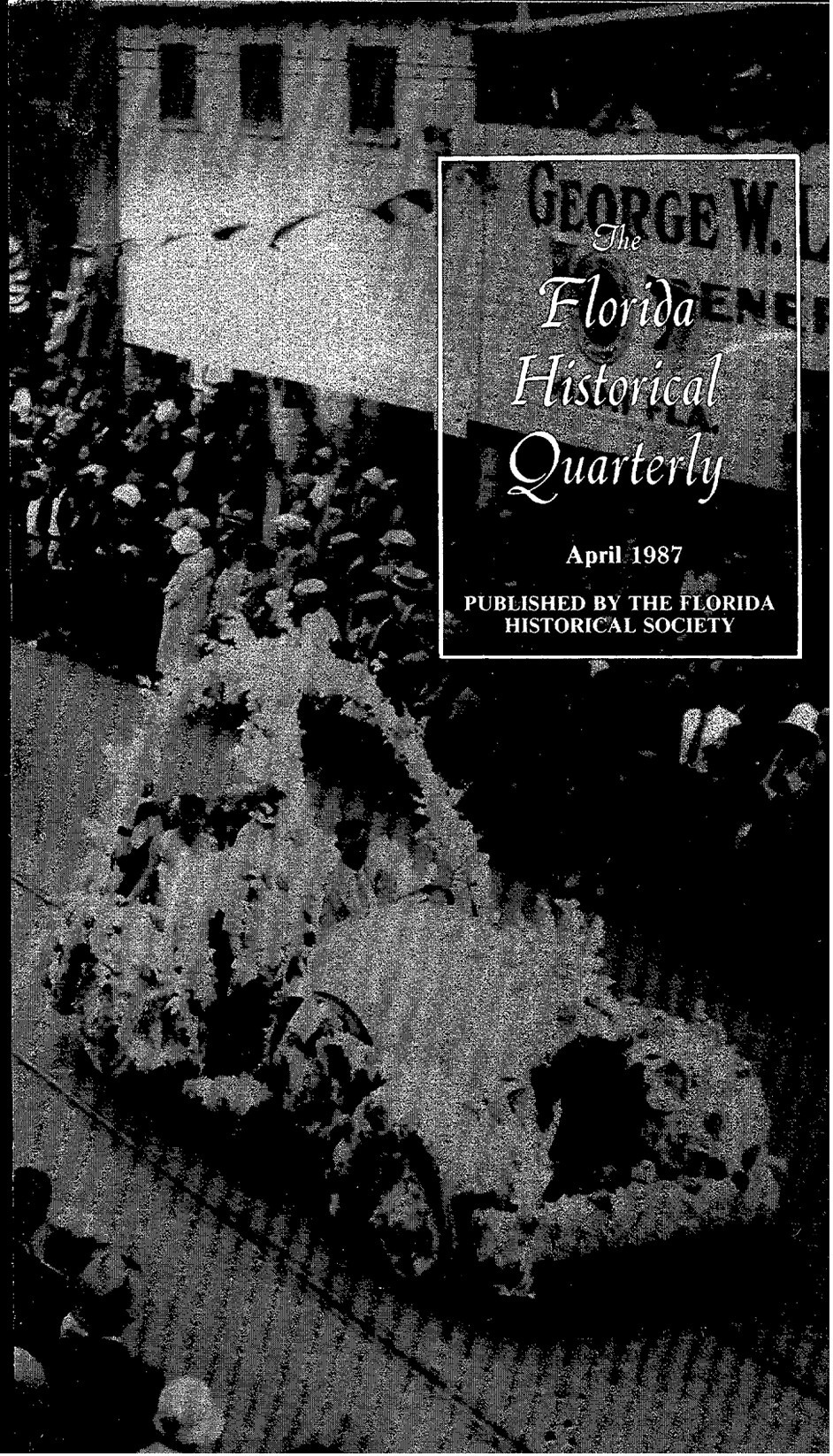

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COVER

Fiesta of American Tropics parade on Flagler Street in downtown Miami, January 1, 1926. The photograph is by Gleason Waite Romer, well-known Miami and South Florida photographer. His collection of prints and negatives are in the Miami-Dade Public Library.

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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"YONDER COME DAY": RELIGIOUS DIMENSIONS OF THE TRANSITION FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM IN FLORIDA[1]

by ROBERT L. HALL

THE Confederate firing on Fort Sumter in 1861 was a watershed not only in the political and military history of the United States, but also a turning point in its social history. The heady wine of secessionism and the rupturing of lines of communication and calm moral discourse were experienced in some religious polities for more than a decade before the fateful military event. Southern Methodists and Baptists had parted company with their non-southern counterparts by 1845, when, as John Hope Franklin has written, "slavery had become as much a part of the religious orthodoxy of the South as the Creation in the Book of Genesis or Armageddon in the Book of Revelations. The work of promoting and defending slavery, when entrusted to the southern clergy, could not have been in safer hands."[2] On the eve of secession, bishops of the Episcopal and Catholic churches in Florida were urging secession and preaching fiery pro-slavery sermons. Bishop Frances Huger Rutledge of the Episcopal Church was so enthusiastic in his exhortations on behalf of southern independence that Edmund Ruffin, an eyewitness observer of the Florida secession convention, was impressed with Rutledge's "ardent and active patriotic sentiments."[3] Not only did he refuse to attend church services

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1. See the jacket liner notes, "In The Old Fashioned Way," Yonder Come Day. *Note Singing and Spirituals From South Georgia,* Front Porch Records 79-001, GA 179. produced and directed by Dennis Coelho.
2. John Hope Franklin, "The Great Confrontation: The South and the Problem of Change," *Journal of Southern History* 38 (February 1972) 10. For details on the Baptist schism, see William Greer Todd, "The Slavery Issue and the Organization of a Southern Baptist Convention," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1964).
3. Edmund Ruffin, quoted in Dorothy Dodd, "Edmund Ruffin's Account of the Florida Secession Convention, 1861," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 12 (October 1933), 69-70. Rutledge was the Episcopal bishop of Florida from

on the national day of humiliation and prayer proclaimed by President Buchanan, but Rutledge also pledged $500 to help defray the new government's expenses if the ordinance of secession passed.[4]

There were nearly 400 black Catholics living and worshipping in St. Augustine on the eve of the Civil War. Three months before the firing on Fort Sumter, many of them were undoubtedly present when Augustin Verot, vicar apostolic of Florida, preached a sermon advancing the traditional Catholic theological position that slavery was not in itself evil and vigorously defending the property rights of those who owned slaves. Bishop Verot's sermon, "Slavery and Abolitionism," delivered in the parish church at St. Augustine on January 4, 1861, was soon printed and disseminated widely throughout the South, and it became a popular Confederate pro-slavery tract.[5] In other regards, however, Verot's biographer believed "he had a compassionate regard for the Negro slave."[6] Unquestionably, Bishop Verot did demonstrate a profound concern for the religious instruction of black Floridians during the years immediately after the Civil War.

During the Civil War, rumblings of black religious assertions began to be heard even more loudly than during the antebellum period. Shortages of both human power and financial resources rendered these black assertions nearly irresistible, and converted the war years into a period of incubation for local and

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1851-1866. See also, Joseph D. Cushman, Jr., *A Goodly Heritage: The Episcopal Church in Florida, 1821-1892* (Gainesville, 1965), 27, 42-43, 76.

4. Dorothy Dodd, "The Secession Movement in Florida, 1850-1861, Part II," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 12 (October 1933), 60.
5. A treatment of the anti-Union sentiments of both of the Florida churchmen mentioned in this paragraph is found in H. Shelton Smith, *In His Image, But..Racism in Southern Religion, 1780-1910* (Durham, 1972), 175-77. The title of Bishop Verot's sermon was A *Tract for the Times. Slavery and Abolitionism, Being the Substance of* a *Sermon Preached in the Church of St. Augustine, Florida, on the 4th Day of January, 1861, Day of Public Humiliation, Fasting and Prayer* (New Orleans, 1861). In 1864, J. W. Brinckerhoff, who had come to St. Augustine in February 1863 as a United States government superintendent of the colored people, observed that "a large portion of the colored people here are regular attendants and devoted adherents of the Roman Catholic Church," J. W. Brinckerhoff to George Whipple, November 23, 1864, American Missionary Association Papers, microfilm ed., reel 28, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.
6. Michael V. Cannon, *Rebel Bishop: The Life and Era of Augustin Verot* (Milwaukee, 1964), 33.

regional black religious leadership even before the missionary invasions from the north.

Although he made no specific mention of Florida, Bell I. Wiley devoted a chapter in his study, *Southern Negroes,* to the "Religious Life" of southern blacks during the Civil War. He suggested that the interest of white Southerners in the spiritual welfare of slaves may actually have intensified during the Civil War for a number of reasons. A primary factor must have been "the realization of the value of religious training in preserving submissiveness and loyalty amid the disturbing influences of the war."[7] Florida Methodists concurred with the judgement of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, that slave missions had considerable value in "securing the quiet and peaceful subordination of these people."[8] In 1861, the Florida Conference reported that about forty-three per cent of its 15,453 members were black.[9] However, changes occurring in southern society were obvious statistically to Florida Methodists. In 1863, there was a net loss of 987 black members, and in 1865, a net loss of 560.[10]

Other factors cited by Wiley that may have contributed to expanded religious opportunities for southern blacks during the Civil War included the scarcity of white ministers, the shrinking incomes of churches, and the physical deterioration of church properties. Florida's Protestant Episcopal Church, for example, suffered several setbacks during the Civil War. Among them was the loss of four of its thirteen pre-war churches. The buildings of three of the parishes were burned and a fourth was sold for debt." The lack of white ministers also may have created a

7. Bell Irvin Wiley, *Southern Negroes,* 1861-1865 (New Haven, 1938), 98. See also, W. Harrison Daniel, "Southern Protestantism and the Negro, 1860-1865," *North Carolina Historical Review* 41 (July 1964), 338-59.
8. Charleston *Mercury,* November 8, 1861.
9. William E. Brooks, *History Highlights of Florida Methodism* (Fort Lauderdale, 1965), 30.
10. Charles T. Thrift, Jr., *The Trail of the Florida Circuit Rider* (Lakeland, 1944), 160.
11. Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor is it Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974), 145. An example of the loss of white preachers comes from Old Pisgah Methodist Church in Leon County. In his mimeographed study which carries the story up to 1976, the current pastor of Pisgah indicated that the Civil War called "many of the preachers and most of the male members who were of military age into the Confederate Army," Norman Edward Booth, *A History of 'Old Pisgah' Highlights and Happenings,* 1830–1976 (1976), 13. Mimeographed copy in the Florida Collection, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University.

leadership vacuum which left room for black preachers, class leaders, and would-be preachers to address black religious gatherings and, occasionally, racially-mixed meetings.[12] Helen Moore Edwards recalled that during the Civil War her father, Kidder Meade Moore, let the slaves on his Pine Tucky plantation in Jefferson County "preach in our school house. They put seats outside and "we would often go and listen to them," she wrote. Edwards also recalled that Joe Curry, "a negro refugee," did the preaching.[13]

The wartime–Union occupation of the Jacksonville area enabled such black evangelists as Ivey Barnes to travel about. Sometime during the early 1860s a small band of black Protestants in St. Augustine held meetings in the home of Deacon John Newnan. Barnes frequently journeyed from Jacksonville to St. Augustine to exhort the faithful gathered at Newnan's home, but attracted little attention. Later, Hammie Williams organized a Baptist Sunday School consisting of ten children, seven of whom were Catholic. The Sunday School continued to grow, and on March 13, 1864, the First Baptist Church in St. Augustine was organized. The church called Reverend Barnes as its first pastor. Eventually, a lot on the corner of St. Francis and St. Benedict streets was purchased, and a wooden shack was erected as a house of worship.[14]

12. Some whites had attended some of the sermons preached by such black ministers as James Page before the Civil War, but during the war, in the absence of white preachers who had gone off to minister to the troops, many more whites had occasion to attend services conducted by black preachers.
13. Helen Moore Edwards, *Memoirs of Helen M. Edwards of Pine Tucky Plantation, Jefferson County, Florida* (1926), 5. This is an eight-page printed booklet, a copy of which is in Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University. Edwards was born on January 27, 1851, in Newport, Florida, and spent much of her childhood on "Pine Tucky" plantation located near Waukeenah in Jefferson County. She was fourteen years old when the slaves were freed.
14. WPA Files, Federal Writers Project, Negro Churches, 1936, carbon copy of typewritten document compiled by workers of the FWP, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. The fieldworker, Wilson W. Rice, secured some of the information about the First Baptist Church through interviews with Mrs. Hammie Williams Jourdan, one of the founders of the church. The interview was conducted in her home on 68 Onida Street, St. Augustine, Florida. The general wartime atmosphere in St. Augustine is treated in Omega G. East, "St. Augustine During the Civil War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 31 (October 1952), 75-91.

St. Mary's Primitive Baptist Church in Tallahassee may have been founded as early as June 1861, by the Reverend Henry Griffin, a minister from Virginia. During the war a site for the church building, located on Call Street between McComb and Boulevard (renamed Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard in 1980), was purchased from a white man for $250 and a small frame building was erected.[15] During the Civil War when white Baptists in Key West shifted or drifted to other churches, their building was taken over by black Baptists who continued to hold services there until as late as the fall of 1879.[16]

When, on June 10, 1865, Reverend William G. Steward organized Florida's first African Methodist Episcopal Church under an authorized pastor in Midway, a settlement east of Jacksonville, he was besieged by numerous requests from black Floridians to start churches in their locales. Henry Call of Cottondale, who organized a black congregation with the approval and presence of white overseers during the war, is said to have walked over 240 miles from Marianna to Jacksonville to persuade Reverend Steward to return with him to incorporate officially a two-year old congregation into the A.M.E. Church.[17]

Not all black Floridians, of course, were able to attend local congregations led by black preachers. Throughout the Civil War the vast majority of the slave population was probably involved in the cycle of becoming members in, and occasionally being excommunicated from, racially-mixed congregations affiliated with southern white-controlled denominations. Slaves in Madison County, for example, continued to join the Concord Missionary Baptist Church much as they had before the outbreak of the war. Nineteen slave members were received into the church during 1862. In July, Jeptha (the property of James Wilson), Dick, Mack, and Dorcas (Parramore estate) were received into

15. WPA Files, Federal Writers Project, Negro Churches, 1936. Alfred Farrell was the fieldworker who prepared the account of St. Mary's Primitive Baptist Church in Tallahassee. Farrell is listed as the interviewer for several of the WPA Slave Narratives consulted in the preparation of this study.
16. Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West, The Old and the New* (1912; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1973), 44.
17. Charles Summer Long, *History of the A.M.E. Church in Florida* (Philadelphia, 1939), 52. Long, the historian of the A.M.E. Church in Florida, was the son of Thomas W. Long, an A.M.E. minister who served three terms in the Florida Senate. Henry Call is said to have found a church handbill on a battlefield while searching for his master. There were four members in the church when he organized it.

membership. In June, Charles, Vina, Catherine, Lucy, Luke, Sam, Jack, and Claracy all "came in by experience."[18] In October 1862, the following Parramore estate slaves became members of Concord Missionary Baptist Church: Lydia, Emaline, Rachael, Henrietta, Amy, and Sarah, and Sarah, owned by Brother Lloyd. On the third Sunday in January 1865, twenty-four more slaves became members of this church. In September 1865, only months after the close of the Civil War and fully five years before a mass exodus from the church, Prince, one of the twenty-four blacks who had joined earlier that year, was charged with theft, found guilty, and excommunicated from the church for his transgression.[18]

In those instances where slaveholders did not build chapels on their own land, slaves from several farms might travel by foot or wagon to country churches where slaves and masters from several farms would worship together. These gatherings, sometimes followed by "dinner on the grounds," especially during revival season after the crops had been laid by, provided more than spiritual enlightenment. There was also the chance to meet friends and kinfolks who lived on other farms and, not to be overlooked, the opportunity to meet members of the opposite sex and to court. Many a match was made as a result of such a meeting at a Sabbath outing. The parents of Emma Porter, who lived on separate farms in Wakulla County, met and courted at church during the Civil War. Their daughter was born before the end of the war, and in the 1960s she was remembered by the *Magnolia Monthly* as "The Last Slave in Wakulla County."[20]

During the Civil War, Florida's Episcopal churches continued to minister to some slaves. In 1863, Reverend William J. Ellis, rector of St. John's Church, Tallahassee, reported three baptisms of "colored" infants (three of forty-seven or 6.3 per cent of all the infant baptisms reported for that year from the parish). Half of the eighteen people confirmed in 1863 were black.[21] On July 18, 1863, Reverend Owen P. Thackara of Christ

18. Edwin B. Browning, Sr., *History of Concord Baptist Church, 1841-1976* (Madison, FL, 1976), 33.
19. Ibid., 34-35.
20. "The Last Slave in Wakulla County," appeared in the *Magnolia Monthly* (April 1964) and is reprinted in Elizabeth F. Smith, *Waukulla County Pioneers, 1827-1967* (Crawfordville, FL, 1968), I, 37.
21. "Report from St. John's Church Tallahassee, Wm. J. Ellis, Rector, 1863,"

Church, Monticello, recorded the baptism of fifty-seven "colored" infants. All eleven of the adults baptized at Christ Church that year were black. Thirty-nine of the eighty-five members listed for Christ Church in 1863 (or about forty-six per cent) were black Episcopalians. Reverend Thackara reported that "the Sunday services were divided between Monticello and Aucilla. Part of each Sunday is devoted to the servants. The children, both white and colored, are catechized every Sunday before service."[22] The slaves on the plantations owned by John Bradley, William Bailey, Dr. John Eppes, and Dr. Bythewood were, according to Thackara, regularly instructed once a month. "The slaves on these plantations," wrote Thackara, "seem interested in the services, and having been taught the prayers, the creed, the chants, and some of the selections of the psalms, join heartily in the responses." Successful religious instruction resulted in the slaves memorizing the creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the responses in the baptismal service.[23] Four of the twenty-three infants baptized by Episcopalian missionaries at Lake City in 1863 (or 17.4 per cent) were black. Christ Church, Pensacola, also reached a few blacks, mostly infants.[24]

In his report to the 1867 convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Florida, Reverend Osgood E. Herrick, rector of St. Paul's Church, Key West, enumerated the transactions that had occurred since his previous report of April 1861. Twelve of the 201 individuals baptized between 1861 and 1867, or about six per cent, were listed as "colored." Twenty-two of the ninety-seven marriages performed during the same period, about 22.7 per cent, involved black couples.[25]

The year 1865 was one of uncertainty and emotional peaks and valleys for both blacks and whites throughout the South. A telling capsule of these emotions comes from the April 29, 1865, letter of an agent of the American Missionary Association in Florida: "But this week, our hearts too were made to rejoice at

in Diocese *of Florida Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention held in Tallahassee, May 8, 1867 in St. John's Church with the sermon preached by the Rev. J. J. Scott, in memory of the late Bishop Rutledge, including proceedings in* 1863 *and* 1866 (Tallahassee, 1867), 12.

22. Ibid., 12.
23. Ibid., 13.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., 53.

glorious intelligence [the news of Lee's surrender] and the Freedmen of this place seemed to feel doubly sure of their freedom which their old task-masters, especially mistresses, seemed to feel for the first time that there were signs of . . . [word illegible] and that all was lost! And they wept and groaned saying we shall never have our niggers back again. But when the news of the President's death came two or three days after, they took heart again– taunting the colored people about their dark prospect of being free and some of our people began to talk of going north to escape enslavement again, for as Massa Lincoln was gone they feared their hope was gone too. But their confidence settled back again into the strong arm of their God, which they said was above all and they would trust Him to carry their cause through."[26]

For those whites who still held on to the dream of antebellum plantation life, the changes wrought by the Civil War were not only momentous but traumatic. "Little did the happy people of Tallahassee and old Leon County dream of the store of trouble and vicissitudes awaiting for them," wrote Captain F. A. Hendry. "These big-hearted wealthy citizens of that day with their hundreds of slaves and broad fields" would see their former slaves participating as freedmen in the processes of government.[27]

One of the most impressive facts of Reconstruction was the strong desire of black people to have churches and preachers of their own. In most instances, independent black churches were successfully established and maintained. Dr. Joe A. Richardson considered the establishment of these independent churches for and by the freed people to be one of the most significant results of Reconstruction.[28] Beside changing personal names, changing church affiliation was one of the major symbolic actions taken by free persons to signify their new status.[29]

26. Harriet B. Greely to Whipple, April 29, 1865, American Missionary Association Papers, microfilm ed., reel 28, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University.
27. Captain F. A. Hendry, "Tallahassee Before the War," letter to the editor of *The True Democrat*, October 5, 1908, reprinted in *Florida Historical Quarterly* 1 (January l909), 16-18.
28. Joe M. Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865–1877* (Tallahassee, 1965).
29. One example of the changing of names with the advent of freedom is provided in the oral tradition of the McKinney family. During slavery times the family was owned by a man named Smith near Madison, Florida.

The assertion of religious freedom and the establishment of independent churches by blacks, while not marking a change in religious doctrine or ritual, significantly altered black-white social relations. Francis Butler Simkins claimed that "in withdrawing from the white churches he [the Negro] surrendered an element of social intimacy with the white man which he had experienced under slavery."[30] Antebellum Florida laws forbade blacks to hear any preaching that was not delivered either in white churches or under white supervision. After the Civil War, the Florida legislature, as yet unreconstructed, enacted a series of laws which reversed antebellum policies, if not attitudes toward blacks. A law enacted on January 15, 1866, made it a misdemeanor for any Negro, mulatto, or other person of color to "intrude himself' into any religious assembly of whites or any other assembly of whites. The same act also prevented whites from "intruding" into black churches and assemblies. In effect, the law prescribed racial separation during religious worship.[31] The passage of such a law suggests that once slavery had ended the willingness of whites to tolerate antebellum levels of "social intimacy" with blacks had disappeared. Although black Floridians had some pronounced leanings toward separate worship, their decision to "surrender" an element of social intimacy with whites by "withdrawal" from the white-controlled denominations was not entirely unilateral or voluntary. What blacks and whites were experiencing during the liminal years immediately following the Civil War was a kind of re-creation of the conditions facing black members of northern congregations in the late 1700s and early 1800s. Northern blacks, too, had worshipped in the same buildings as the whites, but in specially designated parts of the building. The separate local black congregations which formed the nuclei of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church began, at least partially, in protest against such racial

Since the family considered Smith to be "mean," when freedom came they took the name of McKinney, a "kind" white man in the area. Interview with Richard Ishmael McKinney by Robert L. Hall, Tallahassee, Florida, July 18, 1981.

30. Francis Butler Simkins, "Tolerating the South's Past," in Patrick Gerster and Nicholas Cords, eds. *Myth and Southern History* (Chicago, 1974), 172.

31. "An Act Prescribing Additional Penalties... ," *Acts of Florida Legislatures* 14th Session, January 15, 1866, 23-27.

restrictions as being required to wait until all the white members were served before taking the sacrament.[32]

Not until months, and sometimes even years after the end of the Civil War, did black Floridians begin their massive exodus from white-controlled southern denominations. In the meantime, a disturbing level of white violence and lawlessness was being unleashed against black Floridians, a circumstance which must surely have strengthened whatever resolve blacks may already have had to avoid whites if possible. Although a significant number of white Christians, often of the upper classes, contributed materially to the development of black churches during Reconstruction, black churches were not immune to the violent rampages of white mobs. On May 8, 1866, the *New York Times* commented on the large number of attacks on the black schools, churches, and other black institutions occurring in Florida.[33] This atmosphere of political flux, legal change, and largely white-initiated racial violence forms the backdrop for understanding the changes in religion that occurred during this period.

A fitting starting point for understanding what freedom might have meant to black Floridians is May 20, 1865, the day which twentieth-century blacks living in north Florida still commemorate as Emancipation Day. It was on that day that Union General Edward McCook gathered the freed people in Tallahassee and read them the Emancipation Proclamation which Abraham Lincoln had issued on January 1, 1863.[34] The areas

32. For the history of the A.M.E. Church, see Carol V. R. George, *Segregated Sabbaths: Richard Allen and the Emergence of Independent Black Churches, 1760-1840* (New York, 1973) and, for the A.M.E. Zion Church, see William Jacob Walls, *The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church: Reality of the Black Church* (Charlotte, NC, 1974).

33. *New York Times,* May 8, 1866. This lawlessness was not to cease with the events of 1866 reported in the *New York Times,* but persisted at least through 1871 and well beyond. The specialist on this episode in Florida history is Ralph L. Peek. See his article, "Lawlessness in Florida, 1868-1871," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 40 (October 1961), 164-85, and "Lawlessness and the Restoration of Order in Florida, 1868-1871," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1964).

34. Dispatched with eight companies by Major General James H. Wilson from Macon, Georgia, it was McCook who accepted the surrender of 8,000 Confederates in Florida. For a general treatment of emancipation celebrations by a folklorist, see William H. Wiggins, Jr., "Lift Every Voice: A Study of Afro-American Emancipation Celebrations," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 9 (1974), 180-91.

where the slaves were called together to be told that they were free became almost sacred landmarks and remain so down to the present day. John Byrd's father, who had been a slave in Jefferson County, repeatedly took his son on walks through the fields to show him the big oak tree where they went to "get their freedom."[35] Oral tradition has provided information, and more importantly, a perspective on the bewildering transition from legal slavery to nominal freedom. An anonymous black employee at Florida State University in Tallahassee, whose maternal grandparents and great grandparents were slaves in Leon County, gave the following account of what her mother had told her about her slave great grandmother: "Well, I remember my mother talking about her grandmother. She was in slavery. And how they would have to work, and how the, I guess the old master didn't allow them to associate with one another. They had to work all day long, and then go home and cook for the master and she said after a short while, I guess when freedom was declared, well they [the slaveowners] didn't want to believe it, and they still wanted to make them work. Then they came along, and just made them turn them aloose. Then they turned them aloose and they [the slaves] didn't have anything to go upon. Just had to go out and make life by themselves. Didn't have no money, no skills, or nothing of the sort. And they just had to go out and start work all over again to try and make a living for themselves."[36]

Journalist Whitelaw Reid, accompanying Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase and his party on a southern tour, arrived in

35. Charlyn Rainville has helped John Byrd produce a remarkable account of Byrd's life. She first met Byrd on April 12, 1975, having been introduced by William D. Miller, then a resident of Jefferson County and a professor of History and American Studies at the Florida State University. The story of Byrd's life resulted in a loosely edited narrative which is essentially the verbatim transcript of extended tape recorded conversations conducted on April 14, 15, 23, 29, 1975, May 8, 1975, and December 11, 1975. This document may be found in Charlyn Rainville, "The Story of a Son of a Slave," (Master's thesis, Florida State University, 1976). Although the thesis is Rainville's, the title is Byrd's At the time of the first interview by Rainville, Byrd had been working on his own written narrative for at least two years. Byrd told Rainville, "I want to show you the tree where my father was freed at. I'll show you the big oak tree where they went to get their freedom."

36. Anonymous interview conducted by Sharon Ann Johnson, a student at Florida State University. A typed transcript of the interview is in the author's files.

Jacksonville around May 20, 1865. The blacks of east Florida seemed to Reid "to have a vague idea that they were free; but little change in their relations to their old masters is perceptible. In the back country they remain, as usual, on little cracker plantations, and neither master nor negroes succeed in more than making a rude living."[37]

Douglas Dorsey, the slave of Colonel Lewis Matair, was about fourteen years old at emancipation. On that day he was instructed to tell the driver to summon the slaves. Once gathered, they were told by Colonel Matair's son that they were free and they were offered half of what they raised on the plantation if they remained. Although Dorsey remembered Colonel Matair as "kind," none accepted the offer. Dorsey's father, Charles, who had worked as a mechanic during slavery, found a job with Judge Carraway of Suwannee County for whom he worked one year. Charles Dorsey later homesteaded forty acres of land received from the government and farmed in Suwannee County until he died.[38]

Upon the recommendation of the three–man committee of former slaveholders, the 1866 Florida General Assembly enacted a scheme of legislation known as the "black codes." These laws remained in effect throughout the early months of 1867. In comparison with other former Confederate states, some of which passed mild black codes while others enacted none at all, Florida's policy was exceptional in its harshness and enduring effect upon patterns of race relations in the state.[39]

37. Whitelaw Reid, *After the War: A Southern Tour* (Cincinnati, 1866), 173.
38. George P. Rawick, *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography,* 22 vols (Westport, CT, 1972), XVII, 93-99, (hereinafter cited as Rawick, *Florida Narratives).*
39. Scholarly treatments of Florida's "black codes" are legion. In addition to the still-standard Theodore B. Wilson, *The Black Codes of the South* (Tuscaloosa, 1965), readers concentrating on Florida shou!d consult Farley M. Gilliam, "The 'Black Codes' of Florida," *Apalachee 6* (1963-1967), 111-20; Joe M. Richardson, "Florida Black Codes," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 47 (April 1969), 365-79; and Jerrell H. Shofner, "Custom, Law, and History: The Enduring Influence of Florida's 'Black Codes'," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 55 (January 1977), 277-98. The members of the three-man committee of ex-slaveholders appointed by Governor William Marvin were C. H. DuPont of Gadsden County and A. J. Peeler and Mariano D. Papy of Leon County. A. J. Peeler had been twice chief clerk of the House of Representatives and was secretary of the 1865 Constitutional Convention, Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian,* November 14, 1865. M. D. Papy was a law partner of J. P. Westcott with offices located in the Marine Bank Building, Tallahas-

Yet Farley Gilliam contended that, as severe as the Florida black codes were, their passage "was not motivated by the desire of white Floridians to re-enslave the Negro."[40]

Florida freedmen were not so confident that this was the case, for they flocked to the Lincoln Brotherhoods— secret societies whose avowed purpose was to prevent them from being returned to slavery. This determination was, in the words of freedman John Wallace, "sufficient to bring out the old and young, the halt and the blind."[41] The Lincoln Brotherhoods were organized by Thomas W. Osborn of the Freedmen's Bureau. In addition to the laudable activities of feeding destitute freed people and refugees, Osborn advocated black suffrage and kept the proposition before the freed people that their former masters wanted to return them to slavery.[42] The parent lodge of the Lincoln Brotherhoods in Tallahassee became so large it had to be removed from the private home where it was originally organized to a black Baptist church in a part of town seldom visited by whites. John Wallace's politically-jaundiced book makes the intriguing allegation that the meetings in the Baptist church were carefully guarded by sentinels armed with muskets who demanded a countersign before allowing admittance.[43]

Once universal manhood suffrage was extended to freedmen by constitutional amendment, black churches became embroiled in the struggle to encourage, inform, cajole, and capture the black vote. Black church buildings became political meeting halls as well as houses of worship. In addition to serving as meeting places for the Lincoln Brotherhoods, they also served

see *Sentinel,* October 1, 1868. The full text of the commission's report was printed in the December 26, 1865, issue of the Tallahassee Semi-Weekly Floridian.

40. Gilliam, "The 'Black-Codes' of Florida," 119.

41. John Wallace, *Carpet-Bag Rule in Florida* (1888; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 42. Wallace's book is generally considered to be politically biased. Rembert W. Patrick said that the book was "a Democratic campaign document, probably written by a white conservative [William D. Bloxham]," and consequently, "should be used with care," *The Reconstruction of the Nation* (New York, 1967), 164.

42. Joe M. Richardson, "The Freedmen's Bureau in Florida," *Apalachee* 6 (1967), 98. Vincent Harding described the Union Leagues, organizations similar in form and function to the Lincoln Brotherhoods as "politico-religious clubs." "The Challenge of the Children: Creating a New Vision of America," *Southern Exposure* 10 (January/February 1982), 75.

43. Wallace, *Carpet-Bag Rule in Florida,* 43.

as starting points for political meetings held throughout the state during the spring and summer of 1867. Such was the case in Gainesville on April 27, 1867, when rallygoers convened at a black church before parading to a nearby open field to hear political speeches from Captain James H. Durkee, the local Freedmen's Bureau agent, and Captain E. R. Ames, head of the local military force.[44] Many of the political gatherings occurred under the leadership of the black preachers.[45]

In 1867, the Republican National Committee named Daniel Richards, a United States district tax commissioner stationed at Fernandina, to spearhead a major party-organizing campaign in Florida. Richards enlisted William Saunders, a black former Union officer, and Liberty Billings, an ex-officer of a black regiment. The threesome of Billings, Saunders, and Richards was labeled the "Radical Mule Team" by opponents.[46] Richards once stated that Saunders had "done infinitely more for the Republican party in Florida than any other man," but as early as April 14, 1868, Richards' perception of Saunders was beginning to change. Writing from Tallahassee, Richards remarked to Congressman Elihu B. Washburne that the black people were becoming exasperated with Saunders and that the feeling was nearly universal that Saunders had "sold out" and "betrayed the best interest of his race." By April 20, 1868, Richards felt Saunders was trying to "bribe and buy up" Reverend Charles H. Pearce, one of the leaders of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Florida.[47] On the following day, Richards possessed a letter signed by Saunders intimating a threat to assassinate Reverend Pearce, Liberty Billings, and Richards himself.[48]

44. Gainesville *New Era,* May 4, 1867.
45. In many cases the black ministers were the black politicians. This was true for a variety of reasons. First, the number of black men engaged in the professions from which many white politicians came was severely limited. Secondly, most black ministers believed in the inseparability of political creed from religious duties and actions.
46. Daniel Richards to Elihu B. Washburne, November 19, 1867. Washburne Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. These letters were edited by George C. Osborn and reprinted in "Letters of a Carpetbagger in Florida, 1866-1869," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 36 (January 1958), 239-85.
47. Richards' positive assessment of Saunders is contained in Richards to Washburne, November 19, 1867. Growing black exasperation with Saunders is recounted in Richards to Washburne, April 14, 1868. The effort to bribe Pearce is mentioned in Richards to Washburne, April 20, 1868, Washburne Papers.
48. Richards to Washburne, April 21, 1868, Washburne Papers.

Richards and Billings may have lost faith in Saunders, but they did not lose faith in the Republican-organizing effort. On Tuesday, May 5, 1868, the *Floridian* reported a meeting conducted by Billings and other politicos at the African church in Tallahassee at four o'clock in the morning where, it was presumed, "the colored people were instructed how to vote today."[49]

Also facing the freedmen, their churches, and the public authorities was a complex problem more pressing and more intensely personal than voting rights– marital adjustment and the provision of adequate child support. "Progress" in general behavior, and especially marital relations and family responsibility, has frequently been attributed to the influence of the churches.[50] Although marital relations among slaves were probably not nearly as chaotic as was once generally thought, slave marriages did not have the sanction of law. Furthermore, slave children, being legally defined as property, were treated as "assets" and sustained by their owners without becoming burdens of the state. On January 11, 1866, the Florida legislature passed "An Act to Establish and Enforce the Marriage Relation Between Persons of Color." The act stated, in part, that "colored inhabitants claiming to be living together as husband and wife must, within nine months from the passage of this Act, be legally married by some person authorized to perform [the] ceremony."[51] Certificates of marriage were to be registered with the clerks of the circuit court in the various counties. Whether ex-slave couples viewed this law as a mere requirement of their

49. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian,* May 5, 1868.
50. Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida,* 31.
51. *Acts of Florida,* 14th Session, January 11, 1866, 31 sectional. Although slave family life in Florida has not yet been systematically studied, occasional glimpses of slave weddings and the disruption thereof can be seen in the primary sources, particularly in travelers' accounts. The following incident, described by the British traveler Francis Tuckett, occurred on the property of Achille Murat sometime during 1829 or 1830: "The evening I spent with Mr. Murat's friends and had an opportunity of witnessing for the first time the festivities of a bridal party among the coloured population. The different members of the family at whose house I stayed felt great interest in facilitating the wishes of the party. The wedding cake was exhibited ornamented with flowers. Friends assembled from a distance of 20 miles around but I am sorry to say the bridegroom was absent, prevented by his subjection to the caprise [sic] of an owner, and the bride consequently absented herself." Francis Tuckett, *A Journey in the United States in the Years 1829 and 1830,* ed. Hubert C. Fox [a great grandson] (Plymouth, England, 1979), 56-57.

legal condition or as a glorious opportunity to legalize stable matches made during slavery days, the circuit court clerks and persons authorized to perform marriage ceremonies did a brisk business.[52] Among the thousands of black couples who legalized their pre-existing marriage-like bonds was an elderly pair married at Beckett's plantation in Marion County around the middle of September, less than a month before the expiration of the grace period. The 106-year old man and the eighty-year old woman had been living together as man and wife for years without the benefit or the possibility of legal sanction.[53] Then, on December 14, 1866, the law regarding marriage was modified to provide that "persons of color" would be considered legally married if they were living together and had so proclaimed to the world and the children issuing from such relationships would be considered legitimate and legal heirs.[54]

Two additional matters which affected the times were the influx of large numbers of blacks to Florida from other southeastern states, and the marked and often religiously-inspired desire of the recently freed black Floridians for education. Despite Florida's harsh-sounding black codes, it was possible, as one writer has asserted, that "conditions in Florida were better in general for blacks than they were elsewhere in the South. Southern newspapers began to intone the facts of immigration like a grim litany: 'The tide of immigration is unprecedented. . . A thousand freedmen have passed through this city during the past week on their way to Florida. . . . Nearly every day brings trains and wagons to Tallahassee from South Carolina'." The *New York Times* reported that 50,000 blacks had left South Carolina and that many of them had gone to Florida.[55] While there were surplus laborers in both Georgia and South Carolina, three major circumstances had the combined effect of attracting thousands of black workers from those and neighboring states to Florida. First, those planters who had cotton crops in 1865

52. Among the black "marital auxiliaries," as the historian William W. Davis put it, to gain a wide reputation during this period was the former Gadsden County house servant. Robert Meacham. Early in 1867, Meacham claimed to have married three hundred couples since freedom came. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, February 5, 1867, cited in William W. Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (1913; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 495.

53. St. Augustine *Examiner*, September 29, 1866.

54. *Acts of Florida*, 14th Session, December 14, 1866, 22, Section 1.

55. Gloria Jahoda, *Florida: A Bicentennial History* (New York, 1976), 82.

reaped high profits which inspired them to expand greatly their cotton acreage the following year, thereby increasing the demand for labor. Second, blacks were attracted to Florida during the last half of the nineteenth century by the bustling timber and turpentine industry. Among them were many black South Carolinians recruited by labor agents. Mr. Buckner told sociologist Clyde Vernon Kiser that during the 1890s "he had about two hundred Negroes transported to Florida from Colleton and Beaufort Counties to work in the turpentine industry."[56] Finally, linked with the labor demand was the availability of public lands in Florida under the 1866 Homestead Act. According to Claude F. Oubre, "Florida contained more public lands than any of the other states included in the Southern Homestead Act, and was more accessible to the South Atlantic states. For these reasons, Florida became the scene of the most feverish activity on the part of freedmen in search of homestead land." By the end of 1866, the Freedmen's Bureau alone had furnished tranportation from Charleston, South Carolina, to Florida for 602 people under the leadership of a freedman.[57] Sometime between 1867 and 1872, the novelist Harriet Beecher Stowe encountered an aging black man known as Old Cudjo who had been part of "a party of negroes from South Carolina and Georgia" who "had been induced to come into Florida to take up a tract of government land." Characteristically, one of the first acts of this group of former slaves was to build "a prayer booth, where they could hold their weekly prayer-meetings which often seem with the negroes to take place of all other recreations."[58]

Many freedmen who migrated to Florida joined churches there retaining vivid images of the character of the services they

56. Clyde Vernon Kiser, *Sea Island to City: A Study of Helena Islanders in Harlem and Other Urban Centers* (1932; reprint ed., New York, 1969), 103-4.
57. Claude F. Oubre, *Forty Acres and a Mule: The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Land Ownership* (Baton Rouge, 1978), 137, 143. During three voyages in 1866 the steamer *Dictator* brought about 2,000 blacks from Charleston to Florida, Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, January 29, 1867. See also, Barbara Richardson Cotton, "The Effects of Antebellum Conditions Upon Post-War Economic Adjustment of Blacks in Jacksonville," Negro *History Bulletin* 42 (July-August-September 1979), 68-73.
58. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Palmetto-Leaves* (1873; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1968), 270-71. For a discussion of Mrs. Stowe's involvements with blacks in Florida see Marilyn J. Floyd and Harry A. Kersey, Jr., "Harriet Beecher Stowe and Negro Education in Florida," *Negro Educational Review* 28 (January 1977), 19-27.

had attended and the sermons they had heard as slaves. "Father" Charles Coates was born a slave in Richmond, Virginia, around 1828. Viola B. Muse's paraphrase of her interview with Coates adds yet another chorus to the dreary refrain aimed as much at social control as salvation: "One privilege given slaves on the plantation was appreciated by all and that was the opportunity to hear the word of God. The white people gathered in log and sometime frame churches and the slaves were permitted to sit about the church yard on wagons and on the ground and listen to the preaching. When slaves wanted to hold church they had to get special permission from the master, and at that time a slave hut was used. A white preacher was called in, and he would preach to them not to steal, lie or run away and 'be sure to git all dem weeds outen dat corn in de field and your master will think a heap of you'."[59]

Rebecca Hooks and her husband Solomon left the plantation of William Lowe in Jones County, Georgia, during Reconstruction, and share-cropped on various Georgia plantations before moving to Florida around 1887. One of her early memories was of a sermon in which she was urged to obey her master and to be thankful that she had been removed from darkest Africa.[60] Bill Austin, who settled in Jackson County, Florida, around 1882, experienced slavery as a child in Green and Hancock counties, Georgia. Austin recalled that his slavemaster, Thomas Smith, "On Sunday night would let us go wherever the preacher was holdin' meeting."[61] Thus, many of the individuals who swelled the ranks of Florida's black churches during the decades immediately after the Civil War had acquired their first religious experience as slaves in one of the nearby southeastern states.

59. Interview with Charles Coats by Viola B. Muse, December 3, 1936, in Rawick, *Florida Narratives,* 67-68. According to Escott, Viola B. Muse was a black interviewer, Paul D. Escott, *Slavery Remembered: A Record of Twentieth Century Slave Narratives* (Chapel Hill, 1979), 191.
60. Interview with Rebecca Hooks by Pearl Randolf, January 14, 1937, in Rawick, *Florida Narratives,* 172-77. Mrs. Hooks was interviewed in her home in Lake City, Florida. According to Escott, Randolph was black, *Slavery Remembered,* 191.
61. Interview with Bill Austin by Martin Richardson, March 18, 1937, in Rawick, *Florida Narratives,* 23. Austin was living in Greenwood (Jackson County), Florida, when Richardson, a black interviewer, talked with him. Escott, *Slavery Remembered,* 191, identified Richardson as black. In the interview, Austin told Richardson that he had left Greene and Hancock counties "about 55 years ago," which would place his arrival in Jackson County, Florida, around 1882.

The freed people's desire for literacy was motivated, in part, by their religious concerns. Once freedom came and the legal barriers to black literacy disappeared, blacks in Florida, like those elsewhere in the South, actively sought schooling. Although the motivations and outcomes flowing from the educational efforts of northern missionaries have been seriously questioned in some recent scholarship, the genuineness of black motivations and the vigor of black efforts to acquire the secret of letters is beyond question. Early in 1866, in the absence of funds for day schools, E. B. Duncan, assistant superintendent for public schools for freedmen, told the citizens of Florida, "We have gotten and are getting Sabbath Schools all over the State, for our colored Ministers and citizens respond readily to this work."[62] In addition to Tallahassee, Monticello, Houston, Lake City, and Chaires, Duncan reported that "the like work is going on in Gadsden County, besides in almost every place and plantation the blacks are instructed daily."[63] While the inability of the Freedmen's Bureau to set the law in motion to protect the rights of the former slaves is recognized, the introduction of a school system for blacks was, as Richardson indicated, "one of the truly significant accomplishments of Reconstruction."[64]

The impact of this accomplishment was not lost on the freed people. When interviewed by the Works Progress Administration in 1936, Patience Campbell, born a slave on the Jackson County farm of George Bullock around 1853, recalled entering one of the schools established by the Freedmen's Bureau when she was about twelve years old.[65] Some black ministers, like

62. E. B. Duncan, "An Appeal for Schools for Freedmen," Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian,* March 13, 1866. An outstanding example of how the conversion experience itself could trigger a desire to learn to read and write is the experience of Lott Carey. The pioneer black Baptist missionary to Africa could not read and write when he was converted through a sermon delivered by the Reverend John Courtney at Richmond's First Baptist Church in 1807. Carey wanted to be able to read the story of Nicodemus (third chapter of John) for himself. As Leroy Fitts put it, "It is significant that Carey's literary education began in his young adult life concomitant with his conversion experience. This is generally consistent with the educational experiences of Black slaves during slavery in America. The limited literary education of the few fortunate Black slaves was primarily biblical instruction. The Bible became the only textbook of Black slaves in America," Leroy Fitts, *Lott Carey: First Black Missionary to Africa* (Valley Forge, 1978), 14.
63. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian,* March 13, 1866.
64. Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida,* 111.
65. Interview with Patience Campbell by James W. Johnson, December 25, 1936, in Rawick, *Florida Narratives,* 58-60.

James Smith of Tallahassee, corresponded with officials of the American Missionary Association and pleaded for teachers and aid for education.[66] Freed blacks responded eagerly to the availability of Bibles and the chance to learn to read the Holy Book for themselves. This drive for literacy took place within a religious matrix which reached beyond the fact that church organizations were among the earliest agencies to teach reading. Simon Peter Richardson, an agent for the American Bible Society, stated that "the parent society gave me a wide margin to give or donate large quantities of books to both white and colored." In 1866, it appeared to Richardson that "all the negroes wanted a Bible. They seemed to feel that to own a Bible made them better."[67] Occasionally, the Bible was used as a physical object in the mysterious rituals of syncretic folk belief. But in the larger number of instances, as one white Episcopalian remarked in 1868, "The height of ambition with the colored children" was not only "to possess a Bible and prayerbook," but to "know how to read them."[68]

Many ex-slaves had heard sermons in the white churches or on plantation missions about the clarity of the Gospel, the authority of Scripture, and the desirability of direct access between the believer and the Lord's Word, and they wanted to get the Word straight from the Book for themselves. The Florida Narratives of the WPA contain numerous references to the ex-slaves' fondness for sitting on the porch and reading the Bible or having it read to them in their old age. Daytona Beach-born theologian Howard Thurman recalled that his grandmother raised him and had him read the Bible aloud to her repeatedly. When he came to one particular passage which reminded her of the sermons she had heard as a slave, and disliked for their pro-slavery emphasis, Thurman's grandmother stopped him short and admonished him never again to read that passage to

66. James Smith to Whipple, October 18, 1865, American Missionary Association Papers, microfilm ed., reel number 28, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University. Smith said: "We have 5 small schools but not one that can teach them the English Language properly. The Colored people is a trying to do what they can for themselves."

67. Simon Peter Richardson, *The Lights and Shadows of Itinerant Life: An Autobiography* (Nashville, 1900), 190-9 1.

68. *The Spirit of Missions* 33 (February 1868), 194-251, quoted in Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida,* 87.

her.[69] Even today in Gadsden County, vigorous religious disputes continue to be a front porch and back doorstep pastime. In an ethnohistorical study of religious experience in Midway (Gadsden County), Bruce T. Grindal traced the evolution of black religious life from the 1850s to the present, emphasizing "the highly personal quality of religiosity, in which the authority of religious conviction lies in *feeling* and, at its most intimate level, exists independently of church affiliation or membership."[70] Thus, although much of the information in this study is derived from and reported in a denomination-by-denomination framework, the pervasiveness and intensely personal quality of the religious interpretation of experience in Florida's rural black communities– a religiosity which transcends the fact of church affiliation or attendance-should not be forgotten. Nonetheless, the activities and ritual events of formal churches in much of the rural South, both before and after slavery, whether racially segregated or together, "provided the context in which individual experience is translated into the symbolic meanings of communal religion."[71]

It is against this background of political crisis, legal change, social adjustment, population movement, and vivid memories of the slave experience that the story of the rise of independent black churches in Florida unfolded. Between 1865 and 1868, the southern churches were in as much a state of transition as were the affairs of the nation and of the economy. Emancipation provided blacks with the opportunity to worship publicly without the regular interference of whites. Despite the external pressures of white lawlessness and violence, most blacks viewed this change as a unique opportunity and vigorously-accelerated religious activity ensued. By the early 1870s, most of the galleries and special pews in which the blacks had worshipped as slaves

69. Howard Thurman, *Deep River: Reflections on the Religious Insight of Certain of the Negro Spirituals* (New York, 1945), 16-17, Thurman wrote: "When at length I asked the reason, she told me that during the days of slavery, the minister (white) on the plantation was always preaching from the Pauline letters- 'Slaves, be obedient to your masters,' etc. 'I vowed to myself,' she said, 'that if freedom ever came and I learned to read, I would never read that part of the Bible!" '

70. Bruce T. Grindal, "The Religious Interpretation of Experience in a Rural Black Community," in Robert L. Hall and Carol B. Stack, eds. *Holding on to the Land and the Lord: Kinship, Ritual, Land Tenure, and Social Policy in the Rural South* (Athens, 1982), 89.

71. Ibid.

less than a decade before stood empty as separate black churches proliferated.

ROOSEVELT'S "TREE ARMY" THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS IN FLORIDA

by JERRELL H. SHOFNER

THE Civilian Conservation Corps– officially known as Emergency Conservation Work until 1937– was one of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's favorite New Deal programs and certainly one of the most popular among the American people. Roosevelt saw great opportunities in the prospect of an agency which would help stimulate the devastated economy of the nation while salvaging two of its most valuable resources, the land and the nation's youth. At the president's urging, Congress enacted a law on March 31, 1933, authorizing emergency conservation work in which 300,000 young men could be employed in wholesome work preserving the nation's natural resources. Although the rules changed over time, the original idea was to employ single men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, primarily from families on relief, who were willing to allot from $22 to $25 of their $30 salaries to their dependents.[1]

That some camps were opened and operating less than two months after enactment of the legislation belies the enormous task of organizing and coordinating the project among the several agencies involved. A cooperative arrangement evolved during April according to which Robert Fechner, a former labor leader, would head the program and would report to the president. An advisory council composed of one member from each of the cooperating departments– Labor, Army, Agriculture, and Interior– would assist him. The men would be selected by the Department of Labor, working through the relief agencies in the states. The Department of the Army would enroll, feed and clothe, house, and transport them to the camps. It was soon decided that the army would also supervise the day-to-day ac-

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1. John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942: A New Deal Case Study* (Durham, 1967), 26.

tivities of the men in the camps as well. The agencies of the Departments of Agriculture and Interior were to select the work projects. While the army was in charge of the men in the camps, the National Park Service, the Forestry Service, the Bureau of Biological Survey, the Soil Conservation Service, and others supervised the actual field work. While there was occasional inter-departmental bickering, it was insignificant in comparison to the overall success of the arrangement.[2]

One of the earliest modifications of the program came in response to the Bonus Marchers who were demanding early payments of the bonus which had been established in recognition of their service during World War I. Anxious to avoid a confrontation with the veterans, Roosevelt and Louis Howe, his close adviser, offered them places in the newly-created emergency conservation work. Several thousand veterans aged thirty-five to fifty eventually served in the program. They were assigned a quota system similar to that provided for the younger enrollees. Quotas were allotted, first by state and then by county, according to population.[3]

The program was most welcome in Florida where the hurricanes of 1926 and 1928, and the collapse of the speculative land boom of the 1920s had left a devasted economy. Not only was there widespread unemployment, but thousands upon thousands of acres of tax-delinquent property plagued local governments. The situation was exacerbated because much of the virgin timber– about 16,000,000 acres, which had sustained a lumber and naval stores industry for more than half a century, was largely cut out by the 1930s. The Florida Forest Service had been created in the late 1920s with encouragement from the United States Forest Service and was just beginning its efforts to replant the denuded pine lands. Because the cut-over land was considered nearly worthless, hundreds of thousands of acres of it were also tax-delinquent. Given this situation and the lengthy relief rolls throughout the state, Roosevelt's idealistic program was a timely one for Florida. Using unemployed young men to salvage the state's lands while concomitantly helping to sustain their families was a concept which met little resistance

2. Ibid., 32; Kenneth Holland and Frank E. Hill, *Youth in the CCC* (New York, reprint ed., 1974), passim.
3. *Tampa Tribune*, January 6, 1935; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 6, 1936; Alfred B. Rollins, Jr., *Roosevelt and Howe* (New York, 1962), 387-88.

and considerable enthusiasm among Floridians. As the program further unfolded it became more desirable. The CCC officials had decided that each work camp would have about 200 men. Since the youths required direction, "local experienced men" would be required. Such a policy provided employment for some 2,000 Floridians, many of whom were unemployed because of the stagnant timber industry.

The basic ideas of the emergency conservation work were communicated by Fechner to Governor David Sholtz in early May 1933. The director explained that the president wanted to begin on state, county, or municipally-owned land and that he hoped the legislature would designate profits derived from the work be divided equally with the national government up to a maximum of three dollars per acre. Work on privately-owned land was to be limited to fire, insect, and disease control projects which would benefit the general public. Although many details remained to be worked out, and several new state agencies would eventually be created to administer new programs growing out of the New Deal initiative, Fechner's telegram laid the ground work for the establishment of a system of state forests, the state park service, the extension of existing national forests in the state and the addition of new ones, a fire protection program extending beyond public lands to include millions of acres of private forests, and a massive reforestation program.[4]

The governor consulted with state forester Harry Lee Baker and the Board of Forestry, and Baker encouraged the governor to recommend that the legislature create state forests because "many owners of tax delinquent land will be willing to deed the land to the State" for a small price. Well-managed forest land, he noted, will produce three times more timber than they will "in their depleted condition," and state forests, he predicted, will be popular in Florida where "recreation is a large industry." Baker further believed that Florida might get more than its

4. *Tampa Tribune,* May 31, October 2, 1933; Robert Fechner to David Sholtz, May 5, 1933, Governors' Correspondence, Florida State Archives, Record Group 102, Series 278; William L. Wilson to Fechner, May 30, 1933, National Archives, Record Group 35, Series 2, Box 613; Jerry W. Carter to J. Hardin Peterson, October 5, 1934, Peterson to Carter, October 6, 1934, Fechner to Sholtz, May 5, 1933, Hardin Peterson Papers, Box 26, manuscript collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

allotted quota of 3,000 men because other states would not have established state forests as rapidly.[5]

Governor Sholtz accepted Baker's reasoning, and the legislature also agreed. The state Board of Forestry was empowered to determine which lands were suitable for reforestation, and the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund were authorized to acquire such lands through donation or purchase and to improve them. Another measure exempted timber lands from taxation for fifty years once they were approved for reforestation. William L. Wilson of the Florida Agricultural and Industrial Relief Commission jubilantly wrote Fechner that the laws would allow "almost any reasonable trade with you involving the use of more men." By October 1933, 3,500 men were employed in twenty-two forestry camps in the state.[6]

In the early days of the program the acquisition of land and the assignment of CCC camps was marked by informality and spontaneity. In general the work was directed by state forester Harry Lee Baker with advice from the board of state forestry. Mrs. Linwood Jeffreys of the board and Mrs. William S. Jennings of the state garden clubs were both active in promoting forestry work. All of the state's congressional delegation was involved in various ways. Assistance was provided by the state parks branch of the United States Forest Service. Land acquisition was by purchase, default on taxes, and philanthropic donations.

One of the earliest CCC camps was established at Sebring with headquarters in an abandoned night club. Some of the land had already been purchased and dedicated to the public in 1931 by Margaret Shippen Roebling for a botanical garden and arboretum. The project was offically launched with a flag-raising ceremony in early August 1933, with more than 800 people in attendance. The project ultimately included the 1,500 acre botanical garden and arboretum and Highlands Hammock State Park, both of which were surrounded by 50,000 acres of state forest lands. The men built fences, roads, fire breaks, and buildings, and set out thousands of native plants and trees. By the time the park was taken over by the park service in 1935, visitors

5. Harry Lee Baker to Sholtz, May 10, 1933, Florida State Archives, Record Group 102, Series 278.

6. *Tampa Tribune*, May 31, October 2, 1933; Carter to Peterson, Peterson to Carter, October 6, 1934, Peterson Papers, Box 26.

were already appearing in large numbers. Picnic facilities were added, and, as seedling pines became available from the Osceola National Forest nursery, replanting began in earnest. When the owner of the CCC camp refused to renew a lease in 1936, the Sebring city council and the DeSoto County commission donated a sum sufficient to secure a new site and work continued. Today, Highlands Hammock is a centerpiece of the state park system.[7]

Throughout the 1930s Floridians frequently speculated about the possibility that CCC men might be sent from colder climates to Florida during the winter. Dade County then had two undeveloped park sites. W. J. Matheson had donated Matheson Hammock in 1929, and A. O. Greynolds donated the 105 acres which became Greynolds Park in 1933. When he read that CCC officials were indeed concerned about how to care for their men during the winter, Dade County parks director Doug Barnes wrote an old friend in the National Park Service– partially in jest, according to him– that Miami would be a good place to send them. Barnes's correspondence led to the relocation of a camp of 200 men from New York to Miami. They and their successors improved Greynolds Park and Matheson Hammock, both of which were opened to the public in the 1930s, to become the nucleus of an eighty-one unit county park system. A unit from the northern region was also assigned to Royal Palms State Park during the winter of 1933-1934 where it planted native trees and plants, built roads, fences, telephone lines, and a lookout tower.[8]

Jackson County Chamber of Commerce officials saw the possibility of obtaining a CCC camp for work on the caverns just north of Marianna. CCC assistance was soon obtained, and work

7. A. C. Altvater Report, March 31, 1936, CCC Projects, Florida SP-3, National Archives, Record Group 79; J. J. McEntee to William L. Hill, October 7, 1936. National Archives, Record Group 35, Series 2, Box 613; *Tampa Tribune*, August 4, 1935; Sebring *Rogers Post* in U. S. CCC, manuscript collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. Margaret Shippen Roebling was from New Jersey. When she first saw the land around Ocala she envisioned it as a wildlife sanctuary. She purchased property in 1931, and in 1934 the land was deeded to the state. Highlands Hammock State Park is dedicated to her.

8. *Miami Herald*, December 12, 1954; Jeanne Bellamy, "Doug Barnes: Creator of Dade's Parks," *Update* 6 (October 1979), and Ida Perdue Myers, "Greynolds Park and the Junkpile Mountain," *Update* 3 (April 1976); CCC Projects File, SP-1, W. L. Philips Report, May 1934, National Archives, Record Group 79.

began on what would become Florida Caverns State Park. With an attractive system of picnic facilities and nature trails, it was opened to the public in 1935, although work continued for three more years. Work began on Gold Head Branch State Park in mid-1935, when a company of veterans was sent there. A unit, from this camp was sent to Fort Clinch where restoration of the old military fort began. The veterans at Gold Head were succeeded by junior enrollees, and work continued there for almost six years. The park was officially opened in 1939 with a ceremony attended by about 3,000 people. With assistance from Congressman Robert A. "Lex" Green and a record 36,000 visitors in 1936, Amelia Island leaders obtained a separate camp at Fort Clinch in 1937. The park was dedicated in 1939, although CCC work continued there the following year.[9]

Myakka River State Park had its origins in a deed of land from the Potter Palmer estate to the state Internal Improvement Fund. Other cut-over land was added, and when the CCC work started there in late 1934, the park consisted of about 6,500 acres. During the ensuing seven years a succession of CCC units built roads, picnic facilities, fire breaks, and a long earthen dam designed to maintain Upper Myakka Lake at about 1,500 acres during the dry season. The beauty of the park and its abundant birdlife are well-known today, but it was equally obvious to the forest park superintendent who wrote a glowing report in 1935, and ended it with the admonition, "don't let Will Rogers in on this for California can ill afford to lose him just now."[10]

When the Hillsborough County commission appropriated a small sum for fire protection in 1934, a camp was established near Sulphur Springs. A contingent of CCC men arrived shortly afterward from Sebring, and work began on the Hillsborough River State Forest. During the next two years, fire breaks, fire lanes, and telephone lines were built, and replanting began when seedlings became available. Other projects which received

9. Marianna *Jackson County Floridan*, June 21, 1935; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 18, 1937, March 7, April 2, April 16, 1939; CCC Projects, SP-5, John B. O'Neill Report, May 1936, National Archives, Record Group 79.

10. CCC Projects, SP-4, W. L. Phillips Report, February 1935, National Archives, Record Group 79; Bradenton *Herald*, October 4, 1934; L. P. Carter to Peterson, October 5, 1934, Peterson Papers, Box 26; Bee Ridge *Tent Town Topics*, n.d., 1934, CCC Files, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 11, 1937.

CCC assistance included the Gulf of Mexico State Forest in Walton County, Torreya State Forest Park in Liberty County, O'Leno State Park in Lafayette County, and Suwannee River State Park near White Springs.[11]

What had begun, according to the CCC activities chief, as "a very large 'overnight' setup as a relief agency" with the overall purpose, according to Robert Fechner, of "fireproofing" the nation's forests, had become the catalyst for creation of the Florida park service. The 1935 legislature established the park service with a director to be appointed by the board of forestry. Fechner told a Florida audience in 1935 that it would be years— perhaps fifty, he estimated— before the value of the CCC work was fully recognized. His prophecy was fulfilled in 1985, when the Park Service celebrated its fiftieth anniversary with an elaborate ceremony at Florida Caverns State Park."

The 1935 legislature also provided for more general forest work and appropriated $50,000 per year to acquire and replant cut-over land. Other legislation created many county delinquent tax adjustment boards which cleared the way for the government to purchase acreage formerly burdened with tax liens. The immediate effect of this legislation was the establishment, with CCC assistance,[13] of a state forest along the Withlacoochee River in Pasco County.

As the United States Forest Service and Florida Forest Service nurseries begin producing large quantities of seedlings, the replanting program was accelerated. James C. Kircher of the United States Forest Service announced plans to plant 20,000,000 seedlings in the southeastern United States in 1936 alone. Any private landowner who would plant 5,000 or more trees would be assisted by CCC personnel from any camp within forty miles of the land to be replanted. Hundreds of large and small landowners replanted millions of trees in this way. In

11. *Tampa Tribune*, September 14, 1933, May 18, June 11, October 7, 1934, August 13, 1935; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 4, 1943; Baker to Sholtz, June 30, 1934, Florida State Archives, Record Group 102, Series 278.
12. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 15, 1935; Program, Golden Anniversary Celebration, State Park Service, June 29, 1985.
13. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 29, 1935; Tampa Tribune, April 9, 1935.

1938, it was estimated that more than 2,000,000 trees were being planted annually.[14]

Fire protection had been a major concern of public forestry agencies for many years, and Robert Fechner had from the outset regarded it as a major function of the CCC. Since about eighty per cent of the nation's forest lands were privately owned, it was generally agreed that assistance to private owners in establishing effective fire control served the public interest. The Clark-McNary Act of 1924 authorized the national government to contribute up to fifty per cent of total expenditures for fire control. Since its beginning, the Florida Forest Service had participated in the program and had undertaken educational programs to interest private owners. The availability of CCC labor for such an undertaking greatly enhanced the popularity of this program in Florida. It was this program which had moved the Hillsborough County commission to appropriate money for the Sulphur Springs camp.[15]

In order to qualify for CCC assistance, counties were urged to plan for a county-wide system of observation towers and telephone lines. It was hoped that this would eventually result in a state-wide communication and observation network. Private land owners would be eligible to make contracts with the Florida Forest Service for periods of three to five years, which would provide them with "intensive protection." The work was jointly financed by the property owner and the state, with each contributing five cents an acre per year to build a fund for construction work, fire fighting, and equipment. Land which was not under intensive protection remained the responsibility of the owners, but two CCC men would be provided for each man supplied by the local residents for fire fighting. This program was quite popular among private landowners in Florida. Of the twenty-three camps in Florida in 1935, ten were on private land. Although the program was still in its infancy in 1934, Harry Lee Baker declared that an eleven per cent decrease in forest fires between 1932 and 1933 was due to CCC fire protection work.

14. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, February 24, 1935, October 29, 1938; Monticello *News*, December 25, 1933.
15. F. A. Wilcox to Paul Appleby, July 27, 1938, National Archives, Record Group 16, Central Files, Camps 1938; John F. Sweets, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Florida," *Apalachee* 6 (1963-1967), 78. See also, *Forests Protected by the CCC* (Washington, DC, 1939).

He enthusiastically declared that the agency had advanced state forestry by at least ten years after its first year of activity in the state.[16]

Prominent among the private landowners who took advantage of the CCC program was the Brooks-Scanlon Company of Foley, Florida, which initially secured assistance for fire protection of 30,000 acres near Steinhatchee. Another early project involved 35,000 acres in Hardee County owned by Doyle E. Carlton and others. The Philips Turpentine Company placed 26,500 acres of its Wakulla County holdings in the program. Others included 29,000 acres in Sarasota County belonging to Venetia, Inc., and 100,000 acres in Liberty and Gadsden counties belonging to Gulf Coast Properties, Inc. Duval County received assistance for its county-wide program in 1935. Other counties and many other private owners followed suit in later years. When the elimination of several camps located on private land was proposed in 1938, the entire Florida congressional delegation wrote President Roosevelt in protest. They argued cogently that the camps were not actually "private" in that they were performing a public service by controlling fires which hurt everyone. The president agreed, but budgetary considerations sometimes took precedent over logic.[17]

National forests in Florida were also expanded during the 1930s, and the CCC was instrumental in their development. By 1936, about 350,000 acres had been added to the Choctawhatchee, Osceola, and Ocala national forests, and the entirely new Apalachicola National Forest Purchase Unit had been established with a total of 275,000 acres. Much of the new land was cut-over or burned areas. The CCC was well-suited to the task of improving these national lands. Nine CCC camps were stationed in the national forests in 1935. Nearly 1,100 men were then working in the new Apalachicola National Forest, replant-

16. *Tampa Tribune*, September 30, 1933, May 24, 1934, April 4, 1935; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 13, October 4, 1934; Fechner to Secretary of War, May 29, 1933, National Archives, Record Group 35, Series 2, Box 613.

17. H. S. Foley to Sholtz, August 6, 1934, R. R. Whittington to Baker, February 7, 1935, Baker to J. P. Newell, February 12, 1935, Florida State Archives, Record Group 102, Series 278; C. O. Andrews, Claude Pepper, Lex Green, Millard F. Caldwell, J. Hardin Peterson, J. Mark Wilcox, and Joe Hendricks to Franklin D. Roosevelt, February 2, 1938, National Archives, Record Group 35, CCC Correspondence, Florida.

ing cut-over areas, building fire breaks, roads, and telephone lines, and stocking the area with turkey, deer, and other species of wildlife. They also built picnic tables, nature trails, and associated recreational facilities. An example of the latter was the Juniper Springs recreation center, an eighty-acre facility in the Ocala National Forest which was opened to the public in September 1935.[18]

An important ancillary benefit of the CCC work came when the men at Camp Roosevelt in the Ocala National Forest discovered the site of an aboriginal village. Amateur state archaeologists were called in and were permitted to complete their investigation of the site before the CCC men continued their work.[19]

The economic depression of the 1930s was aggravated considerably by a severe drought which plagued most of the United States, but which was especially cataclysmic in the Midwest. By early 1934, cattle were starving in great numbers in the trans-Mississippi West, and it was decided that some of the survivors should be transported to the eastern states which had not been seriously affected. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration reasoned that the cattle could be fattened and slaughtered to provide canned beef for the many persons on relief rolls. The CCC camps were chosen to care for the cattle until they could recover enough to be slaughtered. They were delivered to several of the camps in the national forest. For example, 3,000 were shipped to the Osceola unit. The bulk of the herd, more than 20,000 head, was sent to the four CCC camps– Vilas, Wilma, Sumatra, and Jewel Tower– in the recently-created Apalachicola National Forest. Although they had little experience in herding cattle, men from the four camps stopped their replanting and fire protection duties and began receiving the cattle in late August 1934. Fence posts were cut from cypress and pine, hauled to general locations along a proposed fence of some thirty-five miles in length, and then carried by the men and deposited at twelve-foot intervals along the designated line. Dipping vats and corrals were also provided. Within thirty days, the men had completed the facilities and the cattle were being

18. *Tampa Tribune*, April 4, 1935, March 2, 1936; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, November 2, 1933, August 24, 1935, March 2, June 28, September 5, 1936.
19. Alden L. Potter to John M. Goggin, September 29, 1948, Miscellaneous Papers, Florida State Museum, Gainesville.

inspected, dipped, and turned loose within the fenced area to graze and replenish themselves. The cattle were eventually shipped to other pastures, and most of them would wind up in tin cans. By 1934, this unusual operation had attracted national attention, and the Vilas camp was awarded the *Army and Navy Journal's* gold medal for that year. The award was given during each of the nineteen enrollment periods of the CCC for outstanding achievement.[20]

The CCC units responded well when called upon during several emergencies. It had scarcely opened its operations in Florida when a hurricane struck in September 1933, wreaking extensive damage in the Okeechobee area. In response to the request of Congressman W. J. Sears, CCC men were sent in and did creditable work in repairing storm damage in the area. When a fire destroyed the business district of Niceville, the entire force of 200 men from the camp in the Choctawhatchee National Forest responded and was credited with having saved the homes of the town from complete destruction. CCC personnel also fought a fire in the Ocala National Forest which destroyed nearly 20,000 acres. Two of the men, Benjamin F. Morris of Fort Lauderdale and William E. Papy of Tampa, were commended for their heroic action in saving Tom Pitts of Tampa from the fire. Although CCC personnel fought many fires during the period, few were of the scope of that one. When a fire broke out and consumed about 7,000 acres north of Marianna, about 100 men responded and curbed the blaze before it consumed a 20,000-acre tract owned by the Peerless Oil Company of Indiana. The tract was not within the fire control district which had recently been established in Jackson County. The enormously destructive hurricane of Labor Day, 1935, also brought out the CCC. Several hundred men worked long hours to rescue survivors and clean up after the storm, which killed more than 400 people in the Keys. Four of the men– Baxter B. Batten of Yuman, Tennessee, William H. Shaw of Miami, Douglas Reynolds of Jacksonville, and Rupert de Silvestri of Lake Worth– distinguished themselves to the extent that they were rewarded with scholarships to attend the University of Miami.

20. *Tampa Tribune*, June 30, September 10, 1934; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, September 7, 1934; Wilma *Slash*, August 15, 1934, and Vilas *Longleaf*, September 6, 1934, in CCC Files, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

Their camp duties were rearranged so that they could attend classes while remaining on active duty.[21]

Closely related to the conservation of timber land was the goal of restoring farm land, much of which had been depleted over the years by wasteful farming practices. The Soil Erosion Service was reorganized as the Soil Conservation Service in 1935, and immediately looked to the CCC for a labor supply. Using Works Progress Administration funds and CCC labor, the Soil Conservation Service established a camp near Graceville which worked with the farmers of Jackson and Holmes counties in building terraces and practicing contour farming and crop rotation.[22]

One of the most extensive projects undertaken with CCC labor was the St. Marks Wildlife Refuge– originally known as the Migratory Bird Refuge– near Newport in Wakulla County. The Bureau of Biological Survey in the United States Department of Agriculture was placed in charge of thousands of acres of Wakulla County and Jefferson County lands, the purchase of which began in 1933. A camp was opened near Newport in the summer of 1933, and work began mapping the land, building roads, fire breaks, telephone lines, and buildings. Because of the terrain and the purpose of the project, CCC men at St. Marks were oblilged to construct many waterways and dams which provided surface lakes for migrating birds and increased the area of dry land for use by other wildlife.[23]

Work at the St. Marks' site was interrupted for several months in 1934 when General Van Horn Moseley, commander of the Fourth Army Corps area, ordered the camp closed because of an outbreak of malaria. Company 1410 (B) F-7 had reported 238 cases of the disease in early 1934. Because of the unhealthy climate at the station and some complaints about lack of discipline from several local residents, the camp was closed. Work resumed in late 1934 from a new campsite at Woodville

21. *Tampa Tribune,* September 6, 1933, June 26, September 24, 1935; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* January 20, 1934, March 14, September 24, 1935.
22. Marianna *Jackson County Floridan,* December 13, 1936, January 15, 1937; *Tampa Tribune,* April 23, 1935; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* August 13, 1935.
23. Frank L. Earnshaw to Chief, June 27, 1933, R-St. Marks, Emergency Conservation Work, 1933, Terhune to Chief, July 28, 1938, St. Marks, Florida-BF-1, St. Marks, 8-1-C, Narrative Report, December 1939-January 1940, National Archives, Record Group 22, Entry 139, Box 313.

and continued until mid-1942. An open house on Easter Sunday, April 9, 1939, was attended by about 400 white and black visitors who heard an address by Dr. J. R. E. Lee, president of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College in Tallahassee.[24]

While it is difficult to over-estimate the value of the CCC to the environment and to state facilities such as the Park Service, they were scarcely greater than the human benefits. As Julius F. Stone of the Florida Emergency Relief Administration wrote in 1934, most of the young men, as well as their parents, were lauding the CCC as a success in its first year. In many cases it was the first time the men had shared experiences which contributed to their social, mental, and physical development. In helping them to become good citizens, Stone concluded, the state profited.[25]

When the program began, J. C. Huskinson was director of state relief. He appointed John T. Rogers as manager of the CCC enrollment. Rogers coordinated recruitment from twelve districts throughout the state. The men were assembled at seventeen cities, given physical examinations, and sent to Fort Benning, Georgia, for two weeks of conditioning. They were then assigned to the camps. A sizable number of Floridians were sent to sites out-of-state, but there was an increasing effort to keep them closer to home as the program matured. The first Florida recruits were signed up on April 6, 1933, one week after the law passed and nearly a month before any projects were approved in Florida.[26]

Once enrolled, the men were obliged to remain for six months, although they could be released in order to accept employment which would improve their situation or because of emergencies at home. At first, they were required to remain off the rolls for one enrollment period before they could sign up again. This was subsequently changed. Failure to obey the rules could, and sometimes did, lead to dishonorable discharges.

24. H. A. Sheldon to Jay N. Darling, March 24, 1934, National Archives, Record Group 22, R-St Marks, 1934-1935; Fish and Wildlife Service Records, WNR, Box 329, passim; BF-1, Florida, St. Marks, Open House Agenda, April 9, 1939.
25. Julius F. Stone to W. Frank Persons, October 13, 1934, National Archives, Record Group 35, Series 32, Box 1732.
26. *Tampa Tribune,* April 27, 1933; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* September 17, 1934, April 18, 1935; C. C. Codrington to District Directors, September 16, 1936, National archives, Record Group 35, Series 32, Box 1732.

In order to benefit from the Social Security Act of 1935, the Florida legislature created a Board of Social Welfare which then assumed the CCC duties formerly carried out by the FERA. By 1937, when the new board began operating, 26,076 Florida enrollees had served at least one six-month period in the CCC and their dependent families had received $5,537,770. The new administrative arrangement caused little disruption. C. C. Codrington became the commissioner of welfare and Jack P. Horn, who had succeeded Rogers, continued to serve as selection agent for the CCC. An evaluation of the program in 1938 gave Floridians high marks. Frank Persons wrote Codrington that the percentage of honorable discharges of CCC youths was 69.69 per cent for Floridians as compared to 64.2 per cent for the entire Fourth Corps area. Only 5.65 per cent of Floridians had been dishonorably discharged as compared to 7.29 per cent for the area. During 1938, Dean Snyder of the Department of Labor visited the state and reported that in both its selection procedures and its camp management, the Florida program was in excellent shape. By that time the CCC had been reduced in size from its 1935 high, but nearly 5,000 Floridians were still in the program. There were 2,554 enrollees at that time in sixteen camps in the state. One half of them were Floridians, one fourth were from the Fourth Corps area, and the remaining one fourth were from outside the southeast.“ ’

An administrative change occurred in the CCC when it became a part of the newly-created Federal Security Agency in July 1939. During the same year there was a concerted effort to publicize the CCC in Florida. Robert Fechner visited several Florida communities accompanied by several state legislators and Mrs. Linwood Jeffreys as the representative of the Board of Forestry. Most of the newly-established state parks and the St. Marks Wildlife Refuge observed well-publicized open houses. They were joined in this by the two Seminole Indian CCC camps, one located near Brighton in Glades County and the other in Hendry County a few miles east of Immokalee.[28]

27. Jack Horn letter, November 23, 1937, CCC Correspondence, Florida, Fred P. Cone to W. Frank Persons, June 23, 1937, Persons to Cone, June 25, 1937, National Archives, Record Group 35, Series 32, Box 1732; Reports of Field Visits, Record Group 59, Box 1778; Tallahassee *Daily Democrat,* April 3, 1939, Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* October 8, 1938.

28. Anne Morris Boyd, *U. S. Government Documents* (New York, 1941), 386; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* March 10, April 24, 1939.

It was probably unavoidable that a massive national program aimed at relieving destitute families would collide with entrenched racial customs of the state. From the earliest days, selection quotas had been transmitted in terms of white junior enrollees, black or "colored" junior enrollees, and veterans. There had been early complaints that Florida's selecting agents had been averse to enrolling blacks, but the situation became more acute in 1935, when Harry Hopkins, director of the Emergency Relief Administration, insisted that all enrollees must come from families currently registered on the relief rolls of their communities. Hopkins's directive coincided with a decision to nearly double the size of the CCC. Florida's allotment was increased to 9,500 men which delighted the state officials. But it was perhaps a mixed blessing, as some whites believed, since the number of blacks enrolled in the program increased markedly.[29]

National administrative officials were well aware of the delicacy of the racial situation in the southeastern states, but their efforts to mitigate the problem probably did just as much to aggravate the situation. CCC officials had always attempted to assign personnel to their home states. When that was not feasible, the next best solution was to assign them to the command area in which the state fell. Florida was in the Fourth Corps area which included Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Since Florida had more suitable projects than it had personnel, the state had enjoyed the presence of several units from other states. Unfortunately, when the increased quota was filled, there were more Florida youths to be assigned than there were available projects in the state. The special provisions for assignment of black camps then came into play. President Roosevelt's policy regarding the matter was to require that all black CCC men be assigned to their native state, but he also insisted that they be assigned only with the approval of the state governors. That was a privilege which Governor David Sholtz would have happily eschewed.[30]

When Codrington reported that 2,000 blacks would be en-

29. George P. Rawick, "The New Deal and Youth: The CCC, The NYA, and the American Youth Congress," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1957), 157.
30. Fechner to Duncan Fletcher, June 13, 1935, Governors' Correspondence, Florida State Archives, Record Group 102, Series 278.

rolled under the 1935 quotas, General Moseley notified Governor Sholtz that the number of black CCC camps in Florida would be increased from four to thirteen. Three other camps were to be manned by veterans, and white junior enrollees would staff the remaining seventeen camps. This meant that several units comprised of whites from out-of-state would have to be transferred. When word of the change circulated, protests began. Anticipating the problem, the governor had named J. G. Tucker as "Florida Director, ECW Camps." When he did so, according to the governor's secretary, he "had in mind that you [Tucker] were to handle the matter in such a way as to protect him [Sholtz] against criticism for approving the location of CCC negro camps." It did not work. A self-proclaimed "leading body of Sumatra and Franklin County" citizens lodged a protest with Congressman Millard Caldwell, Senator Duncan Fletcher, and others. Fechner informed them of Governor Scholtz's role in the matter. The citizens then wrote the governor asking him to "prohibit a negro company" being assigned to Sumatra. Residents of Hilliard in Nassau County, lodged a vigorous protest, as did those of Foley, a company town of the Brooks-Scanlon Lumber Company, near Perry.[31]

One of the loudest protests came from John G. Pace, owner of extensive pine lands in Santa Rosa County. He opposed the reassignment of a white unit which had been working at Chumukla, if they were to be replaced by blacks. There were no blacks in the area, he said, because they had been run out a few years earlier during a race riot. He later averred his fear of "serious trouble" because there was a school near the camp, and the community was afraid to send its girls there. After the latter protest, the black unit was reassigned to the Pensacola Navy Yard. Pace may have had second thoughts when he was told that "the governor has influence with the Federal government in preventing the location of colored CCC camps, but he has absolutely no authority in locating white camps."[32]

31. Van Horn Moseley to Sholtz, July 25, 1935, J. P. Newell to J. G. Tucker, August 6, 1935, A. C. Smith, W. B. Gregory, T. D. Branch, J. O. Smith to Sholtz, June 20, 1935, Sholtz to Moseley July 16, 1935, Van Horn Moseley to A. D. MacArthur, June 27, 1935. ibid.
32. A. D. Pace to Sholtz: September 9; 1935, Newell to Pace, September 5, 1935, Pace to Sholtz, October 9, 1935, and E. H. Lundy to Sholtz, November 18, 1935, ibid.

The "leading body" of Franklin County citizens dropped its opposition to blacks when it found that there would be no more white companies available. But, the governor viewed the protests seriously and several changes were made. White companies at Vilas, Shady Grove, and Olustee– all in isolated areas– were moved to Sumatra, Foley, and Hilliard, and the black units were assigned to the unpopulated areas.[33]

There had been complaints from Newport and Sarasota before the expansion occurred, and both were resolved amicably. After the sheriff visited the Myakka River camp to quell a disturbance, local residents complained of the presence of blacks there. But, their complaints were subsequently withdrawn. J. B. Riley of the *Sarasota Herald* wrote that some of his neighbors had at first wanted to "run the negros out," but after reflecting that the tasks they were performing were those that blacks ordinarily did in civilian life, they changed their minds.[34]

The resolution of the racial difficulties at Newport was even more satisfactory. The blacks had been removed from the camp there ostensibly because of the yellow fever threat, but there had been some difficulty between Fred Ladd, a Newport fisherman, and a few inhabitants of the camp over their unauthorized use of some of his small boats. Although the yellow fever problem was real, the Wakulla County commissioners had refused to renew the camp lease after Ladd's complaint. The unit was relocated to Woodville, from which place it not only continued to develop the St. Marks Wildlife Refuge, but its personnel also began assisting private owners in fire control and replanting. Governor Sholtz must have been pleased when V. G. Philips of the Philips Turpentine Company wrote that he felt fortunate in having Camp P-77 located near Woodville to lend him assistance in improving his 30,000-acre tract. He and Senator W. P. Shelly of the Wakulla Turpentine Company, as well as the DuPont Trustees, joined in expressing their hope that the camp would be retained. Philips added that P-77 was one camp where there had been "no criticism among the local citizens."[35]

Life in the CCC camps was enriched by the quasi-military routine which instilled good personal habits, provided extensive

33. Sholtz to Moseley, July 16, 1935, Tucker to Governor, August 10, 1935, ibid.
34. J. B. Riley to C. H. Schaetter, August 27, 1935, ibid.
35. V. G. Phillips to Sholtz, December 17, 1935, ibid.

recreational facilities, and offered educational opportunities both in the classroom and in the field where valuable on-the-job training went with the daily work. The camaraderie of their peers and, in most cases, the sense of belonging to a group committed to a common goal did much to transform youths into men and good citizens. In performance of their varied tasks, the men learned how to operate heavy equipment, use surveying instruments, make maps, perform the myriad duties related to forestry, do most of the chores associated with construction, and perform clerical duties. Most learned to appreciate the satisfaction of accomplishment. A number of the young men also gained leadership experience when they were placed in charge of the work groups, as well as the various functions associated with camp life.

For many the CCC offered the first opportunity for good health care. All inductees were given a physical examination, and medical problems were corrected. The two-week physical conditioning program at Fort Benning prepared them for a wholesome physical program which lasted throughout their terms in the CCC. Enrollees who suffered physical illnesses or injuries during their tours were sent for recuperation to Fort Taylor in Key West. They were joined there by other convalescents from the Fourth Corps area. While at Key West, they lived in dormitories on the military base which has been constructed by CCC personnel for that purpose.[36]

In addition to the educational benefits derived indirectly from living in the camps and engaging in the field work, the CCC men were given an oppportunity for more formal education. Partially to provide educational opportunities and as a means of keeping the men busily engaged during their leisure evening hours, the War Department approved a formal instructional program in May 1933. Each camp was also authorized to have a library. At first, the camp officers taught courses which were mostly related to forestry, but academic subjects were occasionally included. Although army leaders were at first opposed to the idea, Director Robert Fechner soon obtained approval of a plan for a separate educational service. In late December 1933, Dr. C. S. Marsh was named educational director of the CCC. By mid-1934, educational advisers were being assigned to the

36. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* September 10, 1936.

camps. The program was managed in Florida by the University of Florida General Education Extension Division. P. G. Reynolds was the state educational advisor, and he conducted classes in 1934 for the first men who became advisers in the twenty-six camps then active in the state. Although the adviser was often the only teacher in a camp, the program provided for one student teacher to assist him when qualified persons were available. Occasionally, teachers were provided by the Florida Emergency Relief Administration. The latter were paid a salary of $60 per month during their tenure in the camps.[37]

One of the educational advisers' functions was supervision of the camp newspaper. Not only did the several men in each camp involved in the production of the weekly or bi-weekly papers gain valuable experience, but their efforts tended to bind the men together by emphasizing their common experiences through the creation of a record of camp life. Although their printing facilities were quite primitive, and the emphasis on form was minimal, some of the editorial and journalistic work was innovative, energetic, and informative. One of the papers, the Sebring *Rogers Post,* even became a member of the Florida Press Association. The camp newspapers conveyed an idea of the community spirit which developed in the units, as well as the transient nature of the units and the camp sites at which they served.[38]

Transience was the dominant characteristic of the CCC camps and the companies which inhabited them. Sites were built, projects were completed, and the units moved on. Sometimes units were moved to more pressing duties to be replaced when others became available. Individuals in the units served out their terms and were discharged to be replaced by new recruits. Yet, there was something about each camp and each company which bound the men together. The units and the camps were always remembered, usually in a favorable way, by the communities where they remained for a brief time before moving on to other places and other assignments. One of the first

37. Frank E. Hill, *The Schools in the Camps: The Educational Program of the Civilian Conservation Corps* (New York, 1935), 8-10; P. G. Reynolds to all commanders and educational advisers, June 9, 1934, CCC Files, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

38. Files of camp newspapers, CCC Files, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

units assigned to Florida was from New York. Its men worked on Greynolds Park, Matheson Hammock, and Royal Palm State Park in Dade County before moving to Highlands Hammock at Sebring. It was replaced by another unit comprised entirely of northern men. In mid-1935, both units were transferred to Idaho and Oregon to be replaced at Sebring and Miami by Floridians. Another unit was sent out of the state about the same time to Russellville, Alabama. Company 1421 spent several months at Penney Farms near Green Cove Springs before moving to the Myakka River project in late 1934. Within weeks a company which had originally been composed of Alabamians and stationed at Bronson was reassigned to the Penney Farms camp. Its new mission was to set out 18,000 acres of tung trees near Gainesville, some forty miles away. A company from Olustee was sent to Hillsborough River site in 1935 to replace a unit bound for Murphy, Idaho. Company 1431 was another unit of Alabamians which had completed a replanting project near Bronson. It was reassigned to Old Town in late 1934, to replant 190,000 acres of pine land belonging to the Putnam Lumber Company. When ninety-four of its men were discharged at the end of their terms, the unit celebrated its anniversary, combined with a farewell party for those returning to their homes. The festive occasion was capped with the distribution of a short history of the unit complete with a roster of its personnel. These examples could be repeated many times, but the trend was toward more and more units composed of Florida men with fewer from out of the state.[39]

Despite their peripatetic existence and their busy work schedules, the CCC men remained at the same locations sometimes for months, and they had many hours of leisure time. An active recreational program was available in the camps, and these frequently led to travel for competitive sports. All of the camps had baseball, basketball, volleyball, and sometimes football teams which played intramurally and often in leagues as well. Baseball was the best organized of the sports, and teams played other camps as well as the surrounding communities. A typical game was the match between Newberry and Company

39. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* August 13, 1935; *Tampa Tribune,* June 27, 1934, August 13, 1935; Green Cove Springs *Tent Town Topics,* passim; Green Cove Springs *Cat Face,* July 25, 1934; Miami *Everglades,* June 15, 1934, ibid.

1431 at Perry in August 1934. The CCC men at Sulphur Springs played the veterans from a camp near Mulberry in May 1937. It was a major event when CCC Company 269 travelled from Miami to Sebring, a seven-hour journey, in early 1935, to play the men of Highlands Hammock. The occasion was an anniversary celebration of the Sebring camp at which Governor David Sholtz was the major spokesman. The Sebring company had travelled earlier to Sulphur Springs to play a baseball game. The men were especially impressed when the truck stopped at Lakeland where they had a picnic on Mirror Lake. Baseball was the occasion for many similarly enjoyable outings during the CCC presence in Florida. Basketball players also participated in leagues and played teams from adjacent communities.[40]

Men from the camps were frequently given passes to visit nearby towns, and camp vehicles usually provided tranportation. That was the case when Company 269 at Miami held a dance at the Biltmore Club in 1934. For a twenty-five cents admission, the men could attend a dance at which girls from the Miami vicinity were in attendance. The dance ended a busy day during which the men had directed traffic for an American Legion parade in downtown Miami. In 1937, the Leaders and Assistant Leaders Club of Company 449 stationed at Marietta near Jacksonville sponsored a dance at the camp welfare building. The public was invited to attend and dance to music supplied by a "popular orchestra." The *Camp Carrabelle Crier* announced in early 1934 that Company 1419 was sponsoring a dance at which girls from Tallahassee, Wakulla, Crawfordville, and Sopchoppy would join the "Carra Belles." Company 1439 at Vilas held a similar dance in the same year which was attended by girls from Tallahassee, Quincy, and Bristol. Another kind of social activity was the "Dixie Minstrels" from the camp near Olustee, a group of CCC men which performed at other camps as well as at nearby communities.[41]

While the discipline in the camps was generally good and the interaction with the local communities was amicable, there were

40. *Tampa Tribune,* May 2, 1937; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* February 6, 1935; Old Town *Suwannee Ripples,* August 15, 1934, Miami *Everglades,* February 18, 1935, *C-bring C-amp C-ourier,* September 4, 1934, ibid.

41. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* March 11, 1937; Miami *Everglades,* June 5, 1934; *Camp Carrabelle Crier,* August 24, 1934; Vilas *Longleaf* May 10, 1934; White Springs *Suwannee Echoes,* March 22, 1935, ibid.

a few exceptions. Most of the incidents which occurred were similar to the 1934 controversy between Fred Ladd and inhabitants of the new camp at Newport over the unauthorized use of his boats, but a few were more serious. In 1934, the residents of Lake City placed the city "off-limits" to CCC men because of alleged rowdy behavior. That such conduct was not representative is suggested by an editorial in the White Springs *Suwanee Echoes* of Company 450, condemning the culprits who had spoiled the situation for everyone. In April 1934, eighteen men who had just been discharged were being transported from the camp near Carrabelle to their homes. As the train travelled across St. James Island where the men had just recently been busily building fire lanes in the forest, three of them threw flares from the rear of the train and started a fire. Charged with arson by Forest Service officials, the three were arrested and lodged in the Apalachicola jail. In 1936, three Florida youths on weekend passes robbed a lunch stand near Sebring. C. S. Dishong, owner of the establishment, pulled a gun from his money bag and shot at them. The three youngsters escaped, but were subsequently arrested and taken to a nearby hospital for treatment of superficial wounds. Complaints were lodged against the sheriff of Liberty County because his deputies had allegedly harrassed drivers of CCC trucks and had stood by and watched while a mob beat a CCC man near Bristol. When the Bristol affair was repeated at Hosford the following night, the commander of Vilas camp prohibited his men from visiting Bristol, Hosford, or Telogia until he was assured of corrective action.[42]

By far the most serious incident occurred at Apalachicola in November 1933. On a pass from Camp F-7 near Sumatra, Michael Kovich was killed by a part-time deputy who had arrested him for alleged disorderly conduct. Many local residents thought that the deputy had killed the man withoutjustification, but a coroner's jury exonerated the deputy. Director Robert Fechner was so disturbed by the incident that he protested to Governor Sholtz, but no further action was taken.[43]

42. White Springs *Suwannee Echoes,* August 10, 1934, ibid.; *Tampa Tribune,* April 30, 1934; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* April 29, 1934, July 28, 1936; Paul T. Kreager to Cheif, August 10, 1934; R.-St. Marks, Birds, Emergency Conservation Work, National Archives, Record Group 22; Fred L. Koosa to Governor, January 29, 1934, Florida State Archives, Record Group 102, Series 278.
43. Fechner to Sholtz, December 12, 1933, Florida State Archives, Record Group 102, Series 278.

By the late 1930s the Roosevelt administration– if not the nation as a whole– was becoming more concerned with international rather than domestic issues. Not only had many of the New Deal domestic programs achieved their purposes, but Hitler's aggression in Europe and Japanese expansion in the Far East were causing serious concern. The CCC concomitantly took on a more militaristic complexion. In late 1937, Director Fechner said that, although the military aspect had been unintentional, the CCC had created a potential army of about 2,300,000 men who were nearly prepared for military service. At the same time, the army had developed a policy of using its reserve officers as camp commanders on a rotating basis. Apparently the army's purpose was to give as many officers as possible some experience in command situations. Fred Morrell, chief of CCC activities, wrote in 1939 that "the policy has no doubt been a good one from the standpoint of officer training and a bad one for the CCC." But the trend continued, and in 1940 the "military tinge" of the CCC accelerated. As the number of camps in Florida declined to ten, most of them were assigned to duties at Camp Blanding and other incipient military facilities. CCC activities ceased in Florida in June 1942, and most of its property was turned over to the army. At that time, the St. Marks Wildlife Refuge was one of the few civilian activities left in the state.[44]

During nine years in Florida, the Civilian Conservation Corps left a notable legacy. More than 50,000 young men from poverty-stricken families were given wholesome employment, and their families were paid stipends which permitted them to live through the worst depression the nation has ever endured. About $30,665,000 was spent on CCC work in the state between 1933 and 1942. The immediate and long-range human benefits, though incalculable, were unquestionably vast. Beyond that, the state park service was a direct outgrowth of the program and ten parks were opened to the public because of CCC work. The national forests were greatly extended with the aid of CCC labor. The replanting of hundreds of thousands of denuded pine lands helped the state's forest industries in transition from the exhaustive lumbering and naval stores activities of the past

44. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, December 21, 1937; Final report of director of CCC, April 1933–June 1942, National Archives, Record Group 35, Series 3; Fred Morrell to Secretary, July 12, 1939, National Archives, Record Group 16, Central Files, Camps.

to the managed forests and pulpwood industries of today. The impetus provided to the fire control system by the CCC proved to be beneficial to the entire state.[45]

The Civilian Conservation Corps evolved from imaginative minds at a time when the nation was willing to try new programs to solve overwhelming problems. With its legacy of success, it was recognized then and since as one of the most popular of the New Deal programs. Two great national resources– youth and land– were combined in a program aimed at saving both. In view of the nation's present problems with unemployed youths and an environment under siege, it would be a great benefit if we could learn from our history about how to deal with similar problems.

45. United States. *Senate Document* 216, 77th Cong., 2nd Sess., 145.

MARION POST AND THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION IN FLORIDA

by ROBERT E. SNYDER

BETWEEN 1933 and 1940, and continuing through World War II, President Franklin D. Roosevelt spent billions of dollars through a number of agencies on a variety of relief and recovery measures. Persuading Congress and the American public that mammoth appropriations were necessary to ameliorate the privations suffered by the bottom third of the nation required a constant lobbying and educational effort. To show the needs of the ill-housed, ill-fed, and ill-clothed during the Great Depression, and to record the progress made by the New Deal, a documentary photography project was established in 1935 in the Resettlement Administration (RA), and became in 1937 part of the newly-created Farm Security Administration (FSA).[1] Under the direction of Roy Stryker, the Historical Section employed nearly thirty photographers, with never more than six photographers working at any one time because of budgetary restraints. Despite public complaints that the FSA was wasting taxpayers' money, criticism that the FSA was taking silly and irrelevant pictures, and threats to investigate the philosophy and operation of the FSA, Stryker persevered to spend nearly $l,000,000 and compiled a file of nearly 270,000 photographs. Today the FSA collection is hailed as one of the

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1. For studies on the FSA, Historical Section, and some of the celebrity photographers consult: James C. Anderson, ed., *Roy Stryker: The Humane Propagandist* (Louisville, 1977); Sidney Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics: The Rise and Decline of the Farm Security Administration* (Chapel Hill, 1968); Beverly Brannan and David Horvath, eds., *A Kentucky Album: Farm Security Photographs, 1935-1943* (Lexington, 1986); Bill Ganzel, *Dust Bowl Descent* (Lincoln, NE, 1984); Forrest Jack Hurley, *Portrait of a Decade: Roy Stryker and the Development of Documentary Photography in the Thirties* (Baton Rouge, 1972); Hank O'Neal, *A Vision Shared: A Classic Portrait of America and its People, 1935-1943* (New York, 1976); William Stott, *Documentary Expression and Thirties America* (New York, 1973); and Roy E. Stryker and Nancy Wood, eds., *In This Proud Land:* America, *1935-1943, as Seen in the FSA Photographs* (Greenwich, CT, 1973).

great, perhaps the greatest, collection of documentary photographs in the world.[2]

Over the eight-year life of the project, photographers John Collier, Howard Hollem, Dorothea Lange, Carl Mydans, Gordon Parks, Marion Post, and Arthur Rothstein visited Florida. The initial excursions into Florida were brief and at distanced intervals. The FSA was not only shorthanded and leanly funded, but Florida was geographically isolated from the rest of the South and had the reputation of being a tropical paradise.[3] FSA coverage of the Dust Bowl, and the plight of the Okies and Arkies, came through with such early photographic icons as Lange's "Migrant Mother" and Rothstein's "Dust Storm," and provided justification for the social welfare policies of the New Deal. Photographs of people swimming, sunbathing, and fishing tended to erode FDR's characterization of the South as "the nation's number one economic problem," and in the beginning playland images were frowned upon by the architects of the welfare state.[4]

As the FSA file grew in size over the years, and the Roosevelt coalition increased its confidence with the repeated re-election of New Dealers to public office, Stryker recognized that the early emphasis of the Historical Section on the ravages of the Great Depression had created a distorted picture and nearsighted FSA file. Increasingly he wanted to play up the positive features of American life. "Emphasize the idea of abundance, the 'horn of plenty'— and pour maple syrup all over it. You know, mix well with white clouds and put on a sky-blue platter," Stryker wrote to Jack Delano. "I know your damn photographer's soul writhes, but the hell with it. Do you think I give a damn about a photographer's soul with Hitler at our doorstep? You are nothing but

2. For an annotated bibliography of works on the FSA, reference can be made to Penelope Dixon, *Photographers of the Farm Security* (New York, 1983).
3. Robert E. Snyder, "The Golden Age of Picture Postcards and Florida," *Journal of Regional Cultures* 4 (Spring/Summer 1984), 25-48.
4. For recent symposia focusing on the photographic history and imagery of Florida, consult Bruce Weber, "The Sun And The Shade: Florida Photography 1885-1983," Norton Gallery & School of Art, West Palm Beach, Florida, December 3, 1983; and "The Farm Security Administration: A Fifty Year Commemorative Symposium," Daytona Beach Community College, Daytona Beach, Florida, July 8 and 9, 1985, (hereinafter referred to as "The Sun And The Shade" and "FSA Commemorative Symposium").

camera fodder to me."[5] Stryker also realized that there were blind spots in the FSA file. He noted that the agency had extensive coverage of cotton, for example, but not a single photograph showing hands actually picking the crop. Stryker wanted to fill holes in the file, and he proceeded to add previously neglected subjects and scenes to shooting lists.[6]

The FSA photographer who benefited most from the change in direction, and provided the most extensive coverage of Florida, was Marion Post. Before joining the FSA in August 1938, Marion had studied with Paul Strand and Ralph Steiner at the New York Film and Photo League, had done free lance pieces for national publications, and had worked on the staff of the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin.*[7] Her excursions through Florida, in 1939, 1940, and 1941, provide insight into the philosophy of the FSA, the operations of a variety of federal programs, the trials and tribulations of a female working to achieve professional recognition, local customs, mores, and attitudes towards women, the technological status of photography, and major Florida labor and industrial problems.

Roy Stryker was always concerned about female photographers being either hurt, taken advantage of, or misunderstood while out on the road. "I know that you have had a great deal of experience in the field, and that you are quite competent to take care of yourself," he explained to Marion, "but I do have grave doubts of the advisability of sending you, for instance, into certain sections of the South. It would not involve you personally in the least, but, for example, negro people are put in a very difficult spot when white women attempt to interview or photograph them." Stryker was especially concerned about Marion being more vulnerable than the others because she was single and would travel alone. Despite his many misgivings, Stryker eventually consented to Marion's assign-

5. Stryker and Wood, *In This Proud Land,* 16.
6. Roy Stryker to Marion Post, October 6, 1939. Stryker-Post correspondence cited is in the Roy Stryker Papers, Photography Archives, University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky. Correspondence from 1924 to 1972 is arranged alphabetically and chronologically by persons and groups.
7. Julie M. Boddy,"The Farm Security Administration Photographs of Marion Post Wolcott: A Cultural History," (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1982), passim; Julie M. Boddy, "Photographing Women: The Farm Security Administration Work of Marion Post Wolcott," in Lois Scharf and Joan M. Jensen, eds., *Decades of Discontent: The Women's Movement, 1920-1940* (Westport, CT, 1984), 153-76.

ments in the South, probably because of her persistence in wanting to go and the FSA's need for contrast photographs in the region.[8]

Marion drove into Florida in January 1939 by way of coastal Georgia. Her impression of Georgia, with the exception of Savannah, was "nothingness," a lot of scrub land, straggly trees, and livestock wandering around, but little else. She had to keep on the lookout for animals that wandered on and along the rural roadsides. She saw many squashed rabbits, chickens, and dogs, and big beaked vultures cleaning up the carcasses. As Marion approached Jacksonville, she narrowly escaped a serious automobile accident when the rubber casing on a new tire ripped away and almost threw her Plymouth out of control.[9]

Marion spent a few days at the Hotel George Washington on Adams Street in downtown Jacksonville while waiting for a replacement tire and camera repairs. She took her Speed Graphic to the Eastman Kodak store, reportedly the only one in the state. She waited for the repairman, who supposedly came in on afternoons from his full-time job elsewhere, but he did not show up that day. Marion learned that the repairman was only there when he could spare the time, and the store usually sent repairs to the factory in New York. "They told me to try some guy in Miami, who might be able to do it— maybe."[10]

Once her car was fixed, Marion drove South to check on crops and harvests. Stryker wanted to know more about the migrant situation, especially if "the photographic possibilities" were as great as he had been led to believe." Marion found the citrus industry around Winter Haven in serious financial condition; oranges were bringing the lowest crate prices ever. Fertilizer for the crop had been purchased on credit, but growers did not have the money to pay off creditors and could not order for the next year. A dry "rainy season" forced growers to shoulder the additional expense of irrigating groves. Because of low prices for oranges and rising indebtedness, growers were not even bothering to pick the citrus crop.[12] The economic hardships experienced by the citrus industry had a ripple effect

8. Stryker to Post, July 14, 1938.
9. Post to Stryker, January n. d., 1939.
10. Ibid.
11. Stryker to Post, January 11, 1939.
12. Post to Stryker, January n. d., 1939.

as pickers, packing house workers, and truckers were thrown out of work.

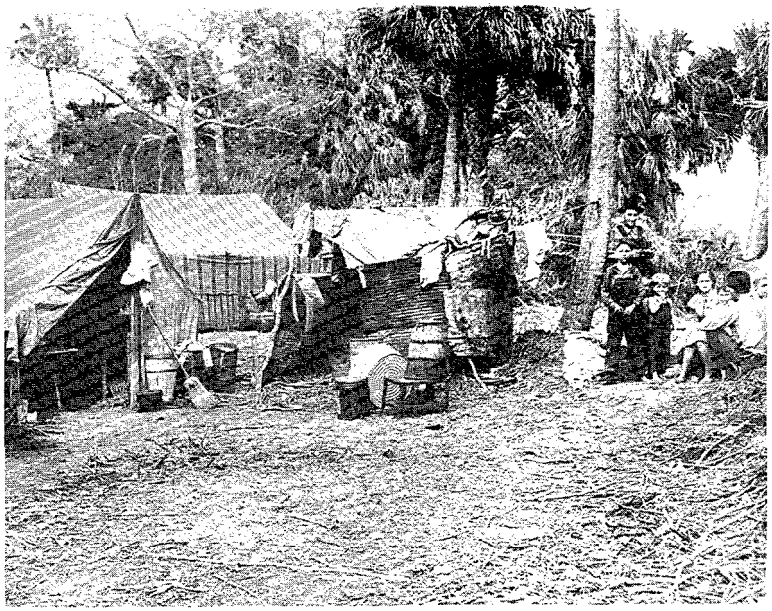
Marion also hoped to capture some child labor scenes in the strawberry growing area around Plant City. "They have what they call 'strawberry school'— all the schools close for the picking season, so the kids can be in the fields, and then reopen and continue later in the summer." However, strawberry farmers were waiting on the weather to make or break the crop. If it rained, the strawberry season could peak in three to four weeks; if it remained dry, the berries would wither away.[13]

Marion moved southward through the central part of Florida to the commercial truck farming area around Lake Okeechobee, Belle Glade, and Homestead. "Most places . . . didn't plant an early bean crop because the frost hit them so badly in the past couple of years," she reported. "Also the market has been so bad and prices so low, that a lot of crops they've turned under, not bothered to pick!" Marion speculated that the farms around Homestead and Belle Glade would be reaching their peak picking season in about two or three weeks, depending on the rain, and that she would be able to capture agriculture scenes then.[14]

What Marion planned on photographing in and around the fruit and vegetable packing houses in Florida was more than just run-of-the-mill working conditions. She intended to go behind the scenes to capture a complete portrait of life in the fields, the overall "lousy existence" of agricultural labor. "I don't mean just showing the various operations of the packing and grading processes," she informed Stryker, "I mean the life of the packing house— the hanging around, the 'messing around,' the gambling, the fighting, the 'sanitary' conditions, the effects of the *very* long work stretch, the rest periods, their 'lunch'— etc." She planned to place these exploited workers on the stage of the thick and rich muck that supported commercial agriculture, and show how these people were being further displaced by the "huge, dinosaurian looking bean and pea thrashers" being introduced by agribusiness.[15]

Marion talked with some migrants who had come from Missouri to find work. "We ain't lived like hogs before, but we sure

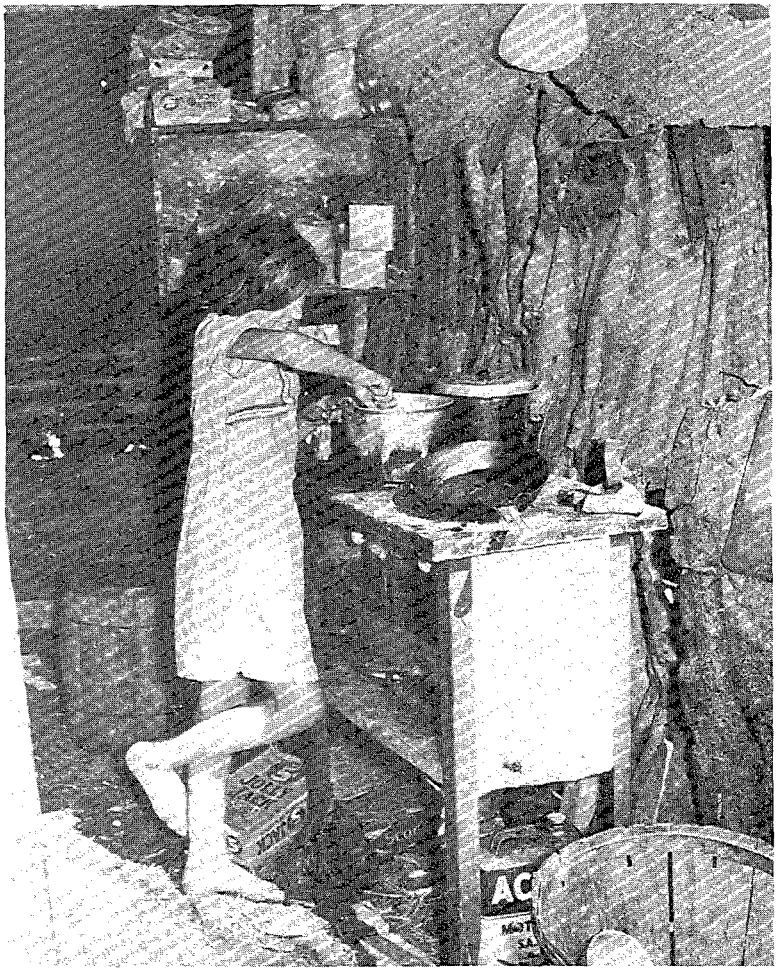
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.



Canal Point (vicinity), Florida, January 1939. Photographs in this article are courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

does now," a female member of the group remarked. As Marion prepared to photograph the workers, she noticed that one of the men did not want to be included. He was embarrassed about being so poor looking. After some discussion, he agreed with the women that "it was important that he be photographed" so that the country could see his true plight.[16] Marion learned from the migrants that commercial fruit and vegetable interests rented patches of land for $5.00 a month, and the migrants had to clear a space for living quarters. The pieces of land were usually so small and the migrants so impoverished, that only temporary tents, shacks, and lean-tos made out of canvas, corrugated metal, and scrap wood could be erected. There was no water, electricity, or sanitary facilities. The overall haphazard life of the migrants appeared to be mirrored in their meager possessions– a table, broom, buckets, vegetable hampers, worn clothing, a child's bicycle– strewn about (Plate 1).

16. Post remarks, "FSA Commemorative Symposium."



Belle Glade, Florida, January 1939.

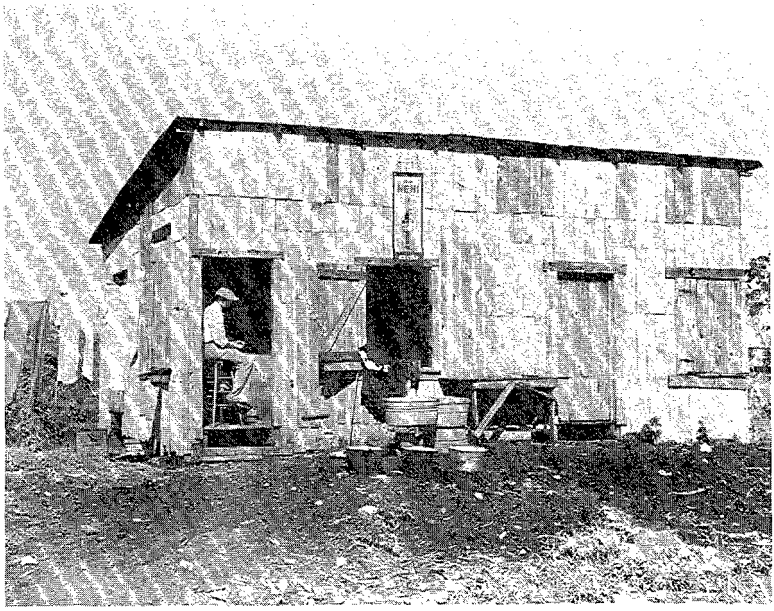
Marion visited with the barefoot child of a migrant family from Tennessee while the youngster prepared supper. The girl revealed that her parents were usually away working during the day, sometimes until two or three o'clock in the morning, and the children were left to fend for themselves. The burner surface of the stove was cluttered with pots, pans, and a pressing iron. Food containers were scattered on the makeshift shelves and dirt floor (Plate 2). Marion talked with some young boys

Belle Glade, Florida, January 1939.

bringing home swamp rabbits caught in the muck and cane fields. The swamp rabbits, she was told, comprised their main source of meat (Plate 3). She observed a patent medicine vendor's truck parked near a migratory worker's camp. The different Tom Tom herb tonics displayed on the folding table suggested that the workers suffered many maladies.

Marion encountered a tailor and cleaner who serviced migrant labor. He was seated in the doorway of his stand beneath a sign advertising "We Serve Nehi Ice Cold." Around the shop could be seen the tools of his trade– scrub tubs, wash table, bristle brush, soap, and a clothes line (Plate 4). Marion noted on her tour of the Everglades area how some workers were hauled by truck along the rural roads to the fields from shelters in nearby towns and encampments. She saw the way that blacks and whites, adults and children, had to line up and wait behind the trucks at the end of the day to get paid, and then were "loaded as cattle" into the vehicles, which was very dehumanizing and distressing (Plate 5).

In Homestead, Marion was told that there were fewer tran-



Lake Harbor (vicinity), Florida, January 1939.

Homestead (vicinity), Florida, February 1939.

sients there than usual, perhaps about half the regular number. The early tomato harvest, which consisted of "rock tomatoes" (tomatoes planted on small sections of high, rocky land during November and December), was not very good. The growers would have to wait for the flood waters of the lower glades to recede in order to plant the next crop. The pickers in Homestead were from Key West, Miami, and nearby towns. "I stuck my nose in every back yard looking for people living in chicken coops, and found practically none," she reported. "Many of the 'camps' or houses had been taken down, blown down or moved away, or deserted . . . it was because last season was so bad, for everyone– many growers, especially the ones from North and South Carolina who have about 150 acres each, went broke last year, and didn't come back. The pickers and packing house workers had an even worse time of it. This year, the season is a little late."[17]

At Homestead, Marion received a letter from Stryker with the news that pictures taken earlier in the Carolinas were out of focus. She, of course, was disappointed; it meant that certain scenes were lost forever, and some of her present work might be endangered. She was already distressed over camera shops in Florida being unable to repair her equipment and provide replacement parts for even items like batteries. She was also concerned that heat and humidity might damage the supplies that she carried around in her car. She relied on personal ingenuity for "methods of 'insulating' the film." Whenever possible she left supplies in her dryer and cooler room; on the road she always tried to park under a tree or in the shade of a tree or building. The bright Florida sunshine made her bleary eyed, but since it was impractical to wear sunglasses when photographing, she rested her eyes in the shade for short periods of time.

Just as the windswept top soil of the southwest plains plagued photographers covering the Dust Bowl, so the rich, black muck of Florida's truck farming region exasperated photographers. The soil was highly caustic, and caused sores on the faces and eyes of field workers.[18] Marion took special precautions to prevent dust from invading and damaging her equipment and supplies. "It's an awful struggle to keep this black muck out of the cameras and film. It's fine as powder or flour

17. Post to Stryker, January n. d., 1939.
18. Post remarks, "FSA Commemorative Symposium."

and blows so. Keep everything covered and wrapped up, and brush and clean everything several times a day and every nite." Marion wearily reflected on the time all this took. "By the time I get that done, my film loaded, the car brushed out, my clothes shaken out, my underwear scrubbed, the muck out of my hair and nose and neck and arms and feet– it *itches* so!– there's not much time left for reading." Marion looked forward to a day off to relax.[19]

Stryker recognized and appreciated the many travails that his photographers were enduring. He tried to keep Marion's morale up, and he complimented her through light-hearted commentary. "I suppose we will have to give you industrial compensation if you get many of these industrial diseases which you run into," Stryker remarked. "We really don't care what black dust does to you as long as you can work, but I hate like the devil to see it get into your camera, because it hurts your negatives– the good employer!"[20]

Because Marion arrived in Florida before most crops were ready for harvest, the agricultural scenes that she hoped to capture were not ready. Her assignment was a lesson on the importance of timing. The weather could speed up or retard a crop, even destroy it overnight. When covering agriculture the right time of the season was as important as the right time of day. "I don't see how I can leave Florida for another three or four weeks, before the middle of February, and get what you want," Marion informed Stryker. "One has to hunt for these things, and they're not always so close together, and sometimes one must go back again. Many people are so superstitious– or suspicious– others require or demand explanations, etc."[21] While waiting for harvest work to pick up, Stryker recommended that Marion check on "the tourist towns, which will show how the 'lazy rich' waste their time."[22]

Marion was excited by the photographic possibilities of contrasting the affluence some people enjoyed in resorts along the white sand beaches with the wrenching poverty experienced only a few miles away in the migrant camps. She headed for Palm Beach and Miami to capture the "idle rich at play." She

19. Post to Stryker, January n. d., 1939.
20. Stryker to Post, February 1, 1939.
21. Post to Stryker, January n. d., 1939.
22. Stryker to Post, January 13, 1939.

photographed white patrons enjoying one of Miami Beach's grand resort hotels. The parking lot was fringed with palm trees and filled with late model cars. The beach was crowded with sunbathers relaxing on beach chairs and blankets, shielded from the wind-blown sand by canvas screens.

At Hialeah race track, she saw fashionably dressed people who seemed to have escaped the privations of the Great Depression and anxieties of World War II. She was captivated by the beauty of the oval track surrounding a thirty-two acre artificial lake with 200 flamingos, and a grandstand covered by a huge mass of purple bougainvilleas. Marion also photographed waterfront mansions in an exclusive residential neighborhood in Miami and the pleasure boats docked along the tranquil waterways.

Marion found that photographing certain scenes could be dangerous. While trying to photograph a gambling establishment she had her film confiscated, and was ordered to "get out and stay out." "They were annoyed that I felt I could get away with it because I was a woman, which was exactly what I was trying to do." Marion had similar encounters elsewhere. It is difficult to document all of these; she discussed some over the telephone, and for others only one side of the correspondence remains. "You certainly have had your run of bad luck! It was a bit exciting, though. I would like to have been around the corner when you got the grapefruit in the back of the neck!," Stryker commented on one particular incident. "What a damn shame you lost the pictures in the gambling joint. Well, better luck next time. We will have a special camera made for you that you can pin on the front of your dress– one that looks like a beautiful diamond studded brooch, and then you can fool them!"[23]

There were various humanitarian groups in the 1930s dedicated to exposing the exploitation of industrial and agricultural workers. Stryker placed Edith Lowry, who was associated with the Federal Council of Churches, in touch with Marion. Miss Lowry had been promoting a monograph entitled *They Starve That We May Eat*. She was committed to informing church groups about the workers who were hungry, ragged, and homeless.[24]

23. Ibid., March 18, 1939.
24. Ibid., January 26, 1939.

Stryker cautioned Marion to be very circumspect in her "missionary job" with Miss Lowry, because the whole topic of agricultural labor was a volatile political issue. Wisconsin Senator Robert LaFollette's hearings on the exploitation and abuses of workers had produced damning information against several big agricultural interests. Politicians were being flooded with thousands of letters and telegrams from outraged citizens, and they were very sensitive and jittery about the repercussions. Stryker was concerned that individuals like Miss Lowry might stampede their groups into mass action that could threaten his projects.[25]

Marion went to Palm Beach to meet Miss Lowry, and waited for her while she attended some meeting and had tea, even though Marion had wired a mutually convenient time to her several days in advance. That evening they discussed their work, and arrangements were made for Miss Lowry to come to Belle Glade the next weekend with two other women because she did not have her own car. Marion took them to visit families, doctors, nurses, and other pertinent social service people. "Maybe I'm intolerant in my own way, and I suppose these women are at least aware of a few more things and interested and active, but god damn it I can't stand their approach to problems or their unrealistic and sentimental way of handling it. After a whole day of that crap and listening to their playing Jesus I could just plain puke. Just a little daily bible reading for the kiddies and a service on Sunday for all the folks." Worried that the religious message and the intensity of their delivery might have harmed her relations in the field, Marion advised people that there was no connection between her and Miss Lowry and they were not working together. Not wishing to be associated with Miss Lowry any longer, Marion advised her that they could not travel together because the weather had altered her itinerary.[26] Stryker found Marion's encounter with Edith Lowry a hilarious situation. "It just goes to prove my theory that once you get in the services of God, you seldom are ever able to free yourself of those damnable traits. Some do, but not many." He promised to refrain from imposing such people on her in the future."[27]

25. Ibid., February 1, 1939.
26. Post to Stryker, January n. d., 1939.
27. Stryker to Post, February 10, 1939.

Nonetheless, Miss Lowry travelled with Marion another day, and the photographer made her work. She persuaded Miss Lowry to carry a heavy package of camera filters, flashbulbs, and film pack magazines, and she introduced her to "a fat and ribald and lusty doctor who likes his liquor and [he] told her a few things in plain English." By the end of the day, Marion perceived that Miss Lowry's "shining light was diminished slightly."[28]

It was cold and damp in Florida in late January and early February 1939. "There's no heat in these (homes) or hotels down here so when it does get cold it seems much worse. The changes are so sudden and extreme. Every one now has a cold or grippe— so far I haven't succumbed seriously. Just sort of sniffling."[29] The weather provided Marion with an excuse for wearing slacks. She had been mistaken for a gypsy in South Carolina because of her brightly colored outfits, bandana scarf, and dangling earrings. "I am glad that you have now learned that you can't depend on the wiles of femininity when you are in the wilds of the South," Stryker admonished her. "Colorful bandanas and brightly colored dresses, etc., aren't part of our photographer's equipment. The closer you keep to what the great back-country recognizes as the normal dress for women, the better you are going to succeed as a photographer. I know this will probably make you mad, but I can tell you another thing— that slacks aren't part of your attire when you are in the back-country. You are a woman, and a woman can't never be a man!"[30] Still smarting over the reprimand, Marion saw opportunities in Florida for challenging the dress code and sexist attitude of her boss. "About slacks— you can't make me mad. I learned you can't wear them in the stix when I was in Tennessee, etc., a couple of years ago— But— Florida, in most sections— is an exception. Everyone wears them— idle rich, winter and year round residents, migrants and negroes."[31]

The severe weather caused considerable crop damage in southern Florida. Three successive nights of frost around Belle Glade killed a large crop of English peas, beans, and tomatoes. Celery and cabbage were hearty enough to survive, and the

28. Post to Stryker, January n. d., 1939.
29. Ibid., February 24, 1939.
30. Stryker to Post, January 13, 1939.
31. Post to Stryker, January n. d., 1939.

sugar cane escaped with only a burn. "What a gamble it all is— a freeze or flood wipes out everything over nite, and a big farmer worth thousands is suddenly flat broke and stays that way for a couple of years; at present the Mayor of Belle Glade is one of these. Some of the smaller farmers just lose everything and either don't come back, or don't even come up for air again."

During the peak of the harvest, packing house workers would labor up to eighteen hours per day with only fifteen-minute rest breaks every three hours. Because of the freeze, most packing houses had to close down, "a couple of them working maybe 45 minutes or 1 1/2 hours a day, or a couple of hours twice a week. A woman the other day told how she'd been waiting around the packing house all day long. They were told there'd be *some* work, finally something came in and she got 9 *minutes* work." Some of the transients left for Homestead to find work, but others stayed, hoping that in six weeks things would get going again. "There's good material for me here, conditions are awful at all times."[32]

Marion talked with a migrant family that was stranded in Florida. The mother was thirty-two years old; she had given birth to eleven children, but only six were still living. The baby was sick with what was thought to be colitis, and the family could not find any work because of the recent crop losses. "We've been lots of places," one of the youngsters confided in Marion. "I don't like it here so well, but I reckon we'll have to stay a smart while. My daddy had to turn back the car. He paid a lot off on it, but he didn't get enough work here. Now we can't go no where else."[33]

Marion decided to go to Alabama and Georgia for a month, and then return to Florida to photograph the rush of the picking and packing season. The peak of the harvest was entirely different from the rest of the crop year. Not only would the transients, who migrated to different parts of the country following the various crops, return to Florida en masse, but everyone would have that tired and exhausted look. "Of course even the town of Belle Glade, which is like no other in Florida anyway, has a completely different aspect when the crops are coming in and the transient labor is here and trucks and car-

32. Ibid.
33. Post remarks, "FSA Commemorative Symposium."

loads of pickers in the streets. I want to get the people, mostly women, working in the packing houses until 2 and 3 A.M."[34]

Marion returned to Florida in the spring of 1940. In June she reported that a migrant camp near Lake Okeechobee had been waiting for landscape workers for nearly one month. During the delay the grass had grown so high that it was a serious hazard to traverse, and insect infestation had increased. Marion also discovered that camp housing was not properly designed for Florida's climate. "Consequently the people are prostrate from the heat, poor ventilation in those tin and metal shelters, (cold in winter), and holes and cracks for mosquitoes and flies by the millions, and screening too large so that the special little biting gnats, that chew around one's eyes, nose and mouth, can come right thru. It's really disgusting. Every place (project) and T. P. I visit its the same story– something fundamentally wrong with the original planning, construction, or set up, causing the whole program to suffer. It's a mess, isn't it time they got over some of the experimental stages at least? They make enough surveys and investigations and studies and recommendations. No wonder people get exasperated, critical."[35]

Marion focused more on the camp itself than the crop harvesting. She added to her coverage of the migrant camp by flying over the site. A project engineer persuaded a local pilot to take her up in his crop duster. The only time that the pilot could accommodate her, however, was at noon on a very windy day. "It was just a small dusting plane and I felt awfully seasick after just a short time," Marion recounted. "He said it was too bad to stay up and he didn't want to risk it." Marion returned to more stable photographic terrain on earth, gave the pilot $1.00 for his services, and left Florida.[36]

Marion's last coverage of Florida was in the period from December 1940, to February 1941. She spent the Christmas and New Year holidays in the Jacksonville– St. Augustine area before leaving the state. Although Stryker congratulated her on work done recently, he lamented how much traveling his photographers had to do. "All in all it is very excellent coverage . . . but I do wish each of you could have had more time in one spot. The work done would be much more adequate."[37] During Jan-

34. Post to Stryker, January n. d., 1939.
35. Ibid., June/July n. d., 1940.
36. Ibid., July 28, 29, 1940.
37. Stryker to Post, December 27, 1940.

Sarasota (vicinity), Florida, January 1941.

uary 1941, Marion moved back into the Gulf coast of Florida. In the trailer camps in Sarasota she photographed older people participating in club meetings, bicycling around parks, and picnicking on sand keys. Near Sarasota she met a Mennonite couple who came from Pennsylvania to observe Florida's agricultural methods, and were scrutinizing the canal irrigation of fertile flat land and rows of truck crops (Plate 6). A cold spell in January caused Marion to cable Stryker: "Am fingerless, toeless, earless . . . even my camera pities itself. . . will need at least one month in Florida to recuperate."[38]

38. Post to Stryker, January 27, 1941.

Pahokee, Florida, February 1941.

Marion continued on to Belle Glade in February 1941 for coverage of the Osceola and Pahokee migrant camps. She saw the decrepit two-story clapboard shacks that migrants rented for living quarters. The buildings were weather-beaten, without glass windows and screen doors, yet carefully numbered by landlords to keep track of the occupants. The numerals constituted the only paint found on the entire building. Marion derisively captioned her photograph of one rundown and ramshackle hovel the "Pahokee Hotel" (Plate 7). She went into a "juke joint" where there were several black workers. The bar was crowded with patrons, and the shelves stocked with whiskey (Plate 8).

Living out of a suitcase, eating in local restaurants, moving from one town to the next day-after-day was difficult for Marion. "In general I'm most tired of the strain of continually adjusting to new people, making conversation, getting acquainted, being polite and diplomatic when necessary," Marion wrote. "In particular I'm sick of people telling me that the cabin or room costs the same for one as it does for *two,* of listening to people,

South Central Florida, February 1941.

or the 'call' girl making love in the adjoining room. Or of hearing everyone's bathroom habits, hangovers, and fights through the ventilator."[39] Eventually the road work became too much for Marion, and she resigned from the FSA in February 1942.

Since Marion had joined the FSA late in its existence, her role was different from the earlier photographers. "The big projects had been done. FDR's 'Third of a Nation.' The Okies. That kind of thing . . . but Roy, at the time I came into the group, wanted to fill in, wanted pictures of lush America . . . to use as contrast pictures." Marion's assignments were consequently directed toward the short subject and sampler variety, rather than the large mosaics.[40] Securing contrast photographs often took Marion to out-of-the-way places and placed her in difficult situations. In the field she learned that there were many social and cultural proscriptions that she had to be cautious

39. Ibid., July 5, 1939.
40. Interview with Marion Post Wolcott by Richard K. Doud, January 18, 1965, Mill Valley, California, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC, 10-11, (hereinafter referred to as Wolcott interview).

about. Despite the relief, recovery, and reform activities taking place under Franklin D. Roosevelt, Marion found the South still to be isolated, backward, suspicious, intolerant, and resistant to change.

Marion found that being a woman could create problems. There were times when she felt that she did not command the same respect accorded male photographers. She often encountered people who believed photography was "a man's field, and a man would automatically do a better job and be better equipped to do it."[41] Others were suspicious of a single woman traveling alone, staying in motels, and consorting with strange men. She had to observe social conventions that made her work more demanding. "When it was dark I had to eat my supper early because I had to be home after dark and couldn't go around to the cafes or beer joints or anything or even to a local movie because women, young women, didn't do this, not even the older ones, they just didn't go out alone," she reported. "I could have been considered a prostitute or certainly a bad woman on her way to damnation."[42]

There were other times, however, when Marion found that being a woman was an advantage. Many courtesies were extended to her as a matter of etiquette and propriety. She capitalized on offers to help with her camera equipment and car, and to escort her around. Marion used her femininity to gain entry into places normally closed to outsiders. Her photographs inside a Mississippi juke joint provide a case in point. "I had to take pictures of Negroes spending their cotton-picking money and had some difficulty finding a man who was willing to accompany me in because if an unintentional bump or accident or sudden remark about me should be made, they would be expected to defend my honor and get into a fight."[43] She prevailed, however, on the son of the plantation owner. "I promised to go dancing with him afterward. So he said he would take me in. We went to a couple of places."[44]

Marion encountered hostility as a result of the earlier documentary efforts of Margaret Bourke-White and Erskine

41. Wolcott interview, 14.
42. Post remarks, "FSA Commemorative Symposium," and "The Sun and the Shade."
43. O'Neal, *A Vision Shared*, 175.
44. Post remarks, "FSA Commemorative Symposium," and "The Sun and the Shade."

Caldwell. Bourke-White, the noted photographer of *Life* and *Fortune* magazines, and Caldwell, the controversial author of *Tobacco Road* and *God's Little Acre,* had spent several weeks in 1936 and 1937 traveling through nine southern states. As Caldwell talked with impoverished residents about their many problems, Bourke-White photographed the various ills of Dixie's forgotten people. In 1937, the collaborators published *You Have Seen Their Faces,* a devastating broadside on southern delinquencies. "Bourke-White . . . unknowingly and unintentionally caused me a lot of trouble in certain sections of the South," Marion revealed. "Many plantation owners, operators and managers who thoroughly disapproved of her book . . . mistrusted any other girl photographer and had to be convinced I was not Bourke-White and had no intention of making similar photographic documents."[45]

Over the years Marion became known as the FSA photographer "hired by Stryker particularly, and almost exclusively, to take photographs showing the fertility of the country, and the beauty of the country, and to take pretty pictures." While Marion admitted that she was attracted to the countryside, she considered her FSA work much more variegated and important than simply taking beautiful pictures, and she resented being stereotyped as a landscape photographer. She performed some assignments "under protest," and complained to Stryker about becoming the FSA's project person.[46]

In working for the FSA Marion recognized that she was part of a large propaganda machine. She admitted taking photographs that she described as "FSA cheesecake," pictures of the most attractive and progressive features of programs and regions. "They were slanted," Marion observed, "but so is any good program, an effective one."[47] Marion believed in the social welfare principles of the New Deal, and wanted to be part of the "social revolution of the thirties." She felt that "the FSA documentary project. . . was a wish to effect social and political changes through visual means."[48]

45. Erskine Caldwell and Margaret Bourke-White, *You Have Seen Their Faces* (New York, 1937); O'Neal, *A Vision Shared,* 176; Post Remarks, "FSA Commemorative Symposium."
46. Post remarks, "FSA Commemorative Symposium."
47. Wolcott interview, 8-9.
48. Ibid.

Although Marion described her own work as "America the beautiful," she also insisted that it was no whitewash.[49] She argued that FSA photographers had more freedom in assignments and editing than most staff photographers on periodicals. While Stryker provided shooting scripts for the field, photographers had wide latitude in choosing subjects and settings. Stryker was also very reasonable in determining which photographs to retain and print. When differences of opinion arose, he gave photographers the opportunity to present their case.[50]

While Stryker wanted to emphasize the progressive nature of the New Deal, and the upbeat side of America, Marion believed that he never intended to produce only sugar-coated photographs. He showed concern for the have-nots of society, paid attention to the underside of history, and refused to look at the world through only rose-tinted glasses. He repeatedly withheld FSA photographs from, for example, one-sided *museum* exhibitions, even though the exposure would have been great publicity for the FSA. "The Director wants sweet and lovely 'art' from us; the nicest of Walker Evans," Stryker wrote to Marion regarding one gallery's request. "He will have to use some of our brutal stuff or we won't play ball."[51]

Marion made her feelings known both in word and on film. She wrote several letters to superiors castigating social workers, bureaucrats, and federal programs for their shortcomings. Her photographs not only documented conditions, but provided commentary as well. A photograph of the Cartier store in West Palm Beach on the corner of Hibiscus Avenue is an example of the way Marion commented on social and economic inequalities in Florida. Cartier was an exclusive jewelry store patronized primarily by wealthy white clients. A strong sense of propriety and affluence emanated from the reserved exterior of the building, the Cartier name elegantly inscribed over the doorway and on the awnings, a circular clock with roman numerals above the setback entrance, awnings shading plate glass window displays, taxi cabs waiting curbside with doors open, and a couple of white women fashionably attired standing beneath the shade of the awnings window shopping. Parked curbside was a Negro-

49. Gene Thornton, "People Won Out Over Landscapes," *New York Times*, June 24, 1984.
50. Wolcott interview, 9.
51. Stryker to Post, December 27, 1938.

operated pedal taxi, sometimes referred to as an "Afromobile," with a black man seated waiting in the sun for a fare. "By no means are all the images strongly polemical. She was, after all, working for the FSA," Sally Stein has noted. "Yet one cannot help noticing in her images the recurrent concern with such difficult and persistently devisive issues as class and race."[52]

During her FSA years, Marion became a seasoned professional. Despite the thousands of miles traveled and photographs taken, she never ceased being surprised. "Jesus, what a country this is," she once confided to Stryker. "I continue to be startled and shocked and amazed, no matter what I've expected."[53] The backward conditions that she encountered in so many places always seemed to surprise and impress her the most. "I didn't realize that it was still this way in this country, in the United States."[54] FSA people were fond of saying that the agency "introduced Americans to America."[55] Marion Post played an important role in introducing Florida people, places, and events to America, and she learned a great deal about herself and the state in the process.

52. Sally Stein, "Marion Post Wolcott: Thoughts on Some Lesser Known FSA Photographs," in James Alinder, ed., *Marion Post Wolcott: FSA Photographs* (Carmel, CA, 1984), 4.
53. Post to Stryker, January n. d., 1939.
54. Wolcott interview, 16.
55. Stryker and Wood, *In This Proud Land,* 9.

FLORIDA MANUSCRIPT ACQUISITIONS AND ACCESSIONS

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

The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, has acquired the following major manuscript collections: Papers of the American Civil Liberties Union of Florida, 1955-1981; Florida Citrus Mutual papers, 1948-1973; the papers of Sidney Walter Martin, 1935-1972; and papers of the Sierra Club, Florida Chapter, 1964-the present. The library has also accessioned twenty-six reels of microfilm from the United States National Archives pertaining to: admiralty final record books of the United States District Court of the Southern District of Florida (Key West), 1828-19 11; military records of Florida organizations in the Mexican War; letters received by the Department of Justice from the State of Florida, 1871- 1884; and records of Florida postmasters' appointments, 1832-September 30, 1871. The library also acquired the papers of Captain Ebenezer J. Cracker of the brig *Mount Hope,* detailing cargo manifests, invoices, and receipts; letters, clippings, and reports from the Catholic Diocese of St. Augustine concerning Catholic Italians in Tampa; and the papers of G. Albert DeVane and Russell Kay.

The Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, has added to its manuscript collection photographs, letters, and land deeds to the Susan Bradford Eppes Collection, 1850-1940; correspondence, minutes, and record books from the Florida Division of the United Confederate Veterans, 1892-1938; William P. Slusser papers, 1859-1877, detailing the business transactions of a Tallahassee merchant; Evelyn Whitfield Henry scrapbooks; President A. A. Murphree letterpress books from the Florida Female College, 1902-1908; and store account books, 1929-1939, from northeast Leon County.

The John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola, has accessioned records of the Pensacola chapter of the

Professional Secretaries International; Baars Family papers; Civil War letters of Melvan Tibbetts, a Maine soldier stationed in Pensacola, 1862-1864; and the Frederick Greenhut papers. The library added the Panton, Leslie & Company papers and the Vicente Pintado papers to its microfilm collection.

The Florida Collection of the Florida State Library has added to its manuscript collection the Thomas S. Jesup diary, October 1, 1836-May 30, 1837 (Second Seminole War), and microfilm of the Panton, Leslie & Company papers. Also accessioned were miscellaneous Florida newspapers dating primarily from the 1880s to 1900s and an original copy of the *Floridan*, February 25, 1837. The library also acquired several broadsides of state government correspondence, and a typescript of a letter published in the *Edgefield* (South Carolina) *Advertiser*, April 25, 1845, describing the visit of the Reverend William B. Johnson to Tallahassee.

The Florida State Archives of the State Library of Florida has added to its manuscript collection the personal correspondence of Governor John W. Martin, 1936-1937; *Florida State University Law Review*, source files, 1985; Florida Educational Association records, 1886-1983; scrapbooks of the Gadsden County Home Demonstration Club, 1935-2940; William E. Parmenter, Jr., diaries and journals, 1884-1932; Joseph E. Lee papers; Governor Cary A. Hardee scrapbook, 1921-1925; Dr. Mark F. Boyd collection; records of Pisgah United Methodist Church; and the papers of Congressman Don Fuqua. Also acquired were the records of Florida State Hospital, 1890s-1970s and Jefferson County Court, 1828-1890. The State Photographic Archives added images from Woodville and Wakulla County; Charles Foster WPA collection; William Dreggors, Jr., Volusia County collection; L'Avant Studio collection of Tallahassee photographs; Mike Ewen collection of Tallahassee photographs; Mark Wallhauser collection of *Tallahassee Democrat* photographs; and Bureau of Tourism films from the Department of Commerce.

The St. Augustine Historical Society has accessioned the records of Flagler Memorial Presbyterian Church, 1820-1985; St. Augustine city papers, municipal dockets, 1904-1906; and the St. Augustine Yacht Club minute book, 1876-1894. Also acquired were copies of letters dated 1843, 1844, 1848, 1849, and 1854, from the United States Treasury Department to the Un-

ited States Marshall, United States District Attorney, clerk of United States Courts, judge of Superior Court, surveyor general, disbursing agent, and the receiver of public monies; letter from St. Augustine, December 20, 1831; 184 postcards addressed to J. H. and A. L. Slater, 1906-1933; and photograph albums of St. Augustine, circa 1900 and 1930. The library also added to its microfilm collection the Spanish Florida Borderlands Calendars of the Stetson Collection, East Florida papers, and the Papeles de Cuba.

The Pensacola Historical Society has acquired the following manuscripts: Noel Davis, "A Forgotten Naval Hero in Florida Since 1921"; "St. Andrews Lodge No. 1 of Pensacola (1771-1881)," by Charles C. Boice; "Three Generations of Valentine Kirkpatrick's Family," by W. D. Kirkpatrick; "The Bell and Oldmixon Families of Pensacola," by Adrianna Spain; Harry Councellor's, "The Spearman Brewing Co."; and several nineteenth-century Pensacola maps.

The Eaton Florida History Room, Manatee County Central Library, has acquired photocopies of General and Special Orders from the United States Army Coast Artillery, pertaining to Fort Dade on Egmont Key, 1917-1919.

The Charlton W. Tebeau Library of the Historical Association of Southern Florida has accessioned the following manuscripts and photographs: 1831 New Providence (Bahamas) land grant; Judge Seymour Gelber diaries, concerning security preparations for the 1972 national presidential conventions in Miami, and hate groups in Miami, 1962-1964; papers and photographs pertaining to the history of Dade County public schools; Roland Chardon papers concerning Biscayne Bay historical geography, including facsimile maps of Florida and Biscayne Bay, 1502-1976; Jean Taylor papers dealing with the history of south Dade County; Jewish Women of Achievement oral history project (thirty-three interviews with Jewish women who have affected Dade County's development). The library has added to its photograph collection photoprints of Florida East Coast overseas railway construction, Key West, and prints of the raising and resinking of the U.S.S. *Maine*, 1900s-1910s; exhibition photoprints of buildings designed by architect Igor Polevitsky; circuit photographs of Jackie Ott and swimming events in southeast Florida, 1920s-1930s; and photoprints of black housing in Liberty City and Brownsville, Miami, 1950s.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Idea of Florida in the American Literary Imagination. By Anne E. Rowe. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986. xiii, 159 pp. Acknowledgments, abbreviations, introduction, epilogue, bibliography, index. $25.00.)

This useful book is not a study of Florida writers or a history of Florida in literature, but rather an account of the way the idea of Florida has intrigued and nagged the imaginations of some of the American writers who have encountered the area. Considered in turn are William Bartram, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Washington Irving, Albery Whitman, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Edward King, Sidney Lanier, Constance Fenimore Woolson, Stephen Crane, Henry James, Ring Lardner, Ernest Hemingway, Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, James Branch Cabell, and Wallace Stevens.

The duration, intensity, and significance of their encounters vary greatly– from the week it took Henry James to become appalled by the "Vanity Fair in full blast" at Palm Beach, to the two-and-a-half decades that Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings spent enchanted at Cross Creek. Between these limits fall some fascinating tales and also a few hardly worth telling.

Some anecdotal history is included. In Prince Achille Murat, living on a plantation near Tallahassee, Ralph Waldo Emerson met "his first superhuman in the flesh." Washington Irving mythologized Governor William Pope DuVal's confrontation with the Seminoles and plagarized Bartram in the process. Stephen Crane took up with a Jacksonville madam, Cora Taylor of the Hotel de Dreme, and spent his few last years writing feverishly to support her. And Cabell's collaboration with the "meticulously professional" A. J. Hanna on *The St. John's: A Parade of Diversities* was a "mind wrecking job."

More seriously, Rowe's literary analyses tend to occupy the middle ground in her assemblages of received critical opinion. She sides with Jonathan Yardley, for example, in finding Ring Lardner's story "The Golden Honeymoon" less bitter than Clifton Fadiman did, yet hardly up to the judgment of H. L. Mencken that it had more "sheer reality" and "expert craftsman-

ship" than the whole canon of Henry James. And there are errors. Hemingway's "The Three-Day Blow" is a Nick Adams story set in Michigan, not a scathing article about the 1935 hurricane, although he did write about that storm. Indeed, Rowe's efforts to interweave something of the historical record from the Spanish conquest to World War II are mechanical, relying heavily on J. E. Dovell's four-volume *Florida: Historic, Dramatic, Contemporary* (1952).

Rowe's collage of the literary image of Florida– as variously seductive and Edenic, as well as prophetically dystopian– is a handy compendium of fact and opinion, but it falls short of the possibilities of the genre to be seen, for example, in the breadth, depth, and vigor of the first volume of Kevin Starr's projected trilogy: *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915* (1973) and *Inventing the Dream. California Through the Progressive Era* (1985). The dream of Florida awaits its analyst.

Florida International University RICHARD DWYER

Indians, Colonists, and Slaves: Essays in Memory of Charles H. Fairbanks. Edited by Kenneth W. Johnson, Jonathan M. Leader, and Robert C. Wilson. (Gainesville: Florida Anthropology Students Association, 1985. viii, 252 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, illustrations. $15.00.)

This volume is a collection of papers written by students and former students in memory of the late Charles H. Fairbanks. In each article, Fairbanks's concern for his students and his interest in broadly-based anthropological inquiry are evident. Although each contribution reflects Fairbanks's influence, they all provide new information independently generated by the authors.

The opening essays review Fairbanks's career. The first is a composite created from an oral history interview with Fairbanks by Robert C. Wilson in 1982, and a review of his career compiled by Kathleen A. Deagan. This is followed by Jerald T. Milanich's reminiscences of Fairbanks during his days at the University of Florida, especially his field schools. These chapters provide historical background on Fairbanks's career and the intellectual climate in which he worked.

Fairbanks's interest in prehistory is reflected in three articles. Vernon James Knight, Jr., reports on the way structures and public works reinforce ritual concepts and symbols at the Cemochechobee site in southwest Georgia. Barbara Purdy reviews prehistoric lithic technologies and problems associated with thermoluminiscent dating of heated cherts. Thomas DesJean, Irvy R. Quitmyer, and Karen Jo Walker report on the Swift Creek component at the Kings Bay Site in southeast Georgia. This last article reflects Fairbanks's interest in combining biological and archaeological data in the study of archaeological sites.

The essay by Yulee W. Lazarus on efforts to construct a temple-style shelter on the Fort Walton Temple Mound reflects the importance Fairbanks placed on public education and his work with amateur archaeologists.

Fairbanks's interest in the colonial period is reflected in four articles. Charles Ewen reports on recent work at the Ximenez-Fatio house in St. Augustine, a site long associated with Fairbanks and backyard archaeology. Jeffrey M. Mitchem, Marvin T. Smith, Albert C. Goodyear, and Robert R. Allen discuss recent work with early sixteenth-century European artifact assemblages recovered from the Weeki Wachee and Ruth Smith mounds on the Florida Gulf coast. Martin F. Dickinson and Lucy B. Wayne report on recent excavations at a Seminole village in Marion County. A review of past work on Spanish Florida missions and a brief outline of research currently being conducted at San Pedro y San Pablo de Patale and San Luis de Talimali, both near Tallahassee, is provided by Rochelle A. Marrinan.

Fairbanks's work on plantations is reflected, very appropriately, by Karen Jo Walker's current work on the Kingsley plantation. Fairbanks also considered historical documentation important, as reflected in the contribution by Jonathan M. Leader on slavery in Islam based on interpretations of the Qur'an, Madhaib, and Hadith.

Three contributions reflect Fairbanks's concern with archaeological method and theory. John W. Clauser, Jr., follows up on Fairbanks's call for backyard archaeology by exploring the relationship of activity areas and structures at several sites in North Carolina. Kenneth E. Lewis provides a study of discard and abandonment of historic sites, while Carol I. Mason uses

Winnebago data to discuss use of ethnographic examples for archaeological interpretations.

It is clear from this volume that Fairbanks's contribution to the intellectual growth of his students has been large and is gratefully acknowledged. However, the volume is more than a student effort to honor the memory of a professor. Although assembled primarily by students, the volume is of professional quality and the essays contribute substantively to the field. For this reason the volume contributes not only to Fairbanks's memory, but to the field of archaeology. Fairbanks's legacy to archaeology is obviously extensive and will be long-lasting.

University of Georgia ELIZABETH J. REITZ

The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life. Edited by Theresa A. Singleton. (Orlando: Academic Press, Inc., 1985. xvii, 338 pp. Contributors, preface, acknowledgments, introduction, index. $68.00; $57.00 paper.)

The study of Afro-American slaves in the New World has been a perennial topic among historians, anthropologists, and other social scientists. Yet, social scientists have learned far more about the institution of slavery than about the slaves themselves. Since the vast majority of New World slaves were nonliterate, it was invariably white observers (government officials, travelers, and planters) who left descriptions of slave life. Despite their worth, these white-authored sources have obvious limitations; they record the biased observations of outsiders who were only partly aware of the reality of slave life.

Recognizing the problems in the white-authored sources about slavery, archaeologist Charles Fairbanks initiated plantation archaeology in the 1960s with his excavations of slave cabins on abandoned plantations in Georgia and Florida. By excavating slave dwellings, Fairbanks hoped to find tangible evidence about slave housing, food, furnishings, and lifeways which was not reported in the white historical sources.

Since Fairbanks's pioneering efforts, others have turned to the archaeological record to find material evidence about slave life, The results of many of these excavations are presented in

Theresa Singleton's edited book on slave and plantation archaeology. The thirteen chapters in Singleton's book describe plantations which date from the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Most of the plantation studies are from Georgia and South Carolina, but there is one chapter on a Mississippi plantation and two chapters on British West Indian estates.

As might be expected, many of the papers are highly technical, presenting the archaeological data of settlement and artifactual patterns. Professional archaeologists will find these chapters comprehensible. Historical readers may find them bewildering.

One chapter which will prove highly useful to historians is the paper authored by Elizabeth Reitz, Ted Rathbun, and Tyson Gibbs. It is a technical but highly readable study of slave diet and health on antebellum southeastern plantations. Especially important is their confirmation that plantation slaves greatly improved their diets by hunting, fishing, and collecting wild foods during their leisure hours.

University of Maryland JOHN S. OTTO

The Papers of Jefferson Davis, Volume 5, *1853-1855.* Edited by Linda Lasswell Crist and Mary Seaton Dix. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985. xliii , 557 pp. Introduction by Robert M. Utley, acknowledgments, editorial staff, editorial method, symbols and abbreviations, repository symbols, chronology, appendix I and II, sources, index. $37.50.)

There is a note of cheerfulness in this, the fifth volume of Jefferson Davis's correspondence. Earlier ones at times showed him much pricklier. (The unexpected death of the Davis couple's firstborn in 1854 was, however, a sad and sobering blow.) Davis's more settled temper was owing to his suitability as a peacetime secretary of war. He happily plunged into departmental affairs supported by the prestige of cabinet rank, the backing of President Pierce, the opportunity to travel widely on government and political business, and the comforts of a full home life in a well-appointed mansion within two blocks of his office. Not many nineteenth-century politicians– in fact anybody then or now– could boast of so agreeable an arrangement.

Davis's initial reaction to President-elect Pierce's blandishments had been negative and probably sincerely so. The Mississippi leader was then nursing wounded self-esteem after the State-Rights Democracy had suffered setbacks in 1852. Nonetheless, Pierce, though no towering political genius, served himself, Davis, and the country well in making the appointment. He proved to be one of the most efficient, forward-thinking, and effective secretaries of war in the nineteenth century. Among his achievements was the adoption of the rifled musket and "minie" ball, innovations that stimulated further experiments in artillery and infantry technology and tactics. Also, he took unprecedented interest in western territorial defenses. Davis discovered, however, that the behind-the-hand sneers of politically ambitious General John Wool in San Francisco were as nettlesome as the hit-and-run hostilities of some inland tribes. As Robert M. Utley's brief but useful introduction notes, Davis also tried to shake up the army staff organization by replacing a deadly seniority system with rotation in office. But the long entrenched commanders were more than a match for him or any other transient secretary serving at presidential pleasure.

Davis fared no better in his lengthy, public, and acrimonious dispute with Winfield Scott, the commanding general. With feathers throughly ruffled, Scott spoke solely to Pierce, as commander-in-chief, and only when protocol required. The unseemly squabble involved the old rivalry between Scott and Zachary Taylor, Davis's revered father-in-law by his first marriage, and it included memories of the hot words spoken during the presidential campaign in which Scott had lost to Pierce.

The volume, consisting of some 9,000 letters and other items, shows Davis hoping to swing California and New Mexico into the slavery camp, largely to restore the sectional equilibrium of the Senate. Gossip about politicians and more serious appraisals of the Kansas debacle also give the correspondence interest. Moreover, it is clear that Davis was constantly attentive about his political prospects back home; as a result he simply moved from War office to Senate office on March 4, 1857. The accuracy and diligence of the editorial work are beyond criticism. The references are always helpful and conveniently placed. Perhaps the appendices which summarize official business, for the most part, could have been omitted and the space used to better advantage. Specialists are not saved a trip to the archives for the full docu-

ments, and the ordinary reader is unlikely to find use for summations. Apart from that objection, however, we must commend the fine work of this team of experts at Rice University.

University of Florida BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN

On the Threshold of Freedom: Masters and Slaves in Civil War Georgia. By Clarence L. Mohr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986. xxi, 397 pp. List of tables, acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. $35.00.)

Clarence L. Mohr's study is an important contribution to the rapidly developing and increasingly sophisticated historiography on emancipation in the southern United States. He has mined the archival sources and uncovered a wealth of material that sheds added light on the Afro-American community and on Georgia's Confederate experience. Equally important, he has attempted to show how the Civil War laid bare the meaning of slavery for white and black alike, while undermining the institution from within as well as from without.

The social crisis of the Civil War, Mohr suggests, commenced not with the firing on Fort Sumter but in the aftermath of John Brown's raid of October 1859, when the white supremacists and fireaters gained the upper hand in the state political circles and launched a brutal offensive against blacks, slave and especially those who were free. Although they did not succeed on all fronts, these radicals lent a particularly ugly cast to race relations and set the prevailing tone until the last two years of the war, when the initiative passed to moderate reformers who sought a gradual amelioration of chattel bondage.

This shift very much reflected what few white Southerners were willing to concede but, nevertheless, could not fail to see: the steady unraveling of the master-slave relation. The early Federal occupation of the Georgia coast, slave flight from the plantations and active support for the Union military effort, mass refugeeing into the interior, Confederate demands on white manpower and resources, and the exigencies of a rapid industrial build-up served to "stretch thin" the bonds of slavery. By 1864, the institution that slaveholders and their allies were

fighting to defend was well along the road of transition— a transition forged, in great measure, by black assertiveness; and a road that could not lead back to the status quo ante bellum regardless of the war's outcome.

Mohr elaborates his arguments with considerable care and attention to the nuances of the subjects and diversity of Georgia's Civil War history. Particularly impressive is his chapter on "Blacks and Wartime Industrialization," which demonstrates not only the black role (under duress) in supplying and sustaining the Confederacy, but also the transforming effect that role had upon the blacks themselves. With extensive documentation, Mohr provides the fullest picture we have for any Confederate state of slaves in war-related industries and services.

Mohr occasionally runs a bit harder with his subthemes than the evidence will comfortably bear: with the primacy of race and the fundamentally capitalist character of slavery and the slaveholders. He also gives, in my view, more significance to "ameliorative gradualism" during the war and to the antislavery leanings of southern evangelical reform before the war than either deserves. As Mohr admits, "the campaign to ameliorate Georgia bondage produced abundant rhetoric but meager results" (p. 261). Nonetheless, he has written a book that will be of great value for historians of the nineteenth-century South and that will prove indispensable for historians of Georgia and the Civil War.

University of California, San Diego STEVEN HAHN

Why the South Lost the Civil War. By Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, and William N. Still, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986. xi, 582 pp. Introduction, prologue, epilogue, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

The epitaph game is back. "Here lies the Confederacy. Died of — ." Invented, no doubt, in a southern parlor after Appomattox, the epitaph game has intrigued historians ever since. The present work is the most extensive analysis of the causes of Confederate defeat to be found anywhere in Civil War historiog-

raphy. Written by four well-known historians of the Confederacy, this volume proceeds on the belief that the principal customary explanations of defeat are not adequate. State rights, military concerns, and economic and resource problems do not by themselves provide the answer. The authors, therefore, search for something more central, more ultimate. This search leads through an analysis of the interrelationships of various Confederate problems. Especially important is the connection between military and social-domestic challanges. As the end of the war drew near, the South saw its danger but could think only of military responses. Thus, in the authors' view, historians cannot separate military and non-military explanations of defeat.

"The dynamics of giving up provide the key to why the South lost," say the authors (p. 31). Their explanation thus turns on psychological, behavioral, and emotional factors, expressed most inclusively as "failure of will." Much of the discussion revolves around Confederate nationalism and why it was too weak to sustain the military effort. The South had inadequate nationalism because so much of what normally underlies that phenomenon was shared with the North. Language, history, and tradition united the sections rather than dividing them. Even heros were shared– witness the assignment of Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson to places on Confederate postage stamps. "A mystical sense of unity never developed in the hearts and minds of Southern people." Religion also played a key role. To Americans who strongly believed that God controlled human events, military victory was a sign of providential favor, and thus it supported morale and encouraged convictions of rectitude. Conversely, military losses would be a portent of divine rejection and consequently a serious blow to morale. Slavery looms large in the analysis as the only element that truly distinguished North and South and the thing with which other minor sectional differences were somehow connected. A deepening sense of guilt over slavery and a war to maintain it would therefore further undermine southern nationalism and the will to continue fighting.

This book is essentially an extended historiographic essay explaining how contemporaries and historians have treated the elements of Confederate defeat. The structure is therefore topical and the result is a highly significant work of synthesis. A

large amount of work has gone into its development. However, the exposition of the main theme is at times convoluted. Lines of argument become lost in a maze of theories, interpretations, and evidence. The social psychological theory of cognitive dissonance gets heavy use as an explanatory tool, though its employment is often intrusive and not fully enlightening. As for the customary causations that are examined and rejected, they are often dismissed before the reader is convinced that the authors' theories are prevailing. No one can deny the importance of behavioral and emotional motivation, but in this book the balance may have shifted a little too far in that direction.

The book harmonizes with treatments of the war's causes that stress slavery as opposed to state rights. As for Reconstruction, the linkages are less clear. "The South lost the War but won the Reconstruction" is the overall approach, but no clear understanding arises from the spotty but intentional effort to compare southern attitudes in early 1865 with those shown later in the year.

The authors deserve commendation for undertaking a very complex task. Many of their points have merit, and the book can profitably be read by a wide audience encompassing the academic and non-academic. They have not offered a narrative of the war, nor have they sought to make their interpretations definitive. Instead, they sought to synthesize, to provide a basis for further reflection, and to stimulate continued discussion. In this they have succeeded well. The epitaph game goes on.

California State University, Northridge JAMES E. SEFTON

The Papers of Andrew Johnson, Volume 7, 1864-1865. Edited by LeRoy P. Graf. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986. lxxxviii, 730 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, editorial, method, chronology, appendices, index. $39.50.)

Between July 1, 1864, and April 30, 1865, the period covered by the seventh volume of his papers, Andrew Johnson made the transition from military governor of Tennessee to president of the United States. As Abraham Lincoln's running mate in the 1864 election, he brought support to the "Union"

ticket from opposite extremes, from both conservative Democrats and Radical Republicans. Before leaving Tennessee, he completed the task of restoring a free-state government. From his inauguration as vice-president– when he disgraced himself with a drunken tirade– to his inauguration as president, he had no significant contact with Lincoln; he did not even have an audience with him until the day of the assassination. Like Harry S Truman at the winding down of a later war, Andrew Johnson took over the responsibility of postwar reconstruction without benefit of any briefing from his predecessor.

Even before he assumed the presidency, correspondents appealed to him in the hope of influencing presidential policy. Advise Lincoln to appoint Montgomery Blair as chief justice, Blair's father urged Johnson on November 17, 1864, so as to further the Lincoln-Johnson plan of reconstruction. The elder Blair assumed that this plan meant fulfilling Johnson's pledge to lead blacks, as their "Moses," to a promised land, and that this land would be a Negro reservation somewhere in the South. Tennessee blacks were still counting on Johnson to lead them to real freedom.

"Will you be pleased to allow me again to . . . ask for your interest & influence in my behalf, relative to the favor, I have been soliciting from the President," the widow of former President James K. Polk wrote Johnson on March 3, 1865. Mrs. Polk was seeking a Federal permit for the sale of cotton. She was one of a great many Tennesseans requesting favors or offering advice.

The Johnson correspondence is especially valuable for what it reveals about the concerns of Tennesseans and other Americans during this period. There are few actual letters written by Johnson, as is true in previous volumes in this series, but he expresses himself in the several speeches that are included. Lacunae in the records, Lincoln's as well as Johnson's, leave some mysteries in regard to the relations between the two men. Why, for example, did President Lincoln have so little to do with Vice-President Johnson?

This volume, like those preceding it, contains a thorough biographical introduction, which not only provides a perfect setting for the documents, but, together with the other introductions in the series, will constitute in its own right an admirable study of Johnson's career. The editing continues to be impecca-

ble. LeRoy P. Graf and his fellow editors deserve the deepest gratitude of everyone interested in the era of the sectional controversy.

Hinsdale, Illinois RICHARD N. CURRENT

An Old Creed for the New South: Proslavery Ideology and Historiography, 1865-1918. By John David Smith. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985. ix, 314 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, select bibliography, index. $35.00.)

John David Smith of North Carolina State University has written a significant and informative book about the place of black slavery in American thought, especially historiography, from the end of the Civil War to World War I. His main finding is that continuity of ideology– proslavery as well as antislavery– characterized the entire period. After Appomattox the old arguments appeared anew, virtually unchanged despite slavery's demise. So Smith has a very useful summary and analysis of many statements and many writings, especially those of historians of this generation, about slavery in these years when the country emerged as modern America and the dominant southern white positions of segregation, white supremacy, and disfranchisement of southern blacks were largely accepted by the rest of the country.

The book is clearly written and is based on an impressive list of manuscripts, government documents, newspapers, books, pamphlets, articles, book reviews, and theses and dissertations. At places it is too detailed and somewhat tedious, but overall it is a fine piece of scholarship that makes a contribution to the history of American Negro slavery.

Smith has divided his book into two parts. The shorter one shows how proslavery and antislavery polemicists continued the old slavery debate in the period from Appomattox to Versailles. The longer one shows how slavery became a leading topic of historical inquiry in the same period. The forces of nationalism and "scientific" history, then current in Western Europe and the United States inspired hundreds of scholarly monographs and articles on slavery. The pioneer historians of these years

anticipated many of the topics and themes on slavery examined by modern scholars.

According to Smith the "vast majority" of southern whites after the Civil War continued to regard blacks as slave-like inferiors and were determined to keep blacks as a subordinate laboring class. Whites loathed surrendering the etiquette of slavery. They revived nearly every old rationale for enslaving blacks, and when those lost any sense of relevancy, they added new ones. In this they had the support of "conservative Northerners."

But these proslavery arguments only fueled the resurgence of northern antislavery thought, and northern opponents of slavery continued to denounce the institution into the twentieth century. While they restated the old antislavery positions and condemned slavery vigorously they also "subscribed to contemporary racism and held little commitment to black advancement."

Smith contends that the polemics of the slavery debate of the post-Civil War years established the ideological basis for the writings of the first generation of historians of slavery which he analyzes in detail in the second and longer part of his book. Many of these historians wrote at at time when southern white legislatures were legalizing segregation and disfranchisement of southern blacks and when there was de facto segregation and racism in the North. Despite their efforts at "scientific" and detached history, which many of them learned at the new Johns Hopkins University under Herbert Baxter Adams, they "succumbed to the dictates of the old slavery debate. Ideology ultimately prevailed over historical method."

While black historians like W. E. B. Du Bois and white historians like von Holst, Schouler, and McMaster severely criticized slavery, the new proslavery argument finally carried the day in the age of segregation. Smith shows that the "vast majority of white students of slavery writing in these years from James C. Ballagh, a leading member of the Hopkins school, to Ulrich B. Phillips, the nation's foremost historian of the South and of slavery of that generation, emphasized slavery's overall benefit for blacks. They interpreted slavery as a benign school in which blacks fared better than freedmen." Like the polemicists before them, the vast majority of white historians in these years championed some variant of the proslavery argument.

Smith has ably succeeded in his purpose, covered his subject in rich detail, squeezed a considerable amount from his various sources, organized his material in an understandable manner, and has clearly expressed himself. His fine book can be read with profit by scholars, college students, and the reading public alike.

University of Notre Dam VINCENT P. DESANTIS

The Southern Railway: Road of the Innovators. By Burke Davis. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985. viii, 309 pp. Preface, index. $19.95.)

The Southern Railway System, created out of the ruins of a bankrupt holding company during the 1890s eventually grew into a prosperous 10,500-mile rail giant, spreading into ten southern and three midwestern states. But under that name, the Southern Railway is no more. In 1982 it merged with the Norfolk & Western to form the Norfolk Southern Corporation, an 18,000-mile colossus that is now the fourth largest, and probably the most profitable, rail system in the United States.

Burke Davis is a gifted popular writer. *The Southern Railway* is easy to read and helps illuminate for a period of eight decades the inner workings of a major transportation corporation. But this book is not objective history. Nor, outside of the obvious fact that the author interviewed surviving past presidents of the company, is the reader informed about source materials. This is not to quibble over the mere absence of footnotes, but at least a basic bibliography should have been included.

As a public relations endeavor, *The Southern Railway* must be considered a success. Virtually every sentence is upbeat. All nine presidents, from Samuel Spencer in 1894, to Harold Hall in 1982, were, according to Davis, innovative, dedicated gentlemen who, with exception of the first president, were ideally suited to build upon the achievements of their predecessors. Published by the University of North Carolina Press, the book is obviously a subsidized publication; the copyright listing says: "Southern Railway Company."

The moving force behind the creation of the Southern Railway System in 1894 was the Wall Street banking firm Drexel,

Morgan and Company, managed by J. P. Morgan. Samuel Spencer, though southern-born and a Confederate veteran, was essentially an agent of the Morgan banking syndicate that by 1902 would also financially control the three other large railroad systems in the South: the Atlantic Coast Line, Louisville and Nashville, and the Seaboard Airline. That J. P. Morgan financed the creation of the Southern Railway System is mentioned by Davis, but he goes on to refer to the ACL, the L & N, and the Seaboard as "rivals" of the Southern which, as far as Wall Street was concerned, they were not. These major southern railways were, as C. Vann Woodward observed in *Orgins of the New South,* "provinces of a single empire."

This is not to say that because it and its alleged rivals were all dominated by Wall Street, the Southern Railway System was venal, or that its presidents were merely puppets of Yankee bankers. For all I know, all nine presidents of Southern were dedicated, high-minded, and inspirational as Davis makes them out to be. But the point is that *The Southern Railway* is not a balanced history of what certainly was a significant transportation corporation. It presents little more than the PR picture.

One irony will be obvious to most readers of this book, although it was not treated as irony by the author. The Southern Railway System consistently, and understandably from its perspective, fought all efforts at state and federal regulation. Yet President Ernest E. Norris (1937-1952), who wrathfully denounced the socialistic tendencies of the New Deal, saw nothing wrong with asking for and obtaining almost $50,000,000 in low-cost loans from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, a New Deal agency designed to prop up businesses, in danger of bankruptcy. This episode illustrates the point that most American businesses, like, I suppose, most individuals, tend to be conservative on questions about what government should do to help others, but lean toward liberalism in reference to what government might do for them.

Georgia College WILLIAM I. HAIR

Redneck Liberal: Theodore G. Bilbo and the New Deal. By Chester M. Morgan. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985. xi, 274 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, bibliography, index. $27.50.)

When Senator Theodore G. Bilbo died in 1947, he was probably the most unpopular figure in American politics. Few Americans outside of the Deep South mourned his passing, and many observers saw a measure of divine justice in his unsuccessful bout with mouth cancer. Mercifully, the purveyor of the "Bilbonic Plague" had finally uttered his last racial epithet. Within the borders of Mississippi, Bilbo retained a substantial following, as evidenced by his landslide victory in the 1946 Democratic primary and by the local popularity of his book, *Take Your Choice: Separation or Mongrelization* (1947). But elsewhere he was a political pariah. Even among fellow white supremacist leaders, Bilbo was seen as a menacing aberration, an unpredictable extremist who gave the white South a bad name. His alleged financial collusion with war contractors and his advocacy of violence as a means of preventing black suffrage led to a 1946 Senate investigation and ultimately to censure by his colleagues, who refused to allow him to take the oath of office after his reelection.

This is the Theodore Bilbo that most Americans remember today– the mean-spirited bigot who hurled rhetorical barbs at Jews and Italians, who gloried in "back to Africa" admonitions, and who directed his final campaign against "all the negros, communists, negro lovers and advocates of social equality who poured out their slime and money in Mississippi" (p. 251). But this is not the Theodore Bilbo that dominates the pages of Chester Morgan's provocative and imaginative study, *Redneck Liberal.* Focusing on the 1930s and Bilbo's career as a New Deal senator, Morgan depicts a serious dedicated reformer who went down the line for Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal. During these years, according to Morgan, Bilbo was neither an unprincipled demagogue nor an obsessive bigot. Prior to 1940, when he shifted to an aggressively Negrophobic stance, Bilbo all but ignored the race issue; even when race-baited by opponents who charged that his social programs were a threat to white supremacy, he rarely responded in kind. Like Hugo Black, Claude Pepper, and other liberal southern senators, Bilbo was preoc-

cupied with the collapse of the farm economy and the crushing problems of economic recovery and relief. To the dismay of Mississippi conservatives, Bilbo actively supported even the most radical of New Deal proposals, including public housing, an expanded Works Progress Administration, massive federal aid to farmers, wages and hours legislation, and the controversial court-packing scheme of 1937. Indeed, on a number of occasions, Bilbo's passion for social and economic reform placed him well to the left of White House policy. Of course, all of this reform activity was cast in his inimitable redneck style. Thus, despite his unfailing support for New Deal programs, Bilbo was generally unpopular among other New Deal Democrats, many of whom disliked his crude manners and vulgar showboating.

This is an impressive book. It is well-written and carefully researched, and its arguments are generally convincing. The author's partial rehabilitation of Bilbo's reputation may be shocking to some readers, but within the context of the existing literature on Bilbo– most notably, A. Wigfall Green's *The Man Bilbo* (1963) and Albert D. Kirwan's *Revolt of the Rednecks* (1951)– his conclusions are only mildly revisionist. Morgan's depiction of Bilbo as a crusading neo-Populist is a bit overdrawn, but the basic thesis that he was sincerely interested in economic and social reform is well-founded. The book's major weakness is its inattention to the social bases of Mississippi politics. Although Morgan gives us a richly-textured portrait of Bilbo the politician, he tells us surprisingly little about the grass-roots political culture that spawned and sustained "The Man." Morgan's brief epilogue on the post-1940 era is also somewhat problematic. Regrettably, he provides no satisfactory explanation for Bilbo's belated conversion to the politics of bigotry. Thus, in the end, despite the author's considerable efforts, Biblo remains an enigmatic figure. Nevertheless, Morgan's work presents a welcome challenge to glib generalizations about southern politics and goes a long way towards refuting the conventional wisdom that "redneck liberalism" is an oxymoron.

University of South Florida RAYMOND ARSENAULT

Southern Liberal Journalists and the Issue of Race, 1920-1944. By John T. Kneebone. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985. xx, 312 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. $26.00.)

With rather genteel irony, similar to the fate of southern Unionists before the Civil War, five articulate southern liberal spokesmen who championed racial justice in their salad days as journalists, the 1920s and 1930s, merged into the conservative, segregationist status quo after World War II when black protests ignited the Civil Rights movement.

In this compelling study, John T. Kneebone focuses on the lives and careers of Gerald W. Johnson, *Baltimore Sun;* George Fort Milton, *Chattanooga* News; Virginius Dabney, *Richmond Times-Dispatch;* Ralph McGill, *Atlanta Constitution;* and Hodding Carter, *Greenville (Miss.) Delta Democrat-Times.* Alike in ideology if not background, and writing from different regions of the South, they spoke as Southerners, with deep roots in the southern past. The journalists, reaching national audiences with their editorials, essays, articles, and books, viewed injustice and prejudice as aberrations and legacies of an unnecessary Civil War. They preferred reform from within the South's social system. Kneebone contends they nonetheless failed in their two-fold mission as social reformers, trying to educate southern white masses and explain the region to Northerners in order to discourage outside interference in southern affairs.

They maintained that slavery bore the seeds of it own demise, invalidating causes for war. They believed that Reconstruction had traumatized the process of southern change and caused political and social unrest. The Progressive era brought back a semblance of order, restoring a delicate balance, and the journalists dedicated themselves to maintaining social harmony while nurturing progress by increasing urbanization and industrialization.

The five writers under examination criticized the southern social scene, challenging excesses of fundamentalism, the Klan, lynching, and prohibition. They believed race relations could become humane and equitable, political practices could become rationalized, and all Southerners could enjoy economic security.

They perceived southern poverty, political perversity, and racial injustice as unhappy products of war and Reconstruction

with their roots deepest in the rural, backward South. As the South progressed, by their definition, the competition, hatreds, and insecurity that had spawned the Jim Crow system would disappear. Racial justice and social reform would come to the South.

Kneebone contends southern liberalism shattered during World War II when the journalists' enthusiasm for the war against facism diminished anti-war doctrines and undercut earlier notions that the Civil War had demonstrated the futility of war in principle. Yet, rather than leading to a revision of the journalists' thinking, the following years of sectional and racial conflict found them vainly reasserting their old doctrines.

Kneebone portrays an ambivalent figure: advocates speaking out of a system of legalized white supremacy, many endorsing Mark Ethridge's 1942 statement that "there is no power in the world– not even all the mechanized armies of the earth, Allied and Axis– which could now force the Southern White people to abandonment of the principle of social segregation." By the end of World War II, the journalists particular southern liberalism was moribund– a victim of its own inner contraditions– underscored by the emerging black protest movement.

Once civil rights protests accelerated, the journalists found themselves in the same peculiar situation as their spiritual ancestors. The liberals, now sounding hollow with doctrines that had once challanged complacency, alerted Southerners to the necessity for reform and justified southern liberalism. But, fearing upheaval from organized protest amid shadows of violence darkening the southern landscape, the southern liberals made their choices, between the South and the nation, between segregation and civil rights.

Kneebone provides a compelling view of a predominant strand of southern liberalism that, like slavery, contained seeds of its own demise. As the real racial revolution began, the self-proclaimed liberals invested much of their energies in keeping the South silent rather than searching for the silent South. His milestone work signals the importance of the New Deal-World War II period in the evolution of the human rights struggle.

Pensacola News Journal JESSE EARLE BOWDEN

A Master's Due: Essays in Honor of David Herbert Donald. Edited by William J. Cooper, Jr., Michael F. Holt, and John McCardell. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985. vi, 297 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, bibliography, contributors, index. $30.00.)

Festshrifts are a funny business. They are private parties, at which one older man and a number of middle-aged men, toast one another, and the reader hangs around in the back of the room trying not to look intrusive. *A Master's Due* is a more than usual private party. Ari Hoogenboom in his introduction, "David Herbert Donald: A Celebration," explains: "We did not write this book to celebrate the scholar. His devotion to teaching and his concern for students bind us to him." True to this, the introduction is a history of Donald the teacher, his care with students, his red pencil, his apartment, his demeanor at conventions, his adeptness at finding jobs, his rigor. This is pleasant to know, especially in an academic world where graduate students are often treated as either useful peons or potential moles, with knowledge beyond their standing, but it is not knowledge that the reader can judge. He can only listen with polite interest, and gently suggest that it is Donald the scholar that is the issue for him, and hope no one throws a glass of wine in his direction. Private parties publicly conducted are inherently peculiar.

There are ten essays, and a bibliography of Donald's writings. A few essays are unremarkable, a few interesting, a few striking. And then there is an essay by Grady McWhiney, on the "Ethnic Roots of Southern Violence" in his recent Celtic vein, which passes beyond category into pugilism. An author who demonstrates such enthusiasm for duals, fights, eye-gougings, thievery, pistol-whippings, canings, and drunkenness is not an author whom the prudent reviewer will engage. But since it seems that one of the inalienable rights of the Celt, according to Professor McWhiney, is to run red lights and jaywalk in Dallas, the good professor may not be with us much longer to pose this dilemma.

In the unremarkable category, I am inclined to put Robert C. Kenzer's "Family, Kinship, and Neighborhood in an Antebellum Southern Community," and Sydney Natha's "'Gotta Mind to Move, A Mind to Settle Down': Afro-Americans and the Plantation Frontier." Interesting are the essays by William J. Cooper,

Jr., who deals with the politics of the Preston bill of 1849, intended to defuse the issue of slavery and the territories; by Peter Kolchin, who surveys the last generation's historiography of slavery; by Jean H. Baker, who ponders the ritual aspects of American politics in the nineteenth century; and by John McCardell, who examines the context, nature, and influence of William P. Trent's 1892 biography of William Gilmore Simms. Striking are the essays by Michael Holt, who forcefully reasserts the economic motives of voters during the Second American Party System with a text that is lucid and tables that are impenetrable; by Stanley P. Hirshon, who offers a funny and sad account of the practical difficulties of jazz musicians forced to cope with segregation; and by Irwin Unger, who scrutinizes the choice of the New Left activists between extracurricular revolution and working within established institutions.

Often, though not always, the essays of a festschrift have little to do thematically with the "master," but are a collection of whatever happened to be on the minds of the old students when the invitation to the party went out. This seems especially true here, since Donald has not fostered a school with a strict ideological line. His influence has been oddly fissiparous for so prominent a figure on the American intellectual landscape.

University of Arkansas MICHAEL O'BRIEN

Structure and Process in Southeastern Archaeology. Edited by Roy S. Dickens, Jr., and H. Trawick Ward. (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1985. 347 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, bibliography, contributors, index. $35.00.)

This is a festschrift dedicated to Joffre L. Coe, a major figure in the development of scientific archaeology in the Southeast. From the title, I expected papers discussing social structure and processes of cultural evolution in the Southeast. What I found were papers that addressed themes evident in Coe's work.

The volume has three parts. The papers in Part I address how archaeologists gather and interpret the evidence they find in the ground. The papers in Part II address culture history and

material culture in the southern Appalachians and Middle Atlantic coastal areas. The volume ends with a brief overview of Coe's career and his contributions to archaeology. To my mind, the papers in Part I are more interesting and important to a wider audience.

Coe is noted for his concern for the quality of archaeological data, and the papers in Part I reflect this concern. Jefferson Reid argues that understanding the processes that form archaeological deposits is necessary to reconstruct accurately past human behavior. His point is illustrated by Roy Dickens, Jack Wilson, and H. Trawick Ward. Wilson argues that pit contents are frequently complex products of complex behavioral patterns and thus require careful study. Dickens argues that the original function of pits affects the season in which they are abandoned. He uses plant materials from pit contents to determine where different kinds of pits were filled at several sites, finding support for his interpretation. Ward links changes in the frequency of storage pits at sites to changes in social organizations and subsistence practices. He argues that data on pits themselves, as well as their contents, can provide valuable information on prehistoric cultural adaptations. Michael Trinkley and Alexander Morrison illustrate the benefits gained from large-scale contiguous excavations. They argue that extensive block excavations, long advocated by Coe, are needed to interpret site formation, structure, and variation.

The eight papers collected in Part II reflect Coe's belief in the importance of general syntheses of archaeological data. While of less interest to those who work elsewhere, they present new data and interpretations and illustrate methodologies. Perhaps of wider interest are Stephen Davis's discussion of probabilistic sampling, Valetta Canouts's and Albert Goodyear's interpretation of "lithic scatter" sites, and John Walthall's synthetic overview of Middle Woodland sites in the south Appalachian highlands.

Structure and Process in Southeastern Archaeology is a fitting tribute to Joffre Coe. As the editors note, there is a "Coe style" of archeology, and the papers in this volume clearly reflect that style. For archaeologists working in the geographical area addressed in Part II, this volume should be required reading. But its readers should extend far beyond that area, just as Coe's influence has. The papers in Part I can serve as object lessons on the

importance of our data to students and practitioners of archaeology everywhere. Dickens and Ward say Joffre Coe taught that "interpretations of the archaeological record are only as good as the observations on which they are based, and the observations only as good as the technical skills and perceptive abilities of the archaeologist." This is a lesson that every archaeologist should learn.

Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research JOHN F. SCARRY

Spheres of Liberty: Changing Perceptions of Liberty in American Culture. By Michael Kammen. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986. xiv, 191 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, notes on liberty in American iconography, index. $19.95.)

Pleasant surprises often come in small packages, and *Spheres of Liberty* is no exception. Michael Kammen, a Pulitzer Prize winning historian, provides in brief compass an illuminating exploration of the place of liberty in American culture from the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries. This book is composed of three major chapters and a chapter-length "Notes on Liberty in American Iconography." The three substantive chapters were originally delivered as the Merle Curti Lectures at the University of Wisconsin in 1985. Each of them treats a period in the development of liberty: the first essay is on the colonial and revolutionary periods, the second, the nineteenth century writ long (the 1790s to the 1920s), and the third, the twentieth century, also writ long (the 1880s to the present). The "Notes on Liberty" section explains the cultural objects (paintings, statuary, cartoons) presented in the illustrations.

Kammen has drawn upon an eclectic body of materials, including the sermons of Puritan ministers, the words of Abraham Lincoln, the political iconography of American folk, popular, and high culture, and the the musings of Walter Lippmann. Much of the book, however, relies for its most telling discussion of liberty on the words of Supreme Court justices whose task it has been to provide practical meaning to an otherwise abstract concept.

Kammen employs these sources to argue two main points. First, that the meaning of liberty has undergone a complex historical phasing. Americans of the colonial revolutionary eras thought of liberty as essentially freedom from restraint. By the nineteenth century, however, liberty has come to mean a condition of "well-ordered freedom" in which individuals pursued their own interests but did so under the constraints of constitutional authority and the rule of law. In the words of an anonymous Boston essayist in 1804: "Where there is no law there is not liberty." In the twentieth century, liberty has been closely attached to the concept of justice, especially social justice. The dominant view in our own time has been that liberty is a substantive condition of human equality– freedom from racial, gender, and age discrimination. Taken as a whole, Kammen concludes, the spheres of American liberty have widened over the past three centuries at the same time that American culture has defined it in increasingly broad terms.

Kammen's second argument is that while these trends have been dominant, they have not been categorical. Older ideas of liberty as freedom from restraint survive today; more modern notions of liberty as equality had roots stretching back centuries. Too, Kammen is savvy enough to understand that liberty has always been a source of tension in American culture, and that one person's sense of freedom has often come at the cost of another's well being. Thus, Americans, while loving liberty, have always had to define it in relation to some other quality. The Declaration of Independence, for example, while it extolled liberty, made it coequal with life and the pursuit of happiness. The historical development of liberty, therefore, can only be explained in terms of the values that have complemented (justice, equality) and counterpoised (authority, order, property) it during each generation.

Spheres of Liberty is a lively venture in intellectual and cultural history whose message, on the eve of the bicentennial of the American Constitution, deserves a popular audience.

University of Florida KERMIT L. HALL

Voices of American Homemakers. Edited by Eleanor Arnold. (Rushville, IN: National Extension Homemakers Council, 1986. 291 pp. Forward, editor's notes, introduction, acknowledgments, list of sources. $7.00.)

This book is the result of an oral history project which was undertaken by the National Extension Homemakers Council, in celebration of its fiftieth anniversary. The project, a five-year effort to document the lives of American homemakers, was funded by a 1981 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The National Extension Homemakers Council, Inc., is a nonprofit educational organization with a membership of more than 500,000. It is one of the largest organizations of women in the United States, and it can trace its roots back to the establishment of land-grant colleges in the nineteenth century. The 1914 Smith-Lever Act provided for the colleges, under the supervision of the United States Department of Agriculture, to conduct practical demonstrations in agriculture and home economics for rural citizens. Thus was born 4-H and Home Demonstration clubs. In 1936, the National Home Demonstration Council was founded; in 1963, its name was changed to National Extension Homemakers Council.

The purposes of the oral history project were two-fold: to document the richness and worth of homemakers' lives and to show just how much they affected the fabric of American life. Interviewers in thirty-seven states including Florida collected and processed more than 200 oral interviews of women whose ages ranged from a youthful twenty-seven to a sprightly 100. The book is organized around key themes– girlhood, marriage, child rearing, food, sewing, extension agents, and demonstration clubs– and is composed entirely of the words of the homemakers themselves. The women interviewed come from all corners of the nation and presumably represent a cross-section of the socio-economic scale as well. The book focuses primarily on rural and small-town women who were homemakers between the years 1890 and 1940. The women tell what it was like to butcher hogs, wash clothes by hand on a washboard, sew for a family of ten persons, can and preserve produce from the garden, and make butter and cheese from scratch. They also describe the relief and gratitude felt when one of the new labor-

saving devices, such as electricity, refrigeration, natural gas, etc., came along and made their tasks easier. Too, they describe the practical worth and social comradery which the home demonstration clubs offered.

The women in this book are women of strength, common sense, and faith. And their words record the dignity, the techniques, the attitudes, which were associated with an occupation which dominated the life-experience of American women and which has been largely ignored by historians. Seven Florida women are included in the book. They range in age from sixty to eighty-seven, and they describe everything from using lye water as a home remedy for blood poisoning to the making of clothes out of feed sacks. One of the women, Pearl Laffitte, was a Florida extension agent for many years.

Complete sets of tapes, bound transcripts, seminar proceedings, and a copy of this book have been deposited in major libraries and archives in every state, thereby providing a valuable resource for scholars interested in agricultural history, social history, and women's history. There is a set in the University of Florida Oral History Collection, Florida State Museum, Gainesville.

Austin, Texas LINDA VANCE

Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States. By Kenneth T. Jackson. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985. x, 396 pp. Introduction, appendix, notes, index. $21.95.)

One of the most significant facets of the urban history of the United States has been the growth of suburbia. Even before the Revolutionary War, chief seaport cities like Boston, New York, and Philadelphia had developed small suburban towns on the city fringe. By 1980, more than 100,000,000 Americans, or over forty per cent of the nation's population, lived in suburbs– a larger portion than lived in cities or in rural areas. Kenneth T. Jackson's *Crabgrass Frontier* is the first complete and comprehensive history of the process by which suburbia came to dominate the American residential pattern.

Jackson dates the systematic growth of the urban periphery to the middle years of the nineteenth century. New transporta-

tion technology introduced between 1815 and 1875– especially the omnibus, the commuter railroad, and the horsecar– permitted a more widespread spatial distribution of urban population and gradually eased the residential congestion of the traditional "walking city." By the late nineteenth century, the rapid adoption of the electric streetcar opened up even more distant areas to residential development and speeded the suburbanization process. Several other developments, Jackson contends, also prompted nineteenth-century suburban expansion. For example, a changing conception of the role of family and home in American life emphasized the salutary effect of domesticity and private residential space, and the family "came to be a personal bastion against society, a place of refuge." Simultaneously, a romantic and idealized view of nature and the outdoors encouraged Americans who could afford it to distance themselves from the congestion, commercialization, and other problems of the rapidly-growing cities. The suburban ideal promised a compromise between the city and nature. Finally, the introduction in the mid-nineteenth century of a cheap, new building technology– the "balloon-frame" house-transformed home building into a profitable industry for land speculators and suburban developers.

The suburban pattern intensified in the twentieth century. The automobile displaced city mass transit systems and opened up distance fringe areas for suburban development, such as Levittown, twenty-five miles east of New York City on Long Island. Most important in the twentieth-century development of suburbia, however, was the shaping role of the federal government after the mid-1930s. Beginning with the Federal Highway Act of 1916, and culminating in the Interstate Highway Act of 1956, the federal government pumped massive funding into road building. A national transportation policy emphasizing highways, cars, and trucks ultimately siphoned population and economic activities away from the central cities and toward the urban periphery. Federal mortgage policies (FHA and VA mortgages, especially) made it possible for working-class urbanites to obtain their dream house in the suburbs, while federal tax policies gave homeowners a financial benefit not shared by renters. Urban public housing programs promoted residential segregation of the races and encouraged the image of suburbia as a haven from the problems of the city. A residential appraisal

system initiated by the Home Owners Loan Corporation resulted in the redlining and ultimate physical decay of many urban neighborhoods. The result of these government policies was a vast dispersal of urban population, particularly the white population, in the years after World War II. The poor, the blacks, and other minorities remained behind in the declining central cities.

Crabgrass Frontier is a well-crafted and literate exploration of the suburbanization process. It is based on far-reaching and imaginative research, and it offers provocative analysis on dozens of historical questions and contemporary issues related to suburbia. The book has already won the prestigious Bancroft and Parkman prizes in American history. It is a book that represents the best traditions of American historical writing.

Florida Atlantic University RAYMOND A. MOHL

BOOK NOTES

Mostly Sunny Days, A Miami Herald Salute to South Florida's Heritage is a collection of forty-one articles which describe historical events affecting the Miami-Dade County area, and the people associated with those activities, from the Spanish colonial period to the present. Most of the articles, which were published in the *Herald* from January 1985, to February 1986, were written by members of the newspaper staff. Juanita Greene, Al Burt, and Joe Crankshaw are some of the well-known staff writers represented. Thelma Peters, Jeanne Bellamy, and Nixon Smiley, all local and regional historians and writers of note, also contributed articles for the collection. More than 300 historical photographs from public archives and private collections are in *Mostly Sunny Days.* Bob Kearney edited the volume, Walter N. Strump was the designer, and Arva Moore Parks served as historical consultant. Order from Miami Herald Publishing Company, One Herald Plaza, Miami, FL 33101. The price is $19.95; add $2.00 for handling and postage.

Backward Glimpse, by Iris Bell, is the history of her family which has played an important role in the political, economic, and social life of southwest Florida. When Walter and Blanche Bell were married in 1905, he was an attorney in Fort Myers, and she was his secretary. Blanche was the first woman "typewriter" in Fort Myers. Walter was also mayor of Fort Myers. Both were descendants of Florida pioneers. The Bells lived at various times in Tampa, Sanford, Orlando, and Arcadia where he served as county judge of DeSoto County. When he was in the state legislature, serving terms both in the house and the senate, he urged the passage of a bill that would have made the University of Florida and Florida State College for Women coeducational years before that finally happened. Walter Bell had many interests; he owned and edited the then *Sanford Chronicle* and taught school in Georgia for a term. The histories of the Williams and Herndon families are also included in Mrs. Bell's book. It may be ordered from the author: Box 457, Venice, FL 32284; the price is $10.00, plus postage.

Temple Israel, the Reform congregation of Tallahassee, is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary this year, 1987, and to commemorate the event, it has published its history. *Temple Israel of Tallahassee, Florida, 1937-1987* is by Claire B. Levenson. The illustrations editor is Berdie M. Mandlekern. Jews were living in Tallahassee and Leon County before the Civil War. A report in the *American Israelite,* December 21, 1860, notes the presence of "15 Israelites– four families and one single man. Three are merchants, 2 harness makers, and 2 are bookkeepers." The Tallahassee paper carried a notice in 1871 of the Jewish New Year's observance. In 1875, there were nine Jewish families in Tallahassee and a Sunday school, conducted by Jacob Burkheim, in operation. Jews continue to play an active role in the economic, political, and social life of the area. Temple Israel was founded by some twenty-five families in 1957. Until it had its own building, the community worshipped at the Masonic Temple with a student rabbi leading the High Holiday services each year. A B'nai B'rith lodge was organized in 1938. Ruby Diamond, one of the most active participants in Temple Israel's programs, was a member of one of Leon County's pioneer families. When she died in 1982, at the age of ninety-five, she was Tallahassee's oldest Jewish resident. The auditorium at Florida State University is named in her memory, and also Temple Israel's social hall. Rabbi Stanley J. Garfein is the rabbi of Temple Israel, completing in 1987, his twenty-first year in this position. Many photographs are included in *Temple Israel of Tallahassee, 1937-1987.* The book sells for $10.00 plus $2.00 postage. Order from Temple Israel, 2215 Mahan Drive, Tallahassee, FL 32308.

. . . *In Search of DeSoto's Trail (A Hypothesis of the Alabama Route),* by Caleb Curren, is in the Bulletins of Discovery series, published by the Alabama-Tombigbee Regional Commission. Mr. Curren is director of archaeology and a member of the Alabama DeSoto Commission. The publication was made possible through a grant from the Mobile Historic Development Foundation. Maps are included showing DeSoto's route through what is now the state of Alabama, and there is a list of the Indian villages, rivers, and river crossings which he and his force encountered in 1540. Copies of the bulletin may be ordered from the Regional Commission, Box 269, Camden, AL 36727; the price is $2.00.

Ghost Town Locations in Florida was compiled and published by Jim Warnke, Box 1408, Boynton Beach, FL 33425. Many of the early settlements listed were established in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and have now disappeared. Some relics of the past still remain, however. The sites are listed by county and their locations are identified. The booklet sells for $6.00.

The Correspondence of Will & Ju Stockton, 1845-1869 was transcribed and annotated by Herman Ulmer, Jr., of Jacksonville. The 150 letters are mostly from Colonel William T. Stockton to his wife, Julia Telfair Stockton. A few were written by Mrs. Stockton to her husband and by other persons. Approximately three-fourths of the letters were written during the Civil War years, including nineteen written by Colonel Stockton from the Federal prison camp on Johnson's Island in Lake Erie where he was held for twenty months. These letters detail the hardships and loneliness that Stockton suffered as a prisoner of war. Before the Civil War, Stockton operated a stage coach line out of Quincy, and his letters include details about his business operations. "Will" and "Ju," as they called each other, were well-educated, and the phrasing, spelling, and punctuation of their correspondence reflect their high level of intelligence. Mr. Ulmer provides biographical information about the families involved, and he has identified the people mentioned in the correspondence. This is a valuable collection of Florida historical material. Copies are available for $25.00 from Mr. Ulmer, Box 479, Jacksonville, FL 32201.

John James Audubon: Florida Travels, 1831-1832, describes the famous naturalist's visit to Florida in 1831 to sketch waterbirds for the third volume of his book, *Birds of America.* This booklet, which includes beautiful color plates of Audubon's paintings, was written by Dr. Charlotte M. Porter and Cheryl Wilson of the Florida State Museum, Gainesville. They have also produced a video, "American Woodsman, Audubon in Florida," together with WUFT-TV, Gainesville, and the Florida State Museum, under a grant from the Florida Endowment for the Humanities. For information on the video and/or copies of the booklet, write to Dr. Porter, Florida State Museum, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611.

Memories of Fort McCoy is by Faye Perry Melton. Her earlier book, *Pine Needles,* was reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* 64 (July 1985, p. 113). Mrs. Melton begins with the account of Jeb McCoy and his young wife, Sara, who migrated from South Carolina in 1827 to what is now Marion County. Their difficult and tragic life on the Florida frontier is not untypical of the early settlers. For her research, Mrs. Melton examined contemporary records and collected information by interviewing descendants of some of Marion County's pioneer families. She also includes in her book a number of historic photographs and maps and information about the community's churches, schools, and organizations. The book sells for $12.00 (add $1.00 postage). Order from the author, Route 4, Box 4050, Citra, FL 32627.

Dr. Kevin M. McCarthy, author of *The History of Gilchrist County,* has provided a wealth of information about a relatively little-known area of Florida. His story begins with Spanish exploration in the sixteenth century and continues to the present. Alachua and Levy counties abut Gilchrist, the Santa Fe River forms its northern border, and the Suwannee is its western boundary. The population of Gilchrist County is small, and there are relatively few towns and settlements– Fanning Springs, Hart Springs, Bell, and Trenton are the larger communities. The Bell and Colson families were pioneer settlers of Trenton, and their histories are included. Dr. McCarthy examined available primary source records and extant newspapers for historical data. He also interviewed many individuals, securing from old-timers their memories of the past. Education, business, religious institutions, agriculture, recreation, the springs of the area, politics, and social life are some of the topics he touches on. Life in rural Florida during World War II, drug problems, and the history of the county's black community are other areas covered. Included are many photographs collected by the Historic Committee of the Trenton Women's Club. One of the most interesting parts of the book is the story of William E. Bell of Trenton. The short story, "Lord Bill of the Suwannee River," was by Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, the famed Florida novelist. A shortened version of this story was published in 1963, but this is the first time that the complete manuscript appears in print. Also included in the *History of Gilchrist County* is an

index listing every proper name mentioned in the text, and a compilation of World War I, World War II, Korean War, and Vietnam War veterans. Order from the Trenton Women's Club, Box 751, Trenton, FL 32693. The book sells for $10.00, plus $2.00 for shipping.

Civil War Times in St. Augustine was a symposium held April 3-5, 1986, in St. Augustine by the St. Augustine Historical Society. With support from the Florida Endowment for the Humanities, the papers presented at the symposium have been published in a special issue of the Society's journal, *El Escribano* 23 (1986). The following articles are included: "St. Augustine and the Union Blockade," by George E. Buker; "The Home Front: Civil War Times in St. Augustine," by Thomas Graham; "Fort Marion in Civil War Times," by Luis Rafael Arana; "Ancient City Defenders: The St. Augustine Blues," by David J. Coles; "Freedom was as Close as the River: The Blacks of Northeast Florida and the Civil War," by Daniel L. Schafer; and "Researching the Civil War in Florida: An Introduction to the Southern Historical Collection," by Everard H. Smith. The last article lists many of the important Florida family papers which now are in the library at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. These include the papers of James B. Bailey, Joseph Branch, General Edmund Kirby-Smith, Edward L'Engle, Stephen R. Mallory, and the Wirt and Branch families. The Tench Tilghman diary and the Pensacola & Georgia Railroad account book are also in the Southern Historical Collection. *El Escribano* is edited by Jacqueline K. Fretwell. For information on the special issue of *El Escribano* and the Society, write St. Augustine Historical Society, 271 Charlotte Street, St. Augustine, FL 32084.

In December 1935, John R. Swanton was appointed to the United States DeSoto Expedition Commission. He was elected chair at the first meeting held in Tampa. Swanton was also responsible for the final report of the Commission, published as an official House of Representatives document, although his name is not listed as author. Swanton's research on DeSoto's expedition for the Commission was a continuation of work he had begun earlier in Arkansas, Louisiana, Georgia, North Carolina, and Florida. The published report has long been out-

of-print and is rare. A reprint of the original edition has been published by the Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C., in its Classics of Smithsonian Anthropology series. It includes an introduction by Jeffrey P. Brain and a foreword by William C. Sturtevant of the Smithsonian Institution. In his essay, Dr. Brain, curator of Southeastern United States Archaeology, Peabody Museum, Harvard University, provides an update of DeSoto studies, a considerable amount of which is being done in Florida. Much of the DeSoto route in Florida has been established, and markers have been placed at strategic points along the route for the convenience of sightseers and visitors. *Final Report of the United States DeSoto Expedition Commission* sells for $19.95, paperback.

Lights! Camera! Florida!: Ninety Years of Moviemaking and Television Production in the Sunshine State, by Robert A. Nelson, provides a short history of moviemaking and the movie industry in Florida. The industry began with two filmings in 1898: *U. S. Cavalry Supplies Unloading at Tampa, Florida,* and *Transport Ships at Port Tampa.* There was also a very early production (1905) by the well-known cinematographer, G. W. "Billy" Bitzer, titled *Automobile Races at Ormond, Fla.* Most of the motion pictures filmed in Florida prior to World War I were made in the Jacksonville-St. Augustine area. Later, during the 1920s, many motion pictures were produced in south Florida. Jacksonville became an important winter studio center, and several of the film greats like D. W. Griffith worked in the area. Oliver Hardy began his film career in Jacksonville in 1913. Lionel and Ethel Barrymore and Victor Moore were among those who came to Florida early in their film-making careers. H. J. Klutho built a major full-service film studio in Jacksonville which was described at the time as one of the best in the country. Florida continues to be a locale where important motion picture and television films are produced. It is now a multi-million dollar industry in Florida. *Miami Vice* is one of the popular television films being produced in Dade County. Among recent motion pictures filmed in this state are *Cocoon, Splash, Jaws II, Scarface, Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom, Body Heat,* and *Running Scared.* Copies of *Lights! Camera! Florida!* are available from the Florida Endowment of the Humanities, Box 16989, Tampa, FL 33687, for a donation of $10.00, plus $1.00 for postage.

The Sea Chain, by John E. Duncan, is the history of Captain Charles D. Duncan from Bath, Maine, and his descendants. Charles's sons– Charles C. and Fred– saw action in the Civil War, serving under Admirals Farragut and Dahlgren. In 1864, young Charles was aboard the *Pocahontas* which sailed down the Atlantic coast to Florida and Key West. In a letter, he described Key West as a place filled with "bushes, weeds, lizards, and snakes." Henry Ward Beecher, Mark Twain, and Robert Louis Stevenson are some of the celebrated personalities whose lives intersected with the Duncan family. The Duncans had many contacts with Florida over the years. In 1870, Charles visited St. Augustine, Jacksonville, and Mandarin, and sailed on the St. Johns River aboard the *Water Lily*. An account of this voyage was later written by Charles's son, Ned, who used his father's notes. Charles purchased land at Mandarin and built a house near Mandarin Point, about a mile from Julington Creek. In his writings, Ned provides information about the Duncan family in Florida– their home and dock on the St. Johns River, their close relationship with Calvin and Harriet Beecher Stowe, their orange grove, hunting and fishing in the area, and their visits to Jacksonville. Ned Duncan lived in Florida after he retired, first in Mandarin and later in Daytona Beach. John E. Duncan, Ned's son and author of *The Sea Chain*, wrote his book in Ormond. It was published by Americana Review, 10 Socha Lane, Scotia, NY 12302, and it sells for $12.95 in paperback edition. There are some 175 illustrations, many from the author's collection. There are also indexes of the ships, places, and people mentioned in the text.

The second issue of *Florida Archaeology* presents translations of documents that are important sources for seventeenth-century Spanish Florida. These include the translation of the Ecija voyages of 1605 and 1609 and the Gonzalez derrotero of 1609; translation of Governor Rebolledo's 1657 visitation of three Florida provinces and related documents; translation of two inventories of church furnishings, sacred vessels, and vestments held by the missions of Florida; and translation of Alonso de Leturiondo's memorial to the king of Spain. John H. Hann of the Division of Historical Resources, Florida Department of State, translated all the documents. *Florida Archaeology* sells for $10.00. Order from the Florida Bureau of Archaeological Re-

search, Division of Historical Resources, The Capitol, Tallahassee, FL 32399.

Florida has always been popular as a setting for novelists and short story writers. Sterling Watson's novel, *The Calling,* is about a young writer, Blackford Turlow, who lived in Bainsborough, circa 1974, which is identified as "a small, North Florida college town." "Toad" Turlow, as he is called, comes under the influence of Eldon Odom, a celebrated novelist and member of the university's faculty. Odom's faithful followers are all members of his fiction workshop, and that is where "Toad" meets most of the characters who appear in the story. Sterling Watson received degrees from Florida Presbyterian College and the University of Florida. He lives in St. Petersburg and teaches at Eckerd College. *The Calling* was published by Peachtree Publishers, Atlanta, GA, and it sells for $13.95.

A Loving Place, by Mark Dintenfass, is also a Florida novel. Murray Farber is the hero. He and his wife have retired to Florida from Brooklyn, and although he learns to cope with life in south Florida– the malls, condos, and the people, particularly those with stereotyped attitudes towards old people– his heart remains in the North. *A Loving Place* was published by William Morrow and Company, New York, and it sells for $17.95.

In the 1930s the WPA Federal Writer's Project collected narrative and folk tales from blacks living along Georgia's coastal area– Sapelo, St. Simons, and St. Marys. *Drums and Shadows,* published in 1940, recounts many of these colorful stories. It also included the photographs of Muriel and Malcolm Bell. A new edition of *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes* (with the Bell photographs) has been published by the University of Georgia Press, in its Brown Thrasher Books series. It includes an introduction by Charles Joyner. The paperback edition sells for $9.95.

HISTORY NEWS

Annual Meeting

The Florida Historical Society will hold its eighty-fifth convention in St. Augustine on May 8-9, 1987. Registration will begin at 8:30 A.M., Friday morning, May 8, at Government House, 48 King Street, followed at 9:30 A.M. by opening ceremonies in the Government House Theater. Paul S. George, president of the Society, Kenneth Beeson, mayor of St. Augustine, and Robert L. Gold, director, Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, will make the welcoming remarks. There will be two program sessions on Friday morning. Milton Jones, former president of the Society (1974-1976), will preside at the session titled, "The Flagler Heritage." Reading papers will be Seth Bramson, Miami, and Edward Akin, Mississippi College. The commentator for this session is Thelma Peters, also a former Society president (1976-1978). The concurrent session's theme, "Investigations of Colonial Days," will have Luis Arana, St. Augustine, as its chairman. Dr. Kathleen Deagan, Florida State Museum, and Jane Landers, University of Florida, will present papers. Eugene Lyon is the commentator.

The Friday afternoon session will focus on the theme, "A Legacy of St. Augustine: The Florida Historical Society." All of the participants are former presidents of the Society and will include James R. Knott (1964-1966), Herbert J. Doherty (1968-1970), Dena Snodgrass (1956-1958), Gilbert Lycan (1960-1962), William M. Goza (1966- 1968), Jerrell Shofner (1978- 1980), John E. Johns (1972-1974), 0 live Peterson (1982-1984), Randy Nimnicht (1984- 1986), and Lucius Ellsworth (1986).

The Saturday morning session will develop the theme, "Civil War on the St. Johns River." Mrs.. Peterson (1982-1984) will preside, Dr. Keith Holland of Jacksonville will present a paper, and Dr. John K. Mahon (1980-1982), will serve as commentator.

The banquet will be held at Flagler College, formerly the Ponce de Leon Hotel. Speakers are Charlton W. Tebeau (1949-1951), and Albert Mauncy (1958-1960). Several award presentations will be made: History Fair by Gwendolyn Waldorf, Rembert W. Patrick Book Prize by Dr. George Pozzetta, Arthur W. Thompson Prize in Florida History by Dr. Samuel Proctor,

Charlton W. Tebeau Book Prize by Dr. Tebeau, and the Florida Historical Confederation State Merit Award by Patricia Wickman.

Other activities include tours of St. Augustine (by pre-registration only), the Leitch Wright Memorial Three-Mile Run and Walk on Saturday morning, and a picnic in the St. Augustine Historical Society Gardens after the annual business meeting. There is no official hotel; a list of local hotels and inns will be included in the registration packets. The society board of directors will hold its business meeting on Thursday evening.

Florida Historical Confederation Meeting

The Florida Historical Confederation will convene its annual meeting and workshop on Thursday, May 7, 1987, in conjunction with the Florida Historical Society's convention. All sessions will be held in the Government House Theater. Registration begins at 7:30 A.M., followed by welcoming speeches by Robert L. Gold, Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, and Milly St. Julian, Florida Endowment for the Humanities. "City As Museum," is the theme of the workshops. There will be three sessions: "City, State, and Nation," "Minority History for the Majority," and "Preserving History." Frederick L. Raff, Jr., secretary of the Eastern National Park Monument Association, will be the luncheon speaker. A walking tour of downtown St. Augustine, eighteenth-century dining at the Gomez House in the restoration area, a candlelight tour of the Spanish quarter, and torch light tours of the Castillo de San Marcos are some of the activities planned for the meeting.

National Register of Historic Places

The Florida Department of State, Division of Historical Resources, reports the following Florida properties added to the National Register of Historic Places during the year 1986: Brevard County: Percher House (Cocoa); Leon County– Governor John W. Martin House (Tallahassee); Volusia County– Merchants Bank Building and Rogers House (Daytona Beach); Dade County– Charles Deering Estate (Cutler), Millard-McCarthy House (Miami Springs), Miami Edison Senior High School (Miami), and Arch Creek Historic and Archaeological Site (North Miami); Manatee County– Woman's Club and the His-

toric District (Palmetto); Duval County– Mission of San Juan de Pueto Archaelogical Site (Fort George Island); Flagler County– Marine Studios (Marineland); Pinellas County– Dennis Hotel, Potter House, St. Petersburg Public Library, and Boone House (St. Petersburg); Suwannee County– Old Live Oak City Hall (Live Oak), and Union Depot and Atlantic Coast Line Freight Station; Alachua County– Kanapaha (Gainesville vicinity) and Rolfs Hall, University of Florida campus (Gainesville); Collier County– Burns Lake Site and Plaza Site (Federal nomination); Sarasota County– Field Estate (Sarasota vicinity); St. Johns County– St. Augustine Historic District; Citrus County– Mullet Key (Crystal River vicinity); Nassau County– John Denham Palmer House (Fernandina Beach); Baker County– Old Baker County Courthouse (Macclenny); Bay County– Robert L. McKenzie (Panama City); Marion County– Ritz Apartments (Ocala); Palm Beach County– Vineta Hotel (Palm Beach), Dixie Court Hotel (West Palm Beach), and Seaboard Airlines Railroad Station (Delray Beach); Hillsborough County– Masonic Temple No. 25 (Tampa).

Florida Archaeology Bibliography

Katherine Bierce-Gedris, Bureau of Archaeological Research, Division of Historical Resources, Florida Department of State, is compiling a bibliography of titles in Florida archaeology to be published by the Bureau of Archaeological Research in their journal, *Florida Archaeology*. It will include mainly titles dated after 1979, but any overlooked in the "Bibliography of Florida Archaeology Through 1980," published in the first volume of *Florida Archaeology*, will also be added. Any reference in Florida archaeology, including unpublished manuscripts, file reports, and conference papers, will be welcomed. Indicate which institution holds the file copy. References will be accepted in any format, but a standardized bibliography card is preferred. For information on the format and other information, contact Ms. Bierce-Gedris at the Division of Historical Resources, Department of State, the Capital, Tallahassee, FL 32301.

Exhibitions

"Rails, Tycoons, and Gales: The History of the Florida East Coast Railway" is the title of the exhibition on Henry Flagler

and the Flagler System at the Historical Museum of Southern Florida Special Exhibition Gallery. The exhibition will continue through June 6, 1987. Seth Bramson, author of *Speedway to Sunshine: The Story of the Florida East Coast Railway,* is the guest curator. The Historical Museum of Southern Florida is in the Metro-Dade County Cultural Center, 101 West Flagler Street, Miami. It is open Monday Through Saturday from 10:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., Thursdays until 9:00 P.M., and Sundays from 12:00 P.M. to 5:00 P.M. There is an admission charge.

"Political Cartooning in Florida, 1903-1987," is the theme of an exhibit at the Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee, from May 15 through September 27, 1987. It will display cartoons that have had an important impact on Florida public opinion in the twentieth century. This exhibit will celebrate the Museum of Florida History's tenth anniversary. The Museum of Florida History is in the R. A. Gray Building, 500 South Bronough, Tallahassee. Its hours are Monday through Friday, 9:00 A.M.-4:30 P.M.; Saturday, 10:00 A.M. -4:30 P.M.; Sunday and holidays at 12:00 P.M.-4:30 P.M.

Announcements and Activities

The Tallahassee Historical Society is sponsoring the renovation of the Florida Monument at the Gettysburg National Military Park. It is planned to have work completed for the 125th anniversary of the battle in 1989. Persons and organizations interested in the project should contact David Coles, Tallahassee Historical Society, 241 Teal Lane, Tallahassee, FL 32208 (904-878-4234 or 487-2073).

Archaeologists at the San Luis Archaeological and Historic Site, 2020 Mission Road, Tallahassee, are attempting to determine whether remains of a large Spanish building are the Franciscan mission church. Visitors are welcome Monday through Friday, 9:00 A.M. -4:30 P.M.; Saturday, 10:00 A.M.-4:30 P.M.; and Sunday and holidays, 12:00 P.M.-4:30 P.M. There is no admission fee. A tour is scheduled every Sunday at 2:00 P.M. For information contact Fran Paarlberg, Museum of Florida History, Division of Historical Resources, Department of State, Tallahassee, FL 32399 (904-487-3711).

The Fort Lauderdale Historical Museum is offering two three-month internship positions to upper-level undergraduate or graduate students in history or museum studies. The internship will begin June 19, 1987. It provides a monthly stipend of $1,000. Internships will focus on the care and preservation of the Gene Hyde Photographic Collection which contains 200,000 negatives illustrating Fort Lauderdale and Broward County history. Deadline for applications is April 1987. Send resume and three references to Suzanne Savery, Fort Lauderdale Historical Society, Box 14043, Fort Lauderdale, FL 33302.

The Jacksonville Historical Society has its headquarters at 626 May Street, in a Victorian house restored by Mrs. Edward W. Lane, Jr. The Society will hold its annual meeting on May 13, 1987, with Dr. Walter Walker Blanton of Jacksonville University as the speaker. For information write the Society, Box 10908, Jacksonville, 32247.

The purpose of the Florida Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program, funded by the National Endowment for the Arts, is to encourage the continuation of Florida's traditional arts– crafts, dance, music, and other expressive forms– by helping a select number of people train with master folk artists. The folk arts included in the past programs are cow whip braiding, piñata making, coiled sweetgrass basketry, embroidery, and deep sea diving helmet construction, For information on available apprenticeships, write Peter Roller, Florida Folklife Program, Box 265, White Springs, FL 32096 (904-397-2192).

The National Geneaological Society will hold its annual conference in Raleigh, North Carolina, May 13-16, 1987. For information write Florida Geneaological Society, Box 18629, Tampa, FL 33679.

A call for papers has gone out for the fifty-fourth annual Southern Historical Association meeting in Norfolk, Virginia, November 9-12, 1988. Proposals for single papers and entire sessions are invited. Send a one-page summary of the proposed paper and curriculum vitaes to the committee chair, Dr. Theda Perdue, Department of History, Clemson University, Clemson, SC 26344. The deadline for proposals is September 1, 1987.

As work on *The Encyclopedia of Southern Culture* nears completion, co-editors Charles Reagan Wilson and William Ferris are seeking photographs, tables and charts, reproductions of paintings, postcards, film posters, and historic present-day photographs for the volume. The editors welcome submissions of illustrative materials pertaining to aspects of social life such as family, religion, occupation, sports, community life, and education. For information, write William Ferris, Center for the Study of Southern Culture, University of Mississippi, University, MS 38677.

MINUTES OF THE DIRECTORS' MEETING
FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Paul S. George, president-elect of the Florida Historical Society, called the mid-winter meeting of the Society's board of directors to order at 9:00 A.M., December 6, 1986, at the Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida, Tampa. Present were Paul S. George, Hampton Dunn, Michael Slicker, Gary R. Mormino, Patricia Bartlett, Gregory Bush, David R. Colburn, Robert C. Harris, Wright Langley, Raymond A. Mohl, Owen North, Larry E. Rivers, William M. Straight, Kyle S. VanLandingham, Gwendolyn Waldorf, Patricia Wickman, and Randy F. Nimnicht. Also present were Hayes Kennedy, Milly St. Julien, Thomas D. Greenhaw, and Jerrell Shofner.

The board unanimously approved the minutes of the May 1, 1986, directors' meeting in Bradenton as published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* 65 (October 1986), pp. 256-62.

Dr. Mormino announced the resignation of President Lucius Ellsworth. Dr. Harris moved that the resignation be accepted, and Mr. Nimnicht seconded. As per Article II, Section 3, of the Society's By-Laws, Paul George assumed the presidency, to be served until the May 1987 annual meeting. Lucius Ellsworth, elected to the presidency in May 1986, has moved to Nashville, Tennessee, to accept a position as associate executive director of the Tennessee Higher Education Commission.

Dr. Gary Mormino, executive director, presented a financial report for the period of January 1, 1986, to September 30, 1986. He explained that the slight deficit was because several revenue sources do not arrive until the last quarter of the year, and that in actuality there will be a surplus of $4,000 to $6,000 in the Society's accounts. Contributing to this surplus are revenues from the library account and the fund raising campaign begun in September 1986. The 1986 financial statement reflected the purchase of an IBM computer and associated training course, a Minolta photocopy machine, and the salary for the associate director.

Dr. Mormino noted the increase in contributions which total more than $12,000 for 1986. These include $5,000 in matching funds from an anonymous source to institute a "President's

Award"; $1,000 from the Wentworth Foundation; $800 from Ron Schon, in conjunction with a series of historically-oriented radio spots; $1,000 from Charlton W. Tebeau; $500 from Glenn Dill; $500 from Gerald McSwiggan for the History Fair; $500 from an anonymous source; and average donations of $27 each from ninety individuals. The Society also received grants from the Saunders Foundation and the National Middle School Foundation. The Society has recently received tax-free status from the state of Florida and will no longer pay sales tax on many of its purchases. The Society is involved in two major income-producing projects. Continental Heritage Press is publishing, in cooperation with the Society, *Florida Portrait,* a photographic history of the state. The National Middle School Resource Center will use images from the Society's archives for a series of slide presentations– "Women in Florida," "Afro-American Experience in Florida," and "Florida in the 1880s."

Dr. Mormino attributed the success of this year's fund raising to the influence of the President's Award fund, the utilization of the computer, and the fact that the Society is involved in many programs and projects and is consequently more visible.

A report on the status of the President's Fund followed. The Fund will provide two prizes– one for the best paper written by an undergraduate student, and one for the best paper written by a graduate student on some aspect of Florida history. The committee supervising this project includes Robert Pittman of the St. Petersburg *Times,* Larry Rivers, and David Colburn.

Dr. Mormino suggested that in order to simplify bookkeeping records and secure a higher yield on Society investments, multiple accounts should be consolidated. In response, Mr. Nimnicht moved that there be two accounts, one large investment account and a smaller checking account. The consolidation process should include a determination of the current dollar values, and the percentage values for each of the individual funds and accounts. Also, the consolidation process would include an annual evaluation of each fund, with financial reports providing individualized dollar amounts. The need for individualized reporting was reiterated. Most of the accounts are in minimal-interest accounts; consolidation will provide additional revenue for the Society. The motion passed.

The accounts currently total (percentage of the whole is in parenthesis): Wentworth Publication Fund, $10,000 (28.6 per

cent); Charlton W. Tebeau, $5,000 (14.3 per cent); Father Jerome Library Fund, $5,000 (14.3 per cent); Arthur W. Thompson, $5,000 (14.3 per cent); President's Award, $7,500 (21.3 per cent); Rembert W. Patrick, formerly Yonge, $2,500 (7.2 per cent). Dr. Mormino reported that this has been "a banner year" for membership, and that overall financial well-being of the Society is due mainly to the increase in membership over the past few years. In 1982, membership was 1,318; membership is now nearly 2,000.

Dr. Mormino noted the assistance and cooperation of many local historical societies. Several local societies– St. Petersburg, Pinellas County, Volusia County, St. Augustine, Bay County, Fort Myers, Spanish Point, Sarasota, Nassau County– and the University of Florida Alumni Office, provided the Society with their membership lists, and allowed the Society to do a mailing soliciting membership. Dr. Mormino will continue to use local and regional mailing lists, and asked for help in obtaining such lists. All materials will be treated with confidentiality.

Other factors contributing to membership growth include the executive director and associate director's travel campaign. This past year, they have spoken and represented the Society in more than thirteen communities in Florida. Simultaneously, membership losses are substantially less than they have been in recent years, and the Society has taken a more active role, and has sponsored more activities, including History Tours conducted by Gary Mormino and Paul George.

Dr. Mormino complimented both Milly St. Julien and his secretary for their work and efficiency. He noted that their work load greatly increased during the past year, and he urged that the Society reward them in some way, perhaps in the form of a bonus. The board concurred with the director's evaluation, but tabled discussion of bonuses pending the assessment of our current financial obligations.

Dr. Colburn reminded the board of its agreements with the University of South Florida, and that the term of those agreements was drawing to a close. The need to extend those agreements and assure the cooperation of the University was affirmed. The subject of a full-time executive director was discussed, but the feeling of the board was that securing a director, without the support of the State University System, would be unwise anytime in the near future.

The president appointed Dr. Colburn to chair a committee, with Mr. Nimnicht and Dr. Straight, to meet with representatives of the University of South Florida for the purpose of obtaining a written agreement covering the following: a definition of the relationship of the executive director, as an administrator and as a scholar, with the University of South Florida; an understanding of the extent of the long-term commitment of the University of South Florida to the Society, and specifically, to the executive director; an outline of the evaluation procedure for defining the executive director's contribution to the University of South Florida; an "overview" of the continuing relationship of the Society to the University of South Florida; and a more complete understanding of the relationship and use of campus facilities by the Society, and vice versa, with special emphasis on the director's secretary and the Society's library collections. In presenting a proposal to the University of South Florida, the board emphasized the advantageous relationship that currently exists and the need to continue the relationship. The director also emphasized the need to show the breadth and scope of Dr. Mormino's activities, and their worth to the University of South Florida.

Dr. Proctor reported on the actitivies of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. A total of thirty-one articles were received. Sixteen were published in 1986, with topics ranging from pre-colonial to recent Florida and southern history. Sixty-nine book reviews were published; sixteen books involved Florida topics, and thirty-one books dealt with the South. Twenty-two other books were reviewed, including volumes dealing with black history, women's history, Indians, politics, and other matters relating to Florida history and archaeology. In the Book Notes section, forty-two books were reviewed that dealt with Florida. The *Florida Historical Quarterly* is always interested in reviewing books dealing with all aspects of Florida history. Review copies should be forwarded to the *Quarterly*'s box (14045 University Station, Gainesville 32604), together with full information on the cost of the item and how it can be ordered.

Dr. Proctor thanked the members of the editorial board, and everyone else who helps to make the publication of our journal a success. He also thanked the University of Florida for its continued support.

Dr. Colburn then reported that the Department of History

at the University of Florida, has been authorized by the dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences to begin a search for a Florida historian in January of 1987. It is hoped that this person will eventually assume the editorship of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

Dr. Thomas Greenhaw, editor of the *Florida History Newsletter*, reported the changes that will be instituted in that publication. Jerrell Shofner reported that he will have his manuscript for "Florida Portrait" completed by April 1, 1987. He also reported on the status of "Readings in Florida History," a collection of articles from the *Florida Historical Quarterly* that he is editing. He anticipates a July 1987 completion date. The book is proposed as a supplemental text in the field of Florida history, and will be published either by the University Presses of Florida or independently with funds from the Wentworth Publication fund.

Subsequent discussion noted a number of other possible publishing ventures, including a volume of primary-source documents relating to Florida history, various unpublished WPA documents, including the "Florida Negro" and some slave narratives, and any of several local history monographs.

Dr. George requested that these various questions and points be referred to the Publications Committee with Dr. Proctor, chairman, Dr. Colburn, Jan Matthews, and Earle Bowden. The committee will recommend funding and scheduling for present and future publications, a distribution plan, in case the Society becomes involved in the marketing of any of its publications, and the method to acquire "remainders," and if need be, funds for their purchase. President George will arrange a meeting with the committee. Such action should be taken expeditiously, in anticipation of any of the several problems that might arise in the near future. Patty Bartlett and Mike Slicker offered their assistance to the committee.

Kyle VanLandingham reported that the financial condition of the Society is generally healthy, in spite of lower interest rates in 1986, and the prognosis of low rates for 1987. The committee will begin the process of consolidating the accounts.

Pat Wickman reported that the executive committee of the Florida Historical Confederation had met the previous afternoon, December 5, 1986. The committee had reviewed the 1986 Confederation Awards and established guidelines for the 1987

awards. A review committee of the articles of the Confederation is nearing completion of its work. Its recommendations will appear in the *Florida History Newsletter*. Adoption will be considered by the membership at the May 1987 meeting. The topic of the day-long workshop in St. Augustine will be "The City as Museum," with Fred Rath, secretary of the Eastern National Park and Monument Association, as the keynote speaker. For a second year the Confederation has received support from the Florida Endowment for the Humanities, with a grant of $3,098. The Endowment has also requested that the Florida Historical Confederation add $1,000 to its budget, in return for Ms. Wickman acting as editor/publisher for the FEH Proceedings, "Minority History for the Majority."

The membership of the Confederation continues to show steady growth, and now represents about 100 agencies and government bodies throughout Florida. After a discussion about the potential for increasing the membership of the Confederation, Mr. Nimnicht suggested that the Confederation submit its annual dues solicitation in the form of a well-worded invoice and courtesy note.

Gwendolyn Waldorf, chairperson for the History Fair, reported that information has been distributed to each of the sixty-seven counties, and that her committee has received replies from ten counties. This year's fair has been enlarged to include written and media projects. Florida will probably be sending approximately fourteen young people to the national competition. A discussion followed Ms. Waldorf's report regarding arrangements for History Fair participants at the annual banquet. Providing for such a large crowd of students and parents presents both logistical and economic problems. The need for ceremony and encouragement of the youngsters is recognized. The directors requested that the History Fair committee explore some alternative modes of recognition, including the possibility of formalizing the proceedings at each year's reception to allow for introductions and awards.

On the President's Award, Dr. Mormino reported that $2,500 has been raised toward the goal of $5,000 needed to match the challenge grant. Milly St. Julien described our participation in a series of slide presentations in conjunction with the National Middle School Resource Center, located on the campus of the University of South Florida. The Resource Center will

provide a $5,000 grant, and the Society will prepare three slide presentations and pay the costs of preparing them. The Center will be responsible for the promotion and distribution of the slide presentations, and any profits will be divided between the two organizations. The presentations are expected to be available by September 1987.

Dr. Mormino reported on the arrangements for the annual meeting in May. Former presidents of the Society will preside at many of the sessions and will speak at the banquet on Friday evening. There is no convention hotel. Accomodations will include many of the city's bed-and-breakfast inns. Sessions will be held at the Government House, the reception at the Lightner Museum, and the banquet at Flagler College.

The nominations committee has been appointed with Milton Jones as chairman. Dr. George asked the committe to look into the status of Hampton Dunn as vice-president, and the effect of Dr. Ellsworth's resignation on his position.

Dr. Harris suggested that future program committees look into the possibility of changing the format of some of the sessions at the annual meeting to include more audio/visual materials and panel discussions, and encourage the distribution of copies of the papers beforehand, all of which will provide an interesting format and encourage audience attendance and participation. Other suggestions for possible changes were offered by other members of the board, including concurrent sessions, roundtable discussions, broader roles for moderators, luncheon groups, etc.

During the discussion, Dr. Colburn noted two difficulties that need to be considered as the directors evaluate the sessions and their current format: the Society membership is a mixed audience of amateurs and professionals, each group with different needs and expectations, and secondly, to achieve the goal of increased audience participation requires a stronger commitment and responsibility to the audience.

These matters will be referred to the 1988 program committee, with a request that it consider some "alternative" sessions. The board, of course, understands the problems encountered in planning a program, and it wants the committee to maintain its latitude and flexibility.

Dr. Harris requested that the Florida Historical Society support a nationwide effort to refurbish and restore state monu-

ments and memorials at Gettysburg National Park. Mr. Nimnicht moved that the Society appropriate an amount not to exceed $300 to the National Gettysburg Project. It passed unanimously.

Dr. George noted the untimely and tragic death of Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., a former board member and a strong supporter of the Society. In ensuing discussion, board members considered several possibilities for a memorial to Dr. Wright, including: "Run through the Antiquities" in St. Augustine (remembering his love for the sport and his attempts to organize his colleagues each year for such a run). The president appointed Ms. Waldorf as chair of a committee to present a proposal to the board at its May meeting.

Gregory Bush expressed his concerns on the "lack of visual literacy" in our contemporary culture, and the fact that historians seem to have relinquished their role as purveyors of history to the entertainment industry. It is also frustrating to note the visual media's apparent lack of historical knowledge in general, and Florida history in particular. He urged the board to establish a committee for the purpose of studying the feasibility of creating a series of films or videos related to Florida history. Several ideas were discussed, including holding a forum or conference on the use of video as a history tool; the Society offering fellowships for students or newspeople doing work in the field; exploration of grant sources for some of these projects; the use of local cable television franchises in promoting local history; and the production of a "Connections"-like series related to Florida and its history. Patty Bartlett moved that a film and video committee be established, with Gregory Bush as chairman, to examine the Society's relationship to the audio/visual field, and the feasibility of a possible role for the Society within that field. The motion passed.

Dr. Harris urged that at future annual meetings more time be allocated for much-needed socializing. After some discussion, the concensus of the board seemed to be in favor of keeping the Friday night banquet, in spite of the difficulties it presented for informal socializing. Other directors noted that the formality of an evening banquet is in keeping with the dignity involved in the awards, that there is no other time available, and that the increased attendance at the banquet indicates that the membership is pleased with the format.

The meeting was adjourned at 12:15 P.M.

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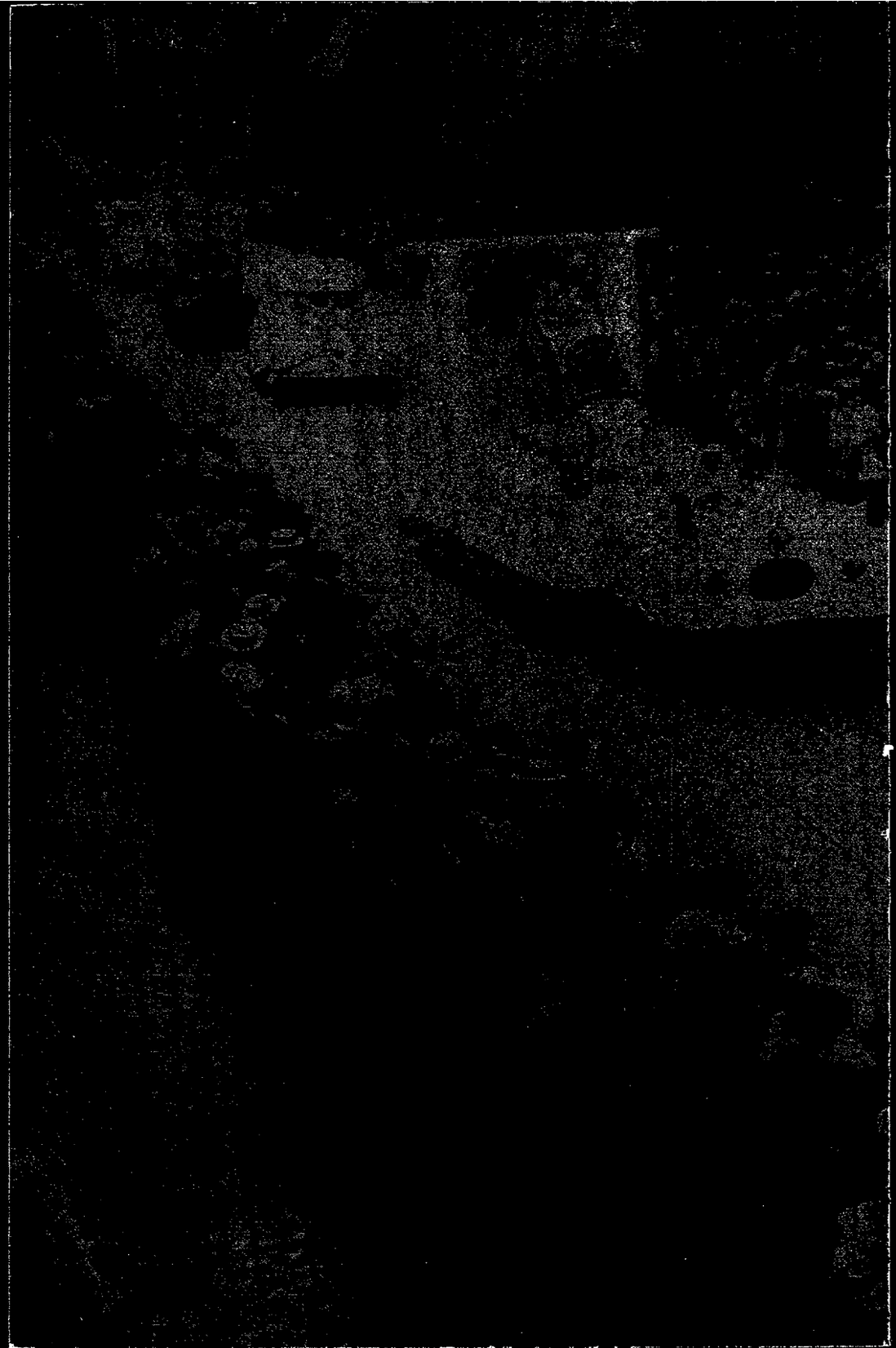
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