possessed over ninety-six per cent of the county's 31,930 cattle. On the average, each cattle-rancher owned a homestead of only thirty-nine acres, but he claimed about 400 head of cattle.[17]

The typical Manatee cattle-rancher, or "cowman" as they called themselves, was southern-born. Over seventy-five per cent of Manatee's cowmen were natives of four southern states: Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Florida. They had migrated southward along the coastal plain, moving before the advancing line of settlement. Cowmen gravitated to the frontier areas because their open-range ranching required an abundance of unfenced land. Since each cow needed twenty acres of unfenced range in order to find sufficient forage during the year, a herd of only 400 cattle required more than 8,000 acres of range land. Given the need for so much range, cowmen sought out the sparsely-settled frontiers, where most of the land was unclaimed and unfenced. When farmers and planters moved into the area, they claimed public lands, fenced in fields, and encroached upon the unfenced range. As fenced acreage expanded at the expense of unfenced range, this jeopardized the ability of cattle to find native forage, so the cowmen moved on to the next frontier.[18]

16. Eight Census, 1860, Schedule 4. Eighteen cattle would have furnished the average antebellum family with a work ox, a bull, two milk cows, six breeding cows, and at least eight steers for market. See Kenneth D. Israel. "A Geographical Analysis of the Cattle Industry in Southeastern Mississippi From Its Beginnings to 1860" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern Mississippi, 1970), 78.

17. The cattle-ranchers' total wealth and the arithmetic means of their holdings in land and cattle were computed from data in the Eighth Census, 1860, Schedule 4.

18. Joe A. Akerman, Jr., *Florida Cowman, A History of Florida Cattle Raising* (Kissimmee, 1976), ix-x; Eighth Census, 1860, Schedules 1 and 4; Mealor and Prunty, "Open-Range Ranching in Southern Florida," 361, 364-65. Several of Manatee's "cowmen" were actually "cow-women." They included Rebecca Daniels with twenty cattle; Ann Driggers, 500; Ellen Addison, 100; Lucy Addison, 300; Eleanor Rawles, 120; Harriet Rawles, thirty; and Ellen McNeil, 500 cattle.

It was common for a cowman to move several times during his lifetime, seeking out new range for his cattle herds. A notable example of this migratory pattern is provided by Willoughby Whidden, a Manatee cowman who moved at least ten times during his lifetime. Born in Montgomery County, Georgia, he moved with his parents to Camden County before 1820. Marrying in 1827, Whidden and his wife settled in Ware County, Georgia, near the Florida line. By 1833, Whidden was living in Columbia County, Florida, but six years later, he was residing again in south Georgia, in Thomas County. By 1840, he was back in Ware County. Three years later, he moved to Hillsborough County where he claimed a homestead near Warm Springs. By 1850, Whidden was living at Simmons Hammock in Hillsborough County. Before 1856, he moved once again to southern Hillsborough County, and by 1858, he had entered Manatee County. [19]

Arriving in Manatee County, a frontier community which enbraced almost 5,000 square miles, Whidden located in the Fort Hartsuff settlement, a dispersed rural neighborhood composed of several related ranching families. Among his neighbors, Willoughby counted his married son, Maxwell Whidden, as well as his five sons-in-laws– J. D. Green, Alford Sloane, Henry Langford, David Brannon, and Ephraim Thompson.[20] Though each homestead in the Fort Hartsuff settlement was located several miles apart, so cattle could graze in the intervening flatwoods, Whidden could call on his scattered kinsmen and neighbors for aid in cattle-ranching and farm work. By being able to call on family and neighbors for casual labor, the cowmen did not need to acquire slaves. They could thus invest their capital in livestock and homesteads. By 1860, Willoughby Whidden owned 600 cattle and thirty acres of land but no slaves.[21]

Whidden was typical of Manatee's cowmen, for eighty-one per cent of the county's ranchers owned no slaves. Of the slaveholding cowmen, only William J. Hooker, the co-owner of eleven slaves, held more than ten bondsmen.[22] Owning few if

19. Richard M. Livingston, ed., "Willoughby Whidden 1799-1861," *South Florida Pioneers*, XI (January 1977), 8-9.
20. Ibid.
21. Mealor and Prunty, "Open-Range Ranching in Southern Florida," 363; Eighth Census, 1860, Schedules 2 and 4.
22. Eighth Census, 1860, Schedules 2 and 4.

any slaves, and thus dependent on their neighbors for labor, the cowmen relied on agricultural techniques that saved labor and time.

Manatee cowmen raised "scrub" cattle, the small but acclimated beasts that were descended from cows introduced by the early Spanish colonists of Florida. Immune to endemic stock diseases and able to subsist on coarse native forage, scrubs required no veterinary care and no supplementary fodder. Though they devoted little attention to their stock, cowmen burned the flatwoods range in late winter to curb the ticks that plagued the cattle and to reduce the dead growth that shaded out grasses. Within a few weeks, the blackened flatwoods gave rise to a carpet of fresh grass that sustained the cattle during the spring months. After the steers had fattened on the spring pasturage, cowmen called on their neighbors, forming communal work groups to collect steers for market.[23] Cowmen drove steers to the Atlantic coastal ports or to Tampa for shipment to Cuba. By 1860, Manatee cowmen were also trailing steers to the navigable Manatee River for transport on schooners bound for Key West and Nassau.[24]

Since scrub steers could be raised with little labor and sold for a clear profit, there was no need to produce labor-demanding cash crops to obtain money for property, taxes, and consumer goods. In 1860, Manatee's cowmen cropped only two bales of long-staple cotton and one hogshead of sugar. Most cowmen, however, raised sweet potatoes and corn for home consumption. Confronting sandy soils in Manatee County, cowmen often grew their food crops in "cowpen" gardens. They cleared a few acres in the well-drained rolling pine lands, penned some cows to enrich the sandy soil with manure, and then planted potatoes and corn. This labor-saving technique generally yielded

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23. See John E. Rouse, *The Criollo: Spanish Cattle in the Americas* (Norman, 1977), 186-87; Joe G. Warner, *Biscuits and Taters: A History of Cattle Ranching in Manatee County* (St. Petersburg, 1980), 30-32; Mealor and Prunty, "Open-Range Ranching in Southern Florida," 363.

24. D. B. McKay, "Pioneer Florida: Story of Mrs. Blount Recalls Rugged Days," Tampa *Sunday Tribune*, September 26, 1948; "A New Era in the History of Tampa," Tampa *Florida Peninsular*, July 28, 1860; Richard M. Livingston, ed., "Manatee County: Early Cattle Shipments 1856-1860," *South Florida Pioneers, XII* (April 1977), 2.

enough potatoes and corn to feed the family and to fatten some range hogs for home butchering.[25]

By growing foodstuffs in cowpen gardens and by raising scrub cattle on the open-range, the Manatee cowmen met their household and cash needs with relatively little expenditure of labor and time. And by relying on their labor-saving agricultural techniques, cowmen successfully adapted to the sandy pine barrens of south Florida, a forbidding environment with little agricultural potential. By 1860, scrub steers had become Manatee County's most valuable agricultural commodity.

If the Manatee cowmen routinely marketed a tenth of their 30,785 cattle in 1860, this should have yielded about 3,079 steers. And if each steer was worth about $15.00 a head at market, then Manatee's 3,079 beeves may have been valued as much as $46,185.[26] This far exceeded the estimated value of Manatee's sugar production. At 1860 prices, Manatee County's 231 hogsheads of sugar would have earned only $18,942 on the New Orleans market.[27]

Manatee's cowmen not only produced the county's most valuable export, but they also owned ninety per cent of the county's $194,000 worth of livestock, forty-one per cent of the $97,095 worth of farm land, and sixteen per cent of the 253 slaves. Also, the cowmen and their families comprised sixty-one per cent of Manatee's 601 free inhabitants.[28] Given their numerical and economic significance, it is not surprising that cowmen dominated the Manatee County government by 1860.[29] All three

25. Eighth Census, 1860, Schedule 4; Warner, *Biscuits and Taters*, 37; L. Glenn Westfall, "Oral History Interviews in Manatee County-Hillsborough County-Ruskin Area," typescript, P. K. Yonge Library; Sarasota County Agriculture Fair Association and Sarasota County Historical Commission, *A History of Agriculture of Sarasota County Florida* (Sarasota, 1976), 16.
26. Eighth Census, 1860, Schedule 4; William Theodore Mealor, Jr., "The Open-Range Ranch in South Florida and Its Contemporary Successor" (Ph.D. diss., University of Georgia, 1972), 40; "List of Produce etc. Shipped from the Port of Tampa, during the past Season," Tampa *Florida Peninsular* (December 3, 1859).
27. Eight Census, 1860, Schedule 4; Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, 2 vols. (Gloucester, Mass., 1958), II, 1033.
28. Eighth Census, 1860, Schedules 1, 2, and 4; U. S. Census Office; *The Statistics of the Population of the United States* (Washington, 1872), 19.
29. The names of Manatee's county officials in 1860 were supplied by Myrtice Watson, records librarian, clerk of the circuit court, Manatee County Courthouse, Bradenton.

TABLE 1. AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY OF MANATEE COUNTY (1860)

Sugar-planters*	2 per cent	80 per cent	47 per cent	36 per cent	3 per cent	7 per cent
Cattle-ranchers**	64 per cent	16 per cent	38 per cent	41 per cent	96 per cent	90 per cent
Other agriculturalists	34 per cent	4 per cent	15 per cent	23 per cent	1 per cent	3 per cent
	120 farm operators	253 slaves	7,863 acres of farm land	$97,095 worth of farm land	31,930 cattle	$194,400 worth of livestock

*Includes John Cofield (200 hogsheads of sugar) and Josiah Gates (30 hogsheads).
**Includes farm operators owning 18 or more cattle.
Source: U. S. Census Office, *Agriculture* in *the United States in 1860* (Washington, 1864), 18-21, 225; Manuscript returns of the Eighth U. S. Census, 1860, Schedules 1, 2, and 4, on microfilm at the National Archives, Washington, and the Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee.

TABLE 2: AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY OF BREVARD COUNTY (1860).

Cattle-ranchers*	55 per cent	76 per cent	56 per cent	75 per cent	99 per cent	96 per cent
Other agriculturalists	45 per cent	24 per cent	44 per cent	25 per cent	1 per cent	4 per cent
	31 farm operators	21 slaves	2,227 acres of farm land	$23,340 worth of farm land	7,714 cattle	$45,780 worth of livestock**

*Includes farm operators owning 18 or more cattle.
**Correct value of livestock computed from Eighth Census, 1860, Schedule 4.
Source: U. S. Census Office, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860*, 18-21, 225; Eighth Census, 1860, Schedules 1, 2, and 4.

county commissioners were cowmen: John Platt, J. G. Williams, and N. P. Hunter. By 1860, Platt, a native of North Carolina, owned twelve acres of land, no slaves, and 350 cattle. In turn Williams, a Georgia-native, held six acres of land, no slaves, and 125 cattle. Hunter, originally from Kentucky, was the owner of five acres, no slaves, and forty cattle.[30]

Though southern-born cowmen claimed all of the commission seats, Manatee's county officers came from more varied backgrounds. Yet, every county officer owned more than eighteen cattle. The treasurer and justice of the peace was Josiah Gates, a native Carolinian, who founded the Manatee settlement in the early 1840s. By 1860, he owned 240 acres of land, eleven slaves who cropped thirty hogsheads of sugar, and 306 cattle. Manatee's probate judge was Ezekiel Glazier, a Massachusetts-born carpenter, who possessed 242 acres of land, no slaves, and 150 cattle. The clerk of the circuit court was Edmund Lee, a Vermont-born minister and merchant, who owned ninety acres, one slave, and fifty cattle. The English-born James Cunliffe, who served as Manatee's coroner, owned 240 acres of land, one slave, and 500 cattle.[31] Manatee's sheriff was Georgia-born William Whitaker, a fisherman-cum-cowman, who resided at Sarasota Bay. He settled at Sarasota in the early 1840s and caught mullet in the bay, which he sold for one penny each to Cuban traders. By 1847, he had saved enough to buy ten cattle, which he branded with a "47" logo. Thirteen years later, Whitaker owned 3,000 cattle with the "47" brand as well as twenty acres of land and five slaves.[32]

Manatee County's state assemblyman was also a cattle-rancher. Elected in 1860, John Parker, a North Carolina native, owned eighteen acres of land, held five slaves in trust, and claimed 3,008 cattle. Parker, whose large cattle herd was surpassed only by William J. Hooker's 9,000 cattle, was a fitting choice to represent Manatee's interests in Tallahassee. By 1860, cattle-

30. Eighth Census, 1860, Schedules 1, 2, and 4.
31. McDuffee, *Lures of Manatee*, 21-22, 107; Eighth Census, 1860, Schedules 1, 2, and 4.
32. Karl H. Grismer, *The Story of Sarasota: The History of the City and County of Sarasota, Florida* (Sarasota, 1946), 29-34; Eighth Census, 1860, Schedules 1, 2, and 4.

ranching had become so prevalent in Manatee County, that there were thirty-seven cattle for each person. Containing 31,930 cattle and only 854 people, Manatee had the highest cattle to person ratio of any county in Florida.[33]

Manatee's cattle to people ratio was rivalled only by that of Brevard County. By 1860, Brevard counted thirty-one cattle for each inhabitant. In that year, census-takers enumerated 7,714 cattle and only 246 people living within Brevard County.[34] The county was named for Theodore Brevard, Florida's comptroller from 1853 to 1861, and contained only a few dozen inhabitants when created from St. Lucie County in 1855. In addition to a tiny population, transportation was poor. The only land transportation was provided by seasonally-passable paths such as the Capron Trail, a military road that had been blazed to link Fort Capron on the east coast to Tampa. The only navigable waterway was the Indian River– a saltwater channel that paralleled the Atlantic Ocean from Cape Canaveral to the St. Lucie River. Although several inlets allowed access to the Atlantic Ocean, only small skiffs and sloops regularly entered the Indian River.[35]

Given the inadequate transportation facilities, by 1860 cash crop agriculture was virtually non-existent in Brevard County. In that year, the county produced only two hogsheads of sugar. no cotton, and no rice. One Brevard agriculturalist, John Herman, listed his occupation as a "fruit [citrus] farmer" in the 1860 census, but the census-takers failed to record the amount or value of the citrus produced in the county.[36]

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33. Notices in Tampa *Florida Peninsular*, October 6, 1860, and December 8, 1860; Eighth Census, 1860, Schedules 1, 2, and 4; U. S. Census Office, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860*, 18; U. S. Census Office, *Population of the United States in 1860* (Washington, 1864), 54.
34. U. S. Census Office, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860*, 18; U. S. Census Office, *Population of the United States in 1860*, 54. By 1860, Brevard County incorporated all of modern Indian River, St. Lucie, Okeechobee, and Martin counties, as well as much of modern Brevard, Osceola, Polk, Highlands, Glades, and Palm Beach counties. See Livingston, ed., "County Development in South Florida," 24.
35. Utley, "Origin of the County Names in Florida," 30; L. C. Lofton, "Brevard County: Its Families and History," typescript, Cocoa Public Library, Cocoa; Dillon, "Civil War in South Florida," 1-3.
36. U. S. Census Office, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860*, 19-21; Eighth Census, 1860, Schedules 1 and 4.

Despite its miniscule cash crop production, Brevard County had become a major exporter of cattle by 1860. About fifty-five percent of the county's thirty-one agriculturalists owned more than eighteen cattle, the minimum qualification for a commercial cattle-rancher. If Brevard's cowmen marketed a tenth of their 7,695 cattle in 1860, this would have yielded about 770 salable steers. And if each steer fetched about $15.00 a head at market, Brevard's 1860, steer "crop" may have been worth as much as $11,550.[37]

Brevard cowmen drove steers on the hoof to the Atlantic coastal cities, and by 1860, to Tampa for shipment to Cuba, following the Capron Trail.[38] Since steers provided their own transportation to market, Brevard's physical isolation posed little problem for cattle-ranchers. And within isolated, sparsely-settled Brevard County, cowmen found the best range lands in all of south Florida. To the west of the Indian River lay expanses of flatwoods that were intersected by the St. Johns and Kissimmee rivers. These meandering waterways flowed through seasonally-flooded marshes and prairies, which were exposed when floodwaters receded.[39] One antebellum observer recalled the grazing potential of Brevard's prairies, which were "so large that the eye could not reach the opposite side, and all covered with the most luxuriant grass, waist high, making it the finest cattle-range in the world."[40]

Settling in Brevard's hinterland after the Third Seminole War, cowmen grazed their herds on the unclaimed prairies and flatwoods. By 1860, Brevard cowmen and their families comprised thirty-seven per cent of the county's 225 free inhabitants. All of Brevard's cowmen were southern-born, and most were natives of Georgia. As a group, they owned fifty-six per cent of Brevard's 2,227 acres of farm land and ninety-nine per cent of

37. Eighth Census, 1860, Schedule 4; Mealor, "Open Range Ranch in South Florida," 40.
38. Akerman, *Florida Cowman*, 40; Georgiana Green Kjerulff, *Tales of Old Brevard* (Melbourne, 1972), 15, 29.
39. Robert Campbell and Wesley Keller, eds., "Range Resources of the Southeastern United States," *American Society of Agronomy, Special Publication No. 21* (Madison, Wis., 1973), 59-60.
40. W. L. Perry, *Scenes in a Surveyor's Life* (Jacksonville, 1859), 31-33.

the county's 7,714 cattle. On the average, each cowman held seventy-four acres of land and 453 cattle.[41]

Despite the influx of the cowmen and their families, Brevard's population was too sparse to support a formal county government. Susanna, a small settlement located below Fort Pierce, had been designated as the county seat in 1855. No county courthouse, however, was constructed during antebellum times, and no county officers were elected until 1862.[42]

Though Brevard lacked an organized county government, the community elected as state legislator in 1860 Needham Yates, a Georgia-born cowman, who owned eighty acres of land, no slaves, and 1,300 cattle. Yates, whose sizable cattle herd was surpassed only by Sam McGuire's 1,504 and James Johnson's 2,000 cattle, represented the interests of Brevard's cowmen, who owned seventy-five per cent of the county's $23,340 worth of farm land and ninety-six per cent of the $45,780 worth of livestock.[43]

By 1860, both Brevard and Manatee counties were represented by cowmen in Tallahassee. In each county, cattle-ranchers comprised the majority of the farm operators, and they owned the bulk of the agricultural wealth. Raising scrub cattle on the unclaimed pine barrens of south Florida, the cowmen had successfully adapted to an isolated frontier which possessed little agricultural potential. By the eve of the Civil War, Brevard and Manatee cowmen were exporting thousands of scrub cattle to the Atlantic coastal cities and to the Caribbean. And during the Civil War, Manatee and Brevard cowmen drove scrub steers to the embattled Confederate armies, helping to sustain southern soldiers through four years of conflict.[44]

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41. The wealth of the cattle-ranchers and the arithmetic means of their holdings in land and cattle were computed from data in the Eighth Census, 1860, Schedules 1 and 4.
42. N. W. Jorgenson, "The Story of Susanna" (Fort Pierce, n.d.), n.p.; Lofton, "Brevard County,"; Kyle S. VanLandingham, "Early History of the Lower Kissimmee River Valley," *South Florida Pioneers,* VII (January 1976), 3; Brevard County commissioners, *A Brief Description of Brevard County, or the Indian River County* (Titusville, 1889), 3.
43. Election returns in Tampa *Florida Peninsular,* November 24, 1860; Eighth Census, 1860, Schedules 1, 2, and 4.
44. The south Florida cowman's contribution to the Confederate war effort is discussed in Akerman, *Florida Cowman,* 85-95.

FORMATION OF THE STATE OF FLORIDA INDIAN RESERVATION

by JAMES M. COVINGTON

IN Florida there are four reservations for Indians– three established by the federal government and one by the state of Florida. The state reservation was established through the efforts of white friends of the Seminoles, a representative from a national organization, several politicians, the federal Indian agent in Florida, and a friendly governor. Ever since the end of the Third Seminole War in 1858, some whites tried to assist the few Indians remaining in the state. Under the terms of the Florida Constitution written in 1868, the Seminoles were entitled to elect one person to the state house of representatives and one to the state senate, but since no one informed the Indians about this right, they held no elections and the provsion was dropped in the Constitution of 1885.[1] On June 8, 1891, under pressure from a few whites, the Florida legislature authorized the trustees of the Board of Internal Improvements to set aside a tract of land no greater than 5,000 acres for the Indians.[2] A commission composed of three men was appointed to select the land, but since the Indians were scattered over a vast expanse of southern Florida, the commission felt that any attempt to force them on to a reservation would be foolish, if not impossible. Therefore the commission voted to acquire land on which the Indians had already settled. However no reservation was selected since there were no funds available to locate and survey such lands.[3]

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1. Section Seven, Article XVI, Constitution of Florida, 1868, as printed in Harry B. Skillman, comp. and ed., *The Compiled General Laws of Florida*, 12 vols. (Atlanta, 1928), V, 4970.
2. *Laws of Florida*, 1891, 216.
3. Report of James A. Ingraham to William B. Bloxham as copied in letter of special agent Lorenzo Creel to commissioner of Indian Affairs, Robert Valentine, March 29, 1911, 27957-1911, Letters Received, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington (hereinafter BIA).

On April 27, 1897, the commission meeting as St. Augustine recommended the acquisition of 5,000 acres at Long Key in the Everglades for a reservation. The land was deemed suitable for agriculture, accessible by canoe, and sufficiently distant from white settlement to be safe from "encroachment." However, no action was taken on this recommendation.[4]

In 1899, an organization known at the Friends of the Seminole Indians was formed at Kissimmee, and it began pushing a program aimed at assisting the Indians. The founders of the organization included Bishop William C. Gray, Francis Hendry, P. A. Vans Agnew, Indian Agent Jacob Brecht, James M. Willson, Jr., and his wife, Minnie Moore-Willson. A tract of eighty acres was purchased for $40,000 for use by a Muskogee-speaking band, but the Indians would not occupy the site. When the officers of the organization had tried to purchase the actual camping sites of the Indians, they found the price asked by land companies to be prohibitive. Acting under pressure from Friends of the Seminole Indians, the Florida legislature on May 29, 1899, set aside thirty-six townships which included Fort Shackleford and adjacent land on the western edge of the Everglades. According to A. J. Angle, chairman of the House Indian Affairs Committee in 1911, most of this land had earlier been sold to individuals and corporations, and the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund sold the remainder claiming that the legislature had no authority to make such a grant.[5] Several days later, on June 1, 1899, the state authorized $500 for two successive years to establish an industrial school for the Semiunoles in Brevard County, but since no more money was made available, the school never progressed beyond the planning stage.[6] The passage of these two measures was intended to convince persons interested in the Seminoles that the state was doing something for them, but in fact such measures were of little benefit to the Indians.

Although the federal government owned some scattered 23,000 acres lying west of the Everglades that had been purchased for the use of the Indians, it was water-logged and gen-

4. Ibid.
5. Charles F. Nesler, February 23, 1904, in File 176F2-1909, BIA; *Laws of Florida,* 1899, 149; Florida *House Journal,* 1911, 1923-24.
6. *Laws of Florida,* 1899, 148.

erally unfertile, and it would not be suitable for cultivation until drainage lowered the water table. In the winter of 1910-1911 Lorenzo Creel, special agent to the Seminoles in Florida, was ordered to make a thorough investigation of Indian lands. He described the federal property as being "sandy and infertile, sour and unproductive; it seemed worthless for agricultural purposes."[7] When it was purchased, a few Indians had been living on several small hammocks scattered about the prairie, but they had left the area, and none were there in 1911.

While in Florida Creel met with former Governor William S. Jennings, who was then attorney for the Everglades Land Sales Company. Since the land in alternate sections lying to the north of the reservation had been sold by the state to land companies that had sub-divided the property into five- and ten-acre tracts to sell to individual owners at prices ranging from $24.00 to $60.00 per acre, Jennings did not want any more land preserved for the Indians. In fact he believed that the Indians, who had signed a treaty in 1833 to go to Oklahoma, had no rights in Florida either as citizens or as wards of the government.[8] With the digging of drainage canals near Fort Shackleford, the lands were expected to double in value, and from the white viewpoint they would be too valuable to use for an Indian reservation.

On June 28, 1911, President William Howard Taft, by Executive Order, set aside tracts of land near Dania and in Collier and Martin counties for the use of the Seminoles.[9] These tracts had been reserved for the Indians as a result of an earlier investigation and exhaustive report made in 1898 by Indian Inspector Andrew J. Duncan.[10] The addition of these smaller reservations should have satisfied the Friends of the Seminole Indians, but none of the land seemed acceptable to the Indians. The goal of the Friends and other organizations trying to help the Indians appears to have been a state reservation rather than one provided by the federal government. These people knew

7. Creel to commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 29, 1911, 27957-1911, BIA
8. Ibid.
9. *Presidential Executive Orders,* Compiled by Works Progress Administration Historical Records Survey, 2 vols. (New York, 1944), I, 122.
10. Charles H. Coe, *Red Patriots: The Story of the Seminoles* (Cincinnati, 1899; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1974), 256. Duncan was the brother-in-law of President William McKinley.

that only about twenty per cent of the available land was fit for agriculture and about thirty per cent for grazing; the rest was worthless due to high water during the summer. They also wanted the state to reserve land for the Indians that would be safe from white encroachment. They hoped that federal officials would establish a school and demonstration farm on a federal reservation that would be conducted by a Creek versed in modern agriculture methods. Sooner or later, the state land, used at first as a hunting preserve, would be taken over by the federal government and the Indians trained by the agricultural teacher would make use of sites in the reserve.

Prime movers in the drive to obtain a state reservation for the Seminoles were James Willson, Jr., a Kissimmee real estate man, and his wife, Minnie Moore-Willson, who wrote the popular *The Seminoles of Florida* published in 1896. Several Muskogee-speakers often visited in their home in Kissimmee, and the Willsons were willing to devote time and money to aid their Indian friends. Success for the state reservation seemed near when a bill, introduced into the state legislature by Representative Louis A. Hendry of Fort Myers to set aside fifteen townships in Monroe County, passed the house by a vote of thirty-seven to three on May 26, 19 11. However, it failed to receive any action beyond introduction in the senate.[11]

Two years later another bill providing for a reservation of 100,000 acres passed the house on May 23, 1913, by a vote of forty-five to one and the senate on June 4 by twenty-three to zero, but was vetoed by Governor Park Trammell on the following day, June 5, 1913.[12] The governor gave as his reasons for the action, the unfairness of an outright gift of 235,000 acres to 400 Indians when there were 800,000 persons living in Florida. In addition, Trammell stated that private ownership of the land was needed so that drainage taxes could be collected and that if the Indians needed a reservation, the federal government should relinquish part of the 350,000 acres that it owned in Florida. [13] The veto was sustained by a vote of nine yeas to forty-three nays. In 1915 Augustus M. Wilson of Myakka proposed a

11. *Florida House Journal,* 1911, 1925-26; *Florida Senate Journal,* 1911, 1567.
12. *Florida House Journal,* 1913, 1747; *Florida Senate Journal,* 1913, 2233.
13. *Florida House Journal,* 1913, 2578-80; some time later a citizen purchased 60,000 acres of this desired tract for forty-two cents an acre.

similar measure, but it never received enough support to reach the floor of either the house or the senate.

In 1916 the Willsons secured the help of the Indian Rights Association, a Philadelphia-based organization that had been established in 1882.[14] Herbert Welsh was the leader of the Association that became the major non-governmental unit dedicated to the cause of helping the American Indian.[15] It was mainly a lobbying instrument, but often government officials turned to the Indian Rights Association for advice and recommendations for jobs in the Indian Bureau. Welsh's assistant and recording secretary for many years was Mathew Sniffen, who spent much of his time working in the field.

In 1887, the Indian Rights Association helped write and lobby through Congress the General Allotment, or Dawes Act which provided for the division of reservations into 160-acre tracts and the sale of some land to white purchasers. Under terms of the act, many reservations were dissolved and the Indians lost much of the land that had been alloted to them.[16] Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier later called the Allotment Act legislation that had "deprived [the Indians] of vast quantities of property and created a class of landless paupers who depended upon the federal government."[17] By 1916, the Indian Rights Association, realizing the folly of its 1887 work, was trying to create more reservations instead of destroying them.

In 1916, while on a field trip to investigate conditions among the Seminoles, Sniffen met many of the Floridians who wanted to help the Seminoles. Coming by boat from Philadelphia to

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14. Henry E. Fritz, *The Movement for Indian, Assimilation, 1860-1890* (Philadelphia, 1963), 199-200. William Welsh, Sr., father of William, had been the first chairman of the Board of Indian Commissioners, the regulatory inspection agency overseeing operations of the Office of Indian Affairs.
15. For information concerning the Indian Rights Association, see Francis P. Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900* (Norman, 1976), 138-43; Jack T. Ericson, ed., *A Guide to Microfilm Edition, Indian Rights Association Papers, 1864-1973* (Glen Rock, N.J., 1975), 1-5.
16. See essay by Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., in Jane F. Smith and Robert Kvasnicka, eds. *Indian-White Relations: A Persistent Paradox* (Washington, 1976), 83-85; Benay Blend, "The Indian Rights Association, the Allotment Policy and the Five Civilized Tribes, 1923-1936," *American Indian Quarterly,* VII (Spring 1983), 68-69.
17. Kenneth R. Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954* (Tucson, 1977), 127.

Jacksonville, he visited St. Augustine where he talked with DeWitt Webb, who had been physician to the western Indian prisoners in the 1870s when they were incarcerated in Fort Marion, now the Castillo de San Marcos.[18] He also met with James Ingraham, chairman of the 1891 reservation selection commission.[19] While at Jacksonville, attorney Vans Agnew, originally from Kissimmee, gave Sniffen a copy of the Indian land measure that had been vetoed by Governor Trammell. Before going into the Everglades and Big Cypress Swamp, Sniffen met James and Minnie Moore-Willson at Kissimmee. Leaving there, he and his companions, agent Lucien Spencer, Joseph Elkinton, and Billy Bowlegs III, went into the Big Cypress Swamp in search of the Indian camps. Fleas, red bugs, and water proved to be as great obstacles to their journey as the elusive Seminoles. Sniffen reported that the some 600 Indians scattered in thirty-two camps were in a precarious economic situation for there was little demand any longer for either alligator hides or bird plumes. His report appeared in a publication of the Indian Bights Association.[20]

In planning her campaign to secure a state reservation for the Seminoles, Minnie Moore-Willson feared opposition from some prominent people in Florida. These included May Mann Jennings, president of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs and wife of the former governor. Moore-Willson alleged that Governor Jennings had acquired 100,000 acres of land at thirty cents an acre and wanted even more. Thus, if the Indians left Florida, lands designated for them could be made available to land companies in which he had an interest.[21] In 1915 when Mrs. Moore-Willson had written in a publication of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs a criticism of the state's position on Indian policy, she was told that henceforth all statements on the Seminoles would have to be cleared by Ivy Cromartie Strana-

18. For an account of Indian prisoners at Fort Marion, see Karen D. Petersen, *Plains Indian Art from Fort Marion* (Norman, 1971), 3-20.
19. Matthew Sniffen to Herbert Welsh, February 1, 1916, roll 30, Indian Rights Association Papers, Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (hereinafter cited as IRA.)
20. Matthew K. Sniffen, "Florida's Obligation to the Seminole Indians: A Plea for Justice," *Indian Rights Association,* No. 111, 2nd series (February 20, 1917), 1-8.
21. Minnie Moore-Willson to Joseph Elkington, March 15, 1916, roll 30, IRA.

han, chairman of the clubs Seminole Indian committee.[22] Despite pressure to resign from the Indian committee, Mrs. Moore-Willson remained but directed the main thrust of her views in areas where she could not be controlled by Mrs. Jennings or Mrs. Stranahan.[23] Actually, Mrs. Jennings testified before a congressional committee in 1917 that she was angry that Governor Trammell had vetoed the bill and that she supported a state reservation. She did admit that some Floridians felt that "some of the large land interests in the State are involved in the non-passage of the bill."[24] Another Moore-Willson foe seemed to be Congressman William J. Sears, a member of the House Indian Committee, who was eager to support a bill providing for another federal reservation in Florida.[25] Moore-Willson should not have regarded Sears as an enemy for he came from Kissimmee and had been on the city council and mayor. The Willsons, however, were concerned that he would use the reservation idea for his own political advantage. Mrs. Moore-Willson believed that there were others on the state level who pretended to be friends of the Indians but who really either "lost" bills in committee or helped push measures that really gave the Indians nothing.

First, and perhaps the most important goal in the preliminary planning stage in 1916, was to try to get Governor-elect Sidney J. Catts interested in the Indians. Representing almost a complete break with his past political policies, he seemed to be

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22. Harry A. Kersey, Jr., "Private Societies and the Maintenance of Seminole Tribal Integrity, 1899-1957," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LVI (January 1978), 307-88; Moore-Willson to Ivy Stranahan, January 7, 1917, roll 32, IRA.
23. May Mann Jennings to Moore-Willson, May 12, 1915, Minnie Moore-Willson Collection, Otto G. Richter Library, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida. In her letter, Jennings stated that obtaining worthless land would discourage the legislature from giving the Indians better acreage in the future. It was more desirable to decide what was wanted and to keep asking for it until it was obtained. Looking at the results later, Mrs. Jennings was correct; Moore-Willson, not understanding the situation, would have obtained less valuable land.
24. Testimony of May Mann Jennings, *Conditions of the Florida Seminoles*, Hearings before the Committee on Investigation of the Indian Service, House of Representatives, 65th Cong., 1st sess., March 12-14, 1917, 100.
25. Ibid., 12-14, 95-96. Sears wanted more land and money for the Seminoles. In March 1917, when the House of Representatives committee had a meeting in St. Augustine, it was felt that most of the members desired a small reservation for the Indians.

a most suitable official to help the Indians.[26] Catts showed great loyalty to those who had helped him get elected, and he appointed several relatives and close friends to high positions. Since her husband had worked for Catts, Mrs. Moore-Willson suggested that Sniffen write him a letter.[27] In reply, Catts informed Sniffen that "we need to do something about these Indians."[28] Catts planned to take the matter up with the Willsons, who, according to Sniffen, hoped to have a bill introduced in the upcoming (1917) legislature. Catts asked for more information from Sniffen and promised to study the matter. At this Point, Catts was in favor of either a federal reservation or federal assistance, as he stated in letters to Welsh and Sniffen. However, after a conversation with James Willson on February 21, 1917, the governor seemed ready to sign any deeds to Indian land when it was selected and would call a meeting of the Board of Internal Improvements for approval of this action.[29]

With Catts's support assured, it was necessary now to apply pressure on Bureau of Indian Affairs officials in Washington so that they would not oppose the proposed reservation. Lucien Spencer, the agent to the Seminoles, was away serving as chaplain in the Florida National Guard on the Mexican border from the summer of 1916 to March 1917, but he promised the support both of his temporary replacement and himself when he returned by March 1, 1917.[30] Cato Sells, United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, when contacted by Governor Catts, offered assistance in securing "additional land for our needy Indians."[31] Within a short time Spencer and W. S. Coleman, his replacement associate, would be advised by Washington that they should cooperate as much as possible in getting the bill through the Florida legislature but only if assistance was requested by persons in Florida.[32] Writing from Texas, Spencer

26. For an account of the patronage of Catts, see Wayne Flynt, *Cracker Messiah: Governor Sidney J. Catts of Florida* (Baton Rouge, 1977), 108, 111; *Tampa Daily Times*, March 10, 1917; David R. Colburn and Richard K. Scher, *Florida's Gubernatorial Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Tallahassee, 1980), 136-37.
27. Moore-Willson to Sniffen, January 15, 1917, IRA.
28. Catts to Sniffen, February 5, 1917, IRA.
29. Ibid., February 13, 1917, IRA; Catts to Welsh, February 12, 1917, IRA.
30. Lucien Spencer to Sniffen, February 28, 1917, IRA.
31. Cato Sells to Catts, March 17, 1917, IRA.
32. Sells to W. S. Coleman, March 1, 1917, IRA.

advised Coleman to keep in contact with James Willson and to keep him on the right track for "he needs a balance wheel in regard to Indian matters."[33] Sniffen urged Catts to ask that Coleman and Spencer appear before him and the legislature.[34]

A major step was taken when Governor Catts recommended in his message to the legislature on April 3, 1917, that the Seminoles be given a reservation "to cause them to be in comfort in perpetuity."[35] In many instances, legislators did not write proposed laws themselves but permitted outside groups or individuals to draft the initial proposals. Then the lawmakers could make adjustments after the proposal had been sent to committee or during debate on the floors of the chambers. The proposed reservation bill had to be discussed by Spencer, the Willsons, and Sniffen, and then it would be written by Milton Pledger, an attorney from Kissimmee. Next, Representative Nathan C. Bryan from the Kissimmee district was invited to join in the discussions. Since he was the representative from the district he would be the appropriate person to introduce the bill. It was Bryan who wired Cato Sells, commissioner of Indian Affairs on March 22, 1917, requesting the appearance of Spencer before the Florida legislature. He was likely the one who also convinced the commissioner to change his mind since, on March 1, 1917, Sells had written Spencer that it was better to stay out of state politics.[36]

In order to help steer the bill through the legislature, Sniffen arrived from Philadelphia to assist with final arrangements for the Tallahassee session. Present at the first meeting, probably during the third week of March 1917, in Kissimmee were the Willsons, Pledger, Sniffen, and two others. Sniffen noted that no bill had yet been written. The next day Pledger, the Willsons,

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33. Spencer to Coleman, March 4, 1917, IRA.
34. Sniffen to Catts, March 15, 1917, IRA.
35. Catts to Sniffen, March 17, 1917, IRA. In his message, Catts recommended that 10,000 acres of public land be acquired as a reservation near Moore Haven because James Moore (developer of Moore Haven) was a friend of the Indians. See "Governor's Message," *Florida House Journal*, 1917, 27. Actually Moore had sold his interest in Moore Haven in 1916, but he may have been trying to use his influence to divide DeSoto County. Alfred J. Hanna and Kathryn A. Hanna, *Lake Okeechobee: Wellspring of the Everglades* (Indianapolis, 1948), 246-49.
36. James Willson to Sniffen, March 22, 1917, IRA.

and Sniffen drafted a tentative measure that was discussed with Congressman Sears who, during the fall 1916 session of Congress, had introduced a bill to purchase land for the Seminoles. On the way back to Jacksonville, Sniffen stopped at St. Augustine where he conferred with James Ingraham and Dewitt Webb whom he had met on his 1916 trip.[37]

After receiving instructions to assist in the legislative hearings for the bill, Seminole Agent Spencer left Miami on March 29 and proceeded by train to Jacksonville where he joined Sniffen and made plans for the meeting of the legislature and passage of the Indian bill. While on the train from Jacksonville to Tallahassee, Spencer met Carey A. Hardee, speaker of the house (later governor of Florida, 1921-1925), who discussed the Seminole matter with him. Hardee asked Spencer to recommend the names of some members of the legislature who "could act intelligently on the Indian committee."[38] Of the list of six submitted by Spencer, Hardee appointed four.

James Willson recommended that the Reverend S. W. Lawler, a Methodist minister at Tallahassee, be present to introduce Sniffen and Spencer to Governor Catts who was also a Baptist minister. Lawler had moved from Kissimmee to Tallahassee and was a good friend of both Catts and the Seminole Indians. On March 30 Lawler accompanied Sniffen and Spencer to the office of the governor where he introduced them and then departed.[39] The governor told his two visitors about his plan for a reservation of 10,000 acres for the Indians to be located west of Moore Haven. Sniffen and Spencer then informed the governor that in their opinion six townships or 100,000 acres would be needed in an area that whites would neither desire nor find useful. Catts finally agreed to the larger reservation, inviting Sniffen and Spencer to return on April 4.[40]

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37. Sniffen to Welsh, March 30, 1917, IRA.
38. Ibid., April 1, 1917, IRA. House committee members included W. G. Tilghman, Putnam County, chairman; N. C. Bryan, Osceola County; F. L. Woodruff, Orange County; and J. M. Swain, St. Lucie County. Sniffen's letter does not indicate his choices.
39. Willson to Sniffen, March 30, 1917, IRA.
40. Sniffen to Willson, March 31, 1917, IRA. In the letter written on March 31, 1917, Sniffen said that he and Spencer had met with Catts from 3:30 to 4:00 P.M. earlier that day, but in a letter dated May 14, 1917, from Spencer to Commissioner Sells, the date is given as March 30 and the time

In their first drafting of the bill, the group meeting in Kissimmee had planned the creation of a state reservation only if Congress appropriated sufficient funds for proper development of the site. Spencer, however, recommended that the land be secured first to be followed by a request for federal funds and acquisition.

Sniffen rewrote the bill, making changes that had been recommended by Catts, and when he and Spencer returned to the governor's office on April 4, Catts expressed his full support for the proposed measure.[41] After Catts had given his approval Nathan C. Bryan introduced House Bill 32 on April 4, and James A. Alexander of DeLand sponsored Senate Bill 19 at the same time.[42] Alexander, who had attended Cumberland Law School with Catts, had friendly relations both with the governor and other senators.

When the House Committee on Indian Affairs met on April 10, Sniffen and Spencer testified as to the implications of the bill. Amos Lewis from Marianna questioned the authority of the legislature to grant land that already was under the jurisdiction of the Internal Improvements Board for an Indian reservation. The matter was referred to the attorney-general's office for a ruling, and Catts's secretary helped speed that action. The decision, rendered on the same day by Attorney-General Thomas F. West, was favorable. The following day, April 11, the committee gave its approval to the measure by a vote of five to one; Lewis cast the one negative vote. Upon a request from Representative Arthur Gomez of Key West, the measure was referred back to committee.[43]

At this point, Sniffen had to return to Philadelphia, and James Willson arrived in Tallahassee to take his place. Although the Indian Rights Association had offered to pay Willson's way from Kissimmee, he would not accept the money.[44] James Moore, Moore Haven real estate developer, was also in Tallahas-

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as being in the morning (fn. 46). Sniffen's letter should be considered to be more reliable for it was written on or near the meeting date, and Spencer's letter as incorrect as to the date if not time of the meeting.

41. Sniffen to Willson, April 8, 1917, IRA.
42. *Florida Senate Journal,* 1917, 138; *Florida House Journal,* 1917, 137.
43. *Florida House Journal,* 1917, 308-09.
44. Sniffen to Alexander Brown, April 9, 1917, IRA.

see at the time, and he was urged to use his considerable influence on behalf of the measure. Claude Johnson, correspondent of the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* was also contacted, and he provided favorable publicity.[45]

Some limited opposition appeared when the committees received the bill. Monroe County Senator J. N. Fogarty and Representatives Gomez and John Sawyer had been instructed by their board of county commissioners to oppose the bill. The commissioners were angry because they had not been consulted on the bill. Hoping to soften the opposition, Willson took full blame for the drafting of the measure. He and Spencer prepared a paper explaining the need for an Indian reservation and sent it to the Monroe commissioners. They were asking that if their position was found to be fair and beneficial to Monroe County, the board should change its instructions. After reading the paper, the commissioners agreed with its point of view and urged their legislators to work for the passage of the measure.[46]

The careful preparation made by the supporters of the bill proved to be of great value when the committees of the house and senate began debate on the measure. Sniffen and Spencer testified before the Senate Judiciary B committee on April 10, 1917, and the matter was then referred to a sub-committee that was to meet with the Internal Improvements Board. During that interval the attorney-general would study the Indian land issue. At the Internal Improvements Board hearing, Willson noted that only ten per cent of the reservation was good for anything but hunting and fishing. The Reverend Lawler reduced that figure to five per cent when he testified.[47] It was announced at this hearing that the land would have little value for whites; there were no plans for its use except as an Indian reservation. The board supported the request, and after the Senate sub-committee received the commissioners' unanimous approval of the bill it made its positive recommendation on May 1. The measure was then ready for a vote by the senate. Somehow the bill was not placed on the senate calendar and no one seemed to be able to locate it. After a frantic search the measure

45. Willson to Sniffen, April 11, 1917, IRA.
46. Spencer to Sells, May 14, 1917, IRA.
47. Willson to Sniffen, April 21, 1917, IRA.

was found. It was then placed on the senate calendar, and was passed on May 8 by a vote of twenty-seven to zero.[48] In the house, the bill was sent to the Committee of Indian Affairs where it received a favorable vote of five to one on April 11, 1917. Chairman W. G. Tilghman then placed it on the house calendar for a second reading. After the third reading on May 2, the bill passed the house by a vote of forty-seven to zero.[49]

Governor Catts signed the measure into law on May 9, 1917. Sniffen, Willson, and Spencer were present at the signing ceremony. Catts presented Mrs. Minnie Moore-Willson with the gold pen which he had used in recognition of her work during the past twenty years.[50] The success of the operation was due to the dedication of the Willsons, the political astuteness and personal charm of Sniffen, and Spencer's knowledge of state and national politics.

The trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund transferred 99,200 acres in Monroe County to the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions (Florida cabinet) for the perpetual use and benefit of the Seminole Indians. Roy Nash, visiting the reservation in 1930, saw little agricultural value in the site due to the excessive rainfall, but it was good for hunting and fishing.[51] Few Indians used the area; they did not want to be confined to a reservation, and the state was not willing to spend much money on it. In 1935 the land was exchanged for 104,000 acres in Broward and Palm Beach counties so that Everglades National Park could be created. This new reservation land did have some value as a result of oil and gas leases granted in 1955 and limited grazing and hunting activities, but the release of water from flood control areas to the north caused considerable damage to the deer and other wild life.[52]

Finally it should be noted that nowhere during the entire proceeding had the Indians been consulted as to the value or use of the proposed reservation. White friends thought they

48. *Florida Senate Journal,* 1917, 996-97.
49. *Florida House Journal,* 1917, 1050.
50. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* May 10, 1917; *Laws of Florida,* 1917, I, 131-32.
51. U. S. Congress, Senate, *Survey of the Seminole Indians of Florida,* Senate Docs. 314, 71st Cong., 3rd sess., 57-59.
52. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* July 20, 1932. See also, ibid., July 21, 1982.

could help the Seminoles by providing them with a reservation, but due to local opposition it was placed in an area thought to have little value to the white man and there was little money for upkeep. Had either the federal government or the state of Florida been willing to purchase good agricultural land the reservation would have been more suitable. The white friends of the Indians had accepted land where only hunting and fishing subsistence activities would be possible. Even this was for a limited period of time; construction of the Tamiami Trail in the 1920s changed completely the nature of the area, and the advent of the automobile age ended its isolation.

FLORIDA HISTORY IN PERIODICALS

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BOOK REVIEWS

Jacksonville's Ordeal by Fire: A Civil War History. By Richard A. Martin and Daniel L. Schafer. (Jacksonville: Florida Publishing Co., 1984. 304 pp. Preface, foreword, prologue, end notes, bibliography, illustrations. $15.00.)

In 1860 Jacksonville's future was promising: new gas street lamps bathed Bay Street, railroad tracks from Baldwin arrived, and telegraph lines to the outside world were strung. Then came four years of Civil War, years which saw four separate occupations by Union troops. Each side took its turn putting the torch to the town. Citizens scattered, some off to war, others to exile North and South. A small number remained amid the destruction. In the end, phoenix-like, a new bustling city came into being, peopled by returning citizens and strangers attracted by Jacksonville's promise for the future.

Often authors of city histories focus upon a leading citizen or first family as the vehicle for their narration. Martin and Schafer's anecdotes are about all people, rich and poor, free and slave, southern and northern in their loyalties. Martin's newspaper training and Schafer's academic background blend well, producing an interesting, informative history. The illustrations and art work compliment the text. This is a superior local history. The major defects of this book are its lack of maps and an index.

Local readers responded well to this book and it is now almost out of print. This is unfortunate, for many regional readers would have enjoyed *Jacksonville's Ordeal By Fire.* It makes an important contribution to the history of Jacksonville and Florida.

Jacksonville University GEORGE E. BUKER

The Architecture of Henry John Klutho: The Prairie School of Jacksonville. By Robert C. Broward. (Jacksonville: University of North Florida Press, 1983. xviii, 361 pp. Foreword, preface, abbreviations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $45.00.)

Henry John Klutho's contribution to the quality of Florida's architecture was extraordinary. Although few of his works were outside the city of Jacksonville, their significance reaches far beyond, as some of the major exponents of a national style. Klutho's designs were a radical departure from the traditional architectural styles in vogue during the early 1900s. He embraced the ideas of the Prairie School and its master, Frank Lloyd Wright, during the same period when these revolutionary designs were sweeping the Midwest. Yet the success of his career was short-lived, and his popularity, just like that of the Prairie School, ended with the outbreak of World War I. His commissions slowly dwindled in spite of his long active career which lasted up to his death in 1964.

Broward's book is a tribute to the life and work of this distinguished man. Broward covers the development of Klutho's career thoroughly and fastidiously. It is a scholarly work, admirable in the enormous volume of research and information it presents. Klutho's followers will find it delightful for its attention to the smallest details, from specific dates and names to descriptions of everything from construction techniques to personal anecdotes. The more casual reader may have to struggle with the seemingly endless parade of buildings described to exhaustion.

Broward does indeed pay homage to his hero and friend. The book laments the treasures lost in the name of progress, and it condemns the senseless disfiguration to which many of Klutho's finest works of art have been subjected. But as much as the book shines with descriptive detail, it lacks analytical luster. For example, the most crucial element to understanding the strong Prairie School influence on Klutho's designs gets little more than a glance. Was Klutho an innovator or an imitator? He certainly was not a disciple of Frank Lloyd Wright nor a close friend. Although he did see some of Wright's most notable work, such as the Larkin Building in Buffalo, he met with

Wright only briefly. They exchanged ideas about their work, but this event is merely mentioned as an aside. Klutho followed Wright's latest works through publications, but Broward's book is still unclear whether this superficial exposure to the deep, intricate principles behind the Prairie School of design were fully understood and reinterpreted or merely cosmetically applied by Klutho. When the popularity of the Prairie School died, Wright's style evolved, staying at the forefront of American architecture, assimilating and giving his own dimension to the new trends. Wright's interpretations of new schools of thought are evident in his International Style-inspired Usonian houses, the Streamline Moderne forms of his Johnson's Wax Building, and the 1950s Expressionism of the Guggenheim Museum. Klutho's career, on the other hand, all but ended when the spark of the Prairie School was defused.

Still, the significance of Klutho should not be underestimated. He was the primary architectural force behind Jacksonville's reconstruction after the devastating 1901 fire. In the period between his arrival in Jacksonville shortly after the fire and World War I, he had more commissions than any other architect in the city. His unique brand of architecture gave Jacksonville a distinctively modern look. The Prairie School style of his designs, whether innovative or imitative, thrust his work into the national spotlight and put Jacksonville on the map. He was among the first to use reinforced concrete in Florida and "fast tracking" construction techniques for his tall buildings. He made early use of a construction manager to ensure quality control and expediency at the job site. He was also among the first to act as architect/developer, and was responsible for urban design schemes far ahead of his time. He also helped attract the young movie industry to Jacksonville. For a brief period Jacksonville was one of the major centers of silent film production, in direct competition with Hollywood. The conservative, provincial mentality of some of the local leaders soon drove the film makers out of town, and Klutho lost considerably in the fiasco, as he had invested heavily in the venture.

From the 1920s on, Klutho's career slowed down from the feverish pace of the earlier years to a near halt. This was partly due to the loss of popularity of his modern Prairie School-influenced designs in favor of more traditional architecture, and also

as a result of his unwillingness to compromise his professional philosophy.

The Architecture of Henry John Klutho is an excellent book, a scholarly work, albeit somewhat tedious and cumbersome with excessive detail. It is beautifully illustrated, with a remarkable display of historical photographs. Particularly dramatic is the use of "before" and "after" photographs depicting the sometimes tragic alterations that some of the architect's best works have undergone. The pen and ink illustrations by the author are of rare beauty and clearly demonstrate the Wrightian and Sullivanesque influence in the architect's work.

Henry John Klutho was undoubtedly ahead of his times, trying to succeed in a city still behind the times. Robert Broward eloquently captures the essence of this conflict which tragically stymied the successful career of a brilliant man, and provides a comprehensive inventory of Klutho's most significant work.

Metropolitan Dade County IVAN RODRIGUEZ
Historic Preservation Division

Orlando: The City Beautiful. By Jerrell H. Shofner. (Tulsa: Continental Heritage Press, 1984. 256 pp. Prologue, conclusion, bibliography, index, illustrations, credits. $29.95.)

With his recent pictorial history of Orlando, Jerrell H. Shofner has floated in on the picture-book parade which already features Pensacola, Jacksonville, Tampa, and Fort Lauderdale among other Florida cities. These are large glossy volumes which are extensively and mostly-thoughtfully illustrated. Indeed it is in the photographs, particularly the older ones, that much of the appeal of Dr. Shofner's effort lies. Special tribute for this goes to Jean Yothers, curator of the Orange County Historical Museum, for supplying photographs and information from her apparently boundless sources of both.

The author of at least half a dozen works in the field of Florida history, professor and chairman of the Department of History at the University of Central Florida, and winner of two Rembert W. Patrick Book prizes, Shofner can be expected to do

a thorough and scholarly job, as well as one which engages our interest throughout. Look what he did for Apopka! It is difficult to imagine that much if anything pertinent to the origins and development of Orlando has been omitted in this latest project. Past and present are researched and documented. The land, its lakes and Indians; the wars, Seminole and Civil; farming and the citrus industry; education, recreation, business, and the impact of Martin, Disney, and the Space Age are all here; concentric circles flowing out from the center, the city itself.

For despite the title, the scope of the book is not limited to Orlando. We find Sanford, and Winter Garden, and Mt. Plymouth, and Taft also included. One of the most attractive photographs is of sunny windows and shutters along Winter Park's Park Avenue. But by far the most compelling are those of the people. One longs to know who they are– the charter members of the University Club, the high school football team of 1909, a "posture class" at Rollins, Heller Bros.' national orange pickers– names no doubt next to impossible to unearth. One is also struck by the realization that with the exception of the relatively recent Heller "Juicy Gems" nobody in the old pictures smiled very much. Even the football players cracked not a one. And a photograph captioned "Good Times" shows little evidence of it.

The corporate sponsors of this book are collected in a seventy-five page section at the end, entitled Partners in Progress. This section is set in type and format resembling nothing so much as a commercial business presentation, which indeed it seems to be. Economically helpful, I suppose, but of limited appeal to the general reader who might well prefer that the precious space had been put to more interesting use.

One could also wish that a more imaginative or at least a more descriptive title had been chosen. Paris is a beautiful city, Venice is beautiful, so are Charleston and San Francisco beautiful cities. In spite of its affected inversion, Orlando's slogan, adopted in 1908 and designated by Dr. Shofner as a "happy selection," unhappily no longer rings true. Too rapid growth, too little planning, too much tasteless construction irreparably scarred its face years ago.

Nevertheless, *Orlando: The City Beautiful* has much to offer Central Florida dwellers and fans of Florida history. Orlando is

remarkably fortunate to have found such an impressive historian.

Winter Park, Florida MARJORY BARTLETT SANGER

Miami 1909, with Excerpts from Fannie Clemons' Diary. By Thelma Peters. (Miami: Banyon Books, 1985. vi, 218 pp. Illustrations, epilogue, bibliography, index. $13.95.)

In her earlier books on several pioneer communities in Dade County, Thelma Peters examined the region north of Miami. In *Miami 1909, with Excerpts from Fannie Clemens' Diary,* Dr. Peters has shifted her focus several miles south to the area around the Miami River and the fledgling city that was spreading quickly from its banks in three directions.

Peters has woven a fascinating account of early Miami, with emphasis on the year 1909. She has chosen that year as the focus of her study because of the diary of Fannie Clemens. The year 1909 appealed to the author for other reasons, too. Miami was recovering from the Panic of 1907; the Florida East Coast Railway's sweep into the Florida Keys was, in spite of numerous obstacles, progressing on schedule; and dredging was commencing on the Miami Canal and in the Everglades just west of Miami.

Fannie Clemons's diary contains entries for each day of 1909. The young diarist filled 209 legal size pages with interesting, accurate accounts of life in Miami. Although Fannie had dropped out of school earlier, she wrote with verve and insight. Except for the daily newspapers, there is no other source that contains so much information on Miami at that time.

In 1909, Fannie Clemons was seventeen years of age. She was tall, good natured, and quite attractive to the opposite sex (Fannie claimed thirty-two beaus for the year). Fannie and her family lived in a modest bungalow north of Miami's business district. Her father was a locomotive engineer for the Florida East Coast Railway. Fannie remained a resident of Miami until her death in 1977. She married four times and bore an equal number of children.

A few years after Fannie's death, her daughter-in-law gave the diary to Thelma Peters, a longtime friend. That Peters should acquire this treasure is not surprising. She has lived in the Miami area for seventy years and is one of its foremost historians. Dr. Peters counts as her friends numerous pioneers and their descendants. Many of them have served as valuable resource persons for this and her other books.

Fannie Clemons's diary is never far from Peters as she scrutinizes the Miami of 1909. The diary has provided the author with a rudimentary outline for this study. She has also used it to introduce a topic or buttress a point. On occasion, Peters quotes at length from it.

As an incorporated entity, Miami was just thirten years of age in 1909. The early years after incorporation had been filled with promise, excitement, and travail. By 1909, Miami's population was approaching 5,500. It was Florida's fifth largest city. Already, as the author indicates, Miami was an ethnically diverse community, and nearly every state was represented in its population mix. Moreover, Miami's window to the south was beginning to open, as many of its residents vacationed in Cuba while migrants from that island began settling in the "Magic City." Despite its demographics, growing tourist appeal, and a rapidly expanding real estate industry, Miami, in 1909, retained many vestiges of its frontier days. Its homely streets flooded easily; cows and horses roamed the downtown sector; livery stables and blacksmith shops engaged in a lively business; Seminole Indians were frequent visitors and trading partners with the community's merchants. Clearly, Miami had little reason, in 1909, to anticipate its explosive future.

Miami 1909 . . . includes chapters on the city's physical makeup, institutions, tourism, entertainment, clubs, Everglades reclamation, the railroad, and a growing temperance movement. The author writes with great command of her subject. She provides rich historical detail for each major topic. Her enthusiasm for the subject manifests itself in prose that fairly sparkles. In the Brickell Hammock, along the city's southern perimeter, "one was swallowed by the jungle, could breathe the spring odor of leaves crunching under foot, and marvel at the delicately colored tree snails on trunk and limb." Yet Peters is not reluctant to describe the city's shortcomings. She reminds

us that raw sewage spilled into the Miami River; power outages were frequent; on windy days, smokestacks blew soot on clean clothes hanging out to dry. Black Miamians, tucked away in the city's northwest sector, suffered from a pattern of discrimination not unlike that found elsewhere in the South.

Anecdotes abound. Events and situations prompt axioms as true of today's Miami as they are of the earlier period. For example, the early demise of the first street railway system moves the author to write that "Miamians early developed a gungho optimism that often led them to leap first and then look."

Peters has consulted a broad array of published and unpublished material, including newspapers, census tracts, diaries, and recordings of interviews with pioneer Miamians. The book contains more than 100 pictures that form a splendid panorama of the Miami of 1909.

The author has noted that "writing local history is like a giant game of jigsaw and just getting the pieces is only half of it. When the pieces are all gathered the coordination begins." In *Miami 1909, with Excerpts from Fannie Clemens' Diary,* Thelma Peters has demonstrated a firm grasp of this technique, and, in the process, has made another significant contribution to the small but growing corpus of literature on the history of Miami.

University of Miami PAUL S. GEORGE

With Hemingway: A Year in Key West and Cuba. By Arnold Samuelson. (New York: Random House, 1984. xiv, 184 pp. Foreword, biographical note on the author. $16.95.)

Hemingway in Cuba. By Norberto Fuentes. Introduction by Garbrie1 Garcia Marquez. (Secaucus, NJ: Lyle Stuart, 1984. 453 pp. Introduction, appendices, bibliography, notes, index. $22.50.)

Although *With Hemingway* was written fifty years ago by a young man of twenty-two years, this intimate portrait comes to light through the determination of Samuelson's daughter, Diane Darby, who, after her father's death in 1981, edited the rough

draft for publication. Arnold Samuelson never became the writer he wanted to be when he bummed his way down to Key West the spring of 1934 to talk to the man who had written "One Trip Across," the short story he so much admired, and the only work he knew by Ernest Hemingway. Fortunately, the young man's fresh sincerity appealed to the writer, and he became a part of the Hemingway household– part protégé, part servant, fishing companion, and confidant. Hemingway had just returned from his first African adventure, and Samuelson jotted down his observations during the year that Hemingway was working on *Green Hills of Africa* and also relaxing by fishing for marlin in the Gulf Stream out of Key West and Havana.

There is nothing of historical interest in Samuelson's observations of Key West, and there is very little about Cuba. Samuelson does comment on the demoralized atmosphere of Havana and its nightlife shortly after the overthrow of Machado's government. There is an amusing portrait of a young ABC revolutionary and two or three sketches of other people which show how well the young protege was learning his lessons from the master. Samuelson's descriptions of those surrounding Hemingway– his wife Pauline, his brother Leicester, Sidney Franklin, and some Cuban friends– are likewise concise and subtle. He also transmits a good deal of Hemingway's advice about writing, but there is nothing new or different here from previous and subsequent statements by Hemingway. Hemingway was remarkably consistent on this subject.

What does emerge in Samuelson's account is a portrait of Hemingway which rings true and which is very different from the short-tempered, conceited, irascible, violent, and unpredictable egoist which is the later and, unfortunately, more recognizable character of Hemingway. Here one sees a man of strength, with calm pride in his abilities to catch huge marlin or write good stories and confident in his relationship to people. Samuelson's account is nowhere adulatory, but he frequently records incidents in which Hemingway displays not only his strength, stamina, and courage, but also his unfailing kindness, tolerance, consideration, and generosity with both time and money towards others– everyone, from the director of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural History to the Cuban Negro who cut bait. He was even patient with the bumbling neophyte fishermen

who lost or caused him to lose great fish. This book provides a refreshing and much-needed correction to a stale and damaging public image of Hemingway as a sour old man.

Curiously, although filling in this fresh portrait with some quavering lines, it is sustained in the book by Norberto Fuentes. The older Hemingway has his silly aspects, such as running around with a gang of young boys, frightening people with explosions, and playing war games with firecrackers and skyrockets after World War II. But also recorded is his concern for and his kindness towards the people among whom he lived, giving generously of his time, money, and influence. Their regard for him is attested by the many place names and even objects (from a new type of electrical insulator to a dam) named in his honor. By his ordinary working class neighors Hemingway's occasional acts of childishness were accepted as interesting aberrations of a celebrity. Curiously, he made no attempt to contact the intellectual and artistic class of Cubans. He first visited the island in 1928, started to make regular trips from Key West in 1932, using the Ambos Mundos Hotel as headquarters, and he settled at his farm, Finca Vigía, in the spring of 1939, where, except for travel abroad, he lived until the last year of his life– twenty years in all. It was the only stable home he ever had after growing up. *Hemingway in Cuba* is a strange book, containing scattered pieces of interesting information, but it remains a melange of unassimilated materials, as is suggested by the strange organization and the four appendices, one containing some thirty unpublished Hemingway letters. The main sources are manuscript materials contained at the finca (turned into a state museum by his admirer Fidel Castro, after Hemingway's death); interviews with people who knew him well– his personal physician, whom he had met with the Loyalists in Spain, and the skipper of Hemingway's boat, Pilar– and some who knew him. To these the author adds the result of his own research into published biographies. Some of the material is interesting, such as the extent of Hemingway's sympathy and contributions to the Spanish and Cuban communist parties, and his support of the Castro revolution, although this aspect may be exaggerated by the Cuban author for obvious reasons. Details of his wartime activities in Cuba and their relationship to *Islands in the Stream* also are interesting. But too much is trivial, such as

the detailed architectural and proprietorship histories of the bars and restaurants mentioned in Hemingway's works, along with biographies of their bartenders and waiters. This lack of discretion, together with the books' confusing organization, tends to hide things of real interest.

Neither of these two books provides us with materials for a new and better understanding of Hemingway's work, but they help to illuminate the man.

University of Florida PETER LISCA

U.S. Military Edged Weapons of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842. By Ron G. Hickox. (Tampa: Ron G. Hickox, 1984. viii, 102 pp. Foreword, preface, acknowledgments, maps, illustrations, notes, appendices, bibliography. $19.95. Order from Antique Arms and Military Research, P.O. Box 360006, Tampa, Florida.)

This brief work, done in photo-offset, is a guidebook for collectors of cut and thrust weapons. The authors concentrate on the Second Seminole War because, they say, the years 1835-1842 were years of change for edged weapons. The changes had nothing to do with the Indian War; that conflict illustrated what was already well known, that not many Indians were hurt by cut and thrust weapons. This text gives only three instances of use during the Second Seminole War; all three of which did no harm to the enemy. Colonel John F. Lane, a West Point graduate, commanding a regiment of Creek warriors, committed suicide by running his sword through his left eye into his brain. Lieutenant Charles L. May with another officer used his sword to cut a path through dense undergrowth. In the third case a militia-private, quarreling insubordinately with his colonel, jerked the officer's sword out of the scabbard and offered to run the colonel through with his own sidearm.

The author states that swords, sabers, and dirks were more than weapons; they were insignia of rank inspiring respect through intimidation. Although the private mentioned above felt no such intimidation, their generalization perhaps holds true. Alligator, a Florida Indian, giving his version of the Dade

battle December 28, 1835, recalled a short officer (Captain George Washington Gardiner) brandishing his sword in the midst of the carnage and shouting "God damn!" Whatever held them to their duty, all of the men but three died with their officers.

The short sword issued to artillerymen was patterned after that carried by the Roman legions. Whereas it was useful for the legionnaires, it was rarely used by United States artillerymen whose methods had little in common with the Romans.

Both army and navy authorized an inordinate number of special swords for different types of officers: generals and staff officers had their own design; the twenty paymasters had one, as did the eighty-three medical officers. The engineers had their own, but the ten topographical engineers had yet another. Even officers of revenue cutters had a distinctive sword. Non-commissioned officers all had the same sidearm.

All cut and thrust weapons receive attention in this booklet; of the cutters are swords, sabers, cutlasses, and dirks; of the thrust weapons, bayonets, pikes, and even axes. Collectors will find the list of manufacturers useful, and also the nomenclature of swords. Most useful of all to the buffs, whose manual this is, are the sixty pages of drawings by illustrator Raymond E. Giron, depicting the details which enable interested persons to distinguish one weapon from another.

University of Florida JOHN K. MAHON

Slavery and Human Progress. By David Brion Davis. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984. xix, 374 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, index. $25.00.)

David Brion Davis's two monumental books on thought about slavery in the western world, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (1966) and *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (1975), are soon to be joined by a third volume, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Emancipation.* The work under review, described by Davis as "an exploratory study" (xix), organizes material from his trilogy around a central, unifying theme: "the momentous shift from 'progressive' enslavement to

'progressive' emancipation" (xvii). Until the second half of the eighteenth century, Davis writes, "black slavery was generally assumed to be a necessary and 'progressive' institution" (p. 81); then, quite suddenly, the notion triumphed that slavery was both economically backward and morally reprehensible. If slavery (and acceptance of slavery) persisted for millennia, its overthrow in the western hemisphere, from abolition in the northern United States to the final Brazilian emancipation in 1888, took little more than a century.

There is a certain discontinuty between the book's first part, entitled "How 'Progress' led to the Europeans' Enslavement of Africans," and its remaining two parts. Although Davis is not as interested in the reality of how progressive slavery was compared with attitudes toward it, paucity of early polemical writings on slavery forces him to focus in part one more on actual enslavement than on perceptions of slavery; he stresses "the remarkable coincidence of slavery with commercial expansion" (p. 31) under the ancient Roman, Arab, and Iberian empires. Reliance on mostly secondary sources, and a somewhat fuzzy focus, also distinguish this part from the rest of the book. A series of chapters on such diverse topics as a ninth-century slave revolt in Iraq, Jewish attitudes toward slavery, and problems of slavery's definition, although often fascinating, tend to obscure the author's overall argument.

Davis comes much more into his own in parts two and three, in which slavery becomes a retrograde rather than a progressive institution. He pays special attention to British thought, because antislavery action by "the world's most advanced nation" (p. 233) put slavery on the defensive everywhere. As in his previous works, he stresses the essentially religious nature of abolitionism, from its origin in the eighteenth-century Quaker revival to its "inclination to fuse slave emancipation with the Christian vision of resurrection and redemption" (p. 144). He examines these arguments with great sensitivity, as well as with considerable sense of irony, noting the eagerness of many emancipators to embrace more modern forms of social oppression. He pays surprisingly little attention, however, to the secular free-labor view that slavery was a backward and degraded, rather than a sinful, labor system. Some readers may also regret Davis's caution in explaining what he describes. Gone is the materialism that

characterized *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution.* As he remarks, he is "less concerned with underlying causes than with the linkage between antislavery and conceptions of human progress" (p. 109).

This is a remarkable book, impressive for its research, sophistication, and interest, as well as for its sweeping coverage of 2,000 years of western thought. It is not easy reading; absorbing its careful delineation of complex ideas from widely scattered times and places requires unusual concentration. The persistent reader, however, will be well rewarded for his or her effort.

University of New Mexico PETER KOLCHIN

Correspondence of James K. Polk, Volume VI: 1842-1843. Edited by Wayne Cutler. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1983. xxxvi, 726 pp. Preface, symbols, chronology, calendar, index. $32.50.)

Volume VI of the *Correspondence of James K. Polk* contains letters of a political nature written or received by Polk during 1842 and 1843. With the exceptions of a previously published letter from an elderly slave and letters exchanged between Polk and his wife, all personal and business correspondence has been omitted. During these years Polk was out of office, having been defeated in the Tennessee gubernatorial race of 1841. He nevertheless remained the titular head of the badly-divided state Democratic party which was split into factions supporting Martin Van Buren and John C. Calhoun. As a loyal follower of Andrew Jackson, Polk worked to rally the Tennessee Democrats behind Van Buren while he, himself, was trying to recapture the state from the Whigs by winning the 1843 race for governor. If he succeeded in these endeavors Polk expected to be rewarded with second place on a Van Buren presidential ticket in 1844.

During a vigorous campaign Polk engaged the incumbent, James C. Jones, in a series of debates in which Polk concentrated his fire upon Henry Clay and the national Whig party program. Polk's strategy of avoiding divisive local issues, however, failed

to overcome factionalism within his party, and the faithful did not turn out in sufficient numbers to give Polk the victory. Consequently, this second defeat at the hands of the Whigs appeared to blight Polk's chances of obtaining a vice-presidential nomination while destroying Van Buren's hopes of regaining the presidency.

As in previous volumes the number of letters written by Polk are disappointingly small. Less than fifty appear, and of these eleven are addressed to Sarah Polk and fourteen to Samuel H. Laughlin, an ally in the state senate. Only three are to Martin Van Buren and two to Andrew Jackson. Perhaps the most significant of the Polk letters are two written in May 1843 detailing his political position in the gubernatorial race (pp. 288-309). Most of the letters received by Polk are from members of the state legislature and congressional delegation. The most interesting of the letters written to Polk in this period is one from Henry Clay protesting Polk's revival of the old corrupt bargain charges and challenging the Tennesseean to meet him in a debate (pp. 311-12). A calendar of Polk papers dating from 1816 through 1843 occupies about a third of Volume VI.

Wayne Cutler's editing of the volume is of the highest order. His success in identifying virtually everyone mentioned in the correspondence is especially noteworthy. If this project is terminated by lack of funds before Cutler can apply his editorial skills to the more valuable papers of Polk's years in the White House, historical scholarship will have suffered a severe loss.

Florida State University JOHN HEBRON MOORE

The Papers of Jefferson Davis, Volume 3: July 1846-December 1848. Edited by James T. McIntosh. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981. xxxvi, 509 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, editorial method, symbols and abbreviations, illustrations, chronology, appendices, sources, index. $37.50.)

The Papers of Jefferson Davis, Volume 4: 1849-1852. Edited by Lynda Lasswell Crist. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983. xxxix, 472 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, editorial method, symbols and abbreviations, reposit-

ory symbols, illustrations, chronology, appendices, maps, sources, index. $37.50.)

Political history does not enjoy much scholarly favor these days. After at least ten years in which social history has transformed politics into statistical formulae and ethnic complexities, how quaint a work like Arthur Schlesinger's ebullient *Age of Jackson* (1947) seems now, whereas it once excited all sorts of controversy. Despite the doldrums, though, first-rate political correspondence, particularly of antebellum southern leaders like Polk, Clay, and Calhoun continue to appear, surmounting rising costs and lowered subsidies. Such is the case of the two volumes under review. The previous ones set high standards, but they are certainly matched in this pair. Every detail, from the accuracy of the footnotes to the clarity of the typography, shows genuine professional skill.

As both editors emphasize in their helpful introductions, Jefferson Davis's mind was serviceable, his dedication to public service admirable, and his conduct dignified and honest. Yet a prickliness about reputation and career made him a self-centered and unobservant commentator of the dramatic events in which he was engaged. If later on, some Yanks wished to hang the Confederate president on a sour apple tree, acquaintance with him at this point would not have changed their minds. He was a humorless prig: "Be pious, be calm, be useful, and charitable and temperate in all things" he lectured his second wife Varina in 1846 (III, p. 16). She gave as good as she got, though, admonishing him about his barracksroom language.

Two affairs, one from each volume, serve to show his rather vulgar defensiveness. At Teneria in the battle of Monterey and at Buena Vista Davis's First Mississippi Volunteers overran enemy positions. But in that valor-conscious age, other claimants to honors for the engagements stepped forward, too. Davis, however, gave no verbal quarter and slew more Mexicans on paper than ever fell to his guns. He even threatened one William H. Bissell with a duel for suggesting that his war record was as inflated as his ego. If Teneria and Buena Vista showed him a poor winner, then his race for governor of Mississippi in 1851 confirmed him a poor loser. Personal vindication precluded a gentlemanly submission to popular decision so that he did more

speechifying against the victorious Henry Foote after the election than he had before it.

Even though Volume III might be of some interest to military historians, Volume IV is certainly valuable to the political scientist and historian. It covers the fateful sectional controversy of the mid-century. As a loyal Jacksonian Democrat in 1848 Davis had supported Lewis Cass for president, but he still revered Whig candidate Zachary Taylor, his commander in Mexico and his first wife's father. Davis gave primary political loyalty, however, to Southern Rights against abolitionist encroachments. Although he opposed secession in 1850 and 1851, Davis tempered his Unionism with friendly gestures to most disunion leaders (except his rival John A. Quitman) and urged united action short of war itself. Davis was no trimmer, but he also was no originator of strategies or rationales. His very conventionality was one reason for his reelection in 1850 to the Senate seat that he had occupied for three years to complete a term.

A theme that crops up throughout the pages was Davis's attentiveness to matters of honor, even in minor affairs. On the Senate floor, he defended the venerable practice of flogging sailors on the grounds that its ill-advised abolition did not have the ordinary Jack Tar's support. The seaman "resists with manly pride" all imputations of flinching from the discipline and scorns those who claim it "a disgrace," Davis declaimed without offering evidence (IV, p. 134). Abolition of old ways had stark implications in the mind of this defender of slavery. Although some talked in 1852 about his presidential possibilities, the Davis in these volumes would have probably done little better than his Mexican War chum Franklin Pierce over whom Davis exercised much influence as the next volume of the series will presumably show.

University of Florida BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN

The Indian Arts and Craft Board: An Aspect of New Deal Indian Policy. By Robert Fay Schrader. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983. xii, 364 pp. Preface, epilogue, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $19.95.)

Although there are numerous works dealing with overall Indian policy during the New Deal era, Robert Schrader has chosen to focus on an aspect that has heretofore received scant attention. The passage of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board Act in 1935 culminated almost a half-century effort to revitalize that aspect of Native American culture. Although originally proposed by federal authorities and friends of the Indian as a means to "put the Indian to work," the movement evolved into an effort to preserve a distinctive element in Indian life– as well as to improve their economic situation. A growing national interest in Indian arts during the period following World War I not only fueled the market for their goods, but also brought a flood of cheap imitations produced at home and abroad. Concerned citizens and Indian advocacy groups called for federal legislation to protect Indian artisans; the most articulate of these was John Collier, executive secretary of the American Indian Defense Association, but for over a decade his efforts brought no results.

In 1933 President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Collier as commissioner of Indian Affairs to bring about an Indian New Deal. Following his success at having the Congress pass an Indian Reorganization Act in 1934, Collier turned his attention to establishing an Indian Arts and Crafts Board. He idealistically believed that such a board would be able to establish standards and create new markets for Indian goods. Under the management of Austrian-born René d'Harnoncourt, the board did score some notable early successes, but never received the congressional support or funding necessary to render it an unqualified success. It ultimately fell victim to anti-New Deal political maneuvering, and was nearly disbanded as part of the austerity measures during World War II. Nevertheless, the Indian Arts and Crafts Board survived this period of despair and was restored during the 1960s as part of a new Indian self-determination movement.

Schrader's work is thoroughly researched, interestingly written, and generally presents a balanced account of the early years of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board. He does have a tendency to be overly laudatory of Collier's policies even when they proved unworkable, while anti-New Deal members of Congress are portrayed as isolationists, assimilationists, and very probably

racists as well. One finds only a few references to the Seminole Crafts Guild or individual Indian artisans in Florida, but then the Florida tribe was only minimally involved in this particular New Deal program. Schrader's book is a fine addition to the growing body of literature on the Indian New Deal an aspect of American social history.

Florida Atlantic University HARRY A. KERSEY, JR.

Shipwreck Anthropology. Edited by Richard A. Gould. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983. xiv, 273 pp. Acknowledgments, references, index. $27.50.)

Shipwreck Anthropology, edited by Richard A. Gould, is a book from the Advance Seminar Series of the School of American Research. The stated objective of the seminar was to determine if and how the study of shipwrecks can inform and enlarge upon the view of man's relationships to his maritime environment. Surveys and sampling strategies are considered critical since the great number of shipwrecks precludes any realistic attempt at total excavation. While recognizing that historic documentation and classical studies (and probably also relic collecting by salvors) have been valuable in furnishing information about maritime activities and life at sea, the seminar participants believe that shipwrecks are part of the larger domain of archeology and can produce results that are as significant to explain variability in human behavior from physical remains as any other kind of archeology. In this regard, the editor stresses that there is an anthropological dimension to shipwrecks and wreck sites, and the time has come for anthropologically-oriented archeologists to recognize and explore it in an intelligent and convincing manner. To demonstrate that shipwreck archeology can be linked to the larger domains of social history and science, the volume includes papers about method and theory, research design, experimentation, ethnoarcheology, and the use of archeological remains to supplement, clarify, and/or modify historic documents.

Another objective of the seminar was to emphasize that underwater investigations can be conducted as systematically as those at terrestrial sites and that underwater archeology is not an extension of sport diving or treasure hunting. The book includes a statement lamenting the looting and destruction of shipwrecks, particularly in Florida and Texas, and stresses the fact that these wrecks are an irreplaceable resource for archeology and anthropology. The participants in the seminar wish to call this situation to the attention of the archeological profession, and they take the position that the same scientific, legal, and ethical standards that apply to terrestrial archeology should also apply to archeology under water.

University of Florida BARBARA A. PURDY

The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation. By Joel Williamson. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984. xviii, 561 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, notes, index. $25.00.)

Joel Williamson calls *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Reconstruction* his "big book." It is in every sense. Weighing in at well over 500 pages, it tackles a big question, perhaps the biggest question a historian of southern society can address. Williamson writes with enormous energy, authority, and intelligence, so that his off-hand designation becomes an accurate description on his work: *The Crucible of Race* is a *big book* on southern society between the Civil War and World War I.

Williamson's work rests upon an understanding of slavery and antebellum race relations. He sees masters and slaves locked together in an organic relationship that neither wanted but neither could fully escape. Built upon dependences of slavery and cemented by an increasingly shared culture, this interracial embrace gained its fullest expression not so much between slaveholders and slaves but between slaveholders and free people of color, who not only shared the masters' culture but their aspirations as well. With the approach of the Civil War,

this relationship began to fray, as the white elite sought to repair its ties to the white masses. The hard fate of the free people of color-who were stripped of their distinctive social standing in the 1850s-provides striking evidence of this nascent interracial realignment.

From this perspective, the Civil War may not be the watershed some have made it out to be. Williamson has argued this position in his earlier work. Nonetheless, he calls the period following the war "the great changeover," in which radically different conceptions of race relations– Liberal (represented by Bishop Atticus Haygood and George Washington Cable), Conservative (represented by Wade Hampton), and Radical (represented by Rebecca Felton and Benjamin Tillman) battled it out for the soul of the New South.

Williamson is at his best in describing this battle. Beginning with the notion that race is a social– rather than physiological– concept, he demonstrates that what was at issue was a literal redefinition of who was white and who was black and precisely what "white" and "black" meant. Although Williamson leaves no doubt that southern whites played the central role in this complex and violent process of cultural redefinition, he does not relegate blacks to a passive role. Instead, he shows how the complimentary processes of exclusion and withdrawal of blacks from association with white people helped to form the racial definitions. Moreover, although Williamson focuses on the South, where the vast majority of blacks resided, he links the great changeover to the ongoing transformation of northern society and of the national government, which remained under the control of Northerners until Woodrow Wilson's election.

In general, Williamson is better at describing the great changeover than explaining it. Particularly troublesome is the mixture of material and psychological forces that he sees behind the general redefinition of race, what Williamson calls "white soul" and "black soul." Perhaps it is simply difficult to locate the seat of the social pyschological dynamic that he argues was the mainspring for the rise and fall of racial Radicalism. His deft biographical sketches, while suggestive of the process, also reveals the difficulty of moving from the motives of individual men and women to the study of society. The sum of the parts

do not quite equal the whole. But Williamson has made his case; it now remains for others to challenge it.

A short review hardly does justice to the fullness and richness of Williamson's account. But even the longest review would have difficulty conveying the power and deep sense of concern with which Williamson writes. Grappling with a central problem in the history of his nation, his native South, and his own life gives *The Crucible of Race* the force that elevates it from fine scholarly study to a work of great history.

University of Maryland IRA BERLIN

Southerners All. By F. N. Boney. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1984. x, 217 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, epilogue, bibliographic essay, index. $16.95.)

In *Southerners All* F. N. Boney, a history professor at the University of Georgia, has written four historiographical essays on the South. Studying the "late antebellum period– roughly from 1830 to 1860," he states that the South "really jelled as a culture and a civilization" and that the people "changed little in fundamental ways in the last century" (p. 2). To prove his thesis he has examined four groups– aristocrats, rednecks, bourgeoisie, and blacks– concluding that they played an important role in the shaping of American history and in the "past, present, and future . . . stand in the American mainstream" (p. 200).

Boney has an interesting format for his first two essays. In "The Aristocrats" and "The Rednecks" he presents the images and stereotypes which many people have of these groups. Then, using his own research and the works of prominent historians, he explains what these Southerners were– and are– really like. For instance, the elite Southerners were "plain agrarian folk, polite but not refined, intelligent but not intellectual" (p. 22). They were good businessmen who had acquired wealth through inheritance, marriage, or their own industry and who "were powerfully influenced by an old fashioned work ethic Protestantism that blurred denominational distinctions all over the nation" (p. 23). Their homes were comfortable but not luxurious;

entertainment was cordial but not lavish. Nor were these Southerners especially attracted to the military since they were deeply involved in business enterprise.

In his essays entitled "The Bourgeoisie" and "The Blacks," however, Boney does not follow the same format. In fact, the reader may have difficulty in deciding who were middle class Southerners, how influential they were, even what size group they constituted. And in regard to his discussion of black Southerners Boney presents viewpoints of prominent southern historians but does not seem to provide a clear theme for the reader which would substantiate his own thesis.

Consequently *Southerners All* is a mixed blessing. Boney writes in a clear, easy-to-read style. He obviously knows his historiography. But his essays on these four groups in regard to numbers involved and cultural or political influence are sometimes vague and in some instances nonexistent.

Texas Christian University BEN PROCTER

Dixie Dateline: A Journalistic Portrait of the Contemporary South. Edited by John B. Boles. (Houston: Rice University Studies, 1984. vii, 182 pp. Introduction, notes. $12.95.)

Is old Dixie a goner? A fair summary of these eleven essays is yes, some for the better and some not. Economically and culturally, old Dixie may be getting off its knees. But its creatures have been "cheapened, deceived, and changed forever by television, interstate highways, throwaway plastics, and double-knit preachers from California."

Blacks have taken over the cities and gained high political offices, but the races still are apart because Dixie has not come to grips with its old weakness, i.e., "The great majority of whites do not particularly care for blacks, and more and more the feeling is mutual among blacks." And the party of Reagan may have charmed whites, but not blacks. They shall continue to sup at the Democratic table.

Yes, the South shall rise again. Jimmy Carter failed because the poor fellow could not articulate the great southern tenets. Besides, he had terrible luck. Sooner or later, a new leader will

arise– albeit not necessarily a Southerner– whose positive values will create a coalition beyond the wildest dreams of Franklin Roosevelt or Martin Luther King. Black antipathy for Ronald Reagan rules him out.

Dixie Dateline is no chore to read; it can be absorbed in busy airport terminals. The charming parts are the first few essays dealing with the spirit of Dixie, as contrasted with those expounding on the facts. Indeed, several essays probe the South at more length and depth than analyses available in just about any Sunday newspaper.

The book definitely lags toward the end when the essayists commence obeisance to C. Vann Woodard, apparently obligatory to validate their own views. Nor is coherency the books strength, as to be expected when eleven minds attack a single topic from eleven different directions at a symposium– this one held on the campus of Tulane.

Gainesville, Florida HORANCE G. DAVIS, JR.

Third to None: The Saga of Savannah Jewry, 1733-1983. By Saul Jacob Rubin. (Savannah: Congregation Mickve Israel, 1983. xv, 426 pp. Foreword, preface, illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $4.95.)

History, writes Saul Jacob Rubin, currently rabbi at Savannah's Congregation Mickve Israel, "is a harsh and unrelenting taskmaster" (p. xv). Its demands are legion: its rewards few– and usually restricted to the feeling of satisfaction the author has in knowing he has done his job well. In this context Rabbi Rubin and, in fact, the entire Savannah religious community, can take considerable pride in *Third to None.* There exists for no other Savannah religious organization a history so thorough and so dedicated. From its beginnings in 1733 until the celebration of its semiquincentenary in 1983 the travails and joys of the congregation are covered; the achievements and aspirations of its leading members from Benjamin Sheftall down to Rubin himself are outlined.

And yet there are also major difficulties with this book. It is, to begin with, too long by half, and the author shows little ability

to distinguish the important from the trivial. Hence the reader finds the most minute details, such as an almost endless series of lists of committees and the like, juxtaposed against questions of major importance-to the detriment of the latter. The changes that transformed K.K.M.I. from Conservative to Reform, with the attendant struggle between the Askenazic and Sephardic, are never made as real as they should be; the growth and triumph of the Zionist philosophy is nowhere fully spelled out and related appropriately to Mickve Israel; the record of the congregation in the desegregation crisis is not made clear beyond the fact that the temple lost one of its rabbis during the heat of the crisis (p. 312). In his preface Rubin completely discounts the importance of oral history and tradition– an aspect of his own personal predelictions that may help account for the curiously flat and featureless profile of the last 100 pages of his text. The subjective nature of the work is also obvious– the narrative is heavily slanted toward reform and political activism– and yet Rubin is also insecure in his judgments and theses. In all, the book is a curious blend of assertiveness and timidity.

Rubin is at his best when talking about the physical structures occupied by the congregation. There have been three proper buildings to house K.K.M.I. since 1733, the most recent synagogue dating from the 1870s. His passages dealing with the fire of 1927, which destroyed the remarkable cupola and choir and damaged much else, is superior, and he rejoices, as most Savannahians must have, when the congregation made the decision to reconstruct and restore rather than rebuild. And the implementation of his contention that the Savannah Jewish community since the eighteenth century has been almost always as one with the Christian, is convincing. The numerous intermarriages between these groups and the cooperation in times of fire or other crises are extraordinary and revealing tales themselves. Mickve Israel's missionary effort in encouraging the establishment of other Jewish congregations throughout Georgia is dramatically demonstrated, and the achievements of rabbis Isaac P. Mendes and George Solomon, the former Sephardic Orthodox and the latter Askenazic Reform, are nicely summarized. Rubin's passages dealing with the importance of the role of the women at K.K.M.I.– down to and including the election of Marion Abrahams Levy as the first female trustee in

1963– document the significance that they have held in the congregation from the earliest days.

In spite of its flaws and its eccentric emphases, Rubin's book is a solid achievement. He has taken the significant documents and secondary materials that relate to his congregation's history and has produced a work that will be of service to historians and others. The years of work and the intense labor that went into the volume were worth the effort. The "taskmaster," all things being equal, must surely be satisfied.

University of Georgia PHINIZY SPALDING

The Social History of Bourbon: An Unhurried Account of Our Star-Spangled American Drink. By Gerald Carson. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1984. xvi, 280 pp. Acknowledgments, foreword, illustrations, chronology, glossary, notes, bibliographical essay, index. $22.00.)

Kingsley Amis in his *On Drink* wrote, "One infallible mark of your true drink-man is that he reads everything on the subject that comes his way, from full-dress books to those tiny recipe-leaflets the makers tend to hang round the necks of their bottles." As a confessed "true drink-man," this reviewer is proud to add to his own substantial collection of drinking literature what may be regarded as the superb example of social history at its best.

Readers may recall the author, Gerald Carson, from his previous studies of cruelty to animals and the personal income tax. It is in this reprint of the author's 1963 "classic" that we accentuate the positive and eliminate the negative, however. The book is as refreshing as its subject. "I give you," Carson writes, "the Great Spirit of America, worthy companion in their hours of leisure of a nation of honorable men and gracious women."

What a history this is! Spiced with anecdotes and the words of wisdom and folly from generations of Americans, Carson traces American habits of imbibing from colonial times through bourbon's recognition as an authentic spirit, unique to the United States. While the book will delight the general reader,

specialists in social, cultural, and intellectual history will pursue the notes organized conveniently at the end of the book, most of which are mini-bibliographical essays on where to follow the fascinating leads our author has given us.

"Stranger, will you join me in a horn of old bourbon at the bar of history?" Carson challenges. "Then step right this way. . . ."

Topers and abstainers have been traditional foes as to the merits of bourbon, but there is little doubt that this American libation has exerted a strong influence on the course of American history, particulary after the American Revolution, when western farmers found in distilling of whiskey a means of preserving their grain until it found its way to market. Folklore and history join hands as Carson examines the farmers' armed protests against eastern taxation in the so-called "Whiskey Rebellion." Old Monongahela was one of the early names for whiskey– the kind that preceded the Reverend Elisha Craig's "white lightning" type of bourbon. It was not until the Civil War period that Kentucky distillers from Bourbon County began to age the liquor that we know today.

Kentucky, fine horses, and mint juleps– all are associated with bourbon. But so are the behind-the-scenes bourbon sessions of our distinguished lawmakers, such as "Mr. Sam" Rayburn, and many of the nation's political differences were settled over a glass of the "all-American drink."

Americans have a talent, perhaps not so unique, of drifting from one extreme to the other, from strong drinking to abstinence and back again. Carson traces some of these ups and downs, but he is less concerned with Prohibition than the folklore surrounding the jug that accompanied frontiersmen in their conquest of a continent. It is difficult to fault such a delightful book. Here is one to read, re-read, and to treasure. Don't loan it out; you won't get it back!

Compared to Stanley Baron's *Brewed in America* (about beer and ale) and W. J. Rorabaugh's *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition*, Carson's *Social History of Bourbon* wins, glasses down.

Birmingham, Alabama JACK D. L. HOLMES

BOOK NOTES

A biography of A. E. "Bean" Backus, the nationally-recognized Florida artist, is long overdue. Olive D. Peterson of Fort Pierce, former president of the Florida Historical Society, fills that need with *A. E. Backus, Florida Artist.* It is a very readable story based upon personal interviews with Mr. Backus and members of his family. It also includes some of his best known paintings. The Backus's were a pioneer family who moved into the Indian River area at the end of the nineteenth-century. "Beanie" was born in 1906, the first of the children born in Florida. Even as a child he was interested in art. As a young boy he painted landscapes in the window of a local store in Fort Pierce during the Christmas season, selling his work for a dollar each. He painted signs, murals, and pictures for local businesses-stores, restaurants, bars, hotels. His only formal training was lessons with a local artist and two summers at the Parsons School of Design in New York City. Backus's first show was in Fort Pierce in 1931 at the Casa Caprona Apartments, and he put a price of five and ten dollars on his pictures. In 1936 he received the Bemus Award in Palm Beach, the first of many state and national awards. Backus has been described by Governor Bob Graham as Florida's "best known representational artist," and his paintings now hang in major private and public collections throughout the state. Mrs. Peterson is a friend of Beanie Backus and his family, and she received their cooperation in writing this biography. It is available from the Gallery of Fort Pierce, 500 North Indian River Drive, Fort Pierce 33450; the price is $25.00.

The most recent edition of *The Florida Handbook, 1985-1986* is now available. As with the preceding nineteen volumes in this series, which began publication in 1947, it was compiled by Allen Morris, clerk of the Florida House of Representatives and one of the best-known political analysts in the state. *The Florida Handbook* is the most useful Florida government reference available. It answers the questions of who is who in Florida state government and what person or agency does what. In addition to the

data on the governors (present and past), cabinet, legislature, reapportionment, and the courts, Mr. Morris includes articles on Florida history, literature, sports, parks and museums, the origin of county names, natural resources, climate, elections, taxes, congressional representatives, and nearly anything else that someone interested in Florida government might want to know. Of value is the listing of state government agencies (with the names of the people in charge and their addresses), and the State Constitution with a usable index. There are many photographs, maps, graphs, and statistical tables. *The Florida Handbook* was published by Peninsular Publishing Company of Tallahassee, and it sells for $13.95.

Once Upon a Time in Southwest Florida, by Fred Harris, is a collection of stories about some of the early settlers who lived along the lower Gulf coast. Among the pioneers that Harris writes about are Edward Zane Carroll Judson, who sent newspaper dispatches from Florida during the Third Seminole War (and later, under the name Ned Buntline, became known as the "father of the dime novel,"), and the two Audubon Society wardens who were murdered in the Everglades, allegedly by poachers who were killing plummage birds. There is an article on Dr. Cyrus Read Teed, leader of the Koreshan Unity, who settled in Estero in 1894, and who believed that the earth was hollow and contained an entire universe. When Dr. Teed died, his body was placed in a galvanized bathtub and interred under a concrete slab at the south end of what is now Fort Myers Beach. Other sketches describe Delores Aquilo Willis, the first white child born in the area, and Bone Mizell, the famed Florida cowboy. Fred Harris is a newsman whose column, "Times Recalled," appears in a number of Florida papers. *Once Upon a Time* may be ordered from Sun Coast Media Group, 200 East Miami Avenue, Venice, FL 33545; the price is $5.70.

The text and photographs of *A Cattleman's Backcountry, Florida* is by Alto Adams, Jr., the well-known Florida cattle breeder. Photographing Florida's wildlife is his hobby. The pictures in this handsome volume were taken on his family's ranches in St. Lucie, Osceola, and Okeechobee counties. They show the animals and birds under natural surroundings; only

one picture, according to Mr. Adams, was posed. There are also beautiful color photographs of wild flowers, insects, and native foliage. Published by Florida Atlantic University Press and University Presses of Florida, the volume sells for $12.00.

Florida Southern College celebrated its 100th anniversary in 1885; it traces its beginnings to the establishment of the South Florida Seminary in Orlando by Florida Methodists, The school went through several name changes until it became Florida Southern College. There were also several different campus sites– Sutherland, Clearwater for a short time, and then Lakeland in 1922, its present campus. Its buildings are famous; several were designed by Frank Lloyd Wright. The history of Florida Southern has always been closely related to the history of Methodism in Florida, although its faculty and students represent every religious and political persuasion and are drawn from all parts of the country and the world. There is a chapter devoted to the presidency of Charles P. Thrift, Jr. (1957-1976), who also served as president of the Florida Historical Society. Many of Florida's outstanding political and business leaders are graduates of Florida Southern College. The author of *Florida Southern College, the First 100 Years,* is Theodore M. Haggard. He has collected a large variety of pictures to illustrate his text. Published by Florida Southern College, the price of this centennial volume in $26.50, plus $5.25 for postage and handling.

Pine Needles, The Story of Pine, Florida and its People is by Faye Perry Melton who has drawn from her own memory and that of family and neighbors for the information in her monograph. Emmanuel Martin, the earliest settler, built a log cabin in the Pine area in 1832. After the First Seminole War the population of Marion County began to increase, and a few families, taking advantage of the land offered under the Armed Occupation Act, moved into Pine. Other settlers came after the Civil War and began cultivating farms and citrus groves. The freeze of 1894-1895 greatly damaged the cirtus industry in north Florida, and turpentine and timber interests began moving into the Pine area. Within a few years, however, the turpentine stills had relocated elsewhere, and the sawmills and logging crews had stripped the land of its timber. The Pine community is almost

deserted today; only a handful of families remain in the area. It is still a community, however, as Mrs. Melton shows in her history. Order *Pine Needles* from the author, Route 4, Box 4050, Citrus, FL 32627; the price is $10.00.

Florida, produced and edited by Paul Zach, is one of the volumes in the Insight Guides series published by Apa Productions of Hong Kong. It appeared first in 1982, and an updated edition is now available. After an introductory chapter on the history of Florida, there is a section titled "People," with articles on the Seminoles, Cubans, Blacks, Crackers and Yankees, and Retirees. This Guide divides the state into seven regions– central Florida, West Coast, South Florida, East Coast, Panhandle and North Florida, Everglades, and the Florida Keys. Information is provided on places in each region. There is also information on how to get to the historic and tourist sites, hours of operation, and admission charges. There are suggestions for dining and shopping, a listing of festivals and special events, and information on sports, hotel and motel accommodations, health and emergencies, and travel advisories. There is also a listing of books about Florida. There are many excellent color photographs of people, places, and events. The American distributors of *Florida* are Prentice-Hall, Inc., and the price is $14.95.

A New Canaan Private in the Civil War are the letters of Justus M. Silliman of the 17th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry. He served with the Army of the Potomac off Charleston, South Carolina, and then in Florida in the last year of the war. The letters, donated by one of his descendents living in Florida, are in the New Canaan Historical Society Library. They were edited by Edward Marcus and were published by the Society. Silliman arrived in Florida on February 24, 1864, a few days after the Federals began their fourth occupation of Jacksonville. He remained there until June 25, 1865. He describes the devastated town and its people and his day-to-day activities as a soldier stationed in Jacksonville. He was a deeply religious man, and there is information on church services and church events. Silliman was still in Jacksonville when the war ended, and he reports that on April 28, 1865, the troops enjoyed a holiday that fea-

tured a 200-gun salute and whiskey. The following day there was a thanksgiving meeting. In his last letter, June 25, 1865, he describes a young black who claimed that he had driven a wagon into Florida from Georgia with some of the property of Jefferson Davis and his family. These items were captured by the Federals in Waldo, where they had been left for safekeeping. Presumably the Davis baggage was brought to Jacksonville where a listing of the contents was made. A leather trunk contained miscellaneous clothing including eight dirty linen shirts, a pistol, one case of ammunition, woolen drawers and socks, two dressing gowns and a silk scarf. There was a second box with clothing (underwear, shirt, socks, shoes, boots), shaving equipment, two toothbrushes, eye glasses, some smoking and plug tobacco, one double-barreled revolver, a pair of holsters with pistols enclosed, and a plain ring. A third box contained $20,000 in Confederate money, miscellaneous papers and correspondence, six boxes of cigars, and portraits of President and Mrs. Davis and General Lee. Silliman's letters were to his mother and other members of his family, and as his letters reveal, he was an educated man. There were a few misspellings (for instance, Senator Yulee is spelled Ulae). Order *A New Canaan Private in the Civil War* from the New Canaan Historical Society, 13 Oenoke Ridge, New Canaan, CT 06840; the price is $7.50.

A Pictorial History of Arcadia and DeSoto County was compiled by George Lane, Jr., local historian and publisher of the *DeSoto County Times.* The earliest photographs are of pioneer settlers who lived in and around Arcadia in the 1890s. A courthouse and a brick jail were constructed before the turn of the century, and there was a mule-drawn street railway system. The railroad had begun operating through the area in the 1880s. A section of the first school building, constructed in 1895, survives today. Phosphate and cattle were booming industries in the area. Disaster struck on November 30, 1905, Thanksgiving day, when a fire destroyed most of downtown Arcadia, and there is a picture showing its aftermath. But the town quickly rebuilt, and this construction is shown in the pictures of churches, commercial buildings, schools, private residences, and government buildings in Mr. Lane's volume. There are many pictures of people at play and at work. DeSoto County continues as an important cattle

area, and the annual all-Florida Championship Rodeo is a major event. Pictures of the rodeo, along with the baseball team and the band, are included. Of interest are the photographs of Carlstrom Field where American and British flyers were trained during World War II. *A Pictorial History* is published by Byron Kennedy & Company, St. Petersburg. Order from *DeSoto County Times,* P. O. Drawer 1900, Arcadia 33821; the price is $12.98.

United States Coast Defense, 1775-1950 is a bibliography compiled by Dale E. Floyd who also prepared the introduction. It was published by the Historical Division, Office of Administrative Services, Office of the Chief of Engineers. Of interest to Florida readers are the sections dealing with the Florida Keys and Dry Tortugas, Pensacola Bay, the St. Johns River, St. Augustine, and Tampa Bay. Order from the U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington; the price is $5.50.

Forty Years of Diversity, Essays on Colonial Georgia was edited by Harvey H. Jackson and Phinizy Spalding. The essays were presented as papers at a symposium held in Savannah in 1983 to commemorate the two hundred fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Georgia by James Oglethorpe and the Trustees in 1733. Scholars working in the area of colonial Georgia were invited to participate, and the purpose was to extract from them "their newest ideas and interpretations." The success of the symposium encouraged publication of the papers as a collection of essays. The essays cover the historical period from the earliest beginnings of the Georgia colony to the coming of the American Revolution. The topics of these essays include Georgia's Indians, philanthropy and the origins of Georgia, James Oglethorpe, the Earl of Egmont, the town plan for Savannah, settlement of the frontier and colonial defense, Georgia's early Jewish settlers, women landholders, the Habersham family, John Adam Treutlen, and the rising support for the Revolution and Loyalist resistance. The authors– Kenneth Coleman, Charles M. Hudson, Milton L. Ready, Phinizy Spalding, Betty Wood, John W. Reps, Larry E. Ivers, B. H. Levy, Lee Ann Caldwell, W. Calvin Smith, George Fenwick Jones, Edward J. Cashin, Harvey H. Jackson, and Jack P. Greene– are all recognized authorities in southern

and Georgia colonial history. *Forty Years of Diversity* was published by the University of Georgia Press, Athens, as Number Sixteen in its Wormsloe Foundation Publications series. It sells for $25.00.

Illustrated Dictionary of Place Names, United States and Canada was edited by Kelsie B. Harder. Many Florida names are included. It provides information on the origin, meaning, and historic significance of place names. The book is a reprint edition of the volume appearing in 1976. Published by Facts on File, New York, the paperback edition sells for $12.95.

Oglethorpe: A Brief Biography, edited by Phinizy Spalding and published by Mercer University Press, was reviewed in the January 1985 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly,* p. 378. The correct retail price is $7.95.

HISTORY NEWS

The Annual Meeting

Bradenton will be the site for the eighty-fourth meeting of the Florida Historical Society, May 1-3, 1986. Chairing the program committee is Dr. Daniel L. Schafer (Department of History, University of North Florida, Jacksonville 32216). Other members are Dr. Amy Bushnell (131 Washington Street, St. Augustine 32084); Dr. William M. Straight (550 Brickell Building, Miami 33131); and Dr. Larry E. Rivers (4557 Hickory Forest Circle, Tallahassee 32304). Anyone wanting to present a paper or organize a panel should communicate with a member of the program committee. Tissie Watson will be in charge of local arrangements. The Manatee Historical Society, Sarasota Historical Society, Palmetto Historical Commission, Cortez Historical Society, Longboat Key Historical Society, and Peace River Historical Society will serve as host organizations.

The Florida Historical Confederation will hold a workshop in conjunction with the annual meeting beginning May 1, 1986. Patricia Wickman, Museum of Florida History, R. A. Gray Building, Tallahassee 32301, is chair of the Confederation. Questions pertaining to the workshop should be directed to Ms. Wickman.

Wentworth Foundation Grant

A check for $1,000 was presented on behalf of the Wentworth Foundation, Inc., by Dr. William M. Goza, former president of the Florida Historical Society and executive director of the Foundation, to the Society at the annual meeting in May. This gift is to support the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. In addition to the Society's activities, the Wentworth Foundation has contributed to the educational, historical, anthropological, and cultural programs of many organizations. The Foundation's major activity is to provide tuition scholarships for undergraduate and graduate students at a number of Florida's public and private colleges and universities. The recipients are known

as Wentworth Scholars. The Foundation also supports archeological projects sponsored by the Florida State Museum in Florida and in Haiti, the calendaring of Spanish borderland documents, manuscripts, and microfilm in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, the Howe Collection of American Literature at the University of Florida, and the international conference activities relating to the early discovery and settlement periods sponsored by the University of Florida and the Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, Madrid, Spain. The Wentworth Lecture series in southern history and the Wentworth history workshop at the University of Florida are also recipients of Foundation support.

International Spanish Conference

The University of Florida and the Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana held an international conference in Madrid, Spain, May 20-23, 1985. The theme of the conference was "Spain and America during the Period of Discovery, 1492-1520." Among the American scholars reading papers were Dr. Eugene Lyon, St. Augustine; Dr. Kathleen Deagan, Florida State Museum; Dr. Jerald T. Milanich, University of Florida; and Dr. Paul Hoffman, Louisiana State University. Dr. Michael Gannon and Dr. Samuel Proctor, University of Florida, served as moderators. Several noted Spanish scholars also participated in the four-day meeting. Dr. Juan Marchena, University of Seville, and Dr. Proctor were the program coordinators. Dr. Charles Sidman, dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, represented the University of Florida.

In addition to the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Florida, support for the conference came from the Wentworth Foundation, Inc., and from the St. Augustine Foundation. This was the first of several international conferences that will be held in Spain and at the University of Florida leading up to the quincentenary in 1992 marking the period of exploration, discovery, and settlement of America.

Florida Historical Directory

The Florida Historical Directory, a revised and up-dated catalogue of local, county, and state historical societies and agencies, is available to members of the Florida Historical Society.

The eighty-six page booklet was prepared by the Florida Division of Archives, History and Records Management for the Florida Historical Society and the Florida Historical Confederation. Copies may be ordered from the Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, 4202 Fowler Avenue, Tampa, FL 33620. Enclose $1.00 to cover postage and handling.

Awards

Dr. Daniel L. Schafer, professor of history, University of North Florida, Jacksonville, received the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize for 1984-1985 for his article, "Plantation Development in British East Florida: A Case Study of the Earl of Egmont." It appeared in the October 1984 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The prize is given annually for the best article appearing in the *Quarterly*, and is presented at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society. The judges for this year's award were Dr. Amy Bushnell, Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board; Dr. Thelma Peters, Coral Gables; and Dr. Gary Mormino, University of South Florida. The prize was made possible by an endowment established by Mrs. Arthur W. Thompson of Gainesville.

Mizner's Florida, American Resort Architecture, published by MIT Press, was selected as the best book published in 1984 on a Florida subject. Its author, Donald C. Curl of Florida Atlantic University, received the Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award. The judges were Marjory Bartlett Sanger, Winter Park; Dr. Robert P. Ingalls, University of South Florida; and Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, Springfield, Georgia. The award memorializes Professor Patrick, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and secretary of the Florida Historical Society.

The Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award for 1984 was presented to Scott O'Dell of Waccabac, New York, for his book, *Alexandra*, published by Houghton Mifflin Company. The award honors Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, Emeritus Professor, University of Miami, editor of *Tequesta*, and former president of the Florida Historical Society. It is given annually to the author of the best book for young readers on a Florida subject. The judges were Bettye Smith, Seminole Community College; Olive D. Peterson, Fort Pierce; and Dr. Larry E. Rivers, Florida A & M University.

The Peace River Valley Historical Society presented its annual Florida History Award to Edith F. Stormont of Lake Alfred at a banquet at the Peace River Country Club in Bartow on June 8, 1985. Mrs. Stormont is a well-known Florida genealogist and has been active in helping many persons research their family histories. Mrs. Stormont is the twenty-first recipient of the Society's History Award.

Sanborn Map Collection

The University of Florida Map Library has launched a preservation project to save its collection of 6,595 Sanborn maps of Florida. The maps were published primarily for fire insurance underwriting purposes. The University of Florida's Sanborn map collection was acquired from the Library of Congress between 1955 and 1960, and it comprises one of the only two "copyright editions" of Florida in existence. The maps show building features in precise detail. The outline of every building, with its size, shape, construction, and the location of windows and doors is indicated. Additional construction data, such as outbuildings, is also supplied. There is extensive information on building use, and in the case of large factories or commercial buildings, even individual rooms and their uses are recorded on the maps. In addition, the maps give street names, street and sidewalk widths, property boundaries, building use, and house and block numbers. The University of Florida's collection covers 188 populated places– 139 Florida cities and forty-nine smaller suburban areas. For information on the preservation project, write Dr. Helen Jane Armstrong or Sam Gowan, University of Florida Libraries, Universtiy of Florida, Gainesville 32611.

National Register of Historic Places

The Florida Department of State, Division of Archives, History and Records Management, reports the following Florida sites added to the National Register during the year 1984: Duval County-Florida Baptist Building (Jacksonville); Marion County– Ocala Historic District; Pinellas County– Arcade Hotel (Tarpon Springs), Central High School (St. Petersburg), Alexander Hotel (St. Petersburg); Orange County– J. J. Bridges

House (Orlando); St. Lucie County– St. Lucie High School (Fort Pierce), Casa Caprona (Fort Pierce); Volusia County– Anderson-price Memorial Library Building (Ormond Beach); Broward County– Sample Estate (Pompano Beach), Bonnet House (Fort Lauderdale); Dade County– Kampong (Miami), Fire Station No. 4 (Miami), Olympia Theater and Office Building (Miami), Rock Gate, Coral Castle (Homestead vicinity), Offshore Reefs Archeological District, Coral Gables Police and Fire Station (Coral Gables); Brevard County– Melbourne Beach Pier (Melbourne Beach); Leon County– Bradley's Country Store Complex (Tallahassee), Magnolia Heights Historic District (Tallahassee), Exchange Bank Building (Tallahassee), Hotel Floridan (Tallahassee; Monroe County– U. S. Naval Station (Key West), Schooner *Western Union* (Key West vicinity), Carysfort Lighthouse (Key Largo vicinity); DeSoto County– Arcadia Historic District; Palm Beach County– Hibiscus Apartments (West Palm Beach), William Gray Warden House (Palm Beach); Seminole County– Longwood Hotel (Longwood); Lee County– Murphy-Burroughs House (Fort Myers); Hillsborough County– Hayden State Building (Tampa); Jefferson County– Lloyd-Bond House (Lloyd); Levy County– Island Hotel (Cedar Key); Seminole County– Sanford Grammar School (Sanford); Sarasota County– South Side School, L. D. Reagin House, Bay Haven School, City Waterworks, Edwards Theatre, El Vernona Apartments-Broadway Apartments, Frantes-Carlton Apartments, Dr. Joseph Halton House, S. H. Kress Building, Captain W. F. Purdy House, Roth Cigar Factory, Sarasota County Courthouse, Sarasota *Herald* Building, Sarasota High School, Sarasota *Times* Building, U. S. Post Office-Federal Building, H. B. Williams House, Dr. C. B. Wilson House, DeMarcay Hotel, F. A. DeCanizares House, Burns Court Historic District, Bacon and Tomlin, Inc., Atlantic Coast Line Passenger Depot (all in Sarasota), and Hotel Venice (Venice).

Announcement and Activities

The Florida Trust for Historic Preservation will hold its annual meeting, September 12-14, 1985, in Pensacola. The Hilton Hotel has been selected for the convention. The dinner speaker will be J. Jackson Walter, president of the National Trust for

Historic Preservation. In addition to several workshop sessions and an awards luncheon, there will be tours of historic Pensacola and of two restored houses, a reception at the Transportation Museum on Seville Square, a tour of the Naval Air Station with visits to the USS *Lexington* and the Naval Aviation Museum, and an outing at Fort Pickens State Park. For information write Florida Trust for Historic Preservation, Box 11206, Tallahassee, FL 32302, or telephone Tavia McCuean, 904-224-8128.

The exhibit, *The Seminole Nobody Knows,* will be at the Historical Museum of Southern Florida, Miami, until August 11. The lifestyle of the Seminole Indians in South Florida during the late 1880s is the major focus of this exhibition, which includes photographs, artifacts, and music from the Green Corn Dance. The exhibition was prepared by the Florida History Museum, Division of Archives, History and Records Management, and it will travel extensively throughout Florida. The Historic Museum of Southern Florida is in the Metro-Dade Cultural Center, 101 West Flagler Street, Miami. It is open Monday through Saturday from 10:00 a.m. until 5:00 p.m., Thursdays until 9:00 p.m., and Sundays from noon until 5:00 p.m.

The Bureau of Florida Folklife Programs, Florida Department of State, has produced three albums of Florida's traditional music: "Drop on Down in Florida" (sacred and secular pieces from the Afro-American tradition); "The First Twenty-five Years of the Florida Folk Festival" (from the Florida Folklife Archives); and "Ida Goodson, Pensacola Piano." This project is part of a continuing effort to locate, document, and present information about Florida's folklore and folklife. The recordings reflect musical traditions which connect Florida to the lowland South. The albums contain extensive liner notes and background materials on the musicians and musical traditions. They are available to libraries and educational institutions for $15.00. Write Florida Folklife Programs, Box 265, White Springs, FL 32096, for ordering information.

Arcadia, DeLand, Ocala, Panama City, and Plant City have been selected as the first cities to participate in Florida's Main Street Program for downtown revitalization. The Bureau of His-

torical Preservation, Florida Department of State, will provide these cities with training for their Main Street Managers and community leaders, consulting services on a range of downtown issues, architectural assistance, statewide coordination, contact with the national network of Main Street cities, and grants-in-aid. Each of the five cities will hire a full-time downtown Main Street Manager who will coordinate community activities. Main Street is tailored to small cities and their special problems and is designed to preserve the rich architectural resources of the downtown. Developed by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, it is a technical assistance program which fosters local initiative, self-help, and community spirit. Other Florida cities will have the opportunity to join the Main Street network in future years.

The Genealogical Society of Okaloosa County is compiling a biographical historical record of early settlers of the area. It welcomes any information about these pioneers. Write to the Society, Box 1175, Fort Walton Beach, FL 35429.

The National Parks Service has designated U.S. Car No. 1, Ferdinand Magellan, as a National Historic Landmark. Built by the Pullman Company as a private railroad car, it was used by Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, and Dwight D. Eisenhower. It is now preserved and maintained by the Gold Coast Railroad Museum in Miami. For information write the Gold Coast Railroad Museum, 12400 S.W. 152 Street, Miami, FL 33177.

On April 13, the Saint Augustine Historical Society unveiled a plaque identifing the Albert Manucy Exhibit Hall in the loggia of the Webb Building. An oral history tape made by Mr. Manucy covering his St. Augustine memories was also presented. Mr. Manucy is a former president of the Florida Historical Society.

Seth Bramson, author of *Speedway to Sunshine: The Story of the Florida East Coast Railway,* is collecting data for a book on *Sunshine State Trolleys: The History of Florida's Street Railways.* He is interested in securing any information or data (manuscripts, papers, books, booklets) on the subject, particularly horse cars of Orlando, Winter Park, Gainesville, Tallahassee, White

Springs, and Pensacola, and the battery car operations in Daytona, Sanford, and Everglades City. Mr. Bramson's address is South Florida Rail Sales, 330 N.E. 96th Street, Miami Shores, FL 33138.

The Forest History Society is coordinating a comprehensive historical study of the southern forest. The United States Forest Service is contracting the study with funds provided by two private foundations, The investigation will result in a six-part report on the development of the South's woodlands from the beginning of European settlement to the present. Professor Robert S. Maxwell of Stephen F. Austin State University will examine the evolution of the South's forest by looking at the types of forest, growth of the forest economy, changes in agricultural practices, and the impact of political forces on the forest, including environmental policy, wars, governmental economic polices, and the influence of private trade and public-interest groups. The study will also investigate research programs that have affected forest resources and related industries; state and private forestry programs; the impact of forest industry management; the influence of private forestry associations in the South; and contributions of forestry education. The Forest History Society is a nonprofit educational institution that serves as an affiliate of Duke University. It publishes the quarterly *Journal of Forest History*. For information on the southern forest research project or other matters write the Society, 701 Vickers Avenue, Durham, NC 27701.

The Southeastern American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies invites submissions for its annual competition. An award of $250 will be given for the best article on an eighteenth-century subject published in a scholarly journal, annual, or collection between September 1, 1984, and August 31, 1985, by a member of the Society or a person living or working in the SEASECS area (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee). The interdisciplinary appeal of the article will be considered, but it will not be the sole determinant of the award. Individuals may submit their own work or the work of others. Articles must be submitted in triplicate and postmarked no later

than November 15, 1985, to Professor Melvyn New, Department of English, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611. The award will be announced at the Society's annual conference at the University of South Carolina, February 27-March 1, 1986.

The American Association for State and Local History Consultant Service offers assistance to any museum, large or small, that has an active program and needs general assistance for long-range planning or specific advice on a museum-related problem. The consultant will provide advice at a minimum cost depending on the museum's cost operating budget. Write to AASLH, 708 Berry Road, Nashville, TN 37204, and ask for a "Request for Consultant Application."

Contributions to *Southern Traditions,* a new bi-monthly magazine dedicated to the preservation and furtherance of the southern folk arts, are being solicited. The publication features short articles on local events and community projects and interviews with performers and artists, and includes a calendar of festivals, workshops, folk schools, and historical activities throughout the Southeast. Subscriptions are $5.00 per year. Write *Southern Traditions,* Box 2278, Dade City, FL 34279 (telephone 904-567-7777).

Meetings

The Oral History Association will hold its annual workshop and colloquium in Pensacola, October 31-November 3. The four-day conference will feature papers, panel discussions, and speakers from various professions, educational, and research disciplines. There will be several workshops relating to oral history techniques and methodology for both beginning and advanced oral historians. James Moody, executive director of the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, is in charge of local arrangements. For information on the meeting write Oral History Association, NTSU Box 13734, Denton, TX 76203.

The Popular Culture Association will hold its annual meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, April 2-6, 1986. The theme will be "Westerns and the West." Proposals on any aspect of this topic

are solicited. Suggested topics are western history, literature, films, television programs, the West in advertising, art, music, and the mythology of the West. A brief abstract of the proposal should be submitted by October 1, 1985, to Professor Gary A. Yoggy, Department of History, Corning Community College, Corning, NY 14830.

The Southeastern American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies will hold its annual meeting at the University of South Carolina in Columbia, February 27-March 1, 1986. Proposals for papers or panels on any eighteenth-century topic are solicited. One session will be designated for graduate student papers. Paper proposals and inquiries should be addressed to Professor Elizabeth Nybakken, Department of History, Mississippi State University, Mississippi State, MS 39762.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS. . .

1985		
Sept. 10-13	American Association for State and Local History	Topeka, KS
Oct. 8-14	National Trust for Historic Preservation	Seattle, WA
Oct. 18-20	Southern Jewish Historical Society	Memphis, TN
Oct. 31-Nov. 2	Oral History Association	Pensacola, FL
Nov. 8-9	Florida State Genealogical Society	Tampa, FL
Nov. 12-15	Southern Historical Association	Houston, TX
Dec. 26-29	American Historical Association	New York, NY
1986		
April	Florida Anthropological Society and Florida Academy of Science	Gainesville, FL
Apr. 9-12	Organization of American Historians	New York, NY
Apr. 30	Society of Florida Archivists	Bradenton, FL
May 1	Florida Historical Confederation	Bradenton, FL
May 1-3	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 84th MEETING	Bradenton, FL

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FROM

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA, 1856
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, successor, 1902
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, incorporated, 1905

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All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Dr. Gary R. Mormino, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, FL 33620. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Mormino.